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PRECONDITIONS OF ALIENATION AMONG YOUNG MANAGERS AND PROFESSIONALS

by

DOROTHY LANG

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Business in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

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Abstract

ALIENATION AMONG YOUNG MANAGERS AND PROFESSIONALS

by

Dorothy Lang

Advisor: Professor Abraham K. Korman

A number of recent studies have shown problems of life dissatisfaction, alienation, and cynicism among many occupationally successful young managers and professionals. This dissertation study attempted to explain why some occupationally successful young men and women become alienated and dissatisfied with their lives while many others do not. Earlier research projects by Korman (1977) and by Sarason (1977) indicated that a crucial factor may be disconfirmed expectancies, that is, a gap between the benefits an individual at the start of a career expects to receive and the lower level of rewards actually realized.

Specifically, this study attempted to define some of the preconditions to disconfirmed expectancies and explain

how disconfirmed expectancies may predispose some individuals to alienation. A four-stage model was developed integrating the Korman and Sarason theories about life dissatisfaction among occupationally successful people. Several background factors including having an upper class family background, graduation from an elite college, and graduation during 1965 through 1970 were believed to lead to high expectations for life, work, and societal change. These high expectations were predicted to lead to high disconfirmed expectancies because of limited opportunities caused by stagflation economic conditions as well as the curtailment of many liberal programs. Finally, disconfirmed expectancies were believed to result in alienation and major life changes, including occupational change, divorce, and entry into therapy or counseling.

A questionnaire measuring these variables was completed by 434 young managers and professionals, most of whom were current evening M.B.A. students contacted in the classroom. A number of correlational techniques were applied to determine the relationships among the variables at different stages of the model.

Little support was found for the four-stage sequential model as originally stated. However, elite family background and graduation from a prestigious

college were found to influence alienation by moderating the relationship between disconfirmed expectancies and alienation. Generally, individuals experiencing high status college and family backgrounds showed a significantly stronger relationship between disconfirmed expectancies and alienation than did respondents without high status backgrounds. Specifically, prestige level of the undergraduate college moderated the relationships between personal alienation (self-estrangement) and disconfirmed expectancies about both life and work. Also, socio-economic class background moderated the relationship between disconfirmed expectancies about life with both personal alienation and alienation from one's occupation or profession.

These results give support to Sarason's hypothesis that disconfirmed expectancies are particularly likely to result in alienation among individuals from privileged backgrounds. Also, these findings seem to show that high status college and family backgrounds affect alienation not by raising early expectations to unrealistic levels, but by increasing the likelihood that disconfirmed expectancies, once they occur, will result in alienation.

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Successfully completing this dissertation has been a major achievement and important educational experience for me. Indeed, my involvement in the PhD program has been the major focus of my life for the past seven years, and it has profoundly and positively influenced my values and thinking.

Of course, responsibility for the limitations of this study is mine. However, a number of people contributed in different ways to its successful completion. Several members of the Baruch doctoral faculty aided significantly in this research. First, Professor Abraham K. Korman, chairman of my dissertation committee, has served as my mentor since my earliest days in the program. Through Abe, I have been stimulated by the best traditions of scholarship and research in Organizational Behavior. I am deeply grateful to Abe for his high expectations and his confidence in me. His guidance throughout all the stages

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Dorothy Lang

August 1981

To the memory of my friend Bob

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF EXHIBITS

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this dissertation research was to investigate some of the preconditions of alienation among a group of young managers and professionals. Specifically, the study tested some of the major hypotheses derived from the theoretical models of Korman (1977a) and Sarason (1977). Both these models postulate connections between a number of early adult experiences and subsequent disconfirmed expectancies. These disconfirmed expectancies are believed to further result in alienation and certain major life changes, including occupational change, divorce, and entry into therapy or counseling.

A number of authors including Sarason (1977) and Block (1978) have noted the vast discrepancies between the activist and implicitly optimistic social, political, and economic conditions of the late 1960s and the much more restrained and conservative conditions prevailing during the late 1970s and early 1980s. One prediction of the

proposed research is that the dramatic changes during the last decade have resulted in personal conflicts between expectations and actual conditions for many of the individuals who attended college during the late 1960s and subsequently entered management and the professions during the 1970s. Another hypothesis of this research is that graduating from a prestigious college as well as coming from a high socio-economic status family may have further increased expectations, exacerbating personal conflicts between expectations for fulfillment and actual conditions of more limited opportunity.

Specifically, the major hypotheses tested by this dissertation study involve the connections between the variables in a four-stage sequential model. (Exhibits 2 and 3 in Chapter 3 contain the complete research model in diagram form.) Early adult experiences of attending an elite college, growing up in a high socio-economic status household, graduating from college during the years of radical change from 1965 through 1970, and having a first job after college with high levels of excitement and challenge are expected to have raised expectations for personal life and career fulfillment. Also, attending college during the radical late 1960s and maintaining a liberal activist orientation are hypothesized to have

resulted in high expectations for meaningful societal change.

The clash of high expectations for fulfillment in life and career with the actual recessionary economic and conservative societal conditions of the 1970s is believed to have resulted in disconfirmed expectancies for many individuals. Further, these disconfirmed expectancies are believed to have culminated in work alienation (denial of the need for meaningful work), personal alienation (estrangement from one's "real self"), and social alienation (estrangement from other individuals as well as from one's occupation or profession). Other predicted consequences of disconfirmed expectancies include the belief that other successful individuals and groups are also dissatisfied and major life changes because of this dissatisfaction, including occupational change, divorce, and entry into therapy or counseling.

This study can make a valuable contribution to organizational behavior in a number of ways. First, it will provide a test of the theoretical models of Korman (1977a) and Sarason (1977) and their applicability to young managers and aspiring managers, both male and female. In addition, alienation and life dissatisfaction among occupationally successful managers and professionals have major significance because high level managers exert

an influence on other individuals and on society which is disproportionate to their numbers. Hall (1975) notes that managers and professionals constitute an important minority because they have power in terms of exerting control over clients, formulating major and far-reaching decisions in business and government, and influencing the general direction of society. Also, they serve as role-models and mentors to younger aspiring managers and professionals.

The assumption has frequently been made that occupationally successful persons have more meaningful and satisfying lives, including work and non-work experiences. Studies revealing alienation and lack of fulfillment have major consequences because high level professionals and executives are visible and their lack of satisfaction may decrease aspirations and efforts among other employees. In addition, many functions of occupationally successful people are discretionary and may cease to be performed if substantial gratification from work is missing.

However, perhaps the most important result of alienation and life dissatisfaction is the distress to the individual men and women involved. Korman and Lang (1978b) maintain that dissatisfactions among occupationally successful persons are unexpected and dissonant with their expectations, causing distress both

to themselves and to others involved with them. Feelings of injustice and possible bewilderment are further reactions to lack of life satisfaction in the presence of career success.

Despite the importance of the problem of life dissatisfaction among professionals and executives, very few studies have investigated this topic. Sarason (1977) mentions a number of possible reasons why the question of how highly educated professionals and managers experience their work and careers generally has been avoided. First, most professionals and executives report a level of job satisfaction which is higher on the average than that reported by lower level workers. This finding seems to have given the impression that no major problem of dissatisfaction or alienation exists with higher level workers.

However, Sarason (1977) cites several studies which indicate that job satisfaction and alienation exist independently of each other. For example, individuals can be satisfied with their jobs if these jobs meet their needs or alternatively if the individuals have become estranged from themselves and have ceased to care about whether or not their needs are met.

Another reason which Sarason (1977) cites for the neglect of the issue of the meaning of work among higher

level managers and professionals is what he terms the "problem of candor." Sarason (1977) maintains that any professional whose career is genrally believed to be important and interesting will be reluctant to discuss his or her own lack of satisfaction because of guilt or fear of being thought deviant. Also, some educated professionals may tend to deny feelings of life dissatisfaction because they feel they are relatively advantaged compared to people in other occupations and have no right to feel dissatisfied.

Sarason (1977) contends that a further reason for the lack of studies on this issue is the concern of a liberal society with understanding the causes of failure in order to prevent it. This concern manifests itself in the attention given to groups with obvious and serious problems, such as drug and alcohol abusers, and underemployed groups, such as unskilled workers. Social science researchers have tended to assume that if a person by outward appearances is performing well, his or her inner life matches the outward appearance. This orientation may have contributed substantially to the lack of research attention given to occupationally successful groups.

The question of life satisfaction and dissatisfaction among women executives and professionals has been subject

to even greater neglect than among men. Of course, part of this lack of attention has been due to the fact that until very recently there have been insufficient numbers of women in high level occupations to make this issue meaningful. However, a number of other factors have also tended to inhibit interest and concern as well as research effort in this area.

During the past decade, the relatively small number of women who have achieved high positions in business or the professions have been given disproportionate but superficial recognition and acclaim, particularly by the media. Frequently, these women have been featured by the popular press as advice givers and potential role models to other less successful women. The media have tended to glorify occupationally successful women by reporting on the glamorous aspects of their careers and personal lives which serve to gain the attention of magazine readers.

In addition, the liberal values of understanding and preventing failure noted by Sarason (1977) seem to have been strongly adopted by most feminist scholars and researchers as well as activists. This concern with studying failure has resulted in a concentration of attention on the most disadvantaged female groups, such as welfare mothers and battered wives. Another aspect of this concern with failure has been the almost total

neglect of the concerns and problems of occupationally successful women who usually show no obvious and serious problems comparable to those of other groups of women where research effort has concentrated.

Both the glorification of the real successes achieved by some women executives and professionals and the liberal concern about the problems of the least successful groups of women have not resulted in a climate where possible life dissatisfaction or alienation among occupationally successful women could be recognized or investigated. Further, many occupationally successful women themselves show an even greater reluctance than do comparable men to discuss any negative aspects of their lives or jobs (e.g., Kundsin, 1974; Staines, Tavris, & Jayaratne, 1974). This "problem of candor" among successful women has further discouraged research concerning how successful women experience their work.

The glorification of successful women and the serious lack of research attention to problems of life dissatisfaction among this group seems to have resulted in a new success myth for women comparable to that for men. For women as well as men, occupational success is often viewed as bringing substantially increased life satisfaction as well as high prestige.

Of course, other things being equal, occupational success is preferable to lack of success for women as well as men. The concern of this research with alienation and life dissatisfaction among managers and professionals does not mean that the incidence of either alienation or life dissatisfaction is higher among these individuals than among persons in other occupational groups. Indeed, alienation and life dissatisfaction are probably most widespread among people who either work in lower level jobs or who do not work at all.

Also, investigation of negative emotional states experienced by some successful women does not imply a view that occupational success is inappropriate or harmful to women. On the contrary, occupational involvement and success are as vital for women as for men. Successful women and men who are alienated or life dissatisfied are not victims of their success per se, but of other social, psychological, or experiential factors which remain to be identified. The purpose of this research is not to attack occupational success but to examine the conditions under which it results in life satisfaction and under what conditions it results in dissatisfaction and alienation.

Chapter 2 will first review the relevant research literature. Subsequently, Chapter 3 will present an integrated theoretical model and develop specific research

hypotheses. Chapter 4 will discuss the research methods used in the study, and Chapter 5 will present the findings. Finally, Chapter 6 will discuss some possible implications of the findings, and Chapter 7 will offer some conclusions about the study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The following review of the literature will discuss the traditional success ethic for men and the new ethic of occupational success for women which has arisen during the past decade. Subsequently, the recent studies which question the success ethic will be considered, including a number of descriptive studies as well as the theoretical models of Sarason (1977) and Korman (1977a) which attempt to account for alienation and life dissatisfaction among the occupationally successful.

The Traditional Success Ethic

A high value has long been placed on occupational success for men in United States society. Career success usually has meant not only material rewards, but also social status, recognition, and self-esteem. Almost

exclusively, alienation and dissatisfaction have been studied among men in lower level occupations.

For women, on the other hand, occupational participation and success have been disvalued throughout most of U.S. history. However, with the revival of the feminist movement during the late 1960s, a high level of career success for women has become a positive value in many segments of society. This section will discuss the success ethic as it has related traditionally to men and more recently to women.

Historically, the emphasis on occupational success for men has been a part of the prevailing ethic in the United States, especially for the white middle class outside the South (Huber, 1971). The pluralistic society of the United States since colonial times has had no system of titled nobility or rigidly ascribed status, and an individual orientation with the dignity of earning money became prevalent very early.

Huber (1971) maintains that immigrants to the United States often showed higher ambition than did their relatives who stayed behind, contributing to the dominance of the rising middle class. In addition, religious and secular leaders from Cotton Mather to Benjamin Franklin encouraged the value of hard work and the accumulation of wealth. The middle class ethic held that occupational

success and riches are (or should be) the reward for personal achievement with success as the goal of competition.

Although the historical emphasis on occupational success in the United States is clear, the criteria by which career success is defined are somewhat ambiguous. Huber (1971) notes that success can be defined in terms of money and status as reward for and recognition of job performance. However, a man's attainment should be measured relative to both where he started and to his father's occupational level. In addition, different specific criteria are often used for business success compared to success in the professions, although Huber (1971) maintains that the same fundamental criterion of success to the extent that the individual contributes to the success of the organization is used.

Different pay scales are often used in different occupational groups, and comparisons among individuals may be valid only within these specific groups. Success also includes the rank of the institution, and awards and positions in professional societies sometimes comprise other aspects of occupational success. Although income and professional status do not always match (among college professors, for example), Sarason (1977) contends that the

opportunity to pursue creative and self-directed work often provides another form of compensation.

In terms of occupational success and socio-economic status, professional and executive positions are consistently ranked first. The components of high occupational status include responsibility for life or property, working with symbols, the requirement of formal education and training, having authority over others, the opportunity for autonomy and challenge, and high income (Caplow, 1954; Huber, 1971).

Sarason (1977) notes that professionals, especially lawyers and medical doctors, have long been eminent in term of occupational status and that many other individuals desire this status and the rewards it is assumed to bring. He further maintains that these professional careers are looked upon as increasing opportunities for autonomy and flexibility, including personal growth and the facing of new and different people and problems. Traditionally, formal education has been the exclusive channel for entrance into the high level professions such as law and medicine.

Consistent with the positive societal view of occupational success, alienation and life dissatisfaction have long been studied as a result of work experience in lower level and especially factory assembly line jobs

(Chinoy, 1955; Kornhauser, 1965; Sheppard & Herrick, 1972; Special Task Force, 1973). (Studies of alienation have also focused on one small group of professionals: scientists and engineers employed in industrial or governmental bureaucratic settings. This research will be discussed in a later section.) Assembly line work, especially in the automotive industry, typifies the repetitive specialized work which has long been viewed as causing alienation and boredom.

Factory workers with dull routine work and low opportunity for upward mobility can be considered losers in the American race for success, and Sarason (1977) contends that research among this group reflects a liberal interest in the understanding and consequent prevention of failure. This widespread recognition of and concern with the problems of alienation and life dissatisfaction among lower level workers may both reflect and reinforce the American success ethic by implying that alienation and boredom may be avoided merely by becoming employed at a higher level job involving a greater degree of career success.

In contrast to the strong emphasis on occupational success for men in the United States, women throughout most of the country's history have been discouraged by both overt and covert means from pursuing successful

independent careers outside the home. (Hymowitz & Weissman, 1978). However, the rise of the current feminist movement since the mid-1960s has included a strong emphasis on the necessity for women to have independent careers with opportunities for success in management and the professions. Consequently, it is proposed that a new success ethic for women has emerged which is similar in many ways to the traditional success ethic for men where the view of success as uniformly positive has remained largely unquestioned.

Beginning with the publication of The Feminine Mystique (Friedan, 1963), academic studies and popular works stating or implying that women would find new fulfillment, self-expression and challenge as well as material rewards in professional and managerial careers have proliferated. These works support a success ethic for women in several ways. Studies showing the dysfunctional consequences of the traditional homemaker role on women's mental health and satisfaction often implied a totally positive view of occupational participation and success. Also, research identifying ambivalence about career success among some women themselves frequently left the positive value of success unquestioned.

During the past 15 years, the negative effects of the traditional female role of wife, mother, and homemaker on the general mental health and satisfaction of intelligent educated women have been discussed both in academic articles (e.g., Beck, 1971; Gove & Tudor, 1973; Steinmann, 1974) and in a number of popular works (e.g., Chesler, 1972; Friedan, 1963; Greer, 1970). In addition, the traditional female role has been related to specific disorders including depression (Bart, 1972; Peck & Greenberg, 1974; DeRosis & Pellegrino, 1976) and phobias (Fodor, 1974). These authors as well as others have suggested that the general life satisfaction and mental health of many women would be improved by active career participation and involvement. Moreover, these studies imply further that the career and success experiences for women will be uniformly positive.

The presence of discrimination against women in management and the professions has been demonstrated by a variety of academic studies using a number of research paradigms, according to extensive reviews by Lang (1977) and by Terborg (1977). Discrimination against working women has also been widely recognized in more general discussions of the work contexts of managerial and professional women (e.g., Epstein, 1971; Hennig & Jardim, 1977; Kanter, 1977). In addition, several books have

recently emerged which give guidance in career strategy for dealing with discrimination to women aspiring to management careers (e.g., Harrigan, 1977; Hennig & Jardim, 1977; Williams, 1977). These works take a highly positive view of career success and deal with possible negative outcomes, such as stress and stress illnesses, briefly or not at all.

Ambivalence about career success among women themselves has also been discussed from differing points of view (Bardwick, 1972; Hennig & Jardim, 1977; Hoffman, 1974, 1977; Horner, 1972). The popular "fear of success" developed by Horner (1972) has sometimes been interpreted to mean that the cause of women's lack of wide participation in management and the higher level professions is internal to women themselves. However, another interpretation supported by some research studies including Condry and Dyer (1976) is that women fear social punishment for violating societal norms. Studies of both external discrimination and women's possible ambivalence about success indirectly support the success ethic by implying that women should strive for career success and that substantial personal satisfaction and fulfillment will be the virtually automatic results of this success.

Recent Questioning of the Success Ethic

During the past decade, recognition has increased that alienation and malaise may be widespread among occupationally successful men, especially during middle age. The possibility of similar problems among some occupationally successful women, however, has not yet come under comparable scrutiny.

A number of authors have discussed or noted the lack of life satisfaction among men from the perspectives of studying the magnitude of the problem (Bartolome, 1972: Tarnowieski, 1973), presenting clinical or case studies (Biggs, 1973; Seidenberg, 1975), or giving theoretical analyses of the causes of the lack of fulfillment (Fasteau, 1975; Maccoby, 1976; Sheehy, 1976). However, only in Maccoby's (1976) study of the "gamesman" is an attempt made to combine a theoretical presentation with an analysis of data.

Individually, these studies can be viewed as fragmentary, inconclusive, or methodologically inadequate. When examined cumulatively, however, they indicate that a previously unrecognized problem of lack of fulfillment of some magnitude exists among many occupationally successful men. However, these studies indicate the bare outline of the problem and leave unanswered a number of questions about the etiology of this syndrome, including the

question of why some occupatinonally successful men are satisfied with their lives and some others are not.

Two studies during the early 1970s indicated a substantial problem of malaise among executives. Bartolome (1972) reported that many successful managers acknowledged lack of both meaning and personal alertness as well as the presence of stress in their lives. Of nearly 3,000 middle and upper level managers surveyed by Tarnowieski (1973), 40 percent reported that their companies were not permitting them to achieve their personal goals, 62 percent saw their careers as not meeting their expectations, and 66 percent viewed their firms as not being interested in or aware of their problems.

Investigations using case study and clinical analyses also report lack of fulfillment among some occupationally successful men. Biggs (1973) conducted detailed interviews with five former executives who had made dramatic career changes. Although he used a journalistic approach and chose his respondents through personal contacts, his results are consistent with the findings of other studies. His subjects included a former airline pilot who became a potter, a public relations executive turned farmer, an engineering manager currently a PhD student in Psychology, a middle manager in a large

organization now owning and managing his own resort, and a Protestant minister doing odd jobs.

These men all said they left their former jobs because these positions gave them little room to be "real" and little free time for non-work activities including their families and avocational pursuits. Biggs (1973) notes that for all five men, a change in personal values was crucial to their career change. Each man also claimed that he had moved toward more autonomy and doing things which were personally valuable to himself.

Seidenberg (1975) investigated the family lives of occupationally successful executives from a clinical perspective and found that the wives and children of these men were experiencing considerable unhappiness, much of which could be connected to the demands and stresses of the men's careers. Although many of these managers claimed that their families were more important than their careers, Seidenberg (1975) observed that frequently these successful and ambitious managers gave very little of themselves emotionally to their families and expected their wives to assume almost total responsibility for the running of their households. He also maintains from his clinical experience that many of the emotional problems of executives' wives can be attributed to the demands and strains of their husbands' careers.

A somewhat different analysis is given by Sheehy (1976) who describes and analyses the general changes in personal values throughout the adult years. One pattern she found with men who have become unusually successful early in their careers is the illusion that occupational success is permanent and will bring control over other aspects of reality. Often these unusually successful men were underdeveloped in personal relationships, had shallow marital relationships, and were not introspective.

Sheehy (1976) notes that men who followed this career pattern often experienced deep personal crises when they found that occupational success was not permanent and did not bring the satisfactions they expected. Another frequent occurrence among these men during middle age was questioning the meaning of their work and often shifting their energies away from work to interpersonal relationships.

Fasteau (1975) also maintains that competitiveness and intensive career stiving are related to a lack of competence and attention to personal relationships. This author discusses the typical life-style of the successful executive or professional man in the United States from a journalistic perspective and gives case history illustrations.

Fasteau (1975) believes that men relate to each other

through competition in business and the professions and that executive life requires a heavy emphasis on status (job level) goals rather than on the substantive or content aspects of the job. Moreover, other areas of life are routinely subordinated to work in terms of both time and energy. Fasteau (1975) also notes that sacrificing every other aspect of life to career striving makes successful men particularly vulnerable to personal crises or to disillusionment when either career success goals are not met or when occupational success is achieved and does not bring the anticipated personal gratifications.

In contrast to the preceding investigations, Maccoby (1976) has conducted a methodologically creditable and integrated study of the personalities and values of 250 successful managers in two large multinational firms. Within each firm, he selected managers considered to be the most effective and conducted depth interviews with each one. Although a few women were included in the study, the vast majority of his respondents were men.

Maccoby (1976) found many indications of malaise and life dissatisfaction among these occupationally successful executives. He discovered that the most successful type of manager whom he terms the "gamesman" was motivated to build winning teams through dealing and gambling. In general, these men recognized that this orientation was

intellectually challenging but did not develop or use emotional or idealistic capacities. Maccoby (1976) found that in the areas of emotional life and personal relationships, these managers were often underdeveloped but not usually neurotic.

Typically, the gamesman managers exhibited intense activity which obscured any doubts about the meaning of their actions. At the extreme, some of them developed into compulsive workers who were unrealistic in overrating the importance of their work and manipulative of the people who reported to them. They wanted autonomy for themselves and feared being controlled by others.

Many managers reported constant anxiety because of the competition and uncertainty surrounding their work. Of Maccoby's sample, 48 percent reported feeling anxiety and 44 percent mentioned depression. Feelings of detachment and lack of self-determination were also frequently noted.

Moreover, most of the gamesman managers had little sense of personal or social purpose outside their careers and most had developed and structured their lives to further their careers. Their marriages and social relationships were frequently superficial and limited. Very few managers expressed any interest in either advancing science or helping others. Although the

gamesman managers articulated socially concerned values such as protection of the environment, they would readily act against these values in their business dealings without perceiving or feeling any conflict with their professed values.

In contrast to the growing recognition of lack of life satisfaction among occupationally successful men, there has been almost no mention or discussion of a similar problem among occupationally successful women. Part of this silence, of course, reflects the fact that until recently, very few occupationally successful women managers or professionals existed except in a few limited fields. However, Huber (1971) suggests that the criteria for occupational success for women are similar to those for men, but that a difference exists in degree. Therefore, a lower level of achievement may be needed for a women to be considered successful because she ordinarily faces greater obstacles than would a comparable man.

Consistent with this view, Biggs (1973) describes several women in the middle levels of corporations who "dropped out" to other fields for the same reasons of needing more autonomy and personally meaningful work that men did. These women reported that work took up all their leisure, leaving no time or energy for anything else, and that the financial rewards did not compensate for their

personal dissatisfaction. Biggs (1973) describes one woman who cited boredom as the main reason for leaving her position as a highly paid advertising copywriter and becoming a clothing designer and boutique owner with a substantial decrease in income. Another woman reported continuous job pressures as the reason for resigning her position as head librarian and turning to fiction writing as her main activity, taking temporary office jobs at much lower pay to support herself.

All of these studies, when considered together, indicate the existence of a possible serious problem of malaise and lack of life satisfaction among occupationally successful individuals. Recent theoretical models by Sarason (1977) and Korman (1977a) may provide a needed explanation of the reasons for this lack of life satisfaction among occupationally successful men and women.

Two theoretical Models of Occupational Success and Life Dissatisaction

One extensive theoretical analysis of the reasons why occupationally successful professionals in their 30s may be experiencing disillusionment is given by Sarason (1977). Although Sarason (1977) focuses primarily on men,

his ideas seem equally applicable to managerial and professional women. In addition, a theoretical analysis by Block (1978) of former New Left college activists extends Sarason's (1977) basic thesis, and early empirical research of alienation among scientistis employed in bureaucratic organizations and of realistic versus traditional job previews can be used to support Sarason's basic theory.

Sarason (1977) links the disillusionment often felt by professionals during the past decade to the high expectations young professionals acquire of their careers as a result of the societal glorification of professionals and of extended and arduous professional education. He argues that American society encourages great expectations of life even though they may not be realized for most people. Before World War II, these high expectations were realistic for those men with post-college graduate or professional school education, especially in law or medicine. Sarason (1977) also contends that the myth of great expectations as a result of professional success in society was maintained partly because enough people realized these expectations to give them validity in the minds of later generations.

Sarason (1977) further maintains that for 20 years after World War II, social and economic conditions

including the population explosion, the rise of social movements such as civil rights, and the larger percentage of the population attending college served to further increase expectations of the elite of the post-war generation who anticipated professional education and professional careers.

A further impetus to inflated expectations during the 1960s and into the 1970s was the belief in the value of personal growth which characterized this period. Many college students aspiring to become professionals believed the implied promise held out to them by society that higher education prepares people to keep growing in their professional careers. Personal growth was believed by many people to be a lifetime process.

The highly educated segment of society, especially the elite graduating from Ivy League colleges, accepted the view that the development of their capacities increased their chances for a more fulfilling life experience. Sarason (1977) maintains that this highly educated group began their careers during the 1970s with higher expectations than had earlier generations for use of their capacities, a continuing sense of challenge, growth, and achievement, feelings of personal worth and importance, and material rewards and security as secondary benefits.

The fact that higher education was opened during this time to more young people than ever before led to a greater number of people sharing these high expectations. Sarason (1977) cites a number of young professionals as saying that they had a belief that by enduring extended and arduous professional training they would be virtually guaranteed a desirable future.

According to Sarason (1977), starting a career with inflated expectations has increased the vulnerability of this group to dissatisfaction and to its negative effects because the dissatisfaction has been unexpected. In a number of ways, a substantial disparity exists between the values and expectations of young professionals and the actual social and professional conditions surrounding their early years in the professions during the 1970s.

In terms of social conditions, political conservatism has grown and liberal programs have been curtailed. Also, increased competition for jobs has arisen from recessionary economic conditions and the post-war "baby boom" generation reaching adulthood. Both of these conditions have contributed to decreased opportunities for autonomy, growth, and personal fulfillment. In addition, recession and inflation have made financial and material comforts and security often problematic.

Sarason (1977) also contends that the increasing bureaucratization of professional work conflicts strongly with the emphasis students in professional programs have placed on autonomy, personal authenticity, and self-realization. Sarason (1977) cites this problem as being especially acute and unanticipated for medical doctors who more often work in large medical centers and deal increasingly often with regulations set by the government and by insurance companies which restrict their autonomy and therefore their satisfaction.

He contends that large scale institutions present difficulties to professionals because their large size results in impersonality and arbitrariness which in turn lead to lack of self-realization. In addition, Huber (1971) asserts that institutions can often mean potential problems with conscience and integrity.

Sarason (1977) conducted in-depth discussions with a number of medical doctors in various specialties and reported that a large number of them felt bitter and helpless that their expectations for autonomy, challenge, and life satisfaction were not being met. However, he notes that doctors and other professionals found lack of satisfaction difficult to discuss candidly and openly. One reason for this "problem of candor" was the possibility of being seen as deviant by those outside the

profession who perceive only its rewards. Another difficulty is that many doctors and other professionals view their occupations as very rewarding compared to other possible careers and believe they have less right than people in other fields to voice dissatisfaction or complaints.

One conclusion from Sarason's (1977) work is that life dissatisfaction may have become a serious problem among young professionals, especially those trained at elite schools. In addition, this problem may be due largely to the conflict between high expectations for personal growth and the actual work and social conditions faced by young professionals which permit less personal growth and autonomy than previously because of the increasing prevalence of large institutions.

Moreover, a theoretical analysis by Block (1978) suggests that students active during the 1960s in the New Left moverment may experience additional problems with dissatisfaction and alienation resulting from a disparity between their high expectations for social reform and the current lack of receptiveness to radical or liberal programs. Block (1978) contends that members of the New Left refused the kind of adulthood their parents were living and instead committed themselves to changing

society, which optimistic conditions during the 1960s led them to believe they could accomplish.

After the collapse of the New Left during the 1970s, these former college activists found themselves in the contradictory position of wanting to contribute and commit themselves to something meaningful but wary of career commitment because of their strong rejection of the adult lives they had seen their parents live. Block (1978) contends that some former New Left activists chose to live provisionally and remained ready to recommit themselves to political change when the movement revived.

He also believes that another group of former radicals found themselves "going through the motions" of careers but withholding commitment. Block (1978) asserts that this uncommitted group, while often occupationally successful, experiences ambivalence, dissatisfaction, and alienation which often in turn result in entry into therapy or in compulsive changing of jobs or romantic partners.

Some support for Sarason's (1977) basic theory of disillusionment among professionals is provided by two areas of research: the investigations of alienation among scientists employed in bureaucratic settings and the studies of the effects of realistic versus traditional job previews on subsequent job expectations and retention. A

number of researchers have studied the possible difficulties arising when scientists with extended academic training become employed in bureaucratic laboratory settings. One frequent finding is that the professional orientation of the scientists characterized by substantial need for autonomy often conflicts with the need for rule conformity often found in laboratories conducting applied research.

For example, a study by Miller (1967) found that the degree of alienation experienced by the scientists was positively related to the degree of bureaucratic orientation of their reasearch division. Miller (1967) also found that alienation (defined as lack of intrinsic meaning in work) was related to lack of professional atmosphere and low research freedom for PhD scientists.

Another study by Abrahamson (1964) found that amount of academic training was inversely related to integration into the laboratory and that this finding was strongest for scientists who were new to the organization. Aiken and Hage (1966) found high alienation among social workers when their organization had high formalization and centralization. These studies lead to the possible conclusion that intensive professional training which encourages expectations for autonomy can result in alienation when professionals work in bureaucratic

settings. Although these studies have been limited primarily to physical scientists, the same effect may be found with other professionals, such as medical doctors, lawyers, or professors.

Another area of research providing partial support for Sarason's (1977) theory is the work by Wanous (1973, 1975) on the effects of job previews on job expectations and retention. Wanous (1973) found in an experimental study with beginning telephone operators that realistic job previews resulted in more realistic job expectations, a somewhat higher percentage of persons remaining on the job, and fewer thoughts of quitting than did the traditional preview stressing only positive aspects of the job.

Although the preview had no effect on job acceptance, the realistic preview group had lower expectations as measured by a questionanaire. This study by Wanous (1973) indicates that unrealistically high job previews may have dysfunctional consequences for later on-the-job attitudes and behavior, and this finding may be generalizable also to higher level managers and professionals as well as telephone operators.

Taken together, these two areas of research provide some support for Sarason's theory. Both the studies of alienation among scientists in bureaucratic settings and

the investigations of the effects of job previews indicate that high initial job expectations which remain unfulfilled may result in alienation and possible job turnover.

Another comprehensive theory to explain alienation and life dissatisfaction among some occupationally successful individuals has been developed by Korman (1977a, 1977b). Korman's theory of "career success and personal failure" originated in an attempt to provide the reasons for the malaise and dissatisfaction frequently experienced by many successful executives and professional men, particularly during middle age. In addition to the theoretical model, Korman and his associates (Korman & Lang, 1978a, 1978b; Korman, Lang, & Carnazza, 1977; Korman, Wittig-Berman, & Lang, 1981) have shown some research support for the theory in studies with several different groups of subjects.

The following discussion will not attempt a complete exposition of Korman's (1977a) theory but will focus on those aspects of the model which seem applicable to executives and professionals in a somewhat younger age group. Substantial portions of Korman's theory have been omitted, and only those aspects having a direct influence on this research will be presented. Subsequently, research evidence in support of the theory and relevant to

the present study will be considered.

Korman (1977a) hypothesizes that a number of societal and organizational factors operate longitudinally to produce disillusionment in the form of disconfirmed expectancies about work and life among certain occupationally successful individuals. This experience of disillusionment in turn is believed to result in alienation and life dissatisfaction. Subsequent attempts on the part of the individual to resolve the situation may include occupational change, divorce, a change in perspective, or the development of avocational interests to which enthusiasm can be redirected.

Societal factors contribute to disconfirmed expectancies by a general glorification of success and a perpetuation of the myth that occupational success will result in both uninterrupted personal satisfaction and relief from routine. Similarly, organizations contribute to the belief that material success will cause life satisfaction as well as relief from routine. Another organizational factor is the promise of promotion for effective performance, but one faces the increasing unlikelihood of such promotion the further one advances because of the existence of a smaller number of positions at each level.

According to the Korman (1977a) model, these cultural

and organizational factors interact to produce a realization of disconfirmed expectancies. These feelings are likely to become conscious during middle age because of the general questioning of personal identity which often occurs during this period (Sheehy, 1976). Consequently, perception of one's alienation and lack of life satisfaction are also likely to take place during this time. Middle age for many people may include a recognition of their own mortality, which can further encourage a reorientation of values and goals.

Disconfirmed expectancies involve the realization that one's views toward the future have been incorrect: that one's anticipated or accomplished success does not have the positive meaning that it was believed to have. For example, realization that occupational success does not bring complete relief from routine and drudgery may represent a common disconfirmed expectancy.

Korman (1977a) further posits that the experience of disconfirmed expectancies leads to a recognition that one often cannot meet one's own needs or the needs of others, and alienation is believed to result. Personal alienation is conceptualized as a gap between one's image of oneself and one's everyday behaviors: a lack of feeling "real" or a sense of self-estrangement. On the other hand, social alienation is defined as a sense of aloneness and

separation from others. Both kinds of alienation are expected to show a high degree of intercorrelation.

Four studies (Korman & Lang, 1978a, 1978b; Korman et al., 1981), each with a different group of subjects, lend support both to the widespread lack of satisfaction among executives and professionals and to Korman's (1977a) conceptualization of the preconditions of this syndrome. Although these studies included a number of additional variables relating to career success and personal failure, only those aspects which directly relate to the present investigation will be discussed here. All four studies investigated the relationships between measures of alienation and some of their possible preconditions including disconfirmed expectancies. These studies differed both in terms of the characteristics of the respondents and the methodology employed.

The alumni study (Korman et al., 1981) used a sample of Baruch college graduates selected on a probability basis from the classes of 1950 through 1962. Three hundred graduates were sent a series of questionnaires in the mail, and 90 were returned (a response rate of about 30 percent). This group was highly successful in terms of occupation and socio-economic status. Respondents tended to be in middle or top management, and the modal salary

category was $30,000 to $49,999. The mean age was 47 years, and 91 percent of the sample was male.

The independent and dependent variables were measured using several scales previously developed by the authors. A "Work and Career History" scale was used to measure disconfirmed expectancies, one of the independent variables. Alienation and life dissatisfaction, the dependent variables, were measured using three different instruments: a direct self-report "Philosophy of Life" scale and two indirect measures. A "Work Experience" scale asked respondents to rate how typical of their own experience were each of four passages describing very different attitudes toward work. In addition, a "Work Knowledge Test" used an error-choice format to measure alienation and life dissatisfaction. (Error-choice tests and their rationale will be discussed in Chapter 4.) The latter two instruments were used to control for possible response-response bias which was anticipated as a possible problem when two direct self-report scales were used as dependent and independent variables.

The results indicated highly significant correlations between the "Philosophy of Life" measure of alienation and disconfirmed expectancies as measured by the "Work Experience" questionnaire, with correlations ranging from $r = .38$ to $.57$. In addition, correlations between

disconfirmed expectancies and the indirect measures of alienation were often significant in the predicted direction but lower in magnitude, a typical result when using indirect scales (Selltiz, Wrightsman, & Cook, 1976).

The second study conducted by Korman and Lang (1978a) used the same questionnaire instruments as the alumni study, but the method of administration and the characteristics of the respondents differed from those of the alumni study. The respondents for this study (the first M.B.A. study) were students in an advanced management seminar in the Baruch M.B.A. program. The questionnaires were distributed in class, and the students completed them outside class and returned them the following week.

In terms of occupational success and socio-economic status, the younger M.B.A. group was considerably lower than the alumni sample. The M.B.A. respondents were most often in lower management positions and showed a modal salary in the $15,000 to $19,999 range. The mean age of these 18 respondents was 31 years and 88 percent were male. Because of the small sample size, results could not be analyzed separately for males and females.

The results of this first M.B.A. study showed significant correlations between disconfirmed expectancies and alienation as measured by the "Philosophy of Life"

scale. As in the alumni study, correlations using the indirect measures of alienation and life dissatisfaction showed relationships generally weaker in magnitude than the direct measure but in the predicted direction.

A very similar research design was used with a second and larger sample of evening M.B.A. students (Korman et al., 1981). This second M.B.A. study involved 111 students at two major universities in New York City, and about two-thirds of these students worked in professional or managerial occupations. Questionnaires were administered to the subjects during regular meetings of classes in which they were enrolled.

The characteristics of this second M.B.A. group were very similar to those of the first M.B.A. sample, although the average age of this group was slightly younger (28 years compared to 31 years for the earlier M.B.A. group). The second M.B.A. sample included 45 females (40.5 percent of the sample).

Overall, the results of the second M.B.A. study were very similar to the findings for the previous groups. Using the "Philosophy of Life" scale, all correlations between both personal and social alienation with disconfirmed expectancies were significant at the .01 level or higher. However, none of the correlations using the error-choice scale was significant. The authors

attribute this apparent inconsistency to the confounding effect of sex differences.

In contrast to the alumni and M.B.A. studies, the fourth study (Korman & Lang, 1978b) employed a totally different methodology as well as a different group of respondents. This study (the company study) consisted of a re-analysis of data originally collected for another purpose. The respondents in the company study consisted of 144 male middle and top level executives of a major food processing company. These respondents were generally college graduates with a median income of $31,000 to $38,000 and a mean age of 46 years.

Data from this group were obtained in the company in two phases. The first part consisted of personal interviews conducted by skilled interviewers about each manager's work experience in the company. The second phase consisted of the manager completing the Porter "Need Satisfaction Questionnaire." Four items from the Porter questionnaire relating to alienation and lack of life satisfaction were used as the dependent variables in the study, while the independent variables were ratings on items reflecting disconfirmed expectancies. Results indicated a pattern of correlations consistent with the hypothesis that level of disconfirmed expectancies would

be positively related to levels of alienation and life dissatisfaction.

Taken together, these four "career success and personal failure" studies indicate substantial support for Korman's (1977a) model of the preconditions of alienation among occupationally successful individuals. Both the alumni study and the company study show support for the theory among the middle-aged men for which it was originally formulated, and the M.B.A. studies indicate the theory may also explain some factors leading to alienation among men and women in their early 30s. However, the particular characteristics of the M.B.A. groups may account for these finding.

Two remaining questions are the extent to which Korman's (1977a) theory can be integrated with Sarason's (1977) theoretical model and the general applicability of the entire model to women as well as men. This dissertation study was designed in part to answer these questions.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL MODEL AND RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

Theoretical Model

The theoretical model upon which this study is based attempts to incorporate the relevant portions of the Sarason (1977) and Korman (1977a) models into one theoretical system which can be tested empirically. This theoretical model (Exhibit 1, next page) attempts to portray longitudinally some of the factors believed to ultimately result in alienation and major life changes in both work and non-work areas.

The theoretical model contains several dimensions of early adult experience believed to contribute to high expectations for subsequent personal fulfillment and societal change. The first two factors, graduation from an elite or prestigious college and having a high socio-economic family background, are viewed by Sarason (1977) as often resulting in high expectations for career success and life satisfaction, including autonomy,

Exhibit 1

Preconditions of Alienation Among Youn

A Theoretical Mode

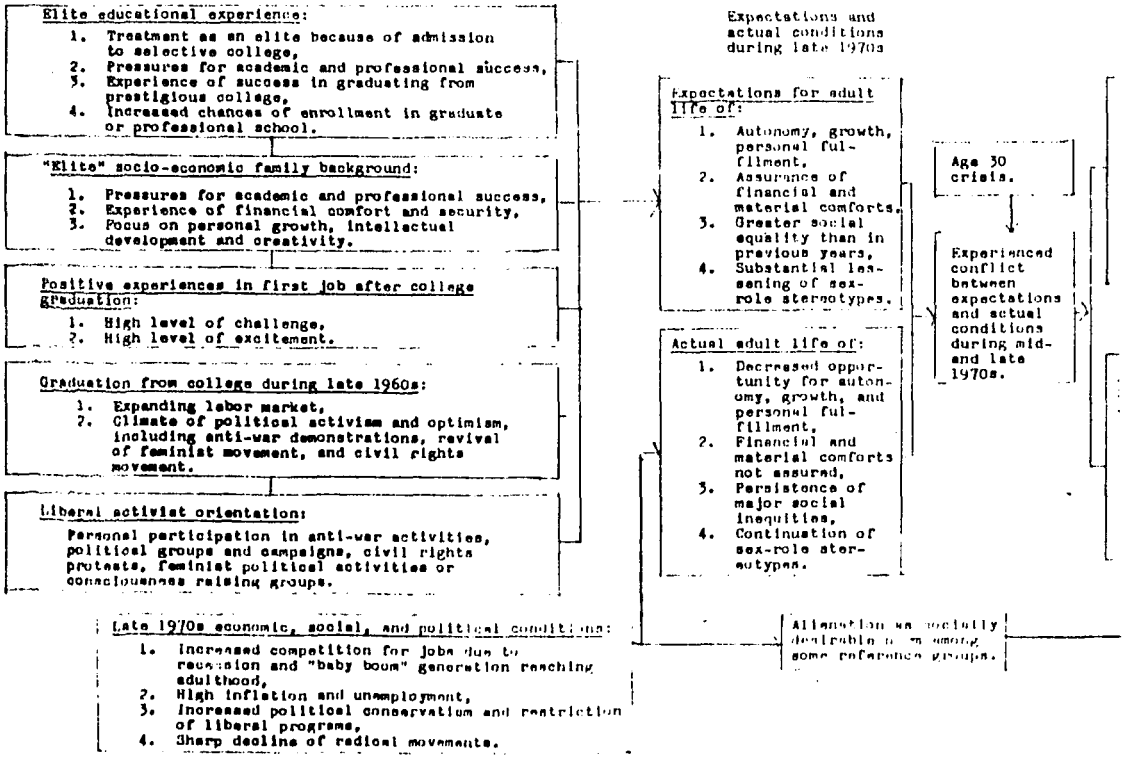
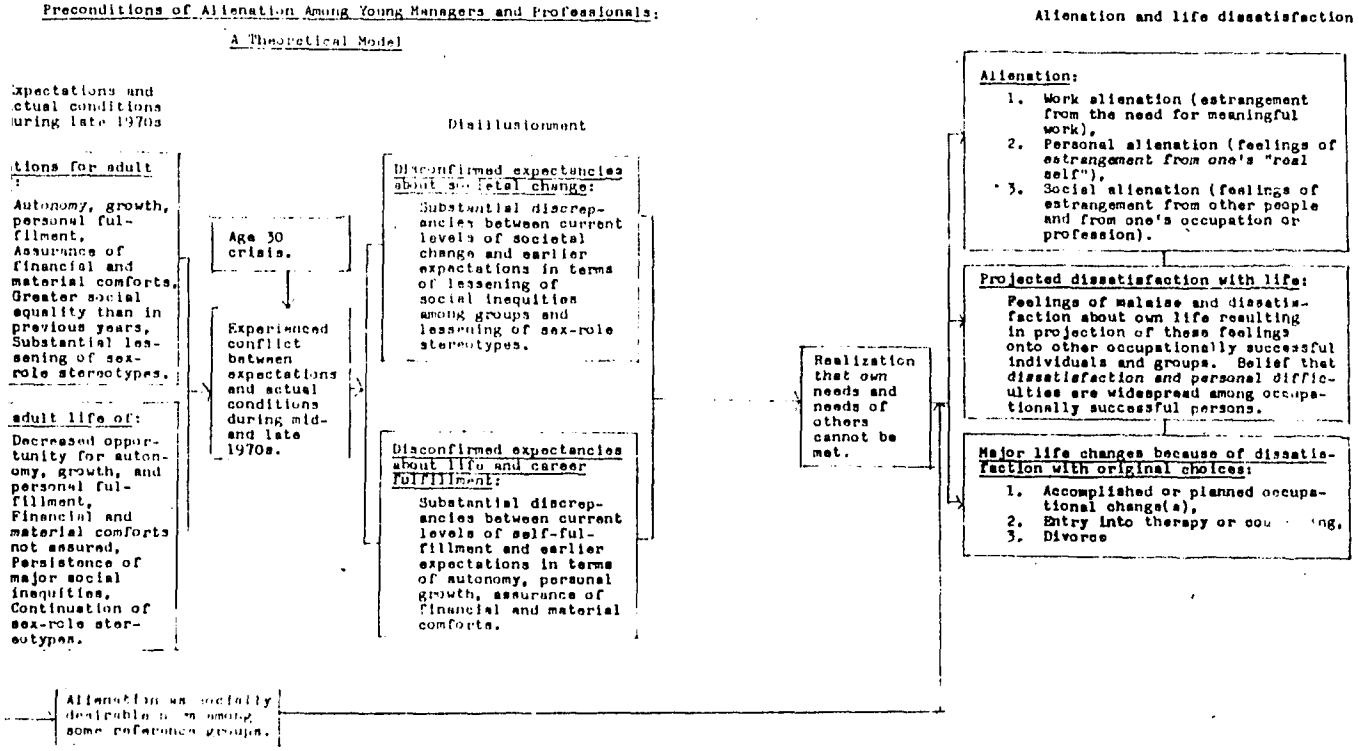


Exhibit 1

Preconditions of Alienation Among Young Managers and Professionals:

A Theoretical Model



This model is based largely on the works of Korman (1977a) and Maccoby (1977).

personal growth, and financial security. Both elite family and college backgrounds have exposed young persons to treatment as "special" by virtue of their high status positions and may well have led to the expectation that this privileged status would continue into adult life. Also, many students from upper middle class homes attending elite colleges were subject to strong pressures for academic and professional success. The success experience of graduation from a prestigious liberal arts college was further reinforced by enrollment in graduate or professional school for many of these students.

Although not specifically noted by either Sarason (1977) or Korman (1977a), another aspect of elite experience is the amount of challenge and excitement generated by one's first job after college graduation. Having a first position high in challenge and excitement would logically engender high expectations in at least some individuals that this challenge and excitement would continue during the rest of their work lives. Therefore, challenge and excitement in the first job after college graduation is the third factor predicted to result in high expectations for personal fulfillment in one's career and personal life.

The subsequent two conditions hypothesized to result in high expectations for later life refer to

socio-political conditions during the college years. The first of these factors, attending college during the atypically prosperous and optimistic era of the late 1960s, is predicted to have further increased expectations for personal fulfillment as well as for societal change. Also, greater equality for minorities and for women achieved prominence as goals for large segments of the population during these years. Many college graduates of the late 1960s expected the New Left and feminist movements to result in a more egalitarian society during the following years. They also expected the favorable economic climate to continue, resulting in wide opportunities for autonomy, growth, and personal fulfillment as well as financial and material comforts.

A liberal activist orientation during the college years consisting of personal participation in activist causes is also expected to have raised expectations for societal change by inculcating the view that societal change was not only desirable but possible. The perceived success of the anti-war protests in ending United States involvement in the Vietnam War contributed to the belief that involvement in activist groups could effect meaningful societal change (Block, 1978).

In contrast to these high expectations held by many young managers and professionals, the actual economic and

societal conditions faced by this group have been sobering. Social, political, and economic conditions during the 1970s have resulted in the persistence of major social inequalities and a general decline in the popularity of liberal programs.

In addition, working conditions with decreased opportunities for autonomy, growth, and personal fulfillment have become prevalent even in many professional and managerial occupations. Financial and material comforts are no longer assured, partly as a result of high levels of both inflation and unemployment. In addition, high inflation and unemployment have contributed to increased political conservatism and a restriction of liberal programs as well as a decline of radical political movements.

Another consequence of the socio-political climate of the 1970s is believed to be a view of alienation as desirable among at least some influential and prominent groups. Selzer (1979) contends that a norm of meaninglessness and mindlessness often leading to violence has developed among certain subcultures, including punk-rock musicians, some former 1960s radicals, and certain parts of the fashion industry. In addition, these groups have achieved cult followings and a popularity in the press as well as some appeal to and respectability

among the general public. This norm of alienation as socially desirable and fashionable is another factor believed to be contributing to alienation among some young professionals and managers.

However, an immediate result of the vast discrepancies between the anticipated favorable work and life conditions and the prevailing inimical conditions during the late 1970s may have been major personal conflicts for many young professionals and managers. Both Sarason (1977) and Block (1978) examine this conflict from differing perspectives and believe it has resulted in substantial disillusionment as well as other outcomes. In addition, the Korman (1977a) theory predicts disillusionment as the result of a number of societal and organizational factors often affecting occupationally successful individuals.

Another factor which may have exacerbated this conflict between expectations and reality for some individuals is the "age 30 crisis" which has been discussed by Sheehy (1976). This author discovered that many men and women, regardless of wide differences in their life styles, experienced a period of reorientation within a few years surrounding their reaching the age of 30. Often, this re-evaluation involved making a new

decision on the appropriateness of a permanent career as well as a marriage commitment.

Sheehy (1976) observed that many people at around age 30 changed their career or marital status (married for the first time, divorced and remarried, or divorced and chose to remain single). Another group of people re-examined their careers and marriages and recommitted themselves to either or both of these major elements in their lives. One likely result of the age 30 crisis is that many young professionals and managers who have recently undergone or are undergoing this period of reorientation may be experiencing a heightened awareness of how their expectations compare with the realities of their lives.

Three aspects of disillusionment which seem especially relevant to young managers and professionals are disconfirmed expectancies about life, career, and societal change. Disconfirmed expectancies in these areas can be defined as discrepancies between current levels of satisfaction or fulfillment and earlier expectations. Disconfirmed expectancies about life include the areas of rewarding family and social relationships, inner peace and contentment, and new and exciting experiences. Disconfirmed expectancies about work involve dimensions of financial rewards and upward mobility, opportunities for personal growth and self-expression through work, and

relief from routine. Finally, disconfirmed expectancies about societal change include greater equality for minorities and for women, a reduction in society's materialistic values, and a receptive climate for liberal programs.

As discussed earlier, disconfirmed expectancies about life and career success were found by Korman (Korman et al., 1981) to be related to alienation and life dissatisfaction for groups of successful managers and professionals. However, disconfirmed expectancies about societal change were not investigated in the earlier Korman studies.

According to Korman (1977a), the experience of disconfirmed expectancies leads to the recognition that one cannot satisfy one's own needs. Possible results of this recognition of unsatisfiable needs include alienation in several forms. Work alienation involves estrangement from the need for meaningful work and from one's occupation or profession. Although both Sarason (1977) and Korman (1977a) mention alienation from work as a likely consequence of disconfirmed expectancies about life and career fulfillment, this dependent variable was not studied in the Korman research.

Two aspects of alienation which have been included in the Korman studies are personal alienation and social

alienation. Personal alienation involves feelings of estrangement from one's "real self," and social alienation comprises feelings of isolation and estrangement from other people. Another major aspect of alienation may be the belief that personal difficulties and life dissatisfaction are widespread among successful people, since other individuals in similar circumstancies would be expected to encounter the same obstacles to self-fulfillment.

Further possible reactions to disconfirmed expectancies may be to change one's life in a major way. Changes of this type include divorce, major occupational change, and entry into therapy or counseling out of a realization that one's original choices have not brought satisfaction.

While many young professionals and managers are predicted to experience high alienation according to this model, many others would be expected to experience relatively low alienation. Undoubtedly, some individuals remained substantially unaffected by either elite backgrounds or by the optimistic and prosperous conditions of the late 1960s, resulting in little conflict between the conditions they expected and the actual conditions they encountered during the middle and late 1970s. Subsequently, relatively low disconfirmed expectancies and

consequently low alienation and a lower incidence of major life changes would be predicted for these individuals.

In addition, some other young managers and professionals had probably developed high expectations of work and life and because of a variety of reasons have been able to fulfill most of them. These individuals also would be predicted to show low disconfirmed expectancies and subsequently low alienation and relatively few major life changes because of dissatisfaction.

Hypotheses

Exhibits 2 and 3 (next two pages) show the research model and the major predictions tested in this study. Exhibit 2 shows these predictions for individuals with backgrounds believed to result in high alienation, while Exhibit 3 shows the predictions for individuals with early adult experiences hypothesized to result in low alienation. As these exhibits indicate, the variables in this study form a four-stage sequential research model with six independent variables concerning early adult experience. Two sets of intervening variables follow. Finally, the three major dependent variables consist of direct and projective measures of alienation and major life changes because of dissatisfaction.

Exhibit 2

Research Predictions for Individuals with Backgrounds Hypothesized to Result in High Alienation

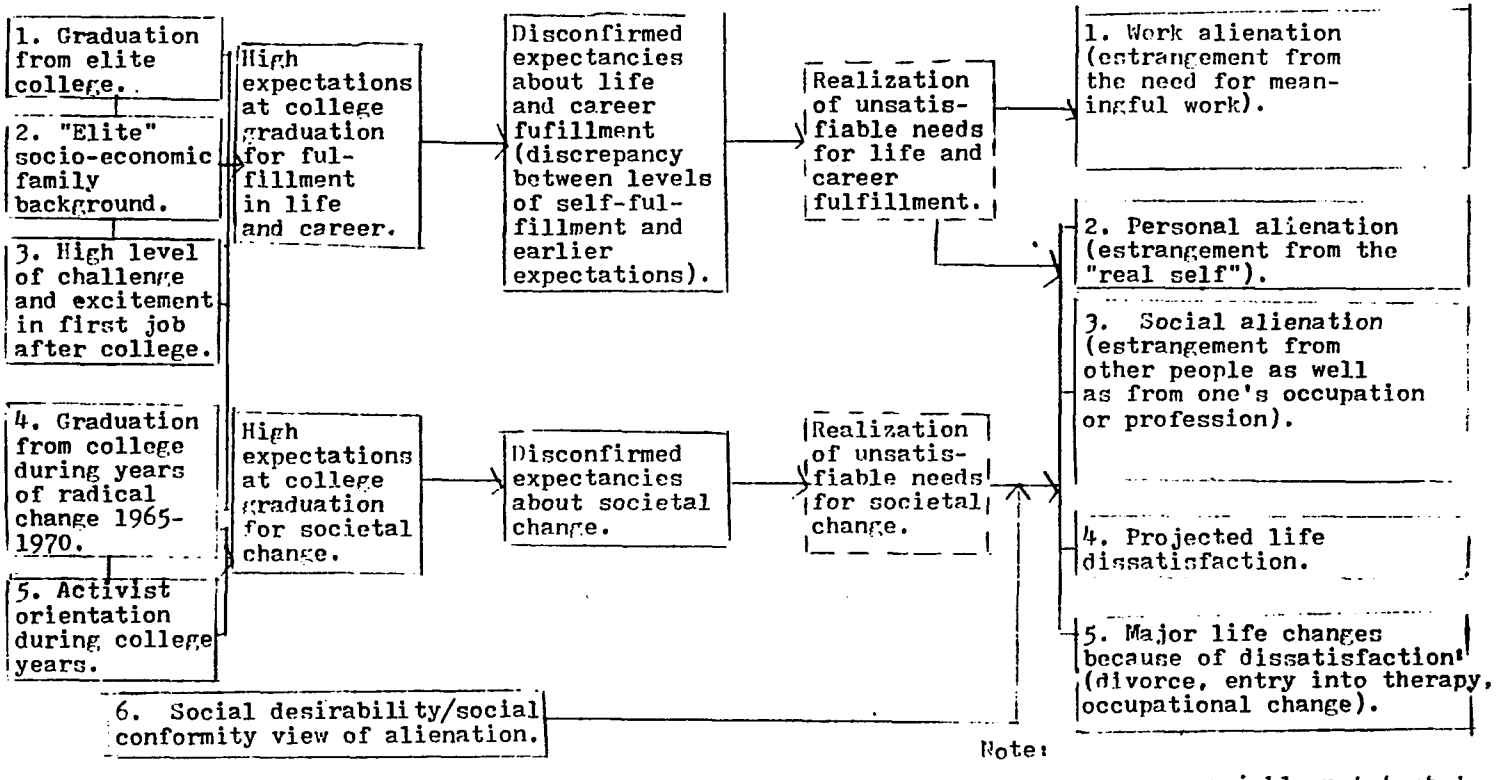
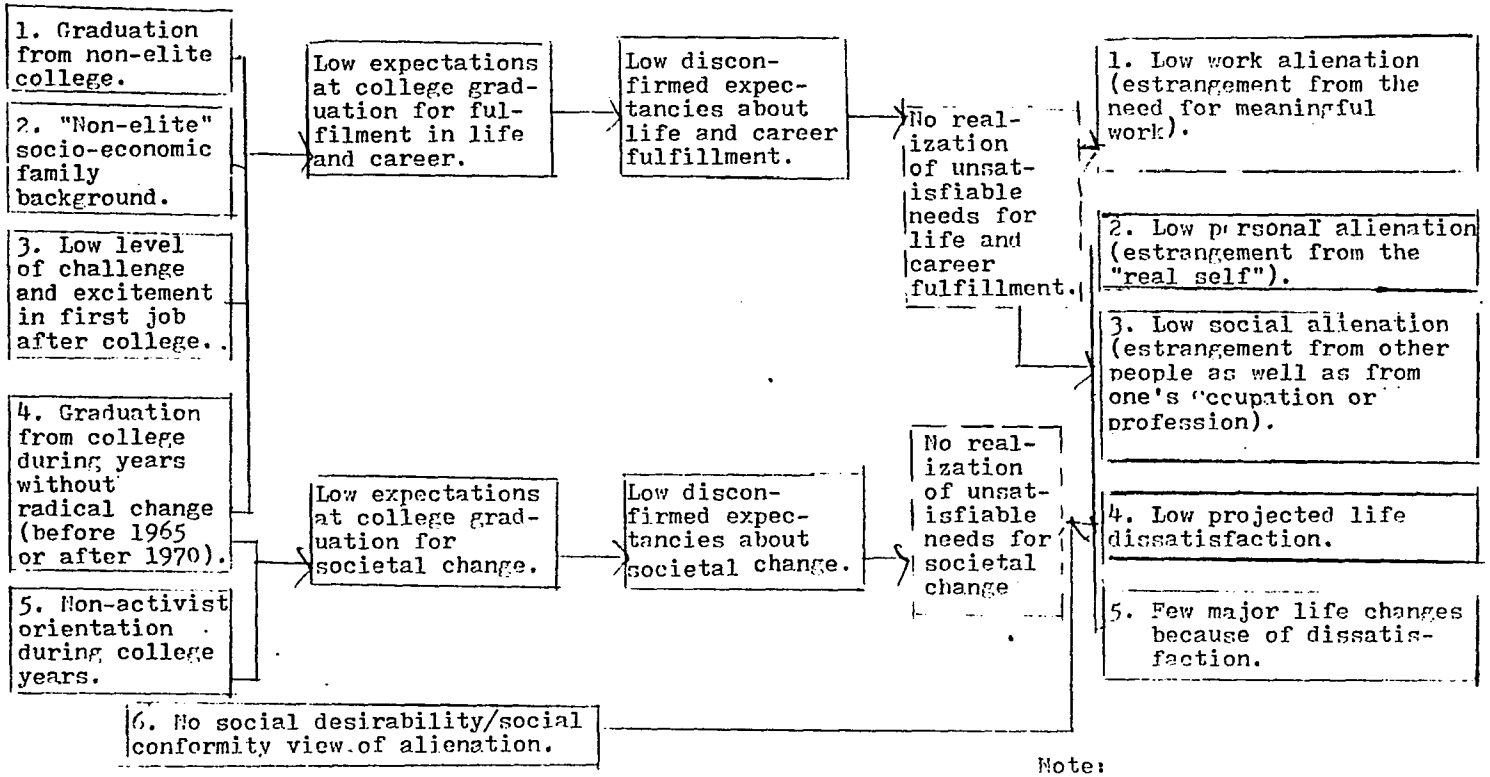


Exhibit 3

Research Predictions for Individuals with Backgrounds Hypothesized to Result in Low Alienation



Note:

- - - = variable not tested.

The purpose of the study was to test the following hypotheses derived from this model:

Hypothesis 1: Elite college and family background, high challenge and excitement in the first job, college graduation during the late 1960s, and a liberal activist orientation during college are positively related to high expectations for life, career, and societal change. These predictions were aimed at explaining some of the mechanisms through which these five independent variables may have subsequently resulted in alienation and major life changes because of dissatisfaction. Graduation from an elite college, high socio-economic family background, challenge and excitement in the first full-time job after college, and graduation from college during the radical late 1960s were hypothesized to have resulted in high expectations at college graduation for fulfillment in one's personal and career life. Specifically, students exposed to these background influences were expected to have had higher expectations than those students who did not experience these conditions.

Also, graduation from college during the late 1960s and personal participation in liberal activist causes were expected to correlate positively with high expectations at college graduation for societal change. Examining these relationships provided a partial test of the predictions

made by Sarason (1977) and Block (1978) that levels of expectation constitute a major link between these young adult experiences and disillusionment in the form of disconfirmed expectancies.

Hypothesis 2: Disconfirmed expectancies about life and career fulfillment are positively related to alienation from the need for meaningful work. Unfulfilled high expectations for a personally meaningful life and career were predicted to result in a denial of the need for purposeful and satisfying work among some individuals.

Hypothesis 3: Disconfirmed expectancies are positively related to direct self-reported and projected measures of personal and social alienation and to major life changes because of dissatisfaction. Disconfirmed expectancies about career and life fulfillment and about societal change were expected to correlate positively and significantly with these dependent variables. This aspect of the analysis provided a partial test of the Korman (1977a) theory.

Hypothesis 4: Elite college and family background, challenge and excitement in the first job, liberal activist orientation, and college graduation during the late 1960s are positively related to alienation and to major life changes because of dissatisfaction. These five independent variables were predicted to show a positive

relationship with the dependent variables. The models in Exhibits 2 and 3 show the mechanisms by which these predicted relationships were believed to occur. This prediction was derived directly from the first two hypotheses and is statistically dependent upon them.

Hypothesis 5: A social desirability/social conformity view of alienation is positively related to alienation and to major life changes because of dissatisfaction. In an attempt to further explain the dynamics of alienation and major life changes, another independent variable was examined for its possible significance. In the present era of widely publicized economic recession and social pessimism, an external demeanor of alienation as a socially desirable trait may explain at least part of the variance in the measures of alienation and major life changes because of dissatisfaction.

CHAPTER 4

METHOD

This chapter will discuss the methodology of the study in terms of individual variables and measurement, questionnaire instruments, sampling procedure, and statistical analysis. For reference, a copy of the questionnaire is included in Appendix A.

Individual Variables and Their Measurement

The individual variables in this study can be classified into four groups or stages: independent variables, first set of intervening variables, second set of intervening variables, and dependent variables. Exhibit 4 shows the relationships among these variables in diagram form, and Exhibit 5 lists the variables at each stage of the model with their corresponding questionnaire section and questionnaire page number. The present discussion will focus on how each of the individual variables was operationally defined and measured, while

STAGE 1

Exhibit 4: Types of Variables and Predicted Relationships

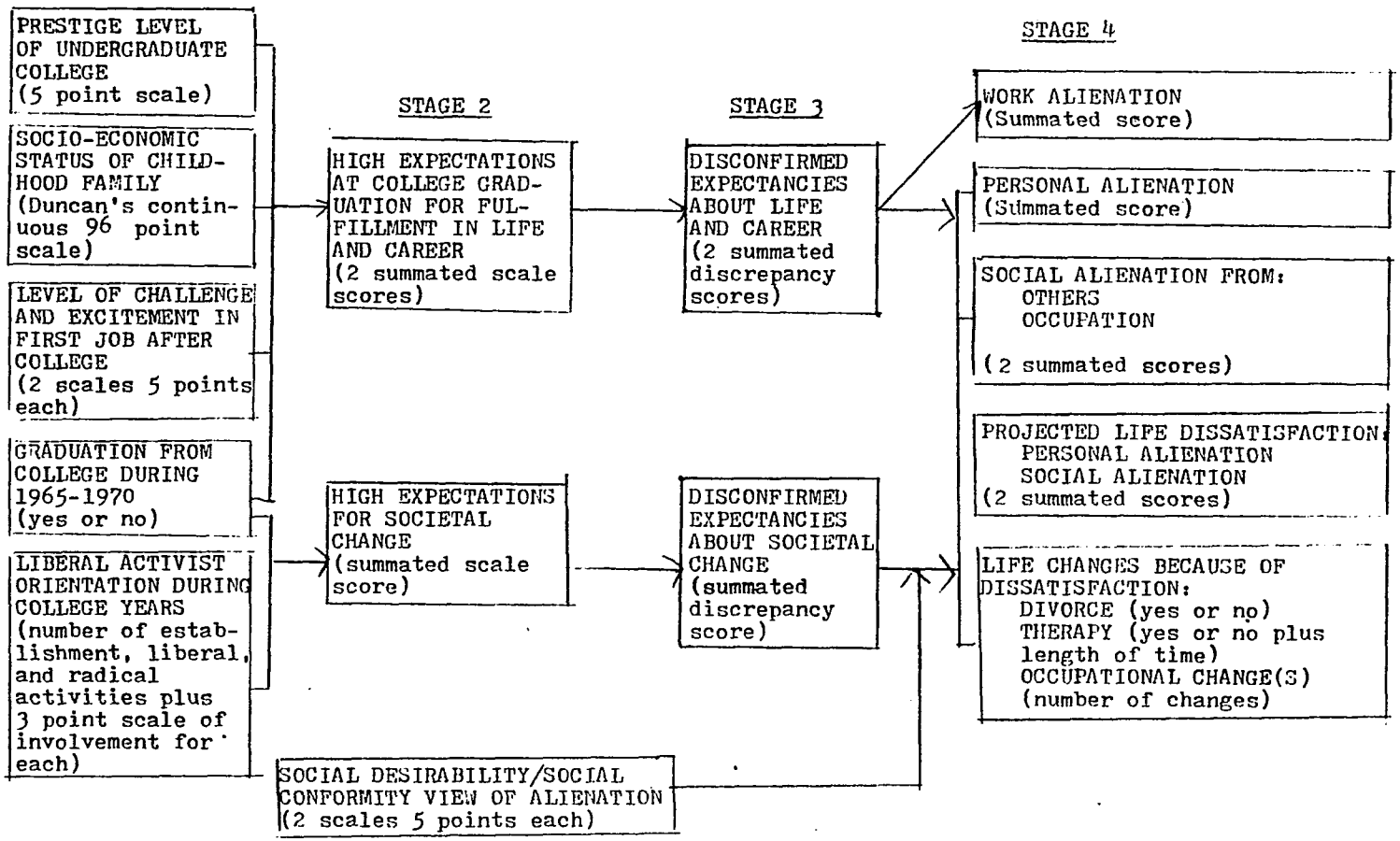


Exhibit 5

Major Research Variables with Corresponding Questionnaire Instruments and Page Numbers

Variable	Questionnaire Instrument and Page Number
Independent Variables:	
1. Prestige level of undergraduate college	Background Information, p. 8
2. Socio-economic level of childhood family	Background Information, p. 9
3. Level of challenge and excitement in first full time job after college	Background Information, p. 5
4. Graduation from college during 1965-1970	Background Information, p. 8
5. Liberal activist orientation during college	Background Information, p. 6
6. Social desirability/conformity view of alienation	Background Information, p. 7
First Set of Intervening Variables:	
1. High expectations for fulfillment in life	Experience History, p. 1
2. High expectations for fulfillment in career	Experience History, p. 1
3. High expectations for societal change	Experience History, p. 2
Second Set of Intervening Variables:	
1. Disconfirmed expectancies about life	Experience History, p. 1 & 2
2. Disconfirmed expectancies about work	Experience History, p. 1 & 2
3. Disconfirmed expectancies about societal change	Experience History, p. 2
Dependent Variables:	
1. Alienation from need for meaningful work	Philosophy of Life, p. 4
2. Direct measures of personal and social alienation	Philosophy of Life, p. 4
3. Projective measures of personal and social alienation	Work Knowledge Test, p. 3
4. Major life changes (occupational change, divorce, therapy)	Background Information, p. 5 & 7

the following section on questionnaire instruments will consider issues of reliability and validity of the different questionnaire instruments.

Independent variables: Six dimensions of early adult experience. All of the independent variables were taken from the "Background Information" section of the questionnaire. The first independent variable, prestige level of the respondent's undergraduate college, was obtained by asking the name of the college where the undergraduate degree was earned. These colleges were subsequently rated according to prestige level by three judges (graduate school professors) who were generally familiar with the institutions represented. Appendix B contains a copy of the rating form used by each of the three judges to rate the colleges. A five-point scale was used, and the ratings were later recoded so that a high scale value indicated a high level of prestige.

A reliability analysis indicated a high degree of interrater reliability, with Cronbach's alpha coefficient equal to .947. The mean value of the three judges ratings was used as the prestige score for each college, because a number of studies have indicated that averaging judges' ratings usually increases the correlation with an external criterion (Horowitz, Inouye, & Siegelman, 1979).

Socio-economic status of the childhood family, the second independent variable, was measured by first asking the occupation of the respondent's father or male guardian. Duncan's Socio-Economic Index (Miller, 1977) was then used to give a rating scale value to each of these occupations. The 96-point Duncan Scale gives index values to male occupations on the basis of prestige, education, and income usually associated with that occupation. This index is widely used and believed to have advantages over other socio-economic scales for most large sample survey situations (Miller, 1977). The Duncan Index was also considered preferable for this study because it provided a general composite measure of occupational status including prestige, income, and education.

The third independent variable, level of challenge and excitement in the first job after college, was obtained by asking respondents to rate separately how "exciting" and "personally challenging" was their first job. A five-point scale ranging from "not at all" to "completely" was used.

Graduation from college during the years of radical change from 1965 through 1970, the third independent variable, was obtained by asking year of graduation from undergraduate college. Respondents were grouped for the

analysis into two categories comprised of those graduating from 1965 through 1970 and those not graduating during those years.

Liberal activist orientation during the college years, the fourth independent variable, was obtained by asking respondents whether they personally participated during college in any groups or activities which were political in nature or aimed at societal change. Respondents answering affirmatively were requested to list all the activities in which they participated and the extent of their involvement in each. These activities were then coded into three categories.

The first category consisted of radical activities or organizations such as anti-war or anti-nuclear groups, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), and socialist or communist political organizations. The second category consisted of reform-oriented groups, including the National Organization for Women (NOW), groups advocating increased racial integration, and pro-abortion groups. The third category consisted of status-quo organizations, including student government groups, work to elect political candidates, and community service organizations such as the Junior League or work for the Boy Scouts. Respondents were defined as having had a liberal activist orientation if they participated in at least one radical

or reform-oriented group (categories one and two). All other respondents were considered as not having had a liberal activist orientation during their college years.

The sixth independent variable, a social desirability/conformity view of alienation, was measured by asking respondents first to rate to what extent their acquaintances had appeared to be doing what they really wanted to do in life. The following question concerned the extent to which their acquaintances had seemed estranged and distant from other people. Both scales used a five-point rating scale from "not at all" to "completely," and both scales were recoded in the direction of seeing others as alienated indicating a higher score. The first of these questions was used as a measure of seeing other people as personally alienated and the second question as a measure of seeing others as socially alienated.

First set of intervening variables: Original expectation levels. Levels of expectation at college graduation for fulfillment in the areas of work, life, and societal change were measured by the first set of questions in the "Experience History" section of the questionnaire. Respondents were asked to rate to what extent they expected at college graduation to experience various possible positive outcomes in the areas of work,

life, and societal change. A five-point rating scale from "completely disagree" to "completely agree" was used. Each of these three scales was summated to provide an overall score of original level of expectation for work, life, and societal change.

Second set of intervening variables: Disconfirmed expectancies. The second part of the "Experience History" section measured current levels of fulfillment on the same dimensions with the same response categories as were used for levels of early expectations. For each item, level of disconfirmed expectancy was measured by subtracting level of current fulfillment from level of expectation. For example, if a respondent indicated an original expectation level for work providing "a high income and the resulting benefits" was "very much" (a rating scale value of 4) and the corresponding level of current fulfillment was "somewhat" (a rating scale value of 3), level of disconfirmed expectancy on this dimension was 1 (4 minus 3). In the case of current fulfillment exceeding original expectations, level of disconfirmed expectancy was negative. Aggregate scores for disconfirmed expectancies were formed by summating the individual items in each category (work, life, and societal change).

Dependent variables: direct measures of alienation, projective measures of alienation, and major life changes.

The first group of dependent variables, direct measures of alienation, were all measured using the "Philosophy of Life" scale. Work alienation, the first direct alienation measure, had been defined for this study in terms of estrangement from or denial of the need for meaningful work.

Although work alienation had been studied by a number of authors (for example, Seeman, 1976; Seybolt & Gruenfeld, 1976; Buchholz, 1978), work alienation in these studies was considered primarily as dissatisfaction with one's current job. For this reason, items new to this study were created and incorporated into the "Philosophy of Life" section of the questionnaire. The three items used to measure alienation from the need for meaningful work are marked "MWA" on the questionnaire in Appendix A. (Several other items were omitted after the pretest because of insufficient variability of responses across the five scale points. In addition, another measure of alienation from work, estrangement from the values of the work ethic, was abandoned because the pretest showed that its reliability was too low to constitute an acceptable scale.)

A direct measure of personal alienation or estrangement from one's "real self" was obtained in the "Philosophy of Life" section of the questionnaire in a

format similar to that used in the earlier Korman (1981) studies. Items comprising the direct personal alienation scale are marked "PA" in the questionnaire in Appendix A.

The "Philosophy of Life" section also contained items comprising a direct measure of social alienation or estrangement from other people. These items are marked "SA" on the questionnaire in the appendix. However, another aspect of social alienation new to this study is alienation from one's occupation or profession. These items are marked "OA" on the questionnaire. All direct measures of alienation were recoded in the direction of a high score indicating high levels of alienation.

The next category of dependent variables, projected personal and social alienation, were measured with the "Work Knowledge Test," an indirect scale using an error-choice format. This scale and the rationale for its use will be discussed in detail in the subsequent section on questionnaire instruments. However, these projective measures of personal and social alienation are based on the view that alienation entails the belief that personal difficulties and dissatisfactions are widespread among successful people. In other words, alienated individuals are believed to project their own alienation onto other people, since other individuals in similar circumstances

would be expected to encounter the same obstacles to self-fulfillment.

The third major group of dependent variables was completed life changes including divorce, occupational change, and entry into therapy or counseling. Generally, questionnaire measures consisted of asking in the "Background Information" section of the questionnaire which of these changes had been made and to what extent dissatisfaction with original choices influenced the decision to make the change. For the analysis, respondents were grouped into two categories for each of the three possible life changes: divorced versus not divorced, occupational changers versus non-changers, and people having been in therapy or counseling versus those never in therapy or counseling.

Questionnaire Instruments

A number of conceptual and methodological problems existed in attempting to measure variables such as disconfirmed expectancies and alienation, especially in a self-administered questionnaire. Some of the major problems included validity, reliability, and response-response bias, particularly with respect to the dependent variables. The hypotheses of this study were

tested using a battery of four questionnaire instruments designed and selected in part to circumvent some of the methodological problems inherent in a study of this type. This section will both describe the questionnaire instruments and present some preliminary evidence for their reliability and validity.

Exhibit 5 in the previous section has summarized the major research variables in the study and the questionnaire instruments used to measure them. All instruments were based on the questionnaires used in the earlier Korman (1981) studies, although a number of additions, deletions, and changes in content and form were made to make the questionnaire more appropriate to a younger and more moderately successful group of men and women. Some other changes were made on the basis of the pretest involving an earlier version of this questionnaire.

"Experience History" scale. This direct self-report section of the questionnaire was used to measure levels of original expectations at college graduation as well as disconfirmed expectancies about life, work, and societal change. As discussed earlier, respondents were asked to indicate both their original expectation levels and their current fulfillment on a number of dimensions in these

three areas. Disconfirmed expectancies were measured by the discrepancy between these two scores.

The "Experience History" scale therefore contained three scales for original expectations and three for disconfirmed expectancies (about life, work, and societal change). Each of these six individual scales was analyzed for reliability in terms of internal consistency. (Appendix D contains reliability data for all scales used in the study.) Results indicated acceptable levels of Cronbach's alpha coefficent ranging from .57 to .82.

"Philosophy of Life" alienation scale. The "Philsophy of Life" scale developed by Korman and his associates (Korman et al., 1981) was used to provide direct measures of alienation. This instrument is a direct self-report measure of attitudes, and consequently it may have been subject to response-response bias with the "Experience History" questionnaire used to measure disconfirmed expectancies. However, some evidence for the construct validity of the "Philosophy of Life" scale will be discussed toward the end of this chapter.

Test-retest data have been collected for the "Philosophy of Life" scale as used in the Korman (1981) alumni study using nineteen evening college seniors employed in lower and middle management positions. The scale was first administered in class and five weeks later

was again administered in class to the same subjects. The resulting coefficient of reliability for the entire scale was r = .92, indicating an acceptable degree of test-retest reliability. This result suggests that the "Philosophy of Life" scale does in fact measure enduring attitudes and beliefs and is not unduly affected by short-term or day-to-day mood changes.

Another aspect of reliability concerning the "Philosophy of Life" scale is its internal consistency or homogeneity. Computations of the Cronbach alpha reliability coefficients for the subsections of this scale indicated acceptable levels of reliability for all direct measures of alienation except for social alienation (alpha = .40). Although the reliability for this social alienation measure was not fully acceptable, it was included in the analysis because of the importance of this dependent variable in testing the predictions of the study. (Peliability coefficients for the three other subscales were .51 for both alienation from the need for meaningful work and occupational alienation and .76 for personal alienation.)

"Work Knowledge Test." For projected personal and social alienation the structured indirect "Work Knowledge Test" was used. This error-choice scale appears to the respondent to be a test of factual information, but it is

actually scored as a measure of projected personal and social alienation.

The error-choice method was developed and first used by Hammond (1948) in an attempt to produce a disguised yet structured method of attitude measurement. The error-choice method makes use of the finding that attitudes can produce systematic errors in perception and recall. This method further attempts to remove reality as a factor in the selection of a response to a multiple choice question by leaving the subject no alternative except error (for example, when all alternatives are wrong, but not obviously so.) The direction and consistency of the error can be used as a measure of the underlying attitude.

In an error-choice test such as the present "Work Knowledge Test," items are presented in the guise of an information test where the answers are indeterminant and the alternatives reflect opposite extremes. The answers can be indeterminant either when all are incorrect or when the correct answer is included but unlikely to be recognized by most subjects. Respondents are told they probably will not know many answers and should guess at the answers when in doubt.

Selltiz et al. (1976) maintain that structured indirect tests including the error-choice method have the same major advantage as projective tests in that the purpose of the test is disguised, but structured tests are simpler and more reliable in terms of scoring. In addition, a structured indirect test is more appropriate than a projective test for use in a self-administered study, since the conditions under which the test is taken cannot be controlled. Both Hammond (1948) and Selltiz et al. (1976) note that many indirect tests including the error-choice method have been successfully used to discriminate among criterion groups with known attitudes, such as labor leaders versus business executives.

The procedure suggested by Selltiz et al. (1976) and followed by Korman (1981) for constructing an error-choice test disguised as a knowledge test was to formulate very difficult questions (or questions for which specific factual answers did not exist) and to encourage respondents to guess at answers they did not know. The "Work Knowledge Test" is disguised as a test of knowledge of recent research results in the areas of work motivation, satisfaction, and involvement of occupationally successful executives and managers.

The primary assumption of the error-choice "Work Knowledge Test" as used in this study was that respondents

would identify with and project themselves into the questions about the work experiences of the managers and executives (stimulus persons) contained in the questions. However, a potential difficulty with the form of the "Work Knowledge" scale as used in the Korman (1981) studies was that female respondents may have been less likely than male respondents to identify with "executives and managers" (gender unspecified) as stimulus persons. Since most executives and managers, especially at top levels, are men, a normal response to questions about executives and managers as a group would be to think in terms of men.

In addition, research by Broverman and Broverman and their associates (Brovermen, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson, & Rosenkrantz, 1972) indicates that the perceptions of diverse groups of subjects toward adult stimulus persons with gender unspecified conformed more closely to perceptions about men than to perceptions about women. Understandably, female respondents may identify less closely than male respondents with the stimulus persons if the "executives and managers" in the questionnaire items are understood to be male.

This study attempted to eliminate this problem of differential identification with the stimulus persons in the questions by specifying gender of the stimulus persons in the items. (For example, "A recent study of successful

male managers found that . . . " and "A recent study of successful female managers found that . . . "). One version of the "Work Knowledge Test" was used for both male and female respondents, but this scale was divided into two subsections, the first containing questions about "female executives and managers" and the second containing questions about "male executives and managers." All respondents answered both sets of questions, and this approach necessitated reducing the number of items somewhat from the scale as used by Korman (1981). For the analysis, either the male or female section of the scale was selected so that the gender of the stimulus person in the questions corresponded to the sex of the respondent. That is, for female respondents, questions about female stimulus persons were used, and for male respondents, questions about male stimulus persons were used.

The "Work Knowledge Test" as used in this study showed acceptable levels of internal consistency or homogeneity. Computations of the Cronbach alpha reliability coefficients showed a reliability coefficient of .55 for the error-choice personal alienation subscale and .56 for the error-choice social alienation subscale. According to Selltiz et al. (1976), indirect tests typically show lower internal consistency than do direct tests.

Some evidence for the construct validity of both the "Philosophy of Life" and "Work Knowledge Test" instruments is given by the correlations between these scales as used in the Korman (1981) research and other tests attempting to measure similar attitudes. Exhibit 6 (next page) contains ten correlations between the Korman instruments and other measures of related constructs. In this attempt to demonstrate convergent validity, seven of the ten correlations are significant in the positive (predicted) direction, while none are negative. This finding indicates that these scales have correlates reasonably consistent with their hypothesized characteristics.

"Background Information." In addition to standard demographics, the "Background Information" section of the questionnaire requested information on year of graduation from college as well as participation in activist activities during college. This information was used for the corresponding two independent variables. This section also requested information on major life changes including divorce, occupational change, and entry into therapy or counseling, as well as the reasons for having made these changes. These data were used to estimate extent of major life changes, the third major dependent variable.

Exhibit 6

Construct Validity Analyses for Personal and Social Alienation Scales as Used in the Korman (1981) Studies

Personal Alienation Correlates	Sample	Scales	Correlation
1. Internal-External Control (Rotter, 1966). High scores indicate inability to control own fate.	Undergrad students (N = 92)	Personal alienation (PA) direct measure	.31**
2. Attitudes Toward Business Organizations. High scores indicate antagonism toward large business organizations.	Grad. business students (N = 97)	PA (direct)	.38**
		PA (indirect)	.17*
	Professionals and managers (N = 58)	PA (direct)	.24*
		PA (indirect)	.16
Social Alienation Correlates			
Attitudes Toward Business Organizations	Grad. business students (N = 97)	SA (direct)	.38**
		SA (indirect)	.08
	Professionals and managers (N = 58)	SA (direct)	.28*
		SA (indirect)	.00
Personal and Social Alienation Correlates			
Purpose in Life Test (Crumbaugh, 1968) Test scores indicate a lack of meaning in one's life.	Insurance Executives (N = 51)	PA and SA (direct)	.31**

Source: Korman et al., 1981.

Sampling Procedure

The primary consideration in designing the sampling procedure was to obtain a sample of several hundred young managers and professionals who were all college graduates. The absence of funding for this study necessitated a convenience or non-probability sampling procedure whereby respondents were obtained through two different methods.

The first method consisted of recruiting evening M.B.A. students in their classes where personal contacts existed or could be developed with the instructors. This procedure was based on the method used effectively by Korman and his associates (1981) for their M.B.A. studies. Genenerally, instructors distributed the questionnaires in class, but in a few cases the researcher personally distributed the questionnaires. Depending on the preferences of the instructor, students either filled out the questionnaires in class and returned them immediately or completed them outside class and returned them at the next class meeting. Although students were advised that completing the questionnaire was entirely voluntary, very few students declined to fill them out when class time was allotted for that purpose. When the questionnaire was completed outside class, about half the potential respondents completed them.

After the questionnaires had been completed, the researcher whenever possible briefed the class in person about the purposes of the research. When a personal briefing could not be scheduled, the instructor handed out a one-page description of the research to each student after the completed questionnaire was submitted. A copy of this description of the study is included in Appendix A following the questionnaire.

Respondents were obtained in a number of evening graduate business programs in the New York City area. Most respondents were from Baruch and Rutgers-Newark, but some other respondents were contacted at Stevens Institute, University of Bridgeport, and St. John's University. A total of 252 respondents (58.1 percent of the entire sample of 434) were obtained in this manner.

Although contacting respondents in the classroom resulted in an excellent response rate, the pretest to the present study revealed a need to supplement the basic sample with additional respondents who graduated from elite colleges and/or graduated during the years 1965 through 1970. Additional respondents were obtained by requesting personal friends and undergraduate students to ask their co-workers and friends in these categories to fill out questionnaires. After these questionnaires had been completed and returned, a copy of the purposes of the

study was given to both the personal contact and to the respondent through the personal contact.

This supplemental sampling procedure yielded an additional 182 usable questionnaires (41.9 percent of the total). However, these respondents were not all graduates of elite colleges or graduates from the years 1965 through 1970. Because of either misunderstanding of the instructions or ignorance of their acquaintances' degrees, a substantial number of these respondents were graduates of non-elite colleges from years other than 1965 through 1970. However, the respondents who did fit these categories were disproportionately obtained through personal contacts.

To ensure privacy of the respondents, the questionnaire did not request the name of the person completing it. In addition, all questionnaires were handed out with a return envelope which could be sealed for additional privacy. The return envelope was thought to be especially important when the completed questionnaire was returned through another person who knew the respondent.

Combining the questionnaires obtained through these two methods yielded a total of 434 usable questionnaires. A questionnaire was included in the analysis if most questions were complete. As a consequence, most of the

individual questions had a small rate of non-response which was generally less than five percent of the total.

The characteristics of the sample are indicative of a young career-oriented group of men and women. Eighty-five percent of the respondents were currently employed full-time, and only five percent had never worked full-time. Most respondents were employed in lower to middle management jobs or in comparable level staff positions in either business or non-profit institutions. The modal salary category was $20,000 to $29,999 per year.

In terms of demographics, the median age was 28.8 years, and 41 percent of the sample was currently married. However, most respondents (74 percent) had no children. Men outnumbered women (57 percent male versus 43 percent female). Also, most respondents (85 percent) identified their racial background as white.

The majority of respondents graduated from college during the last decade, with 73 percent of the sample graduating in 1971 or later. A smaller group (21 percent) graduated from 1965 through 1970, and only a few (6 percent) graduated in 1964 or earlier. Respondents graduating from college very recently (18 percent) were omitted from some parts of the analysis, because it was believed that not enough time had elapsed for them to experience the effects under study.

Statistical Analysis

In an effort to test the hypotheses of the study, four different types of analyses were conducted: Pearson correlations, log linear modeling, multiple regression analysis, and three methods of examining the effects of moderator variables. This section will describe each of these analyses.

Pearson correlations. As a first step in the data analysis, simple zero-order correlations were performed on the variables predicted to be related in the statement of the hypotheses in Chapter 3. The SPSS Pearson correlation program was used (Nie, Hull, Jenkins, Steinbrenner, & Bent, 1975), and conservative two-tailed tests of significance were performed. Only those respondents graduating in 1977 or earlier were included in the analysis. The format and results of the correlational analysis are contained in Exhibit 10 in Chapter 5.

Log linear modeling. The second type of analysis used was log linear modeling. Specifically, a recursive system of logit analyses was performed in the manner suggested by Fienberg (1977). This type of logit analysis is particularly appropriate when testing predictions derived from theory and involving a sequence of relationships

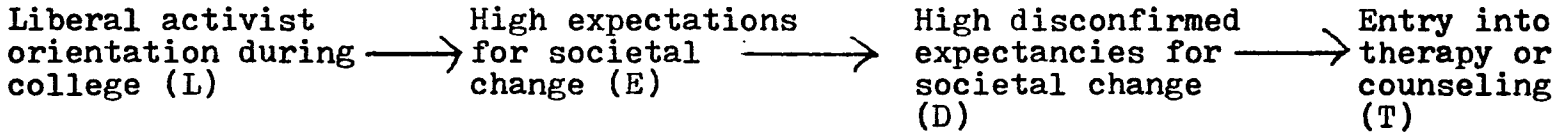
among variables. The logit analysis applied to these data will be described in detail because the technique itself is not as well known as more conventional analyses and because the method involves interpretation at each of several steps.

The purpose of log linear modeling using logit analysis is to determine which of a number of fitted models are consistent with a set of observed categorical data. Recursive systems are used which incorporate an additional variable at each stage of the model until Stage 4 (the dependent variable) is reached. Exhibit 7 (next page) shows one sequence of relationships predicted by the hypotheses of the study. This sequence of relationships was chosen for the logit analysis because preliminary correlations had indicated that relationships existed but gave little insight into the underlying structure of these relationships. The variables at each stage were defined as follows:

1. Liberal activist orientation (L).
   Participated in one or more reform or radical activity during college. 1 = yes (n = 102), 0 = no (n = 243).
2. Expectations for societal change (E).
   Retrospective self-reported expectations for societal change at college graduation. Summated

Exhibit 7

Sequence of Predicted Relationships Selected for Logit Analysis



score on 5-point scale. 1 = above median (n = 165), 0 = below median (n = 184).

3. Disconfirmed expectancies (D). Summated discrepancy score of expectations minus self-reported current levels of fulfillment for same items as in (2). 1 = above median (n = 172), 0 = below median (n = 173).

4. Therapy (T). Has been a client in therapy or counseling. 2 = yes (n = 74), 1 = no (n = 268).

The sample consisted of 353 respondents graduating from college in 1977 or earlier.

A recursive system of logit analyses was used because the theoretical model consisted of variables in a specific temporal sequence. The component models were:

1. L --> E
2. L,E --> D
3. L,E,D --> T

For the first model, the LE marginal table showed a high degree of non-independence, with Chi-Square = 13.8, df = 1. Therefore this term was included in the following model.

With LE fixed, there existed three unsaturated log linear models: LE,LD,ED; LE,LD; and LE,ED. The first of these models was selected because none of the other

models contained acceptable Chi-Square values and levels of residuals. (The original four-way contingency table upon which the analysis was based as well as the U-terms and Chi-Square values for all models are contained in Appendix F). The logit values corresponding to the first model were .53 and .16.

With LED fixed, there were eight unsaturated log linear models. LED,LT,ET was selected because of acceptable levels of both Chi-Square and residuals and because it provided most information about the relationships among the variables together with interpretable and consistent results. The final path diagram and its interpretation are contained in the following chapter.

Multiple regression. The next phase of the analysis involved the use of multiple regression to predict alienation and major life changes on the basis on early adult experiences, expectation levels, and disconfirmed expectancies. Specifically, this analysis consisted of two sets of multiple stepwise regressions to predict each of the nine Stage 4 variables with the independent variables consisting of all other variables in the preceding three stages of the model.

The first set of regressions was used to develop a predictive model, and the second set was employed to

cross-validate. The sample of respondents graduating from college in 1977 or earlier was divided in half, with every other case used to develop the model and the remaining cases used as a hold-out sample upon which to validate the model. Deletion of cases with any missing values (list-wise deletion) resulted in a sample size of about 140 for each of the two groups.

The SPSS multiple stepwise regression program was used, with an F-level to enter set at 1.5 in the prediction regressions. Only those independent variables which had entered the prediction equations were permitted to enter the corresponding validation equation. Exhibit 12 in Chapter 5 contains the results of the validation equations.

Moderator analysis. The final phase of the analysis consisted of examining the data for possible moderator effects. For all moderator analyses, the total number of 434 respondents were included in an effort to increase the power of the statistical tests. Several cross-breaks of the data were examined, including racial background and employment status, but neither of these factors seemed to affect the results. However, both prestige level of the undergraduate college and socio-economic status of the respondent's childhood family showed significant moderator effects on the relationships between disconfirmed

expectancies and alienation. Generally, these correlations were higher for respondents with high status college and family backgrounds than for respondents with low status backgrounds.

For this analysis, respondents were separated into high status and low status groups in terms of college and family background separately. Respondents were grouped on the basis of the average judges' rating of their undergraduate college and in terms of Duncan's Socio-Economic Index of their father's occupation. Different groupings of respondents were attempted (top half versus bottom half, top third versus bottom two thirds, etc.) on each of these measures. Pearson correlations between each of the disconfirmed expectancy measures and each of the alienation measures were then computed on each family and college grouping of respondents.

For both family and college background factors, the particular breakdown into high versus low groups which yielded the greatest difference in the correlation coefficients between the two groups was retained. (This procedure resulted in omitting roughly the middle third of the sample for the correlations analyzing the moderator effect of prestige level of the college.) The r values were then converted into z values for the high and low

status groups and a test of significance applied to the difference expressed as z(r1-r2). In each case, a one-tailed test was used to determine if the correlation for the high status group was higher than that for the low status group. Chapter 5 shows the results of this analysis.

Also, three basic approaches were attempted to examine the joint or simultaneous moderator effects of high status family and college backgrounds: logit analysis, multiple regression, and a comparison of Pearson correlation coefficients using respondents separated into a high versus low group on the basis of a combined measure of elite background. The results of these analyses were disappointing when compared with an examination of the moderator effects of these factors individually. Neither the logit analysis nor the multiple regression showed any influence of the combined status moderator, while the Pearson correlations revealed little improvement in prediction compared to the effect of elite family status alone.

Logit analyses were applied to two groups of respondents separated on the basis of high versus low combined family and college status, and the results were compared to reveal any differences between the two groups. The three-variable sequence consisting of expectations

about life, disconfirmed expectancies about life, and personal alienation was used as the basis for the logit models.

A combined measure of elite background was formed using the average of the judges' ratings of the undergraduate college and the Duncan scale rating of the father's occupation. Both these scales were standardized to the same mean (20) and standard deviation (2.0). These standardized scales were then summated, giving a combined scale with equal weight given to each of the two component measures of elite background. Those respondents falling above the median on the combined scale formed the high status group, and those falling below the median formed the low status group.

Exhibit 8 (next page) shows the results of fitting the same three logit models to each group of respondents. Two of the three models fit the observed data for the high status group, while all three models fit the low status group. In all cases, standardized residuals were well within the acceptable range. The results of this analysis give little basis for drawing conclusions about differences in patterns of disconfirmed expectancies about life and personal alienation between groups of respondents with high versus low status backgrounds.

Exhibit 8

Results of Logit Analysis of Respondents with High Versus Low Status on Measure of Combined College and Family Background

Model	df	High Status Group (n = 196)		Low Status Group (n = 189)	
		G^2	p.	G^2	p.
ED, DA	2	2.56	.28	.52	.77
ED, EA	2	20.17	.00	3.11	.21
ED, DA, EA	1	1.06	.30	.34	.56

Although multiple regression analysis ordinarily is not used to examine interaction effects among independent variables, Weisberg (1980) suggests a procedure which can sometimes be used to test the significance of interaction effects in a regression framework. This method consists of adding a multiplicative term to the regression equation for each of the interactions to be tested. A stepwise procedure is then used to enter the composite (interaction) terms into the equation only after the terms corresponding to the main effects have already been entered.

Applying this method, a multiple regression was conducted to predict personal alienation using the independent variables shown in Exhibit 9 (next page). The first four terms corresponding to the main effects were standardized to a mean of 20 and a standard deviation of 2.0, while the second four transformation terms consisted of the component standardized variables multiplied together as indicated. A stepwise procedure was used with the interaction terms tested for possible entry into the equation only after the main effects had been examined. An F-level of 1.0 to enter was used.

However, in the regression equation resulting from this analysis, only the first two main effects entered the equation. None of the interaction effects entered. The

Exhibit 9

Independent Variables Used in Multiple Regression Analysis of Moderator Effects

Main Effects:

disconfirmed expectancies about life
disconfirmed expectancies about work
status level of family
status level of college

Interaction Effects:

disconfirmed expectancies about life X status level of family
disconfirmed expectancies about life X status level of college
disconfirmed expectancies about work X status level of family
disconfirmed expectancies about work X status level of college

results of this analysis also give little assistance in estimating the moderator effects of combined family and college background.

The scale of combined college and family status previously used for the logit analysis was used again to separate respondents into two groups for a correlational analysis. Different groupings of respondents had been tried (top half versus bottom half, top one-third versus bottom two-thirds, etc.), and the grouping showing the largest moderator effect was the top one-third versus bottom two-thirds. The results of this correlational analysis using a combined measure of college and family background to separate respondents will be compared to the results of each of these background factors separately in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

This chapter will report the findings of the study and discuss some of their implications. As explained in the previous chapter, several different statistical methods were used to test the hypotheses of the study. This chapter will first present the findings of the simple correlational analysis followed by the results of the log linear modeling approach to one particular area of the overall model. Subsequently, results of the multiple regressions to predict each of the nine dependent variables will be presented. Finally, the role of elite family and college background factors as moderators between disconfirmed expectancies and alienation will be examined.

Simple Correlational Analysis

Exhibit 10 (following pages) contains five tables of simple correlations, with each table testing one of the major hypotheses of the study as stated in Chapter 3. Generally the magnitude of the correlations is rather low (from about r = .10 to .25) even when statistical significance is achieved. The following discussion of each hypothesis separately will show that the hypotheses with strongest levels of support involved relationships among variables at adjacent stages of the model. In contrast, little support was shown for the integrated model which predicted a number of relationships between independent variables at Stage 1 of the model (dimensions of early adult experience) and dependent variables at Stage 4 (alienation and major life changes).

The first major hypothesis of the study predicted significant relationships between the five dimensions of early adult experience and high expectations for fulfillment in terms of life, career, and societal change. The first table in Exhibit 10 shows that each of the five characteristics of early adult experience were significantly correlated with high expectations for at least one of the subgroups (males versus females and students versus non-students). Graduation from a prestigious college showed a significant correlation with

Exhibit 10

Tables of simple correlation coefficients testing each of the five hypotheses of the study. Analyses were based on only those respondents graduating in 1977 and before. In addition, subsamples of males, females, students, and non-students were analyzed separately. The correlation coefficient for the entire sample was used if it was significant at the .05 level or better. When only a subsample coefficient was significant, that figure was used.

Hypothesis 1: Early adult experiences (stage 1 variables) will be positively related to high expectations (stage 2 variables).

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	Hypothesis Supported?	Degree of Relationship
1). Graduation from elite college (judges' rating of prestige)	High expectations for:		
	life	No	NS
	career	Yes	r. = .11, (p. = .02)
	(societal change	No prediction made)	r. = .10, (p. = .027)
2). High socio-economic family background	High expectations for:		
	life	Yes, for non-students only	For non-students, r. = .15, (p. = .04)
	career	No	NS
3). High challenge in first job	High expectations for:		
	life	Yes, for males only	For males, r. = .12, (p. = .04)
	career	No	For males, r. = .11, (p. = .07) For females, r. = -.16, (p. = .03) Reverse of prediction
High excitement in first job	life	Yes	r. = .10, (p. = .035)
	career	Yes, for males only	For males, r. = .16, (p. = .013)

Hypothesis 1 (Continued)

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	Hypothesis Supported?	Degree of Relationship
4). Graduation from college 1965-1970	High expectations for:		
	life	No	NS
	career	No	r. = -.12, (p. = .015) Reverse of prediction
	societal change	Yes, for females only	For females, r. = .22, (p. = .003)
5). Liberal activist orientation during college	High expectations for:		
	societal change	Yes	r. = .21, (p. = .000)

Hypothesis 2: Disconfirmed expectancies about life and career (stage 3 variables) will be positively related to alienation from the need for meaningful work (stage 4 variable).

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	Hypothesis Supported?	Degree of Relationship
Disconfirmed expectancies about:	Alienation from the need for meaningful work		
life		No	For males, r. = -.14, (p. =.025) Reverse of prediction
career		No	NS

Hypothesis 3: Disconfirmed expectancies about life, career, and societal change (stage 3 variables) will be positively related to alienation and major life changes (stage 4 variables).

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	Hypothesis Supported?	Degree of Relationship
Disconfirmed expectancies about life	Personal alienation (direct measure)	Yes	r. = .32, (p. = .000)
	Social alienation (direct measure)	Yes	r. = .24, (p. = .000)
	Alienation from occupation or profession	Yes	r. = .15, (p. = .004)
	Personal alienation (projective measure)	Yes	r. = .10, (p. = .04)
	Social alienation (projective measure)	No	NS
	Major life changes: divorce	Yes	r. = .10, (p. = .03)
	therapy	Yes, for non-students only	For non-students, r. = .18, (p. = .02)
	occupational change	No	For non-students, r. = -.19, (p. = .01) Reverse of prediction
Disconfirmed expectations about career	Personal alienation (direct)	Yes	r. = .48, (p. = .000)
	Social alienation (direct)	No	NS
	Alienation from occupation	Yes	r. = .34, (p. = .000)
	Personal alienation (projective)	No	NS
	Social alienation (projective)	No	NS

Hypothesis 3 (Continued)

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	Hypothesis Supported?	Degree of Relationship
Disconfirmed expectancies about career	Major life changes:		
	divorce	No	NS
	therapy	Yes	r. = .10, (p. = .04)
	occupational change	No	For non-students, r. = -.20, (p. = .01) Reverse of prediction
Disconfirmed expectancies about societal change	Personal alienation (direct)	No	NS
	Social alienation (direct)	No	NS
	Alienation from occupation	Yes, for females only and for students only	For females, r. = .15, (p. = .04) For students, r. = .14, (p. = .02)
	Personal alienation (projective)	Yes	r. = .21, (p. = .000)
	Social alienation (Projective)	Yes	r. = .12, (p. = .01)
	Major life changes:		
	divorce	No	NS
	therapy	Yes	r. = .11 (p. = .02)
	occupational change	No	NS

Hypothesis 4: Early adult experiences (stage 1 variables) will be positively related to alienation and major life changes (stage 4 variables). (Note: these predictions are derived from previous hypotheses and are statistically dependent on them,)

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	Hypothesis Supported?	Degree of Relationship
1). Graduation from elite college (judges' rating of prestige)	Alienation from the need for meaningful work	No	NS
	Personal alienation (direct)	No	NS
	Social alienation (direct)	No	NS
	Alienation from occupation	No	NS
	Personal alienation (projective)	Yes, for students only	For students, r. = .12, (p. = .041)
	Social alienation (projective)	No	NS
	Major life changes:		
	divorce	No	NS
	therapy	Yes	r. = .28, (p. = .000)
	occupational change	No	NS
2). High socio-economic family background	Alienation from the need for meaningful work	No	NS
	Personal alienation (direct)	No	r. = -.10, (p. = .03) Reverse of prediction
	Social alienation (direct)	No	NS
	Alienation from occupation	No	r. = -.12, (p. = .02) Reverse of prediction

Hypothesis 4 (Continued)

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	Hypothesis Supported?	Degree of Relationship
High socio-economic family background	Personal alienation (projective)	No	NS
	Social alienation (projective)	No	NS
	Major life changes: divorce	No	NS
	therapy	Yes	r. = .16 (p. = .001)
	occupational change	No	NS
3). High challenge in first job	Alienation from need for meaningful work	No	r. = -.10, (p. = .03) Reverse of prediction
	Personal alienation (direct)	No	NS
	Social alienation (direct)	No	r. = -.11, (p. = .02) Reverse of prediction
	Alienation from occupation	No	NS
	Personal alienation (projective)	No	r. = -.12, (p. = .01) Reverse of prediction
	Social alienation (projective)	No	r. = -.15, (p. = .003) Reverse of prediction
	Major life changes: divorce	No	NS
	therapy	No	r. = -.12, (p. = .01) Reverse of prediction
	occupational change	No	r. = -.13, (p. = .008) Reverse of prediction

Hypothesis 4 (Continued)

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	Hypothesis Supported?	Degree of relationship
High excitement in first job	Alienation from need for meaningful work	No	r. = -.11, (p. = .02) Reverse of prediction
	Personal alienation (direct)	No	r. = -.10, (p. = .03) Reverse of prediction
	Social alienation (direct)	No	r. = -.13, (p. = .01) Reverse of prediction
	Alienation from occupation	No	r. = -.12, (p. = .02) Reverse of prediction
	Personal alienation (projective)	No	r. = -.13, (p. = .01) Reverse of prediction
	Social alienation (projective)	No	r. = -.13, (p. = .01) Reverse of prediction
	Major life changes: divorce	No	NS
	therapy	No	r. = -.12, (p. =.02) Reverse of prediction
	occupational change	No	r. = -.15, (p. = .003) Reverse of prediction
4). Graduation from college 1965-1970	Alienation from need for meaningful work	No	NS
	Personal alienation (direct)	No	NS
	Social alienation (direct)	No	r. = -.10, (p. = .03) Reverse of prediction
	Alienation from occupation	No	NS
	Personal alienation (projective)	No	NS
	Social alienation (projective)	Yes	r. = .09, (p. = .05)

Hypothesis 4 (Continued)

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	Hypothesis Supported?	Degree of Relationship
Graduation from college 1965-1970	Major life changes:		
	divorce	No	NS
	therapy	Yes, for females only	For females, r. = .18, (p. = .016)
	occupational change	No	NS
5). Liberal activist orienation during college	Alienation from need for meaningful work	No	NS
	Personal alienation (direct)	No	NS
	Social alienation (direct)	No	NS
	Alienation from occupation	No	NS
	Personal alienation (projective)	Yes	r. = .12, (p. = .02)
	Social alienation (projective)	Yes	r. = .10, (p. = .04)
	Major life changes:		
	divorce	Yes	r. = .10, (p. = .03)
	therapy	Yes	r. = .16, (p. = .001)
	occupational change	Yes	r. = .11, (p. = .02)

Hypothesis 5: A social desirability/social conformity view of alienation (perception of one's friends and associates as having been alienated people) will be positively related to alienation and major life changes (stage 4 variables).

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	Hypothesis Supported?	Degree of Relationship
Belief that friends and associates have experienced high degree of personal alienation	Alienation from need for meaningful work	Yes	r. = .11, (p. = .016)
	Personal alienation (direct)	Yes	r. = .12, (p. =.015)
	Social alienation (direct)	Yes	r. = .19, (p. = .000)
	Alienation from occupation	Yes	r. = .14, (p. = .006)
	Personal alienation (projective)	Yes	r. = .15, (p. = .003)
	Social alienation (projective)	Yes	r. = .13, (p. = .007)
	Major life changes divorce	No	NS
	therapy	No	NS
	occupational change	Yes	r. = .12, (p. = .01)
Belief that friends and associates have experienced high degree of social alienation	Alienation from need for meaningful work	No	NS
	Personal alienation (direct)	Yes	r. = .15, (p. = .003)
	Social alienation (direct)	Yes	r. = .18, (p. = .000)

Hypothesis 5 (Continued)

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	Hypothesis Supported?	Degree of relationship
Belief that friends and associates have experienced high degree of social alienation	Alienation from occupation	Yes	r. = .15, (p. = .004)
	Personal alienation (projective)	Yes	r. = .18, (p. = .000)
	Social alienation (projective)	Yes	r. = .15, (p. = .002)
	Major life changes:		
	divorce	No	NS
	therapy	No	NS
	occupational change	No	NS

expectations about career for the entire sample, and high excitement in the first job related to high expectations for life. Also, a liberal activist orientation during college was significantly related to expectations for societal change. A finding not predicted was that graduation from a prestigious college was related to expectations for societal change.

For the male subgroup only, challenge in the first job after college was significantly correlated with expectations for life, while excitement in the first job was significantly related to expectations for career. For females, graduation during the period 1965 through 1970 was significantly related to expectations for societal change. High socio-economic class family background showed a significant correlation with expectations for life only for the non-student group.

Although it is not clear why some of the predictions are supported for some subsamples and not for others, it is evident that these hypotheses are supported to a much greater extent than would be expected on the basis of chance. Of the twelve specific predictions tested, three were significant in the predicted direction for the entire sample while four were significant in the predicted direction for one of the subsamples. Four were not

significant, and only one was significant in the opposite direction from the prediction.

The second major hypothesis of the study was that disconfirmed expectancies about life and career would be related to alienation from the need for meaningful work. The second table in Exhibit 10 shows that this hypothesis was not supported for either the entire sample or any of the four subsamples.

The third hypothesis was that disconfirmed expectancies about life, career, and societal change would be positively related to alienation and to major life changes. As the third table in Exhibit 10 indicates, the data showed a high level of support for this prediction. In terms of the entire sample, disconfirmed expectancies about life showed a significant relationship with all measures of alienation except the projective measure of social alienation. Disconfirmed expectancies about life also showed a significant relationship with divorce.

Disconfirmed expectancies about career resulted in significant relationships with the direct measure of personal alienation, alienation from one's occupation or profession, and with therapy. For the entire sample, disconfirmed expectancies about societal change was related only to having been a client in therapy or counseling.

In addition to significant relationships involving the entire sample, a number of predicted relationships were significant for only one of the subsamples. Generally, the non-students (n = 140) showed greater relationships between disconfirmed expectancies and major life changes than did the students (n = 213). For the non-student group, disconfirmed expectancies about life were positively related to therapy and to divorce as was predicted. However, the non-students also showed negative relationships (reverse of prediction) between both disconfirmed expectancies about work and about life with occupational change.

One possible interpretation of this pattern of relationships may be that for the non-student group, occupational change may serve as a way of effectively reducing disconfirmed expectancies about work and about life, resulting in a negative correlation between disconfirmed expectancies and previously completed occupational change. On the other hand, divorce and entry into therapy or counseling may have been an ineffective method of dealing with these disconfirmed expectancies, resulting in a continued positive correlation between disconfirmed expectancies and both divorce and therapy.

In contrast to the non-students, the student sample showed positive (predicted) relationships only between

disconfirmed expectancies about work and about societal change with therapy. One possible interpretation of these results is that the student group was dealing with disconfirmed expectancies about life and about societal change in another way than the non-students, possibly by participating in a graduate degree program. Further analysis showed that both disconfirmed expectancies about life and about societal change were both correlated with graduate school attendance ($r = .14$, $p = .005$; $r = .17$, $p = .001$), providing some further support for this interpretation.

The fourth major hypothesis predicted positive relationships between the five dimensions of early adult experience and the dependent variables alienation and major life changes. The corresponding table in Exhibit 10 shows very little support for this hypothesis. In most cases, these background variables were not significantly related to alienation. However, excitement and challenge in the first job after college often showed negative relationships with alienation (reverse of prediction). This finding suggests that challenge and excitement in the first job had generally positive effects on one's later life which outweighed any possible negative effects resulting from unrealistically high expectations and subsequent disconfirmed expectancies. Another possible

explanation for this finding is that less alienated individuals tended to view their initial jobs after college as more challengineg and exciting than did the more alienated individuals in the sample.

In terms of major life changes, however, the data showed some correlations with the dimensions of early adult experience. For the entire sample, high socio-economic family background was related to therapy. For the female subsample only, graduation from college during 1965 through 1970 was related to therapy and graduation from a prestigious college to divorce. These findings tentatively suggest that given the same degree of alienation, a person with a privileged background may be more likely to make major life changes than would a person without a privileged background.

Another somewhat consistent finding is that a liberal activist orientation during college was related not only to both projective measures of alienation but also to major life changes. This finding will be further explored in the following section on the results of log linear modeling.

The last hypothesis was that a social desirability/conformity view of alienation (a perception of one's acquaintances as having been alienated people) would be positively related to alienation and to major

life changes. The corresponding table in Exhibit 10 shows that a social desirability/conformity view of alienation generally was related to alienation but not to major life changes. However, the perception of others as personally alienated was significantly related to occupational change. This finding may indicate that a person who had made a significant occupational change was likely to view former associates as not doing what they really wanted to do with their lives.

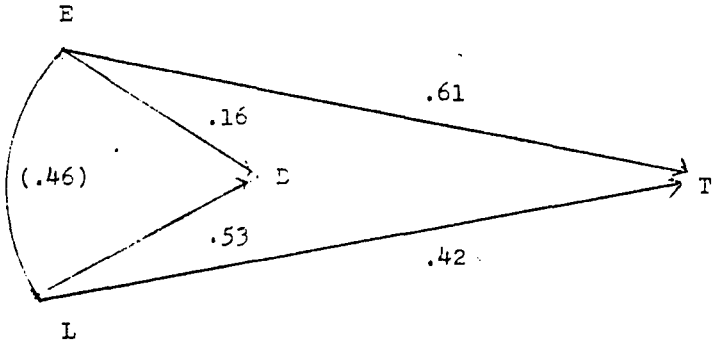
Log Linear Modeling

As explained in the previous chapter, log linear modeling was applied to examine the sequential relationships among a liberal activist orientation during college, high expectations about societal change, disconfirmed expectancies about societal change, and entering therapy or counseling. Exhibit 11 (next page) shows the model which provided an acceptable fit to the data and gave the most information about the relationships among the variables. As Exhibit 11 shows, the final model has 6 degrees of freedom with a Chi-Square value of 5.39, giving an overall probability estimate of about .50.

At the outset, this model indicates a substantial correlation between a liberal activist orientation and

Exhibit 11

Combined Logit Model



Least Ratio Chi-Square Values for

Combined Model

	df	Chi-Square	
M_1	1	.08	
M_7	5	5.31	
	6	5.39	Combined Model

expectations for societal change. However, the model also shows that liberal activist orientation exerts a much stronger influence on disconfirmed expectancies about societal change than does expectations about societal change. This finding provides no support for the prediction that expectancies about societal change would be primarily responsible for disconfirmed expectancies about societal change.

At the next step, the logit analysis indicates that the odds on a person entering therapy or counseling are increased by having had a liberal activist orientation during college and having had high expectations for societal change. Contrary to the prediction, disconfirmed expectancies about societal change do not appear in this logit model as a predictor of entry into therapy or counseling.

This finding may indicate that while the correlations between the variables are supportive of the original prediction, the underlying relationships are different. The odds of entering into therapy or counseling may be influenced more by having a change-oriented (liberal activist) approach to life and high expectations for societal change (high expectations of other people) than by disappointment with current socio-political conditions.

Multiple Regression Analysis

Multiple regression analysis was also used to test the hypotheses of the study by prediction the Stage 4 dependent variables (alienation and major life changes) on the basis of the variables at earlier stages of the model (background factors, original levels of expectation, and disconfirmed expectancies). Exhibit 12 shows the results of the cross-validation regressions using half the respondents as a hold-out sample. One regression was performed for each of the nine dependent variables.

Many of the regression equations show support for the original predictions. Throughout most of the regressions, disconfirmed expectancies constitute strong predictors of alienation and major life changes. In addition, background factors and original levels of expectation sometimes exert strong effects, but often these effects are in the reverse direction from the prediction (that is, these variables have negative beta values). For example, a privileged background and high expectations for work and life frequently exert a negative effect on alienation, indicating that the overall effect of these factors on later life is positive.

In terms of the individual equations, some of the dependent variables showed substantially higher multiple R

Exhibit 12

Results of Validation Multiple Regressions to Predict Alienation and Major Life Changes[1]

	Multiple R
1. Alienation from the need for meaningful work	
disconfirmed expectancies about life	.02
disconfirmed expectancies about work	.04 (-)
2. Personal alienation (direct measure)	
disconfirmed expectancies about work	.49
expectations about work	.56 (-)
disconfirmed expectations about life	.60
expectations about societal change	.61
3. Social alienation (direct measure)	
views others as socially alienated	.27
disconfirmed expectancies about life	.32
level of excitement in first job	.35 (-)
expectations about work	.36 (-)
graduated from college during 1965-70	.37 (-)
4. Alienation from occupation or profession	
disconfirmed expectancies about work	.39
expectations about work	.46 (-)
graduated from college during 1965-70	.47

[1]Results show the increased multiple R as each independent variable is added to the equation. A negative beta value is indicated by (-) after the corresponding multiple R. Results are outlined in terms of each of the nine dependent variables.

5.	Personal alienation (projective measure)	
	views others as socially alienated	.15
	level of excitement in first job	.16 (-)
6.	Social alienation (projective measure)	
	level of excitement in first job	.18 (-)
	disconfirmed expectancies about work	.22
	views others as socially alienated	.24
	prestige of college (judges' rating)	.26 (-)
	expectations about societal change	.27 (-)
7.	Divorce	
	expectations about work	.18
	liberal activist orientation during college	.23
	disconfirmed expectancies about life	.26
	views others as socially alienated	.28
8.	Therapy	
	prestige of college (judges' rating)	.27
	liberal activist orientation during college	.33
	disconfirmed expectancies about life	.34
	expectations about life	.35 (-)
9.	Occupational change	
	liberal activist orientation during college	.12
	disconfirmed expectancies about life	.17 (-)
	disconfirmed expectancies about work	.18 (-)
	level of challenge in first job	.19 (-)
	views others as personally alienated	.20

values than did others. Two equations which showed unacceptably low multiple R values attempted to predict alienation from the need for meaningful work (R = .04) and the projective measure of personal alienation (R = .16).

However, the other regressions showed generally acceptable levels of multiple R and consistent patterns of independent varibles contributing to the explained variance. In terms of the direct measures of alienation, the regression to predict personal alienation showed a multiple R of .61. Disconfirmed expectancies about work made the largest contribution to the explained variance. Disconfirmed expectancies about life also entered the equation in the predicted direction, while expectations about work entered the equation with a negative beta value.

The regression to predict the direct measure of social alienation showed a multiple R value of .37, with viewing acquaintances as socially alienated (having a social desirability/conformity view of alienation) explaining the largest part of the variance. However, disconfirmed expectancies about life was the next variable to enter the equation, followed by several background factors which exerted a negative effect on social alienation.

The variance in alienation from one's occupation or profession was largely explained by disconfirmed expectancies about work. However, expectations about work exerted a negative influence on this form of alienation. Graduating from college during 1965 through 1970 also explained a minor part of the variance.

The regression to predict the projected measure of social alienation achieved a multiple R of .27. A number of variables entered this equation, but excitement in the first job after college explained the largest part of the variance (negative direction) followed by disconfirmed expectancies about work.

In the regression to predict a respondent's having been divorced, high expectations about work explained the largest part of the variance. A liberal activist orientation during college, disconfirmed expectancies about life, and seeing others as socially alienated contributed to explaining the remaining variance.

Prestige of the undergraduate institution was the variable responsible for explaining the largest amount of the variance in having been a client in therapy or counseling. The next two variables to enter the equation were a liberal activist orientation during college and disconfirmed expectancies about life.

Finally, the regression to explain completion of at least one major occupational change showed a different pattern from the other regressions. Liberal activist orientation explained a substantial part of the variance. However, the next two variables to enter the equation, disconfirmed expectancies about life and disconfirmed expectancies about work, showed negative beta values. This finding is consistent with the earlier interpretation that having successfully completed a major occupational change would result in reduced disconfirmed expectancies for many of these individuals.

Moderator Analysis

A major finding of this study is that status levels of family and college backgrounds often moderate the relationships between disconfirmed expectancies and alienation. Generally, these correlations are higher for respondents with high rather than low status backgrounds. The three tables in Exhibit 13 show these moderator effects for respondents with high versus low status college backgrounds, high versus low socio-economic family backgrounds, and high versus low on a combined measure of these two aspects of background status.

Exhibit 13A

Pearson Correlations Between Disconfirmed Expectancies and Alienation for Respondents Graduated from High Status versus Low Status Colleges

Correlations between disconfirmed expectancies about life and . . .

	Graduates of Low Status Colleges	Graduates of High Status Colleges
Personal alienation *	r. = .17 (n = 115)	r. = .40 (n = 129)
Social alienation	.07 (118)	.16 (131)
Alienation from occupation	.07 (102)	.12 (112)

Correlations between disconfirmed expectancies about work and . . .

	Graduates of Low Status Colleges	Graduates of High Status Colleges
Personal alienation *	r. = .39 (n = 99)	r. = .57 (n = 113)
Social alienation	.08 (101)	.06 (115)
Alienation from occupation	.29 (102)	.40 (112)

* Correlation for high status group significantly higher at .05 level, 1-tailed test

Exhibit 13B

Pearson Correlations Between Disconfirmed Expectancies and Alienation for Respondents from High Status versus Low Status Family Backgrounds

Correlations between disconfirmed expectancies about life and . . .

	Low Status Family Background		High Status Family Background		$^{2}r_1-r_2$
	r.	(n)	r.	(n)	
Personal alienation	.19	(284)	.57	(108)	3.37***
Social alienation	.12	(290)	.32	(110)	2.70*
Alienation from occupation	-.02	(253)	.49	(95)	4.11***

Correlation for high status group significantly higher (1-tailed test) at:

* .05 level
** .01 level
***.001 level

Exhibit 13C

Moderator Effect of Combined Measure of College and Family Status

Correlations between disconfirmed expectancies about life and . . .

	Combined Family and College Background				
	Low Status		High Status		$Z_{r_1-r_2}$
	r.	(n)	r.	(n)	
Personal alienation	.21	(244)	.48	(141)	2.53**
Social alienation	.12	(249)	.32	(144)	1.81*
Alienation from occupation	.08	(217)	.18	(124)	NS

Correlation for high status group significantly higher (1-tailed test) at:

* .05 level

** .01 level

***.001 level

Exhibit 13A shows that prestige level of the undergraduate college moderates the relationships between personal alienation with both disconfirmed expectancies about life and disconfirmed expectancies about work. This difference is significant at the .05 level (1-tailed). Also, Exhibit 13B shows that socio-economic class background exerts a highly significant moderator effect between disconfirmed expectancies about life and both personal alienation and alienation from one's occupation or profession. This moderator effect between disconfirmed expectancies about life and social alienation is significant but at a lower level.

Exhibit 13C shows that the moderator effect of the combined measure of family and college background is generally less significant than is the effect of family background alone. High status family background alone exerts at least as strong a moderator effect as the combined measure of college and family background. Moreover, elite family background alone exerts a highly significant moderator effect in the case of occupational alienation while the combined background status measure does not. These data seem to indicate that a combined measure of elite college and family background adds little to the analysis over and above that provided by the family status measure alone.

One possible reason for the apparently stronger influence of family background could be that family experience occurs earlier than college experience. Another possible reason is that a more highly researched and validated scale (Duncan's Socio- economic Index) was used to measure family background than was used to measure prestige of the undergraduate college. It is also likely that both college and family background factors combined with disconfirmed expectancies about life account for largely the same variance in the alienation measures, since the use of both factors jointly did not improve prediction of alienation. However, elite college experience alone seems to moderate the relationship between disconfirmed expectancies about work and personal alienation.

These results give support to Sarason's (1977) hypothesis that disconfirmed expectancies are particularly likely to result in alienation among individuals from elite colleges and high socio-economic status family backgrounds. Also, these results seem to show that high status college and family backgrounds affect alienation not through raising the level of early expectations to unrealistic levels, but by increasing the likelihood that disconfirmed expectancies, once they occur, will result in alienation. Thus, high status backgrounds may affect

alienation not directly but by moderating the influence of disconfirmed expectancies on alienation.

Addendum to Findings

The general procedure underlying the disconfirmed expectancy measures used in this study has been called into question by Wall and Payne (1973). These authors focus specifically on need deficiency measures in the studies initiated by Porter, but a number of their comments also pertain to other types of discrepancy scores. Throughout this research, disconfirmed expectancies have been computed as the difference between a person's original expectations at college graduation minus levels of current fulfillment on a number of dimensions pertaining to work, life, and societal change. Disconfirmed expectancy scores on individual items subsequently were cumulated in each of these areas to yield three composite disconfirmed expectancy scales. These disconfirmed expectancy scales have therefore served as composite measures of current levels of non-fulfillment in relation to original expectations.

The major criticism of deficiency scores made by Wall and Payne (1973) which can be applied to this study is that a deficiency score rarely increases predictive power

beyond that of each of its components taken separately. If Wall and Payne's (1973) point is applicable here, either the levels of original expectation or the levels of current non-fulfillment taken alone would explain as much of the variation in the alienation measures as will the disconfirmed expectancy scores.

Tables 14a, b, and c (following three pages) show that this prediction is largely true. Most often the current levels of non-fulfillment show a higher correlation with alienation than do the disconfirmed expectancy measures. However, occasionally original levels of expectation have higher correlations with alienation than do disconfirmed expectancies.

This analysis indicates that current levels of non-fulfillment are largely predictive of alienation independent of original levels of expectation. However, the pattern as well as the magnitude of results are very similar to the ones obtained by using disconfirmed expectancy measures. In addition, the concepts of current levels of non-fulfillment and disconfirmed expectancies (current levels of fulfillment in relation to original expectations) are highly related. The results of the study therefore seem largely unchanged by these findings.

However, these results seem to suggest that in future studies a simple measure of current non-fulfillment should

Exhibit 14A

Comparison of Disconfirmed Expectancies about Work with Component Measures of Original Expectations and Current Satisfaction

Dependent Variable	Correlation with dependent variable: Disconfirmed Expectancies about Work	Current Level of Dissatisfaction	Partial Correlation[1]	Original Level of Expectation
Alienation from need for meaningful work	NS	NS	-.11*	-.13**
Personal alienation (direct measure)	.48***	.57***	NS	NS
Social alienation (direct measure)	NS	.14**	-.11*	NS
Alienation from occupation	.34***	.42***	NS	NS
Personal alienation (projective measure)	NS	NS	NS	NS
Social alienation (projective measure)	NS	NS	NS	NS
Divorce	NS	NS	NS	NS
Therapy	.10*	.13**	NS	NS
Occupational change	NS	NS	NS	NS

[1] Partial correlation of disconfirmed expectancies and each dependent variable with current level of satisfaction controlled

* p. $\leq$ .05
** p. $\leq$ .01
*** p. $\leq$ .001

Exhibit 14B

Comparison of Disconfirmed Expectancies about Life with Component Measures of Original Expectations and Current Satisfaction

Dependent Variable	Correlation with dependent variable: Disconfirmed Expectancies about Life	Current Level of Dissatisfaction	Partial Correlation[1]	Original Level of Expectation
Alienation from need for meaningful work	NS	NS	-.11*	-.11*
Personal alienation (direct measure)	.32***	.37***	.14**	NS
Social alienation (direct measure)	.24***	.34***	NS	NS
Alienation from occupation	.15**	.24***	NS	NS
Personal alienation (projective measure)	.10*	NS	NS	NS
Social alienation (projective measure)	NS	NS	NS	NS
Divorce	.10*	NS	.14**	NS
Therapy	NS	.14**	NS	NS
Occupational change	NS	NS	NS	NS

[1]Partial correlation of disconfirmed expectancies and each dependent variable with current level of satisfaction controlled

* $p. \leq .05$
** $p. \leq .01$
*** $p. \leq .001$

Exhibit 14C

Comparison of Disconfirmed Expectancies about Societal Change with Component Measures of Original Expectations and Current Satisfaction

	Correlation with dependent variable			
Dependent Variable	Disconfirmed Expectancies - Societal Change	Current Level of Dissatisfaction	Partial Correlation[1]	Original Level of Expectation
Personal alienation (direct measure)	NS	NS	NS	NS
Social alienation (direct measure)	NS	NS	NS	NS
Alienation from occupation	NS	NS	NS	NS
Personal alienation (projective measure)	.21***	.23***	.11*	NS
Social alienation (projective measure)	.12**	.22***	NS	NS
Divorce	NS	NS	NS	NS
Therapy	.11*	NS	.12*	.11*
Occupational change	NS	NS	NS	NS

[1] Partial correlation of disconfirmed expectancies and each dependent variable with current level of satisfaction controlled

* p. $\leq$ .05
** p. $\leq$ .01
*** p. $\leq$ .001

be used in place of disconfirmed expectancies. The simple level of current non-fulfillment usually produced slightly higher correlations with alienation than did disconfirmed expectancies. Considering the level of current non-fulfillment only in relation to level of original expectations seems to have deluted rather than sharpened its predictive ability. The second reason for using the current non-fulfillment measure alone is that a shorter measuring instrument can be used if levels of original expectation are omitted.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

This chapter will extend the findings of the present study by proposing a revised model incorporating the moderator effects described in the previous chapter. Subsequently, some of the possible underlying reasons for the differences between respondents with elite versus non-elite backgrounds will be considered, and some implications of the findings for both individuals and work organizations will be discussed.

Revised Model

The major finding of the study appears to be a relationship which was not predicted by the original model. This result is the moderator effects of elite college and family backgrounds on the relationship between disconfirmed expectancies and alienation. Generally, a stronger correlation exists between disconfirmed

expectancies and alienation for respondents with high status backgrounds than for those with low status backgrounds.

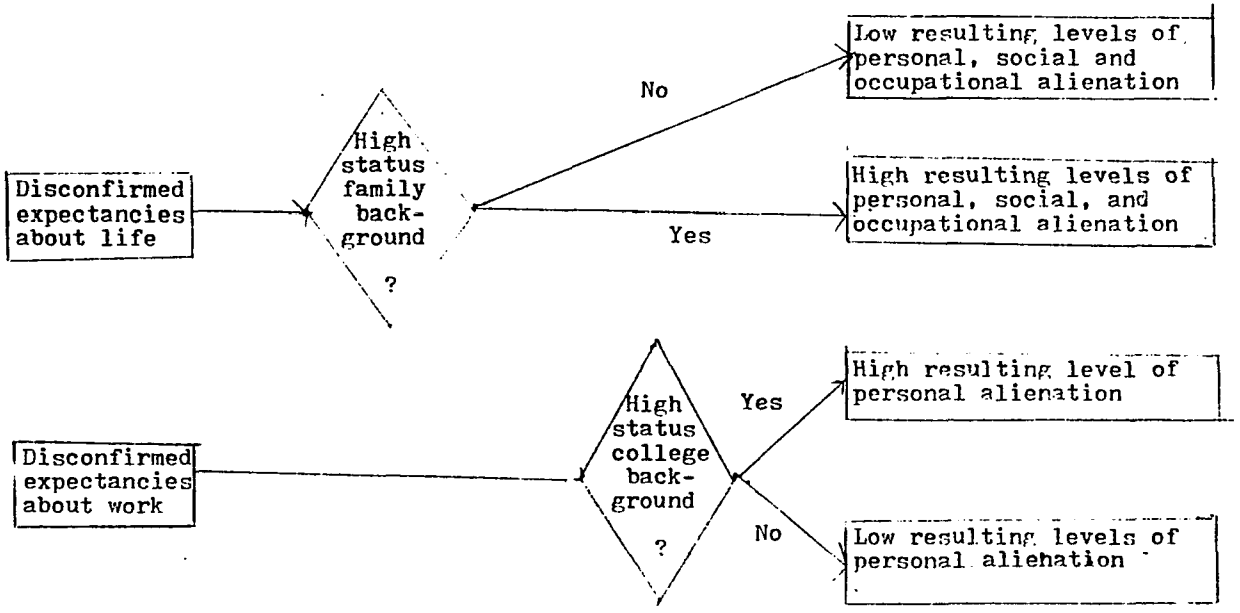
The discovery of these moderator effects combined with general lack of support for the proposed four-stage integrated model suggests that a new model is needed to better describe the actual relationships shown by the data. Exhibit 15 (next page) contains a tentative version of this revised model indicating how disconfirmed expectancies may influence alienation.

According to the revised model, disconfirmed expectancies about life in the presence of a high status family background lead to relatively high levels of personal and social alienation as well as alienation from one's occupation or profession. The consequences of disconfirmed expectancies about life are different for individuals with low status family backgrounds. For these individuals, disconfirmed expectancies about life lead to generally lower levels of personal, social, and occupational alienation.

In addition, disconfirmed expectancies about work are predicted to result in high personal alienation only for those individuals with elite college backgrounds. On the other hand, personal alienation is predicted to be relatively low for individuals high in disconfirmed

Exhibit 15

Revised Model Showing the Moderator Effect of Elite Family and College Background on the Relationship between Disconfirmed Expectancies and Alienation



◇ = moderator variable.

expectancies about work but having low status college backgrounds. Social and occupational alienation are expected to be unaffected by disconfirmed expectancies about work regardless of college background.

Although this revised model accurately describes the relationships among the variables in the present study, its generalizability to other groups of individuals with elite and non-elite backgrounds has not been established. Three possibilities exist in terms of the applicability of the model to other sets of data.

First, the model may overstate the differences between persons with elite versus non-elite backgrounds. In the actual universe of people with elite and non-elite experiences, there may be no differences or only negligible differences between these groups with respect to alienation resulting from disconfirmed expectancies. The differences between the two groups in this study could have arisen because of particular characteristics of the sample or because of flaws in the questionnaire instruments.

The second possibility is that the present study represents accurately the differences between individuals with elite and non-elite backgrounds. In this case, the conclusion could be generalized to other groups that disconfirmed expectancies often result in significantly

higher alienation for individuals with elite backgrounds than for those with non-elite backgrounds.

The third possibility is that the revised model understates the differences between the elite and non-elite groups in terms of their responsiveness to alienation. In this case, the actual differences between the elite and non-elite groups would be greater than shown by the present study, with individuals having elite backgrounds at even greater risk for alienation resulting from disconfirmed expectancies. The findings of the present study could have understated the actual differences between elite and non-elite groups because of either unrepresentativeness of the sample or insensitivity of the questionnaire instruments.

Further research is needed to determine whether significant differences in alienation as a response to disconfirmed expectancies generally exist between people with elite versus non-elite backgrounds. Replications of this study with similar questionnaire instruments as well as the development of new instruments are needed. In addition, longitudinal studies are required to investigate these questions without the methodological difficulties inherent in retrospective questionnaire studies.

Possible Reasons for Differences between Elite and Non-Elite Groups

One question arising from the results of this study is why individuals with elite backgrounds seem more susceptible to alienation as a result of disconfirmed expectancies than do individuals with non-elite backgrounds. Since this study did not investigate possible causes, only speculations can be made on the origins of these differences until further research is undertaken. Three contributing factors which may account for these differences are the attributions an individual makes about his or her privileged background, the comparisons with others in one's reference group, and difficulties in coping constructively with frustration.

A pattern of attributing one's privileged social and economic position in society to stable personal characteristics would be likely to result in a number of negative feelings when a person encounters disconfirmed expectancies. For example, some individuals may conclude that their abilities and personal characteristics are superior because they have grown up with wealth and social position. This attribution may also lead to a conscious or unconscious belief that an individual deserves to get whatever he or she wants because of superior personal qualities. These feelings of entitlement also may be

fostered by elite colleges and professional schools who select only a small fraction of the applicants having the best credentials in terms of grades and test scores.

Serious difficulties may arise when an individual who has attributed a privileged background to superior personal characteristics experiences disconfirmed expectancies or a major lack of satisfaction in life. Several possibilities emerge. First, this person may blame other people, society, or life in general for not providing the satisfaction to which he or she feels entitled. These feelings may lead to estrangement or alienation from other people (because they are withholding satisfaction) and from oneself (because superior personal abilities and characteristics are no longer capable of bringing satisfaction).

Another factor leading to increased alienation for privileged individuals encountering disconfirmed expectancies could be a tendency to compare or evaluate life circumstances in terms of a very successful and privileged reference group. For example, most individuals with elite family and college backgrounds have family, friends, and classmates with atypically high levels of wealth and social position. If an individual with an elite background and another person with a non-elite background were to encounter the same frustration or

disconfirmed expectancy, the person with the elite background may experience subjectively greater psychological pain because of evaluating his or her circumstances in terms of a privileged reference group. On the other hand, the person with the non-elite background would be comparing his or her situation to that of people with more modest levels of success and external appearances of satisfaction. Therefore this person with a non-elite background might be expected to experience less psychological pain than would a person with a more privileged background when confronted with similar disconfirmed expectancies.

A third possible reason for the vulnerability to alienation experienced by individuals with elite backgrounds may be that they have had fewer opportunities than persons with non-elite background to experience frustration. Consequently, they may be less adept than other less privileged individuals in dealing with disappointment and dissatisfaction because they have lacked sufficient opportunities to learn constructive coping responses.

Intelligent sons and daughters of wealthy and prominent families often are protected from many frustrations and constraints which are more typical of growing up in lower socio-economic class households. For

example, parents with money, intelligence, and status in the community often can protect their children from many frustrations, such as being unable to afford spending money or currently fashionable clothes. In addition, children of influential parents are less frequently the victims of arbitrary authority or violence in the school or neighborhood. As young adults, individuals from privileged families are less likely to be rejected from high status colleges because of inadequate preparation or to be unable to attend because of financial constraints.

Since individuals from elite backgrounds can be expected to have experienced less frustration during their early lives than other individuals, they may well have learned fewer constructive coping mechanisms for dealing with frustration and dissatisfaction. For example, redefining a goal or searching for alternate ways of achieving it may be considered constructive responses to frustration.

On the other hand, unconstructive approaches to frustration can involve "catastrophizing" or magnifying the loss or the discomfort involved as well as viewing the frustrating event as a personal affront (Ellis and Harper, 1975). These unconstructive responses to frustration could result in social alienation by encouraging the individual to view other people as enemies. In addition,

the individual may become less able and willing to set and achieve future goals to the extent that he or she magnifies and dwells on current frustration.

Additional research is needed to determine if prior exposure to frustration and learned coping patterns do in fact moderate the relationship between disconfirmed expectancies and alienation. If this prediction is correct, individuals with high status backgrounds will have experienced fewer frustrating events during their early lives and will show less constructive ways of coping with frustration than will individuals with low status backgrounds. In addition, individuals having constructive methods of coping with frustration would be expected to show a lower relationship between disconfirmed expectancies and alienation than would other individuals.

Implications of the Findings

If the revised model presented earlier in the chapter accurately represents reality, a number of implications exist for both individuals and for work organizations. In terms of individuals, persons with elite backgrounds are more at risk for alienation than others when upward career mobility is blocked or when other obstacles to satisfaction are present. On the other hand, elite family

and school backgrounds provide young adults with a number of advantages which facilitate career success. Therefore, an elite background seems to be dysfunctional only when dissatisfaction or disillusionment is encountered.

Since elite family and school backgrounds do provide a number of advantages, it would be unwise to discourage individuals from attending elite schools or to dissuade successful, financially secure parents from providing their children with material and intellectual benefits. However, individuals with elite backgrounds might be able to mitigate the effects of disconfirmed expectancies by modifying their attributional patterns (for example, by ascribing their privileged family background to good fortune rather than to their own personal characteristics).

In addition, these individuals might be well advised to develop their abilities to deal with frustration. Short-term counseling or therapy such as rational-emotive therapy (Ellis and Harper, 1975) might be used as a model for this type of training. Elite colleges and parents with high socio-economic status could help by not inculcating feelings of entitlement in young adults and by educating them in how to deal more constructively with frustration.

The proposed model also has a number of possible implications for work organizations. Since individuals with elite backgrounds often are susceptible to alienation as a result of disconfirmed expectancies, these individuals might be directed away from assignments where rewards are great but the probabilities of success are low. However, a substantial drawback to this approach is that not all persons with elite backgrounds become alienated as a result of disconfirmed expectancies, and not all persons with low status backgrounds have the ability to remain unalienated in the face of dissatisfaction.

A fairer approach for the individual employee and possibly a more effective one for the organization would be to develop a testing procedure (perhaps incorporated into the assessment center system) to identify those individuals with unrealistic feelings of entitlement and/or low abilities in dealing with frustration. Training or intervention strategies subsequently could be employed to encourage the individual to modify these aspects of his or her thinking patterns. Merely alerting employees who seem at risk for alienation resulting from disconfirmed expectancies might enable them to deal with the problem sufficiently on an individual basis.

Another method of dealing with this problem would be to modify work organizations so that frustration and disconfirmed expectancies result less frequently than in today's hierarchical organizations with their excessive emphasis on upward mobility. For example, more pluralistic organizational structures could be developed which permit the employee a number of alternative ways to advance in the organization as well as a number of different options for lateral mobility. Some organizations seem to have begun this process by adopting a dual track advancement system where individuals can climb either a managerial or a technical ladder where pay and other rewards are approximately equal at each level. Additional and more widespread modifications of organizational structures could give the individual increased options for satisfaction and fulfillment, consequently reducing the incidence of disconfirmed expectancies and subsequent alienation.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

This concluding chapter will evaluate the study from the perspectives of both content and methodology. In terms of content, the study accomplished its purpose in providing a preliminary test of an integrated version of the Korman (1977a) and Sarason (1977) theories. Although this study does not constitute a crucial experiment, it does add to the small but growing amount of knowledge in this area. The major finding of the study that elite family and college backgrounds act as moderators affecting the degree of relationship between disconfirmed expectancies and alienation had not been demonstrated previously in the literature. This finding also may give direction to further research in the area.

However, a major problem in studying meaningful and complex content issues such as alienation is that many serious difficulties arise in terms of research methodology (Argyris, 1973; Korman, undated). Thus, a

trade-off generally exists between studying meaningful content issues and using well-controlled research methods. This study reflects this dilemma by considering meaningful content issues but applying research techniques involving serious limitations. Basically, these limitations involve research design considerations and sampling issues.

Since the research design was correlational rather than experimental, only indirect and tentative inferences can be made about the causal relationships among the variables under study. For example, any correlations observed in the study could have resulted from an unidentified factor extraneous to the study. Further, some of the correlational relationships could have operated in an opposite direction from those predicted. For instance, high levels of alienation resulting from extraneous sources may have influenced some respondents to report high levels of disconfirmed expectancies.

In addition, the retrospective study design employed in this study has several limitations. First, subjects could not be randomly assigned to treatments nor could levels of the variables be measured before the treatment took place. This limitation leaves open the possibility that subjects may have self-selected themselves into different treatment classification groups and that pre-existing differences between subjects may have

accounted for the results. For example, respondents high in alienation may have been more likely than less alienated respondents to join activist movements in college. In a retrospective design, this possibility could not have been controlled or measured. However, a longitudinal study design which would have offered more control was impossible because the events under study had already occurred.

In terms of sampling, the fact that most respondents were M.B.A. students has introduced possible confounding effects into the analysis. For example, some responses may have resulted from the stresses of working full-time while earning a degree, including chronic fatigue or limited time to spend with family or friends. Also, a possibly strong self-selection factor may have been operating in that most respondents had chosen to pursue an M.P.A. degree. Persons with radical anti-business views, for example, are likely to have been under-represented in this sample. This self-selection factor may have resulted in a restriction of range for some of the independent variables, such as liberal activist orientation. Students in M.B.A. programs may have been less activist during their college years than were other students.

Another limitation imposed by the sample is lack of generalizability of the findings to other occupational

groups. Medical doctors, lawyers, journalists, and other similar professionals were under-represented in this sample, and their experiences may have been very different from those of M.B.A. students. In addition, the experiences of M.B.A. students in schools outside the New York area may have differed from those in the New York City area from which this sample was taken.

Also, respondents in agreeing to complete the questionnaire may have differed in many ways from other individuals. For example, unusually alienated people may have either declined to complete the questionnaire because of apathy or may have been unusually eager to help because of a desire to express their discontent.

Another source of difficulty is that a disproportionate number of respondents who either graduated from elite colleges or graduated during 1965 through 1970 were obtained through personal contacts rather than in M.B.A. classes. Therefore, the differences between the graduates of prestigious colleges and those of non-prestigious colleges could have arisen from differences in the sampling methods used for each group rather than from the differences in their college experiences.

On the other hand, the study design offered several major advantages. A primary consideration at the outset

of the study was to obtain a sample size of several hundred respondents, and this goal was readily accomplished with this sampling procedure. A further advantage was that students with diverse undergraduate and early adult experiences were included in the study, permitting the influences of these variables to be estimated. A wide range of undergraduate institutions, family backgrounds, years of college graduation, experiences in the first full-time job, and levels of activist orientation were represented. Finally, social desirability effects seem unlikely to have occurred with questionnaires submitted anonymously. Self-administered questionnaires also eliminated interviewers and the associated possibility of interviewer bias.

In summary, this study provided meaningful information about alienation among managers and professionals, an important area where research is greatly needed. Some serious limitations of methodology, however, limit generalizability of the findings. Replications of this study as well as other studies using different research methods are needed to further examine the problem of alienation among young managers and professionals.

Appendix A

Questionnaire and brief description of the study
given to respondents after completing the questionnaire

Work Experience and Values Survey

This questionnaire attempts to investigate the work experiences and values of managers, professionals, and graduate students engaged in or preparing for career positions of responsibility.

I would appreciate your help in this research. It will serve in part as the basis of my doctoral dissertation. You need not sign your name, and the information you provide will be used for research purposes only.

Thank you for your help.

Dorothy Lang

Dorothy Lang

Ph.D. Candidate,
City University of New York

Work Experience and Values Questionnaire

General Instructions

Are you currently employed full-time (at least 30 hours per week)?

Yes ___	No ___
Answer all questions in the following sections.	If no, have you held any full-time job(s) since graduating from undergraduate college?
	Yes ___ — Omit only questions marked *
	No ___ — Omit questions marked * and **

Section 1: Experience History

An important part of life consists of having expectations about our futures. Sometimes life matches our early expectations, and sometimes it does not. This section compares the expectations of later life you held at the time of your graduation from college to your current levels of fulfillment in each of a number of areas.

For each of the following statements, please put an "X" on the line which best indicates how much that statement agrees with your own personal experiences.

	Completely Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Mostly Agree	Completely Agree
When I first graduated from college, I expected that my future career (paid work) would provide:					
1. high income and the resulting benefits	___	___	___	___	___
2. opportunities for personal creativity, growth, and self-expression	___	___	___	___	___
3. opportunities for challenge and meaningful achievement . . .	___	___	___	___	___
4. relief from boredom and routine	___	___	___	___	___
5. rapid promotion to higher levels of responsibility	___	___	___	___	___
When I first graduated from college, I expected that my future life would provide:					
6. rewarding marriage and family relationships	___	___	___	___	___
7. continued ties with parents and siblings	___	___	___	___	___

	Completely Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Mostly Agree	Completely Agree
8. rewarding friendships					
9. inner peace and contentment					
10. new and exciting experiences					
When I first graduated from college, I expected the following <u>future changes in society</u>:					
11. more equal distribution of wealth and power					
12. an expansion of liberal programs, such as "Vista" and "Head Start"					
13. a reduction in society's materialistic values					
14. rapid integration of women into positions of responsibility					
15. a general lessening of sex-role stereotypes					
16. progress toward equal sharing of childcare and homemaking responsibilities between women and men					
17. substantial integration of minority groups into the mainstream of society					
* My current career (paid work) provides:					
1. high income and resulting benefits					
2. opportunities for personal creativity, growth, and self-expression					
3. opportunities for challenge and meaningful achievement					
4. relief from boredom and routine					
5. rapid promotion to higher levels of responsibility					
My current life provides:					
6. rewarding marriage and family relationships					
7. continued ties with parents and siblings					
8. rewarding friendships					
9. inner peace and contentment					
10. new and exciting experiences					
Currently society is experiencing:					
11. more equal distribution of wealth and power					
12. an expansion of liberal programs, such as "Vista" and "Head Start"					
13. a reduction in society's materialistic values					
14. rapid integration of women into positions of responsibility					
15. a general lessening of sex-role stereotypes					
16. progress toward equal sharing of childcare and homemaking responsibilities between women and men					
17. substantial integration of minority groups into the mainstream of society					

* Omit only if not currently employed full-time.

Section 2: Work Knowledge

This section examines people's knowledge about the world of work. Part A concerns the experiences of female managers and Part B the experiences of male managers. Please answer both parts.

For each question, please circle the number of the choice which best describes what you believe to be the correct answer. Even if you are completely unsure of the right answer, guess at the response you think is most likely to be correct.

Part A: Work experiences of female managers

In a recent study, the percentage of female managers who reported feeling chronic anxiety about failure on their jobs was about:

1. 10 percent 2. 30 percent 3. 60 percent 4. 80 percent PA

The percentage of married female managers who reported in a recent study that their sexual relationships with their spouses were inadequate is about:

1. 20 percent 2. 40 percent 3. 60 percent 4. 80 percent SA

The percentage of female managers confidentially reporting substantial levels of personal unhappiness is about:

1. 10 percent 2. 25 percent 3. 50 percent 4. 75 percent PA

The percentage of female managers privately reporting highly satisfactory marriages is about:

1. 15 percent 2. 40 percent 3. 60 percent 4. 85 percent SA

A survey of female managers showed that the percentage of these women who reported in confidence that their jobs required them frequently to act against their moral principles was:

1. 10 percent 2. 30 percent 3. 60 percent 4. 90 percent PA

The percentage of female managers who had teenage children and who reported having substantial difficulties with them was:

1. 10 percent 2. 25 percent 3. 40 percent 4. 55 percent SA

The divorce rate for female managers is about:

1. 10 percent 2. 20 percent 3. 30 percent 4. 40 percent SA

Part B: Work experiences of male managers

In a recent study, the percentage of male managers who reported feeling chronic anxiety about failure on their jobs was about:

1. 10 percent 2. 30 percent 3. 60 percent 4. 80 percent

The percentage of married male managers who reported in a recent study that their sexual relationships with their spouses were inadequate is about:

1. 20 percent 2. 40 percent 3. 60 percent 4. 80 percent

The percentage of male managers confidentially reporting substantial levels of personal unhappiness is about:

1. 10 percent 2. 25 percent 3. 50 percent 4. 75 percent

The percentage of male managers privately reporting highly satisfactory marriages is about:

1. 15 percent 2. 40 percent 3. 60 percent 4. 85 percent

A survey of male managers showed that the percentage of these men who reported in confidence that their jobs required them frequently to act against their moral principles was:

1. 10 percent 2. 30 percent 3. 60 percent 4. 90 percent

The percentage of male managers who had teenage children and who reported having substantial difficulties with them was:

1. 10 percent 2. 25 percent 3. 40 percent 4. 55 percent

The divorce rate for male managers is about:

1. 10 percent 2. 20 percent 3. 30 percent 4. 40 percent

Section 3: Philosophy of Life

The following items are statements people can make about their philosophy or view of life. Some of these statements will more accurately describe your personal views than will others. There are no right or wrong answers. To the right of each statement, put an "X" to indicate how much you agree or disagree with that particular view.

			Completely Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Mostly Agree	Completely Agree
1.	Meaningful work is more important to me than is salary	MWA					
* 2.	I often feel that my personal goals conflict with those of my work organization	OA					
3.	I often wish I were doing something else	PA					
4.	Sometimes I feel all alone in the world	SA					
5.	Too many people in our society are just out for themselves and don't really care for anyone else	SA					
6.	Facing my daily tasks is a painful and boring experience	PA					
7.	It is almost impossible for one person to really understand the feelings of another	SA					
8.	My time is often spent aimlessly	PA					
9.	One cannot have a satisfying life without meaningful work	MWA					
10.	I feel estranged from my "real self"	PA					
11.	I would make many major sacrifices to find work which is personally meaningful to me	MWA					
12.	I would give a good deal to live a different life than I do	PA					
13.	I enjoy myself most when I am alone, away from people	SA					
* 14.	The prevailing values in my occupation or profession are basically the same as my own	OA					

* Omit only if not currently employed full-time.

Section 4: Background Information and Personal Characteristics

1). Think back to the first full-time job you held after graduating from undergraduate college. To what extent did you find that job . . .

	Not at all	A Little	Somewhat	Mostly	Completely
Exciting	___	___	___	___	___
Personally challenging	___	___	___	___	___

** 2a). Since you graduated from undergraduate college, have you completed a change from one occupational field to another? (Include only major changes from one field to another, such as from teaching elementary school to practicing accounting. Do not count job changes or promotions within the same or closely related fields.)

No, have not completed any occupational changes ___ (If no, skip to Question 2b)

Yes, have completed occupational change(s) ___

For each occupational change you have completed, list the old and new occupations. If more than one change has been completed, list most recent first.

Old Occupation	New Occupation	Year Change Completed	Was this change influenced by dissatisfaction with the old occupation . . . Not at all	A Little	Somewhat	Mostly	Completely
_____	_____	_____	___	___	___	___	___
_____	_____	_____	___	___	___	___	___
_____	_____	_____	___	___	___	___	___
_____	_____	_____	___	___	___	___	___

** 2b). Are you currently in the process of changing or planning to change your occupation?

No ___ Yes ___ If yes, what occupation are you preparing or planning to enter?

_____

* 3). Suppose you have just been offered a job which you believe is ideal for you in terms of nature of the work, opportunities to use your capacities and to make meaningful achievements, etc. Further assume that all benefits except salary are equivalent to those of your present job. However, you may have to accept a cut in salary for this job.

What dollar amount of your present salary (before taxes) would you be willing to forego to accept this ideal job? _____dollars

* Omit only if not currently employed full-time

** Omit only if you have never worked full-time since graduating from college

* Suppose you have accepted this ideal job at the same salary as your present job. What salary increment would you consider equitable for the following year?

_____dollars

4). How would the political views which you held <u>during your years in undergraduate college</u> best be described? (Circle one)

1. Very liberal
2. Somewhat liberal
3. Middle-of-the-road
4. Somewhat conservative
5. Very conservative

5a). During your undergraduate years at college, did you personally participate in any group or activity which was <u>political</u> in nature or aimed at <u>societal change</u>? (Examples are civil rights or anti-war demonstrations, membership in Young Democratic or Young Republican clubs, involvement in feminist groups, or work to elect political candidates.)

No, did not participate ___ Yes, did participate ___

(If no, skip to Question 5b)

List these political or societal change activities or groups during college and the extent of your involvement with them:

Activity	Not Very Involved	Somewhat Involved	Very Involved
_____	___	___	___
_____	___	___	___
_____	___	___	___
_____	___	___	___
_____	___	___	___

5b). Since receiving your undergraduate degree, have you personally participated in any group or activity which was political or aimed at societal change?

No ___ Yes ___

(If no, skip to Question 6 on next page)

List these political or societal change activities or groups since college and the extent of your involvement with them:

Activity	Not Very Involved	Somewhat Involved	Very Involved
_____	___	___	___
_____	___	___	___
_____	___	___	___
_____	___	___	___
_____	___	___	___

Do you currently participate in any of these groups or activities?

No ___ Yes ___

* Omit only if not currently employed full-time.

6). Since graduating from college, have you been a client or patient in counseling or psychotherapy?

No ___ Yes ___

(If no, skip to Question 7)

If yes, how long were you in therapy or counseling? (Estimate if necessary)

____years, ____months

Are you currently undergoing therapy or counseling? Yes ___ No ___

To what extent did personal dissatisfactions in the following areas influence your decision to enter therapy or counseling?

	Not at all	A Little	Somewhat	Mostly	Completely
Marriage or romantic relationships	___	___	___	___	___
Family life	___	___	___	___	___
Job or career	___	___	___	___	___
Social life with friends	___	___	___	___	___
Feelings about yourself (problems with self-confidence, self-esteem)	___	___	___	___	___

7). Think back on the personal friends, acquaintances, and work colleagues you have had since graduating from college.

	Not at all	A Little	Somewhat	Mostly	Completely
To what extent have these people seemed to have been doing what they really wanted to do in life?	___	___	___	___	___
To what extent have they seemed estranged and distant from other people?	___	___	___	___	___

Your Personal Characteristics

Age ____ Sex (Circle number of appropriate response): 1. Male 2. Female

Marital Status (Circle one)

1. Single
2. Married for first time
3. Separated
4. Widowed
5. Other (specify)_____
6. Divorced and not remarried
7. Divorced and remarried

If divorced, was the decision to divorce:

1. primarily yours
2. primarily your former spouse's
3. mutual

Number of children ____ Ethnic group: 1. White 2. Hispanic 3. Oriental 4. Black 5. Other (specify)_____

Year of college graduation: 19 __ __
(with BA, BS, BBA or equivalent degree)

Name of college or university where this degree was obtained:

_____

Undergraduate colleges vary in reputation or prestige. How do you think this college where you obtained your undergraduate degree currently ranks in prestige compared to all other U.S. undergraduate colleges?

Top 20%___ Next 20%___ Middle 20%___ Next 20%___ Bottom 20%___

What was your undergraduate major or primary area of concentration? (Circle one)

1. Humanities (English, philosophy, history, etc.)
2. Social sciences (economics, sociology, psychology, etc.)
3. Natural sciences (chemistry, biology, etc.)
4. Business
5. Engineering
6. Other (specify)_____

What is the highest degree you have currently obtained? (Circle one)

1. BA, BS, BBA or equivalent
2. MBA, MA, MS or equivalent
3. PhD, JD, MD or equivalent

Are you now enrolled in a degree program?

No ___ Yes ___

(If no, skip to next question)

If yes, for what degree? 1. MBA 2. PhD 3. Other (specify) _____

What school are you attending?

_____

What is your area of specialization?

_____

* Occupation or profession: _____

* Type of organization or firm: _____

* How many hours per week do you usually work? (Include all time engaged in work activities, such as luncheon meetings and business reading at home or when commuting, etc.)

_____ hours per week

Your salary last calendar year (Include only your own salary, not income of other family members or from sources other than your salary.) (Circle one)

1. Under $10,000
2. $10,000 to $14,999
3. $15,000 to $19,999
4. $20,000 to $29,999
5. $30,000 to $39,999
6. $40,000 to $49,999
7. $50,000 to $59,999
8. $60,000 and over
9. Not employed last year

Total number of years of full-time work experience since graduating from undergraduate college: _____ years

How would your current political views best be described? (Circle one)

1. Very liberal
2. Somewhat liberal
3. Middle-of-the-road
4. Somewhat conservative
5. Very conservative

* Omit only if not currently employed full-time

What is the highest level of education completed by your father or male guardian?

1. Some elementary school
2. Elementary school completed
3. Some high school
4. High school completed
5. Some college
6. College graduate
7. Some graduate school
8. Graduate school completed

What is the highest level of education completed by your mother or female guardian?

1. Some elementary school
2. Elementary school completed
3. Some high school
4. High school completed
5. Some college
6. College graduate
7. Some graduate school
8. Graduate school completed

What is (was) the occupation of your father or male guardian? (If retired or deceased, give last or most recent occupation.)

Occupation_____

Type of organization or firm_____

What is (was) the occupation of your mother or female guardian? (If retired or deceased, give last or most recent occupation.)

Occupation_____

Type of organization or firm_____

How much was the combined income of your parents from all sources the year you were 18 years old? Please make a rough estimate even if you had little knowledge of your parents' finances. (Circle one)

1. Under $10,000
2. $10,000 to $14,999
3. $15,000 to $19,999
4. $20,000 to $29,999
5. $30,000 to $39,999
6. $40,000 and over

Thank you for your help.

Summer/Fall 1980

Dear Questionnaire Respondent:

Thank you for completing my dissertation questionnaire about your work and life experiences. This summary report will outline the major purposes of that research.

A number of recent studies have shown problems of life dissatisfaction, alienation, and cynicism among many occupationally successful young managers and professionals. For example, medical doctors and dentists have a substantially higher suicide rate than the general population, and alcoholism exists as a significant problem among corporation executives. My research is attempting to explain why some occupationally successful young men and women are alienated and dissatisfied with their lives while many others are not. Earlier research projects conducted separately by Abraham Korman and Seymour Sarason have indicated that a crucial factor in some cases may be disconfirmed expectancies, that is, a gap between the high level of rewards an individual at the start of a career expects to later receive and the lower level of rewards actually realized. For example, an individual would experience disconfirmed expectancies if he or she expected a high salary which was never attained.

This research is attempting to both define some of the preconditions of disconfirmed expectancies among young professionals and managers and explain how disconfirmed expectancies may predispose some individuals to life dissatisfaction and alienation. Initially, graduation from a prestigious college, a high socio-economic family background, a high level of challenge and excitement in the first job after college, and graduation from college during the years of prosperity and radical change from 1965 through 1970 are predicted to result in high expectations at college graduation for personal career and life fulfillment because the individual has been treated as special and encouraged to believe that this privileged status will continue. Similarly, graduation from college during 1965-1970 and a liberal activist orientation during college is believed to result in high expectations at college graduation for societal change.

High expectations for personal fulfillment and/or for societal change combined with recent conditions of recession, inflation, and a conservative political atmosphere are predicted to foster disconfirmed expectancies because opportunities for realization of earlier goals are limited. Subsequently, disconfirmed expectancies may give rise to alienation and life dissatisfaction because of an awareness that one has major needs which are not being and perhaps can never be fulfilled. Another consequence of disconfirmed expectancies may be the belief that other occupationally successful individuals are also dissatisfied and alienated because they are caught in the same dilemma of being unable to satisfy their needs. Finally, major life changes such as divorce, occupational change, and entry into counseling or therapy may result as the individual attempts to explore different channels toward fulfillment.

The present research is designed to test this theory as an explanation of life dissatisfaction and alienation among young people who are engaged in or preparing for career positions of responsibility. I hope that this study will contribute to the understanding and amelioration of life dissatisfaction which exists among some occupationally successful individuals. I am grateful for your participation in this research.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Lang

Dorothy Lang
Ph.D. Candidate,
City University of New York

Appendix B

Rating for used by each of three judges to evaluate prestige of undergraduate institutions

Prestige Ratings of Undergraduate Colleges

Undergraduate colleges vary in reputation or prestige. How do you think each of the following colleges currently ranks in prestige compared with all other U.S. undergraduate colleges? (Please circle appropriate number.)

		Top 20%	Next 20%	Middle 20%	Next 20%	Bottom 20%	Don't know/ No knowledge of college
1.	Alfred Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
2.	American Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3.	Arkansas, Univ. of	1	2	3	4	5	6
4.	Baruch College	1	2	3	4	5	6
5.	Bates College	1	2	3	4	5	6
6.	Beaver College	1	2	3	4	5	6
7.	Bloomsburg State College	1	2	3	4	5	6
8.	Boston College	1	2	3	4	5	6
9.	Boston Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10.	Brandeis Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
11.	Bridgeport, Univ. of	1	2	3	4	5	6
12.	Brigham Young Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
13.	Brooklyn College	1	2	3	4	5	6
14.	Buffalo State College	1	2	3	4	5	6
15.	Caldwell College	1	2	3	4	5	6
16.	California, Univ. of (Berkeley)	1	2	3	4	5	6
17.	California, Univ. of (Los Angeles)	1	2	3	4	5	6
18.	Carnegie Institute of Technology	1	2	3	4	5	6

		Top 20%	Next 20%	Middle 20%	Next 20%	Bottom 20%	Don't know/ No knowledge of college
19.	Case Western Reserve	1	2	3	4	5	6
20.	Catholic Univ. of America	1	2	3	4	5	6
21.	Central Michigan Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
22.	City College of N.Y.	1	2	3	4	5	6
23.	CUNY (division unspecified)	1	2	3	4	5	6
24.	Clark Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
25.	Colgate Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
26.	Colorado, Univ. of	1	2	3	4	5	6
27.	Columbia Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
28.	Concord College (W. Va.)	1	2	3	4	5	6
29.	Connecticut College (New London, Ct.)	1	2	3	4	5	6
30.	Connecticut, Univ. of	1	2	3	4	5	6
31.	Cook College (Rutgers Univ.)	1	2	3	4	5	6
32.	Cornell Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
33.	Dartmouth College	1	2	3	4	5	6
34.	Dayton, Univ. of	1	2	3	4	5	6
35.	Delaware, Univ. of	1	2	3	4	5	6
36.	Denison Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
37.	Dominican College (location unspecified)	1	2	3	4	5	6
38.	Douglass College (Rutgers Univ.)	1	2	3	4	5	6
39.	Drew Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
40.	Drexel Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
41.	Duquesne Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
42.	Elmira College	1	2	3	4	5	6
43.	Emory College	1	2	3	4	5	6
44.	Fairfield Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6

		Top 20%	Next 20%	Middle 20%	Next 20%	Bottom 20%	Don't know/ No knowledge of college
45.	Fairleigh Dickinson Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
46.	Florida, Univ. of	1	2	3	4	5	6
47.	Fordham Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
48.	Georgetown Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
49.	George Washington Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
50.	Hamilton College	1	2	3	4	5	6
51.	Hartford, Univ. of	1	2	3	4	5	6
52.	Harvard College	1	2	3	4	5	6
53.	Haverford College	1	2	3	4	5	6
54.	Hofstra Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
55.	Howard Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
56.	Hunter College	1	2	3	4	5	6
57.	Indiana, Univ. of	1	2	3	4	5	6
58.	Iona College	1	2	3	4	5	6
59.	Iowa State Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
60.	Jersey City State College	1	2	3	4	5	6
61.	John Jay College	1	2	3	4	5	6
62.	Kean College	1	2	3	4	5	6
63.	Kent State Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
64.	Kenyon College	1	2	3	4	5	6
65.	The King's College (Briarcliff Manor, N.Y.)	1	2	3	4	5	6
66.	Lancaster Bible College (Pa.)	1	2	3	4	5	6
67.	Lehman College	1	2	3	4	5	6
68.	Livington College (Rutgers Univ.)	1	2	3	4	5	6
69.	Livingstone College (N. Carolina)	1	2	3	4	5	6
70.	Lock Haven State College (Pa.)	1	2	3	4	5	6

		Top 20%	Next 20%	Middle 20%	Next 20%	Bottom 20%	Don't know/ No knowledge of college
71.	Long Island Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
72.	Lycoming College (Pa.)	1	2	3	4	5	6
73.	Manhattan College	1	2	3	4	5	6
74.	Manhattanville College	1	2	3	4	5	6
75.	Maine, Univ. of	1	2	3	4	5	6
76.	Marietta College	1	2	3	4	5	6
77.	Marquette Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
78.	Maryland, Univ. of	1	2	3	4	5	6
79.	Marymount College	1	2	3	4	5	6
80.	Massachusetts, Univ. of (Amherst)	1	2	3	4	5	6
81.	McGill Univ. (Canada)	1	2	3	4	5	6
82.	McMaster Univ. (Canada)	1	2	3	4	5	6
83.	Medgar Evers College	1	2	3	4	5	6
84.	Miami, Univ. of (location unspecified)	1	2	3	4	5	6
85.	Michigan, Univ. of	1	2	3	4	5	6
86.	Millerville State College (Pa.)	1	2	3	4	5	6
87.	Minnesota, Univ. of	1	2	3	4	5	6
88.	Missouri, Univ. of	1	2	3	4	5	6
89.	Monmouth College	1	2	3	4	5	6
90.	Montclair State College	1	2	3	4	5	6
91.	Moody Bible Institute (Chicago)	1	2	3	4	5	6
92.	Morgan State Univ. (Md.)	1	2	3	4	5	6
93.	Mt. Holyoke College	1	2	3	4	5	6
94.	Mt. Saint Vincent, College of (Bronx, N.Y.)	1	2	3	4	5	6
95.	Nebraska, Univ. of	1	2	3	4	5	6

		Top 20%	Next 20%	Middle 20%	Next 20%	Bottom 20%	Don't know/ No knowledge of college
96.	New School for Social Research	1	2	3	4	5	6
97.	Newark College of Arts and Sciences (Rutgers Univ.)	1	2	3	4	5	6
98.	Newark College of Engineering	1	2	3	4	5	6
99.	New Jersey Institute of Technology	1	2	3	4	5	6
100.	New Mexico, Univ. of	1	2	3	4	5	6
101.	New Rochelle, College of	1	2	3	4	5	6
102.	New York Institute of Technology	1	2	3	4	5	6
103.	New York Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
104.	Northeastern Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
105.	Northwestern Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
106.	Notre Dame, College of (Ohio)	1	2	3	4	5	6
107.	Ohio Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
108.	Ohio Wesleyan Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
109.	Pace Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
110.	Pennsylvania, Univ. of	1	2	3	4	5	6
111.	Pittsburgh, Univ. of	1	2	3	4	5	6
112.	Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn	1	2	3	4	5	6
113.	Princeton Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
114.	Purdue Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
115.	Queens College	1	2	3	4	5	6
116.	Radcliffe College	1	2	3	4	5	6
117.	Ramapo College	1	2	3	4	5	6
118.	Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute	1	2	3	4	5	6
119.	Richmond College (CUNY)	1	2	3	4	5	6
120.	Rider College	1	2	3	4	5	6

		Top 20%	Next 20%	Middle 20%	Next 20%	Bottom 20%	Don't know/ No knowledge of college
121.	Rollins College	1	2	3	4	5	6
122.	Russell Sage College	1	2	3	4	5	6
123.	Rutgers College	1	2	3	4	5	6
124.	Rutgers - University College (evening school)	1	2	3	4	5	6
125.	Rutgers Univ. (division unspecified)	1	2	3	4	5	6
126.	St. Francis College (Loretto, Pa.)	1	2	3	4	5	6
127.	Saint John's Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
128.	St. Olaf College	1	2	3	4	5	6
129.	St. Peters College	1	2	3	4	5	6
130.	Seton Hall Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
131.	Simon Fraser Univ. (Canada)	1	2	3	4	5	6
132.	Skidmore College	1	2	3	4	5	6
133.	Southern Connecticut State College	1	2	3	4	5	6
134.	Southern Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
135.	SUNY - Albany	1	2	3	4	5	6
136.	SUNY - Brockport	1	2	3	4	5	6
137.	SUNY - Buffalo	1	2	3	4	5	6
138.	SUNY - Cortland	1	2	3	4	5	6
139.	SUNY - Genesco	1	2	3	4	5	6
140.	SUNY - New Paltz	1	2	3	4	5	6
141.	SUNY - Stony Brook	1	2	3	4	5	6
142.	Staten Island, College of	1	2	3	4	5	6
143.	Stevens Institute of Technology	1	2	3	4	5	6
144.	Susquehanna Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
145.	Swarthmore College	1	2	3	4	5	6

		Top 20%	Next 20%	Middle 20%	Next 20%	Bottom 20%	Don't know/ No knowledge of college
146.	Temple Univ. (Pa.)	1	2	3	4	5	6
147.	Tennessee Temple College	1	2	3	4	5	6
148.	Tennessee Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
149.	Trenton State College	1	2	3	4	5	6
150.	Trinity College (Ill.)	1	2	3	4	5	6
151.	Tufts Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
152.	Union Coll. (N.Y.)	1	2	3	4	5	6
153.	Upsala College	1	2	3	4	5	6
154.	U.S. Merchant Marine Academy	1	2	3	4	5	6
155.	Vassar College	1	2	3	4	5	6
156.	Visual Arts, School of	1	2	3	4	5	6
157.	Wagner College	1	2	3	4	5	6
158.	Wabash College	1	2	3	4	5	6
159.	Waseda Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
160.	Washington Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
161.	Wellesley College	1	2	3	4	5	6
162.	West Point	1	2	3	4	5	6
163.	West Virginia, Univ. of	1	2	3	4	5	6
164.	Wharton School (Univ. of Pa.)	1	2	3	4	5	6
165.	Wheaton College (Norton, Mass.)	1	2	3	4	5	6
166.	Wheaton College (Wheaton, Ill.)	1	2	3	4	5	6
167.	William Paterson College	1	2	3	4	5	6
168.	Winston-Salem State Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
169.	Wisconsin, Univ. of	1	2	3	4	5	6
170.	Yale Univ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
171.	Yankton College (South Dakota)	1	2	3	4	5	6

Appendix C

Means and standard deviations for all summated scales and individual items.

Means and Standard Deviations for Summated Scales

	Number of Items	Mean	Standard Deviation
Expectations about work	5	19.74	3.10
Expectations about life	5	19.82	3.30
Expectations about societal change	7	20.87	4.72
Current fulfillment - work	5	16.58	4.61
Current fulfillment - life	5	18.66	3.41
Current fulfillment - societal change	7	18.07	4.10
Disconfirmed expectancies about work (discrepancy score)	5	3.22	5.16
Disconfirmed expectancies about life (discrepancy score)	5	1.16	3.66
Disconfirmed expectancies about societal change (discrepancy score)	7	2.80	5.31
Personal alienation (direct measure)	5	11.94	3.75
Social alienation (direct measure)	4	10.95	2.69
Alienation from the need for meaningful work	3	7.61	2.39
Alienation from one's occupation or profession	2	5.75	1.81
Error choice measure of personal alienation	3	6.59	1.77
Error choice measure of social alienation	4	10.26	2.32
Prestige of colleges - judges rating (5 point scale with 5 = highest prestige)		3.13	0.93

Means and Standard Deviations for Individual Items

Work Experience and Values Questionnaire

(N = 434)

General Instructions

Are you currently employed full-time (at least 30 hours per week)?

Yes n = 370
Answer all questions in the following sections.

No n = 64
If no, have you held any full-time job(s) since graduating from undergraduate college?

Yes n = 44
Omit only questions marked *

No n = 20
Omit questions marked * and **

Section 1: Experience History

An important part of life consists of having expectations about our futures. Sometimes life matches our early expectations, and sometimes it does not. This section compares the expectations of later life you held at the time of your graduation from college to your current levels of fulfillment in each of a number of areas.

For each of the following statements, please put an "X" on the line which best indicates how much that statement agrees with your own personal experiences.

	1 Completely Disagree	2 ly Disagree	3 her Agree nor	4 ly Agree	5 Completely Agree	X	sd
When I first graduated from college, I expected that my future career (paid work) would provide:							
1. high income and the resulting benefits						3.79	1.02
2. opportunities for personal creativity, growth, and self-expression						4.21	0.80
3. opportunities for challenge and meaningful achievement						4.34	0.69
4. relief from boredom and routine						3.72	1.07
5. rapid promotion to higher levels of responsibility						3.68	0.98
When I first graduated from college, I expected that my future life would provide:							
6. rewarding marriage and family relationships						3.79	1.19
7. continued ties with parents and siblings						3.93	1.07

	1 Completely Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Neither Agree nor Disagree	4 Agree	5 Completely Agree
		$\bar{X}$		sd	
8. rewarding friendships		4.13		0.81	
9. inner peace and contentment		3.72		0.91	
10. new and exciting experiences		4.26		0.74	
When I first graduated from college, I expected the following future changes in society:					
11. more equal distribution of wealth and power		2.52		1.12	
12. an expansion of liberal programs, such as "Vista" and "Head Start"		2.91		1.06	
13. a reduction in society's materialistic values		2.20		1.09	
14. rapid integration of women into positions of responsibility		3.24		1.02	
15. a general lessening of sex-role stereotypes		3.44		0.96	
16. progress toward equal sharing of childcare and homemaking responsibilities between women and men		3.26		1.07	
17. substantial integration of minority groups into the mainstream of society		3.31		1.04	
* My current career (paid work) provides:					
1. high income and resulting benefits		3.37		1.13	
2. opportunities for personal creativity, growth, and self-expression		3.42		1.18	
3. opportunities for challenge and meaningful achievement		3.54		1.18	
4. relief from boredom and routine		3.32		1.16	
5. rapid promotion to higher levels of responsibility		2.95		1.21	
My current life provides:					
6. rewarding marriage and family relationships		3.43		1.43	
7. continued ties with parents and siblings		4.10		0.99	
8. rewarding friendships		4.06		0.91	
9. inner peace and contentment		3.35		1.04	
10. new and exciting experiences		3.75		0.96	
Currently society is experiencing:					
11. more equal distribution of wealth and power		1.90		0.88	
12. an expansion of liberal programs, such as "Vista" and "Head Start"		2.12		0.97	
13. a reduction in society's materialistic values		1.65		0.81	
14. rapid integration of women into positions of responsibility		2.99		1.05	
15. a general lessening of sex-role stereotypes		3.29		1.00	
16. progress toward equal sharing of childcare and homemaking responsibilities between women and men		3.27		0.96	
17. substantial integration of minority groups into the mainstream of society		2.82		1.03	

* Omit only if not currently employed full-time.

Section 2: Work Knowledge

This section examines people's knowledge about the world of work. Part A concerns the experiences of female managers and Part B the experiences of male managers. Please answer both parts.

For each question, please circle the number of the choice which best describes what you believe to be the correct answer. Even if you are completely unsure of the right answer, guess at the response you think is most likely to be correct.

Part A: Work experiences of female managers

				$\bar{X}$	sd
In a recent study, the percentage of female managers who reported feeling chronic anxiety about failure on their jobs was about:					
1. 10 percent	2. 30 percent	3. 60 percent	4. 80 percent	2.57	0.82
The percentage of married female managers who reported in a recent study that their sexual relationships with their spouses were inadequate is about:					
1. 20 percent	2. 40 percent	3. 60 percent	4. 80 percent	2.11	0.90
The percentage of female managers confidentially reporting substantial levels of personal unhappiness is about:					
1. 10 percent	2. 25 percent	3. 50 percent	4. 75 percent	2.44	0.85
R The percentage of female managers privately reporting highly satisfactory marriages is about:					
1. 15 percent	2. 40 percent	3. 60 percent	4. 85 percent	2.80	0.85
A survey of female managers showed that the percentage of these women who reported in confidence that their jobs required them frequently to act against their moral principles was:					
1. 10 percent	2. 30 percent	3. 60 percent	4. 90 percent	1.98	0.82
The percentage of female managers who had teenage children and who reported having substantial difficulties with them was:					
1. 10 percent	2. 25 percent	3. 40 percent	4. 55 percent	2.68	0.99
The divorce rate for female managers is about:					
1. 10 percent	2. 20 percent	3. 30 percent	4. 40 percent	3.17	0.90

Part B: Work experiences of male managers

In a recent study, the percentage of male managers who reported feeling chronic anxiety about failure on their jobs was about:					
1. 10 percent	2. 30 percent	3. 60 percent	4. 80 percent	2.17	0.78
The percentage of married male managers who reported in a recent study that their sexual relationships with their spouses were inadequate is about:					
1. 20 percent	2. 40 percent	3. 60 percent	4. 80 percent	1.95	0.84
The percentage of male managers confidentially reporting substantial levels of personal unhappiness is about:					
1. 10 percent	2. 25 percent	3. 50 percent	4. 75 percent	2.34	0.79
R The percentage of male managers privately reporting highly satisfactory marriages is about:					
1. 15 percent	2. 40 percent	3. 60 percent	4. 85 percent	2.69	0.80

(R = means and standard deviations apply to reversed scale values)

A survey of male managers showed that the percentage of these men who reported in confidence that their jobs required them frequently to act against their moral principles was:

				$\bar{X}$	sd
1. 10 percent	2. 30 percent	3. 60 percent	4. 90 percent	1.77	0.76

The percentage of male managers who had teenage children and who reported having substantial difficulties with them was:

1. 10 percent	2. 25 percent	3. 40 percent	4. 55 percent	2.46	0.92

The divorce rate for male managers is about:

1. 10 percent	2. 20 percent	3. 30 percent	4. 40 percent	2.92	0.88

Section 3: Philosophy of Life

The following items are statements people can make about their philosophy or view of life. Some of these statements will more accurately describe your personal views than will others. There are no right or wrong answers. To the right of each statement, put an "X" to indicate how much you agree or disagree with that particular view.

		1 Completely Disagree	2 Mostly Disagree	3 Neither Agree nor	4 Mostly Agree	5 Completely Agree	$\bar{X}$	sd
R 1.	Meaningful work is more important to me than is salary						2.46	1.04
* 2.	I often feel that my personal goals conflict with those of my work organization						2.98	1.15
3.	I often wish I were doing something else						3.27	1.15
4.	Sometimes I feel all alone in the world						2.70	1.26
5.	Too many people in our society are just out for themselves and don't really care for anyone else						3.50	1.07
6.	Facing my daily tasks is a painful and boring experience						2.14	0.95
7.	It is almost impossible for one person to really understand the feelings of another						2.32	1.09
8.	My time is often spent aimlessly						2.00	0.96
R 9.	One cannot have a satisfying life without meaningful work						2.37	1.21
10.	I feel estranged from my "real self"						2.16	1.02
R 11.	I would make many major sacrifices to find work which is personally meaningful to me						2.77	1.14
12.	I would give a good deal to live a different life than I do						2.40	1.07
13.	I enjoy myself most when I am alone, away from people						2.43	1.06
R* 14.	The prevailing values in my occupation or profession are basically the same as my own						2.77	1.06

* Omit only if not currently employed full-time.

(R = means and standard deviations apply to reversed scale values)

Section 4: Background Information and Personal Characteristics

1). Think back to the first full-time job you held after graduating from undergraduate college. To what extent did you find that job . . .

	1 Not at all	2 A Little	3 Somewhat	4 Mostly	5 Completely	$\bar{X}$	sd
Exciting	—	—	—	—	—	3.00	1.27
Personally challenging	—	—	—	—	—	3.08	1.34

** 2a). Since you graduated from undergraduate college, have you completed a change from one occupational field to another? (Include only major changes from one field to another, such as from teaching elementary school to practicing accounting. Do not count job changes or promotions within the same or closely related fields.)

No, have not completed any occupational changes n = 238

(If no, skip to Question 2b)

Yes, have completed occupational change(s) n = 167

non-response = 29

For each occupational change you have completed, list the old and new occupations. If more than one change has been completed, list most recent first.

Old Occupation	New Occupation	Year Change Completed	Was this change influenced by dissatisfaction with the old occupation . . . 1 Not at all	2 A Little	3 Somewhat	4 Mostly	5 Completely
n = 167		$\bar{X}$ = 77.0	3.71	1.76			
44		74.8	3.32	1.84			
18		73.0	2.83	1.69			
3		72.0	1.33	0.58			

** 2b). Are you currently in the process of changing or planning to change your occupation?

No n = 247 Yes n = 133 If yes, what occupation are you preparing or planning to enter? _____

non-response = 54

* 3). Suppose you have just been offered a job which you believe is ideal for you in terms of nature of the work, opportunities to use your capacities and to make meaningful achievements, etc. Further assume that all benefits except salary are equivalent to those of your present job. However, you may have to accept a cut in salary for this job.

What dollar amount of your present salary (before taxes) would you be willing to forego to accept this ideal job? _____ dollars $\bar{X}$ = 2940.34, sd = 4310.54

* Omit only if not currently employed full-time

** Omit only if you have never worked full-time since graduating from college

* Suppose you have accepted this ideal job at the same salary as your present job. What salary increment would you consider equitable for the following year?

_____dollars $\bar{X}$ = 3057.68, sd = 2184.69

4). How would the political views which you held <u>during your years in undergraduate college</u> best be described? (Circle one) $\bar{X}$ = 2.43, sd = 1.14

1. Very liberal
2. Somewhat liberal
3. Middle-of-the-road
4. Somewhat conservative
5. Very conservative

5a). During your undergraduate years at college, did you personally participate in any group or activity which was <u>political</u> in nature or aimed at <u>societal change</u>? (Examples are civil rights or anti-war demonstrations, membership in Young Democratic or Young Republican clubs, involvement in feminist groups, or work to elect political candidates.)

No, did not participate n = 293 Yes, did participate n = 135

(If no, skip to Question 5b) non-response = 6

List these political or societal change activities or groups during college and the extent of your involvement with them:

Activity	Not Very Involved	Somewhat Involved	Very Involved
_____	___	___	___
_____	___	___	___
_____	___	___	___
_____	___	___	___
_____	___	___	___

5b). Since receiving your undergraduate degree, have you personally participated in any group or activity which was political or aimed at societal change?

No n = 334 Yes n = 100

(If no, skip to Question 6 on next page)

List these political or societal change activities or groups since college and the extent of your involvement with them:

Activity	Not Very Involved	Somewhat Involved	Very Involved
_____	___	___	___
_____	___	___	___
_____	___	___	___
_____	___	___	___
_____	___	___	___

Do you currently participate in any of these groups or activities?

No n = 35 Yes n = 61 non-response = 4

* Omit only if not currently employed full-time.

6). Since graduating from college, have you been a client or patient in counseling or psychotherapy?

No n = 350 Yes n = 80 non-response = 4

(If no, skip to Question 7)

If yes, how long were you in therapy or counseling? (Estimate if necessary)

____years, ____months $\bar{X}$ = 29.8 months, sd = 23.6

Are you currently undergoing therapy or counseling? Yes n = 27 No n = 48

To what extent did personal dissatisfactions in the following areas influence your decision to enter therapy or counseling?

	1 Not at all	2 A Little	3 Somewhat	4 Mostly	5 Completely
Marriage or romantic relationships		3.69		1.68	
Family life		3.16		2.17	
Job or career		3.09		2.09	
Social life with friends		2.59		2.09	
Feelings about yourself (problems with self-confidence, self-esteem)		4.16		1.67	

7). Think back on the personal friends, acquaintances, and work colleagues you have had since graduating from college.

	1 Not at all	2 A Little	3 Somewhat	4 Mostly	5 Completely
R To what extent have these people seemed to have been doing what they really wanted to do in life?		3.00		0.85	
To what extent have they seemed estranged and distant from other people?		2.04		0.88	

$\bar{X}$ = 29.8, sd = 6.0
Age ____ Sex (Circle number of appropriate response): 1. Male 245 2. Female 184
n-r = 5

Marital Status (Circle one)
1. Single 194
2. Married for first time 178
3. Separated 8
4. Widowed 2
5. Other (specify) 6
6. Divorced and not remarried 34
7. Divorced and remarried 13

If divorced, was the decision to divorce:
1. primarily yours 22
2. primarily your former spouse's 9
3. mutual 12

Number of children $\bar{X}$ = .51 Ethnic group: 1. White 362 2. Hispanic 6 3. Oriental 9
4. Black 45 5. Other (specify) 3

(R = means and standard deviations apply to reversed scale values)

n-r = 9

$\bar{X}$ = 73.13, sd = 5.38

Year of college graduation: 19 __ __
(with BA, BS, BBA or equivalent degree)

Name of college or university where this degree was obtained:

_____

Undergraduate colleges vary in reputation or prestige. How do you think this college where you obtained your undergraduate degree currently ranks in prestige compared to all other U.S. undergraduate colleges? X = 2.21

1 Top 20%___ 2 Next 20%___ 3 Middle 20%___ 4 Next 20%___ 5 Bottom 20%___ sd = 1.09

What was your undergraduate major or primary area of concentration? (Circle one)

1. Humanities (English, philosophy, history, etc.) n = 94
2. Social sciences (economics, sociology, psychology, etc.) 136
3. Natural sciences (chemistry, biology, etc.) 50
4. Business 69
5. Engineering 40
6. Other (specify) 43 _____ non-response = 2

What is the highest degree you have currently obtained? (Circle one)

1. BA, BS, BBA or equivalent n = 305
2. MBA, MA, MS or equivalent n = 104
3. PhD, JD, MD or equivalent n = 23

non-response = 2

Are you now enrolled in a degree program?

No n = 145 Yes n = 289

(If no, skip to next question)

If yes, for what degree? 1. MBA 172 2. PhD 6 3. Other (specify) 107 _____ n-r = 4

What school are you attending? _____

What is your area of specialization? _____

* Occupation or profession: _____

* Type of organization or firm: _____

* How many hours per week do you usually work? (Include all time engaged in work activities, such as luncheon meetings and business reading at home or when commuting, etc.)

_____ hours per week X = 45.99, sd = 10.08

Your salary last calendar year (Include only your own salary, not income of other family members or from sources other than your salary.) (Circle one) X = 3.51, sd = 1.45

1. Under $10,000
2. $10,000 to $14,999
3. $15,000 to $19,999
4. $20,000 to $29,999
5. $30,000 to $39,999
6. $40,000 to $49,999
7. $50,000 to $59,999
8. $60,000 and over
9. Not employed last year

Total number of years of full-time work experience since graduating from undergraduate college: _____ years $\bar{X}$ = 6.35, sd = 5.15

How would your current political views best be described? (Circle one)

1. Very liberal
2. Somewhat liberal
3. Middle-of-the-road
4. Somewhat conservative
5. Very conservative

$\bar{X}$ = 2.9, sd = 1.03

* Omit only if not currently employed full-time

What is the highest level of education completed by your father or male guardian?

1. Some elementary school
2. Elementary school completed
3. Some high school
4. High school completed
5. Some college
6. College graduate
7. Some graduate school
8. Graduate school completed

$\bar{X}$ = 4.67, sd = 1.99

What is the highest level of education completed by your mother or female guardian?

1. Some elementary school
2. Elementary school completed
3. Some high school
4. High school completed
5. Some college
6. College graduate
7. Some graduate school
8. Graduate school completed

$\bar{X}$ = 4.42, sd = 1.52

What is (was) the occupation of your father or male guardian? (If retired or deceased, give last or most recent occupation.)

Occupation Duncan scale $\bar{X}$ = 54.80, sd = 26.46

Type of organization or firm_____

What is (was) the occupation of your mother or female guardian? (If retired or deceased, give last or most recent occupation.)

Occupation_____

Type of organization or firm_____

How much was the combined income of your parents from all sources the year you were 18 years old? Please make a rough estimate even if you had little knowledge of your parents' finances. (Circle one)

1. Under $10,000
2. $10,000 to $14,999
3. $15,000 to $19,999
4. $20,000 to $29,999
5. $30,000 to $39,999
6. $40,000 and over

$\bar{X}$ = 3.40, sd = 1.57

Thank you for your help.

Appendix D

Cronbach's Alpha Coefficients of Reliability (Internal Consistency) for All Scales Used in the Study

(Based on N = 434)

Instrument	Scale	Number of Items	Alpha
Experience History	Expectations about work	5	.69
Experience History	Expectations about life	5	.72
Experience History	Expectations about societal change	7	.76
Experience History	Disconfirmed expectancies about work	5	.82
Experience History	Disconfirmed expectancies about life	5	.57
Experience History	Disconfirmed expectations about societal change	7	.75
Philosophy of Life	Personal alienation (direct measure)	5	.76
Philosophy of Life	Social alienation (direct measure)	4	.40
Philosophy of Life	Alienation from need for meaningful work	3	.51
Philosophy of Life	Alienation from occupation or profession	2	.51
Work Knowledge Test	Personal alienation (indirect measure)	3	.55
Work Knowledge Test	Social alienation (indirect measure)	4	.56

Appendix E

Intercorrelations of variables at each of four stages of the sequential model.

For all tables, * indicates significant at .05 level
** indicates significant at .01 level

These correlations are based on only those respondents graduating from college in 1977 or before (n = 353).

Stage 1 Variables

Early Adult Experiences

	Chall	Excit	G6570	Libact	Pres
Duncan	-.01	-.03	.02	.11*	.18**
Chall		.83**	.14**	-.06	.03
Excit			.12*	-.03	.01
G6570				.06	-.02
Libact					.11*

Duncan = Duncan scale value of socio-economic status applied to father's occupation

Chall = amount of challenge in first job after college

Excit = amount of excitement in first job after college

Libact = held a liberal activist orientation during college

Pres = average prestige rating of college by three judges

Stage 2 Variables

Expectation Levels

	Exlife	Exsoc
Exwork	.31**	.12*
Exlife		.13**

Exwork = original expectations about work

Exlife = original expectations about life

Exsoc = original expectations about societal change

Stage 3 Variables

Disconfirmed Expectancies

	Delife	Desoc
Dework	.14**	.12*
Delife		.09

Dework = disconfirmed expectancies about work

Delife = disconfirmed expectancies about life

Desoc = disconfirmed expectancies about societal change

Stage 4 Variables

Alienation and Life Dissatisfaction

	Pa	Oa	Sa	Ecpa	Ecsa	Ochang
Mwa	.00	.08	-.03	-.11*	-.04	-.04
Pa		.52**	.44**	.03	-.04	-.09*
Oa			.18**	.11*	.02	-.03
Sa				.08	.01	-.04
Ecpa					.54**	.11*
Ecsa						.10*

Mwa = alienation from the need for meaningful work

Pa = personal alienation (direct measure)

Oa = alienation from one's occupation or profession

Sa = social alienation (direct measure)

Ecpa = error choice measure of personal alienation

Ecsa = error choice measure of social alienation

Ochang = occupational change

(continued on next page)

Stage 4 Variables

(Continued)

	Ther	Div
Mwa	-.05	.07
Pa	.07	.09*
Oa	.09	.00
Sa	-.01	.00
Ecpa	.11**	-.01
Ecsa	.11*	.08
Ochang	.14**	.23**
Ther		.22**

Mwa = alienation from the need for meaningful work

pa = personal alienation (direct measure)

Oa = alienation from one's occupation or profession

Sa = social alienation (direct measure)

Ecpa = error choice measure of personal alienation

Ecsa = error choice measure of social alienation

Ochang = occupational change

Ther = has been client in therapy or counseling

Div = divorced

Appendix F

Initial contingency table, table of U-terms, and list of models and their Chi-Square values for log linear modeling

Contingency Table of Observed Data for Log Linear Modeling

Therapy	Disconfirmed Expectancies about Societal Change	Expectations about Societal Change	Liberal Activist Orientation: No	Yes
No	Low	Low	99	14
		High	25	4
	High	Low	23	6
		High	54	17
Yes	Low	Low	15	8
		High	12	2
	High	Low	2	4
		High	36	19

U-Term Estimates for the Selected Log Linear Model

Variable		U-Term	Coefficient
Liberal activist orientation (L)			
No		$U_{L(1)}$	.596
Yes		$U_{L(2)}$	-.596
Expectations for societal change (E)			
Low		$U_{E(1)}$	-.123
High		$U_{E(2)}$	.123
Disconfirmed expectancies for societal change (D)			
Low		$U_{D(1)}$	-.050
High		$U_{D(2)}$	.050
Entry into therapy (T)			
No		$U_{T(1)}$	.374
Yes		$U_{T(2)}$	-.374
Liberal (L) by Expectations (E)			
No	Low	$U_{LE(11)}$	.229
	High	$U_{LE(12)}$	-.229
Yes	Low	$U_{LE(21)}$	-.229
	High	$U_{LE(22)}$	.229
Liberal (L) by Disconfirmed (D)			
No	Low	$U_{LD(11)}$	.265
	High	$U_{LD(12)}$	-.265
Yes	Low	$U_{LD(21)}$	-.265
	High	$U_{LD(22)}$	.265
Liberal (L) by Therapy (T)			
No	No	$U_{LT(11)}$	.211
	Yes	$U_{LT(12)}$	-.211
Yes	No	$U_{LT(21)}$	-.211
	Yes	$U_{LT(22)}$	.211

Expectations (E) by Disconfirmed (D)			
Low	Low	$U_{ED(11)}$	.082
	High	$U_{ED(12)}$	-.082
High	Low	$U_{ED(21)}$	-.082
	High	$U_{ED(22)}$	.082
Expectations (E) by Therapy (T)			
Low	No	$U_{ET(11)}$	.307
	Yes	$U_{ET(12)}$	-.307
High	No	$U_{ET(21)}$	-.307
	Yes	$U_{ET(22)}$	.307

List of Fitted Models for Logit Analysis

With LE fixed, there exist 3 unsaturated log linear models:

M_1: LE,LD,ED (1 df, Likelihood Ratio Chi-Square = .78, .376, no residuals higher than 2.0)

M_2: LE,LD (2 df, Chi-Square = 2.08, p = .354, largest residual = 8.9)

M_3: LE,ED (2df, Chi-Square = 14.03, p = .0009)

With LED fixed, there are 8 unsaturated log linear models:

M_4: LED,LT,ET,DT (4 df, Chi-Square = 4.12, p = .39, no residuals higher than 2.0)

M_5: LED,ET,DT (5 df, Chi-Square = 12.69, p = .03, largest residual = 2.4)

M_6: LED,LT,DT (5 df, Chi-Square = 18.8, p = .002)

M_7: LED,LT,ET (5 df, Chi-Square = 5.3, p = .38, no residual higher than 2.0)

M_8: LED,LT (6 df, Chi-Square = 9.97, p = .126, no residual higher than 2.0)

M_9: LED,ET (6 df, Chi-Square = 12.18, p = .058)

M_{10}: LED,DT (6 df, Chi-Square = 18.45, p = .005)

M_{11}: LED (8 df, Chi-Square = 137.05, p = 0000)

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