ABSTRACT

A study was conducted to determine if eight distinct subcultures of college students reflect differences concerning psychological anomie (alienation) and existential frustration. In addition, the purpose of this study was to explore the interaction among eight college student subcultures and sex and race for psychological anomie and existential frustration. The eight subcultures of college students consisted of eight student types distinguishable in terms of their dominent value commitment. The subject sample consisted of 1306 students drawn from 89 colleges and universities. The eight subcultures were grouped as follows: (1) vocationalists, (2) professionalists, (3) collegiates, (4) ritualists, (5) academics, (6) intellectuals, (7) left activists, and (8) hippies. The results indicated that each of the subcultures studied exhibited some form of psychological anomie. It was suggested that belonging to a vocational or academic subculture might, in itself, reflect purposeful alienation from the institution. A number of implications, emphasizing the difficulty in dealing with alienation, are presented. (Author/BW)

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EXISTENTIAL FRUSTRATION AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ANOMIE

WITHIN SELECT COLLEGE STUDENT SUBCULTURES

by

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Alienation is neither a disease nor a blessing but, for better or worse, a central feature of human existence.[1]

--Walter Kaufmann

Alfred Adler once made reference to the complexity of man's search for meaning: "The meaning of life is arrived at . . . by dark gropings, by feelings not wholly understood, by catching at hints and fumbling for explanations."[2] The same complexity, confusion, and often times sheer groping seem to occur when we attempt to define a term as broad and open ended as "alienation." In essence, we have found ourselves fumbling for an explanation that might be applicable to a variety of maladies of our time. One need only to glance at the mass media, be it film, books or theatre, to perceive "the plight of modern man."

Lewis Feuer offers a succinct description of "alienation."

"Alienation" lies in every direction of human experience where basic emotional desire is frustrated, every direction in which the person may be compelled by social situations to do violence to his own nature . . . that is the most general definition of alienation and its dimensions will be as varied as human desire and need.[3]

There are a number of ways of studying the theories of alienation. One of the easiest and most efficient means is via a historical perspective. A quick examination of the early classical theorists serves as a good beginning point.

THE CLASSICAL THEORIES OF ALIENATION

Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-1859)

> When I survey this countless multitude of beings, shaped in
> each other's likeness, amid whom nothing rises and nothing falls,
> the sight of such universal uniformity saddens and chills me and
> I am tempted to regret that state of society which has ceased to
> be . . .[4]
>
> > --Tocqueville

To Tocqueville, the meaning of the individual has paradoxically

and tragically diminished.

> First by secularization, itself the result of the application
> of abstract reason to values formerly sanctified by religion.
> Second, by the immense sway of public opinion, the tyrany of the
> invisable majority. Third, by the effects of division of labor
> which have made man the mere creature of the machine. Fourth,
> by separation from the ties of community. Added to these . . .
> a loosening of moral values. Such values as honor and loyalty,
> having lost their social roots, tend to loose their historic
> importance in the social order.[5]

Central to Tocqueville's perception of modern man is the

uprooted individual; alone, without a secure status, and divorced

from a community or any system of clear moral puspose.

Karl Marx (1818-1883)

> Alienation is apparent . . . in the fact that everything is
> something different from itself, that my activity is something
> other than mine, and that . . . an inhuman power rules over
> everything.[6]
>
> > --Marx, Economic and Philosophic
> > Manuscripts, 1844

Marx was especially concerned with the impact of the Industrial Revolution on man. Like the Existentialist philosophers who were his contemporaries (Kierkegaard and others), Marx was concerned with the complexity of achieving a meaningful, productive experience for the person in modern society. It was man's subjective reaction to an objective society that Marx's early efforts were directed.

To Marx, the objects man produces become an independent power ruling over him. They confront him "as something alien, as a power independent of the producer . . . The worker puts his life into the object; but now his life no longer belongs to him but to the object."[7]

The debate concerning what Marx really meant still continues today. Yet, few if any would disagree that central to his theory of alienation was a premise of man's desire for human emancipation.

Max Weber (1864-1920)

The pessimism which characterized Tocqueville is pervasive in the essays of Weber. "What does it matter," Weber asks in effect, quite as Tocqueville had asked of democracy, "if ownership passes from the few to the many; if the fundamental forces of modern society-- bureaucracy, rationalization of values, alienation from community and culture continue?"[8]

Weber, like Tocqueville, saw a change taking place within the character of man; a change resulting from his becoming depersonalized. Yet, he still did not set himself, as many of his contemporaries did, blindly against the forces of progress. He could see the advantage of man's liberation from those forces that had been, for too long,

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his tyranny; from the values whose very essence had been the destructive force against life and creativity.

Weber's greatest fear was that with modernization, mankind would sacrifice the highest spiritual and cultural values.

> No one knows who will live in this cage in the future, or whether at the end of this tremendous development entirely new prophets will arise . . . Specialists without spirit, sensualists without heart . . .[9]

Georg Simmel (1858-1917)

Alienation was for Simmel, almost solely methodological; it was a means of fresh analysis of human personality and its relation to the world rather than the basis of any kind of spiritual or ethical evaluation. In Sim 1's own words:

> I see the most capacious and far reaching collision between society and individual, not in the aspect of particular interests but in the general form of the individual life.[10]

Simmel felt that our age, with the magnification of power, its ever sharper dichotomy between the objective (feeling that the individual's work, his church, his government, are increasingly remote and unresponsive to him) and the increasing moral inconsistencies were a ripe breeding ground for the "collision between society and self."

In a prophetic glance at the future, Simmel likens modern society with that of the stranger.

> He is . . . the potential wanderer; although he has not quite overcome the freedom of coming and going. He is fixed within a particular group . . . But his position in the group is determined, essentially by the fact that he has not belonged to it from the beginning . . .[11]

Man, then, becomes the encapsulated self; the stranger; the potential wanderer, in but not really a part of his society.

Coupled with the isolation process, come tension and pressure of outer and inner stimuli. To combat this intense psychic phenomenon, Simmel asserts that the individual takes on a protective reserve, a shield or mask.

> As a result of this reserve, we frequently do not even know by sight those who have been our neighbors for years. And it is this reserve which, in the eyes of the small-town people, makes us appear to be cold and heartless.[12]

Most of what is central to alienation as seen by Tocqueville, Marx, and Weber is epitomized in Simmel's projection of the metropolis --the de-individualizing city.

Since the classical theorists originally postulated about the notion "alienation," the concept has reached a level of extra-ordinary importance in the contemporary literature. The problem of alienation dominates the history of sociological thought, the field of psychology, existential philosophy, theology, political science, to name only a few. The following contemporary spokesmen were selected because they represent a variety of disciplines and have focused particular attention upon the heart of man's existential problem--alienation.

CONTEMPORARY SPOKESMEN

Erich Fromm--Psychoanalysis

> Life has no meaning, there is no joy, no faith, no reality. Everybody is "happy--except that he does not feel, does not reason, does not love.[13]
>
> --Erich Fromm, The Sane Society

To Fromm, man's relationship toward himselr might best be described as a "marketing orientation." "Man experiences himself as a thing to be employed successfully on the market. He does not experience himself as an active agent, as the bearer of human powers. He is alienated from these powers. His aim is to sell himself successfully on the market. His sense of self does not stem from his activity as a loving and thinking individual, but from his socioeconomic role."[14]

Fromm purports that one cannot fully appreciate the nature of alienation without considering one specific aspect of modern life; its routinization, and the repression of the awareness of the basic problems of human existence.

> Man can fulfill himself only if he remains in touch with the fundamental facts of his existence, if he can experience the exaltation of love and solidarity, as well as the tragic fact of aloneness and of the fragmentary character of his existence. If he is completely enmeshed in the routine and in the artifacts of life; if he cannot see anything but the man-made common-sense appearance of the world, he looses his touch with the grasp of himself in the world.[15]

Fromm's solution approximates a general overhaul of the society, including economic and political change. To survive, man must replace material values with human values. Industrialization must give way to humanization. Fundamentally, for Fromm, love is the reunion of the estranged, the separated, and the prime solution for overcoming alienation.

Clark E. Moustakas--Existential Psychology

> The loneliness of modern life may be considered in two ways: the existential loneliness which inevitably is a part of human experience, and the loneliness of self-alienation and self-rejection which is not loneliness at all but a vague and disturbing anxiety.[16]
>
> --Moustakas, Loneliness, 1961

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Moustakas explains that "existential loneliness is an intrinsic
and organic reality of human life in which there is both pain and
triumphant creation emerging out of long periods of desolation. In
existential loneliness man is fully aware of himself as an isolated
and solitary individual while in loneliness anxiety man is separated
from himself as a feeling and knowing person."[17]

In loneliness anxiety there is a conflict or breach between
what one is and what one pretends to be, a basic alienation between
man and man and between man and his nature. In essence, loneliness
anxiety encourages an individual to   act in "bad faith."

> Alienated from his own self, the individual does not mean
> what he says and does not do what he believes and feels. He
> learns to respond with surface or approved thoughts. He learns
> to use devious and indirect ways, and to base his behavior on
> the standards and expectations of others.[18]

Since man has lost his world and his sense of community, he
experiences a feeling of alienation from the human world around him.
Without intimate and intensive ties which have genuine meaning, modern
man maintains an essential anonymity in society and community.
According to Moustakas, "associations often are on a contractual
basis and the person is trusted as an object or thing or commodity."[19]

Philip Slater underlines Moustakas' thesis in his own book,
The Pursuit of Loneliness.

> It is easy to produce examples of many ways in which Americans
> attempt to minimize, circumvent, or deny the interdependence upon
> which all human societies are based . . . We seek more and more
> privacy, and feel more and more alienated and lonely when we get
> it.[20]

Moustakas believes that it takes creative courage to accept
the inevitable, existential loneliness of life. It requires an inner

fortitude to transcend the overwhelming fear of being alone.

R. D. Laing--Existential Psychology

> The condition of alienation, of being asleep, of being uncon-
> scious, of out of one's mind, is the condition of the normal man.[21]
> --Laing, The Politics of Experience, 1967

To R. D. Laing, society's barometer of normalcy becomes the

true indicator of alienation.

> What we call "normal" is a product of repression, denial,
> splitting, projection, introjection, and other forms of destruc-
> tive action or experience. It is radically estranged from the
> structure of being.
> The more one sees this, the more senseless it is to continue
> with generalized descriptions of supposedly, specifically schizoid
> schizophrenic, hysterical "mechanism." . . . The "normally"
> alienated person, by reason of the fact that he acts more or less
> like everyone else, is taken to be sane. Other forms of aliena-
> tion that are out of step with the prevailing state of alienation
> are those that are labeled by the "normal" majority as bad or
> mad . . . Society nighly values its normal man. It educates
> children to lose themselves and to become absurd, and thus to be
> normal.[22]

Alienation becomes even further intensified through the very

process that supposedly is its cure--psychotherapy.

> Psychotherapy consists in the paring away of all that stands
> between us, the props, masks, roles, lies, defenses, anxieties,
> projections and introjections, in short, all the carryovers from
> the past, transference and counter transference, that we use by
> habit and collusion, wittingly or unwittingly, as our currency
> for relationships. It is this currency, these very media that
> recreate and intensify the conditions of alienation that origin-
> ally occasioned them.[23]

Laing, himself a psychiatrist, physician, and therapist,

raises the question: "Why do almost all theories about depersonali-

zation, reification, splitting, denial, tend themselves to exhibit

the symptoms they attempt to describe? We are left with transactions,
but where is the individual? The individual, but where is the other?
Patterns of behavior, but where is the experience? Information and
communication, but where are the pathos and sympathy, the passion and
compassion? . . . Any technique concerned with the other without the
self; with behavior to the exclusion of experience; with the relation-
ship to the neglect of the persons in relation; with the individuals
to the exclusion of their relationship; and most of all with an object-
to-be-changed rather than a person-to-be-accepted, simply perpetuates
the disease it purports to cure."[24]

In an earlier book, The Divided Self,[25] Laing describes the
split between experience and behavior.

> Psychotherapists are specialists in human relations. But the
> dreadful has already happened. It has happened to us all. The
> therapists, too are in a world in which the inner is already
> split from the outer . . . . We are all implicated in this state of
> affairs of alienation.[26]

Laing's conception of alienation also carries overtones of the
earlier classical theorists, such as Marx's depersonalization syndrome.
"A partial depersonalization of others is extensively practiced in
everyday life and is regarded as normal if not highly desirable. Most
relationships are based on some partial depersonalizing tendency, in
so far as one treats the other, not in terms of any awareness of who
or what he might be in himself, but as virtually an android robot
playing a role or part in a large machine in which one, too, may be
acting yet another part."[27]

Paul Tillich--Theology

> Courage always includes a risk, it is always threatened by
> nonbeing, whether the risk of losing oneself and becoming a
> thing within the whole of things or of losing one's world in an
> empty self-relatedness.[28]

<div align="right">--Tillich, <u>The Courage to Be</u></div>

A careful examination of Tillich's analysis of human existence

reveals a recurrent theme of "estrangement," of man's separation or

"alienation" from something which he ought to be united.

One way of understanding Tillich's concept of estrangement is

to contrast his view of self with Fromm's translation of alienation.

Guyton Hammond provides us with such a comparison.

> . . . it is important to note Tillich's view that the self
> can be comprehended only by seeing it in a "complex dialectical
> relationship." This complex structure of the self is the basis
> for the polarity of individualization and participation, as well
> as subject and object. It is also the basis for the fact that
> neither is more primary, nor can one be derived from the other.
> It is the essential nature of the self to hold these two poles
> in a harmonious relationship. But the self is also the being
> which can lose itself if the polarity of individuality and parti-
> cipation is lost. This means . . . that for Tillich man is essen-
> tially an individual as well as a participant. This dialectical
> conception of the self enables Tillich to hold that man in
> estrangement is still both individual and participant but that
> both aspects of his nature have become estranged. Individuality
> has become isolation and participation has become submergence.
> Reconciliation means the re-establishment of the polarity of
> solitude and community. Fromm's position, on the other hand,
> associates alienation closely with individuality. This prevents
> his understanding submergence as a form of alienation and also
> makes it difficult for him to indicate how individuality may be
> preserved when alienation is overcome.[29]

Concerning alienation and loneliness, the following comparisons

are cited:

. . . Fromm can be said to identify loneliness as the affec-
tive side of alienation. He also describes the regressive attempts
to escape loneliness, and at times he speaks of these as aliention
also . . . the achievement of separation accompanied by loneliness
is a progressive step, though it results in alienation; whereas
the flight from loneliness is regression.

Tillich, on the other hand, sees loneliness and submergence
in the collective as interdependent . . . Tillich holds that man
is essentially both individual and participant, in polar relation.
The being which is most separate is the being which can partici-
pate most fully. Since in man's essential nature these poles are
harmoniously balanced, if one is lost both are lost.[30]

To Tillich, the anxiety of emptiness and meaninglessness is

the ultimate concern. "Emptiness and loss of meaning are expressions

of the threat of nonbeing to the spiritual life. This threat is implied

in man's finitude and actualized by man's estrangement. It can be

described in terms of doubt; its creative and its destructive function

in man's spiritual life. Man is able to ask because he is separated

from, while participating in, what he is asking about . . ."[31]

Tillich elucidates further by explaining how man escapes from

himself as a response to the doubt imposed upon him.

Doubt is based on man's separation from the whole of reality,
on his lack of universal participation, on the isolation of his
individual self. So he tries to break out of this situation . . .
to surrender his separation and self-relatedness. He flees from
his freedom . . . In order to avoid the risk of asking and doubt-
ing he surrenders his right to ask and to doubt. He "escapes
from his freedom" (Fromm) in order to escape the anxiety of
meaninglessness. Now he is no longer lonely, not in existential
doubt, not in despair. He "participates" and affirms by partici-
pation the contents of his spiritual life. Meaning is saved, but
the self is sacrificed.[32]

Kenneth Keniston--Social Psychology

Ours is an age not of synthesis but of analysis, not of commit-
ment but of alienation.[33]

--Keniston, The Uncommitted, 1965

Keniston believes that "a general explanation of youth culture
(and of the present extent of alienation) seems to be in the social and
cultural situation created by a highly successful industrial society--
a society which asks for more from an adult, offers less in return, and
yet encourages higher aspirations than any before it."[34]

> Youth culture and alienation have been characterized as a
> silent rebellion against the prevailing order, what it asks, and
> what it seems to offer . . . one of the lessons of the study of
> rebellions is that they come about not because of any absolute
> love of misery, but becasue of a gap, a felt discrepancy, between
> what is and what is believed to be important.[35]

Keniston contends that because man is "thrown into" a world
in which he feels he has no inherent place, he chooses estrangement
as a dominant reaction to the impoverishment he feels. Part of that
estrangement process is related to the pervasive feelings of unful-
fillment.

Similar to a number of other contemporary spokesmen, Keniston
traces the disaffection or alienation to the forces of our technolog-
ical age.

> Despite the achievement of many of the traditional aspirations
> of our society, we commonly feel a vague disappointment that goals
> that promised so much have somehow meant so little improvement in
> the quality of human life. Whatever the gains of our technological
> age, whatever the decrease in objective suffering and want, what-
> ever the increase in our "opportunities" and "freedom," many
> Americans are left with an inarticulate sense of loss, of unrelat-
> edness and lack of connection.[36]

Keniston explains that although the feelings of discontent
affect not only those at the bottom of society but those at the top
as well, its chief target is youth. "The estrangement of youth
entails feelings of isolation, unreality, absurdity, and disconnected-
ness from the interpersonal, social and phenomenological world. Such

feelings are probably more intense during youth than in any other period of life."[37]

C. Wright Mills--Sociology

Mills' scholarly studies of reason and freedom have led him to a systematic and clear knowledge of alienation. According to Mills, man's ability to rationalize "living" characterizes the "cheerful robot" of today.

> He gears his aspirations and his work to the situation he is in, and from which he can find no way out: he adapts. That part of his life which is left over from work, he uses to play, to consume . . . Yet this sphere of consumption is also being rationalized. Alienation from production, from work, he is also alienated from consumption, from genuine leisure. This adaptation of the individual and its effect upon his milieux and self results not only in the loss of his chance, and in due course, of his capacity and will to reason; it also affects his chances and his capacity to act as a free man. Indeed, neither the value of freedom nor of reason, it would seem, are known to him.[38]

To Mills the scars of alienation permeate beyond the individual affected. "The advent of the alienated man and all the themes which lie behind his advent now affect the whole of our serious intellectual life and cause our immediate intellectual malaise."[39]

As a positive response to alienation (malaise), Mills suggests that we cannot just assume that as a metaphysic. of human nature, there is in man an urge for freedom and a will to reason. Rather, we must determine what in man's nature, what in the human condition today, and what in each of the varieties of social structure creates the cheerful robot? Herein lies the paradox and problem. To date we have not been able to confront the complexities and issues raised up by the crises of reason and freedom.

Mills raises the question that "in our time must we not face the possibility that the human mind as a social fact might be deteriorating in quality and cultural level, and yet not many would notice it because of the overwhelming accumulation of technological gadgets?"[40]

According to Mills, underlying the ultimate problem of freedom, is the reality that all men do not naturally want to be free; that all men are not willing or not able, as the case may be, to exert themselves to acquire the reason that freedom requires.

It is evident to Mills that part of the problem is that of political irresponsibility. In essence, we have abdicated our responsibility to address ourselves to the basic problem of human affairs. In Mill's own words:

> I do not know the answer to the question of political irresponsibility in our time or to the cultural and political question of the cheerful robot. But is it not clear that no answer will be found unless these problems are at least confronted? Is it not obvious, that the ones to confront them, above all others, are the social scientists of the rich societies? That many of them do not now do as is surely the greatest human default being committed by privileged man in our times.[41]

Amitai Etzioni--Sociology

Etzioni identifies alienation within a context of the dilemma of power.

> The term "alienation" serves to emphasize that the issue is not only one of overt hostility of those subject to power, for their reactions may also express themselves in the victimization of others, neurosis, alcoholism, etc.[42]

According to Etzioni, the answer to alienation lies in man's active involvement.

> To be active is to reduce alienation because it is to make society more responsive to its members. The post-modern society

inherited from its predecessor an alienating structure--the
product of modernity (industrilization, bureaucratization,
etc.).[43]

To Etzioni, although a variety of definitions may refer to
alienation at many levels, it has but one core: "the unresponsive-
ness of the world to the actor, which subjects him to forces he
neither comprehends nor guides. The early industrial society is the
archetype of an alienating society. Market relations and administra-
tive structures, which were developed and imposed ostensibly for the
greater happiness of the greater number in effect led to a society
that stood between its members and the service of their basic needs."[44]

Alienation is not only a feeling of resentment and disaffec-
tion but also an expression of the condition of social forces. Hence,
to Etzioni, even if an individual is only vaguely aware of his own
deprivation, dependency, and manipulation, he is still alienated so
long as he is unable to participate authentically in the process that
shapes his social being. The roots of alienation, then are not in
interpersonal relations and intrapsychic processes but in the societal
and political structure.

One of the most important points made by Etzioni includes the
notion that even though the level of alienation can be empirically
measured and the members of a society appraised of it, the awareness
of alienation does not create it anymore than a lack of awareness
makes it disappear.

Etzioni explicates a special sub-category: --inauthenticity.
Understanding "inauthenticity" is fundamental to understanding
"alienation."

Subjectively, to be alienated is to experience a sense of not belonging and to feel that one's efforts are without meaning. To be involved inauthentically is to feel cheated and manipulated. The alienated feel that they have no power: the inauthentic feel that they have pulled a disconnected lever; without quite knowing where and how, so that shadows are confused with reality. Authenticity exists where responsiveness exists and is experienced as such.[45]

Theodore Roszak--Historical Sociology

. . . I find myself unable to see anything at this end of the road we are following with such self-assured momentum but Samuel Beckett's two sad tramps forever waiting under the wilted tree for their lives to begin. Except that I think the tree isn't even going to be real, but a plastic counterfeit. In fact, even the tramps may turn out to be automatons . . . though of course there will be great programmed grins on their faces.[46]
                                   --Roszak, The Making of a Counter Culture

Unlike many of his predecessors, Roszak is still an optimist.

. . . if one believes, as I do, that the alienated young are giving shape to something that looks like the saving vision our endangered civilization requires, then there is no avoiding the need to understand and to educate them in what they are about.[47]

Roszak eludes to the prime alienating force--the technocracy

and its accompanying depersonalization.

The great secret of the technocracy lies . . . in its capacity to convince us of three interlocking premises. They are:

1. That the vital needs of man are (contrary to everything the great souls of history have told us) purely technical in character . . . If a problem does not have . . . a technical solution, it must not be a real problem. It is but an illusion . . . a figment born of some regressive cultural tendency.

2. That this formal (and highly esoteric) analysis of our needs has now achieved 99 per cent completion. Thus, with minor hitches and snags on the part of irrational elements in our midst, the prerequisites of human ful-

> fillment have all but been satisfied. It is this assump-
> tion which leads to the conclusion that wherever social
> friction appears in the technocracy, it must be due to
> . . . "breakdown in communication" . . . Controversy could
> not possibly derive from a substantive issue, but only
> from misunderstanding. Thus we need only sit down and
> reason together and all will be well.
>
> 3. That the experts who have fathomed our hearts; desires
>   and who alone can continue providing for our needs, the
>   experts who really know what they're talking about, all
>   happen to be on the official payroll of the state and/or
>   corporate structure.[48]

Roszak follows the same premise as C. Wright Mills in that

"the real threat to democracy comes, not from overmanagement, but from

undermanagement. To undermanage reality is not to keep free. It is

simply to let some force other than reason shape reality. That force

may be unbridled emotion; it may be greed; it may be aggressiveness;

it may be hatred; it may be ignorance; it may be inertia; it may be

anything other than reason. But whatever it is, if it is not reason

that rules man, then man falls short of his potential."[49]

To best understand our alienated young, Roszak singles out the

counter culture, not merely for its ideology but for its personalist

style. According to Roszak these disaffected youth identify alien-

ation as the central political problem of the day.

> Not alienation . . . in the sheerly institutional sense, in
> which capitalism (or for that matter any advanced industrial
> economy) tends to alienate the worker from the means and fruits
> of production; but rather, alienation as the deadening of man's
> sensitivity to man, a deadening that can creep into even those
> revolutionary efforts that seek with every humanitarian intention
> to eliminate the external symptoms of alienation. Wherever non-
> human elements--whether revolutionary doctrine or material goods
> --assume greater importance than man life and well-being, we have
> the alienation of man from man, and the way is open to the self-
> righteous use of others as mere objects.[50]

Charles A. Reich--Political Science

> In a country as burdened as ours is with hypocrisy and myth
> the mere repeal of untruth becomes a profound insight.[51]
> --Reich, The Greening of America

Reich demonstrates that the structure of our society is at war

with itself. Its present crises is an organic one arising out of the

basic premises by which we live. No mere reform can touch it in any

way. He sketches the following profile of our society.

1. Disorder, corruption, hypocrisy, war.

2. Poverty, distorted priorities, and legislation by power.

3. Uncontrolled technology and the destruction of environment.

4. Decline of democracy and liberty, powerlessness.

5. The artificiality of work and culture.
   Both work and living have become more and more pointless and
   empty. There is no lack of meaningful things that cry out to
   be done, but our working days are used up in what lacks mean-
   ing. For most Americans, work is mindless, exhausting, boring,
   servile, and hateful--something to be endured--while "life"
   is confined to "time off."

6. Absence of community.
   America is one vast, terrifying anti-community. The great
   organizations to which most people give their working day and
   apartments and suburbs to which they return at night are
   equally places of loneliness and alienation. Modern living
   has obliterated place, locality, and neighborhood, and given
   us an anonymous separateness of existence . . . Friendship
   has been coated over with a layer of impenetrable artificiality
   as men strive to live roles designed for them.

7. Loss of self.
   Of all the forms of impoverishment that can be seen or felt
   in America, loss of self--a sort of death-in-life--is surely
   the most devastating . . . Beginning with school, if not
   before, an individual is systematically stripped of his
   imagination, his creativity, his heritage, his dreams, and
   his personal uniqueness . . . In the end, people virtually

become their occupations and their roles, and are strangers
to themselves.[52]

Like Roszak, Professor Reich shares the fullest optimism.
Despite the despair that currently portrays America's wasteland, he
believes man can still bring forth a new flowering of human spirit.

When the new consciousness has achieved its revolution and
rescued us from destruction, it must go about the task of learn-
ing how to live a new way. This new way of life presupposes all
that modern science can offer. It tells us how to make technology
and science work for and not against, the interests of man. The
new way of life proposes a concept of work in which quality,
dedication, and excellence are preserved, but work is nonalienated,
is the free choice of each person, is integrated into a full and
satisfying life, and expresses and affirms each individual being.
The new way of life makes both possible and necessary a culture
that is nonartificial and nonalienated, a form of community in
which love, respect, and a mutual search of wisdom replace the
competition and separation of the past . . .[53]

Alvin Toffler

In the three short decades between now and the twenty-first
century, millions of ordinary, psychologically normal people will
face an abrupt collision with the future . . . Many of them will
find it increasingly painful to keep up with the incessant demand
for change that characterized our time. For them, the future
will have arrived too soon.[54]

--Toffler, Future Shock

Although Toffler does not postulate a specific theory of alien-
ation, his conceptualization of "future shock" addresses itself to the
parameters of the malaise, mass neurosis, irrationality, and phenomenon
of the disorientation of contemporary life.

"Future Shock" is defined by Toffler as the shattering stress
and disorientation that we induce in individuals by subjecting them
to too much change in too short a time. According to Toffler, future

shock is no longer a distantly potential danger, but a real anxiety

sickness from which increasingly larger numbers already suffer. Tof-

fler's intention is to put forth a broad new theory of adaptation.

The difference between the men of the past or present and the

men of the future is summed up in "transience." "Transience is the

new 'temporariness' in everyday life. It results in a mood a feeling

of impermanence."[55] This same impermanence has a fragile affect upon

relationships with others. According to Toffler, relationships that

once endured for long spans of time now have shorter life expectancies.

It is this abbreviation, this compression that gives rise to
the almost tangible feeling that we live, rootless and uncertain,
among shifting dunes.[56]

Commitment also has a profound affect upon the duration of the

relationship.

Armed with a culturally conditioned set of durational expect-
ancies, we have all learned to invest with emotional content those
relationships that appear to us to be "permanent" or relatively
long-lasting, while withholding emotion, as much as possible, from
short-term relationships.[57]

Toffler carries the concept of commitment one step further.

What this means is that we form limited involvement relation-
ships with most of the people around us. Consciously or not, we
define our relationships with most people in functional terms
. . . In effect, we have applied the modular principle to human
relationships. We have created the disposable person: Modular
Man.[58]

Unlike Mills and others who have expressed concern for man's

forfeit of choice, Toffler postulates an opposite problem. "Ironi-

cally, the people of the future may suffer not from an absence of

choice, but from a paralyzing surveit of it. They may turn out to be

victims of that peculiarly super-industrial dilemma; overchoice."[59]

In summation, Toffler's analysis of the psychological dimen-

sion of future shock is not to be taken lightly.

> Millions sense the pathology that pervades the air, but fail
> to understand its roots. These roots lie not in this or that
> political doctrine, still less in some mystical core of despair
> or isolation presumed to inhere in the "human condition." Nor do
> they lie in science, technology, or legitimate demands for social
> change. They are traceable, instead, to the uncontrolled, non-
> selective nature of our lunge into the future.[60]

ALIENATION IN AMERICAN YOUTH CULTURE

> Alienation . . . is not a happening, man it is!
>
> > --Ned Hoopes[61]

In a recent description of the "Woodstock Generation," Ned

Gaylin explains American youth culture as the anonymous culture.

> These are the "Children of the Lonely Crowd." They have been
> raised in essentially non-community communities, where carbon copy
> anonymity is the order of the day. There is no longer a spirit of
> neighborhood . . . They are rather places from which to go to work,
> or to school, or to women's clubs, etc. And as these communities
> grow larger and larger, and along with them our schools, and
> universities, they become more like horizontal high rises. Ano-
> nymity increases. The quest for privacy becomes almost obses-
> sional and the result is isolation and a growing sense of anomy.[62]

The concept of student alienation or anomie is a familiar one.

Warren Bryan Martin, in a paper entitled, "An Answer for Anomie,"

speaks of the social vacuum that permeates most colleges and univer-

sities today.

> . . . Less well known is the fact that the consequence of
> alienation is anomie, a condition which frequently leads to the
> extremes of despair--apathy or anarchy. The challenge for
> colleges and universities is to help students to understand that
> one can no longer think in the space-time pattern of traditional
> forms . . . There is no coherent philosophy in most institutions
> of higher learning because the society they are pledged to serve,

and out of which their values have come, has no coherent philosophy.
Anomie in education is a reflection of anomie at large.[63]

The alienating experience of attending a modern university has
also been described and analyzed by such observers as Margaret Mead,
Edgar Friedenberg, Paul Goodman, Ernest Becker and a host of others.
One such observer, Dr. Seymour Halleck, Director of Student Psychiatry
at the University of Wisconsin, purports that "the growing problem of
alienated students--who talk about being 'washed up at twenty-five,
apathetic and unhappy--might be lessened if students had more genuine
contact with adults.'"[65]

Halleck further contends:

A student can spend months on a large campus without having
a conversation with a person over thirty . . . Isolated from the
adult world, the student who begins to feel that life is meaning-
less finds other students who feel the same way . . . Subcultures
dedicated to a rejection of the values of the adult world become
powerful influences in the student's world.[65]

Richard Flacks also explains student alienation within the
subculture context.

What is new in this decade is, first of all, the degree to
which cultural alienation has become a mass phenomena--an exten-
sive, rooted subculture on the campus and in major cities, with
a wide and steadily growing following. Equally important, the
present movement is new in the degree to which it has expressed
itself through political opposition--an opposition which has
become increasingly revolutionary, in the sense that it has
increasingly come to reject the legitimacy of established author-
ity and of the political system itself.[66]

Dana Farnsworth, in Psychiatry, Education and The Young Adult,
portrays the college student of today as being estranged from the
institution and social order.

Many students feel alienated because the times are indeed
disturbing and events seem to proceed inexorably against the
desires of most individuals . . . In the colleges and universities

they feel as if they have little to say regarding their own
futures . . . A considerable number of them do not feel at home
in college because they have no sense of belonging; they realize
only dimly the significance of what they are doing, and they have
no strong beliefs or commitment to any cause.[67]

Keniston also speaks to the issue of "academic anonymity" and

the phenomena of disaffection.

Youth culture is obviously not the only form of alienation,
but in our society it is the most characteristic and prevalent
expression of cultural disaffection. Intellectuals have always
been to some extent dissidents, and over the past three centuries,
have become increasingly disaffected. What is remarkable is not
the small group of intellectuals who are articulate critics of
society, but the growing group of young people of all talents who
enter into an increasingly protracted period of disengagement from
the dominant values and roles of their culture.[68]

NEED FOR RESEARCH

Much of the recent literature and commentary on alienation has

focused upon the behaviors and feelings of college students. Few,

however, have characterized alienation as it is reflected in actual

subculture behavior. In a recent paper entitled "On Alienation and

Activism," Evelyn Dienst points out how the concept of alienation has

thus become fraught with ambiguity and contradiction.

The common labeling of nearly all unconventional youth as
"alienated" has contributed to obscuring the distinction between
alienation from self and the alienation from social institutions
that is presumed to underlie deviance. Further, the characteri-
zation of alienation generally found in the theoretical literature,
as a passive and retreatist estrangement, seems at odds with the
recent descriptions of many disenchanted American youth, most
notably the politically radical activists on college campuses,
who have been labeled "alienated," and indeed have so described
themselves. But their alienation has taken an active, rather than
a passive form.[69]

The Alienated Intellectual

From 1957 to 1962 Kenneth Keniston[70] and collegues conducted
an intensive research study at Harvard College in an effort to deter-
mine the characteristics of alienated college students. His classic
study reported the following characteristics of the alienated student:

For alienated students, distrust extends far beyond a low view
of human nature; they also believe that intimacy ends in disillusion,
that attachment to a group entails the loss of individuality, and that
all appearances are untrustworthy. Nor can American culture be
trusted: it is mechanical, boring, cheap, conformist, and dull. Any
kind of positive commitment is viewed negatively.

Keniston also found that to many alienated undergraduates,
love and hate are inseparable. Their own hostilities and scorn become
especially intense when they confront other students who are not
alienated. Their anger is so corrosive that it extends even to them-
selves. They maintain that the consequence of self-knowledge is
self-contempt, and are quick to admit their own self-revulsion. This
resentment is further expressed in their conviction that all men
inevitably use each other for their own purpose. Another distinctive
outlook of the alienated is a profound pessimism about, and distaste
for politics and political action.

According to Keniston, the alienated have a characteristic
life-style. One crucial feature of this style is intellectual passion.
When and if they choose to become involved in extra-curricular
activities, alienated students are naturally drawn to those type of
interests that allow them to express their artistic and aesthetic

interests. Whatever they do, their style of participation character-
istically involves a preference for the role of the detached observer.

Despite the outward appearance of detachment from others,
alienated undergraduates do desire emotional closeness. However, in
most of their relationships, including relationships with the opposite
sex, they combine an agonizing desire for closeness with a great fear
of it.

An examination of the alienated's perception of family shows
a remarkable consistency. When discussing their mothers, they fre-
quently emphasize the sacrifices their mothers have made expressing
their sadness at their mother's lack of self fulfillment. The mothers
of alienated sons also tend to reflect the characteristics of domin-
ance, possessiveness, excessive involvement with their sons, and
oversolicitude.

Alienated students volunteer less information about their
fathers. Fathers are usually described as dominated by mothers and
despite notable success, are often viewed as disappointed, frustrated,
and disillusioned men. In characterizing their fathers at present,
the alienated consistently emphasize qualities like detachment,
reserve, inability to express affection, loneliness and withdrawal
from the center of the family. Contrasted with the expressive,
emotional, controlling and dynamic mother, the father appears weak,
inactive, detached, and uninterested.

Keniston concluded that the extremely alienated students, like
those just described, are concentrated largely at highly selective and
academic liberal arts colleges, particularly at those with a "progres-

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sive" reputation. Even on such campuses, Keniston estimated that the truly alienated constitute a very small minority of all undergraduates --at most, five to ten per cent.

Prior to Keniston's comprehensive study, Jan Hajda[71] also studied alienation and the student intellectual. For Hajda, alienation is an expression of non-belonging or non-sharing. Focusing on the "alienated" and "non-alienated" intellectuals and non-intellectuals, Hajda concluded: The "alienated intellectuals" are students who have found or expect to find, a refuge within the university which the larger society seems unable or unwilling to grant them. The "alienated non-intellectuals" are the marginal men. They are likely to be "the problem children" of the academic society: the drifters, hangers-on, and the professional dilettanti." According to Hajda, although the intellectual need not become alienated in American society, conditions are conducive to such alienation.

Hajda also found that students with low-academic standing are more likely to be alienated than students who pursue their graduate studies very successfully. This same relationship holds when comparing students who are working towards a master's degree and the Ph.D. The latter are more likely to view themselves as intellectuals and are less alienated than are the master's candidates.

Hajda stresses that alienation as such does not necessarily foster or support an intellectual orientation. This is suggested not only by the fact that a fair proportion of student intellectuals lack the feeling of alienation but also by the fairly frequent incidence of alienation among student non-intellectuals.

The Alienated Nonconformist

William Watts and David Whittaker[72] carefully developed a
profile of a nonconformist youth culture. Their study addressed itself
to the Berkeley non-student, a fringe population or subculture of
collegiate age youth (and older counterparts) who are neither formally
registered as students nor members of the conventional work force,
but who gravitate to the environs of certain large university campuses
and live a marginal existence reflective of their conventional role.

The most obvious characteristic that differentiated the non-
student from members of the student body or conventional working youth
was their general appearance. As might also be expected, the members
of the non-student population were drawn disproportionately from the
Arts and Humanities.

On two measures of alienation (Srole's Scale of Anomie and the
Personal Integration Scale of the Omnibus Personality Inventory), the
non-students differed significantly from their counterparts in the
direction of being more alienated.

David Whittaker summarizes the disaffiliate nonconformist
subculture in this manner:

> The most common response to social alienation and feelings of
> anomie is what Riesman called "privatism." Such alienated young
> people increasingly emphasize and value precisely those areas of
> their lives which are least involved in the wider society, and
> which therefore seem most manageable and controllable. Along with
> this response is a search for self via a kind of cult of sense
> experience. Displaying a high need for change and tolerance for
> ambiguity, coupled with an exceptionally high capacity for impulse
> expression, often in conjunction with a lack of defensive caution,
> the disaffiliate youth is particularly prone to experiment with,
> and use, drugs.[73]

The Alienated Activist

William Watts, Steve Lynch and David Whittaker[74] also compared
student activists or radicals with alienated apolitical youth. Using
the Srole (1956) five item Scale of Anomie, the researchers found both
the activists and the non-students scored high on anomie but with an
important difference. Whereas the non-students were estranged from
their families, the activists were not.

According to the researchers, the degree of commitment or
involvement is another basic difference between the student activist
and the alienated non-student.

One explanation of the non-students' current family estrange-
ment compared to either the regular student body or activist student
might be that in prematurely terminating their formal education without
entering the conventional work force, they have made a more drastic
departure from the conventional path to adulthood. According to the
researchers, such behavior would conflict more sharply with their
parents' aspirations than the activism of the other students who are
still, for the most part, pursuing their educational objectives. It
is possible that both psychological propensity and current behavior
are operating to some extent resulting in increasing discord and
misunderstanding between the non-student alienated youth and family.

Keniston summarizes the similarities and differences between
the truly "alienated" youth subcultures and the politically optimistic,
active, and socially concerned protesters.

> The culturally alienated student is far too pessimistic and
> too firmly opposed to "the System" to wish to demonstrate his
> disapproval in any organized public way. His demonstrations of

dissent are private: through nonconformity of behavior, ideology
and dress, through personal experimentation and above all through
efforts to intensify his own subjective experience, he shows his
distaste and disinterest in politics and society. The activist
attempts to change the world around him, but the alienated student
is convinced that meaningful change of the social and political
world is impossible. Instead, he considers "dropping out" the only
real option.

Alienated students tend to be drawn from the same general
social strata and colleges as protesters. But psychologically
and ideologically, their backgrounds are often very different.
Alienated students are more likely to be disturbed psychologically;
and although they are often highly talented and artistically gifted,
they are less committed to academic values and intellectual achieve-
ment than are protesters. The alienated student's real campus is
the school of the absurd, and he has more affinity for pessimistic
existentialist ontology than for traditional American activism.
Furthermore, such students usually find it psychologically and
ideologically impossible to take part in organized group activities
for any length of time, particularly when they are expected to
assume responsibility of leadership. Thus, on the rare occasions
when they become involved with demonstrations, they usually prefer
peripheral roles, avoid responsibilities and are considered a
nuisance by serious activists.

. . . despite occasional agreement in principles between the
alienated and the activists, cooperation in practice has been rare,
and usually ends with activists accusing the alienated of "irre-
sponsibility," while the alienated are confirmed in their view of
activists as moralistic "up-tight," and "un-cool."[75]

Jesse Geller and Gary Howard also paraphrase Keniston's analysis

of the alienated and the activist student.

The hippie and activist are both institutionally alienated in
the sense that they reject the dominant middle-class values and
practices of American society, yet one works for change, whereas
the other does not. Our evidence leads to the conclusion that
activists are institutionally alienated, but not interpersonally
alienated.[76]

More recently, Evelyn Dienst[77] challenged the variety of con-

flicting hypotheses concerning the relationship between political

activism and psychological alienation. Her findings largely confirm

a fourfold typology of alienation.

The Conventionalists (Low Psychological Aliena;ion-- Low Activist Political Alienation)

While students low in both dimensions of alienation are overtly similar in sociopolitical behavior and attitudes to students identified in other studies as apathetic and conformist, they do not exhibit the retreatism and personal disturbance of apathetic youth. They are satisfied with the societal status quo and have identified with and accepted the values of their parents. They are primarily concerned with career, success, marriage, etc. Protestant ethic values of responsibility, conformity, achievement are primary. For these young, social conformity is not achieved at the expense of psychological integration, and political inactivity is not, the result of feelings of powerlessness. They actively adopt the conventional roles they play.

The Disturbed Conventionalists (High Psychological Alienation-- Low Activist Political Alienation)

Students who are politically inactive and highly psychologically alienated, are those who have not been able to achieve a personally satisfying identity, but do not act out their psychological alienation in the political arena (except, perhaps, in their uninvolvement or apathy). For these psychological retreatists and social ritualists, apparent acceptance of majority political attitudes is the result of feelings of personal inefficacy. They tend to be from lower middle class and to exhibit social and racial prejudice. Their political passivity stems in part from the fact that they do not attribute their personal dissatisfactions to defects in the established political structure.

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The Integrated Activist (Low Psychological Alienation--
High Activist Political Alienation)

These politically active students, while low in psychological
alienation, nevertheless may be involved in developing and actualizing
their independent identities. They tend to share many of the character-
istics of political activists described in the literature, and are the
students who have not only rejected dominant socio-political values
and taken deviant positions, but also have acted on them in a political
way. Their deep commitment to political activity is accompanied by
strong feelings of personal efficacy.

The ideology and activity of these students from socioeconom-
ically and educationally privileged backgrounds are an outgrowth of
their moral development and their rearing by politically liberal-
radical parents. While more activist; than their parents, they are
nevertheless, ideologically faithful to their parent's values.

Integrated activists tend to be academically superior and of
an intellectual disposition.

The Disturbed Activists (High Psychological Alienation--
High Activist Political Alienation)

Students who are politically active and psychologically alien-
ated have much in common with the uncommitted youth. But unlike the
uncommitted, these doubly alienated individuals are political activists.

Although many of the disturbed activists come from socioeconom-
ically advantaged backgrounds, the thread of estranged family relation-
ships, a domineering and possessive mother, and a prosperous but
ineffectual father often runs through their experience. Since these

doubly alienated students are pessimestic about society and themselves, it is likely that their political activity is an acting out of a general personal malaise or an attempt to overcome it.

The studies mentioned above have been invaluable in validating the many prototypes of alienation. Yet, there still remains a host of unanswered questions. A few of the more critical questions, yet to be answered, concern the differences, in degree of alienation, between other subcultures of college students as well as race and sex. Since Keniston's classic study of alienation excluded women, and still served as a base for the development of many later subculture classifications, it was more than timely to explore this issue.

PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY

The purpose of this study was to determine if eight distinct subcultures of college students reflect differences concerning psychological anomie (alienation) and existential frustration. In addition, the purpose of this study was to explore the interaction among eight college student subcultures and sex and race for psychological anomie and existential frustration.

PROCEDURES

The eight subcultures of college students chosen for study included a typology of American college students developed in the late sixties by Richard E. Peterson[78] and John Winkworth of Educational Testing Service. Their model consisted of eight student types distinguishable in terms of their dominent value commitment.

Vocationalists

The basic commitment of the vocationally orientated college
student is to the training he is receiving for a specific occupational
career. He views his college education as a means of acquiring a skill
that will ensure the occupational security and social prestige that his
family lacked. Vocationalists are predominantly from working-class
backgrounds. In college, they specialize in engineering, education,
business or other technical specialties. Students classified as voca-
tionalists tend to score low on measures of cultural sophistication,
social conscience and liberalism. The vocationalist is preparing him-
self to "make it" within the American system, which he accepts uncriti-
cally.

Professionalists

Born of upper-middle class and professional parents, he (this
category is practically all male) aspires to much the same life pattern
as his highly successful father--achievement expertise. Well endowed
intellectually, the professionalists are strongly motivated to succeed
in secondary school (often one of the best), and in college they are
bent on continuing their record of outstanding academic achievement
toward early enrollment in a post graduate professional school (law,
business, government, etc.). Professionalists would be disproportion-
ately found in the best undergraduate colleges, a necessary spring-
board to the right graduate school and first job. Characteristically,
they are seldom excited by issues and ideas. The general political
outlook of the professionalist is conservative to middle-of-the-road,

and oriented toward the status quo.

Collegiates

The collegiate commitment is to popularity, play and sex and
any other activity that defines "college life." Largely from middle
class families, the collegiates are attracted to the relatively unselec-
tive public colleges and universities, especially the large and old
ones in the South and Midwest, which are strongholds of big-time foot-
ball and the national Greek-letter fraternities and sororities. Anti-
intellectual, the collegiate's course work tends to center in fields
that make relatively few intellectual demands. While particular sub-
types of collegiates may exist on particular campuses, the common
denomivator seems to be an orientation toward the extra curriculum.

Ritualists

The distinguishing attribute of the ritualist is his lack of
commitment to anything. Possibly of less than academic aptitude and
usually from lower socioeconomic strata, he has in a sense been swept
into college by forces beyond his control--parental prodding, friends
going on to college, a college within easy driving distance with admis-
sion standards that can be met. More strongly oriented toward home
than the university, the ritualist is uninterested in either the
academic or collegiate environment. He is apolitical, having no
beliefs one way or another about the efficacy of American institutions.
For the ritualist, lack of commitment is total.

Left-Activists

The basic commitment of the left-activist, dues paying and
otherwise, is to personal involvement in action directed at reforming
some facet of American life--be it political, economic, or cultural.
His parents are prosperous and liberal in outlook. Highly intelligent,
activists are found for the most part in the most selective and best
known colleges and universities, where their noncareer-oriented academic
interests center in the social sciences and humanities. Activists
share many of the personality traits of the more passionate sense of
outrage at perceived hypocricy, injustice, and wrong-doing, and they
have the courage to act to make their behavior consistent with their
beliefs.

Hippies

Of the eight types, Peterson and Winkworth describe the hippie's
estrangement from American values and institutions as the most thorough-
going. Unlike the left-activist. who hopes for radical reform through
political action, the hippie is pessimistically apolitical. The hippies
who are enrolled in college would reject most of the usual student
roles. On their respective campuses, they constitute what Kenneth
Keniston describes as "a kind of hidden underground, disorganizing and
shifting in membership, in which students can temporarily or perman-
ently withdraw from the ordinary pressures of college life."[79]

In addition to the eight subcultures mentioned above, the
factors of race and sex comprised the independent variables. The race
and sex variables were derived from student biographical data.

The factors of psychological anomie (dependent variables or criterion measures) were measured via the Elmore Scale of Anomie.[80] Elmore's scale contributes a recognition of a general factor of meaninglessness. In addition, it measures five other factors of psychological anomie: valuelessness, hopelessness, powerlessness, aloneness, and closed-mindedness. The broad dimensions of Elmore's scale measure feelings that are in conflict between life goals and the means to their attainment.

The seventh dependent variable, existential frustration, was measured via the Purpose-in-Life (PIL) Test.[81] The scale is intended to measure Viktor Frankl's[82] basic concept of "existential vacuum." According to Frankl, when one fails to find a meaning and purpose which gives his life a unique identity, he experiences "existential vacuum." This state of emptiness, manifested chiefly by boredom, will, if not relieved, result in "existential frustration."[83]

DESCRIPTION OF THE POPULATION*

The sample, drawn from 89 colleges and universities, representative of the diversity of higher educational institutions in the United States, completed questionnaires, the Peterson-Winkworth college student subculture identification, Elmore Scale of Anomie and Purpose-in-Life Test. During the academic year 1970-71 an initial sample of 1,306 students were selected.

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*For a detailed description of the methodology, population, and results of this study, see: Metha, Arlene. "Psychological Anomie and Existential Frustration Among Select College Student Subcultures." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1972.

TREATMENT OF THE DATA

Statistical analysis determined if the eight subcultures, sex, and racial subgroups significantly differ in psychological anomie or existential frustration. If the overall analysis of variance test (ANOVA) was significant, then post hoc tests of significance using the Scheffe test were performed. The data were analyzed as an 8 x 2 x 5 fixed effects model factorial design considering subculture (8), sex (2), and race (5) as fixed categories.

FINDINGS

A Refinement of a Typology

As previous studies indicate (Peterson, 1968), the distinguishing attribute of the Ritualist is his lack of commitment to anything. In addition to his lack of commitment, our present findings indicate that he expresses more absence of feelings of progress, self-fulfillment and worth (meaninglessness), and existential frustration than his fellow students.

The Intellectual may exhibit a history of alienation (Peterson, 1968; Keniston, 1965; Hajda, 1961), however, our present research indicates that when all the psychological factors of anomie (alienation) are taken into account, the Ritualist subculture is the most psychologically anomic followed by the Hippie, Vocationalist, Left-Activist and Intellectual, respectively.

Of the eight types, the Hippie's estrangement from American

values and institutions is most thoroughgoing (Peterson, 1968; Kenis-
ton, 1965). Our findings confirm that the Hippie subculture reflects
more of a feeling that life seems purposeless and hopeless than the
other subcultures studied. The Hippie's feeling of personal decline
and improbability that the state of affairs will improve in the future,
encourages his pessimistically apolitical stance.

The basic commitment of the Left-Activist (Watts, Lynch,
Whittaker, 1969; Peterson, 1968; Keniston, 1965; Dienst, 1972) is to
personal involvement in action directed at reforming some facet of
American life--be it political, economic, or cultural. Our findings
confirm that the Left-Activist subculture expresses more valuelessness
than each of the other seven subcultures studied. This factor of
psychological anomie suggests a value incongruity, value chaos, or
normlessness where the basis for prediction and decision making are
lacking. The result is a feeling of aimlessness. The individual
perceives a disorganized environment wherein the standards of behavior
are contradictory and where authority figures, as a source of directives,
cannot be counted on to stabilize the rules or lend support (Elmore,
1962). This finding is also supportive of previous research that
describes the radical activist as characterized by a more passionate
sense of outrage at perceived hypocrisy, injustice, and wrong-doing.
Unlike the other subcultures who also feel the same valuelessness, the
Left-Activists have the courage to act to make their behavior consis-
tent with their beliefs (Peterson, 1968).

It is interesting to note that the Vocationalist subculture
exhibits the greatest amount of closed-mindedness, followed by the

Ritualist, Professionalist and Collegiate subcultures respectively.
According to Elmore, closed-mindedness is a factor of psychological
anomie which seems to be marked by conformity and prejudice tendencies.
This finding is consistent with the description of the Professionalist
and Collegiate as conservative to middle-of-the-road, oriented toward
the status quo, and gravitating toward conservative politics
(Peterson, 1968).

The fact that each of the subcultures studies exhibited some
form of psychological anomie is not surprising. Our findings confirm
that anomie harbors no subculture boundaries. It is a prevalent
uneasiness whose target affects all college student types. Even the
Professionalist, Academic, and Vocational subcultures, who represent
a firm commitment to either a profession, continued graduate study,
or a vocational field, exhibit some feeling of psychological anomie.

According to Grafton,[84] belonging to a vocational or academic
subculture might, in itself, reflect purposeful alienation from the
institution.

A Closer Look at Sex Differences

Previous research has been confusing concerning the relation-
ship between existential frustration, anomie and sex differences.
(Mizruchi, 1960[85]) reports that sex and anomie are not associated.
This is consistent with (Richmond, Mason, and Smith,[86] 1969) who
report that males do not experience more meaninglessness than females.

Our findings, however, are consistent with a number of other
research studies. Similar to the findings of (Elmore and Chambers,

1967; Brown and Smith,[87] 1968) our research indicates that men do express more meaninglessness than females. Going beyond the findings of Elmore and Chambers, our present research also indicates that men exhibit more feelings of aloneness and existential frustration than women.

Our finding that men exhibit more closed-mindedness than women is consistent with the findings of (Richmond, Mason, and Smith, 1969).

The suggestion of (Meier and Bell,[88] 1959), that women may be more anomic than men on certain psychological factors is also varified. Our present research confirms that women express more feelings of hopelessness than their male counterparts. Such a finding is also in keeping with the suggestion of (Goldsen,[89] 1960; and Hill[90]) that anomia depends on whether or not women accept goals (especially those other than being a housewife) which they are prevented from reaching due to their sex. Another interesting finding that relates to the above notion is that women tend to exhibit more meaninglessness than men in the Professionalist subculture. This may very well be the reasoning behind why fewer women choose the Professionalist option.

The Anomic Minority

The interpretation of the results concerning racial differences on the dependent measures must be approached with caution. The relatively small number of minority students, particularly in the American Indian group, allows for limited generalizability.

Our finding that Blacks tend to exhibit a higher degree of valuelessness than Chicanos and Caucasians is consistent with the

findings of (Burbach and Thompson,[91] 1971) who also found that Black freshmen college students attained the highest mean score (most alienated) on powerlessness, nowmlessness, social isolation, and total alienation subscales. Burbach and Thompson interpret the difference on normlessness to suggest that Blacks experience a greater sense of purposelessness (the loss of socialized values and absence of values that might give purpose to life) and more of a feeling of being confronted with contradictory normative patterns than their white counterparts.

When sexes within the minorities were separated, it was learned that females within the Caucasian, Chicano, Oriental and Black races tend to exhibit more hopelessness than their male counterparts. This finding is consistent with the findings of (Reilley and Knight,[92] 1970) who found that female subjects scored higher than males on tendency to worry, lack of self-confidence, and reaction to stress with depression.

The aloneness that minority males exhibit is also not a surprising discovery. Elmore describes the pervasive feeling of aloneness as a form of feeling of isolation, estrangement, and dissociation from one's fellow being. The individual feels unloved and unwanted and is devoid of feelings of belongingness.

With the Black man in particular, our findings accurately portray the deprivation of spirit as described by Eldridge Cleaver in Soul on Ice:

> . . . the Black man . . . lives under a system in which he was deprived of mind, condemned to be the laboring body while

the white man retained exclusive possession of the capacity for thought and domination.[93]

IMPLICATIONS

The awareness that man in all stages of history and time has undergone some form and degree of alienation should hardly act as a reason for mankind to abandon its fight against the forces of estrangement.

Although alienation may have been a historical reality from the beginning of time, it seems that the new man's anxiety is greater than that of the old. The new man is tied to uncertain forms and forces over which he feels little control. Feeling victimized by an impersonal system, the new man feels as though he has little personal strength to fall back on. He lacks a sense of self that could be sustained despite rejection by the system. And perhaps, most tragic of all, he often lacks a community of friends who can be counted on to support him with their affection despite the judgment of society. (Reich, 1970).

If we are to survive and somehow transcend the current normative condition of man, we must once again re-unite with what it means to be human. Material values must give way to human values. Humanization must replace industrialization. The capacity to care must override anonymity. Only then, can we come close to responding to what alienation or anomie is all about.

No solution to the human dilemma will come easily. Yet, if our institutions of higher education truly do care, then we must begin

by formulating some "coherent philosophy" that considers the vacuity

of the human condition. At the same time, we must acknowledge the

complexity of human nature and the diversity of human experience.

Perhaps what all this means is that it is not what we teach that will

give final validity to education, but what we are as human beings.

TABLE 1

A DESCRIPTION OF THE TOTAL SAMPLE
INCLUDING CLASS, RACE, SEX, RESIDENCY, AGE, ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP,
TYPE OF INSTITUTION, GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF INSTITUTION, AND SAMPLE SIZE,
N = 1,306

Class		Age	
Freshman	355	18 years or younger	325
Sophomore	384	19 - 21 years	732
Junior	313	22 - 25 years	146
Senior	254	25 years or older	103
Graduate	0		

Race		Organizational Membership	
American Indian	8	Fraternity/Sorority	362
Black	34	Independent	944
Oriental	27		
Chicano	72		
Caucasian	1,165		

Sex		Type of Institution	
Male	452	Public	45
Female	854	Private	44

Residency	
Resident	740
Commuter	566

Geographic Distribution of Institutions Represented

No. of Institutions		Size of Sample		
East	11	N =	25	East
Midwest	17	N =	97	Midwest
South	17	N =	29	South
West	44	N =	1,105	West
		N* =	50	

*Students who did not specify an institution.

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