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ABSTRACT

A number of studies have suggested that school environment and organizational structure contribute to adolescent alienation, but few have analyzed alienation in a specific geographic context. This paper examines adolescent alienation in a rural school context. Dean (1961) defined alienation as an affective construct consisting of isolation (loneliness), normlessness (value system inconsistent with school norms), and powerlessness to influence one's choices. The Dean Alienation Scale was administered to 361 sixth- and eighth-graders in 3 rural elementary and middle schools in south central Texas. There were no significant differences in alienation between sixth- and eighth-graders. However, middle adolescents (students aged 15 and over) felt significantly more normless and powerless than early adolescents. Students who participated in extracurricular activities were less normless than nonparticipants; among participants, athletes felt more normless than students in academic or performing arts activities. Males felt more normless and powerless than females. Hispanics felt less isolated than Caucasians, but Caucasians felt less normless than African Americans and Hispanics. Results are discussed with regard to adolescent identity development and recommended school strategies to increase student participation and feelings of belonging. (SV)

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Running head: RURAL ALIENATION

Abstract

This survey study was designed to investigate the perceptions of alienation among rural upper elementary and middle school students in early and middle adolescence. Three hundred and sixty-one adolescents (mean CA = 13.55) were assessed with the Dean Alienation Scale to determine their perceptions of isolation, normlessness, and powerlessness in a rural school context. Results indicate that middle adolescents reported significantly higher levels of normlessness and powerlessness than early adolescents. In addition, male adolescents felt significantly more normless and powerless than female adolescents. And lastly, Caucasian adolescents felt more isolated than ethnic minority adolescents, although the reverse was true for normlessness. The findings are discussed within the context of organizational structures rural educators may implement to reduce the perception of alienation among adolescents.

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The Rural School Environment and its  
Effect on Adolescent Alienation

During the 1980's and early 1990's, the educational reform movement which swept across the country largely ignored the issues relevant to rural schools (Herzog & Pittman, 1995; Schmuck & Schmuck, 1992). These national reforms were primarily directed toward urban and suburban school environments. With skepticism, rural educators viewed the reform movement as nothing more than the same old thing repackaged (Theobald & Nachtigal, 1995; Sher, 1995).

The reform movement was perceived by rural educators as meaning "bigger was better" (Theobald & Nachtigal, 1995). Unfortunately, the consolidation movement has not lived up to its promises of increased financial efficiency and improved academic achievement (Theobald & Nachtigal, 1995; DeYoung & Lawrence, 1995). While rural schools were consolidating to create bigger schools and districts, urban and suburban educators were moving in the opposite direction to implement ways to personalize instruction through organizational structures such as block scheduling, teaming, and schools within schools (as a means to create smaller units). Thus, the work of rural schools should not be to emulate the reform measures of urban or suburban schools, instead rural schools must attend to their own particular needs (Theobald & Nachtigal, 1995).

For rural educators, the fight should not be about preserving rural schools in their present form. Rather, rural school

reformers should address the environmental conditions of rural schools and take advantage of the unique characteristics inherent to them (Sher, 1995). To accomplish this, rural educators must shift paradigms in order to change the dynamics of the rural school environment from unidirectional and hierarchical to a model where transactional and egalitarian principles are fully integrated and practiced throughout the system (Schmuck & Schmuck, 1992).

For most educators, the rural school conjures up a romanticized image of being small and safe, where everyone knows everyone, and cooperation and collaboration abound (Schmuck & Schmuck, 1992). The smallness which is inherently associated with rural schools presumes that students receive personalized attention from teachers and administrators (akin to an extended family). Unfortunately, this mythical portrayal was found to be contrary to the reality of rural schools as being highly bureaucratic and impersonal institutions despite their relative size (Schmuck & Schmuck, 1992). Others have found that some rural adolescents feel isolated (Herzog & Pittman, 1995).

Of particular relevance to this study is the rural school environment and its affective influence on adolescents. Traditionally, rural schools have been viewed as safe and desirable learning environments. Mischievous adolescent behavior was viewed as a minor offense and considered a rite of passage exemplified by the quote that "kids will be kids."

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As the twenty-first century approaches, rural communities are witnessing severer acts of adolescent misbehavior. Consequently, adolescent deviant behaviors involving violence are no longer the exclusive domain of urban metropolitan areas as illustrated by the recent murders in Moses Lake, Washington where an adolescent killed two classmates and a teacher (classmates characterized the adolescent as a loner and unusual) and Poth, Texas where the daughter of the high school principal killed her mother (a private school teacher).

While it is safe to infer that these acts of violence were random and not common in rural areas, these incidents indicate a disturbing trend may be emerging from the depths of disempowerment that rural communities experience as they deal with the political pressures to survive economically (Nachtigal, 1994). The economic pressures placed on rural communities (which inadvertently affect schools via forced consolidation) may be adversely affecting the development of adolescents as they experience evolutionary changes in biological, cognitive, and social-emotional dimensions. Consequently, when rural families focus their attention on economic survival, the needs of the adolescent child may go unsatisfied. This is one of the reasons adolescence has been referred to as the most neglected and least understood area of the first two decades of life (Takanishi, 1995). When adolescents feel little control over the direction of their lives, feelings of alienation tend to emerge.

Alienation, an abstract concept brought about by environmental and/or economical conditions, has been used to explain deviant behavior (Calabrese, 1987). Due to its abstract nature, alienation has been a difficult construct to assess empirically. Alienation has been viewed as a series of related constructs, each representing a part of the total picture. Dean (1961) defined alienation as an affective construct consisting of three components: isolation, normlessness, and powerlessness. Isolation refers to a lonely feeling. Adolescents who feel isolated tend to be disconnected from others. Normlessness is associated with a person whose value system is inconsistent with school norms (i.e., getting good grades, attending class, no behavioral problems, being apart of the in-crowd, etc.). Normless adolescents perceive themselves, and believe others perceive them as being different in a negative way. Powerlessness represents an inability to influence one's choices. Powerless adolescents tend to rationalize any effort to achieve a goal as a waste of time.

Studies involving adolescent alienation have focused on school constituencies (Calabrese & Seidin, 1987), at-risk youth in high school (Firestone, 1989; Newmann, 1981), school organizational power structures (Strauss, 1974) and a variety of other independent variables. Adolescent alienation has been attributed to the erosion in traditional institutions such as the family, church, and school (Bronfenbrenner, 1986). Others have cited the organizational structure of public schools as the primary factor for adolescent alienation (Ornstein, 1981; Rafky,

1979; Rafalides & Hoy, 1971). An alternative model posited in the present study goes beyond the structural issues addressed by Ornstein (1981) and Rafalides & Hoy (1971) to examine the stages of development during adolescence. Common to all these studies is the belief that the school structure contributes to adolescent alienation. There have been few, if any, studies analyzing alienation in a specific geographic location. As a result, the present study viewed alienation as a by-product of the rural school environment.

The primary purpose of the present study was to determine if students in early and middle adolescence experienced differentiating levels of alienation in a rural context. The investigators hypothesized that middle adolescents would be more alienated than early adolescents. If adolescents in early and middle stages experience differentiating levels of alienation, the implications for current practices in rural schools would be substantial in terms of potential changes to the organizational structure and school climate.

#### Methodology

#### Participants

Three hundred sixty-one rural adolescents participated in the present study. The sample consisted of a random cluster sampling of one elementary school's sixth grade population and the entire eighth grade population of two middle schools from the same school district. Some of the demographic characteristics of study participants are presented in Table 1. In addition to the

frequency distributions, the average age of participants was 13.55 years, and for those who participated in extracurricular activities, the average number of activities involved with was two.

The participating rural school district was located approximately twenty-five miles outside a major metropolitan city in South Central Texas. The population of the rural community was estimated to be approximately eighteen thousand. The participating school district had four primary schools, four elementary schools, two middle schools, and one high school.

#### Instrument

The Dean Alienation Scale is a 24-item five point Likert-type scale which has been widely used to assess levels of alienation with a variety of school groups ranging from adolescent students to teachers and administrators. The instrument is divided into three subscales: isolation, normlessness, and powerlessness. The cumulative score of the three subscales comprise the total alienation score. The possible range of scores for the instrument are as follows: total alienation, 0 - 120; powerlessness, 0 - 45; normlessness, 0 - 30; and isolation, 0 - 45. Higher scores on the Dean Alienation Scale represent higher levels of the construct being measured.

According to Dean (1961), the Dean Alienation Scale possesses face validity and the following internal consistency split-half reliability coefficients: Total Alienation = .78; Isolation = .83; Normlessness = .73; and Powerlessness = .78. The instrument's

content and construct validity have been examined by a panel of experts and field tested using a variety of groups under similar circumstances.

#### Procedure

Each participant's level of alienation was measured using the Dean Alienation Scale (Dean, 1961). Students who were present on the date of the instrument's administration participated in the study. The instrument was administered by one of the investigators along with teachers from each of the participating schools. All of the participants completed the instrument within twenty minutes. The demographic data collected on the instrument included the participant's gender, grade level, ethnicity, age, and the number and type of extracurricular activities engaged in.

#### Results

The alienation scores in the present study were derived from the Dean Alienation Scale. The six independent variables analyzed were stage of adolescence (early/middle), degree of extracurricular activity involvement (yes/no), type of extracurricular activity (academic, athletic, performing arts, or combination), gender, ethnicity, and grade level. The dependent variables measured were isolation, normlessness, powerlessness, and a composite alienation score. Analysis of the data yielded the following major findings:

1. Middle adolescents felt more normless and powerless than early adolescents.

2. Adolescents who participated in extracurricular activities were less normless than non-participants.

3. For extracurricular participants, athletes felt more normless than students who participated in academic and/or performing arts.

4. Male adolescents felt more normless and powerless than female adolescents.

5. Hispanic adolescents were less isolated than Caucasian adolescents, although Caucasian adolescents felt less normless than African American and Hispanic adolescents.

6. There was no significant difference in alienation levels between sixth and eighth graders.

The independent variables were analyzed separately using multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) techniques. The predetermined level of significance used for the present study was  $\alpha \leq .05$ . The three subscales of alienation were used as dependent measures throughout the analyses.

The first analysis addressed the two stages of adolescence in this study. The multivariate  $F$  ratio for differentiating levels of alienation between early and middle adolescents was found to be statistically significant (Wilk's lambda,  $F = 6.202$ ,  $df = 3; 357$ ,  $p = .0004$ ). This result indicates that middle adolescents experience higher levels of alienation than early adolescents. A subsequent analysis of variance (ANOVA) using the two stages of adolescence (i.e., early and middle) and the four dependent variables showed that middle adolescents felt more normless ( $F(1,$

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359) = 18.377,  $D = .0001$ ), powerless ( $F(1, 359) = 7.356$ ,  $D = .007$ ), and thus more totally alienated ( $F(1, 359) = 12.757$ ,  $D = .0004$ ) than early adolescents. These results point to the numerous challenges faced by students during adolescence. In particular, the transitional period from early to middle adolescence appears to be a developmental stage where middle adolescents perceive an enhanced sense of alienation. Table 2 shows the differing levels of alienation between early and middle adolescents.

Similar to stages of adolescence, the subscale differences between participants who were involved in extracurricular activities and non-participants were found to be statistically significant (Wilk's lambda,  $F = 4.106$ ,  $df = 3$ ;  $357$ ,  $D = .0070$ ). Table 4 illustrates the effect of extracurricular activity involvement on levels of alienation. A subsequent ANOVA using extracurricular involvement as the independent variable showed that participants in extracurricular activities felt less normless ( $F(1, 359) = 11.782$ ,  $D = .0007$ ) and totally alienated ( $F(1, 359) = 4.375$ ,  $D = .0372$ ) than non-participants. This result provides evidence to support the perceived value of extracurricular involvement in rural communities. For those who do not participate in extracurricular activities, there may be a social-psychological price to pay for non-participation.

In addition to extracurricular involvement, the type of extracurricular activity was categorized and analyzed for significant differences. The data showed that participants who were involved in athletics were more normless than participants

who were in academic events, performing arts, or any other combination of activities ( $F(7, 353) = 6.449$ ,  $D = .0001$ ). For rural adolescents who participate in athletics only, an underlying dissatisfaction with the community norms for athletes appears to surface and create dissidence in the form of unrealistic expectations, which can then lead to a heightened sense of alienation.

An analysis of gender on alienation revealed significant differences (Wilk's lambda,  $F = 6.361$ ,  $df = 3$ ;  $357$ ,  $D = .0003$ ). Female adolescents felt significantly less normless ( $F(1, 359) = 16.962$ ,  $D = .0001$ ) and powerless ( $F(1, 359) = 4.028$ ,  $D = .0455$ ) than their male counterparts. Gender means and standard deviations are presented in Table 4. This result shows that rural male adolescents felt a greater sense of values conflict than female adolescents. In addition, the sense of powerlessness on the part of male adolescents indicates a lack of control to determine their destiny.

In contrast to the unidirectional effects of gender on adolescent alienation, the role of ethnicity presented a more complex set of significant findings (Wilk's lambda,  $F = 7.559$ ,  $df = 9$ ;  $859.26$ ,  $D = .0001$ ). Caucasian adolescents felt more isolated than Hispanic ( $F(3, 355) = 9.112$ ,  $D = .0001$ ) adolescents, although Hispanic and African American adolescents felt more normless than Caucasian adolescents ( $F(3, 355) = 6.499$ ,  $D = .0003$ ). Table 5 shows the means and standard deviations based on ethnicity.

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Finally, the results showed that there were no significant differences in alienation among sixth and eighth graders (Wilk's lambda,  $F = 1.305$ ,  $df = 3$ ;  $357$ ,  $p = .2726$ ). Although the MANOVA yielded a nonsignificant  $F$  for grade level, subsequent one-way factorial analyses of variance (ANOVA) were performed on the four dependent measures. Table 6 displays the means and standard deviations of alienation scores based on grade level. It should be noted that caution should be made regarding the interpretation of secondary ANOVA results. Because the primary MANOVA  $F$  was nonsignificant, as the number of  $F$  ratios that are calculated increases, so does the likelihood of obtaining a significant ANOVA  $F$  by chance. Despite this chance probability for significant ANOVA, the primary nonsignificant MANOVA finding showed that there were no statistically significant differences in grade levels.

#### Discussion

This study suggests that middle adolescents feel more alienated than early adolescents in rural schools. In particular, middle adolescents reported significantly higher levels of normlessness and powerlessness than early adolescents. This result contradicts the findings of a prior study (Calabrese & Seldin, 1987) which indicated that alienation was inversely proportional to the age of the school constituency. Several possibilities exist to explain the significant differences in the perception of alienation among early and middle adolescents. Three plausible explanations are posited.

First, consideration must be given to the population at hand. According to Erikson (1959), the central issue that challenges adolescents is the development of an identity. With respect to adolescent identity development, Erikson (1968) believed that successful resolution of the crisis of identity versus identity diffusion depended on how the adolescent resolved previous crises during childhood. Without healthy resolution to the four crises (i.e., trust, autonomy, initiative, and industry) leading up to identity, the establishment of a coherent sense of identity would be difficult. Erikson (1968) further argued that the key to resolving identity versus identity diffusion crisis lay in the adolescent's interactions with others.

By using Erikson's theoretical framework on adolescent identity development, rural educators may gain a better understanding of how social interactions affect an adolescent's sense of alienation. In addressing adolescent identity development, rural educators should create formal and informal opportunities for adolescents to express their perceptions of the school climate. This could be accomplished by surveying all adolescents periodically to ascertain their perceptions towards alienation, as well as other issues that may be relevant to the school environment.

In addition to identity development, another explanation postulates that rural educators must recognize the importance of treating the cognitive and affective domains with equality. Unless a holistic approach is taken to address the needs of middle

adolescents, feelings of alienation will continue to emerge in rural schools. To minimize middle adolescents' sense of normlessness and powerlessness, rural educators might use the community as a catalytic lens to make learning more experiential and therefore more powerful (Theobald & Nachtigal, 1995). By integrating the school environment with relevant pieces of rural life, middle adolescents will better identify with their learning environment and feel less alienated.

A final explanation for the findings derives from what DeYoung & Lawrence (1995) might refer to as the devaluing of traditional rural values in favor of economic competitiveness. By pursuing consolidation as a way to survive economically, rural educators must recognize the school's contribution to adolescent alienation. Unfortunately, educators tend to rationalize their institution's lack of contribution to adolescent alienation. As a result, educators fail to recognize the rigidity of the school's bureaucratic structure.

On the other hand, if rural educators acknowledge the presence of adolescent alienation and the school's contribution to it, then the focus for improvement shifts from recognizing the problem to examining organizational ways to involve students in more meaningful ways. Increasing student participation in school governance does not mean handing over total control to adolescents: a concept which many educators visualize and fear. Instead, rural schools can take advantage of their inherent community ties and increase student participation by: encouraging

students to participate in the democratic process in and out of school; setting up a student judicial review system; permitting student participation in the rule- and goal-setting of the school; and developing meaningful mentor partnerships between adolescents and significant adults. The possibilities are limitless if rural educators are willing to take a chance on adolescents for the sake of adolescents.

In addition to the effects of alienation on early and middle adolescence, adolescents who participated in extracurricular activities felt less normlessness than non-participants. This result is explained by the contention that extracurricular activities are intentionally used by rural schools to compensate for feelings of isolation (DeYoung, 1995).

This study also showed that male adolescents felt more normless and powerless than their female counterparts. This result contradicts the work of Calabrese & Seldin (1986). It should be noted here that Calabrese and Seldin worked with ninth graders in a rural high school. In their study, Calabrese and Seldin contend that high schools are hostile toward females. Using this line of reasoning, the present study might infer upper elementary and junior high schools to be hostile toward males. A more plausible explanation is derived from Erikson's work on sex differences towards identity development. Females learn about themselves in the context of friendships and close relationships, whereas males forge a sense of identity by being autonomous and independent (Douvan and Adelson, 1966). Consequently, females are less likely

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to feel normless since their development of an identity is based on interdependent interactions. In contrast, males are expected to be self-reliant, thus creating the conditions for normlessness and powerlessness.

An unexpected finding addressed the relationship between ethnicity and alienation. It had been expected that alienation would not be affected by the adolescent's ethnicity. This was not the case. Since fifty-nine percent of the sample was composed of Hispanic, African American and other non-Anglo minority students, these findings tentatively support the institutional notion of schools being hostile environments for minority students and isolating bureaucracies for Caucasian adolescents. Viewed from a micro/personal level, Caucasian students appear to feel more isolated, while on a macro/institutional level, minority students feel more normless. To nurture a non-alienating environment across ethnic groups, rural educators should consider the following recommendations:

1. Rural schools should actively recruit and implement procedures to retain qualified minority teachers to serve as role models. By recruiting minority teachers and administrators, rural schools enhance the ideals of cultural pluralism and create opportunities for minority adolescents to identify with the school environment.
2. To minimize isolation and normlessness, rural educators should restructure the school environment to emphasize more cooperative and collaborative community ways toward learning.

3. Schools should conduct comprehensive self-assessments of learning and teaching styles to better match students and teachers.

4. Schools should seek ways to actively interact with all adolescents through the creation of smaller, more personalized organizational units where students feel secure to discuss issues which concern them. This could involve focus groups with community members serving as mentors.

The results of this study shed insight into the rural school environment and its relationship to adolescent alienation. This understanding is not only important to rural educators, but to the community at-large because adolescent alienation and its negative correlates are no longer exclusively tied to urban, big city schools. The challenge for rural educators is to create a learning environment which minimizes adolescent alienation. There is no single panacea or remedy that will cure the alienating nature of certain school practices. While rural schools face similar problems to urban schools in terms of financial support, the solutions need to be tailored to accommodate the cultural values of the rural context (Theobald & Nachtigal, 1995). Consequently, rural educators who wish to enhance the learning environment for adolescents should examine the issues discussed in this article and formulate customized responses to minimize the effects of alienation.

As a result of this study, there are several areas warranting further investigation. First, a longitudinal study of adolescent

alienation in rural schools is necessary to address the effects of socioeconomics and organizational restructuring. The patterns of normlessness and powerlessness which resulted in this study should be tracked to determine when and how rural school community programs might intervene. Additional research might investigate whether geographical location (i.e., rural, suburban, urban) and differing school levels (i.e., elementary, middle, high) have a significant effect on adolescent alienation. If adolescents experience differing levels of alienation across geographical locations, then this would suggest that alienation is highly dependent on environmental factors, rather than being personal and situational as others have contended (Calabrese & Seldin, 1986).

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Table 1  
Frequency and Percent of Selected Demographic Characteristics of Study Participants (N = 361)

Characteristics	N	%
Stage of Adolescence		
Early (11 - 14)	310	85.87
Middle (15 and over)	51	14.13
Gender		
Female	176	48.75
Male	185	51.25
Ethnicity		
African American	21	5.82
Caucasian	147	40.72
Hispanic	171	47.37
Other	20	5.54
Extracurricular Involvement		
Yes	309	85.60
No	52	14.40

(table continues)

Table 1  
Frequency and Percent of Selected Demographic Characteristics of  
Study Participants (N = 361)

Characteristics	N	t
Type of Extracurricular Activity		
Academic	15	4.16
Athletics	45	12.47
Performing Arts	51	14.13
Academic/Performing Arts	29	8.03
Athletic/Performing Arts	66	18.28
Academic/Athletics	33	9.14
Academic/Athletics/Performing Arts	70	19.39
None	52	14.40
Grade Level		
Sixth	77	21.33
Eighth	284	78.67

Note: Two participants did not identify their ethnic background.

Table 2

Means and Standard Deviations based on Period of Adolescence

Group	Total Alienation*		Isolation		Normlessness**		Powerlessness*	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Early	63.00	12.27	24.22	5.38	13.61	4.59	25.21	5.56
Middle	69.63	12.18	25.43	4.52	16.69	5.68	27.51	6.00

Note. The number of early and middle adolescent participants was 310 and 51, respectively.

\*D < .01. \*\*D < .0001.

Table 3

## Means and Standard Deviations based on Extracurricular Involvement

Group	Total Alienation*		Isolation		Normlessness*		Powerlessness	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Yes	63.38	12.53	24.35	5.38	13.69	4.84	25.38	5.57
No	67.27	11.72	24.65	4.68	16.14	4.50	26.46	6.20

NOTE. The number of extracurricular participants and nonparticipants was 309 and 52, respectively.

\*p < .05. \*\*p < .001.

Table 4

## Means and Standard Deviations based on Gender

Group	Total Alienation**		Isolation		Normlessness***		Powerlessness*	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Female	62.34	12.43	24.49	5.48	12.98	4.56	24.92	6.43
Male	65.46	12.37	24.30	5.10	15.05	4.95	26.11	5.85

NOTE. The number of female and male participants was 176 and 185, respectively.

\*p < .05. \*\*p < .01. \*\*\*p < .0001.

Table 6

Means and Standard Deviations based on Grade Level

Group	Total Alienation		Isolation		Normlessness		Powerlessness	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Sixth	62.31	12.14	24.13	5.68	13.09	3.95	25.09	5.61
Eighth	64.38	12.55	24.46	5.17	14.30	5.06	25.65	5.69

Note. The number of sixth and eighth graders was 77 and 284, respectively.

Table 5

Means and Standard Deviations based on Ethnicity

Group	Total Alienation		Isolation**		Normlessness*		Powerlessness	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Anglos	64.46	12.20	25.84	5.61	12.88	4.32	25.81	5.54
Blacks	67.86	9.46	26.19	5.25	16.57	5.47	25.10	3.46
Hispanics	63.30	12.73	22.98	4.61	14.81	4.98	25.50	5.90
Others	61.75	15.28	24.05	5.41	13.30	5.37	24.4	6.82

Note. The number of Anglo, Black, Hispanic, and Other participants was 147, 21, 171, and 20, respectively.

\*p < .001. \*\*p < .0001.

