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SITUATIONAL AND PERSONAL ANTECEDENTS OF INCIP- IENT ALIENATION: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY

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I. INTRODUCTION

In a recent article, Sewell and Haller have reported research which attempts to explain the often-observed correlation between social status and personality adjustment among grade-school children (19). By means of a factor analysis of responses to a personality test, four oblique factors were discovered, each correlated with social status. The factors were identified as concern over social status, concern over achievement, rejection of family, and presence of nervous symptoms. This paper extends the inquiry begun by Sewell and Haller, and suggests that the first three of the above factors may indicate early stages in the development of alienation. In turn, this concept has relevance to a broader area of concern: social structure and anomie. Conceived by Durkheim and placed into contemporary sociological literature by Merton, anomie is said to describe a situation in which actors are expected to strive for a goal without sufficient resources to achieve it (13). For the American case, Merton holds that anomie stems from the discrepancy between the pervasive emphasis on success and the fact of socially structured obstacles to success. When anomie is predicated of persons rather than social systems it is called "anomia" by some and "alienation" by others (12, 14). In this paper, the term "alienation" will be used to stand for the psychological state of the person in an anomic situation. Srole, in discussing the latter concept, which he calls "anomia," specifies the condition as a result of three sets of forces: the actor's desires for acceptance by remote reference groups, qualities of the molar society influencing his goal choices and selection of means, and, finally, the effects of early socialization on his adult attitudes and personality (21, p. 714). Perhaps the most elaborate conceptual analysis of the psychological condition when it is called "alienation" has been presented by Seeman (17) and partially analyzed empirically by Dean (5). The main subtypes are feelings of powerlessness, normlessness, and social isolation, clearly implying the same kind of phenomena as does Srole's "anomia." To have any meaning at all, powerlessness must refer to goal orientations, normlessness must refer to means, and social isolation must refer to reference groups.

II. PROBLEM

In a post factum analysis of their findings, Sewell and Haller speculate that the lower-status child experiences a value conflict because the values taught in school differ from those of his home and neighborhood. In attempting to reconcile this conflict, tensions result concerning his relations with both the home and school. Another possibility is that the lower-status child with high aspirations encounters frustration in competing with his better-equipped middle- and upper-status counterparts (19, p. 519). Both Sewell and Haller and the writers concerned with alienation focus upon a situation in which the availability and choice of means may or may not be commensurate with a set of goals and/or value-orientations held out to the actor during his formative years. In analyzing American society, writers have disagreed as to whether positive commitment to success is expected of all persons or simply of middle- and upper-status persons; controversies notwithstanding, it seems reasonable to assume that a strong, positive commitment to high achievement is at least preferred for all persons, regardless of social strata (8, p. 558).

Clearly, in view of the above, it is important that the exact ties of the Sewell-Haller explanation of lower-class maladjustment to the alienation literature need to be determined. This may be accomplished, at least in part, by answering three related questions as they apply to adolescents, the age-group lying between the children studied by Sewell and Haller, and the adults who are the usual subjects of alienation literature. These questions are (a) What is the level of life-goals chosen by young Americans in different social strata? (b) What social and personal resources are available to these actors? (c) If, for some, the resources seem inadequate to achieve the goals, are there accompanying behaviors which may be interpreted as deriving from the combination of differential life-goals and differential resources?

This paper attempts to answer these questions, using data gathered on a sample of high-school students. The following procedure will be employed: First, the literature on life-goals and related variables will be reviewed with the purpose of extracting a set of variables useful in answering (a), (b), and (c) above; second, a reinterpretation of Sewell and Haller's original results will be presented, which, coupled with similar data on high-school boys, provides the basis for a tentative conceptualization of "incipient alienation"; third, a rationale will be presented which permits derivation of hypotheses about the occurrence of incipient alienation among adolescents; fourth, the findings will be analyzed in the light of the hypotheses; and, finally, several suggestions for future research will be presented.

III. LIFE-GOALS AND RELATED VARIABLES

A. LIFE GOALS

Literature on social mobility and social stratification generally points to education as one of the chief mechanisms of upward movement in the status hierarchy. For this reason a person's choice with respect to higher education carries with it a commitment to one of several life styles in American society. The person makes this choice some time before he leaves high school. By this choice, he either signifies his intention to enter the occupational world immediately at a relatively low level or indicates his desire to enter it at a higher level in the near future, using college training as a vehicle. Thus, social scientists tend to accept educational aspirations as a crude indication of commitment to the success goal, recognizing that it explains little of the dynamics of the commitment process. Empirically, the extent of commitment to success (measured by educational aspirations) is found to be influenced by several factors: *viz.*, social status, parental stress, ability, and (indirectly) independence. Bordua treats the relationships between social status, parental stress, and college plans, and shows that status differences are "considerably but not completely accounted for by differences in parental stress" (1, p. 268). Sewell and others find a positive relationship between status and educational aspirations and, after controlling for ability, report a residual status effect (20). Rosen provides empirical linkage between educational aspirations and achievement-values, and finds that independent behavior is a demand made by mothers of children with high achievement motivation (16). Douvan and Adelson find statistically significant differences among three mobility categories with respect to achievement mode, autonomy, and family milieu, and furnish additional evidence of an "achievement-syndrome" among high aspirers (6). What is important for present purposes is that high educational aspirations may be viewed as an indicator of positive commitment to the value of achievement without, however, pinpointing either the exact level of aspiration or the strength of motivation to achieve it. [To assume that strong motivation inevitably accompanies positive commitment is unwarranted. Rosen finds that value orientations, but not motivation, are related to educational aspirations; consequently, it may be that a youth who chooses to attend college may, motivationally, be ill-equipped for the ordeal (16, p. 209).]

B. RESOURCES

There are two general kinds of resources for goal achievement, both of which are incorporated into the present research design. The *situational re-*

sources include both social status and parental expectations. These are called *situational* since both constitute important features of a person's environment and, at the same time, are amenable to only minimal control by the subject; as such, they are "givens" or conditions of his action. (Although the parent's social status is generally beyond the influence of the youth's actions, the expectations of parents may well change as they watch his progress in school. Kahl (9) reports that lower-status families tend to withhold high expectations until assured of commensurate ability.) High status serves as a resource for the would-be high achiever in several ways. In addition to some obvious financial benefits, his parent's position serves to introduce him to a delimited range of learning structures in the form of nonfamily-role models (for example, family friends or occupational associates of the father with whom the son comes into contact) as well as neighbors and others. For complimentary reasons, low status obstructs progress toward high achievement. High parental stress on achievement also serves as a resource in that parents who stress or otherwise positively value achievement are more likely to be ready to provide the support, financial and otherwise, that the adolescent must have if he is to be a high achiever. Again, low parental stress on achievement has an opposite but complimentary effect.

In addition to situational forces, two kinds of *personal resources* are included—*independence* and *ability*. Parsons describes independence as the child's "level of self-sufficiency relative to guidance from adults, his capacity to take responsibility and to make his own decisions in coping with new and varying situations" (15, p. 300), and Douvan and Adelson report that the upwardly mobile boys in their sample "manifest a drive toward independence and responsibility whereas the downwardly mobile do not" (6, p. 38). Consequently, the capacity for independent behavior seems to be one of the requisites for successful competition in achieved-status systems. Although it doubtless emerges from parent-child interaction, once gained it provides a basis for generalization to autonomy *vis-à-vis* authority figures in various situations. Finally, it is important to note that this is an attribute of which the possessor may be only dimly aware; youths with high independence will feel "comfortable" in achieved-status systems, whereas their low independence counterparts will not. The other personal variable considered here as a resource is *ability*. Sewell and Haller mention ability as one of the areas ("concern over achievement") touched upon by their four factors, and several studies have established the empirical association of ability with other factors among the mobility-oriented (6, 16, 20). Obviously, low ability obstructs the progress of the high aspirer. Less obviously, however, the lack of ability is a more critical problem

IV. INCIPIENT ALIENATION

Before we present the empirical arguments for the dependent variable, several comments should be made on the relation of the term "incipient alienation" to cognate terms such as anomia, anomie, and personal disorganization. There is adequate evidence that a clear-cut distinction between these terms is not always easily drawn. Meier and Bell (12), in describing their concept of anomia, feel they may be measuring alienation as well. Nettler (14) distinguishes his use of the term *alienation* (an interpersonal condition) from anomie (a societal condition) and from personal disorganization (an intrapersonal condition). Srole notes that his conception of eunomia-anomia includes elements of an individual's sense of attachment to society as well as a "lack of identification on the part of the primary ego of the individual with a 'self' that includes others" (21, p. 712). Evidently the sense of normlessness which is called *anomia* is empirically indistinguishable from that sense of estrangement from the youth's primary groups which we are calling *incipient alienation*. Specifically, alienation, as used in this paper, refers to the individual's sense of attachment to specific, familiar elements of the society: *viz.*, his family; school environment; and, less directly, his peer group. The adjective "incipient" is added to emphasize that the condition is in a developmental stage, because the adolescent's contact with the society is mediated by the proximate social systems mentioned above. Thus, a youth characterized as "high" in alienation is assumed to find his family, school, and (to a lesser extent) peer relations unrewarding as these relate to his chances and future plans for achievement. As a final note, it is worth repeating that the condition has reference to interpersonal relations, and any connotations of personality disorganization are specifically disclaimed.

A. THE SEWELL-HALLER DATA

To develop the empirical basis of the concept of incipient alienation, it is necessary to examine the procedure by which Sewell and Haller's factors (which they call "tension states") were derived. These tension states were based upon an interpretation of four oblique factors resulting from a factor analysis of 30 items taken from the *California Test of Personality—Elementary Form 4A* (2). Thus, the tension states which they posit as effects of a sociocultural strain are hypothetical constructs, composed of a number of personality-test items which statistically constitute separate but correlated dimensions. These are substantively interpreted as separate effects. The four factors were called *concern over social status*, *concern over achievement*, *re-*

for the upper-status youth than for the lower-status youth, because the former is more likely to be expected to be a high achiever. Furthermore, the low-status youth of high ability probably encounters a difficulty relative to higher status competitors, because the latter are more likely to have undergone socialization of a type emphasizing the acquisition of the attitudes and behaviors customarily associated with success.

C. SUMMARY

This section has discussed a set of social and personal variables thought to be involved in high achievement. This list is probably not exhaustive, but it covers the variables which have appeared most frequently in the research literature. (Hereafter, this set of variables will be referred to as the "antecedent" variables.) Given the competitive nature of open-class societies, the necessity of each of these fully to equip an actor for high achievement is suggested by the tendency of the antecedent variables to occur in a cluster. Hence, lack of one or more of these can be said to constitute a relative scarcity of resources—a condition that is thought to lead to anomia or alienation among adults, and in this paper is hypothesized as being associated with incipient alienation among adolescents.

V. HYPOTHESIS

The central hypothesis of the research is an application of the Sewell-Haller findings on grade-school children to the alienation literature in the general framework of Merton's social structure and anomie writings. It assumes that the success goal is known by nearly all parents and teachers, and that it is preferred for all adolescent boys. Under these conditions, it is hypothesized that *a relative scarcity of success-producing resources increases the probability of incipient alienation among adolescents*. The subsidiary hypotheses are specifications of the resource variables and their implications for incipient alienation. Specifically, it is hypothesized that (a) low values on life goals, social status, and parental expectations increase the probability of incipient alienation, and (b) only under conditions of high life goals does the lack of personal resources (independence and/or ability) increase the probability of incipient alienation.

Sociologists have typically considered education as one of the chief mechanisms for social mobility; hence the present treatment of college plans as a resource requires no extended justification. However, a central contention of this paper is that high educational aspirations are only one of several kinds of resources which are needed to compete in American society. If high life goals are preferred for all (and we assume they are), then exposure to achievement-oriented learning and opportunity structures is also required as a compliment. These "situational-resource" structures are represented in the research design by social status and parental stress on achievement. It is important to note that *the necessity of these resources stems from societal conditions* which operate without regard for individual desires. Hence, the lack of these systemically defined resources is said to increase the probability of incipient alienation. However, the hypothesis about personal resources involves a different point of reference, and focuses on the effect of lack of personal resources where *the necessity stems from individual choice* (for more education). Thus, life goals are treated differently in the two sets of hypotheses. In the hypothesis pertaining to alienation resulting from a scarcity of systemically defined resources, life goals are said to be one of the differentiating variables, but in the hypotheses concerning personal resources, high life goals become a condition under which lack of personal resources leads to incipient alienation. In the one case alienation stems from societal conditions; in the other it results from personal conditions.

VI. THE SITE AND THE SAMPLE

The subjects for the present study are 368 17-year-old high-school boys living in Lenawee County, Michigan, who were in school during the testing period in the spring of 1957. Lenawee County is a rurban area, with a medium-sized city, Adrian, as the geographic, economic and administrative center of the county. It has an approximately equally divided farm, rural nonfarm, and urban population, and its proximity to the Detroit-Toledo industrial complex, coupled with a small college in Adrian and the educational centers in and near Detroit and Toledo, affords its youth considerable access to knowledge with respect to urban occupational structures and advanced education. Ideally, all of the age group residing in the county would have been tested; however, about 12 per cent were omitted because they were no longer in school. Follow-up studies showed that about five of six dropouts were sons of farmers. A possible consequence of this omission is that a group most likely to manifest a high degree of incipient alienation may have been omitted from the study.

The original sample included 442 boys. Of these, 43 were excluded because of missing data, nine because of perceived disagreement between their parents over the son's life goals, and 22 were dropped because they were located in subsamples with small frequencies (see section on Measurement). Thus, the results of the analysis as descriptive of boys in Lenawee County are prejudiced not only by the omission of the dropouts, but further by the exclusion of about one-sixth of the original sample. The final sample size is 368.

VII. MEASUREMENT

A. LIFE GOALS

The operational definition of this concept is the educational plan of the youth with respect to college. Those youths planning to enroll in a program leading to a regular four-year college or university degree were classified as having "high" life goals; all others were considered to have "low" life goals. This measure should be construed as an "indicator" of the level of goals chosen by the respondent in the sense that high goals reflect a commitment to the dominant values of the society to the extent that the youth plans to qualify himself for the competition for the rewards of the society through institutionalized channels. If he chooses not to go to college, it is assumed that he commits himself to an unspecified but delimited range of jobs for which college training is not a requisite and, in so doing, largely shuts off the opportunity for the prestige allocated as a reward for high achievement.

B. SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

Kahl and Davis have analyzed 19 status indices, and suggest that two factors contribute most heavily to indices commonly in use; these are (a) education and occupation, and (b) a factor which reflects consumption behavior: e.g., home quality and residential area (10). The measure used here, a modified version of the *Sewell Socio-Economic Status Scale* (18), consists largely of consumption goods possessed by the subject's parents: for example, home and communication facilities, as well as their educational backgrounds. Ratings on the Sewell Scale were dichotomized at the mean of the distribution, with the consequence that status takes one of two values: high or low. In this instance, as in dichotomizing other variables, more refined breakdowns were examined to assure that the relationship with alienation was not U-shaped.

C. PARENTAL STRESS ON LIFE GOALS

The operational definition of this variable is perceived parental desire for their son's future education. The subjects were asked to rate both their father and mother as having "1) strongly encouraged me to continue education beyond high school, 2) given me some encouragement to continue education beyond high school, 3) never said much about it, 4) felt I would be better off going to work, or 5) felt I should quit high school and go to work." Unless both parents were perceived as either "strongly encouraging" or "encouraging" college, they were classified as having placed low stress on post

high-school education, hence having low life goals for their sons. The only exception to this rule was where one parent was perceived as having "never said much about it"; here, that parent was given the same classification as the parent who had a definite wish one way or the other. (There were no cases where both parents were perceived as "having never said much about it.")

D. INDEPENDENCE

The considerable evidence pertaining to class differences in independent behavior has focused almost entirely on what parents have done, rather than on the behavior of their children. Douvan and Adelson, one exception to this tendency, found that subjects with high autonomy were more likely to interject their own opinions when asked whether they would follow family or peer advice, and were more likely to prefer an adult club leader who remained in the background in club affairs (6, p. 39). The present analysis visualizes independence not in a behavioral context, but rather as a basic, nonspecific tendency towards self-dependency rather than dependency on others. Because a direct measure of this variable was not available in the data on which this study was made, a constructed measure was used—one composed of high and low scores on three factors of the *Sixteen Personality Factor Test* of Raymond Cattell (3). The three factors are Factor E (Dominance *vs.* Submission), Factor G (Superego Strength), and Factor Q₂ (Independent Self-Sufficiency). The items were selected from the total inventory of factors on the basis of item loadings, using the general criterion of measuring the ability to make decisions independent of passing interpersonal influences. The distribution of each factor was dichotomized into categories with equal frequencies; then the score of each subject was formed by adding the dichotomies of the individual factors. Thus, a subject rated "high" on independence has "high" scores on at least two of the three factors, and *vice versa*. It should be stressed that this is an *ad hoc* measure, the validity of which rests only on the above considerations.

E. ABILITY

The measure of ability used here is the grade-point average of the subjects for the school year 1956-1957. As such, it measures ability from the standpoint of performance, in the area where performance is most valued by society. It is important to note that a "low" ability score is actually a "below-C" average in school; thus, a number of students are classified as having high ability here who might be called mediocre with a more-refined measure. In

this, as with the other antecedents, dichotomies were used to keep subsamples as large as possible.

F. INCIPIENT ALIENATION

The operational definition of this variable is an index composed of 14 items. Except for two which were administered as a part of another questionnaire, these items were taken from the *California Test of Personality—Secondary Form AA* (2). This test is a paper-and-pencil device consisting of 180 questions requiring a "yes" or "no" answer; the scope covers a broad range of behaviors. The test is split into two main sections—personal adjustment and social adjustment—and is designed primarily for guidance and counselling activities. Essentially it provides a measure of the extent to which an actor's orientation to selected aspects of his environment is compatible with the social definition of these orientations. The items comprising the Index of Incipient Alienation were selected in a manner following the procedure used by Sewell and Haller, insofar as was feasible. We shall refer to the latter research as the Wisconsin study, and to the present research as the Lenawee study.

The steps by which the items were selected are as follows:

1. Four groups of items (ranging in size from seven to nine items each) from the California Test were selected to measure the four item areas (or factors) of Sewell and Haller. Each group was selected from the total inven-

TABLE 1
INTERCORRELATIONS OF LENAWEE COUNTY "PERSONALITY ADJUSTMENT" ITEMS USED
IN INDEX OF ALIENATION
(Based on $N = 390$)

Item ^a	22	25	26	52	23	59	140	141	144	146	147	148	A	B
22	—	.331	.088	.199	.200	.234	.232	.156	.321	.165	.167	.151	.136	.050
25	.331	—	.191	.265	.306	.139	.214	.188	.262	.086	.095	.173	.144	.121
26	.088	.191	—	.137	.145	.091	.207	.295	.156	.087	.148	.146	.173	.136
52	.199	.265	.137	—	.362	.101	.253	.270	.379	.143	.290	.285	.086	.139
23	.200	.306	.145	.362	—	.099	.300	.282	.328	.254	.248	.245	.180	.234
59	.234	.139	.091	.101	.099	—	.140	.146	.028	.036	.068	.028	.078	.025
140	.232	.214	.207	.253	.300	.140	—	.285	.333	.188	.406	.225	.208	.186
141	.156	.188	.295	.270	.282	.146	.285	—	.301	.309	.274	.308	.169	.186
144	.321	.262	.156	.379	.328	.028	.333	.301	—	.212	.279	.286	.165	.071
146	.165	.086	.087	.143	.254	.036	.188	.309	.212	—	.185	.194	.163	.192
147	.167	.095	.148	.290	.248	.068	.406	.274	.279	.185	—	.217	.155	.223
148	.151	.173	.146	.285	.245	.028	.225	.308	.286	.194	.217	—	.109	.103
A	.136	.144	.173	.086	.180	.078	.208	.169	.165	.163	.155	.109	—	.408
B	.050	.121	.136	.139	.234	.025	.186	.186	.071	.192	.223	.103	.408	—

^a Column and row numbers indicate item number on *California Test of Personality—Secondary Form AA*, except for items A and B, which were administered as part of a questionnaire.

TABLE 2
INDEX OF INCIPIENT ALIENATION AND ITEM CORRELATIONS WITH SOCIAL STATUS

Item number ^a	Item	Correlation with social status
140	Are things difficult for you because your folks are usually short of money?	— .244
141	Are you troubled because your folks differ from you regarding the things you like?	— .233
A	Do you often wish your father (mother or guardian) had a better job in the community?	— .210
148	Do some of those at home seem to feel that they are better than you?	— .183
23	Do people seem to think well of your family's social standing?	— .180
144	Do your folks appear to doubt whether you will be successful?	— .180
B	Do you often wish your father was a more important man in the community?	— .172
147	Do you avoid inviting others to your home because it is not as nice as theirs?	— .168
22	Do your folks seem to think that you are going to amount to something?	— .125
25	Are you considered a failure in many of the things you do?	— .108
59	Do your friends and acquaintances seem to have a better time at home than you do?	— .099
146	Do you usually like to be somewhere else than at home?	— .096
26	Are you often discouraged because people fail to recognize your worth?	— .096
52	Have you often wished you had different parents than you have?	— .091

^a Item numbers of *California Test of Personality—Secondary Form AA*. Lettered items are from a questionnaire form.

tory on the basis of similarity in substantive content to the loadings of items in the Wisconsin study. All of the items thus selected (33 in all) were then correlated with social status, using the Pearsonian Product-Moment technique; the items were also intercorrelated with each other. The result was a correlation matrix of 33 test items and one status measure.

2. Using the .05 level of significance as an arbitrary cutting point, it was found that (a) eight of the nine items measuring *status concern* were significantly related to status, as (b) were six of the seven items measuring *concern over achievement*. Also, (c) four of the nine items pertaining to *rejection of family* were significantly related to status, and (d) only one of the eight nervous-symptoms items exceeded the cutting point.

3. An "elementary linkage analysis" of the Wisconsin matrix and of the

Lenawee matrix showed the items measuring nervous symptoms clustering together in both cases, while the items pertaining to the other three areas were found to be mixed together (see the Appendix).

Since social status, ability, and family relations are all relevant to the adolescent's chances for achievement (in the ways discussed earlier), and since a linkage analysis of both the Wisconsin and Lenawee matrices yielded clusters in which the three areas were intermixed, theoretical as well as empirical justification existed for treating the three item areas as one area. Consequently, the 14 test items most highly associated with social status were selected to compose the Index of Incipient Alienation (these items are shown in Table 1 and their wording is shown in Table 2). Inspection of the matrix formed by these items shows that each makes a unique contribution to the index formed by the 14 items, yet also possesses a common element with the others. Given this picture of a low-but-positive intercorrelation among the index items, there seem to be sufficient grounds for positing internal homogeneity within the index.

VIII. ANALYSIS

A. TYPES AND SUBTYPES

The first step in the analysis involved dividing the sample into eight sub-samples of types, each type defined by combinations of high and low values of the subject's college plans (an indicator of his life goals), the parents' stress on his life goals, and the family's socioeconomic status; henceforth, these types will be called the "situational" types. Then, each of the eight situational types was further divided into four subtypes defined by high and low values of the personal resources: independence and ability. These are called "personal-resources subtypes." Table 3 presents the results of this classification. The values in the cells represent the number of persons.

TABLE 3
SUMMARY OF SITUATIONAL TYPES AND PERSONAL-RESOURCES SUBTYPES*

Identifi- cation	Situational types Socio- economic status	Parent's stress on college	Subject's stress on college	Total	Ability	Independence Low	High
I	Low	Low	Low	49	Low High	25 8	12 4
II	Low	High	Low	71	Low High	29 14	18 10
III	Low	High	High	61	Low High	9 20	6 26
IV	High	High	Low	48	Low High	23 4	15 6
V	High	High	High	139	Low High	19 38	21 61
VI	Low	Low	High	10	Low High	3 2	2 3
VII	High	Low	High	4	Low High	1 1	0 2
VIII	High	Low	Low	8	Low High	1 4	2 1

* Types VI, VII and VIII have too few cases for analysis. Total useable cases = 368. Total cases in table = 390.

Inspection of Table 3 reveals several tendencies that bear on the research literature and theory discussed earlier:

1. Most youths perceive their parents as desiring college education for them. Only 71 (18 per cent) of the 390 boys for whom data are available are exceptions to this rule. (It follows that formulations such as that of Sewell and Haller, which assume the student is caught between middle-class teachers who stress higher education and lower-class parents who do not, should be

IX. FINDINGS

Table 4 presents the tests of the hypothesis that differences in situational resources and life goals lead to differences in incipient alienation. It was predicted that the following relations would be found between the types on the Index of Incipient Alienation: $I > II > III = IV > V$. In Table 4 each comparison is presented, and inspection of the table shows that in general the predicted relations do in fact exist in this sample. All of the predicted differences between type means exceed the limits of chance variation and, where no difference was predicted, none was found. Substantively this means that each of the situational resources, as well as life goals, makes a separate contribution to incipient alienation. Differences in parental expectations (and the assumed concomitant—achievement training) lead to differences between types I and II; different goal choices are accompanied by significant differences between II and III, as well as between II and IV, and to a lesser extent between III and V. In the latter case, it may well be that the effects of similar goals and achievement training at least partially overcome any alienation differences produced by lower social status, at least at the high-school level. This, of course, does not gainsay the possibility that status differences manifest themselves at a later time in much the same way.

Whereas the above hypotheses discussed between-type variation, the next set of hypotheses focuses on variation within the individual subtypes. The data pertinent to these hypotheses are shown in Table 5. Two kinds of subtype hypotheses were formulated, the first of which specifies the effects of differential availability of personal resources among those youths who want more education and to whom such resources are critical. The tests of this hypothesis are presented in Table 6. The other subtype hypothesis predicted no effects of differential availability of resources (at least as measured by incipient alienation) among those youths who had less need of independence and ability by virtue of their plans for no further education. These tests are presented in Table 7.

The major conclusion to be drawn from Table 6 is that if personal resources are necessary, the lack of one or more of them leads to differences in incipient alienation. This, of course, is in line with the general hypothesis of the paper. Of the four predictions of directional differences, two exceed the limits of chance variation (III_1 vs. III_2 and V_3 vs. V_4), and the other two predictions are borne out directionally but are not large enough to exceed the limits of chance variation (perhaps because of the small subsample sizes). Further, the lack of differences where they were not expected

TABLE 5
MEANS AND VARIANCES* OF THE FIVE TYPES ON INDEX OF INCIPIENT ALIENATION UNDER
FOUR CONDITIONS OF PERSONAL RESOURCES

Situational type	Conditions of personal resources**			
	1 Hi GPA Hi Ind	2 Hi GPA Lo Ind	3 Lo GPA Hi Ind	4 Lo GPA Lo Ind
I (lowest in situational resources)	5.250 (6.250) <i>4</i>	4.500 (7.143) <i>8</i>	6.334 (10.606) <i>12</i>	6.040 (7.363) <i>25</i>
II	4.100 (8.456) <i>10</i>	4.144 (7.363) <i>14</i>	5.778 (5.742) <i>18</i>	4.825 (5.584) <i>29</i>
III	2.847 (8.846) <i>26</i>	3.300 (8.537) <i>20</i>	5.000 (7.600) <i>6</i>	5.556 (8.538) <i>9</i>
IV	3.000 (0.800) <i>6</i>	2.250 (0.917) <i>4</i>	4.400 (21.209) <i>15</i>	4.610 (6.567) <i>23</i>
V (highest in situational resources)	3.246 (2.955) <i>61</i>	3.447 (3.659) <i>38</i>	3.400 (5.002) <i>21</i>	4.474 (5.596) <i>19</i>
Total sample				
Mean	3.688	3.529	4.982	5.100
Variance	(5.455)	(5.649)	(9.714)	(6.440)
<i>N</i>	<i>107</i>	<i>84</i>	<i>72</i>	<i>105</i>

* Means are in regular type, variances in parentheses, and sample sizes in italics.

** "GPA" means grade point average in school (index of ability as shown in performance) and "Ind" means independence (as operationally defined above).

furnishes additional support to the general theme of the paper. In terms of the substantive hypotheses, these results suggest that among lower-status high aspirers (type III) the greatest differences are found between subjects with high resources (both independence and ability) and their cohorts who lack either independence or ability, or both. Similarly, among upper-status youths who desire college training, the greatest differences lie between boys who lack both independence and ability and those who possess either or both resources. Thus, the hypotheses were at least sensitive enough to isolate the typical and extreme cases in types III and V. That is, the known relationships between the antecedents suggest that upper-status boys are more likely to have both high independence and ability, and the significant differences in type V concern the low-ability, low-independence youth. Also, the lower-status youth is less likely to have high independence and high ability, and the significant differences in type III describe the high-independence, high-ability youth.

TABLE 6
TESTS OF HYPOTHESIS CONCERNING SUBTYPE MEANS WHERE
DIFFERENCES WERE EXPECTED

Type	Hypothesis	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i> <	Decision
III	$III_1 < III_2$	1.794	46	.05	Accept
	$III_2 = III_3$	1.308	6**	ns	Accept
	$III_3 < III_4$	0.381	15	ns	Reject*
	$III_2 < III_4$	1.407	11	ns	Reject
	$III_1 < III_3$	2.488	8**	.05	Accept
	$III_1 < III_4$	1.903	12	.05	Accept
V	$V_1 < V_2$	0.527	99	ns	Reject*
	$V_2 = V_3$	0.081	59	ns	Accept
	$V_3 < V_4$	4.647	40	.05	Accept
	$V_2 < V_4$	1.617	47	.10	Accept
	$V_1 < V_4$	6.331	80	.05	Accept

* Rejecting the null hypothesis here necessitated testing subsidiary hypotheses (indicated by brackets) to ascertain the extent of the equality.

** Indicates that the degrees of freedom were calculated according to a method suggested by Helen Walker and Joseph Lev (22, p. 157) for use where samples are small and unequal in size, with variances unknown but presumed unequal.

TABLE 7
TESTS OF HYPOTHESES CONCERNING SUBTYPE MEANS WHERE DIFFERENCES
WERE NOT EXPECTED

Type	Hypothesis	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i> <	Decision
I	$I_1 = I_2$	0.479	12	ns	Accept
	$I_2 = I_3$	1.374	20	ns	Accept
	$I_3 = I_4$	0.232	37	ns	Accept
II	$II_1 = II_2$	0.026	24	ns	Accept
	$II_2 = II_3$	1.459	32	ns	Accept
	$II_3 = II_4$	3.704	47	.05	Reject*
	$II_1 = II_3$	1.342	28	ns	Accept
	$II_2 = II_4$	2.211	43	.05	Reject
	$II_1 = II_4$	0.700	39	ns	Accept
IV	$IV_1 = IV_2$	3.939	4**	.05	Reject*
	$IV_2 = IV_3$	1.433	5**	ns	Accept
	$IV_3 = IV_4$	0.729	38	ns	Accept
	$IV_1 = IV_3$	5.431	9**	.01	Reject#
	$IV_1 = IV_4$	2.488	10**	.05	Reject#
	$IV_2 = IV_4$	1.444	27	ns	Accept

* Rejecting the null hypothesis here necessitated testing subsidiary hypotheses (indicated by brackets) to ascertain the extent of the equality.

** Indicates that the degrees of freedom were calculated according to a method suggested by Walker and Lev (22, p. 157).

Indicates that the variances involved were substantially unequal. In such cases, the level at which the null hypothesis is rejected becomes unknown (4, p. 38).

Inspection of the results of the tests of hypotheses presented in Table 7 suggests that, generally, lack of personal resources does not lead to higher alienation in those youths who do not plan college, hence have less need of these particular resources. In types I and II, the majority of the predictions of no difference were found to be accurate. The means in type I were evidently all equal, and in type II the only apparent differences were between youths with high and low independence (with low ability controlled) on the one hand, and between youths with high and low ability (with low independence controlled) on the other. In the first case it is possible that parents having high expectations for their sons were more successful in developing autonomy in them and, when this trait is coupled with disagreement about life goals, a higher incipient-alienation score results. However, the efficacy of this explanation becomes less compelling in view of the differences between II₂ and II₄, where ability, not independence, leads to differences in incipient alienation. The occurrence of sporadic inequalities within type II furnishes additional support for the view expressed earlier that the hypotheses, while generally correct, appeared to be somewhat insensitive to particular interaction effects. The absence of refined prediction is most evident in the consideration of the relations within type IV, where the hypothesis does not begin to explain the differences observed. There, both independence and ability lead to apparent differences between subtype means, although the radical differences in the variances make reliable comparisons of ability differentials almost impossible (4, p. 38). Type IV represents an unexpected pattern, since one would not expect that about one-seventh of the sample could be defined as institutionally deviant in the sense that middle- and upper-status youth are generally expected to attend college.

X. SUMMARY

In general, it may be concluded that lack of one or more of the necessary resources does contribute to higher incipient alienation where youths aspire to continue their education beyond high school. Differences in incipient alienation scores were found between youths of high and low social status, and between those whose parents apparently had desires for more education for their sons and those whose parents were perceived by them as not encouraging college training. Furthermore, after controlling for the situational variables, differences were found between adolescent boys planning and not planning more schooling. Where youths planned to continue their education, presence or lack of independence and ability also differentiated boys on the Index of Incipient Alienation. The preceding analysis has also clarified several relationships, the substance of which bears repeating. The distribution of cases in Table 3 (*a*) confirms the findings of Douvan and Adelson and others (6, 16) that there is indeed a syndrome of "achievement" variables, and that high values on one tend to be accompanied by high values on the others; (*b*) suggests that parental expectations are a necessary but not sufficient condition for a son's college aspirations; (*c*) gives considerable evidence that ability (school performance) must also be present if a youth may realistically be expected to plan to continue his education beyond high school; and (*d*) shows that, for this particular sample, the number of sons who report that their parents desire a college education for them greatly exceeds the number who themselves desire college training.

XI. SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The social scientist is committed to the proposition that behavior is strongly influenced by the person-social-cultural environment of the individuals being observed. A promising lead for future research would be an investigation which first established social differences along the lines developed here, and then asked whether personality and/or cultural differences also existed. For example, are youths who score high on the incipient-alienation index also characterized by personality disorganization or commitment to a set of values which seem unlikely to implement whatever mode of achievement they select? In the present study there is the assumption that high educational aspirations reflect commitment to high achievement; yet evidence exists that high educational aspirations reflect not motivational, but rather value components of what is called "the achievement-syndrome" (16). Thus, future research might seek to substantiate the relationship of high educational aspirations with value commitments and, at the same time, seek to complete the analysis of the matrix of social relations surrounding persons previously differentiated along situational lines. For example, if high-alienation youths do not receive support from their families or from high achievers in school (and the results here suggest that they do not), do they receive support from each other? It would be desirable to establish empirically what can only be inferred here: *viz.*, that youths in similar situations choose one another as friends and thus reinforce one another's aspirations (or commiserate with a peer's failures, as the case might be). Investigations such as the ones suggested here strongly argue for a relatively complete inventory of the environment of a given sample of subjects, with a sample size large enough to permit of extensive cross-classification.

From a longitudinal viewpoint, the most obvious direction for future research lies in follow-up studies on samples such as that studied here. Though the conceptual rationale for incipient alienation seems tenable, a much more convincing argument could be made if later studies, using indices such as those developed by Srole (21), Nettler (14), and Dean (5), were to establish that situational differences in adolescence were associated with anomia or alienation in adulthood. At the present time one can establish that adults who differ in social status, social participation, and class identification also differ in alienation—or anomia (12), and then infer what took place in adolescence; or one can measure certain variables in adolescence and predict what will happen. Either can be done, but only follow-up studies will substitute data for inference. In this respect, the major contributions of the present

study lie in its suggestion that there are conditions in adolescence which stem from the same set of conditions previously found to produce alienation (anomia) in adult life, and in its demonstration that these same factors underlie part of the social-class variation in "personality adjustment" shown in previous socialization research on young children (19). Evidently the development of adult alienation may have a very long history indeed.

APPENDIX

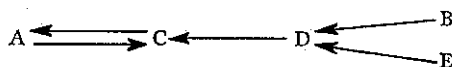
ELEMENTARY LINKAGE ANALYSIS OF WISCONSIN AND LENAAWEE COUNTY DATA

An elementary linkage analysis, as developed by McQuitty (11, p. 209), yields "typical structures," a cluster of items in which "each member of the type is more like some other members of that type (with respect to the data being analyzed) than he is like any member of any other type." For example, if a matrix of intercorrelations is being examined, every person in a type would have a higher correlation with some other person in the type than with anyone not in the type.

To illustrate the development of a typical structure, assume the following matrix of correlation coefficients to be analyzed:

	A	B	C	D	E
A	—	647	<u>862</u>	629	118
B	647	—	299	721	292
C	<u>862</u>	299	—	<u>727</u>	643
D	629	<u>721</u>	727	—	<u>657</u>
E	118	292	643	657	—

The first step is to pick out the highest entry in each column; in the illustration these are underlined. Second, find the highest entry in the matrix and identify the two elements involved; above, these are A and C. Following McQuitty's notation, these are indicated by reciprocal arrows ($A \rightleftharpoons C$). Third, entering row C, find those elements which are "high" with C; i.e., find all other underlined entries in row C. In this case D is "high" with C; this is indicated as follows ($C \leftarrow D$), indicating that D is high with C, but not *vice versa*. Next repeat the procedure for A (the other member of the highest pair). Here, no element is high with A, except C which is already noted. Then entering row D, the task is to find the elements which are "high" with D, in this illustration, B and E. The relation is indicated by a single arrow from B to D and from E to D (as previously done with D and C). The procedure is repeated until every element in the matrix is a member of one type or another. The results of the analysis of the matrix shown above may be represented as follows:



where \longleftrightarrow means a reciprocal pair of variables, and

\longrightarrow means that the variable at the tail of the arrow is

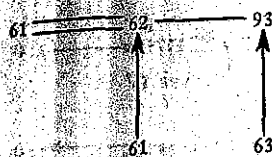
highest with the one at the head, but not vice versa.

When a linkage analysis is performed on the Wisconsin matrix of Sewell and Haller (Table A), the following typical structures result (the item numbers refer to the row and column headings in Table A):

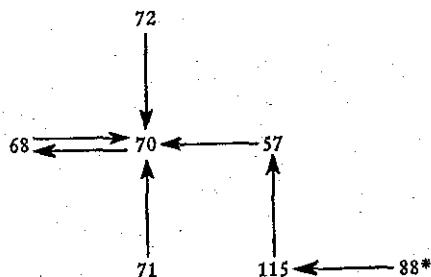
TABLE A
"WISCONSIN" MATRIX: INTERCORRELATIONS OF THE STATUS-RELATED
PERSONALITY-TEST ITEMS*

Item no.	14	16	21	25	30	39	45	46	47	48	57	61	62	63
14														
16	140													
21	233	093												
25	113	072	117											
30	141	192	106	052										
39	247	167	229	068	164									
45	166	140	140	104	177	254								
46	037	049	127	058	077	075	051							
47	127	193	120	057	167	170	181	182						
48	197	214	156	100	242	212	195	190	216					
57	225	191	098	060	166	221	229	078	154	249				
61	082	109	032	066	118	097	047	105	063	187	202			
62	142	063	046	031	108	097	128	068	053	165	259	342		
63	092	072	050	036	097	054	093	028	053	097	127	127	131	
66	140	085	051	026	072	094	077	062	078	128	179	210	258	112
68	094	165	062	016	068	148	096	062	069	201	206	255	254	121
70	139	127	070	065	120	128	112	059	116	183	267	284	325	129
71	082	116	059	035	053	152	046	114	141	150	199	177	270	093
72	084	126	093	066	050	119	092	094	115	146	125	162	156	105
88	105	084	114	074	055	118	114	112	092	154	113	085	076	053
93	176	114	123	101	107	146	079	089	082	183	211	199	231	139
104	177	159	112	052	106	175	179	077	100	213	235	114	161	128
109	163	303	125	082	254	147	107	135	181	319	226	115	113	046
111	156	191	149	088	135	162	137	149	144	272	182	134	128	050
114	093	083	145	102	033	120	064	133	138	124	096	062	037	020
115	162	119	123	069	135	146	150	075	127	214	257	216	197	127
117	085	113	122	099	108	166	119	098	318	181	100	090	072	070
120	131	123	208	156	145	177	118	152	130	273	153	153	141	047
124	253	164	227	094	097	206	172	113	131	252	186	180	215	111
144	100	095	111	027	088	199	111	095	135	156	095	062	069	040

* For item descriptions, see Sewell and Haller (19, p. 515).



TYPE I
(All Factor 4 items)



TYPE II
*(All Factor 4 items except 88, which was
not included in any factor)

TABLE A (continued)

66	68	70	71	72	88	93	104	109	111	114	115	117	120	124	144
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257

257 337

171 214 294

171 184 252 244

060 126 134 063 096

166 196 190 172 107 112

114 155 144 122 074 169 186

055 134 136 090 101 125 136 188

136 175 172 179 138 132 127 244 271

009 110 052 081 104 138 061 085 115 170

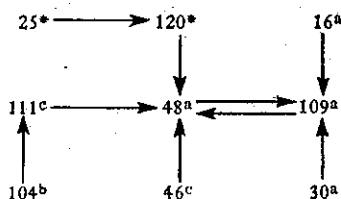
152 221 208 176 164 181 214 231 227 233 115

059 114 089 082 088 091 075 117 241 170 217 110

096 150 144 133 083 105 128 171 160 260 102 211 152

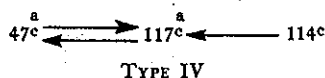
140 216 189 129 146 160 161 193 172 203 083 226 113 224

078 095 075 102 101 105 113 095 050 152 117 110 127 084 134

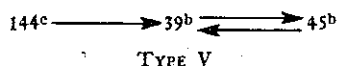


TYPE III

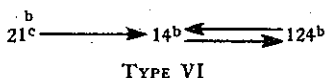
where a = Factor 1 item
 b = Factor 2 item
 c = Factor 3 item
 * = nonfactor item



TYPE IV



TYPE V



TYPE VI

When the four factors of Sewell and Haller are analyzed in terms of typal structures, the conclusion follows that with the exception of Factor 4—*Nervous Symptoms*—the remainder of the factors are found to be intermixed through the typal structures. This was the conclusion which furnished a substantial basis for reinterpreting their results.

Status Concern Item No.	Type	Achievement Concern Item No.	Type	Rejection of Family Item No.	Type
109	III	14	VI	117	IV
16	III	21	VI	114	IV
30	III	39	V	47	IV
47	IV	124	VI	46	III
48	III	45	V	144	V
117	IV	104	III	111	III
				21	VI
				72	II

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