

South Dakota State University

# Open PRAIRIE: Open Public Research Access Institutional Repository and Information Exchange

---

Electronic Theses and Dissertations

---

1981

## Alienation of Rural Youth in South Dakota

Mohammad S. Zakikhani

Follow this and additional works at: <https://openprairie.sdstate.edu/etd>



Part of the [Rural Sociology Commons](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

Zakikhani, Mohammad S., "Alienation of Rural Youth in South Dakota" (1981). *Electronic Theses and Dissertations*. 5818.

<https://openprairie.sdstate.edu/etd/5818>

This Dissertation - Open Access is brought to you for free and open access by Open PRAIRIE: Open Public Research Access Institutional Repository and Information Exchange. It has been accepted for inclusion in Electronic Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Open PRAIRIE: Open Public Research Access Institutional Repository and Information Exchange. For more information, please contact [michael.biondo@sdstate.edu](mailto:michael.biondo@sdstate.edu).

ALIENATION OF RURAL YOUTH  
IN SOUTH DAKOTA

BY

MOHAMMAD S. ZAKIKHANI

A thesis submitted  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the  
Degree Doctor of Philosophy, Major in  
Sociology, South Dakota  
State University  
1981

ALIENATION OF RURAL YOUTH  
IN SOUTH DAKOTA

This thesis is approved as a creditable and independent investigation by a candidate for the degree, Doctor of Philosophy, and is acceptable for meeting the thesis requirements for this degree. Acceptance of this thesis does not imply that the conclusions reached by the candidate are necessarily the conclusions of the major department.

Thesis Advisor

Date

Head, Department of Rural Sociology

Date

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like, at this time, to extend my deepest appreciation and gratitude to all those who offered guidance and suggestions for the study. Several people are deserving of special recognition. I am deeply indebted to Dr. Donna J. Hess for her professional guidance, understanding and many long and extra hours of help; to Dr. James L. Satterlee, Dr. Marvin P. Riley, Dr. Robert M. Dimit, Dr. Edward P. Hogan and Dr. Ali A. Selim, for their assistance.

In addition, I would like to thank my parents, whose help and financial support made this study possible.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
1. INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
Statement of the Problem. . . . .	3
Importance of the Problem . . . . .	4
2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE . . . . .	6
Literature on Migration Patterns . . . . .	6
Literature on Alienation Among Youth . . . . .	8
3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK . . . . .	13
Introduction . . . . .	13
The Concept of Alienation . . . . .	13
Classic Theoretical Perspectives . . . . .	15
Contemporary Theoretical Perspectives . . . . .	20
Theoretical Framework Employed and Hypotheses . . . . .	23
4. METHODOLOGY . . . . .	28
Introduction . . . . .	28
Population and Sample . . . . .	28
Research Design . . . . .	29
Variables and Procedures . . . . .	30
Statistical Analyses . . . . .	32
5. ANALYSIS OF DATA . . . . .	33
Introduction . . . . .	33
The Presence of Alienation . . . . .	33
Who is Alienated? . . . . .	33
Alienation and Migration Plans . . . . .	45

TABLE OF CONTENTS (cont'd)

CHAPTER	PAGE
6. CONCLUSION . . . . .	53
Summary . . . . .	53
Conclusions and Implications . . . . .	56
Limitations of This Study . . . . .	58
Suggestions for Future Research . . . . .	60
REFERENCES . . . . .	62
APPENDIX	
A Questionnaire . . . . .	66
B The Geographic Areas by Migration Patterns . . . . .	77
C The Planning Districts . . . . .	80

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	PAGE
1. Urbanization of the United States, 1901-1970. . . . .	1
2. Population changes for South Dakota, urban and rural areas: 1960-1970 . . . . .	3
3. Alienation and Sex . . . . .	34
4. Social Isolation and Sex . . . . .	34
5. Powerlessness and Sex . . . . .	35
6. Normlessness and Sex . . . . .	35
7. Alienation and Race . . . . .	37
8. Social Isolation and Race . . . . .	37
9. Powerlessness and Race . . . . .	38
10. Normlessness and Race . . . . .	38
11. Alienation and Grade Point Average . . . . .	40
12. Social Isolation and Grade Point Average . . . . .	40
13. Powerlessness and Grade Point Average . . . . .	41
14. Normlessness and Grade Point Average . . . . .	41
15. Alienation and Discrepancy in Occupational Expectation and Aspiration . . . . .	43
16. Social Isolation and Discrepancy in Occupational Expectation and Aspiration . . . . .	43
17. Powerlessness and Discrepancy in Occupational Expectation and Aspiration . . . . .	44
18. Normlessness and Discrepancy in Occupational Expectation and Aspiration . . . . .	44
19. Alienation by Sex and by GPA . . . . .	46
20. Social Isolation by Sex and by GPA . . . . .	46

LIST OF TABLES (cont'd)

TABLE	PAGE
21. Powerlessness by Sex and by GPA . . . . .	47
22. Normlessness by Sex and by GPA . . . . .	47
23. Migration Plans and Alienation . . . . .	48
24. Migration Plans and Social Isolation . . . . .	48
25. Migration Plans and Powerlessness . . . . .	50
26. Migration Plans and Normlessness . . . . .	50
27. Spearman rho Correlations for Alienation Measures and Migration Plans, Controlling for Sex . . . . .	51
28. Spearman rho Correlations for Alienation Measures and Migration Plans, Controlling for Grade Point Average . . . . .	51
29. Summary and Results, Spearman rho . . . . .	54
30. Summary and Results, Spearman rho . . . . .	54
31. South Dakota Population Gains and Losses for Planning Districts, 1960-1970 . . . . .	82

LIST OF MAPS

MAP	PAGE
1. Migration Patterns by County, South Dakota for 1960-1970 and 1970-1980 . . . . .	79
2. Population Change for South Dakota Tentative Planning and Development Districts--1950-1960 and 1960-1970 (in percent and number) . . . . .	83

ALIENATION OF RURAL YOUTH

IN SOUTH DAKOTA

Abstract

MOHAMMAD S. ZAKIKHANI

under the supervision of Dr. Donna Hess

There are two purposes of this research. The first purpose is to assess the presence of alienation in a sample of rural youth. The second purpose is to assess the relationship between the occurrence of alienation among rural youth and their plans for out-migration.

The problem of concern in this project is addressed in terms of three questions. First, are rural youth alienated? Second, if alienation exists among rural youth, who is alienated? Third, if alienation exists among rural youth, does this experience relate to migration plans?

Seeman's conceptualization of alienation as powerlessness, normlessness and isolation is applied in a theoretical framework derived primarily from the work of Durkheim and Merton.

Alienation is observed among a sample of rural South Dakota youth and is found to be associated with several variables. Major findings are these: (1) rural female high school students are more alienated than male high school students; (2) those with high GPA's show the higher level of alienation; (3) highly alienated rural high school students are more likely to have plans for out-migration than less alienated students; (4) alienation accounts for little of the variance in rural

youth's migration plans; and (5) alienation is a more meaningful factor in the plans of female and of students who report lower GPA's.

CHAPTER 1  
INTRODUCTION

There are two purposes of this research. The first purpose is to assess the presence of alienation in a sample of rural youth. The second purpose is to assess the relationship between the occurrence of alienation among rural youth and their plans for out-migration. This is to be done with a sample of rural South Dakota youth.

The urban population of the United States has been growing much more rapidly than the rural population. In 1790 nearly 95 percent of the population was in rural areas. By 1920, the U.S. was predominantly urban (Nelson, 1952: 101-102).

Reference to Table 1 indicates that the percent of population of the United States continuously decreased in rural areas, while it increased in urban areas.

Table 1. Urbanization of the United States, 1901-1970.

Year	Percent of population defined as	
	Rural <sup>a</sup>	Urban <sup>b</sup>
1910	54.3	45.7
1920	48.8	51.2
1930	43.8	56.2
1940	43.5	56.5
1950	40.4	59.6
1960	30.1	69.9 <sup>c</sup>
1970	26.5	73.5 <sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Places under 2,500 population

<sup>b</sup> Places over 2,500 population

<sup>c</sup> Includes unincorporated parts of urbanized areas.

Source: Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1972.  
Table 17, p. 17.



The increase of population in the urban area depends largely on the migration of rural people. Dixon (1933: 420) defined migration as "the movement of people over considerable distances and on a large scale with the intention of abandoning their former homes for some more or less permanent new domicile..."

Much research has been done on the migration patterns of South Dakota. In one study, Riley and Wagner (1971: 30) pointed out that "the amount of population loss due to net out-migration from 1960 to 1970 is estimated at 92,560." It was also estimated that over the three decades from 1940 to 1970, South Dakota lost a population of 251,000. Many of these out-migrants were in their youthful and young adult years. For instance, Bowles, Beale, and Lee (1977: 196) indicated that South Dakota had a net migration rate of -12.4 between 1960 and 1970. The rate for those aged 15-19 years was -11.9; for those 20-24 years, -29.2; for those 25-29 years, -32.5; and for those 30-34 years, -19.8. From the latter age cohort onward, the net migration rate continued to decline.

As Table 2 shows, South Dakota lost -2.1 percent of its population between 1960 and 1970. This decline varied across urban and rural areas, from rural nonfarm (-2.5%) to small town (-5.3%) to rural farm (-18.8%). At the same time the population of urban areas increased by 11.1 percent.

Recently, Riley and Baer (1981) found that South Dakota had a net-migration of -4.0 percent between 1970 and 1980.

Table 2. Population changes for South Dakota, urban and rural areas: 1960-1970.

	1960 population	1970 population	Gain or loss	Percentage Gain or loss
South Dakota	680,514	666,257	-14,257	- 2.1
Urban	267,180	297,030	29,850	11.1
Rural nonfarm	207,646	202,470	- 5,176	- 2.5
*Small town	132,482	125,511	- 6,976	- 5.3
Rural farm	205,688	166,757	-38,931	-18.8

Source: Goss, Wagner and Dimit, Population Change in South Dakota, Small Towns, 1960-1970, 1975, p. 11.

\* Small town included in rural nonfarm population.

#### Statement of the Problem

In this research, migration is not examined as a physical movement, but as the outcome of a social process. That social process is hypothesized to begin with rural youth's alienation from their communities and culminate with retreat or withdrawal from those communities in response to that alienation. Alienation is conceptualized here as a feeling of non-involvement in and estrangement from one's society and culture. More specifically and following Seeman's lead (1959), in this research alienation is considered in terms of powerlessness, normlessness, and isolation (see pages 23-24). Thus, in this research, migration is examined in relation to alienation.

Theoretically, Durkheim (1951) suggests that levels of alienation are likely to be high during times of acute changes in society, such as economic crises. It has been argued that such a crisis exists in rural America at the present. For example, Jorgensen (1978: 6-7) points out that "family farms have withered as agribusiness has changed from a labor-intensive to a capital-intensive industry." Using U.S. Census data, Jorgensen shows that while farm operation costs have risen

sharply, economic returns to farmers have, in fact, declined. Thus, the conditions for alienation appear to be present.

The problem of concern in this project is the alienation of rural high school youth in South Dakota. This study seeks to determine whether alienation exists among rural youth; if so, who among rural youth experience alienation; and the extent to which feelings of alienation (and its dimensions of powerlessness, normlessness, and social isolation) are related to migration plans. The primary question in this research is: do feelings of alienation contribute to plans for out-migration?

#### Importance of the Problem

South Dakota has been losing much of its young, rural population through out-migration. In this research, interest is focused on some social factors which may be related to that out-migration. Some social characteristics and factors (e.g., sex, minority group status, grade point average, and occupational aspiration and expectation) are considered as independent variables. Alienation (conceptualized in terms of powerlessness, normlessness, and social isolation) is a dependent variable, and a subjective response to social conditions, and ultimately the degree of alienation is hypothesized to be related to plans for out-migration.

It is assumed that various social factors lead rural youth to leave their communities. This research proposes to examine some of these social factors. It is suggested that when we better understand the social factors contributing to migration plans, we can provide use-

ful information to policy makers who make decisions affecting the out-migration plans of the rural youth. Better informed decisions are more likely to be in the direction of the "maximum interest" of the affected communities and state.

## CHAPTER 2

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In this chapter, two bodies of literature are reviewed: the literature on migration patterns; and literature on alienation among youth. Since the occurrence of alienation and its relation to migration is of greatest concern in this research more attention is devoted to the alienation literature.

#### Literature on Migration Patterns

The literature indicates that numerous factors cause, determine, or influence migration. These factors have been categorized as follows:

1. Push factors. The push factors are those at work in the areas of origin. These factors have been broken down into: (a) natural increase. This occurs when there is a high rate of increase in the population and a low rate of increase of the resources. (b) Depletion or exhaustion of resources. This has been observed, for example, when mining of ore or the harvesting of a virgin crop are depleted or exhausted, the population must find alternative forms of employment in the area or migrate from it. (c) Finally, climatic fluctuations. Periodic floods, for example, are factors which induce migration of people (Nelson, 1952: 123-125).

2. Pull factors. These factors are active in the points of destination. These have been broken down into: (a) Discovery and development of new resources. The availability of a vast area of fertile land in a suitable climate, for instance, can be a factor favoring in-migration. (b) New inventions and the industries built

from them. Inventions like the steam engine and the manufacture of automobiles and electrical goods attracted migrants in great numbers from rural areas to urban areas. (c) Finally, favorable climate.

A favorable climate is a factor that attracts migrants. For example, the heavy in-migration of people to California and Florida has been the result of favorable climatic conditions (Nelson, 1952: 125-126).

3. Technology. Technology by itself can be a factor influencing migration. Technological improvements in agriculture tend to create a surplus population on the land which cannot be effectively and profitably employed there. They therefore seek opportunities elsewhere (Nelson, 1952: 126).

In general, the movement of people from farms to villages and towns, and from villages and towns to cities is a general process of urbanization. It removes population from the land and supplies needed labor for urban industries. Cosby and Charner (1978: 10) noted that "clearly the rural areas are providing a substantial part of the nation's labor supply and probably will continue to do so in the foreseeable future."

Out-migration is not the only, but is the major, source of population decline in rural communities. This out-migration consists in the main of individual youths, some single individuals, and families in their more productive years. Lively and Taeuber (1939: 15) found that "almost 45 percent of the net rural migrants from 1920 to 1930 were 10-19 years of age in 1920. More than 75 percent of the migrants were persons who were less than 25 years of age in 1920." In 1961, Iowa State University researchers found that, "the greatest

population loss in declining rural communities results from the out-migration of persons between the age of 16 and 25." Both of these findings suggest a general pattern of out-migration among rural youth in the U.S.

South Dakota is a predominantly rural state. In 1970, 55 percent of the South Dakota population lived in rural areas. Slightly more than 45 percent of these rural people were under 25 years of age at that time (Riley, Breamer, 1972: 16,20). As in other rural states, out-migration has also been observed here.

The South Dakota net-migration rates were -14.4 for the total population, and -23.0 for young adults between 1950 and 1960 ("Rural Sociology," 1968).

Literature on Alienation Among Youth. Alienation is a broad concept which has been of interest in sociology, social psychology, psychology, and other social sciences. Alienation has theoretical, methodological, and empirical aspects (Neider, 1971: 40-41).

A well-known study of alienation among youth in the United States is that of Kenneth Keniston (1965). The focus of Keniston's work was on the development of alienation during adolescence and common themes expressed in the lives of alienated adolescents. He observed that the overt rejection of the general culture tended to develop late in adolescence and in opposition to the values associated with the schools attended. At first, alienated youth appeared to be at peace with themselves, but, Keniston contends, they were rebelling inwardly. Gradually, they became estranged from the majority of their conforming peers.

Keniston identified four themes as common in the lives of these alienated youths: (1) the cult of the present, involving a rejection of the past as irrelevant, of the future as too uncertain, and a longing for some kind of immediate breakthrough experience; (2) fragmented identity, with personality inconsistencies, inability to commit themselves, and burdensome negative self-definitions; (3) fantasy of fusion, involving a desire to escape boredom of the present and a wish for sentience or some ultimate communion; and (4) quest for positive values involving both a yearning for real values and a distrust of existing ideologies.

Keniston saw alienation as the consequence of vanishing adolescences in American society. Ultimately, he contended that for the alienated youth:

The enemy is the entire status quo...the entire social and cultural ethos...the basic assumptions and values of traditional American culture as a whole (Keniston, 1965: 78).

Keniston also suggested two alternative ways in which youths cope with alienation. One of these is escapism, an inward reaction characterized by withdrawal from society. The other is rebellion, an overt or outward reaction characterized by lashing out against society. Keniston characterized alienated youth of the 1950's as escapist while he saw alienated youth of the 1960's as rebellious. It is difficult to say, however, how alienated youth of the 1970's might be characterized.

Sociologists such as Seeman (1959: 24, 783-791), Dean (1961: 753-758), and Jackson (1965: 2, 141-154) cite the increasing evidence



of widespread alienation in the United States during the 1950's and 1960's. Shore and Massima (1968: 19) said alienation "is present in suburbia as well as the inner city; in affluence as well as poverty; in majority groups as well as minority groups; in the conformist as well as the hippie." More recently Mackey (1977: 449) reports, "Between 1966 and 1976 there was a 30 percent increase in the level of alienation in the American public. It is reasonable to assume that adolescents are affected at least as much as the rest of the population." Hall says: "decreasing alienation may be an inappropriate goal. We live, at least an increasing number of us, in areas of population concentration where people themselves are more and more commonly alienated from one another and from their daily tasks. There is a wide gap in thought and opinion between the average citizen and young people (Hall, 1973: 364).

In the area of political alienation, Abramson (1972) suggests that feelings of political distrust and inefficacy may occur as the consequence of a political socialization process in which the adult becomes familiarized with the unresponsive and exploitive. Political alienation is conceptualized as an interrelated, multidimensional cluster of feelings having the following characteristics: (1) personal political inefficacy; (2) political distrust; (3) discontent regarding systemic political outputs; and (4) estrangement or apartness from the political system. In 1974, Yankelovitch (1974a and 1974b) contended that the level of political alienation was relatively high at that moment.

Wynne (1978: 308) suggests that the rate of youth suicide is a measure of alienation. Taken as such a measure, he contends that alienation among youth has been steadily increasing. Specifically he points out: "Between 1950 and 1975 the annual suicide rate for white youths between the ages of 15 and 19 increased 171%, from 2.8 deaths for each 100,000 to 7.6." The increase in adolescent suicides has been relatively steady and incremental.

Numerous other studies have been done on alienation among youth. Halleck (1967: 124, 642-650) found that adolescents are alienated from their families and peer groups. Meissner (1965: 107, 225-233) argues that the decline in communication between adolescents and their parents and other adults contributes to adolescent alienation. Eisner (1969: 39, 81-90) observed that the young are alienated from the schools. Ellis and Lane (1967: 32, 237-253) reported that the alienation of youth is class-linked. Schrut (1964: 188, 1103-1107) found that adolescents are alienated from their parents, schools, and from conventional elements of society. Finally, Martin Gold in his research found, "boys whose school grades fall well below their class average are significantly more delinquent than their fellows." He also explains that delinquent teenagers are obviously not strongly influenced by the dominant elements of their society. For example, he says, "there is evidence too that they (delinquent teenagers) are alienated from the primary transmitters of social standards, their parents" (Gold, 1969: 126, 132).

### Migration and Alienation

No studies were found specifically demonstrating the relationship between alienation and migration. Theoretically, however, Waisanen (1963; 1968) suggests that an alternative mode of retreatism is dissociation from one social system and association with another. Jorgensen (1978: 6-8) also suggests that economic crisis in rural America together with subsequent bitterness among family farmers has contributed to the shriveling of the rural population.

Finally, Bryde (1970) found alienation to be particularly high among Native American high school drop-outs. If one considers the school as a social system (Waller, 1932; Wax, 1971), dropping out of school can be thought of as analagous to withdrawing or migrating from a social system. Hence, there is reason to suspect a relationship between migration and alienation.

## CHAPTER 3

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

#### Introduction

Alienation seems to account for a variety of discontents in modern civilization. The term alienation has had long and varied use in many fields other than sociology, including psychology and social psychology.

This chapter will deal briefly with the theoretical work on alienation and the theoretical framework for this research.

The organization of this chapter is: (1) the concept of alienation; (2) classic theoretical perspectives; (3) contemporary theoretical perspectives; and (4) theoretical framework employed and hypotheses.

#### The Concept of Alienation

Concerned with the concept of alienation, Robert K. Merton suggested that anomie results from a discrepancy between socially approved norms and goals in the social system (Merton, 1957: 162).

He states:

Anomie ... is a breakdown in the cultural structure, occurring particularly when there is an acute disjunction between the cultural norms and goals and the socially structured capacities of members of the group to act in accord with them. In this conception, cultural values may help to produce the behavior which is at odds with the mandates of the values themselves (Merton, 1957: 162).

In explicating the relationship between alienation and the social factors facilitating its development, perhaps no writer has been more influential than Robert Merton. In making the distinction

between institutionalized means for achievement of culturally defined goals, Merton indicated that disjunction between the two is followed by one of five possible modes of adaptation. Four modes (II to V) are referred to as anomie. The types are as follows (Merton, 1957: 140):

Modes of Adaptation	Cultural Goals	Institutionalized Means
I. Conformity	+	+
II. Innovation	+	-
III. Ritualism	-	+
IV. Retreatism	-	-
V. Rebellion	±	±

(+) "acceptance"            (-) "rejection"

Type I, reflects conformity to both cultural goals and institutionalized means and therefore, does not imply anomie.

Type II, innovation happens when one has internalized the cultural goals without having internalized the institutional means for achieving the goals or when one does not have access to such means.

Type III, ritualism is seen when one practically ignores the cultural goals although there is no radical departure from the expected norms of conduct.

Type IV, retreatism happens when one has abandoned both the cultural goals and the institutionalized means.

Type V, rebellion represents an attempt to substitute a new set of goals and means for a rejected one.

Merton, then, has developed a variant of the alienation concept, stressing normlessness. It can be noted that with the exception of Type I, conformity, anomie can exist in the individual's rejection of either the cultural goals or the institutionalized means.

"Isolation" is another kind of alienation. Merton's analysis of social structure and anomie makes use of "isolation" in depicting the adaptations that individuals may make to the situation in which goals and means are not well coordinated. Among different types of anomie, retreatism and rebellion shows the most isolation. Retreatists and rebels are isolated from both dominant cultural goals and institutionalized means.

A third use refers of the concept of alienation is in the sense of powerlessness. Powerlessness like other components of alienation is a complicated subject. It is most often found in the literature on political alienation. A suitable definition of powerlessness is found in the work of Kris and Leites (1950: 283) who say:

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

#### Classic Theoretical Perspectives

Concern with the concept of alienation has a long history in philosophy and the social sciences. In this section we look at those

historical perspectives which are related to the theoretical perspective employed in this research.

The thinker who coined the concept of alienation and who first offered a philosophical elaboration was Hegel. Hegel saw history as a process of knowing the Absolute Idea (Absolute Mind, Absolute Spirit, God, etc.). "The movement of consciousness toward reason," and of the development of self-knowledge of the Absolute, "of spirit towards its self-realization" (Drysdale, 1969: 52). Man is the Absolute still alienated from itself or in the process of de-alienation. Alienation is not knowing and history is reduced to the process of de-alienation. Man can be re-alienated from himself to the extent he does not serve to advance the self-knowledge of the Absolute; he can be alienated from his objectification, his production of objects or institutions to the extent that they are not adequately "known" (Petrovic, 1976: 136-137).

Feuerbach reversed Hegel's conceptualization of man as the absolute in the process of de-alienation and saw the absolute (God) as self-alienated man. "Man is alienated from himself when he creates and puts above himself an imagined alien higher being ... The de-alienation of man consists of the abolition of the estranged picture of man that is God." (Petrovich, 1967: 137).

While Hegel saw alienation as a metaphysical problem, Marx saw it as a sociological problem. In a statement which is both a discussion of alienation and a critique of the political economy, he contended that under the system of private property, the worker was alienated from the product of his labor and also from the means of

production, both of which had become things which did not belong to him. The worker thus separated from his product is alienated from himself, since his labor is not his own, but the property of another. Finally, he is alienated from other men because his chief link with them now is the commodities they exchange or produce (Fromm, 1961: 103). According to Fromm:

Alienation means for Marx that man does not experience himself as the acting agent in his grasp of the world, but that the world remains alien to him. They stand alone and against him as objects, even though they may be objects of his own creation. Alienation is essentially experiencing the world and oneself passively, receptively, as the subject separated from the object (Fromm, 1961: 44).

Marx viewed alienation, then, as the result of activities in a specific institutional context, the economic system, which leads to estrangement from oneself and others in other spheres of life as well. Marx assumed that the working class person, being "employed" as part of the machine, senses this estrangement and is most alienated (Fromm, 1961: 197).

Erich Fromm has been the most influential intellectual proponent of the Marxian concept of alienation. He contends that what Protestantism started to do in freeing man spiritually, capitalism continued to do in other spheres as well (Fromm, 1955a).

In the *Sane Society*, Fromm defined alienated man:

...he experiences himself as an alien. He has become, one might say, estranged from himself. He does not experience himself as the center of his world, as the creator of his own acts - but his acts and their consequences have become his masters, whom he obeys, or whom he may even worship. The alienated person is out of touch with himself as he is out of touch with any person. He, like the other, is experienced as things are experienced; with the senses being related to oneself and to the world outside productively (Fromm, 1955b: 120-121).



Fromm points out that, in the light of subsequent events, Marx's preoccupation with the alienated manual worker was misplaced - alienation has "become the fate of the vast majority of people" (Fromm, 1955b: 111). In addition to social isolation and self-estrangement, powerlessness was suggested by Marx in his "discussions of the worker's separation from effective control over his economic destiny" (Dean, 1961: 754).

Alienation in terms of anomie is associated with the work of Emile Durkheim, another 19th century analyst of industrial society.

Durkheim's major interest in his early works was in developing a theory of social integration. In The Division of Labor In Society (Durkheim, 1947: ch 2, 3), he distinguished two ideal types of social integration: mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity. The first was characteristic of relatively simple social organizations held together by norms, beliefs and sentiments common to the members of the society. The second was characteristic of a complex social organization in which heterogeneous groups contributed to one another through a coordinated division of specialized tasks. The tone of Durkheim's Suicide (Durkheim, 1951: ch. 3, 4, 5) and other works suggests that his greatest interest lay in the sphere of normative integration (Parsons, 1949: 449-500). Suicide is primarily a study of strains in social systems. Although each society has a relatively constant and thus normal rate of suicide, social malintegration is reflected in extreme rates of suicide corresponding to changes in three types of normative conditions:

egoism, altruism, and anomie. In egoism, the tie between the individual and the social system has become very weak. In altruism, in contrast, there is a very strong tie between the individual and the social system.

Anomie, on the other hand, is a social state in which the means and ends of individual's behavior no longer correspond to the normative definition of means and ends. The individual rather than the group must now determine for himself what goals should be sought and in what degree. The individual is, however, essentially incapable of providing meaningful limits to his own desires and is thus doomed to a life of constantly seeking without genuine fulfillment. When the ends of individual actions are no longer subject to normative definitions - when a state of deregulation of behavior exists - society is said to be characterized by a state or condition of anomie.

Durkheim identified two general conditions in the means-ends system of behavior that give rise to a state of deregulation. The first refers to a condition where, due to acute changes in society, e.g., economic crisis, the means and end of a system of action that existed prior to the crisis no longer work. The means-ends action system which was appropriate in the past becomes inappropriate in a new social context. The limits are unknown between the possible and the impossible (Durkheim, 1951: 252-253).

The second condition discussed by Durkheim refers only to the ends or goals of action. Here we find a description of goals which can never be attained because goals are by definition unattainable (Durkheim 1951: 248). Therefore, it is not the case that the means

and ends of action are out of joint and must be readjusted, as in the first condition, but it is a case where the goals could not be attained by any goal-directed means (Durkheim, 1951: 253).

### Contemporary Theoretical Perspectives

Explicating the relationship between alienation and the social factors facilitating its development, perhaps no writer has been more influential than Robert K. Merton. In making the distinction between institutionalized means for achievement of culturally defined goals, Merton indicated that disjunction between the two is followed by one of five possible modes of adaptation. Four of the five modes are referred to as anomie (see p. 14).

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

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

As conceptualized by Merton, the various types of disjunction are viewed as sources of deviant behavior (Merton, 1968: 195). As

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

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

For purposes of simplifying the problem monetary success was taken as the major cultural goal, although there are, of course, alternative goals (Merton, 1968: 211).

Continuing satisfactions must derive from sheer participation in a competitive order as well as from eclipsing one's competitors if the order itself is to be substained (Merton, 1968: 188).

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

Given the inability of persons to achieve the culturally prescribed goals of American society due to differential access to the institutionalized means for achieving them, the result is the development of alternative norms for their achievement. In a classic work, Cloward (1959) relates Sutherlands' differential association with subcultural norms and Merton's pressures toward deviant behavior

and develops an explanation of why anomie results in deviancy. While Cloward concentrated on behavioral reaction to the social structure, others have been concerned with the psychological reaction to the anomic situation. Such a reaction has been termed anomia. Operationally defined as individual rather than social anomie (Rose, 1966: 30), anomia refers to the psychological reaction of the individual to a state of normlessness when the means are inadequate for achievement of goals. This distinction between anomie and anomia links limited access to means with not just deviant behavior but with a psychological reaction on the part of the individual.

It should be clear at this point that little difference exists between Durkheim's and Merton's usages. Stressing Durkheim's suggestion that the deregulation of goals is not the only condition of anomie, Merton focuses on the deregulation of means. More specifically, the great emphasis placed on "success" in American society and the lack of corresponding emphasis placed on legitimate means for its attainment lead to a "demoralization" of the means (Merton 1957: 138-139). While Durkheim suggests that the greatest impact of social change affects the more affluent classes, Merton's theory suggested that the less affluent classes suffer most from these processes. Thus, it is in those classes in which Marx identified the process of alienation that Merton expects the greatest effects of anomie.

Given the influence of the Mertonian formulation relative to the American cultural goal of success, the pattern has been to operationally

define the discrepancy between cultural goals and institutionalized means in terms of discrepancy between occupational and educational expectations and aspirations and to measure the individual reaction to such a discrepancy.

#### Theoretical Framework Employed and Hypotheses

In this research, Seeman's conceptualization of alienation as powerlessness, normlessness, and isolation is applied in a theoretical framework derived from Durkheim and Merton. These dimensions are selected because of the following reasons: (a) Dean (1961) applied these three components of alienation in his research and developed a high validity and reliability scale; (b) social isolation and normlessness, in particular, are developed in Merton's theory; and finally, (c) in his study, Dean found that Seeman's five components unnecessarily complicate the concept of alienation.

Seeman's conceptualization of these three dimensions of alienation are employed in this research. They are conceptualized as follows (Seeman, 1959: 783-791):

1. Powerlessness. "... the expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behavior cannot determine the occurrence of the outcomes, or reinforcement he seeks." Seeman suggests that this view of alienation, which stresses the individual's realization of his own will, is probably the most frequently used in contemporary sociological literature.
2. Normlessness. Focusing on the subjective, Seeman defines normlessness as a condition "... in which there is a high expectancy that

socially unapproved behaviors are required to achieve given goals."

3. Isolation. This involves the low assignment of "reward value to goals or beliefs that are typically highly valued in the given society." As Seeman points out, this usage does not refer to isolation as a lack of social adjustment but to a detachment from cultural standards.

In applying these conceptualizations several observations are in order. First, rural areas still have patriarchal families which means the fathers are dominant. In this situation, it is more likely that males (rather than females) will have greater power to define cultural goals and will have greater access to institutionalized means to these goals. Consistent with this observation, Chesler has noted that "men have always been more physically and intellectually powerful than women" (Chesler, 1972: 212). The Women's Movement, however, has made females aware of this power differential and has led many of them to challenge it (Walum, 1977: 201). As a consequence, far-reaching changes are taking place in the socially defined roles of females (Davidson and Gordon, 1979: 67-71). Again, Durkheim (1951) suggests that in times of acute change, alienation is to be expected. Thus, one might anticipate to observe more alienation among rural females than among rural males.

Second, within any social system, there are some individuals who, by definition are less powerful than others. The term, minority group, has been used to distinguish that group which is dominated by a majority group. A minority group may be composed of individuals who are racially or culturally distinct from members of the majority group (Schaefer, 1979: 6). In this situation, it might be anticipated



that members of the majority group are more likely than members of a minority group to perceive that they have access to cultural goals and the institutionalized means to those goals (Schaefer, 1979: 23-26). Hence, it can be expected that the level of alienation will be greater among those members of rural society who are identified as belonging to a minority group.

Third, it is well recognized that education is an important means to achieving culturally defined goals in modern society. Thus students who are achieving well (i.e. have a high grade point average) may perceive that their access to institutional means to cultural goals is particularly good. On the other hand, students who are achieving less well (i.e., have lower grade point averages) may perceive that their access to institutional means and cultural goals is less good. Coleman (1966: 321), for instance, observed that a significant correlate of poor academic achievement among minority students was their low sense of control over their environment. Consequently, greater alienation may be anticipated among students with lower grade point averages.

Fourth, future plans can be conceptualized in terms of aspirations (what an individual really would like to do) and expectations (what an individual really expects to do). Given the persistence of the work ethic in the rural Midwest (Helmick, 1980: 51) and the importance of occupational roles in individuals' total life plans (Johnston, et al., 1980: 120), it seems most meaningful to examine the fit between rural youths' occupational aspirations and expectations. It might be anticipated that students whose occupational aspirations and expectations



are not discrepant with one another will perceive that they have better access to institutionalized means and cultural goals. Consequently, one might expect greater alienation among those rural youth whose occupational aspirations and expectations are discrepant from one another.

Finally, as Merton points out, individuals develop varying modes of response to the experience of alienation. By definition, alienated youth define their existential condition as estranged from their sociocultural world. Waisanen (1963) suggests that in this situation, one possible mode of response is to disassociate themselves from their present sociocultural world and to associate themselves with another sociocultural world wherein they anticipate relief from estrangement. Consequently, one might expect that plans for out-migration will be greatest among those rural youth who are most alienated.

In summary, the theoretical perspective employed in this research has led to the following hypotheses to be tested:

- H<sub>1</sub> Rural female high school students are more alienated than males.
- H<sub>2</sub> Minority group high school students are more alienated than majority high school students.
- H<sub>3</sub> Rural high school students who have lower grade point averages will express more alienation than those students who have higher grade point averages.
- H<sub>4</sub> Rural high school students who do not have discrepancy between occupational aspirations and expectations are less alienated than those with discrepancy.

H<sub>5</sub> High alienated rural high school students have more plans for out-migration than less alienated students.

## CHAPTER 4

### METHODOLOGY

#### Introduction

This research is part of a larger research project focusing on South Dakota youth, their aspirations and future plans, and funded by the Agricultural Experiment Station. The purposes of this research are: to assess the presence of alienation in a sample of rural youth; and to assess the relationship between the occurrence of alienation among rural youth and plans for out-migration. This is to be done with a sample of rural South Dakota youth.

This chapter is organized as follows: population and sample; research design; variables and procedures; and statistical analysis.

#### Population and Sample

This research focuses on youth residing in rural places in South Dakota. For purposes of this project, "rural" will be defined as those places - ranches, farms, open country, and villages or towns - with a population of less than 2,500 people. "Youth" will be defined as those who are between the ages of fifteen and nineteen years inclusive and who are currently enrolled in a high school in South Dakota. There are several reasons for focusing attention on this population: (a) the fifteen to nineteen year age is one cohort for whom census data is available; (b) youth of this age are generally enrolled in high school and are, therefore, readily available for surveying; (c) given the fact that out-migration is particularly prevalent among young adults, youth who are fifteen to nineteen years are likely to be formulating such plans; and (d) rural youth (as opposed to urban youth) are most

likely to experience the strains of change taking place in rural life (see page 3).

A purposive sample is employed in this study. Purposive sampling is characterized by the use of judgment and deliberate effort to obtain representative samples of the population by including typical areas in the sample. Specifically in South Dakota there are four geographic areas by migration patterns (see Appendix B). These are the areas that have had: (1) in-migration in 1960-70 and 1970-80; (2) out-migration in 1960-70 and in-migration in 1970-80; (3) in-migration in 1960-70 and out-migration in 1970-80; and finally, (4) out-migration in 1960-70 and 1970-80. Care is taken to include samples representative of each of these types of migration areas. In addition, the sample is constructed to include representation from each of the six planning districts in the state (see Appendix C). The total sample is 517 rural youth who are enrolled in eleventh and twelfth grades in seven different high schools.

#### Research Design

Survey research is the method available to the author interested in collecting original data for purposes of describing a large population to observe directly. Careful sampling provides a group of respondents whose characteristics may be taken as representative of those of the larger population; and carefully self-administered questionnaires provide data in the same form from all students. This method is selected for a number of reasons: (1) it can describe the characteristics of a large population; (2) it makes a large sample feasible; (3) a great deal of information can be obtained from a large population; and (4) existing educational facilities and personnel can be used to facilitate the collection of research data.

### Variables and Procedures

When the question, who among rural youth is alienated, is addressed in this research, the following variables are treated as independent variables: minority group membership (white, non-white); sex (male, female); grade point average (above, below, at class average); and discrepancy between occupational aspirations and expectations (difference between what student really would like to do and what student really thinks she/he will actually do in their future occupation). All of these variables are based upon students' self-reports. (See items #8, #7, #9, #26, and #27 of Questionnaire, Appendix A.) These variables are also considered when the relationship between alienation and migration plans is examined.

Alienation is conceptualized in terms of social isolation, powerlessness, and normlessness as well as a composite of these three. When the question, who is alienated, is addressed, alienation serves as a dependent variable. When the relationship between alienation and migration plans is examined, alienation is treated as an independent variable while migration plans is treated as a dependent variable.

Alienation is measured with Dean's Scale (Miller, 1970: 323) which employs the Likert technique (Babbie, 1975: 350). Dean's Scale has established validity (total alienation,  $r=.26$ ) and reliability (total alienation,  $r=.78$ ). The scale has been used in research on alienation with young adults (Dean, 1961) who are similar in age to the youth in this sample. A significant characteristic of Likert technique is that each selected statement has been carefully researched to determine its discrimination through a criterion of internal consistency. A second

feature is the addition of an intensity dimension to each statement, such as: "the future looks very black" followed by the choices: "strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree, and strongly disagree." Every statement is coded: 5 for strongly agree, 4 for agree, 3 for undecided, 2 for disagree, and 1 for strongly disagree. An ordinal scale is used for measurement of alienation: 1 is very low; 2 is low; 3 undecided that is cancelled; 4 if high; and 5 is very high.

A three-fold classification of alienation is to be used in this research: (1) social isolation refers to the low assignment of reward value to goals that are typically highly valued in the given society; (2) normlessness is an expectancy that socially unapproved behaviors are required to achieve a given goal; (3) powerlessness is a psychological state when an individual feels deprived of any influence or improvement in the social events that are determining his/her fate. The composition of these three dimensions of alienation as a factor will be considered.

Dean's Scale has nine items for powerlessness, nine items for social isolation and six items for normlessness. The three subscales are combined to make up the alienation scale, which consists of 24 items.

According to the number of items of Dean's Scale, powerlessness and social isolation vary in value from 9 to 45. The range between 9 to 45 is 36. This range is divided into four class intervals. These class intervals are: 9 to 18 is very low; 18 to 27 is low; 27 to 36 is high; and 36 to 45 is very high. The degree of normlessness with six items varies in value from 6 to 30. The range between 6 to 30 is 24. This range is divided into four class intervals. These class intervals

are: 6 to 12 is very low; 12 to 18 is low; 18 to 24 is high; and 24 to 30 is very high. The degree of alienation with 24 items varies in value from 24 to 120. The range between 24 to 120 is 96. This range is divided into four class intervals. These class intervals are: 24 to 48 is very low; 48 to 72 is low; 72 to 96 is high; and 96 to 120 is very high. Thus, alienation is measured with an ordinal scale.

### Statistical Analyses

Two kinds of statistical analyses are employed in the present research: Chi-square and Spearman rho. Chi-square is selected to show the probability of differences between observed and expected frequencies. The advantages of the chi-square are as follows: no assumptions are necessary about the slope of the parameter distributions; and two or more differences can be evaluated at the same time. Spearman rho shows the correlation between variables. It is a nonparametric correlation which requires no assumptions about the distribution of cases on the variables. It also summarizes the strength of association between a pair of variables.

More sophisticated statistical techniques which require interval or ratio measurement are not appropriate in this study.

The level of statistical significance employed in testing the various hypotheses of the present research is .05. It is felt that the .05 level is generally acceptable for performing such statistical tests as the chi-square and Spearman rho.

## CHAPTER 5 ANALYSIS OF DATA

### Introduction

In this data analysis three basic questions are examined:

1) Are rural youth in South Dakota alienated? 2) If so, who among them shows the greatest alienation? 3) If alienation exists among these rural youth, do these feelings relate to their migration plans? Each of the questions is examined in turn in the following pages.

### The Presence of Alienation

Tables 3 through 6 provide some answers to the question: Are rural youth in South Dakota alienated? Table 3 shows that 13 (2.5%) students scored very low and 238 (46.1%) students scored low on the alienation scale while 215 (41.7%) students score high and 50 (9.7%) students score very high on the alienation scale. In other words, 265 (51.4%) students are identified as highly or very highly alienated. Thus, alienation is found among rural youth in South Dakota and different degrees of alienation are observed among them. Consistent patterns are observed for the three major components of alienation: social isolation, powerlessness and normlessness. It is noticeable that greatest alienation is observed on the measure of social isolation (66.8%).

### Who is Alienated?

Given the existence of alienation among rural youth in South Dakota, a series of hypotheses are examined to determine who among the rural youth are alienated. For purposes of statistical analysis the



Table 3  
Alienation and Sex

Sex	Alienation				Row Total
	Very low	Low	High	Very high	
Male	2 (0.7%)	141 (51.8%)	129 (47.4%)	0 (0%)	272
Female	11 (4.5%)	97 (39.8%)	86 (35.2%)	50 (20.5%)	244
Column Total	13 (2.5%)	238 (46.1%)	215 (41.7%)	50 ( 9.7%)	516 (100%)

df = 3       $\chi^2 = 71.65$        $p \leq .001$

Spearman rho = .15       $p = .001$

Table 4  
Social Isolation and Sex

Sex	Social isolation				Row Total
	Very low	Low	High	Very high	
Male	2 (0.7%)	88 (32.4%)	180 (66.2%)	2 (0.7%)	272
Female	11 (4.5%)	70 (28.7%)	124 (50.8%)	39 (16.0%)	244
Column Total	13 (2.5%)	158 (30.6%)	304 (58.9%)	41 ( 7.9%)	516 (100%)

df = 3       $\chi^2 = 50.61$        $p \leq .001$

Spearman rho = .08       $p \leq .05$

Table 5  
Powerlessness and Sex

Sex	Powerlessness				Row Total
	Very low	Low	High	Very high	
Male	21 (7.7%)	161 (59.2%)	85 (31.3%)	5 ( 1.8%)	272
Female	21 (8.6%)	125 (51.2%)	51 (20.9%)	47 (19.3%)	244
Column Total	42 (8.1%)	286 (55.4%)	136 (26.4%)	52 (10.1%)	516 (100%)

df = 3       $\chi^2 = 45.56$        $p \leq .001$

Spearman rho = .11       $p \leq .01$

Table 6  
Normlessness and Sex

Sex	Normlessness				Row Total
	Very low	Low	High	Very high	
Male	13 (4.8%)	144 (52.9%)	102 (37.5%)	13 ( 4.8%)	272
Female	18 (7.4%)	94 (38.5%)	79 (32.4%)	53 (21.7%)	244
Column Total	31 (6.0%)	238 (46.1%)	181 (35.1%)	66 (12.8%)	516 (100%)

df = 3       $\chi^2 = 37.06$        $p \leq .001$

Spearman rho = .15       $p = .001$

following null hypothesis is considered, first:

There is no difference by sex in the level of alienation among rural high school students in South Dakota.

The data presented in Table 1 indicate that, in fact, rural female high school students are more alienated than male high school students ( $p \leq .001$ ). While 20.5% of the female students score in the very high level of alienation, no male students do so. Thus, the null hypothesis is rejected. Female high school students are more alienated than males. The correlation between alienation and sex is .15.

When the data are examined in terms of three types of alienation considered in the study, the same pattern persists. Females are more significantly alienated than males ( $p \leq .001$ ) in each case, with more females than males consistently reporting very high levels of alienation. The correlations, are .08, .11, .15, respectively.

A second null hypothesis considered is the following:

There is no difference by race in the level of alienation among rural high school students.

The data available do not permit a satisfactory basis for testing this hypothesis since only 13 (2.5%) students were non-white. While the data showed differences in alienation, social isolation, powerlessness and normlessness by race, the differences are not statistically significant. Thus we fail to reject the null hypothesis that there is no difference by race in the level of alienation among rural high school students. Failure to observe significant differences here,

Table 7  
Alienation and Race

Race	Alienation				Row Total
	Very low	Low	High	Very high	
White	13 (2.6%)	233 (46.3%)	209 (41.9%)	48 ( 9.5%)	503
Non-white	0 (0%)	5 (38.5%)	6 (46.2%)	2 (15.4%)	13
Column Total	13 (2.5%)	238 (46.1%)	215 (41.7%)	50 ( 9.7%)	516* (100%)

df = 3       $\chi^2 = 1.01$       p.n.s.

Spearman rho = .04      p.n.s.

\*1 no response on race

Table 8  
Social Isolation and Race

Race	Social isolation				Row Total
	Very low	Low	High	Very high	
White	13 (2.6%)	155 (30.8%)	297 (59.0%)	38 ( 7.6%)	503
Non-white	0 (0%)	4 (30.8%)	6 (46.2%)	3 (23.1%)	13
Column Total	13 (2.5%)	159 (30.8%)	303 (58.7%)	41 ( 7.9%)	516* (100%)

df = 3       $\chi^2 = 4.53$       p.n.s.

Spearman rho = .04      p.n.s.

\* 1 no response on race.

Table 9  
Powerlessness and Race

Race	Powerlessness				Row Total
	Very low	Low	High	Very high	
White	40 ( 8.0%)	281 (55.9%)	132 (26.2%)	50 ( 9.9%)	503
Non-white	2 (15.4%)	4 (30.8%)	5 (38.5%)	2 (15.4%)	13
Column Total	42 ( 8.1%)	285 (55.2%)	137 (26.6%)	52 (10.1%)	516* (100%)

df = 3       $\chi^2 = 3.39$       p.n.s.

Spearman rho = .03      p.n.s.

\* 1 no response on race

Table 10  
Normlessness and Race

Race	Normlessness				Row Total
	Very low	Low	High	Very high	
White	30 (6.0%)	231 (45.9%)	179 (35.6%)	63 (12.5%)	503
Non-white	1 (7.7%)	6 (46.2%)	3 (23.1%)	3 (23.1%)	13
Column Total	31 (6.0%)	237 (45.9%)	182 (35.3%)	66 (12.8%)	516* (100%)

df = 3       $\chi^2 = 1.72$       p.n.s.

Spearman rho = .0      p.n.s.

\* 1 no response on race

however, may be a consequence of small number of non-white students included in this sample.

For purposes of statistical analysis a third null hypothesis is considered:

There is no difference by grade point average (GPA) in the level of alienation among rural high school students in South Dakota.

Grade point average is based upon students' self-reports (see item #9, page 67). The data represented in Table 11 indicate that students who report that their GPA is above the class average are more alienated than those who report that their GPA is below the class average ( $p \leq .05$ ). While 53.8% of those with above average GPA's score in the high and very high levels of alienation, only 31.5% of those with the below average GPA's score in this range. Thus, the null hypothesis is rejected. However, contrary to the original hypothesis (see page 26), it is not those with low GPA's, but those with high GPA's who show the higher levels of alienation. The relationship between alienation and reported GPA is .14.

When the various kinds of alienation are examined, some differences are observed in the data. For social isolation, the difference between those with high GPA's and those with low GPA's is not statistically significant. However for powerlessness and normlessness, significant differences are observed. The correlations are -.08, -.12 and -.15, respectively.

For purposes of statistical analysis, a fourth and final null hypothesis is considered:

Table 11

## Alienation and Grade Point Average

GPA	Alienation				Row
	Very low	Low	High	Very high	Total
Above GPA	11 (2.4%)	203 (43.8%)	200 (43.2%)	49 (10.6%)	463
Below GPA	2 (3.7%)	35 (64.8%)	16 (29.6%)	1 (1.9%)	54
Column Total	13 (2.5%)	238 (46.0%)	216 (41.8%)	50 (9.7%)	517 (100%)

df = 3       $\chi^2 = 10.90$        $p \leq .05$

Spearman rho = -.14       $p = .001$

Table 12

## Social Isolation and Grade Point Average

GPA	Social isolation				Row
	Very low	Low	High	Very high	Total
Above GPA	12 (2.6%)	137 (29.6%)	274 (59.2%)	40 (8.6%)	463
Below GPA	1 (1.9%)	22 (40.7%)	30 (55.6%)	1 (1.9%)	54
Column Total	13 (2.5%)	159 (30.8%)	304 (58.8%)	41 (7.9%)	517 (100%)

df = 3       $\chi^2 = 4.97$       p.n.s.

Spearman rho = -.08       $p \leq .05$

Table 13

## Powerlessness and Grade Point Average

GPA	Powerlessness				Row Total
	Very low	Low	High	Very high	
Above GPA	34 ( 7.3%)	252 (54.4%)	127 (27.4%)	50 (10.8%)	463
Below GPA	8 (14.8%)	34 (63.0%)	10 (18.5%)	2 ( 3.7%)	54
Column Total	42 ( 8.1%)	286 (55.3%)	137 (26.5%)	52 (10.1%)	517 (100%)

df = 3       $\chi^2 = 7.82$        $p \leq .05$

Spearman rho = -.12       $p \leq .01$

Table 14

## Normlessness and Grade Point Average

GPA	Normlessness				Row Total
	Very low	Low	High	Very high	
Above GPA	25 ( 5.4%)	204 (44.1%)	171 (36.9%)	63 (13.6%)	463
Below GPA	6 (11.1%)	34 (63.0%)	11 (20.4%)	3 ( 5.6%)	54
Column Total	31 ( 6.0%)	238 (46.0%)	182 (35.2%)	66 (12.8%)	517 (100%)

df = 3       $\chi^2 = 12.60$        $p \leq .01$

Spearman rho = -.15       $p \leq .001$



There is no difference in the level of alienation among rural high school students in South Dakota by discrepancy in occupational expectations and aspirations.

The differences in alienation are not statistically significant when those with discrepant expectations and aspirations are compared with those who have no such discrepancies. Similarly, when social isolation, powerlessness, and normlessness are examined, it is found that the differences by discrepancy are not statistically significant. See Table 15, 16, 17 and 18. Thus, we fail to reject the null hypothesis.

Thus, in response to the question, who among rural South Dakota youth is alienated, the data indicate that more alienation exists among females and among students who report GPA's above the class average. The relationship between these two variables and alienation is examined further. For the sake of simplicity, the categories of "very high," "high," "low," and "very low" are collapsed into "high" and "low" for this further analysis. No differences in patterning results.

With sex held constant, the relationship between alienation and GPA was observed. Table 19 shows that while 27.9% of the male students with low GPA's scored high or very high on the alienation scale, 51.5% of the male students with high GPA's scored in this range of alienation. Thus, the data indicate that male students with high GPA's are more alienated than male students with low GPA's.

Similarly, when the relationship between alienation and GPA is examined for female students, it is also observed that high GPA females (56.2% of them) are more alienated than low GPA females (45.5% scored high or very high on alienation). The magnitude of the differences, however, is greater for male students than it is for female students. Further, the data from the female students must be

Table 15

Alienation and Discrepancy in Occupational  
Expectation and Aspiration

Discrepancy	Alienation				Row Total
	Very low	Low	High	Very high	
Discrepancy	0 (0%)	24 (46.2%)	23 (44.2%)	5 (9.6%)	52
No dis- crepancy	13 (2.8%)	214 (46.0%)	193 (41.5%)	45 (9.7%)	465
Column Total	13 (2.5%)	238 (46.0%)	216 (41.8%)	50 (9.7%)	517 (100%)

df = 3       $\chi^2 = 1.53$       p.n.s.

Spearman rho = -.02      p.n.s.

Table 16

Social Isolation and Discrepancy in Occupational  
Expectation and Aspiration

Discrepancy	Social isolation				Row Total
	Very low	Low	High	Very high	
Discrepancy	0 (0%)	22 (42.3%)	25 (48.1%)	5 (9.6%)	52
No dis- crepancy	13 (2.8%)	137 (29.5%)	279 (60.0%)	36 (7.7%)	465
Column Total	13 (2.5%)	159 (30.8%)	304 (58.8%)	41 (7.9%)	517 (100%)

df = 3       $\chi^2 = 5.30$       p.n.s.

Spearman rho = .04      p.n.s.

Table 17

Powerlessness and Discrepancy in Occupational  
Expectation and Aspiration

Discrepancy	Powerlessness				Row Total
	Very low	Low	High	Very high	
Discrepancy	1 (1.9%)	27 (51.9%)	19 (36.5%)	5 (9.6%)	52
No discrepancy	41 (8.8%)	259 (55.7%)	118 (25.4%)	47 (10.1%)	465
Column Total	42 (8.1%)	286 (55.3%)	137 (26.5%)	52 (10.1%)	517 (100%)

df = 3       $\chi^2 = 5.06$       p.n.s.  
Spearman rho = -.07       $p \leq .05$

Table 18

Normlessness and Discrepancy in Occupational  
Expectation and Aspiration

Discrepancy	Normlessness				Row Total
	Very low	Low	High	Very high	
Discrepancy	1 (1.9%)	26 (50.0%)	19 (36.5%)	6 (11.5%)	52
No discrepancy	30 (6.5%)	212 (45.6%)	136 (35.1%)	60 (12.9%)	465
Column Total	31 (6.0%)	238 (46.0%)	182 (35.2%)	66 (12.8%)	517 (100%)

df = 3       $\chi^2 = 1.89$       p.n.s.  
Spearman rho = -.01      p.n.s.

regarded with some caution since very few (11) female students reported GPA's below the class average.

The correlations for alienation, social isolation, powerlessness, and normlessness with GPA are weak for both males and females in the sense that GPA with sex controlled explains little of the variance in alienation. Interestingly, however, the correlations are greater for males than for females with the exception of the correlation between social isolation and GPA. In this one instance, a larger correlation is observed for females. See Tables 20, 21 and 22.

#### Alienation and Migration Plans

Finally, the relationship between alienation and migration plans is examined. Migration plans are based on responses to item #75 (see Questionnaire, Appendix A). Table 23 shows 42.6% students have plans to stay in the rural areas in South Dakota, 17.3% students have plans to move to the cities in South Dakota and 40.1% students have plans to move to other states. The migration out of the state is of greatest concern in this research because it relates to the state's net migration and represents greatest movement out of the social system (the state).

Given the existence of migration plans among rural youth in South Dakota, a series of hypotheses were examined to determine the relationship between alienation and migration plans. For purposes of statistical analysis the following null hypothesis is considered.

There is no difference by alienation in the out-migration plans of rural high school students in South Dakota.

The data presented in Table 23 indicate that highly alienated rural high school students are more likely to have plans for out-migration than less alienated students ( $p \leq .001$ ). While 48.6% of

Table 19

## Alienation by Sex and by GPA

Sex	GPA	Alienation		Total
		Very low and low	High and very high	
Male	Low	31 (72.1%)	12 (27.9%)	43
	High	112 (48.9%)	117 (51.1%)	229
Female	Low	6 (55.6%)	5 (45.5%)	11
	High	102 (43.8%)	131 (56.2%)	233
Total		251 (48.6%)	265 (51.4%)	516

Male Spearman rho =  $-.16$   $p \leq .01$   
 Female Spearman rho =  $-.04$  p.n.s.

Table 20

## Social Isolation by Sex and by GPA

Sex	GPA	Social isolation		Total
		Very low and low	High and very high	
Male	Low	16 (37.2%)	27 (62.8%)	43
	High	74 (32.3%)	155 (67.7%)	229
Female	Low	7 (63.6%)	4 (36.4%)	11
	High	74 (31.8%)	159 (68.2%)	233
Total		171 (33.2%)	345 (66.8%)	516

Male Spearman rho =  $-.03$  p.n.s.  
 Female Spearman rho =  $-.14$   $p \leq .05$

Table 21  
Powerlessness by Sex and by GPA

Sex	GPA	Powerlessness		Total
		Very low and low	High and very high	
Male	Low	35 (81.4%)	8 (18.6%)	43
	High	147 (64.2%)	82 (35.8%)	229
Female	Low	7 (63.6%)	4 (36.4%)	11
	High	139 (59.6%)	94 (40.4%)	233
Total		328 (63.5%)	188 (36.5%)	516
Male	Spearman rho = $-.13$		$p \leq .05$	
Female	Spearman rho = $-.01$		p.n.s.	

Table 22  
Normlessness by Sex and by GPA

Sex	GPA	Normlessness		Total
		Very low and low	High and very high	
Male	Low	34 (79.0%)	9 (21.0%)	43
	High	123 (53.7%)	106 (46.3%)	229
Female	Low	6 (54.5%)	5 (45.5%)	11
	High	106 (45.5%)	127 (54.5%)	233
Total		269 (52.1%)	247 (47.9%)	516
Male	Spearman rho = $-.18$		$p = .001$	
Female	Spearman rho = $-.03$		p.n.s.	

Table 23

## Migration Plans and Alienation

Alienation	Rural areas in South Dakota	City in South Dakota	Outside of South Dakota	Row Total
Low	103 (51.8%)	34 (17.1%)	62 (31.2%)	199
High	72 (34.0%)	37 (17.5%)	103 (48.6%)	212
Column Total	175 (42.6%)	71 (17.3%)	165 (40.1%)	411* (100%)
	df = 2	$\chi^2 = 15.41$	$p \leq .001$	
	Spearman rho = .19		$p \leq .001$	

Table 24

## Migration Plans and Social Isolation

Social Isolation	Rural areas in South Dakota	City in South Dakota	Outside of South Dakota	Row Total
Low	70 (50.7%)	23 (16.7%)	45 (32.6%)	138
High	105 (38.5%)	48 (17.8%)	120 (44.0%)	273
Column Total	175 (42.6%)	71 (17.3%)	165 (40.1%)	411*(100%)
	df = 3	$\chi^2 = 6.2$	$p \leq .05$	
	Spearman rho = .12		$p \leq .01$	

\* 106 students with no migration plans not included here

those who are highly alienated have plans to move outside of South Dakota, only 31.2% of those with low alienation scores have such plans. Thus, the null hypothesis is rejected. The relationship between migration plans and alienation is .19. When the various dimensions of alienation are examined, significant differences are found for social isolation ( $p \leq .05$ ) and normlessness ( $p \leq .001$ ). The correlation for each are .12, .17 respectively. See Tables 24, 25, and 26.

When sex is held constant, Table 27 shows that alienation, social isolation, and normlessness explain more of the variance in migration plans for females than they do for males. Powerlessness, on the other hand, explains somewhat more of the variance in migration plans for males than for females. In fact, the Spearman rho of .30 between social isolation and migration plans for females tells us that social isolation explains 9% of the variance in females' migration plans.

When GPA is held constant, an interesting observation emerges. Table 28 shows that the measures of alienation consistently explain more of the migration plans for those with low GPA's than for those with high GPA's. The composite measure of alienation itself accounts for 9% of the variance in migration plans for those with low GPA's. Thus, while fewer of the lower GPA students score high or very high in alienation, it is a more meaningful factor in their migration plans than it is for higher GPA students.



Table 25

## Migration Plans and Powerlessness

Powerless- ness	Rural areas in South Dakota	City in South Dakota	Outside of South Dakota	Row Total
Low	117 (46.4%)	42 (16.7%)	93 (36.9%)	252
High	58 (36.5%)	29 (18.2%)	72 (45.3%)	159
Column Total	175 (42.6%)	71 (17.3%)	165 (40.1%)	411*(100%)
	df = 3	$\chi^2 = 4.1$	p.n.s.	
	Spearman rho = .09		$p \leq .05$	

Table 26

## Migration Plans and Normlessness

Normless- ness	Rural areas in South Dakota	City in South Dakota	Outside of South Dakota	Row Total
Low	109 (51.2%)	33 (15.5%)	71 (33.3%)	213
High	66 (33.3%)	38 (19.2%)	94 (47.5%)	198
Column Total	175 (42.6%)	71 (17.3%)	165 (40.1%)	411*(100%)
	df = 3	$\chi^2 = 13.5$	$p \leq .001$	
	Spearman rho = .17		$p \leq .001$	

\* 106 students with no migration plans not included here.

Table 27

Spearman rho Correlations for Alienation Measures  
and Migration Plans, Controlling for Sex

Alienation measures	Migration plans	
	Male	Female
Alienation	.17 ( $p \leq .01$ )	.20 ( $p \leq .001$ )
Social isolation	-.05 (p.n.s.)	.30 ( $p \leq .001$ )
Powerlessness	.11 ( $p \leq .05$ )	.07 (p.n.s.)
Normlessness	.14 ( $p \leq .05$ )	.20 ( $p \leq .001$ )

Table 28

Spearman rho Correlations for Alienation Measures  
and Migration Plans, Controlling for Grade Point Average

Alienation measures	Migration plans	
	Above GPA	Below GPA
Alienation	.17 ( $p \leq .001$ )	.30 ( $p \leq .005$ )
Social isolation	.11 ( $p \leq .05$ )	.14 (p.n.s.)
Powerlessness	.08 (p.n.s.)	.15 (p.n.s.)
Normlessness	.16 ( $p \leq .001$ )	.24 (p.n.s.)

In conclusion, the data show that alienation accounts for little of rural youth's migration plans. However, it is a more meaningful factor in the plans of females and of students who report lower GPA's.

## CHAPTER 6

## CONCLUSION

There were two purposes of this research. The first purpose was to assess the presence of alienation in a sample of rural youth. The second purpose was to assess the relationship between the occurrence of alienation among rural youth and their plans for out-migration. This was done with a sample of rural South Dakota youth.

In this chapter, the findings of this research are summarized and conclusions are reached. These are followed by identification of the limitations and implications of this research. Finally, suggestions for future research are made.

Summary

Alienation is present among rural South Dakota youth sampled and associated with several variables. The findings are summarized in Table 29. The relationship between the occurrence of alienation among rural youth and their plans for out-migration is summarized in Table 30.

- 1) Sex. The rural female high school students are more alienated than male high school students. The relationship was similarly found to be statistically significant and supported with each of the three components of alienation - social isolation, powerlessness, and normlessness.
- 2) Minority Group Membership. We failed to reject the null hypothesis that there is no difference by minority group membership (white, non-white) in the level of alienation among

Table 29  
 Summary and Results  
 Spearman rho

Variables	Alienation	Social Isolation	Powerlessness	Normlessness
Sex	.15	.08	.11	.15
Minority Group Membership	.04	.04	.03	.00
Grade Point Average	-.14	-.08	-.12	-.15
Discrepancy in Occupational Expectations and Aspirations	-.02	.04	.07	-.01

Sources: Tables 3 to 20.

Table 30  
 Summary and Results  
 Spearman rho

Variable	Migration Plans
Alienation	.19
Social Isolation	.12
Powerlessness	.09
Normlessness	.17

Sources: Tables 23 to 26.

rural high school students. This result was seen for social isolation, powerlessness and normlessness. Failure to observe significant difference here may be a consequence of the small number of non-white students included in the sample.

- 3) Grade point average. Contrary to the original hypothesis, it is not those with low GPA's, but those with high GPA's who show the higher level of alienation. When the various kinds of alienation were examined, the same patterns were seen for powerlessness and normlessness, but social isolation was not statistically significant.
- 4) Discrepancy in occupational expectations and aspirations. The differences in alienation were not statistically significant when those with discrepant expectations and aspirations were compared with those who had no such discrepancies. Similarly, when social isolation, powerlessness, and normlessness were examined, it was found that the differences by discrepancy were not statistically significant.
- 5) Sex by GPA. With sex held constant, the relationship between alienation and GPA was observed. It was found that male students with high GPA's were more alienated than male students with low GPA's. Similarly, when the relationship between alienation and GPA was examined for female students, it was also observed that high GPA females were more alienated than low GPA females. The magnitude of the differences, however, was greater for male students than it was for female students.
- 6) Alienation and migration plans. It was found that highly alienated rural high school students were more likely to have

plans for out-migration than less alienated students. When the various dimensions of alienation were examined, significant differences were found for social isolation and normlessness. When sex was held constant, alienation, social isolation, and normlessness explained more of the variance in migration plans for females than they did for males. Powerlessness, on the other hand, explained somewhat more of the variance in migration plans for males than females.

When GPA was held constant, the measures of alienation consistently explained more of the migration plans for those with low GPA's than for those with high GPA's. While fewer of the low GPA students scored high or very high in alienation, it is a more meaningful factor in their migration plans than it was for higher GPA students.

#### Conclusions and Implications

In conclusion, it was found that alienation accounts for little of rural youth's migration plans. However, it is a more meaningful factor in the plans of females and of students who report lower GPA's.

In this research, it was found that rural female youth are more alienated than males. Theoretically, Durkheim (1951) suggested that acute social change gives rise to alienation in society. Thus, the finding in this research indicates that the social changes occurring in rural life are more acutely experienced by females than males. In particular, then, it might be argued that the changes taking place in sex roles (as opposed to the changes taking place in the economic

order in rural life) underly this alienation. This argument is supported by the finding (Table 6) that the correlation between sex and the various dimensions of alienation is greatest for normlessness. Sex roles constitute important social norms, and these clearly are in the process of change.

The finding that students who are achieving higher GPA's are more alienated than those students who are achieving lower GPA's may be interpreted in terms of both Durkheim's and Merton's theories. It might be argued that the better students (i.e. higher GPA's) are more aware of the changes taking place in their society than are the poorer students (i.e., lower GPA's) and consequently react to those changes. To the extent that those changes are acute, Durkheim suggests that the reaction is likely to be one of alienation. Hence, the greater alienation among the higher GPA students.

In Merton's theoretical perspective, alienation arises from lack of acceptance or access to cultural goals and/or institutionalized means to those goals. If education is regarded as an important institutionalized means to reaching goals in this society, the higher GPA students clearly have access to and make use of these means. Yet they are alienated. This would suggest that these students (more than their lower achieving peers) are attuned to goals outside of their social system. Waisanen (1968) has suggested that one of the outcomes of education is greater awareness of alternatives, including alternative goals. This, then, would also support the greater alienation among the higher GPA students.



Finally, this research indicated that highly alienated rural high school students are more likely to have plans for out-migration than less alienated students although this alienation accounted for relatively little of the variance in migration plans. Clearly, alienation is not the only factor contributing to migration plans. Nonetheless, the finding is consistent with Merton's suggestion that one of the responses to alienation is retreat from the social system. Some of the more highly alienated students in this study indicate that that is their anticipated mode of response. Following Merton's thesis, it might be suspected that others of the alienated students will select one of the other modes of adaptation. Retreatism, however, is more often the selected mode of adaptation chosen by females and lower GPA students (according to the results obtained in this study).

#### Limitations of This Study

A number of limitations are inherent in the present research.

- 1) In this research, we failed to reject the null hypothesis that there is no difference of minority group membership (white, non-white) in the level of alienation among rural high school students. Failure to observe significant differences here, may be a consequence of small number of non-white 13 (2.5%) students included in this sample. The work of Bryde (1970) suggests that a sample of junior and senior high school students (such as that employed in this study) may exclude highly alienated Indian youth, who would have dropped out of school by that time.

- 2) The data presented indicated that highly alienated rural high school students are more likely to have plans for out-migration than less alienated students. But, there is difference between plans for out-migration and real out-migration. In fact, the weak point is that this research cannot show that relationship between alienation and real out-migration. A longitudinal study would be required to show the correlation between plans and actual behavior and alienation and actual behavior. The larger study of which this study is a part will look into this relationship.
- 3) Although standardized questionnaires are important means of gathering data at least minimally appropriate to all respondents, use of interviews would permit the researcher to probe answers obtained. For instance, Merton suggests that alienation is a consequence of an individual's estrangement from culturally defined goals, institutionalized means to goals, or both. The questionnaire employed did not permit this determination. If it had been possible to interview those students scoring high on alienation, it might have been possible to determine the nature of their alienation.
- 4) This study was further limited by the nature of measurement used in the survey instrument. Because measurement was, at best, ordinal, less sophisticated, non-parametric statistics were employed. If ratio or interval scales were developed for the variables studied, stronger, more sophisticated statistical techniques could be employed.

- 5) Finally, although this study focused on rural youth - those whose residences are located in rural places, the sample may have been "contaminated" by the fact that most attended school in urban places. Thus, the ideas to which they were exposed did not entirely come out of rural life.

#### Suggestions for Future Research

Based upon the findings and limitations of this study, several suggestions for future research are made.

- 1) Since high GPA students showed more alienation than low GPA students, future research might be profitably directed to an exploration of high GPA students' goals in relation to community goals. The fact that these students are doing well academically suggests that they have access to and make use of institutionalized means. Therefore, it is reasonable to suppose that their alienation is from culturally defined goals in their rural communities. This supposition can be studied empirically.
- 2) Since rural females showed more alienation than rural males, future research might explore the nature of this alienation among females. In particular, research might examine the relationship between rural females' perceptions of and attitudes toward changing sex roles and their level of alienation. Durkheim's thesis that acute social change contributes to the experience of alienation suggests that these variables ought to be related.
- 3) If the occurrence of alienation among minority students and its relation to migration plans is of great concern, future

research will have to take steps to assure adequate representation of minority students in the sample. This might be accomplished by either selecting a school for the sample from a minority community or including grades nine and ten (before minority drop-out occurs) from a school in a more integrated community.

- 4) Since alienation is a more important factor in the migration plans of rural females and low GPA students, future research exploring the relationship between alienation and migration might most profitably focus on these two populations. In addition to the three dimensions of alienation examined in this study, the two other dimensions identified by Seeman might also be studied.
- 5) Finally, it might be most worthwhile to longitudinally determine how alienation, in fact, relates to actual migration rather than just stated plans for migration.

## REFERENCES

- Abramson, P. "Political efficacy and political trust among black schoolchildren." *Journal of Politics* 34 (November): 1972 p. 1234-1275.
- Babbie, Earl R. "The Practice of Social Research," Wadworth 1975 Publishing Inc. Belmont, California.
- Bowles, Gladys, Calvin Beale, and Everett S. Lee. "Net Migration 1977 of the Population, 1960-1970." part II, North Central State, University of Georgia, p. 196.
- Bryde, John F. "The Indian Student." Dakota Press. 1970
- Chesler, Phyllis. "Woman and Madness." Holdern Day and Company, 1972 Inc. Garden City, New York.
- Cloward, R.A. "Illegitimate Means, Anomie, and Deviant Behavior." *American Sociological Review* 24 (2): 164-176.
- Coleman, James S. and others. "Equality of Educational Opportunity." U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington.
- Cosby, Arthur G., and Ivan Charnaer. "Education and work in rural 1978 America." *The Social Context of Early Career Decision and Achievement.* College Station, Texas: Texas A & M University, 1978.
- Coser, Lewis A. "Master of Sociological Thought." Harcourt, Brace 1971 Jovanovich, Inc. New York.
- Davidson, Laurie and Laura Kramer Gordon. "The Sociology of Gender." 1979 Rand McNally College Publishing Company, Chicago.
- Fromm, Erich. "Marx's Concept of Man." New York: Frederich 1961 Unger Publishing Co., citing, Karl Marx, "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts.
- Gold, Martin. "Juvenile Delinquency as a Symptom of Alienation." 1969 *Journal of Social Issues.* 25, 2. spr. 121-135.
- Goss, Sidney G., Wagner, Robert T. and Dimit, Robert M. "Population 1975 Change in South Dakota Small Towns. 1960-1970."
- Hall, W. "Decreasing Student Alienation." Higher Education, 1975 Vol. 10, No. 3.

- Halleck, S. "Pyschiatric Treatment of the Alienated College Student." American Journal of Psychiatry.  
1967
- Helmick, Sandra A. "Quality of Life as Affected by Area of Residence." University of Missouri-Columbia, Research Bulletin 1036, December.  
1980
- Iowa State University. "Labor Mobility and Population in Agriculture." Iowa State Press, Ames, Iowa, U.S.A.  
1961
- Jackson, P.W. "School achievement and alienation: Notes on the psychology of classroom failure." Guidance in American Education.  
1965
- Johnston, Lloyd D., Jerald G. Bachman, and Patrick M. O'Mallery. "Monitoring the Future." Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.  
1980
- Jorgensen, Joseph G., and others. "Native American and Emerge Development." Anthropology Resource Center.  
1978
- Keniston, K. "The Uncommitted: Alienated youth in American Society." New York, Harcourt, Brace and World, p. 228-231.  
1965
- Kris, Ernst, and Nathan Lietes. "Reader in Public Opinion and Communication." The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois cited by Dean, D.G. American Sociological Review 26 (October, 1961) p. 753-758.  
1950
- Lively, C.A. and Taeuber, Conrad. "Rural migration in the United States." Works Progress Administration Research Monograph XIX, p. 15  
1939  
Cited by Nelson, Lowry. "Rural Sociology." American Book Company, 1952, p. 140.
- Mackey, James. "Strategies for Reducing Adolescent Alienation." Educational Leadership, Vol. 34, No. 6.  
1977
- Martindale, Don. "The Nature and Types of Sociological Theory." Cambridge, Mass: The Riverside Press.  
1960
- Meier, Dorothy L., and Wendell Bell. "Anomie and Differential Access to the Achievement of Life Goals." American Sociological Review 24: 189-202.  
1959
- Meissner, W. "Parental Interaction of the Adolescent Boy." Journal of Genetic Psychology.  
1965

- Merton, Robert K. "Social Theory and Social Structure." The Free Press of Glencoe, Illinois. 1949
- Merton, Robert K. "Social Theory and Social Structure." The Free Press of Glencoe, New York. 1957
- Merton, Robert K. "Social Theory and Social Structure." Revised edition. New York: Free Press. 1968
- Miller, Delbert. "Handbook of Research Design and Social Measurement." David McKay Company, Inc., New York. 1970
- Mizruchi, Ephram H. "Success and Opportunity: a Study of anomia." New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Ch. 2, 3. 1964
- Neider, Lanny Aron. "A Conceptual Analysis of Alienation in Current Theory and Research." A thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Major in Sociology, South Dakota State University. 1971
- Nelson, Lowry. "Rural Sociology." American Book Company. 1952
- Parsons, Talcott. "The Structure of Social Action." New York: The Free Press of Glencoe. 1941
- Petrovic, Gajo. "Marx in the Mid-Twentieth Century." Garden City: Anchor Books. 1967
- Riley, Marvin P., and Robert T. Wagner. "South Dakota Population and Net Migration, 1960-1970." South Dakota State University, Brookings. Bulletin 580, (February). 1971
- Riley, Marvin P., Bruce G. Breamer, and Eugene T. Butler. "South Dakota Population, Age, and Sex Structure, 1960-1970." Bulletin 599, Population Series Report No. 3. Brookings, S.D. Rural Sociology Department. 1972
- Riley, Marvin P. and Linda Baer. "South Dakota Population and Net Migration 1970-1980." Update Series, c 229, No. 4. Department of Rural Sociology, South Dakota State University (unpublished document). 1981
- Rose, Gordon. "Anomie and Devisation - A Conceptual Framework Empirical Studies." British Journal of Sociology 17 (1): 29-45. 1966
- "Rural Sociology." Farm and Home Research, Vol. XIX., No. 4, p. 39 (8th Annual Report to South Dakota, South Dakota State University). 1968

- Schaefer, Richard I. "Racial and Ethnic Group." Little, Brown  
1979 and Company, Boston, Toronto.
- Schrut, A. "Suicide Adolescents and Children." Journal of the  
1964 American Medical Association.
- Seeman, M. "On the Meaning of Alienation." American Sociological  
1959 Review 24 (December).
- Shore, M.F., and Massima, J.L. "The alienated adolescent: A  
1968 challenge of the mental health professional."  
Adolescence, 4 (13).
- Statistical Abstract of the United States. Table 17, p. 17 cited  
1972 by Spencer, Metta. "Foundations of Modern  
Sociology." Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs,  
New Jersey, 1976, p. 523.
- Waisanen, F.B. "Some Convergence in the social psychology of  
1963 Alienation." paper presented at the Congress of the  
Interamerican Society for Psychology, Mardel Plata,  
Argentina.
- Waisanen, F.B. "Actors, Social Systems and the Modernization  
1968 Process." Preliminary draft of a presentation made  
at the Carnegie Seminar. Indiana University, April.
- Waller, Willard. "The Sociology of Teaching." New York: John  
1932 Wiley and Sons, Inc.
- Walum, Laurel R. "The Dynamic of Sex and Gender: A Sociological  
1977 Perspective." Rand McNally College Publishing  
Company.
- Wax, Murray L. "Anthropological Perspectives on Education."  
1971 Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, New York, London.
- Wynne, A.E. "Youth Suicide as a Measure of Alienation."  
1978 Department of Health, Education, and Welfare,  
Public Health Service, National Center for Health  
Statistics. Cited by Phi Delta No. 1. 59, H5 1978, p.  
307-315.
- Yankelovitch, D. "A crisis of moral legitimacy." Dissent 21  
1974a (fall): p. 526-533.
- Yankelovitch, D. "The New Morality: A Profile of American  
1974b Youth." New York: McGraw-Hill.



Appendix A  
Questionnaire

South Dakota Youth and the Future  
(Student Survey)

1   2   3   4

**Directions:** This is not a test. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers. The principal, your teachers and counselors and your friends will not see your individual answers to the questions. The information you give us will be used for better understanding of youth in South Dakota. Please answer these questions to the best of your ability. (Pay no attention to the numbers before the questions or in ( ) after the answers--they are for the computer.) We appreciate your time and effort. Thank you.

First, we would like to ask you a few background questions.

5. What is your present age? \_\_\_\_\_ years.
6. What year in school are you?  
     \_\_\_\_\_ Junior. (1)  
     \_\_\_\_\_ Senior. (2)
7. What is your sex?  
     \_\_\_\_\_ Male. (1)  
     \_\_\_\_\_ Female. (2)
8. How do you describe yourself (if you were to use the following terms)?  
     \_\_\_\_\_ White or Caucasian. (1)  
     \_\_\_\_\_ American Indian. (2)  
     \_\_\_\_\_ Mexican American or Chicano. (3)  
     \_\_\_\_\_ Oriental or Asian American. (4)  
     \_\_\_\_\_ Black or Afro-American. (5)  
     \_\_\_\_\_ Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_ (6)
9. Which of the following best describes your average grade so far in school this semester?  
     \_\_\_\_\_ Above the class average. (1)  
     \_\_\_\_\_ About the same as the class average. (2)  
     \_\_\_\_\_ Below the class average. (3)
10. Where do you live?  
     \_\_\_\_\_ On a farm or ranch. (1)  
     \_\_\_\_\_ In the country, but not on a farm or ranch. (2)  
     \_\_\_\_\_ In a small town or village (less than 2,500 people). (3)  
     \_\_\_\_\_ In a city or town (2,500 - 4,999 people). (4)  
     \_\_\_\_\_ In a city or town (5,000 - 9,999 people). (5)  
     \_\_\_\_\_ In a city or town (10,000 - 14,999 people). (6)  
     \_\_\_\_\_ In a city or town (15,000 or more people). (7)

The next two questions are about your parents. If you were raised mostly by foster or step-parents, or others, answer the next two questions for them. If you have both a step-father (or mother) and a natural father (or mother), answer for the one who was most important in raising you.

11. What is the highest level of schooling completed by your father?

- Completed grade school or less. (1)
- Some high school. (2)
- Completed high school. (3)
- Some college. (4)
- Completed college. (5)
- Graduate or professional school after college. (6)
- Don't know, or does not apply. (7)

12. What is the highest level of schooling completed by your mother?

- Completed grade school or less. (1)
- Some high school. (2)
- Completed high school. (3)
- Some college. (4)
- Completed college. (5)
- Graduate or professional school after college. (6)
- Don't know, or does not apply. (7)

The next several questions ask about your own beliefs and ideas.

13. How would you describe your political beliefs?

- Very conservative. (1)
- Conservative. (2)
- Moderate. (3)
- Liberal. (4)
- Very liberal. (5)
- Radical. (6)
- None of the above, or don't know. (7)

The next five questions ask about different places to live and how desirable they might be to you. Please tell us how you feel about each kind of place below using the following terms:

Not at all acceptable -- You would not live in a place like this if you could possibly avoid it.

Somewhat acceptable -- You would live in a place like this, but you would not be very happy about it.

Acceptable -- A place like this would be O.K.

Desirable -- This is the kind of place where you would really like to live.

14. How do you feel about a rural area?

\_\_\_\_\_ Not at all acceptable. (1)

\_\_\_\_\_ Somewhat acceptable. (2)

\_\_\_\_\_ Acceptable. (3)

\_\_\_\_\_ Desirable. (4)

15. How do you feel about a small town? (less than 10,000 people)

\_\_\_\_\_ Not at all acceptable. (1)

\_\_\_\_\_ Somewhat acceptable. (2)

\_\_\_\_\_ Acceptable. (3)

\_\_\_\_\_ Desirable. (4)

16. How do you feel about a small city? (10,000-50,000 people)

\_\_\_\_\_ Not at all acceptable. (1)

\_\_\_\_\_ Somewhat acceptable. (2)

\_\_\_\_\_ Acceptable. (3)

\_\_\_\_\_ Desirable. (4)

17. How do you feel about a suburb of a large city?

\_\_\_\_\_ Not at all acceptable. (1)

\_\_\_\_\_ Somewhat acceptable. (2)

\_\_\_\_\_ Acceptable. (3)

\_\_\_\_\_ Desirable. (4)

18. How do you feel about a large city? (more than 50,000 people)

\_\_\_\_\_ Not at all acceptable. (1)

\_\_\_\_\_ Somewhat acceptable. (2)

\_\_\_\_\_ Acceptable. (3)

\_\_\_\_\_ Desirable. (4)

19. If it were possible for you to obtain a job with adequate pay in your hometown or in the area where you now live, would you stay in your present area?
- \_\_\_\_\_ Yes. (1)                      \_\_\_\_\_ Not sure, but probably would. (2)
- \_\_\_\_\_ No. (4)                              \_\_\_\_\_ Not sure, but probably would not. (3)

The next few questions again are background questions.

20. Do you have close relatives (that is people whom you regard as "close relatives) who have moved out of this area within the past five years?
- \_\_\_\_\_ Yes. (1)
- \_\_\_\_\_ No. (2)

If you answered "Yes" to the above question, please answer the next two questions. If you answered "No" to the above question, skip the next two questions and go to Question 23.

21. If you do have relatives who moved out of this area within the past five years, did they move to: (check as many as apply)
- \_\_\_\_\_ A rural area (farm, ranch or community of less than 2,500 people)? (1)
- \_\_\_\_\_ A small town or city (2,500 - 10,000 people)? (2)
- \_\_\_\_\_ A city (more than 10,000 people)? (3)
22. If you have close relatives who moved out of this area within the past five years, did any of them move out of South Dakota?
- \_\_\_\_\_ Yes. (1)
- \_\_\_\_\_ No. (2)
23. How would you classify your father's or your guardian's usual occupation? (Check only one category.)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Professional (teacher, doctor, lawyer, etc.) (1)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Business owner, manager, or executive (banker, merchant, insurance agent, etc.) (2)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Clerical or sales worker (office worker, salesclerk, etc.) (3)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Craftsmen or foreman (carpenter, electrician, machinist, mechanic, etc.) (4)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Operative (truck driver, deliveryman, school bus driver, etc.) (5)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Service worker (policeman, barber, etc.) (6)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Rancher or farmer (7)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Ranch hand or farm worker (8)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Don't know. (9)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Other (if you don't see your father's usual occupation above, write it in here) \_\_\_\_\_

24. Does your mother or guardian work outside of your home?
- Yes. (1)
- No. (2) (If "no." skip to Question 26.)
25. If your mother does work outside of the home, how would you classify her usual occupation? (Check one category.)
- Professional (teacher, lawyer, doctor, social worker, etc.) (1)
- Business owner, manager or executive (cafe owner, store manager, etc.) (2)
- Clerical or sales worker (office worker, secretary, salesclerk, etc.) (3)
- Craftsman or foreman (machinist, factory worker, etc.) (4)
- Operative (truck driver, school bus driver, etc.) (5)
- Service worker (nurses aide, waitress, beautician, etc.) (6)
- Rancher or farmer. (7)
- Ranch worker or farm worker. (8)
- Don't know. (9)
- Other (if you don't see your mother's usual occupation above, write it in here) \_\_\_\_\_

The next questions are once again directed to your own ideas, activities and beliefs.

26. Suppose you had the necessary abilities, grades, financial resources, etc., what kind of work would you really like to do? (Please check only one category.)
- Professional (teacher, lawyer, doctor, social worker, etc.) (1)
- Business owner, manager or executive (merchant, banker, store owner, agribusiness manager, etc.) (2)
- Clerical or sales worker (office worker, salesclerk, etc.) (3)
- Craftsman or foreman (carpenter, electrician, machinist, mechanic, etc.) (4)
- Operative (truck driver, welder, deliveryman, etc.) (5)
- Service worker (policeman, barber, beautician, waiter or waitress, etc.) (6)
- Rancher or farmer. (7)
- Ranch hand or farm worker. (8)
- Don't know. (9)
- Other (if you don't see the kind of work which you would really like to do above, write it in here)
- \_\_\_\_\_

27. Considering your abilities, grades, financial resources, etc., what kind of work do you really expect to do? (Please check only one category.)
- Professional (teacher, lawyer, doctor, social worker, etc.) (1)
- Business owner, manager or executive (merchant, banker, store owner or manager, etc.) (2)
- Clerical or sales worker (office worker, salesclerk, etc.) (3)
- Craftsman or foreman (carpenter, electrician, machinist, mechanic, etc.) (4)
- Operative (truck driver, welder, deliveryman, etc.) (5)
- Service worker (policeman, barber, beautician, waiter or waitress, etc.) (6)
- Rancher or farmer. (7)
- Ranch hand or farm worker. (8)
- Don't know. (9)
- Other (if you don't see the kind of work which you really expect to do above, write it in here)
- 

Are you a member of any of the following groups or organizations in your school or in your community? (Check all the groups or organizations to which you belong.)

28.  Band or orchestra. (1)
- Chorus or choir. (2)
29.  Athletic team or cheerleaders. (3)
30.  Debate, forensics or drama. (4)
31.  Church youth group. (5)
- Boy scouts or girl scouts. (6)
32.  4-H. (7)
33.  Other group. (Please identify any other group to which you belong here.)
- 
- None. I don't belong to any group or organization in the school or community. (8)
34. Are you now or have you ever been a class or school officer (student council-member, president of your class, etc.) during your high school years?
- Yes. (1)
- No. (2)

35. Suppose you had the necessary abilities, grades, financial resources, etc., how far would you really like to go in school? (Please check just one.)
- I would like to stop school now, before high school graduation. (1)
- I would like to stop school after high school graduation. (2)
- I would like to go to a technical, vocational or business school after high school graduation. (3)
- I would like to go to a junior college after high school. (4)
- I would like to go to a four-year college or university after high school. (5)
- I would like to go to graduate or professional school after graduating from college. (6)
- I am undecided. (7)
36. Considering your abilities, grades, financial resources, etc., how far do you think you really expect to go in school? (Please check just one.)
- I will probably stop school before high school graduation. (1)
- I will probably graduate from high school, but go no further. (2)
- I will probably go to a technical, vocational or business school after high school graduation. (3)
- I will probably go to a junior college after high school. (4)
- I will probably go to a four-year college or university after high school. (5)
- I will probably go to graduate or professional school after graduating from college. (6)
- I really don't know. (7)
37. After completing your schooling, do you plan to live in South Dakota or in some other state or place?
- I plan to live in South Dakota. (1)
- Not sure, probably South Dakota. (2)
- Not sure, probably some place else. (3)
- I plan to live in some other state or place. (4)

The next four questions deal with four different kinds of development which might take place in an area. If the kind of development identified were to bring more jobs into your area, would you favor or oppose such development in your area?

38. Industrial development (such as the building of factories or some sort of manufacturing or processing plants) - How do you feel about such development in your area?
- Favor. (1)  Uncertain, probably oppose. (3)
- Uncertain, probably favor. (2)  Oppose. (4)



39. Commercial development (such as the building of a shopping complex or large business outlet) - How do you feel about such development in your area?  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Favor. (1) \_\_\_\_\_ Uncertain, probably oppose. (3)  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Uncertain, probably favor. (2) \_\_\_\_\_ Oppose. (4)
40. Uranium mining or processing. How would you feel about such development in your area?  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Favor. (1) \_\_\_\_\_ Uncertain, probably oppose. (3)  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Uncertain, probably favor. (2) \_\_\_\_\_ Oppose. (4)
41. Other natural resource development or processing (such as coal, oil, gas, etc.) - How do you feel about such development in your area?  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Favor. (1) \_\_\_\_\_ Uncertain, probably oppose. (3)  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Uncertain, probably favor. (2) \_\_\_\_\_ Oppose. (4)

The remaining items are statements regarding public issues, with which some people agree and others disagree. Please give us your own opinion about these items, that is, whether you agree or disagree with the items as they stand. (Check one box for each item.)

	Strongly Agree (1)	Agree (2)	Uncertain (3)	Disagree (4)	Strongly Disagree (5)
42. Sometimes I feel all alone in the world.					
43. I worry about the future facing today's children.					
44. I don't get invited out by friends as often as I'd really like.					
45. The end goal often justifies the means of reaching it.					
46. Most people today seldom feel lonely.					
47. Sometimes I have the feeling that other people are using me.					
48. People's ideas change so much that I wonder if we'll ever have anything to depend on.					
49. Real friends are as easy as ever to find.					
50. It is frightening to be responsible for the development of a little child.					

	Strongly Agree (1)	Agree (2)	Uncertain (3)	Disagree (4)	Strongly Disagree (5)
51. Everything is relative, and there just aren't any definite rules to live by.					
52. One can always find friends if he/she shows himself/herself to be friendly.					
53. I often wonder what the meaning of life really is.					
54. There is little or nothing I can do towards preventing a major war.					
55. The world in which we live is basically a friendly place.					
56. There are so many decisions that have to be made today that sometimes I could just "blow up."					
57. The only thing one can be sure of today is that he/she can be sure of nothing.					
58. There are few dependable ties between people any more.					
59. There is little chance for promotion on the job unless a person gets a break.					
60. With so many religions around, one doesn't really know which to believe.					
61. We're so regulated by rules or laws today that there's not much room for choice even in personal matters.					
62. We are just so many small parts in the machinery of life.					
63. People are just naturally friendly and helpful.					
64. The future looks very dismal.					
65. I don't get to visit friends as often as I'd really like.					
66. People like me will not have much of a chance to do what we want to do in life.					

	Strongly Agree (1)	Agree (2)	Uncertain (3)	Disagree (4)	Strongly Disagree (5)
67. Every time I try to get ahead, something or somebody stops me.					
68. Good luck is more important than hard work for success.					
69. I can do well if I work hard.					
70. My community's "concerned adults" are <u>not</u> doing enough to keep young people from leaving the community.					
71. I feel that I need to move from my community in order to fulfill my ambitions.					
72. I need a sense of adventure in my life.					

73. Which of the following best describes the type of education you are now receiving?

\_\_\_\_\_ Academic (general). (1)

\_\_\_\_\_ Academic (college prep). (2)

\_\_\_\_\_ Academic (vocational). (3)

\_\_\_\_\_ Other. (Please describe \_\_\_\_\_) (4)

\_\_\_\_\_ Don't know. (5)

74. After you complete your education, in which of the following areas would you really like to live? (Please check just one--the one most really liked.)

\_\_\_\_\_ The same area where I now live. (1)

\_\_\_\_\_ Some rural area (farm, ranch or small community) in South Dakota, but not where I presently live. (2)

\_\_\_\_\_ Some city (more than 2,500 people) in South Dakota, but not where I presently live. (3)

\_\_\_\_\_ Some place outside of South Dakota. (4)

\_\_\_\_\_ Undecided. (5)

75. Considering employment opportunities and other circumstances, where do you really expect to live after completing your education? (Please check just one--the one most expected.)

\_\_\_\_\_ The same area where I now live. (1)

\_\_\_\_\_ Some rural area (farm, ranch or small community) in South Dakota, but not where I presently live. (2)

\_\_\_\_\_ Some city (more than 2,500 people) in South Dakota, but not where I presently live. (3)

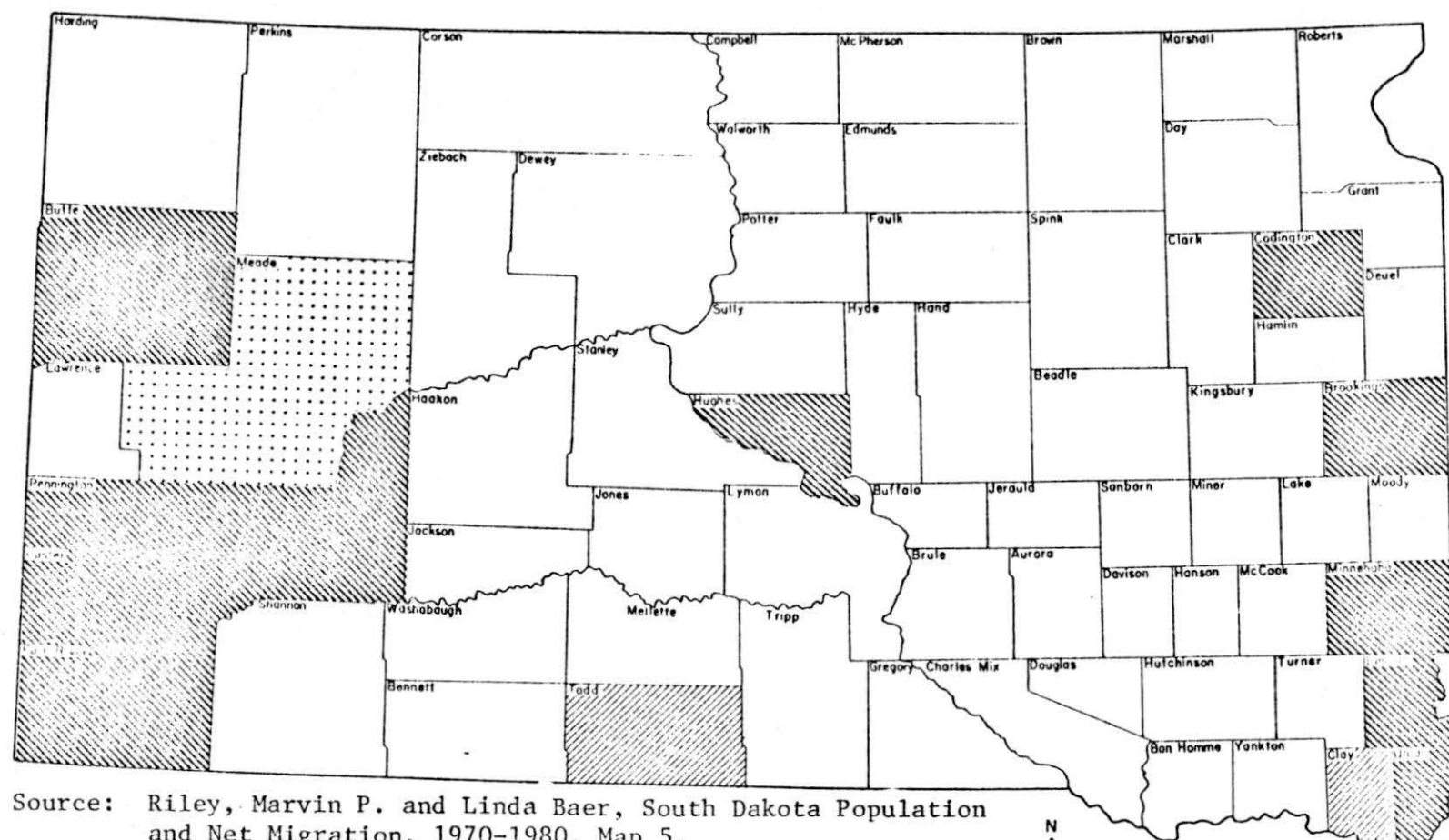
\_\_\_\_\_ Some place outside of South Dakota. (4)

\_\_\_\_\_ Undecided. (5)

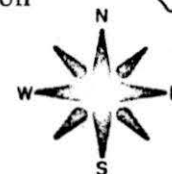
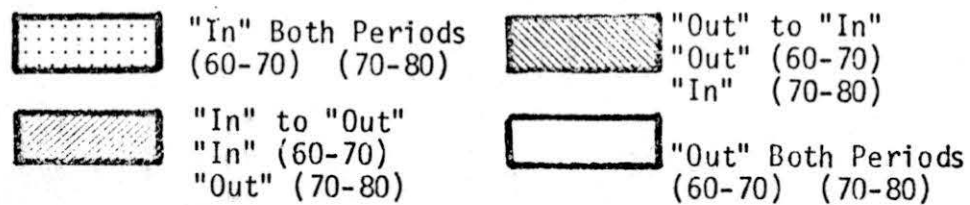
Appendix B  
The Geographic Areas by  
Migration Patterns

The four geographic areas by migration patterns are shown in Map 1. These areas are: (1) in-migration in 1960-1970 and 1970-1980; (2) out-migration in 1960-1970 and in-migration in 1970-1980; (3) in-migration in 1960-1970 and out-migration in 1970-1980; and finally, (4) out-migration in 1960-1970 and 1970-1980. In the sample selected for this study, one school is located from area (1); two schools are located in area (2); one school is located in area (3); and three schools are located in area (4). Thus, each of the four types of geographic areas by migration patterns are included in the study sample.

Map 1. Migration Patterns by County, South Dakota, for 1960-1970 and 1970-1980



Source: Riley, Marvin P. and Linda Baer, South Dakota Population and Net Migration, 1970-1980, Map 5.



SCALE IN MILES  
0 25 50

Appendix C  
The Planning Districts

Riley and Wagner (1971) found that the six planning districts of South Dakota were useful in analyzing the state's population and net-migration (see Map 2). In their study, they observed that:

The state has been divided into six Planning and Development Districts<sup>1</sup> as tentatively designed by the South Dakota Planning Agency. These "planning districts" were designed on a multicounty basis to represent as closely as possible "communities of interest." They have been delineated on the basis of newspaper circulation, points of minimum traffic volumes, regional trade areas and State Economic Areas (Riley and Wagner, 1971: 16).

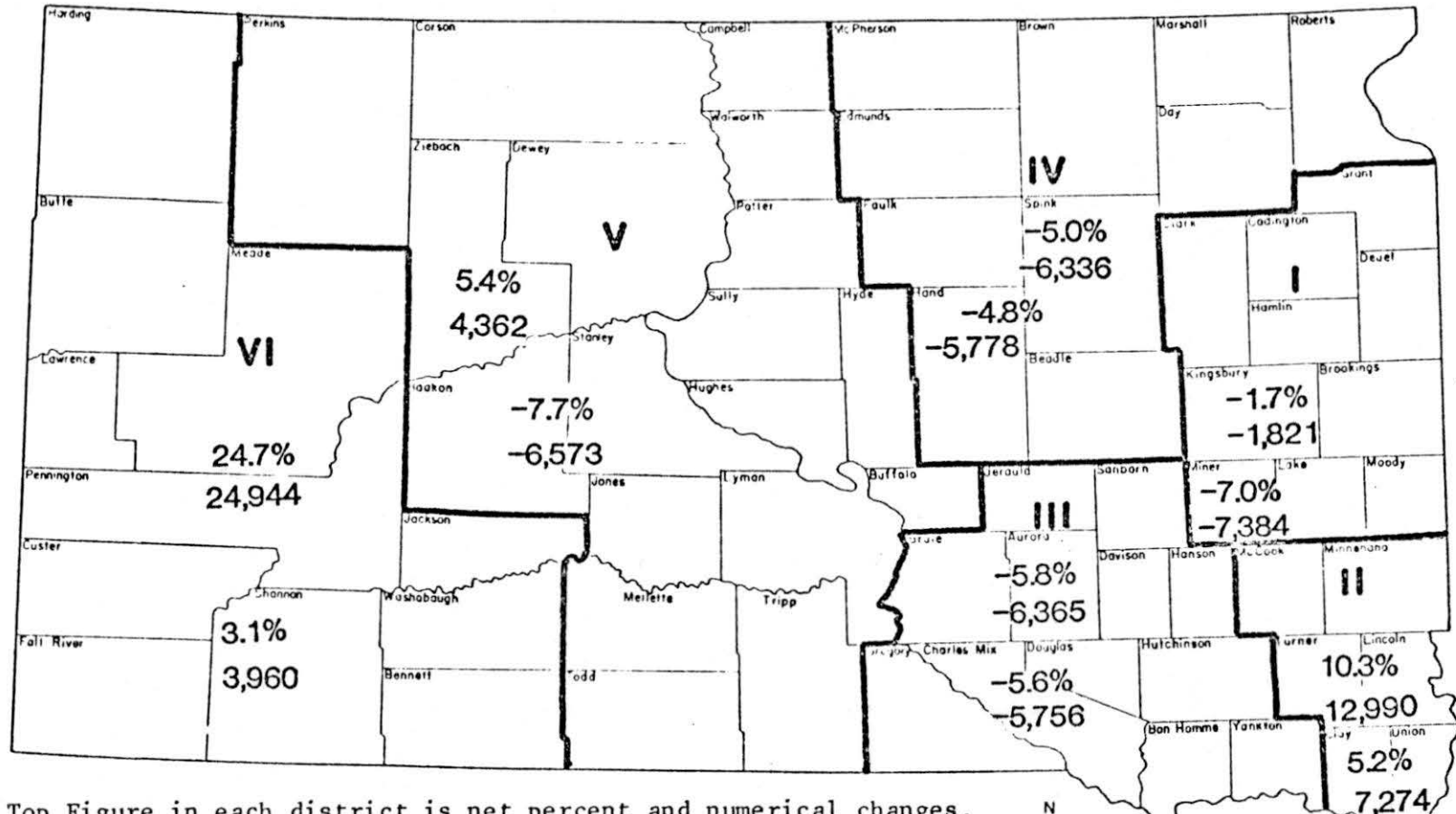
In the sample selected for this study, one school is located in each of the planning districts, except for district five. Two schools are included from district five because of the small enrollments of the two schools in that district. The schools included in this study are located in the following communities: Watertown; Vermillion; Alexandria; Frederick; Murdo; Oelrichs; Sturgis.

---

<sup>1</sup>South Dakota Planning and Development Districts. Pierre, South Dakota; South Dakota State Planning Agency, (no date).



Map 2. Population Change for South Dakota Tentative Planning and Development Districts--1950-1960 and 1960-1970 (in percent and number)



Top Figure in each district is net percent and numerical changes, 1950-1960.

Bottom Figure in each district is net percent and numerical changes, 1960-1970.

Percent and numerical change for South Dakota, 1950-1960:  
4.3 percent (27,774).

Percent and numerical change for South Dakota, 1960-1970: -2.1 percent (-14,257).