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Sex, race, social class and alienation.

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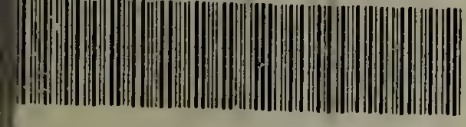*University of Massachusetts Amherst*

SEX, RACE, SOCIAL CLASS AND ALIENATION

A Thesis Presented

by

James P. Howard

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirement for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

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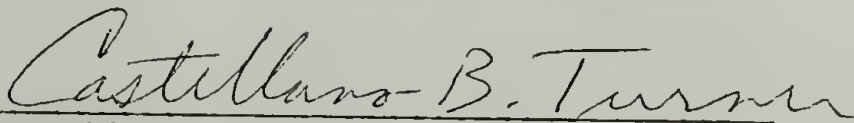
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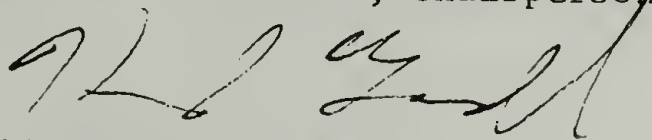
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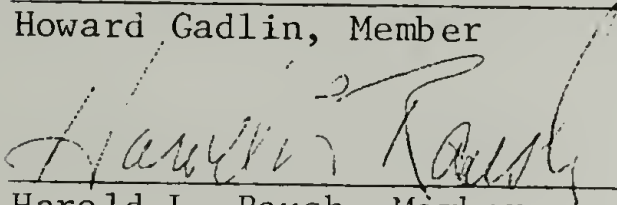
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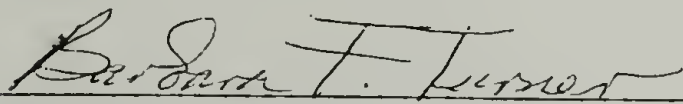
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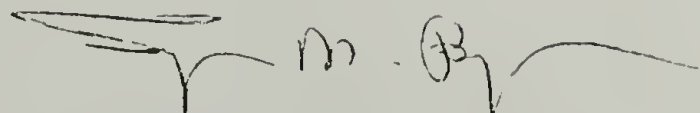
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INTRODUCTION

Review of the Literature

The purpose of this study is to clarify the construct
of alienation by specifying variation across context and
across certain demographic variables. Theories of
alienation most often begin with Marx's idea that alienation
is that condition resulting from the worker's separation
from the process of work. The worker, according to Marx,
was an agent of the profit seeking capitalist and so was
forced to sell himself and his labor, thereby becoming
alienated or estranged, both from the process of work and
from the products of his labor. Although Marx later
rejected the use of the concept of alienation as a
foundation for socialism (Feuer, 1960), the concept remained
popular in economics, sociology, politics and psychology.

Definition of Alienation

Most psychological definitions of alienation describe
alienation as "...a function of a perceived disjunction
between present behavior and rewards, values, or goals."

1

(Munson, 1970). There is some confusion in the literature concerning the meanings of alienation, anomie, anomy and anomia. Merton (1957) describes anomie (anomy) as a social condition occurring when the social structure limits the capacities of certain members in achieving cultural goals. Anomie is a quality of a social system or social context. Anomia is not a quality of a group (McClosky and Schaar, 1965), but rather the individual belief system that often accompanies the societal condition. This belief system entails both cognitive aspects (expectations of the pertinent alienating system) and affective aspects (feelings of despair, hopelessness and resignation; see Olsen, 1969), in response to the frustration of expectations. An individual can experience anomia even in the absence of a social condition of anomie and one can feel non-anomic (eunomic) even though a member of a group that generally suffers anomie. Although many definitions have merged, the common theme in these definitions is that of some form of disjunction, separation or estrangement and the feelings and cognitions that accompany this estrangement (Fromm, 1966; Denise, 1973). This estrangement may be a disjunction of separation from self, from work, from dominant or subcultures, from family, from politics, in short from any activity, person or persons, or values with whom the individual interacts. Eric and Mary Josephson (1973) wrote:

> Alienation is a term with many meanings.
> In general, the idea is that something --
> ties or bonds -- connecting man to himself,
> to others, to the community and the
> technologies and social institutions he has
> created, is lost, missing, or severed, and
> that this state of affairs leads to various
> pathologies (p. 64).

Melvin Seeman (1959) and others have emphasized the
nature and components of this process of estrangement rather
than emphasize the situation, person or group from which one
is alienated. Seeman distinguished five components of
alienation: powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness,
isolation, and self-estrangement. Seeman described
powerlessness as, "the expectancy or probability held by the
individual that his own behavior cannot determine the
occurrence of the outcomes or reinforcement he seeks" (p.
784). Seeman states that meaninglessness often occurs "when
the individual's minimal standards for clarity in decision
making are not met" (p. 786). Seeman also states that
normlessness occurs when "there is a high expectancy that
socially unapproved behaviors are required to achieve
certain goals" (p. 788). Isolation occurs, according to
Seeman, when individuals "assign low reward values to goals
or beliefs that are typically highly valued in the given
society" (p. 789). Finally, estrangement is determined by
the "degree of dependence of the given behavior upon

anticipated future rewards, that is, upon rewards that lie

outside the activity itself" (p. 790).

Leo Srole's scale (1956) was designed and used to

measure anomia. Srole hypothesized that anomia had five

components. The first anomia component involved a

perception of public leaders as indifferent to the subject's

needs. The statement used was "there's little use writing

to public officials because often they aren't really

interested in the problems of the average man." Srole felt

that anomia involved a sense of hopelessness towards the

future and his second statement was, "nowadays a person has

to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of

itself." Srole hypothesized that anomia entailed a sense of

loss and pessimism and so included the statement, "in spite

of what some people say, the lot of the average man is

getting worse, not better." Srole felt that those suffering

from anomia had a strong sense of life's meaninglessness and

so included the statement, "it's hardly fair to bring

children into the world with the way things look to the

future." Finally, Srole believed that anomia entailed a

loss of faith even in personal relationships and so included

the statement, "these days a person doesn't really know whom

he can count on."

Many studies and many alienation measurement scales

have been based on Srole's theoretical explanation of

alienation. Often these scales have indicated different
levels of anomie in various groups and much has been made of
these differences. It is important to examine the specific
situations in which anomia occurs and not assume that anomie
in some contexts generalizes to make anomic all
relationships of all members of such groups. Alienation and
each of its components is situation specific and situation
bound. The fact that certain groups are alienated from
larger socio-political processes does not mean that members
of those groups are alienated from all important social
groups. A person may well feel secure in his or her group
of personal associates and feel powerless and isolated from
larger social groups. In a study of alienation among
farmers, John Clark (1959) found that some of the farmers
felt powerless in large governmental programs like the state
and federal agricultural programs and yet felt a sense of
belonging and power in their small peer group of the
cooperative. Clark's study demonstrated the situational
specificity of powerlessness and the changing of this
feeling as the referent situation changed. Jan Hajada
(1961) studies alienated intellectuals and came to similar
conclusions.

Using graduate students, he found "alienated" graduate
students isolated from the larger social structures of the
non-intellectual community but not isolated from their

fellow students and faculty. Isolation was not generalized
in their case, but rather was specific to particular
situations. Similarly meaninglessness, normlessness,
powerlessness, and estrangement need to be empirically
examined in specific situations and not theoretically
assumed. This position of context specificity is consistent
with Marx's stance on alienation. Marx (Fromm, 1955) saw
four types of alienations alienation of the worker from the
process of his or her work, alienation from the products of
that work, alienation from his/her fellows, and alienation
from self. Clearly implied in this position is a concept of
alienation that is context specific and involving personal,
social, economic and political referents. The
generalizability of Srole's measure and of Seeman's concepts
can best be understood using an empirical study which
controls for referent groups.

There is a great deal of documentation that
historically different groups have been treated differently
by those in charge of the dominant social, political and
economic institutions. During the foundation of the United
States, many argued strenuously that the right to vote
should be restricted to white, male, property owners.
Although non-property owners were given the right to vote,
even their rights were at times were at times limited by
poll taxes and literacy requirements. The long struggles

that blacks and women engaged in to secure their suffrage
are well documented in our history. There have been
political and economic differences in the treatment of
blacks (and other minorities), women, and the poor, with
these differential practices often centered in our most
powerful and august institutions and pervading many aspects
of America's public and private life. It seems, therefore,
that race, gender, and social class have been a long
standing basis for exclusion and for the consequent
alienation of individuals in society.

Psychologists, sociologists, and other social
scientists have addressed the current results of history of
differential treatment in a variety of ways and with a
variety of theories. One of the theories most pertinent to
the study of alienation is the social deprivation theory
(Merton, 1938). This theory holds that certain groups, such
as blacks, who have historically been denied political and
economic equality, have suffered as a result of that denial
and so are more alienated and less inclined to adapt to
current social demands. Daniel Moynihan (1965) relies
heavily on social deprivation theory, citing "three
centuries of injustice" (p. 47) in detailing problems with
black families.

Merton (1957), using Durkheim's theory of anomie,
suggests that alienation is produced when a society holds

out certain common cultural ideals to all of its members while systematically limiting access to the achievement of those ideals for some. In America, the ideals have often been those of individual, materialistic success; yet for some minority groups, the poor, and women there has been limited access to the means for achieving these individualistic, materialistic goals. Merton notes:

> Anomie is then conceived as a breakdown
> in the cultural structure, occurring
> particularly when there is an acute disjunc-
> tion between the cultural norms and goals
> and the socially structured capacities of
> members of the group to act in accord with
> them. In this conception, cultural values
> may help produce behavior which is at odds
> with the mandates of the value themselves.
> (p. 162)

Merton states that there are particular responses to this disjunction between ideals (goals) and means of attaining those ideals. These responses include innovation (e.g., criminal behavior, delinquent activities: ritualism (the obtaining of satisfaction from compulsively carrying out one's role, neither authentically participating nor achieving the cultural goals; retreatism (a withdrawal from both the goals and the means of the society, e.g., bag ladies, drug addicts); and rebellion (those behaviors that conflict with the established structure and are characterized by a desire to drastically change that structure). Merton fails to find any adaptive, responsive,

reality oriented behaviors in response to restrictive social pressures. He and others tend to present the economic and political restrictions as pervasive and disruptive of all other aspects of the lives of those (such as minorities, women and the poor) who must suffer such restrictions.

Minority_Group_Status_and_Alienation

Many social scientists have pursued the social deprivation theory which holds that the experiences of certain subgroups of Americans causes them to be alienated, ineffective, rageful and psychopathological (Becker, 19671; Davids, 1955; Gould, 1969; Rubins, 1961; Srole, 1962; Vollmerhausen, 1961; Weiss, 1961). Social deprivation theory is based on the premise that those who are not allowed full and equal access to dominant group resources and goals nonetheless share the values and goals of the dominant group and look to it as the determinative, salient referent group. Bullough (1967) found blacks who were oriented to the black community more alienated than those blacks oriented to the white community. For Bullough the "healthiest" blacks were those who shared the values and goals of the dominant group rather than those who referred to the values and goals of the black subgroup. Other researchers have argued that black people, unable to attain

the general social goals of material wealth, are alienated from the economic mainstream and, therefore, powerfully disadvantaged and disaffected throughout life (Meier and Bell, 1959). Coleman (1980) states that for minorities, the past and present denial of full access to "a market economy in which they could make the consumer decisions, long term and everyday, that are characteristic of an urban, open society" made blacks less sensitive to the cues provided by the environment and, therefore, less powerful and less able to successfully manipulate that environment. Other researchers have reported similar findings which they argue render blacks and other minorities less able to produce healthy, appropriate responses to the general social network (Block, 1969; Middleton, 1963). Some writers find "alienated" Negro youth faceless, unwanted and invisible (Fields, 1969), while others compare black children to behavior problem children and neuropsychiatric patients (Ziller, 1969). Interestingly, even some black writers, proponents of black separatism, ascribe to blacks such qualities and experiences as marginality, namelessness, powerlessness, non-personhood, and invisibility (Forsythe, 1975; Hare, 1969).

Other researchers have come to different findings and different conclusions. Moye (1975) found less alienation among minority secondary students than among white students.

Gerson (1964) argued that not only are "disadvantaged" subgroups alienated, but also that many non-disadvantaged Americans are victims of alienation as a result of their "successful participation in the consumer society -- manipulated by the artificial stimulants of a giant advertising industry" (p. 145).

An idea inherent to the social_deprivation_theory is the idea that whites, males, and the wealthier classes discriminate against non-whites as well as the poor and females and that the results of their economic and political discrimination are not mediated, lessened, or countered by subgroup processes. Social deprivation theorists also assume that the only values and goals of importance are those of the dominant, wealthy, white, male groups. It may be that minorities, women and the poor need not and do not as fully subscribe to these values as some would believe.

Long (1978) found little support for the social deprivation model and presented several reasons why blacks are less alienated than would be predicted. Long states that subgroups compensate for injustice by devaluing hostile realities and/or those evaluative processes which indicate self-deficiencies. Similarly, Long states that blacks and other outgroups may distort or disregard unfulfilling or threatening aspects of their environment. Long notes that blacks may base self-evaluative criteria on those qualities

which they feel are important and available. Rushing (1971)
found that alienation was greatly diminished among ®Mexican
Americans because they valued uniqueness in personal
expression, lifestyle, and inner consciousness and had less
emphasis than whites on succeeding economically. Turner and
Turner (1982) found that blacks' self-esteem was based on
interpersonal rather than instrumental (economic) skills
when access to instrumental skills and opportunities was
denied. Baughman 1971) writes that although blacks and
whites reach self-esteem by different routes, both groups
reach self-esteem equally. Mui (1961) argues forcefully
that material goals are not the only goals, nor the most
desirable goals, for rich or poor. Mizruchi (1961)
responding to Mui writes:

> My own expectation is that recognition
> in a community or sub-group provides an
> alternative to occupational achievement...
> The specific nature of the goal really
> does not matter, as far as anomie is con-
> concerned, provided it is a shared goal, i.e.,
> a culturally prescribed goal and provided
> the social structure limits the achievement
> of specific subgroups (p. 277).

Robert Blauner (1964) found that even in large chemical
plants, typically alienation according to Marxist thought,
workers used informal, unofficial work groups as their
primary work reference groups. These work groups mediated
and lessened the general sense of alienation, providing a

sense of belonging and purpose and continuity and
responsibility for the workers.

Success, satisfaction and involvement are determined
not only by what one does, but also by how ones does it and
what value is placed by that person and his/her referent
group on doing it. Alienation is not determined by
estrangement from only the general group, but by
estrangement from the referent group that is salient in a
particular context. Referent groups may vary in their
methods and their values, but alienation is not determined
by differences in methods and values. Alienation is rather
an issue of separation or estrangement from the methods and
values of one's particular referent group. Alfred Lee
(1972), proclaiming alienation's death as a concept, writes:

> To state the matter otherwise, many
> assertions of "alienation" are simply
> and accurately translated as contentions
> that members of some "problem" groups are
> at odds with the spokesman's value
> orientation or conception of societal
> legitimacy or ideas about appropriate
> social-action procedures. That those group
> members might have another value orientation
> which they regard to be more satisfying or
> useful (whether a "rational" or "irrational"
> one) is not within the focus of alienation
> (p. 123).

Long (1978) states that the black family and black
social groups are the groups to which blacks refer in
establishing norms, belongingness, a sense of self, etc.

Contrary to Bullough's (1967) thesis that blacks oriented to

the white community and values are less alienated, there is

evidence that the use of blacks by blacks as a referent

group reduces many of the alienating pressures felt by

blacks in the dominant white society. Bell (1957), Ennis

(1971) and Richmond (1969) all note that participation in

black groups lessens feelings of alienation, particularly

for those blacks students on mostly white campuses. Wilson

(1971) writes that belonging to a social organization, even

that of an economically deprived ghetto neighborhood,

fosters a normative system which leads to feelings of well-

being and minimizes alienation.

Reference group theory (Merton and Rossi, 1968),

embodies the idea that attitudes such as alienation are

formed in reference to different social groups. The

alienation of blacks from the larger American socio-

political processes is demonstrated by blacks' Srole scores.

The degree to which this alienation extends into other

pertinent referent groups such as peers, family, work, etc.

has yet to be empirically demonstrated.

Social Class and Alienation

Over forty years ago Robert Merton (1938) noted that

anomie occurs when there are general values for the society

and when some parts of society, imbued with those values,
are restricted from effectively pursuing them. In our
society this has often been translated to mean that the
poor, alienated from specific economic and political
processes, suffer the generalized effects of alienation
throughout their lives. Merton noted an inverse
relationship between socio-economic status (SES) and anomie.
Srole (1956), almost twenty years after Merton wrote,
continued to find support for the inverse relationship
between SES and alienation as have others (Dean, 1961; Groff
and Wright, 1978; Mizruchi, 1960; and Rhodes, 1964). Turner
and Wilson (1976) found that among blacks, alienation
decreases as SES increases. Although, according to Marxist
theory, the middle and upper classes too should evince
alienation, and some recent research (Abrahamson, 1980;
Simon and Gagnon, 1976), most research has associated lower
socioeconomic status with higher alienation scores. Clearly
there will not be a perfect correlation between alienation
scores and SES. Among the confounding factors will be such
factors as formal group participation (Bell,
1957; Mizruchi, 1960), education (Middleton, 1963), social
mobility (Simpson and Miller, 1963), personal aspirations
(Rhodes, 1965), religion (Wassef, 1967) family history
(Klein and Gould, 1969), and culture (Rushing, 1971;
Simpson, 1970). In this study we do expect to find a

general tendency for SES to be negatively correlated with alienation scores.

Gender and Alienation

There has been little written about gender and alienation. Lovell-Troy (1983) found little written on the alienation of women working either inside or outside the home. Creech (1980) writes that from 1960-1980 women's alienation had changed and lessened. Creech argues that the traditional devalued status of women had changed due to greater valuation of traditional "women's" work and the increased opportunity for women to do traditionally "male" work. Creech writes that now gender, when class controlled, has little effect on alienation. Twaite (1974), studying college students in the early 1970's, found no significant differences in male and female alienation scores. Moye (1975), studying college students, although predicting that males would be more alienated, found that females had significantly higher senses of alienation than did males. Moyer and Motta (1982) found white males to be significantly more alienated than white females.

Moyer and Motta (1982) and others have also looked to other combinations of race and gender and their effect on alienation. Moyer and Motta (1982) found no significant

difference in the alienation scores for black males and black females. White (1968), although predicting that black males would show greater alienation than black females, found black females higher in alienation than black males, white males, or white females. Sprey (1962), however, investigating black high school students in northern urban centers found black females to show less alienation than black males. Sprey explained this difference saying that the black male "...faces a more unbalanced set of role expectations than his female counterpart" (p. 19). Savage (1975) predicted and found significantly greater alienation among black males than black females in a college student population. Savage reasoned that among blacks the different sexes have different tasks when coping with racism. Turner and Wilson (1976), examining urban black attitudes in the north and south, found black males less than thirty years old to be significantly more alienated than black females and blacks over thirty. Claerbut (1978) found a general pattern of consensus among black male and black female alienation scores. Males and females were always responding in the same direction, usually without significant differences. Females were, however, significantly less estranged culturally while males were significantly less isolated than females.

For whites and for blacks it appears that sex
differences on general alienation measures are hard to
consistently predict. However, given the lingering effects
of sexism, operating on both males and females, and making
full access to cultural goals desirable but limited for
females, women may be slightly more alienated on general and
work alienation scales.

Alienation, Contexts and Reference Groups

Much of the work concerning alienation has been based
on Melvin Seeman's (1959) article describing a general
alienation scale. Unfortunately, it is unclear to what
extent a person alienated according to a general alienation
scale is specifically alienated from pertinent referent
groups. John Clark (1959), citing the need for studying
alienation in specific social situations, says, "Man is
differentially involved in society and participates in
varying degrees of intensity in different social situations"
(p. 849). People live simultaneously in multiple societies
and alienation, as measured by Srole and others, may be a
measure of powerlessness, normlessness, meaninglessness,
isolation, and self-estrangement in one or more of these
referent groups, but it is not necessarily a measure of such
feelings in all of these referent groups. Seeman (1967),

eight years after his pioneering work, write, "In short, alienation in the sense used here emerged as a feature of the person that can be understood only as a problem-solving, situation-bound characteristic" (p. 121).

Due to differential treatment, blacks, women and the poor (as well as whites, men and the middle and upper socio-economic classes) developed responses to America that are subgroup-specific and situation-specific. These responses may or may not approximate one another or the dominant culture's responses. Individual and group anomic conditions and responses are situationally bound and we should not assume that a manifestation of anomie is any one area necessarily indicates alienative responses in any other area. Unfortunately the Srole and other traditional "alienation" scales tend to measure alienation only from the larger socio-political structures and do not measure alienation from other important life referent groups.

The task of this research is to clarify and understand the different responses generated by different groups of Americans in specific situations. Our basic question is to what degree are there racial, gender, and SES differences on general and situation-specific alienation scales. We will examine specific alienation for men and women, blacks and whites, and lower and higher SES groups.

Hypothesis

Based on the above review and using a scale in which different contexts are specified, it is hypothesized that:

1. Blacks will have higher scores on the general alienation scale and on those scales measuring alienation from legal processes, school, work, and the white world. Blacks will have equal or lower scores on the scales measuring alienation from self, family, peers, and community.

2. Women will have higher scores on the scales measuring general alienation and on those scales measuring alienation from self and work. Women will have equal or lower scores on the scales measuring alienation from family, peers, community and legal processes

3. Lower SES respondents will have higher scores on the scales measuring general alienation and the scales measuring alienation from work. school, self, and legal processes. They will have equal or lower scores on the scales measuring alienation from family and peers.

Method

Sample

The sample was comprised of the entering freshman class in 1969 at a large state university in the northeast. There were 2,866 white students in the sample, including 1,457 females and 1,492 males. Of the 145 black students in the study, 75 were males and 70 were females. Of the black

students, 56 were of the highest SES group, 50 were of the
middle SES group, and 60 were in the lowest SES group.

For whites, 124 were of the highest SES group, 126 were
of the middle SES group, and 86 were of the lowest SES
group. See Table 1 for further SES breakdown.

Procedures

A questionnaire was administered as part of the testing
and orientation sessions in which all freshmen participate
during the summer preceding their entrance to the
university. Among other items, the questionnaire included
the Turner Alienation Index (AI) Inventory).

The AI inventory is a 45-item scale consisting of nine
five-item subscales. The core concept of the entire test
relates to the feeling of disengagement and distance which a
person may have with respect to different aspects of his or
her life. That is, the person, in responding to the scale
is indicating the extent to which he/she feels that his/her
values do not correspond to the values of various groups in
his/her life. To the extent that a person is in agreement
with or accepts the values of a particular group, he/she is
not alienated.

The fact that there are nine subscales is based on the
author's conclusion that alienation is not simply a unitary

Table 1
Subjects by Race, Gender and Socioeconomic Status

Race	Gender	Socioeconomic Status							
		Upper SEC		Middle SEC		Lower SEC		NWC*	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Black	Female	29	32.2	27	30.2	25	27.8	6	6.7
Black	Male	27	28.4	23	24.2	35	36.8	9	9.5
White	Female	61	33.9	72	40.0	36	20.0	9	5.0
White	Male	63	32.6	54	28.0	50	25.9	24	12.4

SEC = Socioeconomic class
NWC = Not working outside home (includes homemaker,
      retired, unemployed, etc.)

dimension, but that alienation exists in relation to various groups and forces in the person's life field. A person can be estranged from his family, feeling that there is not much or any overlap of values, and yet be completely engaged as far as his peer group, school, or the larger society is concerned. The nine subtests measure general alienation, self-alienation from family, from peers, from community, from school and educational processes, from work, from legal processes, and from the white world. These subtests are designed to compare general alienation scores with specific alienation scores and to determine from which salient, reference groups the respondent is or is not alienated. (See the complete scale in Appendix A.)

C H A P T E R I I

RESULTS

This chapter presents results related to the question
of whether or not race, gender and SES account for different
responses to ten measures of alienation. In the first
section, reliability data are presented on each scale. The
second section details the results of the hypothesis tests
performed, ANOVAS and t-tests.

Reliability of Alienation Scales

Table 2 presents the Cronbach Alpha's for each scale.
With the exception of the Work Scale (Cronbach Alpha = .49)
and the Legal Processes Scale (Cronbach Alpha = .59), all of
the Cronbach Alpha's are higher than the .62 for the
standard Srole Anomie Scale, indicating that the scales are
reasonably internally consistant.

Tables 3-13 present internal consistency reliabilities
for each of the scales. Corrected Item-Total correlations
are presented for each of the times for each race-sex
subgroup, black males, black females, white males and white
females. The last column of each table presented the Item-
Total correlation for the total sample.

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Table 2
Cronbach Alpha's for the Alienation Scales

Scale	Black Males	Black Females	White Males	White Females	Total Sample
Srole	.42	.56	.59	.52	.62
Self	.69	.64	.67	.63	.65
Family	.62	.64	.75	.80	.73
Peer	.60	.68	.64	.72	.66
Community	.47	.63	.61	.72	.63
Legal	.56	.28	.60	.63	.59
School	.69	.79	.67	.74	.73
Work	.47	.50	.49	.47	.49
Black Srole	.62	.64	.60	.63	.66

Table 3
Summary of all Significant ANOVA Main and Interaction
Effects for the Nine Subscales and the
Total Alienation Score.

Scale	Race	Gender	SES	Race X Gender
Srole	F=89.404***			
Peer	F=4.418*			
School	F=6.833**			
Work	F=12.034*	F=8.034**		
Black Srole	F=52.542			F=4.082*
TOTAL:	F=24.822***		F=3.194*	

   *significant to   .05
  **significant to   .01
 ***significant to   .001

Table 4
Summary of ANOVA for Srole Scale by Race,
Sex and Socioeconomic Status

Source	df	MS	F	P
Race	1	474.710	89.404	.001
Sex	1	.017	.003	.955
S.E.S.*	2	5.222	.984	.375
Race x Sex	1	10.893	2.051	.153
Race x S.E.S.	2	9.644	1.820	.163
Sex x S.E.S.	2	.251	.047	.954
Race x Sex x S.E.S.	2	5.089	.959	.384

*Socioeconomic Status

Table 5
Summary of ANOVA for Self Scale by Race,
Sex and Socioeconomic Status

Source	df	MS	F	p
Race	1	.004	.001	.976
Sex	1	14.299	3.021	.083
S.E.S.*	2	9.817	2.074	.127
Race x Sex	1	3.451	.729	.394
Race x S.E.S.	2	.812	.171	.842
Sex x S.E.S.	2	5.312	1.122	.326
Race x Sex x S.E.S.	2	2.259	.477	.621

*Socioeconomic Status

Table 6
Summary of ANOVA for Family Scale by Race,
Sex and Socioeconomic Status

Source	df	MS	F	P
Race	1	.349	.084	.772
Sex	1	6.614	1.592	.208
S.E.S.*	2	8.944	2.152	.117
Race x Sex	1	1.394	.335	.563
Race x S.E.S.	2	3.350	.806	.447
Sex x S.E.S.	2	10.225	2.460	.086
Race x Sex x S.E.S.	2	.330	.079	.924

*Socioeconomic Status

Table 7
Summary of ANOVA for Peer Scale by Race,
Sex and Socioeconomic Status

Source	df	MS	F	P
Race	1	23.982	4.418	.036
Sex	1	1.953	.360	.549
S.E.S.*	2	14.719	2.711	.067
Race x Sex	1	8.765	1.615	.204
Race x S.E.S.	2	3.522	.649	.523
Sex x S.E.S.	2	.368	.068	.935
Race x Sex x S.E.S.	2	.909	.167	.846

*Socioeconomic Status

Table 8
Summary of ANOVA for Community Scale by Race,
Sex and Socioeconomic Status

Source	df	MS	F	P
Race	1	.015	.006	.939
Sex	1	7.289	2.799	.095
S.E.S.*	2	2.482	.953	.386
Race x Sex	1	1.796	.689	.407
Race x S.E.S.	2	.765	.294	.746
Sex x S.E.S.	2	3.118	1.197	.303
Race x Sex x S.E.S.	2	1.960	.753	.472

*Socioeconomic Status

Table 9
Summary of ANOVA for Legal Scale by Race,
Sex and Socioeconomic Status

Source	df	MS	F	P
Race	1	7.790	2.298	.130
Sex	1	1.173	.346	.557
S.E.S.*	2	1.479	.436	.647
Race x Sex	1	.487	.144	.705
Race x S.E.S.	2	1.344	.397	.673
Sex x S.E.S.	2	2.096	.618	.539
Race x Sex x S.E.S.	2	.045	.013	.987

*Socioeconomic Status

Table 10
Summary of ANOVA for School Scale by Race,
Sex and Socioeconomic Status

Source	df	MS	F	P
Race	1	25.784	6.833	.009
Sex	1	1.707	.452	.502
S.E.S.*	2	8.362	2.216	.110
Race x Sex	1	2.940	.779	.378
Race x S.E.S.	2	.147	.039	.962
Sex x S.E.S.	2	3.550	.941	.391
Race x Sex x S.E.S.	2	.574	.152	.859

*Socioeconomic Status

Table 11
Summary of ANOVA for Work Scale by Race,
Sex and Socioeconomic Status

Source	df	MS	F	P
Race	1	48.781	12.034	.001
Sex	1	32.567	8.034	.005
S.E.S.*	2	.725	.179	.836
Race x Sex	1	5.035	1.242	.266
Race x S.E.S.	2	5.355	1.321	.268
Sex x S.E.S.	2	2.392	.590	.555
Race x Sex x S.E.S.	2	6.240	1.539	.216

*Socioeconomic Status

Table 12
Summary of ANOVA for Black Srole Scale by Race,
Sex and Socioeconomic Status

Source	df	MS	F	P
Race	1	372.725	53.542	.001
Sex	1	5.462	.785	.376
S.E.S.*	2	19.063	2.738	.066
Race x Sex	1	28.414	4.082	.044
Race x S.E.S.	2	14.789	2.124	.121
Sex x S.E.S.	2	1.304	.187	.829
Race x Sex x S.E.S.	2	8.728	1.254	.286

*Socioeconomic Status

Table 13
Summary of ANOVA for Alienation Total Scale
by Race, Sex and Socioeconomic Status

Source	df	MS	F	P
Race	1	3607.748	24.822	.001
Sex	1	430.739	2.964	.086
S.E.S.*	2	467.271	3.194	.042
Race x Sex	1	322.083	2.216	.137
Race x S.E.S.	2	18.890	.130	.878
Sex x S.E.S.	2	62.507	.430	.651
Race x Sex x S.E.S.	2	89.694	.617	.540

*Socioeconomic Status

Analysis of Alienation Scales

Each alienation subscale was treated as a dependent measure in a 2x2x3 analysis of variance (race: black/white by gender; male/female by SES; high status father's job/middle status father's job/lower status father's job). Table 12 presents the F values and significance levels for the significant main and interaction effects. There was no significant main effects nor any significant interaction effects on the scales measuring alienation from self, family, community or legal processes.

Srole, Peer, School, Work, Black Srole, and Alienation Total Scales yielded significant race main effects ranging in significance from p< .05 to p. <.001, indicating that the black subjects reported significantly greater alienation on these scales than did white subjects.

On the Srole Anomie Scale a race main effect appeared (F = 89.404, p < .001). Blacks (mean = 11.98) were significantly more likely to manifest general alienation than whites (mean = 14.08). This is consistent with the basic postulates of this study (see Table 4).

On the Peer Scale a race main effect appeared (F = 4.418, p. <036). Blacks (mean = 14.66) were significantly more likely to indicate alienation from peers

than were whites (mean = 15.18). This result, although
seemingly inconsistent with our predictions, may be
explained in terms of the specific relationships that blacks
have with other blacks on a university campus (see Table 7).

On the School Scale race was a significant factor
(F = 6.833, p <.009). Blacks (mean = 14.54) were
significantly more likely to indicate alienation from school
than were whites (mean = 15.07). This is consistent with
the basic postulates of this study (see Table 10).

On the Work Scale there were significant main effects
for race (F = 12.034, p <.001) and for sex (F= 8.034,
p <.005). Blacks (mean = 11.66) were more likely to give
responses indicative of alienation from work processes than
were whites (mean - 12.35). Although our hypotheses
predicted that blacks would be more alienated from work
processes than whites, we expected women, too, to be more
alienated in this realm. Although there were main effects
for race and for sex, there were no interaction effects
(race X sex interaction, F = 1.242, p <.266 (see Table 11)

On the Black Srole Scale there was a significant main
effect for race (F = 53.542, p <.001) (see Table 12) with
blacks (mean = 12.40) appearing more alienated from current
racial conditions than whites (mean = 14.30). This supports
our hypothesis. Although there was no main effect for sex

(F - .785, p <.376), there was a race X sex interaction
effect for this scale (F = 4.082, p <.044) (see Table 12).
Tests of significance between mean scores of the race-sex
groups are presented in Table 14. These tests indicate that
although there were no significant differences between the
means of black males (mean = 12.43, SC = 3.14) and black
females (mean = 12.02, SD - 3.08), (t = .89, p <.372), black
male scores were significantly lower than white male scores
(t = 3.89, p <.001) and white female scores (t = -5.64,
p <.001). Similarly black female scores were significantly
lower than white male scores (t = -5.27, p <.002) and white
female scores (t = -6.70, p <.001). Among whites, the sex
effect is explained by a significant difference between
males and females. White males (mean = 13.88, SD = 2.60)
were significantly lower (t = 2.44, p <.015) on the Black
role Scale than white females (mean = 14.52, SD = 2.46).
Whites in general and white females in particular were less
likely to agree to items indicate of black alienation.

The Alienation Total Scale showed significant main
effects for race (F = 24.822, p <.001) and for SES
(F = 3.194, p <.042) (see Table 13). The race effect, an
expected effect, shows blacks (mean = 122.49) significantly
more likely than whites (mean = 128.55) to agree with
statements indicative of alienation. The SES effect, as
expected, showed the lowest SES respondents most likely to

Table 14
T-tests for Black Srole Scale: Race by Sex

Race	Sex		Mean	SD	1	2	3	4
Black	M	1	12.43	3.14		.89 (.372)	-3.89 (.001)	-5.64 (.001)
Black	F	2	12.02	3.08			-5.27 (.001)	-6.70 (.001)
White	M	3	13.88	2.60				-2.44 (.015)
White	F	4	14.52	2.46				

agree with statements indicative of alienation. Contrary to expectations on the Alienation Total Scale, the highest and lowest SES groups were equally likely to indicate alienation. Upper and lower SES groups were also both significantly more likely to agree to statements indicative of alienation than were members of the middle SES group (see Table 15).

Table 15
T-tests: Alienation Total Scale

| | | | | Socioeconomic Status | |
SES	Mean	SD	High	Middle	Low
High	1.95	.72	---	-2.51 (.01)	1.57 (.117)
Middle	2.14	.64	---	---	3.93 (.001)
Low	1.83	.71	---	---	---

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to identify situationally specific alienation and to indicate its differential manifestation across racial, gender and socioeconomic groups. While previous studies have examined general concepts of alienation and controlled for race, gender or SES, there is little data on alienation specific to well-defined contexts and across these groups.

In this discussion we will examine situationally specific differences between blacks and whites, men and women, and finally, lower, middle and upper SES groups of subjects.

Race and Alienation

A major hypothesis of this study was that blacks would have higher alienation scores on those scales measuring alienation from school, work and white society. These hypotheses were confirmed. This, coupled with black subjects' higher (more alienated) scores on the Srole scale, tends to confirm one of our postulates that blacks, who traditionally score higher on the Srole, are likely to be

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indicating, not alienation throughout their lives, as some have suggested, but rather alienation in response to specific social institutions, particularly larger white dominated social institutions. Much of the study of the effects of racism has focused on the impact of oppression. This impact, indeed great, is, we hypothesize, specifically enacted and specifically responded to.

Contrary to our hypotheses, blacks did not record scores indicating significantly different alienation than whites on the alienation from legal processes scale. It may be that the questions regarding legal alienation failed to properly address the question of alienation from legal structures. It also may be that the time of the administration of the questionnaires was of great importance. In the 1950's and 1960's, the law was often a vehicle for blacks to increase participation in the American process. "Civil Rights" were often seen as dependent on the legal processes, using the legal system to redress racial injustice (Fleming, 1981). It may be that blacks at the end of the 60's saw legal processes as providing a major resource for equality, to be used to correct injustice in other areas of American life, including the areas of work and education (Cordasco et al., 1973; Guterman, 1972). Indeed, blacks may have attributed their very existence at predominantly white universities to a legal process that

worked in their favor. This was a time following the gains of the Civil Rights movement and before the retrenchment of Baake and Defunis (Blackwell, 1981). It could also be that for many whites the late 1960's and early 1970's were a time of dissent and revolt against legal structures. Campus protests and protests against the war and draft may have been due to the efforts of white students to lessen the alienation they felt from legal processes and larger social institutions.

A second major hypothesis was that blacks would be equal to or lower than whites on alienation scores measuring alienation from primary groups such as family, peers, and community. Similarly, we hypothesized that blacks would be equal to or lower than whites on self-alienation. The results confirm the hypotheses for all of these scales, except for the alienation from peers scale. This is an important finding because much literature (Becker, 1961; Davids, 1955; Gould, 1969, Srole, 1962; Weiss, 1961), research, and practice has assumed that when one has high alienation scores on the Srole (or on other scales measuring alienation from large social institutions), then that alienation will generalize or be manifested in all other aspects of one's life. Our study demonstrates that blacks can be alienated from larger white-dominated institutions and not be significantly alienated from self or from

smaller, primary groups. The exception to this finding was with regard to alienation from peers. Here blacks showed greater alienation from peers than did whites. It may be that the questionnaire failed to accurately identify the referent group of peers for black students at this university. For instance, were the black students referring to white students as peers at this traditionally and predominantly white university? For whites, it is assumed that when referring to peers, the white respondents assumed white peers and that those peers, whether at the university of at home, were similar to them. For blacks it isn't clear who they are responding to when they answered the peer questions, their white peers or their black peers. The difference could make a difference in their responses, i.e.. if they felt "peers" referred to their predominantly white colleagues, then their responses might have been more similar to their answers on the School alienation scale (significantly more alienated than whites), whereas if their perceptions of peers were of black colleagues, they might have been less alienated as they were on the Self and Family scales (no significant difference in alienation compared to whites). For blacks, the hometown versus college peer distinction might have been important even if both groups of peers were black. Those blacks in predominantly white university settings were part of a large new group.

Traditionally, most blacks did not go to college and those who did went to predominantly black universities. In the late 1960's, for the first time there were large numbers of blacks going to college and going to predominantly white universities. It may be that these black students were still a minority in their black home communities and as such were somewhat alienated from their home communities by virtue of going to a predominantly white university. The distinctions and differences between those blacks going to predominantly white universities and their black peers who did not go to such schools may be significantly greater than the differences between the whites who left their home communities and their hometown white peers.

Another possible explanation is that the pressures that black students felt in general from the larger social institutions and leading to higher alienation scores on the School and Work scales strained relationships between black students, lessening their sense of connection and perhaps heightening and emphasizing differences among black students as well as between black and white students. In this case, blacks would manifest greater alienation from peers even when referring to other black university students. This emphasis by blacks on differences rather than unity and similarity in predominantly white universities has been well documented and may have led to the creation of social class

or regional cliques, as alienated from one another as from their white peers. Bressler (1973) noted that for black students on predominantly white campuses there were often problems with establishing and maintaining individual and group identity as blacks faced difficult and conflicting choices of assimilation, cultural pluralism and/or separatism. Smythe (1976) noted that black students in the late 1960's and early 1970's at predominantly white universities were often torn between their desires for supportive, but time and energy consuming peer group allegiance, and their needs to survive academically and excell individually. Lyons (1973), similarly looked at black students at several predominantly white universities and found that there was great cooperation and cohesion among blacks on those campuses with very few blacks, but that those campuses with significant increases in their black populations showed heightened competition and conflict among black students.

Gender and Alienation

The hypothesis that women would register equal or lower scores on the Family, Peers, Community and Legal scales were confirmed as there were no significant differences in gender responses to these scales.

Contrary to our predictions, there were also no significant differences between men and women on the general alienation scales (Srole, Alienation Total Scales) nor on the Self alienation scale. This tends to confirm the work of Creech (1980) and Twaite (1974) who found gender to play little role in determining alienation. The only situation in which there was a clear sex difference was that involving the Work scale, where the direction was contrary to that predicted. On the work scale, women responded in a manner less indicative of alienation than men. Although some studies have found no sex differences in alienation (Creech, 1980; Twaite, 1974), and others have found women more alienated than men (Moye, 1974; White, 1968), our finding of less work alienation is somewhat surprising.

In addressing the significant differences in men's and women's work alienation scores, we need first to ask if the scale reliably measured alienation from work or if it measured something else. The Work scale had a Cronbach Alpha of .49 (see Table 2), the lowest of all the scales. It is possible that this scale failed to accurately measure alienation from work, measuring instead some other quality. The work scale could have measured current popular attitudes toward work, untested in the "real world" of work, parental attitudes toward work or student attitudes toward parental work.

Our predictions of scores indicative of greater work
alienation by women were due in part to our perceptions of
the alienating effects of greater discrimination against
women in the work force. Creech (1980) noted that there had
been significantly greater opportunities in the work world
for women in the 1960's and 1970's and these changes may be
reflected in the women's scores. It could be also that
although discrimination still exists against women in the
work force, the relative lessening of discrimination led to
a heady sense of freedom and opportunity for these
beneficiaries of the most recent women's movement. It could
be that women's lower scores on the work alienation scale
are due to an absence of meaningful discrimination against
these women in the work force. It might be that the work
world discriminates more against men in late adolescence
than against women. The relatively low pay, low status jobs
that late adolescents acquire might have been much less
discriminatory towards women than work they would seek
later in life. Similarly, it might be that many women had
yet to face the "real" world of work with its' attendant
discrimination and injustices. In any or all of these
situations, young women might have generalized from their
limited work experiences and become overly optimistic about
their power and opportunities in the work world, lessening
their alienation. Although there has been tremendous

changes for women (and men) in the work force since the

second world war, some of these changes are illusory and are

not indicative of equality of opportunity for men and women.

The wages of all women workers dropped from 63% to 57% of

the wages of all male workers from the 1950's to the 1970's

(pg. i, Seidman, 1978).

In Massachusetts in 1970, even among full-time working

women professionals, women only earned 60.7% of the income

earned by their male counterparts. This Massachusetts'

figure is even lower than the national average in 1970,

which showed women professionals earning 67% of the income

of their male counterparts (p. 115, Seidman, 1978).

It may be that young women had experienced

discrimination and alienation in the world due to gender and

market factors, but had difficulty acknowledging this

alienation. Women may have experienced cognitive dissonance

and resolved this dissonance by insisting that work was free

of discriminatory, alienating forces. Cognitive dissonance

might be similar, in these cases, to Marx's false

consciousness in which workers, although alienated, identify

with the alienating group rather than with their own class

interests.

We also need, in examining the results of the Work

scale, to ask if women were assuming that men and women were

in the same work force or if they were imagining separate,

traditionally sex-linked jobs for men and women. It may be,
for instance, that women responding to traditionally sex-
linked jobs for women were less alienated from this
traditionally "women's" work than were men from
traditionally "men's" work.

On the Work scale, women indicated less alienation from
work than did men. Among the questions that arise are those
such as, Did the scale measure what it meant to measure?.
Were the types of work referred to similar or different for
men and women? Did men and women at this age have
sufficient experience in the work world to accurately assess
alienation? Were women responding to actual alienation
conditions or to the relative expansion of opportunities for
women in the work force? Were women expressing a type of
false consciousness regarding the work world? Further study
of women's attitudes toward work are indicated that we can
better understand male and female attitudes toward work.

As we look to understand the significant gender
differences in response to the Work scale, we should not
fail to examine the male respondents' scores. In addition
to clarifying the "abnormally" low scores of females, we
need to examine the male respondent's scores indicative of
significantly greater alienation. The male responses might
be explained by looking to the time period in which the
survey was administered (1969-1973). It could be that men

of this era were more alienated than women of this era and possibly men of this era were more alienated than men of other eras. Nineteen sixty-nine to nineteen seventy-three was a time when jobs were plentiful and college youth's disillusionment was high (Lipsett, 1971). Men, and white males in particular, were rejecting (or claiming to reject) traditional work ethos (Padgett, 1970). This unique time period was one in which some of the most privileged (white, middle class college males) were publicly repudiating the status quo while at the same time others, less privileged women and blacks, were participating in previously restricted arenas of American life. It may be that the Work alienation scale tapped the disillusionment of white males of the era and this would account for the significant difference between male and female scores on the Work scale and would help explain the lack of predicted difference between men and women on other scales such as Srole, Alienation and Self-scales, where we predicted men would demonstrate less alienation than women.

Social Class and Alienation

Our hypothesis included the predictions that lower SES groups would respond in ways manifesting equal or lower alienation from family and peers. These hypotheses were

based on the idea that the lower SES groups, although
alienated from particular segments of society, would not be
alienated from family or peers and might even use close
family and peer relationships to withstand difficulties
imposed by larger formal social systems. Our sense was that
lower SES groups would use themselves as referent groups
(whether formal or informal) and would feel little
disjunction between their behaviors in these groups and the
rewards, values and goals of these groups. These hypotheses
were confirmed with there being no significant differences
between SES groups on the scales measuring alienation from
family and peers.

Our hypotheses also predicted that lower SES
respondents would have higher scores on the Srole and Total
scales and on the scales measuring alienation from work,
school, self and legal processes. These hypotheses were not
confirmed. There were no significant SES differences on the
scales measuring alienation from self, community, school,
work, or legal processes of blacks from white society, nor
on the Srole. The only significant SES difference was that
measuring cumulative alienation (see Table 10). This scale
(Alienation Total) showed middle class respondents to be
least alienated, with lower and upper class respondents
equally higher in alienation than the middle class.
Although the lower class-middle class difference is

consistent with our review of the literature, i.e., an
inverse relationship between SES and alienation, the
positive relationship between SES and alienation when
comparing middle and upper SES groups, the equality on
Alienation Total scores between the lowest and highest SES
groups and the lack of any other SES effect on any other
scale indicated a need for a more in depth review of the
literature.

Often references to the "literature" assumes that there
is a well-documented history of alienation studies showing
that as socioeconomic status decreases, alienation increases
(Clinard, 1964). An examination of the literature
investigating the relationship between alienation and SES
shows it to be a history of lively controversy. Srole
(1956) found support for Merton's (1938) concept that as SES
decreases, alienation increases in his pioneering study of
white, christian mass transit riders. Srole assessed SES by
using educational level and occupation of head of household.
Mizruchi (1961), responding in part to criticisms of Srole's
class-alienation findings and noting that no one measure of
class had been used, used his own social class measure and
found a clear inverse relationship between class and anomia
among whites. Dean (1961), using a class measure very
similar to Srole's, but his own alienation scale, found that
alienation and SES are inversely related. Similarly,

Killean and Gregg (1962) found alienation and SES inversely related for whites in large and small southern communities. Groff and Wright (1978), sampling a small northern urban setting, found that persons with low income, low education, and low occupational status showed greater alienation.

However, Roberts and Rokeach (1956), replicating Srole's 1956 study, found that status, whether using income or education, is not positive or negatively related to anomie using the Srole scale. McDill (1961) replicated both the Srole (1956) and the Roberts and Rokeach (1956) studies and found that social status, whether measured by education or income or both, had no significant effect on anomie. Wassef (1967), studying female college students, found no significant SES differences in his subjects' alienation responses. Lee (1974) found that SES accounts for only a small portion of the variance in subjective anomie.

Leo Srole (1956), in his pioneering study, used the education of the respondents and the occupation of respondent's head of household to distinguish and compare three socioeconomic groups. Srole's three groups represented low socioeconomic status, middle socioeconomic status, and high socioeconomic status. Several researchers used a dichotomous socioeconomic status scale with respondents being assigned to either upper or lower SES

groups. Whether the means for determining SES was education, self-statement, occupation, or income, these studies divided respondents into SES groups at the median (Killean and Gregg, 1962; McDill, 1961; Wasset, 1967).

In addition to the disagreements over the effects of SES on alienation when investigating white or Anglo subjects, there is much material on the alienative effects (or non effects) of SES on non-white, non-Anglo subjects. Even those who found inverse relationships between SES and alienation for white subjects often failed to find these relationships for non-white subjects. Mizruchi (1960), who did find a clear inverse relationship between anomia and SES for white subjects, found no relationship between income and anomia in the same study for black subjects without a college education. Mizruchi (1960) did find an inverse relationship between SES and alienation for those black subjects with a college education. Lefton (1968), investigating factory workers, found that although there was an inverse relationship between alienation and SES for white workers, there was no significant relationship for black workers. Middleton (1963), although finding blacks generally more alienated than whites, found that the inverse relationship between SES and alienation was much more predictive for whites than for blacks. Killean and Gregg (1962) also found that the inverse relationship between SES

and alienation for whites was only true for those blacks in
urban settings. Wilson (1971a) found no relationship
between SES and alienation for blacks in urban ghetto
neighborhoods. Wilson (1971b), comparing blacks in three
different urban neighborhoods, found that occupation was not
related to alienation, but that education was inversely
related to alienation. Bell (1957) found an inverse
relationship between SES and alienation when SES included
both status of neighborhood and individual respondent
status. Simpson (1970), although finding alienation
inversely related to SES in America, did not find a
significant relationship among subjects in Latin America.
Rushing (1971) found a significant inverse relationship
between SES and alienation among Anglo-American farm
workers, but not for Hispanic-American farm workers.

Researchers examining the relationship between SES and
alienation have failed to find consistency in the
relationship. Some have found an inverse relationship
between SES and alienation, but many others have not. Some
who found an inverse relationship between SES and alienation
have had their studies replicated with different findings.
Some who have found inverse relationships among whites
failed to find inverse relationships among blacks and
hispanics. Some have found inverse relationships between
SES and alienation for both blacks and whites. Researchers

have used a variety of SES measures and a variety of alienation scales. The literature does not consistently show that SES and alienation are inversely related.

Although, according to Marx's theory, the middle and upper classes, too, should demonstrate alienation and some recent studies have found some alienation among wealthier subjects (Simon and Gagnon, 1976; Abrahamson, 1980), most research has examined the inverse relationship (or lack of relationship) between alienation and SES.

It is clear from a review of the literature that there will not be a perfect negative correlation between SES and alienation, even when there is a significant inverse relationship. Among the confounding factors will be such factors as formal and informal group participation (Bell, 1957; Mizruchi, 1960), education (Middleton, 1963), social mobility (Simpson and Miller, 1963), personal aspirations (Rhodes, 1964), religion (Wassef, 1967), family history (Klein and Gould, 1969), and culture (Simpson, 1970; Rushing, 1972).

Any SES differences must be considered in light of the fact that all respondents in this study are students at the same university. These students share a common university experience that may blur or ameliorate otherwise real class distinctions between them. SES differences or lack thereof must also take into account the idea that although the

"poor" students -- the lower SES students -- are from poorer backgrounds than the wealthier students, it may be validly asked if any significant number of students are from America 's truly poor.

If there are some numbers of America's truly poor communities in this university study, then we must also ask if there are representatives of the truly poor unusually, nonrepresentative members of that group.

Given the variety of findings of the subject of the relationship between SES and alienation and considering the racial differences in the findings, and given the possibility of confounding factors, it is hard to describe a trend in SES and alienation relationships. This subject is made much more unpredictable when Lanski and Leggett's (1960) study is reviewed. Lanski and Leggett used a Srole statement to test the effect of different status interviewers on the responses of subjects. They found that race and class differences are insignificant when the norms governing inter-class, interracial interviews are controlled. They found that blue collar workers (white) and black respondents were significantly more likely to be mismeasured as being overly alienated in testing situations where the interviewer was of the middle class.

Our finding of only one SES effect may be explained in a variety of ways. The literature indicates that the

relationship between SES and alienation is a complex one
confounded by the use of varying criteria to define SES, the
use of varying scales to assess alienation, racial and
ethnic variables, individual variables, and interviewer
variables. Our study shows that SES differences are not
significant in many situationally specific areas of
respondents' lives, but that there are significant
differences cumulatively over all of the scales. The
direction of these cumulative differences, however, is
unclear and calls for further research.

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APPENDIX

AI INVENTORY

Name: Date: Date of Birth:

Male: Female: Father's Occupation: ....

Here are some statements that people have different feelings about. They have to do with many different things. Read each sentence and decide whether you: STRONGLY AGREE (SA), AGREE (A), DISAGREE (D), or STRONGLY DISAGREE (SD). Then, circle the answer that tells how you feel about it.

For example: The main problem for young people is money. (Suppose that you "strongly agree" with that statement. Then you would circle SA.)

There are no right or wrong answers. Just indicate how you really feel. If you wish to change your answer, put an X through the first answer and circle the one you prefer.

CIRCLE ONE ANSWER

1. In spite of what some people say,
    things are getting worse for the
    average man.   SA   A   D   SD

2. I have not lived the right kind
    of life.   SA   A   D   SD

3. No one in my family seems to
    understand me.   SA   A   D   SD

4. I have nothing in common with
    most people my age.   SA   A   D   SD

5. Most of the people in my
    community think about the same
    way I do about most things.   SA   A   D   SD

6. A person who commits a crime
    should be punished.   SA   A   D   SD

7. School does not teach a person

anything that helps in life or helps
to get a job.   SA   A   D   SD

8. Any person who is able and
willing to work hard has a good
chance of making it.   SA   A   D   SD

9. These days black people don't
really know who they can count on.   SA   A   D   SD

10. It is hardly fair to bring chil-
dren into the world with the way
things look for the future.   SA   A   D   SD

11. There is very little I really
care about.   SA   A   D   SD

12. Most of my relatives are on my
side.   SA   A   D   SD

13. My way of doing things is not
understood by others my age.   SA   A   D   SD

14. I have never felt that I belonged
in my community.   SA   A   D   SD

15. Laws are made for the good of a
few people, not for the good of
people like me.   SA   A   D   SD

16. School is a waste of time.   SA   A   D   SD

17. The kind of work I can get does
not interest me.   SA   A   D   SD

18. There is little use in black
people writing to public officials
because often they aren't's really
interested in the problems of black
people.   SA   A   D   SD

19. Nowadays a person has to live pretty
much for today and let tomorrow take
care of itself   SA   A   D   SD

20. I usually feel bored no matter
what I am doing.   SA   A   D   SD

22. It is safer to trust no one -- not
even so-called friends.   SA   A   D   SD

23. Community organizations don't speak for me.

24. It would be better if almost all laws were thrown away.

SA   A   D   SD

25. School is just a way of keeping young people out of the way.

SA   A   D   SD

26. To me, work is just a way to make money -- not a way to get any satisfaction.

SA   A   D   SD

27. In spite of what some people say, things are getting worse for black people.

SA   A   D   SD

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

SA   A   D   SD

29. I don't seem to care what happens to me.

SA   A   D   SD

30. I don't have anything in common with my family.

SA   A   D   SD

31. Most of my friends waste time talking about things that don't mean anything.

SA   A   D   SD

32. There are many good things happening in my community to improve things.

SA   A   D   SD

33. It is OK for a person to break a law if he doesn't get caught.

SA   A   D   SD

34. I have often had to take orders on a job from someone who did not know as much as I did.

SA   A   D   SD

35. It is hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for black people in the future.

SA   A   D   SD

36. These days a person doesn't really know who he can count on.

SA   A   D   SD

37. I do things sometimes without knowing why.

SA   A   D   SD

38. I don't care about most members of my family.

SA   A   D   SD

39. In the group that I spend most of my time, most of the guys/girls don't understand me.

SA   A   D   SD

40. My community is full of people who care only about themselves.

SA   A   D   SD

41. In a court of law I would have the same chance as a rich man.

SA   A   D   SD

42. I like school.

SA   A   D   SD

43. Most foremen and bosses just want to use the worker to make bigger profits.

SA   A   D   SD

44. Nowadays black people have to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.

SA   A   D   SD

45. Most of the stuff I am told in school just does not make any sense to me.

SA   A   D   SD