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# An Alienation Measurement and Observed Behavior: A Study of Forty-Two Male Seniors in a Technical High School

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*Portland State University*

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AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF Jack L. Terzenbach for the degree of Master of Social Work presented May 18, 1972.

Title: An Alienation Measurement and Observed Behavior: A Study of Forty-two Male Seniors in a Technical High School.

APPROVED BY MEMBERS OF THE THESIS COMMITTEE:

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Guido Pinamonti, Chairman

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Lewis H. Curtis

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Paul H. Benninghoff

The study examined the relationships between subjects' degree of alienation and descriptions of their behaviors. The subjects were 42 male, senior students at Benson Polytechnic High School who attended one of two required social science classes. Benson High School is an all male, technical high school which admits students from all parts of the City of Portland, Oregon. Alienation was defined as a syndrome of feelings consisting of apathy, distrust, pessimism, cynicism, and emotional distance. The degree of subjects' alienation, as defined, was measured by the Multiple Alienation Measure devised by Dr. Laurence J. Gould. Subjects' were thereby divided into three alienation groups; high alienation, moderate alienation, and low alienation. School personnel described subjects' behaviors by selection of descriptions from a questionnaire. Two counselors described subjects' engagement in

extra-curricular activities in terms of (1) whether they were inactive, (2) active in sports or other extra-curricular activities only, or (3) active in both sports and other extra-curricular activities. Two teachers described subjects' involvement in their social science classes in terms of (1) whether they did well in assigned work and did extra work, (2) did well in assigned work only, (3) or did not do well in assigned work. The vice-principal described the conduct of subjects in terms of whether they were (1) well behaved, (2) had problems that were handled in the classroom, (3) had problems for which they were sent to the office and, perhaps, suspended once, or (4) had problems for which they had been suspended more than once.

A positive relationship was found between the degree of alienation and the degree of conduct problems as described by the vice-principal. This relationship was significant at the .05 level by a chi-square test. No relationships were found between the degree of alienation and extra-curricular activities and behavior in social science classes. However, the alienated were described by teachers as either unmotivated or very motivated students. A tendency for the alienated to be described by the extreme statements concerning activities also appeared.

The findings of the study were interpreted by a theory developed in the introduction and in the concluding chapter of the thesis. The theory presented the alienation process as an interaction of the individual and his social world in which difficulties in the formation of identity result in a tension expressed by the feelings measured as alienation by the Multiple Alienation Measure. The tension gives rise to intense and, often extreme attempts to explore the social world in

order to establish identity, or to a lapse into apathy. The greater conduct problems of the highly alienated was seen as a result of the intense activity of the search for identity. The highly alienated subjects' tendency to be either very good or poor students was seen as an intense, and therefore, extreme drive to resolve alienation tension by embracing the student role or by rejecting it.

AN ALIENATION MEASUREMENT AND OBSERVED BEHAVIOR:

A STUDY OF FORTY-TWO MALE SENIORS

IN A TECHNICAL HIGH SCHOOL

by

JACK LEO TERZENBACH

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

Portland State University  
1972

TO THE OFFICE OF GRADUATE STUDIES:

The members of the Committee approve the thesis of  
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May 18, 1972

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Recognition of the existence of processes of alienation has been a part of man's efforts to explain and understand himself and his affairs since the beginning of written history. The story of Adam and Eve (Genesis Ch. 3) is an account of alienation. Adam and Eve, because they had sinned, were separated from their world. Since they felt shame for their sin, they were also separated within themselves. They could no longer accept themselves as harmonious, whole beings at one with paradise and God. They had acquired knowledge, and they were condemned to live by their own efforts, that is, by their autonomy, in another world that was relatively barren and insensitive to their needs. Applied to the fall of Adam and Eve, then, the word "alienation" would mean a state in which one is cut off from his world and separated within himself through shame. This writer believes that a sense of the possibility of alienation has been part of Christianity for many centuries. The medieval Catholic Church, because it was able to draw men together in corporate living, or to alienate them from the corporate, religious community, had great power in its use of excommunication.

A sense of alienation has also been part of the struggle of philosophers to understand man and his affairs. For example, Hegel, pessimistically, viewed alienation as an inevitable outcome of socialization. He felt that socialization must detach men from their own

natures and the world of nature (1, p.29). On the other hand, Soren Kierkegaard (2, p.142), although he was influenced by Hegel, invisioned a state of existence in which a man could be intimately connected with his world, yet live subjectively, through his passions, and at one with his own nature. However, Kierkegaard (3, pp.146-154) recognized and emphasized the individual's experience of alienation as an inner despair. He wrote of what he called the "despair at not willings to be one-self" which he called a "sickness unto death." In this sickness, there are no hopes for life or death. Kierkegaard's views suggest that the individual can lose hope in the possibility that, through expressing what he is, he can live a life that is congruent with his world.

This writer feels that Hegel and Kierkegaard are important in any consideration of alienation because they have drawn the sense of alienation out of the realm of mysticism by demonstrating that alienation is a function of the relationship between the individual and his environment. Alienation, considered as a function of the relationship between the individual and his environment, can be conceptualized as some state of the individual, some state of the environment, or as the entire process of action and reaction between the two.

The modern sciences have often relied on the intuitions of religion and philosophy in the projection of theory and have often confirmed the intuitions of the past. The task of science is to produce theories concerning such concepts as alienation and to define parts of the concept in such a way that those parts can be empirically measured. Measurement, in turn can confirm or cast doubts upon the theory. Judging from the literature reviewed for this study, it seemed to this

writer that the authors of definitions of alienation have not reached a state of agreement that can enable them to communicate clearly with one another in the secure knowledge that they are using the term alienation in the same sense. Keniston (4, p.389) attributed this lack of agreement to the fact that the term alienation, ambiguous to begin with, has become a fashionable concept and, therefore, has been emptied of specific meaning. Keniston felt it necessary to remind his readers that he was using the term according to his own peculiar meaning. He seemed to accept most definitions of alienation as legitimate within the context of their use. Apparently, he accepted the term alienation as referring to the whole process of alienation taking place in the relationship between the individual and his environment.

Perhaps the dual focus of alienation as a concept of a process taking place between the individual and his environment, with the many aspects implied, has been partially the cause of the great profusion of definitions. Alienation as a process implies an agent that tends to cause feelings within the individual to be felt toward something or someone else. This multiple-faceted process can allow many interpretations when used to develop social-psychological theories of human behavior. Definitions have varied according to whether the social conditions, the inner states of individuals, or the process of alienation, or some combinations of facets of these have been the focuses of the particular author.

Since no one specific definition of alienation has become widely accepted as the sole definition, each empirical study of some facet of the concept should begin by examining the literature on alienation in

order to place its own definition in perspective with concepts of alienation that have been used either in theory development or in other empirical studies. In order to place the definition used in this study into a perspective with the literature on the subject, the literature reviewed was divided into two parts. First, there were those authors who emphasize the social forces involved in the alienation process. Second, were those authors and researchers who stress the part of the individual in the process. The latter group were divided into two sub-groups according to whether the authors view alienation as a syndrome of feelings and attitudes, or whether they include in their definition parts of the process taking place outside of the individual. The development of the definition of alienation used by Gould (5, pp. 22-24), which is also used for the purposes of this study, is outlined in its relationship to the literature reviewed and its advantages to this study. Also, some concepts that have been associated with alienation are discussed.

## I. ALIENATION AND SOCIETY

The time and space limitations of this study have made it necessary to limit the number of authors reviewed. Among the authors who have viewed alienation from a societal perspective, the names of Marx and Fromm appear most often in the literature. Keniston has done more recent and comprehensive work and, at present, appears to be the leading author on the subject of alienation.

Following the work of Hegel, it remained for Karl Marx to introduce the term alienation into a sociological context. Marx (6, p.498)

viewed the capitalist mode of labor as a force creating self-estrangement in the worker. Those who own the products of labor control labor itself. Therefore "... the object which labour produces--labour's product--confronts it as something alien, as a power independent of the producer." Marx seems to have believed that, in order for the worker to feel his own creative powers as part of himself, he needed to own the products of his work. When the worker no longer controls his means and his products, he is alienated from some vital aspects of himself, that is, his productive capacities and their potential to integrate him, through his own character and abilities, with his society. Marx (6, p.498) speaks of "... appropriation as estrangement, as alienation."

Like Hegel, Marx saw in social forces, particularly in industrial social forces, a factor creating self estrangement. He also implied the concept of powerlessness, since, in a capitalist society, the worker could not adequately control the products of his labour, nor the means, and was, therefore, powerless to use his economic capacities to integrate himself into his society. However, since Marx's focus was on the historical forces of economics, he did not elaborate upon the psychological aspects of estrangement, despair, and powerlessness as did other authors.

Fromm's view of the social causes of alienation were similar to those of Marx in some respects, but he drew them from the wider concept of industrial society rather than from the narrow concept of the capitalist mode of production. Fromm (7, pp.111-145) saw big government as a power over men that has somehow gone beyond the ability of men to direct. Large bureaucracies put managers in alienated relationships,

rather than personal relationships, to the many whom they influence. Ownership of the means of production is no longer a direct expression of the creative ability of the owner, but is simply a matter of owning symbols of production, pieces of paper. Commodities are purchased, not for the personal pleasure of their use, but for the pleasure of possession itself. Leisure time, also, is not an expression of one's own creative powers, but is a matter of spectatorship and consumption. One's relationship to oneself is as a thing to be employed, and self evaluation comes to depend on the "fickle judgment of the market." And, lastly, Fromm saw modern authority as being anonymous. It lacks the overt quality that makes possible the development of an individual's sense of self struggling with the persons and the values supported by authority.

Keniston (4, pp.183-306) saw the problem of the development of a self in a slightly different light. To Keniston, rapid and unrestrained technological and social change were a central condition of the lives of industrial peoples. Keniston believed that change lends to authority a quality of irrelevance, because rapid change deprives the individual of a relevant past, with its support of traditional authority, against which to rebel or through which he may seek improvements of society. Consequently, change deprives the individual of much that could provide him with personal aims and identity. Change may cause the individual to experience life as a chaos, rather than as a progression. Keniston felt that change creates difficulties for individuals in the process of taking role models and achieving identity. As a result, many individuals become oriented to the present and a hedonistic approach to life.



Also, it would appear that Keniston (4, pp.219-220) saw a tendency toward the fragmentation of life in the loss of community and the increasing specialization of social and economic roles that have effected drastic changes in the "psychology of self-definition." The shift of values from "devotion and reverence" to "production, innovation and selling" that has come with industrial society, tends to destroy an individual's sense of belonging to an order that can give continuity to life. In fact, in Keniston's view, production placed cognition above passion as a dominant social value. Passion must be dissociated and expressed through "outlets" that are considered in terms of social usefulness, neither productive nor creative. The resulting compartmentalization also has adverse consequences to the maintenance of identity and the sense of self. In addition, industrialized society's lack of a shared myth creates a situation in which the individual projects his aims in relative isolation, thus risking the possibility that he will not find social means or support to work out his aims and a consistent identity.

Two other authors should be discussed briefly because their views support and enlarge upon the type of theory expressed by Keniston and Fromm. Jules Henry (8), imputed to our society a set of social forces growing from its placement of profit making and product selling in the positions of primary values. Henry's view of these dominant values resembled Keniston's assertion that our present values are determined by production, innovation, and selling, and they resembled Fromm's feeling that our modes of ownership and consumption have an alienating effect. In Henry's (8, p.95) view these values lead to a pecuniary

psychology that denied the individual the means of integrating a unified self with his culture. As a result, the individual tends to be "... alienated from the Self." (8, p.292). Alienation, in Henry's (8, p.292) theory, was accompanied by feelings of inadequacy and weak ego structures.

Helen Lynd (9, p.67), who spoke of a concept of shame, may have offered some understanding of how feelings of alienation are generated. She defined shame as the experience accruing from a sudden, unexpected exposure of a discrepancy between one's self image and the conditions of one's environment. This experience, she asserted, produces alienation. The theme of disjuncture between the individual's development, a theme set forward by Keniston, Fromm, and Henry, was for Lynd, accompanied by a moment to moment experience of pain that produces alienation.

The authors reviewed above may differ in the importance they assign to the various social forces in an industrial society which produce alienation. For examples, Marx emphasized the capitalist mode of production, and Fromm focused on more diffuse economic forces, while Keniston stressed economic and social forces. However, these authors seemed to agree that industrial societies are failing to meet the needs of individuals with a willingness to negotiate secure and lasting terms of existence that permit them to integrate their whole persons into the fabric of their societies, and, thereby, remain intact within themselves and congruent with their societies. They appeared to be saying that the individual cannot adequately project himself as he is into the processes of work and production, of ownership and consumption, and of the requirements of authority, because these processes have become

unavailable to his personal influence. In summary, they would contend that the development and maintenance of identity<sup>1</sup> (a sense of integrity that is congruent with the cultural and social environment) is made difficult by many social forces in industrial society.

Keniston (4, p.389) noted the recent increased interest in concepts of alienation. The fact that various concepts of alienation have received increased attention during the past few decades raises the question of whether or not the social forces leading to alienation have become stronger in our modern, industrial societies than in past societies. A few authors addressed themselves to this question. Dean (10, p.185) quoted Gouldner who felt that alienation is growing because technological society is diminishing the "... range of choice open to the ordinary individual, [while] the area of discretion available to him, is declining." Moreover, Pappenheim (11, p.15) believed that the growth of expressions of alienation spring from "... the basic direction of our period and its social structure." Pappenheim, (11, p.16) realistically stated that the social forces of alienation have existed in all ages, but that they have become intensified in a technological

<sup>1</sup>Erikson (12, p.50) defines ego identity as "... The awareness of the fact that there is a self-sameness and continuity to the ego's synthesizing methods, the style of one's individuality and that this style coincides with the sameness and continuity of one's meaning for significant others in the immediate community." Thus, Erikson limits the idea of continuity with others to those of the immediate community. This writer's use of the word identity would include Erikson's definition and add the individual's awareness of his continuity with the values of his society, whether the awareness of those values comes to the individual through direct experience with an immediate community or through national mass media, or through the experience of mobility, or other means made possible and necessary in an industrial society.

society. It seemed logical to this writer, that if alienation is produced by rapid change and by hindrances to the expression of self through social processes, then alienation will assume a greater importance in a technological society than it has in past, more corporate, and simpler types of societies. In the latter societies, the self was in a more direct and clear relationship to the institutions and traditions through which it was socialized and through which it lived. Industrialization has increased the autonomy of the individual at the price of reduced means by which he can integrate himself with his society.<sup>2</sup>

## II. ALIENATION AND THE INDIVIDUAL

The aforementioned authors did not based their writings on empirical study, but rather they developed social theories of the social causes of alienation. Keniston, in that he dealt with both theory and empirical study, was, perhaps, the one exception.

There are, however, a large number of authors who have been primarily concerned with the question of the individual's experience of alienation and its situational and behavioral outcomes. These authors can be further divided according to whether they view alienation as the

<sup>2</sup>Toffler (13, p.17), although he does not concern himself with the literature of alienation, also notes that industrial, technological developments have brought unprecedented changes in man's existence. He states that "We no longer 'feel' life as men did in the past. And this is the ultimate difference, the distinction that separates the truly contemporary man from all others." Toffler feels that technological man experiences his world differently and that this affects his way of relating to "... other people, to things, to the entire universe of ideas, art and values." Such relationships, in Toffler's view, now come about in a context of transience as a result of rapid change.

part of the alienation process manifested in the feelings and attitudes of the individual, or whether they include, as alienation, other parts of the alienation process, such as the behavioral or situational results of feelings of alienation.

It was the writer's opinion that those efforts that resulted in definitions of alienation as syndromes, that is, sets of attitudes and feelings alone, were best suited to the scientific exploration of the alienation process. The alienation syndrome concept serves to fix a point of demonstrable reality and a point of departure for exploration of the empirical nature of the other parts of the process. Definitions that draw on the assumed relationships between feelings of alienation and aspects of alienation external to the individual tend to introduce problems into the empirical study of the process of alienation. Some of these problems are discussed in the following subsection.

#### Alienation as the Individual State and Parts of the Process

As mentioned above, some authors treated the subject of the alienated individual as if his alienation included one or more of the facets of the process taking place between the individual and his society. As an example, Hajda (14, p.758) defined alienation as:

...an individual's feeling of uneasiness or discomfort which reflects his exclusion or self-exclusion from social and cultural participation.

Hajda included in his definition, not only the feelings of alienation, but also the aspects of the process of alienation, such as self-exclusion and socially caused exclusion from social participation. Similarly, Browning et. al. (15, p.780), in criticizing Seeman's work,

stated that Seeman's types of alienation should include stages of social exclusion. Rogers (16, pp.11-14) treated alienation as the state of an individual that can be inferred from his self-exclusion from social participation and his rejection of values through protest or subculture membership.<sup>3</sup>

The problems inherent in definitions of alienation which include parts of the process can be illustrated by an experience related by Keniston (4, p.3). In his book, The Uncommitted, Keniston, like Rogers, assumed that students' unrest and their rejection of society were indications that those who engaged in protest activities were alienated in the sense of possessing feelings and attitudes of alienation. However, after studying a number of such students, Keniston (17, p.341) concluded that he was:

...inclined to see most student protest not as a manifestation of alienation (as I have used the term,) but rather of commitment to the very values the alienated students reject.

Thus, he found that he could not empirically correlate rejection of social participation as evidenced by his study subjects with feelings and attitudes of alienation. Such a correlation is assumed in the definitions of Brown, Hajda and Rogers. Keniston's study suggested that such definitions may fail to accurately describe a reality which can be tested. Behaviors and outcomes of behavior may not correlate with the feelings and attitudes of alienation, nor will the feelings and

<sup>3</sup>Byles (18, p.104) presents an interesting approach to alienation. He constructed an alienation-integration scale based on degrees of affiliation with such institutions as the family, the school, the church, recreation, employment, and the law. Apparently, to Byles, alienation is a process involving the facet of disaffiliation.

attitudes of alienation necessarily correlate with specific behaviors and outcomes of behavior which are popularly associated with alienation. Therefore, definitions that include assumed correlations may tend to confuse and lead to an inaccurate description of the process of alienation as it exists in reality.

The authors reviewed below avoided this problem by limiting their concept of alienation. For these authors, the word "alienation" has come to mean sets of feelings and attitudes that have been empirically demonstrated to exist in certain individuals. Other authors have made assumptions about the behaviors and outcomes of the alienation process, without measuring alienation in terms of their own definitions. The authors discussed below, however, have used definitions which enable them to measure alienation and correlations of alienation. These authors have developed definitions of alienation that can be understood as syndromes, sets of feelings that are symptoms of the existence of a state of alienation within the individual. Since these syndromes can be measured, assumptions about other parts of the alienation process, such as social causes and behavioral outcomes, can be checked against reality.

#### Alienation as an Individual State: A Syndrome

Most of those who attempted to measure alienation in the individual were guided, directly or indirectly, by the theories of alienation as presented by such writers as Hegel, Marx, and Fromm. Melvin Seeman (19, pp.783-791) was probably the first to attempt to extract from the literature of alienation theory some aspects of the concept that could

be submitted to empirical examination. Seeman developed five ways to use the term alienation. First, he derived powerlessness as the expectancy by the individual that he cannot, through his own behavior, determine the outcome he seeks. Seeman wished to limit this aspect of alienation to expectancies in large social events and to refrain from application of the aspect to the events of the individual's immediate and intimate environment. Second, he posited that meaninglessness refers to the expectation of the individual that adequate predictions about outcomes cannot be made. This comes about when the individual in his own experiencing, finds that "... minimal standards for clarity in decision making are not met" (19, p.786). He referred to an "insufficient belief system" that can be either "descriptive or normative." Third, he stated that normlessness, in the individual, is a "high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviors are required to achieve given goals (19, p.788)." Fourth, he noted that isolation refers to the individual's tendency to "assign low reward value to goals or beliefs that are typically highly valued in the given society" (19, p.789). The term isolation does not refer to a lack of social adjustment or warm friendships. Self-estrangement, the fifth aspect of alienation, Seeman defined as the tendency to expect the value of an activity to be found in some "... anticipated future reward, outside of the activity itself" (19, p.790).

Following Seeman's approach, Dean (20) constructed scales of powerlessness, normlessness and isolation. He submitted a large number of item statements to judges. He selected from the statements those the judges placed in only one of the three aspects of alienation



(10, p.188). Dean (20, pp.756-758) found correlations among his three scales. He also found a correlation between his scale of normlessness and Srole's scale of anomie.

Nettler (1, pp.670-677) used an approach somewhat different from Dean's. Through his examination of literature he selected that aspect of alienation termed "estrangement from society" as his subject of study (1, p.672). He drew from popular literature and psychological literature several "descriptive models" of "estrangement from society." These were distributed to colleges and acquaintances who selected people they knew who fit the model. The selected subjects were interviewed for the purpose of determining common attitudes that were translated into a number of item statements of a scale measuring alienation. An examination of the items of Nettler's seventeen-statement scale and Gould's (3) Multiple Alienation Measure revealed that several of the items were remarkably similar.

Keniston (17, pp.327-328) and his colleagues developed a set of intercorrelated attitude scales. He described these scales as follows:

1. Distrust ("Expect the worst of others and you will avoid disappointment");
2. Pessimism ("There is little chance of ever finding real happiness");
3. Avowed Hostility ("At times, some people make you feel like killing them");
4. Interpersonal Alienation ("Emotional commitments to others are usually the prelude to disappointment");
5. Social Alienation ("Teamwork is the last refuge of mediocrity");
6. Cultural Alienation ("The idea of trying to adjust to society as it is now constituted fills me with horror");
7. Self-Contempt ("Any man who really knows himself has good cause to be horrified");
8. Vacillation ("I make few commitments without some reservation about the wisdom of undertaking them");
9. Subspeculation ("First impressions cannot be relied upon; what lies beneath the surface is often utterly different");
10. Outsider ("I feel strongly how different I am from most people");
11. Unstructured universe ("The notion that man and nature are governed by regular laws is an illusion").

The mean scale to scale correlation was found to be plus .47, with Distrust being the most highly correlated with the other scales. Keniston took the attitudes measured by all of the scales as a definition of the "alienation syndrome."

Dauids (21,22) created a construct of alienation consisting of the following variables: egocentricity, distrust, pessimism, anxiety, and resentment. These feelings and attitudes were similar to several of Keniston's attitude scales making up the alienation syndrome.

Struening and Richardson (24, pp.768-776) founded their work in theory by constructing three hundred item statements suggested to them by the works of Adorno, Dauids, Srole, Durkheim, Fromm, Marx, Merton, and even Camus' novel, The Stranger. They then reduced these items to sixty-eight statements and used them along with concept opposites. They tested these sixty-eight statements with the following populations: patients from a ward for the criminally insane, long term male mental patients, hospitalized female mental patients, institutionalized, delinquent juveniles, dischargeable male mental patients, college undergraduates, and adult education students. From a 68X 68 correlation matrix, ten factors emerged. Each item showed high loading on one factor and very low or no loading on all other factors. In other words, groups of statements, distinctly separate from one another emerged from the matrix. If an individual responded in one way to an item, he was highly likely to respond similarly to the other items in the group of items. One group of items, the factor of "alienation via rejection" was characterized by statements of feelings of cynicism, distrust, uncertainty and pessimism.

These authors took item statements that could describe the attitudes and feelings of alienated individuals as expected on the basis of theory. By correlating subjects' responses to such statements, they discovered sets of feelings and attitudes that tend to occur together in the same individuals. Thus, they were able to eliminate through their research certain feelings and attitudes that appear to be irrelevant to a concept of alienation as it exists in the individual. Several of the researchers chose to view the sets of feelings and attitudes discovered by them as syndromes.

The various syndromes which have evolved from these studies, seemed to bear differences and similarities. This writer believed that the differences were part of differences in the author's views of theory and their differences in methodology. The similarities suggested that these authors were measuring very nearly the same syndrome of feelings and attitudes. Six types of feelings or attitudes appeared frequently in the literature reviewed. Two or more authors mentioned these types of feelings as part of an alienation syndrome. They are: cynicism, distrust, uncertainty, pessimism, egocentricity, and resentment.

The similarities suggested that it may be possible, through further research, to demonstrate the existence of a single syndrome whose description can be widely accepted as a definition of alienation as it exists in the individual. However, at the present state of alienation research, any study that proposes to confine itself to attempts to correlate other factors of the alienation process with an alienation syndrome must make use of an existing measure.

For the purposes of the present study, the Multiple Alienation Measure (MAM) developed by Gould (5, pp.22-24) was selected for use. The development of this measure is discussed in the following paragraphs.

Gould's (5, pp.22-24) work in developing the MAM was largely based on the studies done by Struening and his associates. After examining existing measures of alienation, Gould chose items for his measure from three studies, including the Struening and Richardson study mentioned above and two other studies done by Struening. Although Gould reviewed a number of measures, Struening's work seemed to have fitted his criteria best. Gould's criteria in selecting items were as follows: face validity, derivation from factor analytical work, derivation from heterogeneous samples, measurement of non-specific central dimensions of alienation, and high loadings on major factors appearing through several studies. Gould used items from Struening's works that were comprised of factors highly related to alienation. From the items that fit his criteria Gould selected twenty best items to make up the Multiple Alienation Measure. Consequently, Gould constructed a measure of alienation that should be valid in many widely separated and different populations.

This writer examined Nettler's measure of alienation and found similarities between it and the MAM on several items. Gould (5, p.25) noted similarities between his MAM and scales developed by Dean and by Keniston. Moreover Gould (5, pp.18-19) saw his definition as being related to Seeman's work, but he felt that he had eliminated the expectancy and cognitive factors in favor of a definition simply

describing feelings of alienation. David's construct of alienation closely approximate Gould's definition of alienation as a "general or core syndrome consisting of feelings of pessimism, cynicism, distrust, apathy and emotional distance (5, p.19)." Finally, considering the sources of items used by Struening and his associates, the MAM can be considered to be related to a general theory of alienation. The many similarities between the MAM and other attempts to measure an alienation syndrome, and its indirect derivation from alienation theory would suggest that it is a valid and useful tool with which to test alienation theory itself.

### III. FACTORS COMMONLY ASSOCIATED WITH ALIENATION

As noted earlier, several concepts are associated with alienation. Two of these, the concepts of loneliness and social isolation, were defined by Gould (5, p.7) as "... conditions and correlates of alienation, (that)...should not be confused with alienation itself." Thus, Gould saw these concepts as parts of the process of alienation as opposed to the state of alienation as reflected in the feelings and attitudes of the individual. This writer viewed crime and delinquency as being, also, possible correlates of alienation, but not alienation itself, although they are often associated with it. Two other factors often associated with alienation, those of anomie and mental illness, deserve more extensive discussion.

#### Anomie

There appears to be some similarity in the theoretical foundations of anomie and alienation. Davol and Reimanis (25, p.215) pointed out

that Durkheim (who introduced the term "anomie" into sociology) understood anomie to be a condition of society characterized by normlessness, rulelessness, and a failure of society to "curb man's inborn impulses." Durkheim (27, pp.243-246) learned that sudden increases or decreases of national wealth were accompanied by what he called "anomic suicide." Since fluctuations in wealth were correlated with rates of suicide, it might be inferred that the fact of poverty is not the cause of suicide but rather that the uncertainty and doubt produced by rapid change are usual factors. Aiken et. al. (25, p.94) found support for such a suspicion when they discovered that Packard workers who experienced change of income, upward or downward, expressed more feelings of anomie than those who were able to keep their incomes in line with what they earned before the Packard Company lay off. The similarities between these considerations and Keniston's theory of the alienating effects of rapid technological change cannot be overlooked.

The disjuncture between the psychology of the individual and the conditions of society, as expressed in theories of alienation, is also emphasized in the theory of anomie used by Merton. According to Davol and Reimanis (26, p.217) Merton distinguished between psychological anomie and sociological anomie. For Merton, anomie was the conflict between socially prescribed aspirations and socially conditioned means to the achievement of those aspirations. He separated anomie as a state of society from the possible outcomes in the psychology of the individual. In this writer's view, a failure of the individual to project personal aspirations that are congruent with the social structure is part of the theory of alienation and the alienation

process. Thus, anomie as a psychological state should appear very similar to alienation taken to be a set of feelings and attitudes.

These considerations suggest that concepts of anomie and alienation overlap. Various observations and findings support this suggestion. For example Dean (20, p.758) found a correlation between his scale of normlessness and Srole's scale of anomie of .31. Also, Davol and Reimanis (25, p.221) noted that Nettler found a correlation of plus .309 between his scale of alienation and the Srole scale of anomie.

Gould (5, p.4) ventures the assertion that two of Merton's listed modes of adaptation to anomie are related to alienation. Merton's "modes of adaptation" to the anomie state of society, as listed by Clinard (27, p.16) were: conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism, and rebellion. Gould (5, p.4) related ritualism and retreatism to alienation. He reserved the term anomie to refer to causative social conditions and the term alienation to refer to psychological outcomes.

Gould's reservation of the term "alienation" to refer to psychological outcomes of anomic social conditions poses the question of whether or not his "feelings of alienation" play a part in all five of Merton's "modes of adaptation." It also raised the question of whether the correlated set of feelings used by Gould to construct the MAM, through subsequent research, will be enlarged to give evidence of a wider syndrome that can be related to a wider variety of modes of adaptation.

### Mental Illness

References to discussions of alienation in terms of self-estrangement, doubts, distrust, feelings of inadequacy, and hesitancy in making commitments inevitably presented the problem of whether alienation was not some form of mental illness and whether it did not give rise to mental illness. Unfortunately, research into alienation has not made clear the relationships between alienation and particular adaptations or life styles. Perhaps these many questions prompted Proper and Clark (28, p.314) to call for research that would reveal whether alienation was a normative trend, a transitory phenomenon, or a deviant psychological aspect of development. Current theory seems to indicate that alienation can be any one or all three of the above. Merton understood alienation as a generalized response to social and cultural change. He believed that alienation can be accompanied by many behaviors that are seen as deviant but are normal responses to pathological social conditions. Gould (5, p.12) agreed with Merton and he stated that the relationship between various forms of mental illness and alienation are "... not entirely clear." This position was also that of the writer for the purposes of this study.

Part of the difficulty in relating alienation to mental illness may stem from the difficulty of extracting from personality theory a suitable definition of maladjustment based on individual characteristics. The fact that Struening (23, p.769) found alienated individuals in many different types of populations suggested that alienation in at least terms of functional abilities should not be considered the same as mental illness. A different perspective contains a theory of



neurosis as suggested by Karen Horney is applied. Horney (29, pp.26, 103) saw neurosis in terms of rigid defenses against anxiety that are functional or nonfunctional depending upon the cultural or subcultural context within which the individual lives. Therefore, alienation, if it were a form of neurosis, could be found in diverse populations. The diversity of life situations of the alienated, in the context of Horney's theory, does not subtract from the possibility that it is a stage or form of mental illness.

However, Davids found some evidence that the alienated tend to be maladjusted in a clinical sense. Davids (21, p.26) found that the highly alienated see themselves as being less than their own ideal person more often than did the non-alienated. Evaluation of subjects by a clinical staff revealed that the alienated, more often than others, evidenced weak ego structures. In another study, Davids (22, p.64) found that the perceptions of the highly alienated and those low on alienation varied from reality about the same amount. The highly alienated deviated in the direction of alienation items whereas those low on alienation deviated in the direction of low alienation items. Davids' syndrome of alienation, consisted of egocentricity, distrust, pessimism, anxiety, and resentment, and his findings were related by Ansbacher (31, p.212) to Adler's concept of "lack of social interest," a factor underlying most mental illnesses.

The observations of Ansbacher and Davids, then, lend some evidence that alienation may be associated with mental illness. To assume that mental illness is equally associated with alienation would be an error. A weak ego structure may not result in mental illness.

The fact that the alienated have a relatively accurate, although different, view of reality, suggests that they might be able to adapt their ego functioning to the conditions of life in a number of ways. The possibility that alienation is some state of tension that can be resolved by the adoption of a number of ways of functioning, mental illness being one such way, remains open. It would appear more useful, then, to interpret the findings of this study in terms of ways of functioning to which the alienated subjects may appear more prone than subjects with low alienation.

#### IV. THEORY AND DISCUSSION

The theorists such as Marx, Fromm, Keniston, Lynd, and Henry appear to be saying that whenever society does not offer sufficient opportunity for the individual to develop a sense of self that is congruent with socially defined roles, alienation will result. Other authors, who founded their research on such theories, learned that alienation, as it exists in the individual, is a syndrome of feelings and attitudes commonly associated with tension and discomfort.

Erikson (12, p.211) stated that self-identity comes about as a result of the integration of previously confused selves into a coherent set of roles, or selves, that secure social recognition. Erikson's views of the process by which self-identity is achieved seemed to be the reverse of the process that, in theory, produces states of alienation. This writer feels that the writers mentioned above have analyzed that part of the process of self-identity formation neglected by Erikson, that is the part played by social forces that condition the

availability of roles, and that, therefore, influence the formation of self-identity.

Consequently, this writer believes that alienation, as a syndrome of feelings and attitudes is symptomatic of inadequately developed self-identity. The failure of an individual to achieve a coherent self that is congruent with recognized social functions, or roles, results in feelings and attitudes of alienation. These feelings and attitudes are viewed by the writer as indicators of a state of tension within the alienated individual. The process of alienation, then, consists in the individual's efforts to achieve self-identity within the social structure, his experience of difficulties in achieving self-identity, his experience of the tension involved in living with deficient self-identity, and his efforts to resolve the tension of alienation through adaptive or maladaptive behaviors.

As tension, alienation can conceivably give rise to many adaptive or maladaptive forms of behavior. Some individuals may be able to reduce the tension to tolerable levels by achieving partial self-identity through a portion of their available social roles. Keniston's (4, p.341) concept of "little alienations" (feelings of alienation associated with and limited aspect of life) would suggest the possibility that partial self-identity could solve the problem of tension. On the other hand, Gold (36, p.134) speculated that some delinquency can be explained as negative self-identity that replaces a sense of the self as failure with a self that draws more social recognition. In fact Gold used the term "negative identity" in Erikson's (12, p.172) meaning, that is, contempt for socially defined, "proper" roles and

identification with roles in conflict with social expectations. Gold believed that negative identities may resolve the tension growing from a sense of powerlessness. Davids' studies, cited earlier, suggested that the tension of alienation might lead in the direction of mental illness. In support of this contention, it should be noted that Erikson (12, p.88) believed that some individuals may elect to become nothing rather than continue the struggle for identity, a choice that, in Erikson's view, leads to mental illness. Conversely, Nathan Alder (37, p.331) described the "rage for order" evident in the behavior of the alienated who do not give in to inertia and apathy. The "rage for order" is hyperactivity designed to explore the self and the social environment to establish reference points that can serve to define the self. To Adler (37, p.329), incongruent social roles can result in the antinomian personality, a personality that attempts to discover, entirely within the self, some congruency that may reduce the critical need for identity. Thus, Adler seemed to feel that alienation can result in extreme individuality. Davids suggested that it can be a cause of mental illness. Gold felt that alienation can be resolved through criminal behaviors. This writer, who views alienation simply as a state of tension, feels that all three of the above resolutions of alienation are possible. He would add the possibility that alienation tension can be resolved by the formation of healthy, positive, although perhaps partial, identity. Empirical research may reveal other forms of adjustment and it may show which forms of adjustment tend to predominate among the alienated.

The writer has derived the theoretical concepts presented in this section from his understanding of the literature reviewed in the chapter. The theory is presented again, in greater detail, in the concluding chapter where it serves as a means by which the findings of the study can be understood. Chapters II and IV present the methodology of the study and the findings.

## CHAPTER II

### METHODOLOGY

Alienation, for the purposes of this study, was viewed as a state of tension that can give rise to many modes of adaptation. The theory described in the last chapter presented the alienation process as consisting of three parts, the state of alienation tension in the individual, the conditioning social forces, and the actions and reactions between the alienated individual and his environment. The theory also presented a position which stated that alienation occurred when society did not allow sufficient availability of opportunities for the individual to integrate a coherent self into the social structure.

It seemed to this writer that the studies that examined the behavior of alienated adolescents would be particularly valuable in understanding the process of alienation, considering the importance of identity formation in that stage of life. In this vein, Erikson (12, p.156) stated that the adolescent years are of crucial importance in the formation of identity. It is during these crucial years that the adolescent must achieve the following three tasks as outlined by Erikson: (1) to maintain ego defenses against growing impulses, (2) to consolidate past achievements in line with work opportunities, (3) and to resynthesize childhood indentifications in concordance with roles offered by some wider section of society. Therefore, the adolescent, to achieve identity, must come to terms with those social forces that,

in an industrial society, according to Marx, Fromm and Keniston, are apt to produce alienation.

Josselyn (38, p.27) agreed that adolescents are subject to alienating forces. She stated:

His [the adolescents] behavior is unpredictable because it is determined by the confusion within him; he is not protected by enforced compliance to well established rituals and laws. He is told in effect to grow up -- to achieve an undefined state, he is not told how to grow up.

It would appear that Josselyn felt that the adolescent is affected by a social confusion that may be very much like the concept of anonymous authority discussed by Fromm and Keniston. Not able to know what identities will be acceptable over a period of time, the adolescent has difficulty shaping his own natural inclinations into an identity commensurate with the roles available in a wider society. If, as Erikson believed, a major proportion of identity consolidation and formation occurs during the adolescent years, then the adolescent must tend to be more prone to alienation than those at other stages of life.

Knowledge of the adolescent's experiences of alienation and his various adaptations to it may prove helpful to educators and counselors who seek to help the adolescent in his task of assuming a healthy identity. A specific task of educators and counselors may be to assist the adolescent to avoid the tension of alienation and to develop an identity with the wider society. This writer believed that alienation creates a state of tension which makes the individual particularly vulnerable to influences from significant others who represent authority and socially recognized roles. Therefore, sensitive educators and

counselors who understand adolescent alienation, can aid many individuals to adapt to the tension of alienation in positive, healthy, rather than negative, maladaptive ways.

The task of aiding adolescents to assume identities within the wider society has been assigned, for the most part, in our society, to the high school. Since the high school affects persons at a time of life most crucial to identity formation, it must be considered an important institution involved in the alienation process.<sup>4</sup> In view of these facts, the aim of this study was to obtain some descriptions of the behaviors of alienated and non-alienated high school students as those behaviors could be observed within the high school environment, and to compare the behaviors of the high alienation subjects and those of low alienation. School personnel were asked to describe the study subjects' behaviors by selecting descriptive statements from a Faculty Questionnaire. In order to determine the relationships between behavior descriptions and degrees of alienation, the subjects were divided into three groups according to their scores on the Multiple Alienation Measure (MAM) devised by Gould (5).

<sup>4</sup>Coleman (39, p.83) stated that "By extending the period of training necessary for a child and by encompassing nearly the whole population, industrial society has made of high school a social system of adolescents." This statement suggested that the assignment of adolescents to one institution can serve to cut them off from adult identities. Tannenbaum cited a survey of social scientists, the majority of whom believed that youth's activities are a special instance of subculture. Apparently, assigning the task of aiding adolescent development to a single type of institution may be, in itself, alienating, because it tends to erect barriers to contact with adult identities.



## I. THE HIGH SCHOOL

Originally, it was hoped that a typical, coeducational high school with a student body that was representative of the adolescent population of a community could be enlisted for the purposes of this study. However, delays in negotiations with two such schools made acceptance of Benson High School's offer of a study population necessary in order to stay within the time limits of the study.

Benson High School is a technical high school in Portland, Oregon. It accepts only male students, and at the time of the study, it had approximately 1950 students. Students are accepted at Benson from all of the high school districts of Portland. Although emphasizing technical training, Benson offers a complete high school program commensurate with that offered by more typical high schools. In addition, it offers an extensive curriculum in technical fields, as well as an effective job placement program for graduates. Students are accepted at Benson on the basis of their applications, which are judged according to their interests, aptitudes and discipline records. Thus, Benson High School must be viewed as an atypical high school.<sup>5</sup>

## II. SELECTION OF SUBJECTS

The subjects selected for this study were all Benson seniors. The writer believed that seniors, since they are faced with decisions affecting their adult lives, could relate to the items of the MAM more

<sup>5</sup>For additional information concerning Benson High School, see Appendix A.

readily than younger adolescents. Moreover, with the exception of recent transfers, seniors have been in contact with the school personnel for greater lengths of time than students in the lower classes. The writer felt that this fact might serve to increase the accuracy of the school personnel's reporting of behavior on the Faculty Questionnaire. It was hoped, then, that the use of seniors as subjects would improve the information gained from both the MAM and the Faculty Questionnaire.

Negotiations with several schools revealed that a random sample of seniors would result in selection of students with few teachers in common. Therefore, in order to obtain behavior descriptions from school personnel who knew of the subjects, the cooperation of a prohibitively large number of personnel would have been needed. To overcome this difficulty, only the students of two social science classes were used as subjects. This plan made it possible to limit the number of teachers who were to respond to the Faculty Questionnaire to the two who taught these classes.

This plan appeared feasible, largely because all seniors at Benson take social science classes, and because some of these classes, in the estimation of their teachers and the principal, are attended by students who, as a group, represent a fair cross section of the students at Benson. Two such classes were selected for the study by the principal. These two social science classes contained a total of forty-nine students. On the day that the MAM was administered, five students were absent, one student refused to respond to the MAM, and one student failed to complete the MAM. Consequently, the subjects of this

study were forty-two male seniors who attend one of the two social science classes selected.

### III. SELECTION OF SCHOOL PERSONNEL

By information obtained in preliminary interviews with the principal and the teachers, it appeared that these subjects were likely to have had contact with three other faculty members, other than their social science teachers. Each subject was counseled by one of two counselors, and, if a subject had had problems of conduct, he was likely to have had contact with the vice-principal, whose function is to handle student discipline problems. Therefore, five faculty members were asked to describe the behaviors of the subjects by using the Faculty Questionnaire. These faculty members, in summary, were as follows: (1) a male social science teacher who also coached wrestling, (2) a female social science teacher, (3) a male counselor who also supervised sports, (4) a female counselor, and (5) the vice-principal.

These faculty members appeared to comprise a minimum number necessary to obtain adequate information about the behaviors of the subjects in the terms of the three behavioral categories of the Faculty Questionnaire. The teachers, for example, would have had opportunity to observe the subjects' academic approach, at least within their social science classes. The counselors were viewed as having, through counseling session, a variety of information about subjects' behaviors. The vice-principal was relied upon for observations of subjects' conduct. These five faculty members, then, appeared to have, among

them, all of the types of information about subjects' behaviors of interest to this study.

#### IV. ADVANTAGES AND USE OF THE MULTIPLE ALIENATION MEASURE

The development of the Multiple Alienation Measure has been discussed in the introductory chapter of this study. The MAM measures alienation defined as a "... general or core syndrome consisting of feelings of pessimism, cynicism, distrust, apathy, and emotional distance" (5, p.19). This definition of alienation was used in this study, and the MAM was used to divide the subjects into groups according to degree of alienation.

The MAM offered several advantages to the writer's study. First, Gould selected items appearing in several studies involving a wide variety of populations, and his items measure several general dimensions of alienation. Consequently, the MAM was likely to be a valid measure of alienation with most subject samples, such as the adolescent boys who were the subjects of this study. Second, the MAM was a short instrument. The time limitations of the subjects and their school personnel in this study made use of the MAM imperative. The writer considered Nattler's seventeen-item measure, because of its shortness, but rejected it on the grounds that (1) the items were more appropriate to an older population and that (2) the measure addressed itself to only one dimension of alienation, that is, "estrangement from society." The MAM did not suffer from these shortcomings, and it promised to be the most valid and convenient measure to use with high school senior boys.

The MAM was administered to the subjects during their social science class periods. The measure was presented as a confidential survey on which they could indicate their feelings about certain aspects of the world we live in. The subjects could respond to each item by selection of one of six possible responses that were arranged in an agree-disagree continuum. The twenty items were presented without statement opposites or dummy statements, because the writer felt that such statements might reduce the validity of the measure.<sup>6</sup>

The completed MAM's were scored by the plan devised by Gould (5, p.28) who assigned values to the responses as follows: strongly agree, 7, agree, 6, not sure but may agree, 5, not sure but may not agree, 3, disagree, 2, and strongly disagree, 1. Gould assigned a value of 4 to those statements to which his subjects did not respond. However, no subject in this study failed to respond to any statement.

High scores on the MAM indicate high degrees of alienation, and low scores indicate low degrees of alienation. The range of scores of the subjects was divided into three equal parts in order to divide the sample into groups of differing degrees of alienation. Those whose scores were in the upper third of the range were designated as high alienation subjects (HA's), those whose scores were in the middle third of the range were designated as moderately alienated subjects (MA's), and those whose scores were in the lower third of the range were designated as low alienation subjects (LA's). With this method of

<sup>6</sup>The form in which the MAM was used is shown in Appendix B.

grouping, it was possible to examine the relationships between behaviors described by school personnel and the degree of subjects' alienation.

#### V. DEVELOPMENT AND USE OF THE FACULTY QUESTIONNAIRE

The Faculty Questionnaire was constructed to provide school personnel with a uniform way to report their observations of subjects' behaviors. It consisted of twelve statements describing behavior in three categories. Thus, there were four statements in each category. Faculty members were asked to select one statement from each category to describe each subject, or to place a check mark on the response sheet if they did not feel that their acquaintance with a subject was sufficient to permit them to select a statement for that subject in a particular category.<sup>7</sup>

Faculty members' observations of subjects' behaviors were used in this study, rather than the recorded information for two reasons. First, recorded materials were not available to the writer. Second, some information that was important to the study might not have been found in recorded material. The approach used, made necessary the construction of statements that could be selected on the basis of general impressions of subjects' behaviors gained from personal acquaintance with subjects and from very easily remembered incidents of subjects' behaviors. Consequently, the term "behavior," as used in this study, was defined as the trends of subjects' behaviors as observed and viewed by school personnel.

<sup>7</sup>The Faculty Questionnaire is presented as it was used in the study in Appendix C.

In constructing categories of behavior that could be related to behaviors within a school, and, therefore, be easily understood by faculty members, the writer found Coleman's (39, p.83) study of student goals within the adolescent subculture to be useful. Coleman divided the high school student body's goals into four types: "brilliant student," "the leader in activities," "most popular," and "athletic star." These goals suggest a comprehensive way of looking at behavior in a high school, but they had to be considerably modified in order to be translated into behavioral terms. For example, "athletic star" and "leadership in activities" suggested to this writer the behavioral category of "engagement in activities." "Brilliant student" suggested the behavioral category of "academic approach." "Most popular" seemed to be a description that would involve informal relationships that could not be accurately reported by school personnel. Therefore, no behavior category was projected to correspond to "most popular." Coleman omitted the goals assumed by those who behave in negative ways within the school. However, this consideration was important to a study of alienation and behavior. Consequently, a third category, that of conduct, was created for the purposes of the study. The three categories of behavior examined by the Faculty Questionnaire are, then, Engagement in Activities, Academic Approach, and Conduct.

### Conduct

The four statements constructed to describe subjects' conduct were designed to allow faculty members to reflect the degree of seriousness of a subjects misconduct in terms of the school's disciplinary

reactions to that misconduct. The first statement described a well behaved subject, or one who had "no behavior problems." The second statement described a subject whose discipline problems are handled in the classroom, that is, a subject with "mild behavior problems." The third statement described a subject who was sent to the office and may have been suspended once, or a subject with "definite behavior problems." The fourth statement described a subject who was suspended more than once, or a subject with "extreme behavior problems."

Although all five of the faculty members felt that the items of this category were self explanatory, the teachers and counselors were unsure of many of their responses. Therefore, only the descriptions selected by the vice-principal were used. The writer believed the exclusive use of the vice-principal's responses was reasonable because he handles all discipline problems that are sent to the office, and he keeps himself informed of other problems of misconduct.

A number of authors have associated alienation with behaviors which bring the individual into conflict with authority.<sup>8</sup> Dorn's (41, p.534) study, in particular, must be taken seriously, because he offered empirical evidence that alienation is associated with delinquency. Dorn studied the degree of alienation of institutionalized delinquents, of non-institutionalized delinquents, and of non-delinquents. He found that the non-institutionalized delinquent group was definitely more alienated than the other two groups. The institutionalized delinquents were more alienated than the non-delinquents.

<sup>8</sup>For examples see Bernstein (42), Dorn (41), Gold (36), Adler (37), and Keniston (4).



Dorn's findings suggested that the common association between alienation and norm-violating behaviors may be more than an intuitional assumption. In line with Dorn's findings, it was expected that highly alienated subjects in this study would display more serious discipline problems than those of lower alienation.

### Engagement in Activities

The four statements constructed to describe activities were designed to draw from faculty members an estimate of the degree of subjects' involvement in activities and, also, some indication of whether a subject engaged primarily in sports or other extra-curricular activities. The fact that only one subject was described as active in sports only made the goal of dividing subjects according to their preference for sports or other extra-curricular activities impossible to achieve. However, responses to the statements did reflect the degree to which subjects were observed to engage in activities.

The statements, as constructed and used, then, designated three degrees of involvement. The first statement described a subject who was not involved in activities, or an "inactive" subject. The second and third statements, which were considered together, described subjects who engaged exclusively in sports or other extra-curricular activities, or the "moderately active" subjects. The fourth statement described subjects who engaged in both sports and other extra-curricular activities, that is, the "very active subjects."

The vice-principal did not describe subjects in this category, and the teachers described only a few subjects' activities. Therefore,

only the descriptions of subjects engagement in activities selected by the counselors were of use in the study. Consequently, the study relied on the counselors' very general knowledge of subjects' activities which they have gained in rather indirect, rather than direct ways.

Several studies suggested some expectancies concerning the alienated individual's engagement in activities. For example, Bell (43, pp.109-110) found that subjects with high anomie tended to participate in informal and formal groups less frequently than did those who were low on anomie. Keniston (17, p.331) found that his extremely alienated college students tended to prefer the spectator role in their extracurricular activities. Gould (44, p.48) found his alienated subjects to be more conforming in small groups, but they did not engage other group members as frequently as did those with low alienation. These studies suggested that the alienated might engage in activities less frequently than those of lower alienation, and that when they do engage in activities, they do so in a passive role.

#### Academic Approach

The four statements constructed for the category of Academic Approach were designed to elicit from faculty members some indication of the degree to which the subjects attempt to do well academically, and the degree to which the subjects prefer to work individually or with groups. However, the teachers, whose descriptions were used, interpreted the phrase "individual assignments and projects" to mean, not only work done individually, but work done for extra credit. The

phrase "class discussion and group projects," then, was interpreted by them to mean the regular work assigned to the whole class.<sup>9</sup>

In spite of the misinterpretation of the statements, the goal of eliciting indications of subjects' motivation to do well academically was accomplished. One statement, in the terms understood by the teachers, described a subject who does not do well at regular or extra work, or a "poor student." Another statement described a subject who does well in regular work only, or a "good student." A third statement described a subject who does well in regularly assigned work and who also does extra work, that is a "very good student." The remaining statement described a subject who does extra work but does not do well in regularly assigned work. As would seem logical, this statement did not describe any subject, and, therefore, was not used by either teacher. Thus, the teachers used three of the statements to describe the degree to which the subjects engage the educational process of their social science classes.

The teachers' descriptions of subjects' academic approach were the only ones used in the study for two reasons. First, the vice-principal did not describe subjects' academic approach. Second, the counselors described the academic approach of subjects by inference from their experiences with them in interviews and not from observation of subjects' study or classroom behavior. It seemed reasonable to use only the teachers' descriptions, even though they described behavior in only one class, because they were able to select descriptions on

<sup>9</sup>See the statements under Academic Approach, Appendix C.

the basis of direct observation. Also, it should be noted that each subject was described by only one teacher, since each teacher described only those subjects who attended his class.

The literature reviewed for this study has offered little information from which expectations of the academic performance of the alienated could be drawn. Struening found alienated individuals among many groups of various academic levels, and Keniston and Gould found highly alienated individuals in college populations. The range of samples studied by these authors would suggest that the academic abilities of the alienated may vary widely. Yet, the possibilities that the alienated tend to isolate themselves from others in their academic efforts, or that they might perform poorly because of resistance to the authority of the teacher have led the writer to expect the alienated, in high school populations, to be less academically able, as a group, than those with less alienation.

## VI. SUMMARY OF STUDY METHOD

The forty-two subjects of the study were male, senior students at Benson Polytechnic High School who attended two required social science classes. The faculty members who described their behaviors were their two social science teachers, two counselors, and the vice-principal.

The aim of the study was to examine the relationships between the subjects' degree of alienation and their behaviors in three areas of school life as described by school personnel. The subjects' scores on the Multiple Alienation Measure were used to determine their degree

of alienation. The subjects, for purposes of comparison, were divided into three groups whose members were those whose scores were in a common third (highest, middle, or lowest) of the sample's range of scores on the MAM. Each subject was described by one teacher in terms of whether (1) he neglected his studies, (2) completed required studies, or (3) did required work and also extra work. Each subject was described by one counselor in terms of whether he (1) does not participate in activities, (2) participates in either sports or other extra-curricular activities, or (3) participates in both sports and other extra-curricular activities. Additionally, each subject was described by the vice-principal in terms of whether (1) he did not have discipline problems, (2) had problems only in class, (3) had problems that resulted in being sent to the office and possibly one suspension, or (4) had problems resulting in more than one suspension. The described behaviors of the alienation groups were compared in the manner presented in the following chapter to determine the existence, if any, of relationships between these behaviors and the degree of alienation of a subject.

## CHAPTER III

### FINDINGS

The use of the Faculty Questionnaire to describe degrees of engagement in activity, of academic effort, and of the seriousness of misconduct made possible the determination of the significance of behavioral differences among alienation groups by use of chi-square tests. Each descriptive statement was assigned a word or phrase which reflected a degree of observed behavior. Specifically, the words and phrases were, for Engagement in Activities: "inactive," "moderately active," and "very active;" for Academic Approach: "poor student," "good student," and "very good student;" for Conduct: "no behavior problem," "mild behavior problem," "definite behavior problem," and "extreme behavior problem."

The behaviors of the alienation groups were compared in terms of the three categories in Tables I, II, and IV. Also, the subgroups comprised of those subjects described as inactive in each alienation group were compared in Tables III and V with respect to Academic Approach and Conduct. The definition of two other sets of subgroups, that is, involved students and the well behaved, was possible, but only the subgroups described as inactive offered observable differences in behavior in the two remaining categories. Therefore, the "inactive" subgroup was the only one examined.

The findings of the study were discussed in four sections beginning with a presentation of the distribution of MAM scores, followed by sections concerning behaviors in the order of the categories on the Faculty Questionnaire. The inactive subgroups were compared in the sections dealing with Academic Approach and Conduct, that is, the two remaining categories of behavior.

### I. DISTRIBUTION OF MAM SCORES

The distribution of MAM scores (see Figure 1) was very nearly a normal one. The possible range of scores was from 20 to 140 points. The range of the study's distribution was from 53 to 107 points. The mean score was 77.5, and the median score was 76.5. Thus, the distribution showed a slight positive skew. The subjects were divided into three alienation groups as follows: 9 subjects whose scores were in the upper third of the range, 16 subjects whose scores were in the middle third of the range, and 17 subjects whose scores were in the lower third of the range.

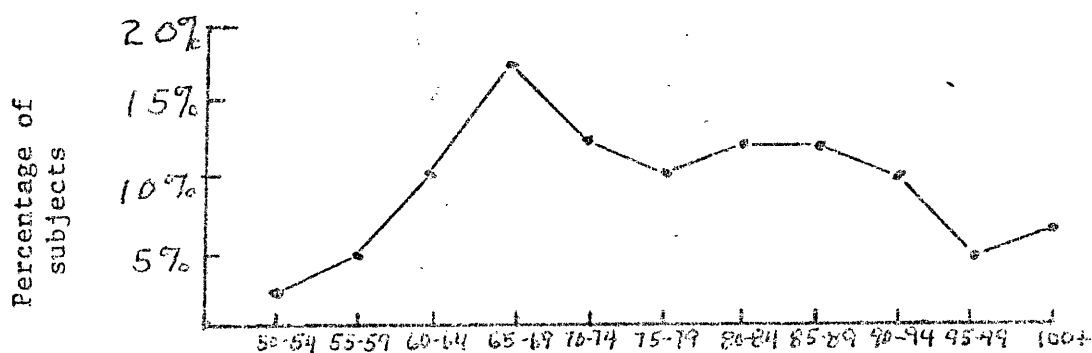


Figure 1. Distribution of MAM scores of the 42 subjects.

The positive skew of the distribution was slight compared to the positive skew obtained by Gould (5, p.37) from a distribution of the MAM scores of 429 male, university psychology students.<sup>10</sup> The difference between Gould's distribution and the present one was significant at the .05 level. The value of Z necessary to demonstrate significance was 1.64, whereas, the value of Z obtained by a one-tail-test was 6.07. Although other factors might account for this difference, the writer believed that it demonstrated that fewer alienated high school males, like those at Benson, go on to college.

## II. ENGAGEMENT IN ACTIVITIES

The study revealed no significant relationship between alienation and the counselors' descriptions of subjects' involvement in activities. A chi-square test for the .05 level of significance was applied to the figures presented in Table I. A chi-square value of 9.488 was needed to demonstrate significance, but the test value of the table was only 4.279, much below that needed for significance.

However, it should be noted that the majority of subjects in all three alienation groups were described as being inactive. This suggested the possibility that the reasons for attending Benson, (to obtain vocational and technical training in an all male school) may reduce the importance of activities for the majority of Benson students.

Although there was no statistically significant difference among the alienation groups in counselors' perceptions of their involvement in

<sup>10</sup>Gould's (5, p.37) distribution showed a mean score of 63.8 and a median score of 61, with a standard deviation of 14.3.



TABLE I  
ALIENATION AND ENGAGEMENT IN ACTIVITIES  
AS DESCRIBED BY COUNSELORS

Degree of Observed Behavior	Alienation Group, Numbers of Subjects, and Per-cent of Alienation Group					
	High Alienation		Moderate Alienation		Low Alienation	
	number	per cent	number	per cent	number	per cent
Inactive	6	(67)	11	(69)	9	(53)
Moderately Active	1	(11)	3	(19)	7	(41)
Very Active	2	(22)	2	(12)	1	( 6)
Totals	9	(100)	16	(100)	17	(100)

activities, some tendencies did appear. For example, LA subjects tended to be described as moderately active more often than the subjects of the other two alienation groups. They were also inclined to be described as inactive less often than the subjects of the other two groups. LA subjects, then, tended to be seen as more active in terms of moderate activity.<sup>11</sup> This tendency, although very slight, conforms to the expectation that alienation is related to avoidance of activity engagement in extra-curricular activities.

The per centage figures showed a greater inclination of HA subjects to be described as inactive or very active, and a lesser tendency to be described as moderately active. In other words, the alienated were prone to be described by the extreme statements. However,

<sup>11</sup>As explained previously, LA refers to low alienation, MA to moderate alienation, and HA to high alienation.

a change in description of only one of the two HA subjects described as very active would eliminate the apparent tendency of the group to fall into extremes. This tendency was mentioned only because it seemed to correspond to a similar tendency in the teachers' descriptions of the Academic Approach of the alienated.

### III. ACADEMIC APPROACH

Again, as with Engagement in Activities, there appears to be no significant relationship between alienation and descriptions of the degree of subjects' involvement in social science studies. A chi-square test for the .05 level of significance was applied to the figures for Academic Approach shown in Table II. A total chi-square value of 4.5736 was obtained for the table, a value much below the value of 9.488 needed to demonstrate a significant relationship.

However, the figure in Table II indicated a inclination for HA subjects to be described as either very good students or as poor students. Whereas no HA subject was described as a good student, 31% of the MA group and 29% of the LA group were described as good students. This tendency for HA subjects to be described in extremes as students appeared to correspond with a similar tendency for HA's to be described in extreme of Engagement in Activities, as was mentioned in the previous section.

Also, among the subjects of this sample, those of low alienation were less likely to be described as poor students than were either the MA's or HA's. The MA group appeared similar to the HA group, except that MA's were not described in extremes. The figures for the LA group

TABLE II

ACADEMIC APPROACH IN SOCIAL SCIENCES  
CLASS AS DESCRIBED BY TEACHERS

Degree of Observed Behavior	Alienation Group, Numbers of Subjects, and Per-cent of Alienation Group					
	High Alienation		Moderate Alienation		Low Alienation	
	number	per cent	number	per cent	number	per cent
Poor Student	3	(33)	5	(31)	3	(18)
Good Student	0	(0)	5	(31)	5	(29)
Very Good Student	6	(67)	6	(38)	9	(53)
Totals	9	(100)	16	(100)	17	(100)

indicated a slight likelihood for these subjects to be seen as more involved students than the subjects of the other two groups. Thus, only the LA group tended to confirm the expectation that high alienation would be associated with poor academic performance.

The tendency of teachers to perceive the alienated in extremes continued to be apparent when the Academic Approach of only those subjects who were described by counselors as inactive was considered, as in Table III. Considering per centage figures only, it was found that inactive HA subjects were described in extremes in the same way that all HA subjects were described. Elimination of the active subjects, however, revealed changes in the percentages of MA and LA subjects as described by the various statements. For instance, inactive LA subjects were more frequently described as "good students and less frequently as "poor students," or "very good students" than were all LA subjects.

TABLE III  
ACADEMIC APPROACH  
OF UNINVOLVED  
SUBJECTS

Degree of Observed Behavior	Alienation Group, Numbers of Subjects, and Per-cent of Alienation Group					
	High Alienation		Moderate Alienation		Low Alienation	
	number	per cent	number	per cent	number	per cent
Poor Student	2	(33)	5	(45)	1	(11)
Good Student	0	( 0)	3	(27.5)	4	(44.5)
Very Good Student	4	(67)	3	(27.5)	4	(44.5)
Totals	6	(100)	11	(100)	9	(100)

Also, inactive MA subjects were more frequently described as poor students and less frequently as good or very good students than were all MA subjects. Apparently, there was less of a tendency for inactivity to be associated with involvement in the educational process for HA subjects than for both MA and LA subjects. The MA subjects showed the more intense tendency to be described as poor students when also described as not involved in activities. Inactivity appeared to be associated, then, with a greater inclination to be described as poor students for the MA group and with a greater tendency to be described as good students (rather than very good or poor students) for the LA group, whereas descriptions for the HA group did not change.

## IV. CONDUCT

The vice-principal's descriptions of the disciplinary reactions of the school to subjects' misconduct is presented in Table IV. A significant positive relationship between poor conduct and alienation in this sample was apparent in these figures. A chi-square test for significance at the .05 level was applied. The chi-square value needed to establish significance was 12.592, and the total value of the table was 18.0099, well over that needed to demonstrate a significant positive relationship between high alienation and serious

TABLE IV  
CONDUCT AS DESCRIBED BY THE VICE-PRINCIPAL

Degree of Observed Behavior	Alienation Group, Numbers of Subjects, and Per-cent of Alienation Group					
	High Alienation		Moderate Alienation		Low Alienation	
	number	per cent	number	per cent	number	per cent
No behavior Problem	2	(22)	0	( 0)	1	( .6)
Mild Behavior, Problem	0	( 0)	2	(13)	0	( 0)
Definite Behavior Problem	2	(22)	7	(43.5)	0	( 0)
Extreme Behavior Problem	5	(56)	7	(43.5)	16	(94)
Totals	9	(100)	16	(100)	17	(100)

$$\chi^2 = 18.009$$

$$P < .05$$

discipline problems among the subjects of this sample. This finding was in the direction expected if credibility is given to theories which state that norm violating behavior is frequently part of the alienation process.

The significance of this finding was preserved when only subjects described as inactive were considered. However, some changes were noted. For instance, inactive HA's and LA's were very slightly less well behaved than were all HA's and LA's. On the other hand, MA's showed a greater tendency to be less well behaved than all MA subjects.

TABLE V

## CONDUCT OF INACTIVE SUBJECTS

Degree of Observed Behavior	Alienation Group, Numbers of Subjects, and Per-cent of Alienation Group					
	High Alienation		Moderate Alienation		Low Alienation	
	number	per cent	number	per cent	number	per cent
No Behavior Problem	1	(17)	0	( 0)	1	(11)
Mild Behavior Problem	0	( 0)	2	(18)	0	( 0)
Definite Behavior Problem	2	(33)	6	(55)	0	( 0)
Extreme Behavior Problem	3	(50)	3	(27)	8	(89)
Totals	6	(100)	11	(100)	9	(100)

$$\chi^2 = 12.652$$

$$P < .05$$

Among all MA's, 43.5% were described as well behaved, whereas among inactive MA's, only 27% were described as well behaved. Inactivity, therefore, was associated to some extent with greater discipline problems for all groups, but especially for the MA group.

#### V. SAMPLE LIMITATIONS

The sample of this study is a select one in a number of ways. First, the subjects were all boys. Second, they were all students who had been motivated to apply to attend Benson. Third, they were those who were accepted at Benson. The third consideration was important because Benson, by its entry requirements, screens out many students with histories of severe discipline problems. Consequently, generalization of the findings to more heterogeneous populations cannot be made with confidence. Similar studies should be conducted with random samples of adolescent populations in order to check the reliability of the tendencies and significant findings of the study.

#### VI. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

A positive relationship between the degree of alienation and the seriousness of disciplinary problems was the only significant relationship found. No significant relationships were found between the degree of alienation and the degree of involvement in activities, or in the degree of involvement in social science studies. However, the figures for the LA group, as compared to the figures for the other two groups, tended, very slightly, to confirm the expectations that alienation was

positively related to avoidance of activities and poor approaches to academic studies.

Some additional tendencies were apparent in the data. First, the alienated tended to be described by the extreme statements in terms of Engagement in Activities and Academic Approach. Second, the inactive HA subjects tended to be described the same as all HA subjects, whereas inactivity appeared to be associated with poorer approaches to social science studies for the other two alienation groups. Third, inactivity appeared to be slightly associated with poorer conduct for all alienation groups, but especially for the MA group.

It was found that the subjects of this study were significantly more alienated than the sample of college students tested by Gould. That finding suggested to the writer that high alienation may be associated with failure to attend college, although many other factors could have been involved.



## CHAPTER IV

### CONCLUSIONS AND THEORY

In the introduction to this study, some theoretical concepts concerning the process of alienation were presented. The authors who dealt with social forces seemed to be saying that alienation grows from social forces that tend to hinder the individual in achieving a sense of self that is recognized by and integrated with the social structure within which he develops and lives. Identity was defined as that state in which the individual had integrated his various selves with one another and with his social world, either wholly or partially. The writer presented the theory that alienation is a state of tension that makes evident one's lack of identity by expressions of certain feelings and attitudes such as those measured by the MAM. An individual attempts to reduce the tension of alienation through adaptive measures that may be reflected in the behaviors with which he meets his social situation. Some of the adaptive measures that were suggested were: the development of negative identity through norm violating behaviors, the development of individual identity through extreme individuality, the escape from social problems of identity into mental illness, or the behaviors that serve to establish healthy, positive identity. Thus, the writer felt that behaviors designed to reduce alienation tension, if successful, move the individual in the direction of the integration of selves into a socially recognized identity, whether that identity is socially approved or disapproved.

The following paragraphs presents the writer's theory of the alienation process with an elaboration of the possible types of adaptations that may result from alienation tension. Subsequent sections relate the findings of this study to the theory presented.

Nathan Adler (37) presented a theory of what he called the antinomian personality. Like Keniston, Adler saw the origins of the antinomian personality in the rapid changes taking place in society. He felt that changes confuse the individual in his effort to assume roles. Adler (37, p.329) stated that:

When roles lose their congruence, when the world's responses are no longer reliable and contradict the individual's expectations, specific behaviors emerge as an attempt to maintain an optimal degree of arousal or activation.

He (37, p.330) went on to state that an individual needs responses from the world that tend to validate the self, and he maintained that the present world is too unstable to provide such validation. Apparently, Adler, again like Keniston, found the conditions of society to be such that the establishment of identity is difficult. The antinomian personality attempts adjustment to his state by seeking stimuli in a "rage for order" designed to engage lost boundary points in self and society. Conversely, Adler felt that the antinomian personality might also seek to escape all stimuli, an adjustment that was, in the opinion of this writer, a move into apathy. Adler (37, p.330) stated that the individual, unable to effect self-determination, responds with the opposites of inertia or hyperactivity.

Adler's theory resembled the theory presented by this writer. In summary, an unstable world offers insufficient feedback and recogni-

tion to the peculiarities of the individual. The individual does not develop an identity that is congruent with his society. He responds to the tension of his lack of identity with adjustment reactions. At this point Adler (37, pp.330,337) diverges from this writer's theory because he was concerned with a special case of problems in identity, the hippie character type, or the antinomian personality. He presented the antinomian in personality as one whose adjustment reactions have failed to establish identity with some existing aspects of society. He presented the outcome of this failure as an adjustment that brings about opposition to external orders through an assertion of internal impulse and desire which establishes an order, an identity based upon some principle generated within the self without reference to its congruence with the social order or parts of the social order.

This writer felt that Adler's account of the process that produces the antinomian personality is a description of the process of alienation carried to one of its possible ultimate conclusions. It is possible that the "rage for order" can bring the individual into contact with social elements that may make possible the establishment of a degree of identity that can reduce the tension of alienation to the extent that the process is arrested short of the antinomian personality.

However, of special interest to this study was Adler's assertion that the antinomian personality seeks adjustment through extremes of behavior, that is, through the extravagant, energetic expenditure of energy in the exploration of self-in-environment, or through the avoidance of all stimuli through apathy. The impression left by Adler's description was one of a desperate, intense attempt to make sense of

existence in terms of identity with some order within the society, or, on the other hand, an equally desperate attempt to achieve peace at the price of isolation from the struggle for identity. This writer believed that the need to reduce alienation tension would lend intensity to the attempts to adjust, and that this intensity, in term, would lead to extreme forms of adjustive behaviors.

The extremes of adaptive behaviors presented by Adler resembled some concepts related to the process of identity formation as presented by Erik Erikson. Erikson (12, pp.80-81) spoke of an "essential wholeness" in which the parts of an individual and his world, no matter how diverse, have some workable organization. When this wholeness is lost, the individual, as an emergency reaction, may restructure his world so that a part of his organization becomes emphasized in a totalistic way. Wholeness implies an ability to allow all parts to relate, totalism demands that parts outside be left outside, those inside must be left inside. Thus, a part of existence in society must serve as the whole identity. This writer felt that the "rage for order" accompanied by hyperactivity, as conceptualized by Alder, is likely to lead to totalistic solutions to problems of identity because the hyperactivity reflects an intense need to reduce the tensions that grow from the lack of a socially recognized and engaged, integrated set of selves or identity. An intense embrace of a partial solution to the identity problem, in this writer's theory, can reduce the tensions to the extent that the process stops short of the formation of the antinomian personality.

Erikson presented another possible adaptation to problems of identity through his theory of negative identities. Erikson (12, pp. 172-176) stated that, when the social order offers no means to assume positive identities, the individual may strive to be the opposite of what society appears to expect, or to be no one at all. He described negative identities as "desperate" attempts to regain mastery when positive identities within society are unavailable to the individual through his own means. The identity crisis of adolescence, according to Erikson (12, p.88) often results in the totalistic assumption of the identity of nothingness, rather than in a continued struggle with identity confusion that might result in a positive identity. Adler's description of the individual who resolves identity problems by avoiding all stimuli appeared to the writer to be related to Erikson's assertion that nothingness can be a solution to identity confusion. This writer believes that the "rage for order" can result in what Erikson calls negative identities, either passive or active in nature, or in positive identities of a totalistic, partial nature.

Adler and Erikson appeared to start their theories from the same point, that is, from a concept of a tension that grows from difficulties in the establishment of identity. Adler has observed that some fall into apathy, or, to this writer, a solution through assumption of nothingness as identity. He also remarks on the hyperactivity of other individuals. The writer understood the hyperactivity as a continuing struggle to achieve positive identity that may end in the assumption of a partial, positive identity that becomes a totalistic solution, or in a negative identity that also may be a totalistic solution. A

wholistic, fluid identity would probably not be possible as an outcome of hyperactivity within the same social order that created the conditions for identity problems in the first place, unless the essentials of identity formation that were lacking were added.

Alienation was, then, presented as a set of feelings that express the presence of tensions growing from problems in the establishment of identity. The theory of the process of alienation involved social forces that hinder the establishment of identity in the individual, the individual's state of tension, and the individual's attempts to adjust this tension. The adjustive reactions, which in turn, affect society, are seen in terms of hyperactivity that may establish partial, totalistic identities, either positive or negative, or a lapse into apathy, that is, the assumption of the negative identity of nothingness.

The theory presented above lended itself to some interpretations of the behaviors of the Harvard College sophmores who were studied by Keniston (17, p.331). Keniston remarked that these students "... pursue their intellectual interests with such single-minded dedication that they almost completely disregard the conventional distinction between 'work' and 'goofing off' made by most of their classmates." He observed that these alienated students became "totally absorbed" in intellectual work that touched a deep or personal "symbolic chord." On the other hand, the alienated students tended to avoid responsibilities, to prefer the role of detached observer in extra-curricular activities, and to be hesitant to commit themselves to pursuits other than those involving only their own peculiar, personal interests. When pushed into positions of responsibility, or when faced with

conflict, they tended to escape by leaving on a walk or a leave from school, sometimes of several years duration.

In the context of the theory presented above, the intellectual role of these students were understood as a totalistic, positive identity, grasped with an intensity, growing from the need to reduce alienation tension, and resulting from hyperactive explorations of boundaries undertaken in earlier school years. The tendency of these students to avoid commitments to other ways of functioning can be understood, also, in terms of their reliance upon a totalistic identity. A total, partial identity, because it is embraced with intensity, will narrow the range of social functioning within which the alienated student may be comfortable. When society demands that the alienated function in ways not related to his partial identity, he may experience increased alienation tension. It appeared that Keniston's Harvard students who are highly alienated, handled the problem of a narrow identity by maintaining some safety against being pushed into modes of functioning other than those related to the intellectual role. When faced with unavoidable demands to function in ways not related to their partial identity, they tended to handle their increased tensions by simply escaping from the situation.

This writer felt that Keniston's observations of the characteristics of alienated Harvard students were evidence of the plausibility of the theory of the alienation process presented in this chapter. However, the theory itself hinged on the assertion that alienation was an outgrowth of problems in the formation of identity. Gould and Klein (45) have completed a piece of research that lends some evidence

to that assertion. They examined the identification of a number of college women with their mothers, and they confirmed a hypothesis that girls with high alienation have identified less with their mothers than have girls with low alienation. This study, although it considers only a narrow aspect of identity formation, did tend to support the theory that alienation was a result of problems in the formation of identity. Also, two of Keniston's observations (4, pp.98, 130-134), that the alienated see their fathers as distant and that they evidence problems of sexual identity, would support the possibility that alienation is associated with problems of identity.

The aspects of the theory presented that were important to the findings of this study were the tendencies of the alienated to adjust in terms of apathy, or in terms of totalistic, partial identity, and the tendency of the alienated to show hyperactive behavior designed to explore the boundaries of possible identity formation. The findings of this study were interpreted via these theoretical aspects of adjustment to alienation.

## I. CONDUCT

The findings presented in Tables IV and V, that the alienated subjects of the study tended to experience more discipline problems was expected, not only on the basis of theory and general observation as outlined in the introduction, but on the basis of the theory presented in this chapter. If the tension of alienation leads to hyperactivity designed to engage the selves of the individual in intimate contact with points of the society that could bring the integration of some



identity, then the relationship of alienation to discipline problems can be understood as evidence of a greater need on the part of the alienated to find themselves by testing the limits of their school environment.

In the context of this study, the LA's appeared to need very little testing behaviors. The MA's appeared to be satisfied with a test of limits that result in one suspension, or trip to the office, at most. However, a larger proportion of the HA's seemed to need to test limits to, and beyond the point of being suspended more than once.

The greater intensity of the testing behavior of the alienated was understood to be a result of a need to reduce alienation tension, a "rage for order" to put it in Adler's terms. The findings of the study, then, seemed to confirm an assertion that alienation is associated with behaviors that bring the individual into conflict with the values of authority.

The findings concerning conduct did not, in themselves, suggest an answer to the question of whether or not conflict with school authority does bring about reduction of alienation tension. However, if in the process of conflict, the subject experiences confirmation of his identity as a trouble-maker, he would experience reduction of tension according to the theory presented in this chapter. The fact that HA's use more testing behaviors might indicate that these behaviors do not result in sufficient reduction of alienation tension, or that they do result in tension reducing negative identities that must be maintained. The figures concerning the academic approach of subjects

did suggest some ways in which the alienated may succeed in reducing alienation tension within their school experience.

## II. ACADEMIC APPROACH

Each of the two teachers described their HA students as either very good or poor students, as were shown in Tables II and III. On the other hand, they described the LA and MA subjects as "good," "poor," and "very good." Alienated students then are described by their teachers as being intensely involved students or intensely uninvolved students. This finding can be interpreted as a manifestation of the need of the alienated to reduce alienation tension by adoption of a partial, totalistic identity as a good student or to reduce alienation tension by going to the other extreme, that is, adopting a negative identity or an apathy, with regard to the educational processes of these classes.

The HA subjects seemed to avoid the choice of functioning as moderately involved students. To function as a moderately involved student may not have afforded the identity needed to reduce alienation tension. Their behaviors in the classrooms can be seen, then, from the standpoint of two choices. First, about a third of the HA subjects chose to reduce alienation tension by avoiding the student role in these classes. Second, the other two-thirds appeared to reduce alienation tension by embracing the student role with an intensity that could result in the establishment of a totalistic, partial identification as very good social science student. The MA's and LA's who experience less alienation tension, appeared to be more comfortable in the role of the moderately involved student. The poor student HA's might have

acquired negative identity in the classes, or they might have given up the struggle for identity in favor of apathy. However, the intensity of their embrace of their adjustments was supported by the finding that inactivity did not affect their student identities as it did with the LA and MA subjects.

### III. ENGAGEMENT IN ACTIVITIES

The findings concerning involvement in activities, presented in Table I, were not easily related to the theory presented in this chapter. A slight tendency for HA subjects to be inactive or very active was detected in the descriptions made by the counselors. Yet, this tendency was much too slight to allow an interpretation in terms of apathy, avoidance, or the expression of special interest as a totalistic, partial identity.

Perhaps the statements of the category were much too general to allow elaboration upon the diverse forms of behavior that can characterize Engagement in Activities. Classroom behavior and conduct appeared to be less diverse in nature, and were, for that reason, easier to describe. Also, the counselors, in describing activity behaviors, may have lacked the first hand observations and concrete means of inference that were available to the teachers and the vice-principal in terms of academic approach and conduct descriptions. The only definitive statement that can be made concerning the category of involvement in activities is that the HA's appeared to the counselors to be about as active as were the other subjects.

#### IV. SUMMARY

This chapter presented a theory of the alienation process with which some of the findings of the study could be related. The theory presented alienation as a state of tension, measured in terms of feelings as by the MAM, which grow from difficulties in the establishment of a wholistic identity that is congruent with the individual's total society. The alienation tension leads to hyperactivity designed to explore the self and society in search for the possibilities for identity formation and, thus, the reduction of alienation tension. The hyperactivity may end in the adoption of passive or active rejection of social possibilities for identity, that is, in the adoption of negative identities. On the other hand the hyperactivity may end in the adoption of some positive identity of a totalistic, partial, rather than wholistic nature. Since adjustments to feelings of alienation are designed to reduce tension, they are likely to be intense and extreme.

The tendency of the HA subjects to experience more discipline problems was interpreted as an outcome of intense hyperactivity designed to bring the individual into more intimate contact with the society of the school and the possibilities for the establishment of identity that can reduce alienation tension. The tendency for HA subjects to avoid moderation in their engagement of the educational process of their social sciences classes was interpreted in terms of their need to reduce alienation tension by adopting negative, apathetic or positive, totalistic identities. The results of descriptions of engagement

in activities was not interpreted through theory. It appeared that this portion of the study required more specific types of information in order to yield meaningful results.

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## APPENDIX A

### BENSON POLYTECHNIC HIGH SCHOOL

Benson High School, in addition to offering a regular high school program, offers a large number of courses in which a student can acquire working technical skills. The technical course offerings are as follows:

- Pre-Engineering Technology
- Architectural Drawing
- Mechanical Drawing
- Industrial Electronics
- Aviation Technology
- Communication Electronics
- General Pre-Engineering
- Vocational Technology
- Automotive Technology
- Building Construction
- Industrial Electronics, Vocational
- Machine Technology
- Metal Fabrication
- Graphic Arts
- Photography
- Communications Electronics, Vocational
- Foundry Practices
- Pattern Practices
- Plumbing
- Welding
- Industrial Plastics
- Fluid Power

Although the school emphasizes technical training, students who attend Benson are not limited by that fact in their choices of career. Most prepare themselves for skilled jobs on graduation. However, about 38% go on to careers requiring attendance at two and four year colleges. Others go into the armed forces on graduation.

The school employs a full-time job placement counselor, who, with the aid of vocational teachers, keeps abreast of the job market and helps students to find jobs or to enter apprenticeship programs commensurate with the skills they have acquired at Benson. Job placement counseling is offered to graduates as a life-time service. Benson's record of placement of graduates in further schooling, the armed forces, or in jobs has been 100% for several years.

Students enter the Benson program by submitting an application for acceptance to the program. Their interests and aptitudes, as well as their records of tardies, absences, and suspensions are weighed by school personnel who must decide whether to accept or reject the applicant. Severe discipline problems cause some students to be rejected. If a student wishes to drop out of Benson, he may negotiate to return to the high school serving the district of his residence.

## APPENDIX B

### THE MULTIPLE ALIENATION MEASURE AS MODIFIED BY WRITER

#### OPINION SURVEY

On these pages are twenty statements of opinions about the world we live in. It has been found that some people agree with all of these statements, some agree with none of them, and some agree with part of them. Whatever you feel about these statements, you can be sure that there are many who share your views.

Following each statement there are listed six possible responses as follows:

strongly agree   not sure but   not sure but   disagree   strongly  
agree   may agree   may not agree   disagree

Please place a check mark (✓) in the blank following the response that states best your feeling about the statement. For example, if you are not sure how you feel about a statement, but think you disagree, you would place the check mark as shown in the sample above.

Remember, although the statements may seem alike in some ways, they are different. Please consider each statement separately and mark a response for each one, yet work as rapidly as you can.

Also, do not put your name on these pages. Your responses to these statements are confidential.

1. People will do almost anything if the reward is high enough.

Strongly agree   not sure but   not sure but   disagree   strongly  
agree   may agree   may not agree   disagree

2. Most people don't realize how much their lives are controlled by plots hatched in secret places.

Strongly agree   not sure but   not sure but   disagree   strongly  
agree   may agree   may not agree   disagree

3. In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse.

strongly\_\_agree\_\_not sure but\_\_not sure but\_\_disagree\_\_strongly\_\_  
agree                    may agree            may not agree            disagree

4. Success is more dependent on luck than real ability.

strongly\_\_agree\_\_not sure but\_\_not sure but\_\_disagree\_\_strongly\_\_  
agree                    may agree            may not agree            disagree

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

strongly\_\_agree\_\_not sure but\_\_not sure but\_\_disagree\_\_strongly\_\_  
agree                    may agree            may not agree            disagree

6. It is usually best to tell your superiors and bosses what they really want to hear.

strongly\_\_agree\_\_not sure but\_\_not sure but\_\_disagree\_\_strongly\_\_  
agree                    may agree            may not agree            disagree

7. Ideas that have no useful or practical application are of little use to man.

strongly\_\_agree\_\_not sure but\_\_not sure but\_\_disagree\_\_strongly\_\_  
agree                    may agree            may not agree            disagree

8. Things are changing so fast these days that one doesn't know what to expect from day to day.

strongly\_\_agree\_\_not sure but\_\_not sure but\_\_disagree\_\_strongly\_\_  
agree                    may agree            may not agree            disagree

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

strongly\_\_agree\_\_not sure but\_\_not sure but\_\_disagree\_\_strongly\_\_  
agree                    may agree            may not agree            disagree

10. Our country has too many poor people who can do little to raise their standard of living.

strongly\_\_agree\_\_not sure but\_\_not sure but\_\_disagree\_\_strongly\_\_  
agree                    may agree            may not agree            disagree

11. Few people really look forward to their work.

strongly\_\_agree\_\_not sure but\_\_not sure but\_\_disagree\_\_strongly\_\_  
agree                    may agree            may not agree            disagree

12. So many people do things well it is easy to become discouraged.

strongly\_\_\_agree\_\_\_not sure but\_\_\_not sure but\_\_\_disagree\_\_\_strongly\_\_\_  
agree                    may agree            may not agree            disagree

13. In this fast changing world, with so much different information available, it is difficult to think clearly about many issues.

strongly\_\_\_agree\_\_\_not sure but\_\_\_not sure but\_\_\_disagree\_\_\_strongly\_\_\_  
agree                    may agree            may not agree            disagree

14. There are so many ideas about what is right and wrong these days, that it is hard to figure out how to live your own life.

strongly\_\_\_agree\_\_\_not sure but\_\_\_not sure but\_\_\_disagree\_\_\_strongly\_\_\_  
agree                    may agree            may not agree            disagree

15. It is almost impossible for one person to really understand the feelings of another.

strongly\_\_\_agree\_\_\_not sure but\_\_\_not sure but\_\_\_disagree\_\_\_strongly\_\_\_  
agree                    may agree            may disagree            disagree

16. These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on.

strongly\_\_\_agree\_\_\_not sure but\_\_\_not sure but\_\_\_disagree\_\_\_strongly\_\_\_  
agree                    may agree            may disagree            disagree

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

strongly\_\_\_agree\_\_\_not sure but\_\_\_not sure but\_\_\_disagree\_\_\_strongly\_\_\_  
agree                    may agree            may disagree            disagree

18. It's hard to figure out whom you can really trust these days.

strongly\_\_\_agree\_\_\_not sure but\_\_\_not sure but\_\_\_disagree\_\_\_strongly\_\_\_  
agree                    may agree            may disagree            disagree

19. There is not much chance that people will really do anything to make this country a better place to live in.

strongly\_\_\_agree\_\_\_not sure but\_\_\_not sure but\_\_\_disagree\_\_\_strongly\_\_\_  
agree                    may agree            may disagree            disagree

20. The religious organizations of our country have little influence in making society a better place to live.

strongly\_\_\_agree\_\_\_not sure but\_\_\_not sure but\_\_\_disagree\_\_\_strongly\_\_\_  
agree                    may agree            may disagree            disagree

## APPENDIX C

### FACULTY QUESTIONNAIRE

Three categories of behavior are listed below, and each category contains four descriptive statements. You will have a numbered list of Students whose numbers correspond to the numbers given below the categories.

Please select, for each, student, one statement from each category that best describes that student's behavior in school to the best of your knowledge. Place the symbols of the resulting three statements to the right of the student's number in the same order as the behavior categories.

If you feel you have no knowledge of a student's behavior with respect to any category, please enter a check (✓) mark in place of a statement symbol.

#### I. Involvement in Activities

1. This student is involved in extra-curricular activities but not in sports.
2. This student is involved in sports as his only type of extra-curricular activity.
3. This student is involved in sports and other extra-curricular activities.
4. This student is not involved in sports or extra-curricular activities.

#### II. Academic Approach

- A. This student participates well in class discussion and group projects, but does not do well on individual assignments and projects.
- B. This student does well on individual assignments and projects but does not do well in class discussion and group projects.
- C. This student does well at both in classroom discussion and group projects and individual assignments and projects.

- D. This student does not do well at either individual assignments and projects or classroom discussion and group projects.

### III. Conduct

- W. This student is always well behaved.
- X. This student has been a discipline problem that has been handled entirely in class.
- Y. This student has been a discipline problem and has been asked to leave the classroom and may have been suspended once.
- Z. This student has been a discipline problem and has been suspended more than once.

### RESPONSE SHEET

	Categories				Categories		
	I	II	III		I	II	III
1.	_____	_____	_____	22.	_____	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____	_____	23.	_____	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____	_____	24.	_____	_____	_____
4.	_____	_____	_____	25.	_____	_____	_____
5.	_____	_____	_____	26.	_____	_____	_____
6.	_____	_____	_____	27.	_____	_____	_____
7.	_____	_____	_____	28.	_____	_____	_____
8.	_____	_____	_____	29.	_____	_____	_____
9.	_____	_____	_____	30.	_____	_____	_____
10.	_____	_____	_____	31.	_____	_____	_____
11.	_____	_____	_____	32.	_____	_____	_____
12.	_____	_____	_____	33.	_____	_____	_____
13.	_____	_____	_____	34.	_____	_____	_____
14.	_____	_____	_____	35.	_____	_____	_____
15.	_____	_____	_____	36.	_____	_____	_____
16.	_____	_____	_____	37.	_____	_____	_____
17.	_____	_____	_____	38.	_____	_____	_____
18.	_____	_____	_____	39.	_____	_____	_____
19.	_____	_____	_____	40.	_____	_____	_____
20.	_____	_____	_____	41.	_____	_____	_____
21.	_____	_____	_____	42.	_____	_____	_____