Fall 2013

Socioeconomic status, mastery, and goal-striving stress among rural youth

Michael S. Staunton
University of New Hampshire, Durham

SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS, MASTERY, AND GOAL-STRIVING STRESS AMONG RURAL YOUTH

BY

MICHAEL S. STAUNTON

Bachelor of Arts, Saint Michael's College, 2000

THESIS

Submitted to the University of New Hampshire

in Partial Fulfillment of

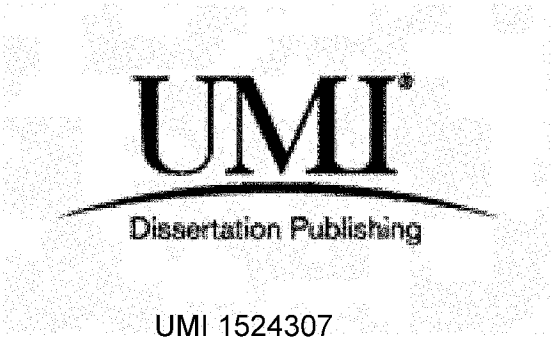
the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

in

Sociology

September, 2013



ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

This thesis has been examined and approved.

Thesis Director, Karen Van Gundy
Associate Professor of Sociology

Heather A. Turner
Professor of Sociology

Cesar Rebellon
Associate Professor of Sociology

8/8/13
Date

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my mom and dad.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to acknowledge and thank the Sociology department faculty, staff, and graduate students for their help and support with this thesis. In particular, I would like to thank my thesis chair and advisor, Professor Karen Van Gundy. Karen supported me when I needed help methodologically, theoretically, and emotionally. I am deeply grateful. I would like to thank Professor Heather Turner for her guidance, her expertise, and for her skill in sharing her knowledge of the sociology of mental health. I would like to thank Professor Cesar Rebellon for his assistance with this thesis and for his support and assistance navigating graduate school. I would like to express my very great appreciation to Deena Peschke for always looking out for me and keeping things in perspective. My special thanks to Meghan Mills and Eleanor Jaffee who have taught me so much and have been a pleasure to work with. I would also like to thank all my friends and teachers at NFI for sharing with me a lifetime's worth of lessons. I wish to thank everybody at Erik's Cleaning Service for sticking with me through this whole project - I have missed spending time with my dear friends over at Erik's. I owe a great deal to my brother, Norman, for providing me with moral support and guidance through the research process. I am deeply grateful to my mom and dad for their endless support and love. Finally, I would like to extend a special thanks to Olive for her kind love and support.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

ABSTRACT

SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS, MASTERY, AND GOAL-STRIVING STRESS AMONG RURAL YOUTH

by

Michael S. Staunton

University of New Hampshire, September, 2013

Although a growing body of research documents the links between goal-striving stress and emotional disorder, less research examines the psychosocial antecedents of goal-striving stress. Drawing on longitudinal survey data from a panel study of rural youth, this thesis examines the effects of socioeconomic status and mastery on educational goal-striving stress, occupational goal-striving stress, and combined goal-striving stress. Results indicate that each measure of goal-striving stress is not equally well predicted by socioeconomic status and mastery. Notably, the effects of socioeconomic status on occupational goal-striving stress and combined goal-striving stress are conditioned by mastery, while neither socioeconomic status nor mastery is associated with educational goal-striving stress. Findings show that that the interaction between socioeconomic status and mastery accounts for socioeconomic status differences in both occupational and combined goal-striving stress, and that mastery is associated with a decrease in occupational and combined goal-striving stress particularly at lower socioeconomic strata.

INTRODUCTION

Goal-striving stress measures discrepancies between socially derived aspirations and achievements (Sellers and Neighbors 2008). This discrepancy between aspirations and achievements is primarily conceptualized as a chronic stressor within the stress process framework (See Pearlin 1999); it is a continuous and protracted structural constraint that challenges functional capacity (Wheaton, Young, Montazer and Lahman 2012; Sellers, Neighbors, Zhang and Jackson 2011; Wheaton 1999). Goal-striving stress is also conceptualized as a subjective experience in which the coalescence of social structure and personal characteristics manifest in a socio-psychological experience of status discrepancy. Goal-striving stress has been linked to negative physical health outcomes and negative mental health outcomes, although most recent research has focused on the role of goal-striving stress as an antecedent to mental health disorder (e.g. Parker and Kleiner 1966; Sellers and Neighbors 2008; Neighbors, Sellers, Zhang and Jackson 2011). Like other forms of chronic stress, goal-striving stress is related to dimensions of social status. However, scant research has investigated the nuanced mechanisms that link social status characteristics to goal-striving stress.

This thesis investigates the predictors of goal-striving stress among a sample of rural youth. Drawing on a panel study of rural youth, two waves of data are used in a longitudinal analysis of the socioeconomic and psychosocial

antecedents of goal-striving stress. While a growing body of literature documents the health outcomes that are associated with goal-striving stress, less research has focused on the mechanisms and contingencies that link goal-striving stress with dimensions of social status. Prior work by Turner and Turner (2005) focused on antecedent contexts and factors that act as markers of elevated risk for both acute and chronic stress. This study investigates the socioeconomic and psychosocial risk factors related to goal-striving stress.

Historically, goal-striving stress has been researched primarily in a context of race, with a focus on how racial inequality and structural barriers contribute to unmet aspirations (Parker and Kleiner 1966; Sellers, Neighbors and Bonham 2011; Sellers and Neighbors 2008). This thesis expands beyond looking at goal-striving stress in a race-based context, and concomitantly expands the focus beyond the socio-structural antecedents of goal-striving stress. Specifically, this thesis explores whether socioeconomic inequality, rather than racial inequality, relates to status-based discrepancies in the distribution of psychosocial resources and goal-striving stress. However, the a priori assumption in the race-based research of goal-striving stress – that socio-structural obstacles lead to unmet aspirations for disadvantaged groups – is maintained as the present inquiry shifts towards understanding the psychosocial antecedents of goal-striving stress.

Research on goal-striving stress is particularly salient in the context of American culture. The "American Dream" narrative, that rationally acting individuals can achieve upward social mobility through hard work, is a powerful

and ubiquitous belief in American culture. Yet, in spite of rags-to-riches success stories and the proliferation of educational opportunities, empirical evidence and lay-experience affirm that upward social mobility is not easily attained, even for those who work hard. Indeed, the contradictions of the American status structure were highlighted recently in the "Occupy Wall Street" movement, in which trends of income inequality in America took a national spotlight; and empirical research confirms that income inequality continues to expand in the United States (Congressional Budget Office 2011). The personal challenges of upward status mobility combine with the shared success goals of the American culture (See Merton 1957) to create what Parker and Kleiner (1963) refer to as the "structural contradiction" of status mobility.[1]

Conceptually, hopes for upward mobility are known formally and informally as *aspirations*; whereas realistic assessments and intentions for the future are known as *expectations.* While expectations are certainly not to be mistaken for manifest *achievements,* past research has shown that, in the case of education, expectations are fairly accurate indicators of future achievements (Andres, Adamuti-Trache, Yoon, Pidgeon, and Thomsen 2007). As a measure of the gap between aspirations and achievements, goal-striving stress fits within status inconsistency research, and sits well alongside classic sociological theorizations that link the inability to reach desired goals with a host of related outcomes, such as psychological distress, social adaptation, and deviance.

[1]Parker and Kleiner use the term "structural contradiction" in a race-based context to explain the challenges of black Americans who aspire towards shared American values but encounter unique obstacles. I extend the usage, applying it to all Americans who share common status mobility goals and encounter structural obstacles.

Currently, goal-striving stress is conceptualized primarily in the context of underachievement; that is, when achievements do not meet aspirations. Accordingly, goal-striving stress is increased by high aspirations, low achievements, or a combination of both. Conversely, goal-striving stress is decreased by low aspirations, high achievements, or a combination of both. The a priori assumption that discrimination and unequal opportunities lead to goal-striving stress particularly among black Americans led to the proliferation of research examining how black Americans encounter structural barriers that lead to unrealized goals and low achievements (e.g. Parker and Kleiner 1966; Crocker and Major 1989; Sellers, Neighbors, and Bonham 2008). Yet, the "aspiration inflation hypothesis" (Reynolds and Baird 2010) suggests that all Americans have been aspiring for higher goals, without the commensurate structural opportunities to reach these goals. Thus, the structural contradictions of American culture may well be investigated outside of a race-based context, and necessarily warrant research into both the antecedents and consequences of goal-striving stress among other disadvantaged groups.

This thesis contributes to prior research by asking whether there are processes that relate to the emergence of goal-striving stress that go beyond status differences in the distribution of opportunities. While structural barriers certainly relate to stifled aspirations and unmet goals, this research investigates the role of psychosocial resources, specifically mastery, in both explaining and modifying the association between socioeconomic status and goal-striving stress. Mastery is conceptualized as the extent to which one regards one's life-chances

as being under one's own control in contrast to being fatalistically ruled (Pearlin 1992), and is recognized as a personal resource that engenders instrumental action and buffers against the consequences of stress exposure (Thoits 1987; Wheaton 1980).

Although mastery is a personal resource, it is – like the opportunity structure – related to socioeconomic status. Higher status groups tend to possess greater beliefs in personal control (Aneshensel 1992; Pearlin and Radabaugh 1976; Ross and Mirowsky 1989). Consequently, causal inferences relating to the primacy of either socioeconomic status or mastery as mechanisms of social stratification are confounded by their statistical covariance and their reciprocal reinforcement. By independently testing socioeconomic status and mastery as predictors of goal-striving stress, this research poses to investigate the structured distribution of mastery as a personal resource, and the conditional effects of mastery according to differences in socioeconomic status.

This research investigates the predictors of goal-striving stress among rural youth. This inquiry is particularly important because both rurality and age are contingencies that have unique relevance in contemporary society. The globalized economy along with changes in the American workforce have led to dramatic changes to rural livelihoods. Many rural communities have experienced substantial job loss related to shifts away from small-scale agriculture, mining, forestry, and production (Conger and Elder 1994; Gibbs, Kusmin and Cromartie 2005). These changes are important beyond the obvious economic consequences. Rural youth are affected to the extent that their aspirations may

no longer fit the realities of their local context. Lower educational aspirations have – until relatively recently – been sufficient to prepare rural youth for the types of jobs available in their communities (Byun, Meece, Irvin and Hutchins 2012; Elder and Conger 2000). Yet, as low-skilled jobs in local rural communities decline, rural youth have fewer occupational options in their home communities. Rural youth also have strong familial and community bonds; and aspirations to maintain these bonds (Van Gundy 2006). These conflicting aspirations have led to the proliferation of research investigating the link between rural economic contexts and rural young adult out-migration. In addition, changes in communication technologies have connected rural youth to ideas and possibilities that have traditionally sat beyond the context of their local community socialization. Taken together, the complexities related to emerging adulthood among rural youth provide the context necessary to investigate the unique goal-striving contingencies of emerging adulthood in rural America.

My research questions are, among rural youth: (1) how is goal striving stress related to socioeconomic status?; (2) to what extent does mastery explain the relationship between socioeconomic status and goal-striving stress?; and (3) to what extent is the focal relationship between socioeconomic status and goal-striving stress conditioned by mastery? I emphasize that the salience of these questions are highlighted by understanding that youth encounter challenges related to achieving what they aspire towards; that rural youth may encounter additional challenges related to struggling local economies and to changes in rural livelihoods; that rural youth are increasingly connected to a globalized

system of interaction via communication technologies; and that mastery, a belief in personal control, may be a good place to start in understanding differences in how these youth experience the exigencies of young adulthood in rural America.

CHAPTER I

LITERATURE REVIEW

Background

The goals of this thesis are to investigate how goal-striving stress is linked to socioeconomic status, and how mastery helps explain or modify this focal association. Extant literature demonstrates that goal-striving stress is a significant predictor of differential mental health outcomes (See Neighbors, Sellers, Zhang and Jackson 2011; Parker and Kleiner 1966; Reynolds and Baird 2010; Sellers and Neighbors 2008; Sellers, Neighbors and Bonham 2011; Smith and Frank 2005). Accordingly, by investigating the predictors of goal-striving stress, I hope to bring awareness and understanding to components of mental health outcomes that occur earlier in the etiology of distress. This research goal follows Aneshensel (1992:16), who offers that "stress research tends to be less concerned with the origins of stressful life experience than with the consequences of such experiences for outcomes of illness, especially, psychological disorder." Much research has been dedicated to understanding the consequences of stress exposure and its resultant negative health outcomes. Less research has focused on the antecedents of stress exposure. Investigating the processes that lead to goal-striving stress has the potential to increase efforts to reduce socially patterned stress and ameliorate the deleterious health

outcomes that relate to stress exposure.

This investigation primarily utilizes the stress process model as outlined by Pearlin (1999), which has been widely used to investigate how social status differences in health outcomes relate to differences in stress exposure. The majority of research utilizing the stress process model is epidemiological, with a focus on how status variations in stress exposure and status variations in stress vulnerability relate to differential health outcomes. A key component in stress process research is how psychosocial resources moderate the relationship between social status and health outcomes. Pearlin and Bierman (2012:326) point to *stressors, mediators and moderators*, and *mental health outcomes* as the constituent components of the stress process, and emphasize how social status can have a "ubiquitous influence" over each constituent component.

This analysis focuses on a specific sub-relationship within the larger stress process framework. Rather than investigating differential mental health outcomes as the dependent variable, I choose to investigate goal-striving stress as the dependent outcome. My preference for investigating the predictors *of* goal-striving stress, rather than goal-striving stress *as* a predictor of health outcomes, is based on the unique characteristics of goal-striving stress. The traditional approach to goal-striving stress recognizes it as an important predictor of mental health outcomes, which places it appropriately alongside other stress process research that investigates the links between social status, social stress and disorder. Indeed, a growing body of literature documents goal-striving stress as a

risk factor for mental health disorder (See Neighbors, Sellers, Zhang and Jackson 2011; Parker and Kleiner 1966; Reynolds and Baird 2010; Sellers and Neighbors 2008; Sellers, Neighbors and Bonham 2011; Smith and Frank 2005). However, goal-striving stress is relevant for reasons beyond its function as a predictor of other outcomes. Goal-striving stress is also a subjective experience in which the coalescence of social structure and personal characteristics manifest in a phenomenological socio-psychological experience (See Frey and Stutzer 2005; Angner, Hullet, and Allison 2011). In short, I suggest that failing to achieve one's aspired goals is a consequential subjective experience; and that the failure to achieve one's goals is not only a significant predictor of health outcomes, but also a telling indicator of the socio-psychological processes related to American culture, status inconsistencies, and the social contingencies of upward mobility.

Socioeconomic Status

Across sub-disciplines in sociology, socioeconomic status remains of great interest as a hypothesized predictor of multiple dependent outcomes. In the sociology of mental health, socioeconomic status and social class are linked to risk factors related to mental disorders and distress (Muntaner, Ng, Vanroelen, Christ, and Eaton 2012; Pearlin 1989; Turner and Lloyd 1999). Additionally, epidemiological research shows that morbidity and mortality vary by socioeconomic status (Adler et al. 1994; Adler and Coriell 1997; Sorlie, Backlund

and Keller 1995). In educational research, socioeconomic status is among the most commonly explored predictors of variable outcomes related to educational achievement and educational processes (e.g. Sirin 2005; Bourdieu 1986).

In the sociology of mental health and stress process research, socioeconomic status has been linked to both acute and chronic stress exposure as well as variability in stress responses (Lantz, House, Mero and Williams 2005). Turner, Wheaton, and Lloyd (1995) find that stress exposure is linked to sociodemographic position, and that variable stress exposure accounts for variability in mental health outcomes. In a review of the literature, Baum and associates similarly find that socioeconomic status is linked with both stressful life events and stress responses (Baum, Garofalo, and Yali 1999). In multiple studies, socioeconomic status differences in stress exposure and stress reactivity are linked with negative mental health outcomes (See Dohrenwend 2000; Thoits 1995). Taken together, the stress process literature consistently shows that acute stressors and chronic stressors are distributed disproportionately among low socioeconomic status groups, and that a substantial portion of variability in mental health outcomes is explained by socioeconomic status differences in stress exposure and stress responses.

Aspirations and achievements – the two constituent components of goal-striving stress – also vary by socioeconomic status. Multiple studies affirm that student aspirations and student achievements are influenced by socioeconomic status (Alexander, Entwisle, and Thompson 1987; Guo 1998; Mehan 1992); and that aspirations in early adulthood are shaped by realistic appraisals of status-

based life course options (Elder, Johnson, and Crosnoe 2003). Accordingly, lower rural educational aspirations are often attributed to socioeconomic differences at the community level (Byun, Meece, Irvin, and Hutchins 2012; Haas 1992; Haler and Virkler 1993). Furthermore, parents' education is linked with student educational aspirations, and rural youth are less likely than metropolitan youth to have parents with post-secondary education (Pollard, O'Hare and Berg 1990). This thesis tests the effects of socioeconomic status and mastery on multiple measures of goal-striving stress in an effort to identify how beliefs in personal control affect the relative gap between aspirations and achievements among a sample of rural youth.

Status Inconsistency

In the social sciences, socioeconomic status is commonly operationalized as a composite construct that is measured by combining dimensions of occupation, income, and education. Although this operationalization is generally accepted as a valid measure of socioeconomic status, the possibility exists that individuals may occupy inconsistent status positions between the distinct dimensions of occupation, income, and education. Discrepancies between the multiple dimensions of social status are conceptualized as a structural source of chronic stress which often involves the lack of access to opportunity or the necessary means to achieve ends (Wheaton 1999; Aneshensel 1992). Status inconsistency research focuses on the antecedents and consequences related to social status discrepancies. Goal-striving stress, the dependent variable in this

thesis, is one of several forms of status inconsistency that has received considerable empirical attention.

Veblen's (1899) concept of conspicuous consumption offers an entrance into the history of status inconsistency research. The concept of conspicuous consumption is based on Veblen's conception of the multiple dimensions of stratification, suggesting that personal achievement – without social recognition – is not sufficient for upward social mobility. Similarly, Weber (1946) articulated multiple dimensions of social stratification and differentiated between economic resources (class), status, and party – allowing for the possibility that individuals can maintain contradictory positions across dimensions of status. Bourdieu (1986) highlights that economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital operate as currency within different dimensions of status, and that the appropriation of capital in one dimension of status does not necessarily result in status changes in other dimensions.

Based on the distinctions between multiple dimensions of status, status inconsistency researchers recognize that personal problems may be associated with the concurrent occupying of conflicting status positions. For example, high educational achievement coupled with low occupational achievement suggests a person's status position is inconsistent between dimensions, and therefore potentially problematic. Status inconsistency could alternately take the form of low achievement relative to a comparative (peer) reference group. In consideration of multiple forms of status inconsistencies, Dressler (1988) formalized three types of status inconsistency, each involving distinct dimensions

of status: (1) objective inconsistency – discrepancy between income and occupation; (2) lifestyle incongruity – consumption patterns and cosmopolitan behaviors inconsistent with social class; and (3) goal-striving stress – discrepancy between aspirations and achievements (See also Aneshensel 1992). Goal-striving stress, the discrepancy between aspirations and achievements, is the focus of this thesis.

Goal-striving Stress

As stated above, goal-striving stress is a dimension of status inconsistency measured by the quantified gap between aspirations and achievements, weighted by the subjective probability of success or the level of disappointment experienced if goals are not reached (Sellers and Neighbors 2008; Parker and Kleiner 1966). Goal-striving stress is alternately defined as the extent to which individuals feel their efforts match their rewards (Parker and Kleiner 1966; Sellers and Neighbors 2008). This thesis contributes to prior research by utilizing a modified version of Parker and Kleiner's "striving scale" that is amended to capture the unique life circumstances of youth (See Mills 2013), and by testing the predictors of this measure among a sample of rural youth. According to Neighbors et al. (2011:52) goal-striving stress is a "classic but overlooked measure," and is useful in stress process research because it captures the subjective nature of the appraisal process. Goal-striving stress is additionally important because it measures a socio-psychological component of

chronic stress associated with the quest for upward social mobility (Parker and Kleiner 1966; Neighbors et al. 2011).

Dressler (1988) recounts the history of goal-striving stress research as an evolution of suggestive findings that were subsequently discredited due to methodological criticisms. The "status inconsistency mode," employed by Lenski (1954) and Jackson (1962), measured goal-striving stress by directly comparing occupation and income. Status contradictions arising from inconsistencies between occupational level and income level were quantified and tested as a predictor of physical and mental health outcomes. In spite of robust findings, the status inconsistency model failed to include measures of how subjectively important these inconsistencies were for individuals as well as failed to control for the main effects of social status. Building on the status inconsistency model, Parker and Kleiner (1963, 1966) conceptualized a "goal-striving stress model," which hypothesized that discrepancies between aspirations and achievements were a form of chronic stress. According to Dressler (1988), the methodological improvement of the goal-striving stress model was that it recognized the directionality of the discrepancy, and recognized that subjective expectations affect the personal experience of the aspiration/achievement discrepancy.

Current goal-striving stress research utilizes a version of Parker and Kleiner's (1966) "striving scale," which asks respondents to rate (1) their current (status) position on a 10 point scale; (2) their aspired (status) position on a 10 point scale; and (3) how disappointed they will be if they do not reach their aspired goal and/or the self-appraised likelihood of respondents reaching their

goal (See Sellers 2008; Sellers, Neighbors and Bonham 2011; Neighbors et al. 2011). Using the striving scale, the signed difference between aspirations and achievements is weighted by a factor of disappointment and/or likelihood of achievement. The reemergence, and validation, of the striving scale framework has catalyzed renewed interest in goal-striving stress and status inconsistencies. This thesis employs a modified version of Parker and Kleiner's "striving scale" that is intended to capture the unique life circumstances of young adults in emerging adulthood (See Mills forthcoming 2013). Young adults, more so than adults, have had limited life opportunities to achieve – or not achieve – their educational and occupational aspirations. As such, the modified striving scale used in this thesis measures the discrepancies between aspirations and expectations, rather than the discrepancies between aspirations and achievements.

Mastery

In this thesis, mastery is tested as a mediator and a moderator in the focal relationship between socioeconomic status and multiple measures of goal-striving stress. Mastery is conceptualized as the extent to which one regards one's life-chances as being under one's own control in contrast to being fatalistically ruled (Pearlin 1992). Mastery is a personal resource, but it is socially distributed; and prior research shows that mastery varies positively with socioeconomic status (Aneshensel 1992; Pearlin and Radabaugh 1976; Thoits 1987; Ross and Mirowsky 1989). Most research utilizes the concept of mastery

as a global assessment, meaning that it is conceptualized as a generalized belief in personal control. However, some research examines localized attributions of personal control within particular domains, such as the belief in personal control related to specific tasks or challenges. For present purposes, mastery is considered and measured as a global assessment relating to a belief that a person can shape the outcomes of his or her own life. Ross and Mirowsky (1989) offer that mastery is a concept very similar to self-efficacy, internal locus of control, personal control, perceived control of the environment, and instrumentalism, and is opposite in meaning to fatalism, external locus of control, powerlessness, and learned helplessness.

Within stress process research, mastery is among the most thoroughly explored psychosocial resources that have been shown to moderate the link between socioeconomic status and stress (Aneshensel 1992). In the stress process framework, mastery is recognized as a psychosocial resource that can buffer individuals from the negative health outcomes associated with stress exposure. Using Smith's (1987) engineering analogy, mastery is a resource that allows individuals to bear the load of heavier stress because it engenders instrumental action based on a belief of personal control. In a simple example of the stress buffering function of mastery, the stress associated with unexpected job loss is considerably less for a person who possesses a strong belief in his or her ability to find another job.

Importantly, while mastery is a personal characteristic, its emergence is related to social stratification; higher status groups tend to have higher levels of

mastery (Aneshensel 1992; Pearlin and Radabaugh 1976; Thoits 1987; Ross and Mirowsky 1989). As a result, lower status groups may be exposed to unique challenges and adversities while simultaneously being more vulnerable on account of having lower levels of mastery. Moreover, mastery is associated with lower levels of personal distress (Mirowsky and Ross 2003; Pearlin, Menaghan, Lieberman and Mullan 1981; Wheaton 1983). In fact, Mirowsky and Ross (2003) offer that among all beliefs a person might hold, a belief in personal control (mastery) may be the most important in affecting distress.

Mastery affects stress and health outcomes largely by its impact on coping behavior (Aneshensel 1992). For instance, Wheaton (1980) finds that fatalism (the absence of mastery) undermines personal effort and persistence. In the absence of mastery, individuals may be less likely to engage in, and continue with, instrumental effort that can ameliorate negative outcomes. In the case of health outcomes, mastery affects coping behavior to the extent that efficacious coping will be in earnest. Healthy outcomes and the efficacious coping behaviors that can lead to healthy outcomes are supported by beliefs in personal control and rely on the unique role that mastery plays in engendering a commitment to healthy practices. As a result, mastery is conceptualized as both a resource unto itself, as well as a factor influencing the emergence of other resources and coping behaviors. This thesis continues in the tradition of testing for the mediating and moderating effects of mastery. However, unlike past research, this thesis tests whether mastery affects the relationship between socioeconomic status and multiple measures of goal-striving stress.

Mastery, Attribution, and Context

Mastery, like other psychosocial resources, is consistently found to buffer and protect against the harmful effects of stress exposure. High levels of mastery can catalyze instrumental action, or buffer against the deleterious consequences associated with stress exposure. Indeed, in most contexts, mastery has a stress buffering effect insofar as individuals who possess high levels of mastery possess a belief in self-efficacy and engage in active problem solving and instrumental action (Thoits 1987). Wheaton (1980) concludes that mastery, and a generalized belief in personal control, is an important personal resource that buffers against the deleterious consequences of stress exposure. This research contributes to the body of research that explores the generalized stress buffering functions of mastery, and examines the role of mastery as a resource that buffers against the stress of self-appraised status discrepancies.

While mastery is commonly recognized as a personal resource that buffers against the deleterious health consequences associated with stress exposure, both Wheaton (1980) and Aneshensel (1992) allow that under certain circumstances a belief in personal control may be counterproductive. For instance, when stressors cannot be controlled, a belief in personal control may erode self-concept and lead to depression. Wheaton (1983) found that certain mental health outcomes such as depression are exacerbated by fatalism, while anxiety is not. Although Aneshensel (1992) cautions against measuring solitary

outcomes, Wheaton's finding relates to scattered evidence that – depending on context and outcome considered – external attribution may have a salutary benefits (See also Sellers and Neighbors 2011). While few researchers discredit the generalized buffering effects of mastery, it remains that a belief in personal control may not always ameliorate distress.

The consolation-prize theory of alienation, for example, hypothesizes that rejecting responsibility for their life outcomes helps low status people feel less distressed by their situation. Despite the "intuitive appeal" of this hypothesis, Mirowsky and Ross (1990:105) do not find evidence that blaming chance, fate, or powerful others reduces the stress associated with low status. The rejection of the consolation-prize hypothesis follows with the well-accepted belief that mastery is a personal resource with overwhelmingly salutary benefits. In reviewing this line of inquiry, Ross and Mirowsky (2012) offer that multiple studies affirm that attributing life outcomes to either powerful others or luck is associated with depression.

While external attribution and fatalism may not protect low status people from negative mental health outcomes, researchers have investigated whether there is such a thing as too much mastery. Wheaton (1980) finds evidence of a threshold of dysfunction for beliefs in personal control, above which beliefs in personal control can increase distress. The threshold of dysfunction theory suggests that the salutary benefits of mastery are diminished if the sense of control is not based on realistic appraisals (Ross and Mirowsky 2012). Ross and Mirowsky (1990) conclude that perceptions of control that are related to status

are realistic, and that the salutary benefits of realistic control are not subject to diminishing returns; whereas perceptions of control that are not related to status are illusory, and the salutary benefits of illusory control are subject to diminishing returns. While the consolation-prize hypothesis, and its subsequent improvements, relate to a hypothesized link between external attribution and mental health outcomes, this research takes an alternate approach and investigates the link between internal/external attribution and goal-striving stress outcomes. Accordingly, this thesis will test not only if beliefs in personal mastery are related to a decrease in goal-striving stress, but also if a threshold exists above which mastery is related to an increase in goal-striving stress.

Research Hypothesis

Extant literature shows mixed results in regards to the relationship between socioeconomic status and goal-striving stress and a consistent link between goal-striving stress and a mental health disadvantage. This research will contribute by investigating the link between socioeconomic status and goal-striving stress, net of control variables, among a predominantly white sample of rural youth. I hypothesize that goal-striving stress will vary inversely with socioeconomic status – that lower status groups will have higher prevalence of goal-striving stress. Model 1 depicts the first research hypothesis.

I further hypothesize that mastery will mediate the relationship between socioeconomic status and goal-striving stress. Model 2 depicts the causal relationships predicted in the second research hypothesis. I hypothesize that a

substantial portion of the relationship that exists between socioeconomic status and goal-striving stress will be explained by the mediating functions of mastery. Thus, if the second research hypothesis is confirmed, the strength and the significance of the relationship between socioeconomic status and goal-striving stress will decrease after the inclusion of mastery as a mediating independent variable.

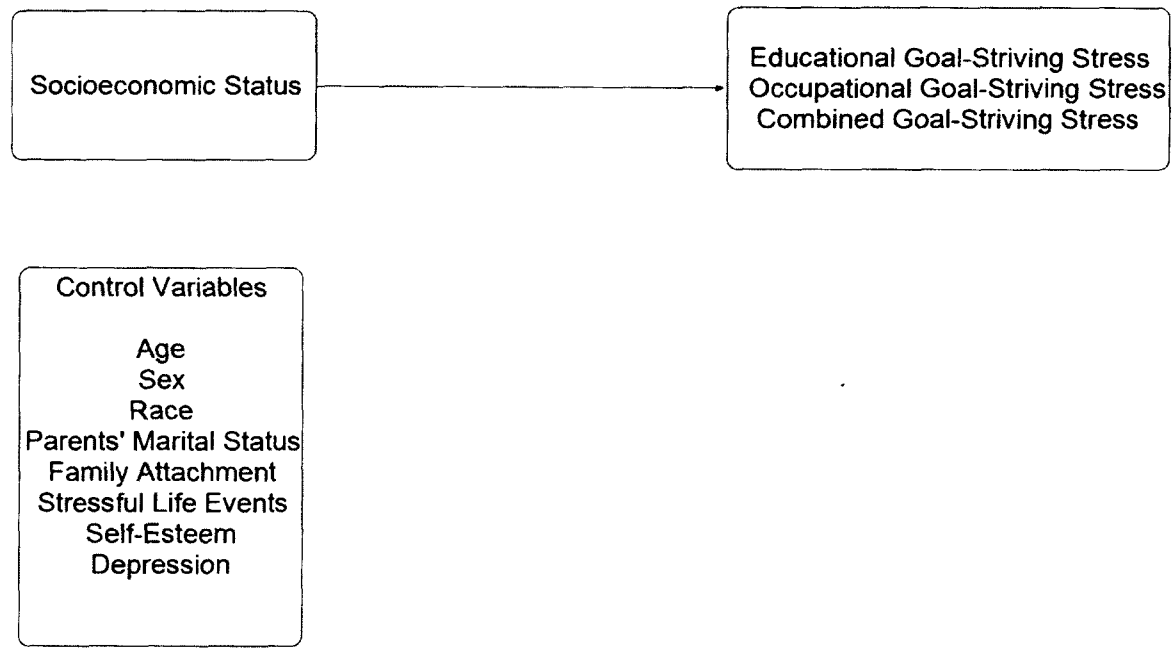
Additionally, I hypothesize that mastery will condition the relationship between socioeconomic status and goal-striving stress. Model 2 depicts the hypothesized causal links related to the third research hypothesis. I predict that the association between socioeconomic status and goal-striving stress will be contingent on values of mastery. Specifically, I predict that mastery will be associated with lower goal-striving stress at all levels of socioeconomic status; and that the interaction between socioeconomic status and mastery will be associated with lower goal-striving stress more so as socioeconomic status decreases.

This analysis holds constant several variables that are documented correlates with stress exposure and attributional styles. Following Dressler (1988), age is held constant in order to control for the main effects of age on measures of status inconsistency. Similarly, sex is held constant, as it is in many analyses, so that the effects of the focal independent variables on goal-striving stress are considered net of the effects of sex. Race has been widely explored as a correlate of goal-striving stress, and is correspondently held constant in this analysis (See Parker and Kleiner 1966; Sellers, Neighbors and Bonham 2011;

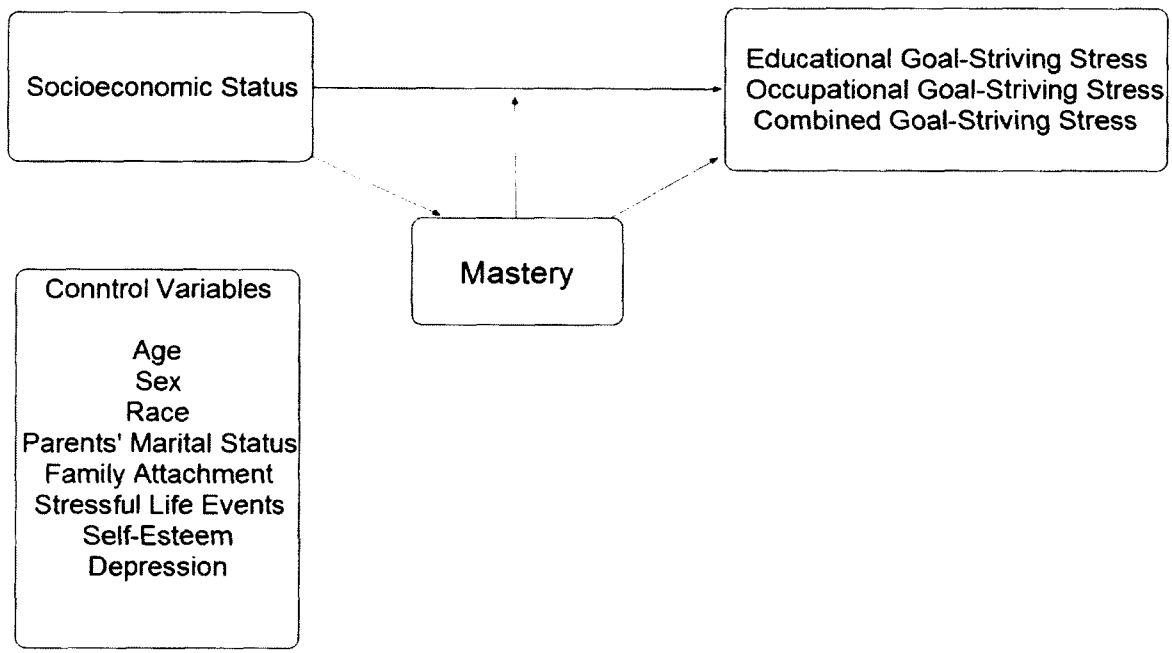
Sellers and Neighbors 2008). Again following Dressler (1988), parental marital status is held constant in this analysis. Family attachment is held constant, following the long line of research (See Bowlby 1988; Ainsworth 1979) that documents substantial developmental differences due to variations in early-life parental attachment. Prior stress exposure is held constant on account of prior research showing that early life stress is a risk factor for subsequent stress exposure (See Wheaton, Roszell and Hall 1997; See also Turner and Turner 2005). Self-esteem is held constant in order to control for the documented associations between self-esteem and self-blame (See Sellers, Neighbors and Bonham 2011). Finally, depression is held constant in order to control for associations between psychological distress and attributional styles (see Dressler 1988).

Causal Models

Model 1: Focal Relationship



Model 2: Elaborated Model



CHAPTER II

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

Sample

The data I use for this thesis are self-reported survey data collected as part of the Rural Youth Study (RYS) (See Van Gundy and Mills 2013; Mills 2013; Van Gundy et al. 2011). The Rural Youth Study tracks two cohorts of youth from New Hampshire's most rural county into young adulthood from 2008-2018. To date, three waves of data have been collected for each cohort, and Wave IV data collection began in late-winter 2013. This analysis utilizes longitudinal data from Wave I and Wave II.

Wave I data collection began in 2008 with a census of 7th and 11th grade public school students from the northern most country in New Hampshire. Wave I survey instruments were administered as school-based paper and pencil surveys. Data collection took place at the respective middle schools and high schools in the RYS school districts. The school districts dedicated full class periods for data collection. Data collection was proctored by Rural Youth Study staff as well as by school staff. Wave I data collection captured responses from 657 of the 792 students that were documented as enrolled in RYS schools by the Department of Education[2], resulting in a response rate of 83%.

[2] DOE data was released in October, 2007. RYS data collection took place in March, 2008.

Wave II data were collected in 2009 with a sample size of 678, including 113 new students who were not empanelled in Wave I. Of the 657 students who are represented in Wave I, 14% were lost due to attrition in Wave II. In 2009 the younger cohort was in 8th grade and the older cohort was in 12th grade. The survey instrument was administered as a paper and pencil survey at the respective middle schools and high schools in the RYS school districts. Data collection was again organized through the school districts, and the school administrators allotted a full class period for survey instrumentation.

Attrition rates between Waves I and II reveal minor systematic biases in respondent retention. These biases, however minor, require consideration. Eighty-four percent of males from Wave I responded in Wave II, whereas 87.5% of females from Wave I responded in Wave II. A proportionally higher number of non-white respondents were lost to attrition (21%), compared to the proportion of white respondents who were lost to attrition between waves (13%). The loss of non-white students is at least partially due to non-white exchange students who were enrolled in RYS schools for only one year. The most significant attrition bias is related to the highest level of education achieved by respondents' parents. For example, of those students who report that the highest level of education achieved by their parent(s) is less than high school, 19% were lost due to attrition between Wave I and Wave II; whereas of those students who report that the highest level of education achieved by their parent(s) is a four-year college degree, 10% were lost due to attrition between Wave I and Wave II.

The total sample size for this study is 657. The present analysis includes only cases for which data are available for all variables used in the analysis. The resulting sample (N=482) consists of 238 younger cohort participants and 244 older cohort participants. The sample of 482 includes participants who are represented in Both Wave I data and Wave II data, and for whom data are available for all variables used in this analysis.

Measures

Independent Variables (Wave I)

Socioeconomic Status. Socioeconomic status at Wave I is the focal independent variable. Socioeconomic status is measured as a composite construct that consists of three distinct dimensions of social class: (1) parents' education, (2) parents' occupational prestige, and (3) self-reported financial strain (See Mills 2013 forthcoming; Van Gundy and Mills 2013; Mills and Van Gundy 2012).

Parents' education is measured according to the highest level of education attained by the respondent's mother (or female guardian) and father (or male guardian). Response options for parents' education range from "less than high school" (0) to "graduate or professional degree" (6). In two-parent families, mother's and father's education scores are averaged. In the case of single-parent families, the relevant parental education score is used. Parental education scores are standardized, with higher scores representing higher levels of parental education. After standardization, scores range from -1.76 to 2.52.

Respondents self-reported both father's (or male guardian) occupation and mother's (or female guardian) occupation. Parental occupational prestige scores are calculated using the Nakao and Treas (1992) socioeconomic index occupations coding scheme. In the case of two working parents, parental occupational prestige scores are averaged. In the instance of single parent families and families with one working parent, only the relevant parental occupation is used. The occupational prestige scores are standardized, with higher scores indicating higher levels of parental occupational prestige. After standardization, scores range from -1.75 to 3.46.

Self-reported financial strain is measured by responses to two questions related to perceptions of family economic strain. The items come from Conger and Elder (1994) and capture respondents' perceptions of their family's financial situation. The first item reads, "Families are different in the amount of money they have. How would you rate your family?" Response options range from "very little money" (0) to "lots of money" (5). The second item reads "How satisfied are you with your family's financial situation?" Response options range from "not very satisfied" (0) to "very satisfied" (5). These two items are averaged and standardized, with lower scores indicating higher levels of financial strain and higher scores indicating higher levels of financial security. After standardization, scores range from -2.13 to 1.86.

A composite socioeconomic status score is calculated by adding the standardized scores of parents' education, parents' occupational prestige, and self-reported financial strain, and re-standardizing this measure (See Mills 2013;

Van Gundy and Mills 2013). Higher composite socioeconomic status scores indicate higher socioeconomic status. After adding the constituent components and restandardizing, socioeconomic status scores range from -2.41 to 3.66. As a standardized measure, the mean value of socioeconomic status is 0.03, with a standard deviation of 0.98.

Mastery. Mastery at Wave I is tested in this analysis as both a mediator and a moderator in the relationship between Wave I socioeconomic status and Wave II measures of goal-striving stress. A shortened version of the Pearlin Mastery scale (Pearlin and Schooler 1978) is used to measure mastery in the Rural Youth Study. Wave I data contain a seven-item mastery scale that allows four possible responses, ranging from "strongly agree" (0) to "strongly disagree" (3). Items include: "What happens to me in the future mostly depends on me," and "I can do just about anything I really set my mind to." Negatively worded responses are reverse coded such that higher scores reflect higher levels of mastery. Scores for each of the seven mastery items are averaged. The reliability coefficient for the mastery scale is 0.65. Mastery scores range from 0.17 to 3; the mean value of mastery is 2.12, with a standard deviation of 0.57.

Dependent Variables (Wave II)

Goal-Striving Stress. Goal-striving stress at Wave II is the focal dependent variable. Three dimensions of goal-striving stress at Wave II are measured: educational goal-striving stress, occupational goal-striving stress, and combined goal-striving stress (See Mills 2013). Goal-striving stress is measured using an

adapted version of Parker and Kleiner's (1966) and Sellers, Neighbors, and Bonham's (2011) striving scale (See Mills 2013). Goal-striving stress is measured by the standardized difference between *aspirations* and *expectations* multiplied by *peer expectations.* As such, goal-striving stress represents the gap between one's expectations and one's aspirations, factored by the relative likelihood that one's peers will accomplish the same desired outcome. An alternative method of measuring goal-striving stress involves multiplying the difference between aspirations and achievements by a factor of self-reported disappointment if the goal is not realized (See Sellers and Neighbors 2008). However, only the former method of measuring goal-striving stress is possible based on the limits of the data.

Educational goal-striving stress. Wave II educational goal-striving stress is measured by subtracting educational expectations from educational aspirations, and multiplying the signed difference by a factor of peer educational expectations (Mills 2013). Educational aspirations are measured by asking respondents how important it is to them to "finish college." Responses range on a seven-point scale from "not at all important" (0) to "very important" (6). Responses from both questions are averaged. Educational expectations are measured by asking respondents how likely it is that they will actually "finish college." Response options range on a seven-point scale from "not at all likely" (0) to "very likely" (6). Peer educational expectations are measured by asking respondents how many of their friends are planning to "finish college." Response options range on a five-point scale from "none" (1) to "all" (5). The unstandardized educational goal-

striving stress scores range from -18 to 15; the mean is 0.74, with a standard deviation of 3.14. The distribution of educational goal-striving stress is approximately symmetric (skewness statistic -0.18). Unstandardized negative educational goal-striving stress scores reflect instances when expectations exceed aspirations; positive scores reflect instances when aspirations exceed expectations.

Occupational goal-striving stress. Wave II occupational goal-striving stress is measured by subtracting occupational expectations from occupational aspirations, and multiplying the signed difference by a factor of peer occupational expectations. Occupational aspirations are measured by asking respondents how important it is to them to "have a secure job," "save a lot of money," and "have a successful career." Response options range on a seven-point scale from "not at all important" (0) to "very important" (6). Responses across the three items are averaged. Occupational expectations are measured by asking respondents how likely it is that they will "have a secure job," "save a lot of money," and "have a successful career." Response options range on a seven-point scale from "not at all likely" (0) to "very likely" (6). Responses across the three items are averaged. Peer occupational expectations are measured by asking respondents how many of their friends are planning to "have a secure job," "save a lot of money," and "have a successful career." Response options range on a five-point scale from "none" (1) to "all" (5). Responses across the three items are averaged. The unstandardized occupational goal-striving stress scores range from -7.3 to 18.3; the mean is 1.7, with a standard deviation of 3.34. The distribution of

occupational goal-striving stress is skewed (skewness statistic 1.3), which may violate the assumptions of a normal distribution. To address concerns regarding normality, a log transformation was performed on occupational goal-striving stress. This transformation had little effect on the results. Subsequent analyses are performed with the standardized measure of occupational goal-striving stress in order to maintain consistency between measures of the dependent variables and to ease interpretation.

Combined goal-striving stress. Combined goal-striving stress is a composite measure of goal-striving stress that is created by adding the standardized scores of occupational goal-striving stress with the standardized scores of educational goal-striving stress, and restandardizing (Mills 2013). The combined measure is intended to capture the additive effects of cumulative goal-achievement discrepancies. Ideally, a combined goal-striving stress measure accounts for goal discrepancies related to multiple dimensions of status, such as occupation, income, family, professional autonomy, lifestyle etc. Youth data are limited by the relative lack of status achievement opportunities encountered prior to the transition into adulthood. As such, the combined goal-striving stress measure is an attempt to capture two particularly salient status domains that relate to the limited life experience of youth: their aspirations and expectations related to education, and their aspirations and expectations related to occupations. The combined goal-striving stress scores range from -6.65 to 8.32; the mean value is -0.12 with a standard deviation of 1.65. The distribution of combined goal-striving stress is moderately skewed (skewness statistic 0.83).

Control variables (Wave I)

Gender. Gender is a dichotomous variable (male=1; female=0).

Race. Race is measured in Wave I as a dichotomous variable (white=1; non-white=0).

Age. Age is a continuous variable, with values ranging from 11-18 years old. The mean age is 14.67 years old. The standard deviation is 2.02.

Parents' Marital Status. Parents' marital status measures whether respondent's parents are married, divorced or separated, never married, or widowed. Due to sample size restrictions, the variable is dichotomized (parents married=1; other=0).

Family attachment. Family attachment is measured in Wave I with a composite score based on respondents' self-reported attachment to parents or guardians (Johnson, Elder, and Stern 2005). Respondents were asked how much they agreed with statements regarding their relationship with their mother/female guardian and with their father/male guardian. Items include, "I feel comfortable talking to my mother," "I feel close to my mother," "I wish I felt closer to my mother," and "I really enjoy spending time with my mother." Identical items were asked regarding respondents' relationship with their father/male guardian. Response choices range on a five-point scale from "strongly disagree" (1) to "strongly agree" (5). Responses across the four items are averaged, with higher values representing stronger family attachments. In the case of single parent families, only the score for the relevant parent is used. The alpha coefficient for

the family attachment measure is 0.73. Scores range from 1-5. The mean value of family attachment is 3.5, with a standard deviation of 0.69.

Stressful Life Events. Stressful life events are measured in Wave I by asking respondents whether, in the past 12 months, they experienced any of the 19 stressful events in the index. Items include, "Did you have a very bad accident or injury?," "Did a close friend or family member die?," "Was one of your parents fired or laid off from work?," and "Did anyone hit or attack you on purpose?" Responses from the 19 items are averaged, with higher values representing greater exposure to stressful life events. Scores range from 0-19. The mean value is 3.45, with a standard deviation of 2.80.

Self-esteem. Self-esteem is measured in Wave I using a shortened version of the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg 1965). Respondents were asked how much they agreed with four items, such as, "I take a positive attitude toward myself," and "I am able to do things as well as most other people." Response options range on four-point scale from "strongly disagree" (0) to "strongly agree" (3). Responses across the four items are averaged, with higher scores representing higher levels of self-esteem. The reliability coefficient for the self-esteem scale is 0.82; scores range from 0-3. The mean value of self-esteem is 2.02 with a standard deviation of 0.62.

Depression. Depression is measured in Wave I using seven items from the CES-D depression scale (Radloff 1977). Respondents were asked how often they experienced feelings associated with depression, such as "I felt depressed," "I felt fearful," and "I couldn't get going." Response options range on a four-point

scale from "not at all" (0) to "almost all the time" (3). Responses across the seven items are averaged, with higher values representing greater levels of depression. The reliability alpha for this scale is 0.82, scores range from 0 to 3. The mean value of depression is 0.85, with a standard deviation of 0.84.

Human Subjects

The collection and use of this data are approved by the University of New Hampshire's Internal Review Board (IRB #4072). The Rural Youth sample is composed of adolescents, and consequently the data collection and data management meets the ethical requirements pertaining to vulnerable populations. The data are stored confidentially on a secure server, and personal contact information is stored in a separate secured database. The data analysis utilizes a de-identified subset of the Rural Youth Sample data. Survey responses are presented only in the aggregate, without explicit or implicit reference to any individual identifiers.

Data Analysis

Analytic strategy

In order to identify predictors of each of the three types of goal-striving stress, this research employs ordinary least squares regression analysis. All three types of goal-striving stress at Wave II are regressed on hypothesized predictor variables at Wave I. Data collection for Wave I and Wave II took place one year apart, allowing for a degree of temporal order to be tested. However,

the limits of the data do not allow controlling for prior goal-striving stress at Wave I, which would be desirable in order to infer causality. Eight control variables are held constant in order to determine the effects of the independent variables on each measure of goal-striving stress.

The analysis begins by regressing each type of goal-striving stress on socioeconomic status, net of control variables. Next, mastery is added to the equation, in order to test for the mediating characteristics of mastery in the focal relationship between socioeconomic status and each type of goal-striving stress. Finally, a multiplicative term is added to the equation to test the moderating effects of mastery. The use of a multiplicative term will assist in determining if the relationship between socioeconomic status and each type of goal-striving stress is conditioned by values of mastery.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Univariate Analyses

Descriptive statistics of the sample are shown in Table 1. The Rural Youth Sample ranges in age from 11 to 18 years old, with a mean age of 14.5 years old. The sample is predominantly non-Hispanic white (94.2%). Regarding parental education, 28.4% of respondents report that their mother completed a four-year Bachelor's degree or higher, while 19.2% of respondents report that their father completed a four-year bachelor degree or higher. Slightly over half of the respondents (56.9%) report that their parents are married.

The Rural Youth Sample shows a tendency towards possessing psychosocial resources. Mean mastery scores are 2.12 (range 0-3), meaning that most respondents "somewhat agree" to "strongly agree" with statements of their own personal control. Self-esteem values are similarly high, with a mean value of 2.28 (range 0-3), showing a tendency for respondents to "somewhat agree" to "strongly agree" with positive statements about themselves. Family attachment scores are slightly lower, with a mean value of 3.56 (range 1-5), showing a tendency toward reporting feeling between neutral and in agreement with statements affirming the quality of their relationship with their parents.

Table 1: Selected Variables from the Rural Youth Study

Age	Age in years (range 11-18, mean 14.55, SD 2.02).
Gender	Male reference category (47.51% male).
Race	White reference category (94.19% white).
Mother's Education	Highest level of mother's education: Less than high school (5.19%), high school (29.05%), Some college (23.03%), 2-year Associates degree (14.32%), 4-year Bachelor's degree (24.07%), Graduate/professional degree (4.36%).
Father's Education	Highest level of father's education: Less than high school (8.33%), High school (45.30%), Some college (19.02%), 2-year Associates degree (8.02%), 4-year Bachelor's degree (15.60%), Graduate/professional degree (3.63%).
Financial Strain	Financial Strain scores are based on two items of self-rated financial strain (range 1-5, mean 3.2, SD 0.94). Note that higher values represent greater financial security; lower values represent greater financial strain.
Parental Marital Status	Parents married reference category (56.85%).
Stressful Life Events	Stressful life events based on a nineteen item checklist of stressful events in past year (range 0-19, mean 3).
Self-esteem	Self-esteem based on four items from the Rosenberg self-esteem scale (range 0-3, mean 2.28, SD 0.61).
Mastery	Mastery score based on six items from the Pearlin mastery scale (range 0-3, mean 2.12, SD 0.57).
Family Attachment	Family attachment based on two items of parental dependency developed by Hirschfeld and associates (range 1-5, mean 3.56, SD 0.69).
Depression	Depression score based on seven items of the CES-D (range 0-3, mean 0.82, SD 0.63).

Bivariate Analyses

Zero-order correlations between all variables used in the following analysis are shown in Table 2. Socioeconomic status at Wave I is significantly associated with stress exposure, parental marital status, family attachment, self-esteem, depression and mastery. The zero-order correlations between socioeconomic status at Wave I and each of the Wave II measures of goal-striving stress are not significant.

As in prior research, mastery is positively correlated with socioeconomic status. Mastery is negatively correlated with stress exposure. Additionally, mastery is positively correlated with family attachment, and self-esteem. Mastery is negatively correlated with depression.

All three measures of Wave II goal-striving stress are positively correlated with Wave I stress exposure. Self-esteem at Wave I is negatively correlated with all three measures of goal-striving stress, such that higher levels self-esteem are related to lower levels of goal-striving stress. Depression at Wave I is positively associated with all three measures of goal-striving stress at Wave II. Notably, the correlation coefficients between mastery at Wave I and goal-striving stress at Wave II are significant for occupational goal-striving stress and combined goal-striving stress, but not for educational goal-striving stress. Each measure of goal-striving stress at Wave II is positively correlated with the other measures of goal-striving stress.

Table 2: Correlations Among All Variables (N=482)

	Age	Sex	Race	SES	Stress	Parents' Married	Family Attachment	Self-esteem	Depression	Mastery	Edu. GSS	Occu. GSS	Comb. GSS
Age	1												
Sex	0.02	1											
Race	0.01	-0.04	1										
SES	-0.05	-0.03	-0.00	1									
Stress	-0.07	-0.09*	-0.12**	-0.22***	1								
Parents' Married	-0.04	-0.01	0.05	0.33***	-0.26***	1							
Family Attachment	-0.13**	0.03	0.14***	0.17***	-0.28***	0.17***	1						
Self-esteem	0.01	0.07	0.05	0.23***	-0.25***	0.10**	0.33***	1					
Depression	0.05	-0.22***	-0.07*	-0.21***	0.51***	-0.17***	-0.29***	-0.37***	1				
Mastery	0.10*	-0.06	0.14***	0.16***	-0.32***	0.09*	0.21***	0.33***	-0.32***	1.00			
Edu. GSS	-0.12**	-0.04	-0.08	-0.06	0.11*	-0.11	-0.01	-0.10*	0.15***	-0.07	1.00		
Occu. GSS	-0.05	0.00	-0.07	-0.08	0.10*	-0.09*	-0.10*	-0.21***	0.19**	-0.19***	0.43***	1	
Comb. GSS	-0.10*	-0.03	-0.09*	-0.08	0.12**	-0.12**	-0.06	-0.18***	0.20***	-0.15***	0.85***	0.85***	1

*p<.05; **p<.01;***p<.001

Multivariate Analyses

Table 3 shows the predictors of educational goal-striving stress. In the first equation, Wave II educational goal-striving stress is regressed on Wave I independent variables, including socioeconomic status and other status factors (age, sex, race), social and personal characteristics (family attachment, parents marital status, self-esteem, and depression), and stressful life events. Contrary to the first hypothesis, equation 1 shows that socioeconomic status is not associated with educational goal-striving stress. Older age is related to a decrease in educational goal-striving stress, while depression is associated with an increase educational goal-striving stress.

Table 3: Predictors of Educational Goal-Striving Stress

	Equation 1		Equation 2		Equation 3	
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
SES	-0.02	0.05	-0.02	0.05	-0.27	0.18
Mastery			0.02	0.09	0.02	0.09
Race (white)	-0.24	0.19	-0.25	0.19	-0.22	0.19
Stressful Events	0.42	0.35	0.44	0.36	0.44	0.36
Family attachment	0.04	0.07	0.04	0.07	0.02	0.07
Parents Married	-0.17	0.10	-0.17	0.10	-0.17	0.10
Self-Esteem	0.04	0.08	0.03	0.08	0.04	0.08
Male	0.01	0.09	0.02	0.09	0.02	0.09
Age	-0.05*	0.02	-0.05*	0.02	-0.05*	0.02
Depression	0.23**	0.09	0.23**	0.09	0.23**	0.09
SES*Mastery					0.11	0.08
Constant	0.60	0.51	0.57	0.52	0.69	0.52
Adjusted R^2		0.05		0.05		0.04
N=482						

* p < .05; ** p<.01; *** p< .001

The second equation in Table 3 includes mastery at Wave I as an independent variable. The second research hypothesis is not confirmed, as mastery does not mediate the relationship between socioeconomic status and educational goal-striving stress. Again in the second equation, only age and depression are associated with educational goal-striving stress. Equation 3 assesses the role of mastery as a moderator in the focal relationship between socioeconomic status and educational goal-striving stress. Contrary to the third research hypothesis, results show that mastery does not moderate the relationship between socioeconomic status and educational goal-striving stress. Based on the elaborated model, age and depression at Wave I are the only significant predictors of Wave II educational goal-striving stress. The variance explained in educational goal-striving stress by the independent variables is approximately 5 percent.

Table 4 shows the predictors of occupational goal-striving stress. In the first equation, Wave II occupational goal-striving stress is regressed on Wave I independent variables, including socioeconomic status and other status factors (age, sex, race), social and personal characteristics (family attachment, parents marital status, self-esteem, and depression), and stressful life events. Equation 1 results do not support the first research hypothesis, as socioeconomic status is not associated with occupational goal-striving stress. Similar to educational goal-striving stress, depression is significantly associated with occupational goal-striving stress. However, unlike the model predicting educational goal-striving stress, age is not a predictor of occupational goal-striving stress.

Table 4: Predictors of Occupational Goal-Striving Stress

	Equation 1		Equation 2		Equation 3	
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
SES	0.01	0.05	0.01	0.05	-0.36*	0.17
Mastery			-0.20*	0.09	-0.21*	0.09
Race (white)	-0.12	0.19	-0.09	0.19	-0.06	0.19
Stressful Events	0.03	0.35	-0.09	0.36	-0.09	0.36
Family Attachment	-0.03	0.07	0.02	0.07	-0.04	0.07
Parents Married	-0.09	0.10	-0.10	0.10	-0.10	0.10
Self-Esteem	-0.11	0.08	-0.07	0.09	-0.06	0.08
Male	0.09	0.09	0.06	0.09	0.06	0.09
Age	-0.02	0.02	-0.02	0.02	-0.02	0.02
Depression	0.25**	0.09	0.21*	0.09	0.22*	0.09
SES*Mastery					0.17*	0.08
Constant	0.59	0.51	0.84	0.51	0.89	0.52
Adjusted R2		0.03		0.04		0.06
N=482						

* p < .05; ** p<.01; *** p< .001

Equation 2 in Table 4 assesses the significance of mastery as a predictor of occupational goal-striving stress. Mastery is negatively associated with goal striving stress; an increase in mastery is associated with a decrease in occupational goal-striving stress. Notably, only mastery and depression are significant predictors of occupational goal-striving stress. Although mastery is associated with occupational goal-striving stress, these results do not support the second research hypothesis, as mastery does not mediate the association between socioeconomic status and occupational goal-striving stress.

In the third equation of Table 4, mastery is tested as a moderator in the focal relationship between socioeconomic status and occupational goal-striving stress. In support of the third hypothesis, mastery moderates the relationship between socioeconomic status and occupational goal-striving stress. Thus, the elaborated model confirms an association between socioeconomic status and occupational goal-striving stress that is conditional based on values of mastery. The variance explained in occupational goal-striving stress by the independent variables in this analysis is approximately 6 percent.

Figure 1 shows the conditional effects of socioeconomic status on occupational goal-striving stress at each of the four values of mastery. In this predicted values graph, socioeconomic status is divided into "low" and "high" categories based on values of the lowest and highest quartiles of the composite socioeconomic status measure. Of primary note is that an increase in mastery is associated with a decrease in occupational goal-striving stress for both the high and low socioeconomic status groups. However, the conditional effects of mastery are stronger for the low socioeconomic status group. As shown, at the lowest level of mastery, the low socioeconomic status group is predicted to have the highest occupational goal-striving stress. Thus, while the high socioeconomic status group has fairly low occupational goal-striving stress at both high and low levels of mastery, goal-striving stress among the low socioeconomic status is more strongly associated with mastery. The results show that mastery is a personal resource associated with a decrease in occupational goal-striving stress. This is true particularly among the low socioeconomic status group, for

whom high mastery is found to protect against occupational goal-striving stress more so than high mastery protects the high socioeconomic status group.

Figure 1: Conditional Effects of Mastery on Occupational Goal-Striving Stress

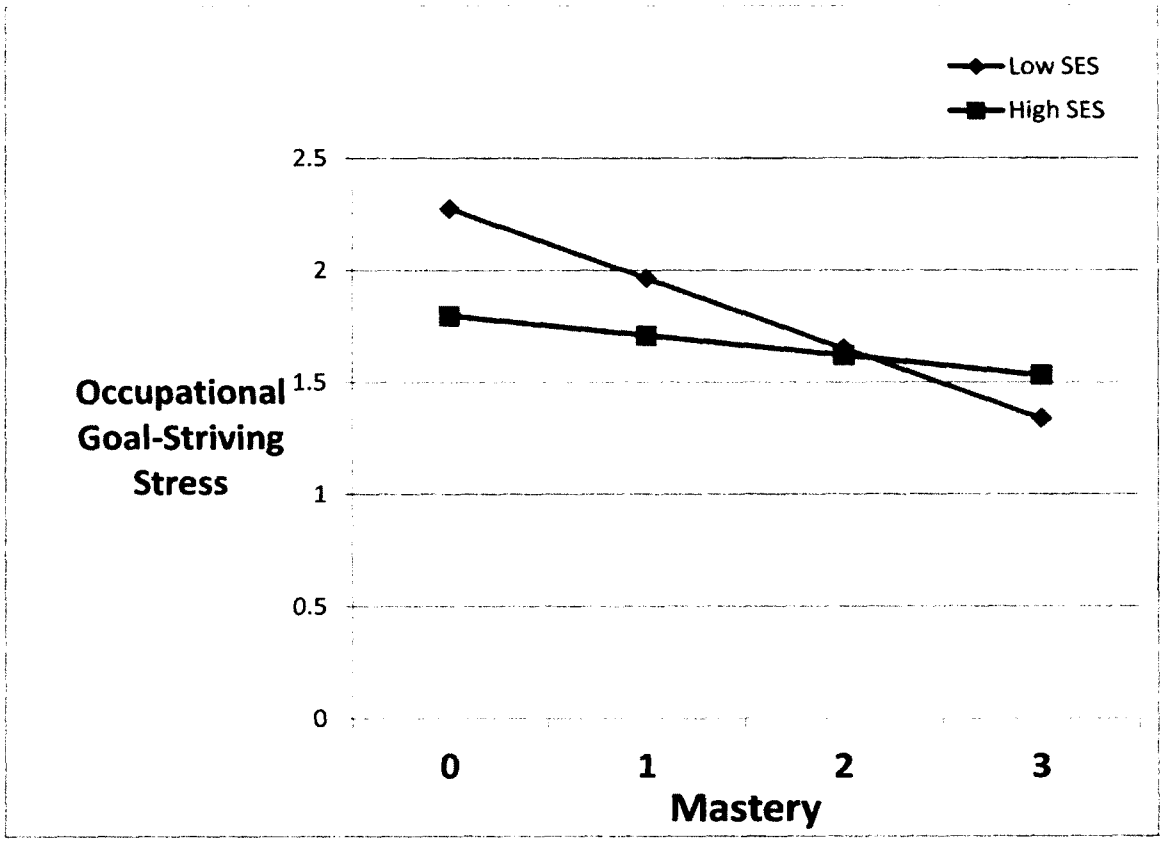


Table 5 reports analyses on the predictors of combined goal-striving stress. Equation 1 shows the results of regressing Wave II combined goal-striving stress on Wave I independent variables, including socioeconomic status and other status factors (age, sex, race), social and personal characteristics (family attachment, parents' marital status, self-esteem, and depression), and stressful life events. Contrary to the first research hypothesis, equation 1 shows that combined goal-striving stress is not associated with socioeconomic status. An increase in age is associated with a decrease in combined goal-striving stress, while an increase in depression is associated with an increase in combined goal-striving stress.

Table 5: Predictors of Combined Goal-Striving Stress

	Equation 1		Equation 2		Equation 3	
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
SES	-0.02	0.05	-0.02	0.05	-0.37*	0.17
Mastery			-0.10	0.08	-0.11	0.08
Race (white)	-0.21	0.19	-0.20	0.19	-0.16	0.19
Stressful Events	0.27	0.35	0.20	0.35	0.20	0.35
Family Attachment	0.01	0.07	0.01	0.07	-0.01	0.07
Parents Married	-0.15	0.10	-0.15	0.09	-0.16	0.09
Self-Esteem	-0.04	0.08	-0.02	0.08	-0.02	0.08
Male	0.06	0.09	0.04	0.09	0.05	0.09
Age	-0.04*	0.02	-0.04	0.02	-0.04	0.02
Depression	0.28***	0.09	0.26**	0.09	0.26**	0.09
SES*Mastery					0.17*	0.08
Constant	0.69	0.50	0.83	0.51	0.87	0.51
Adjusted R2		0.06		0.06		0.07
N=482						

* p < .05; ** p<.01; *** p< .001

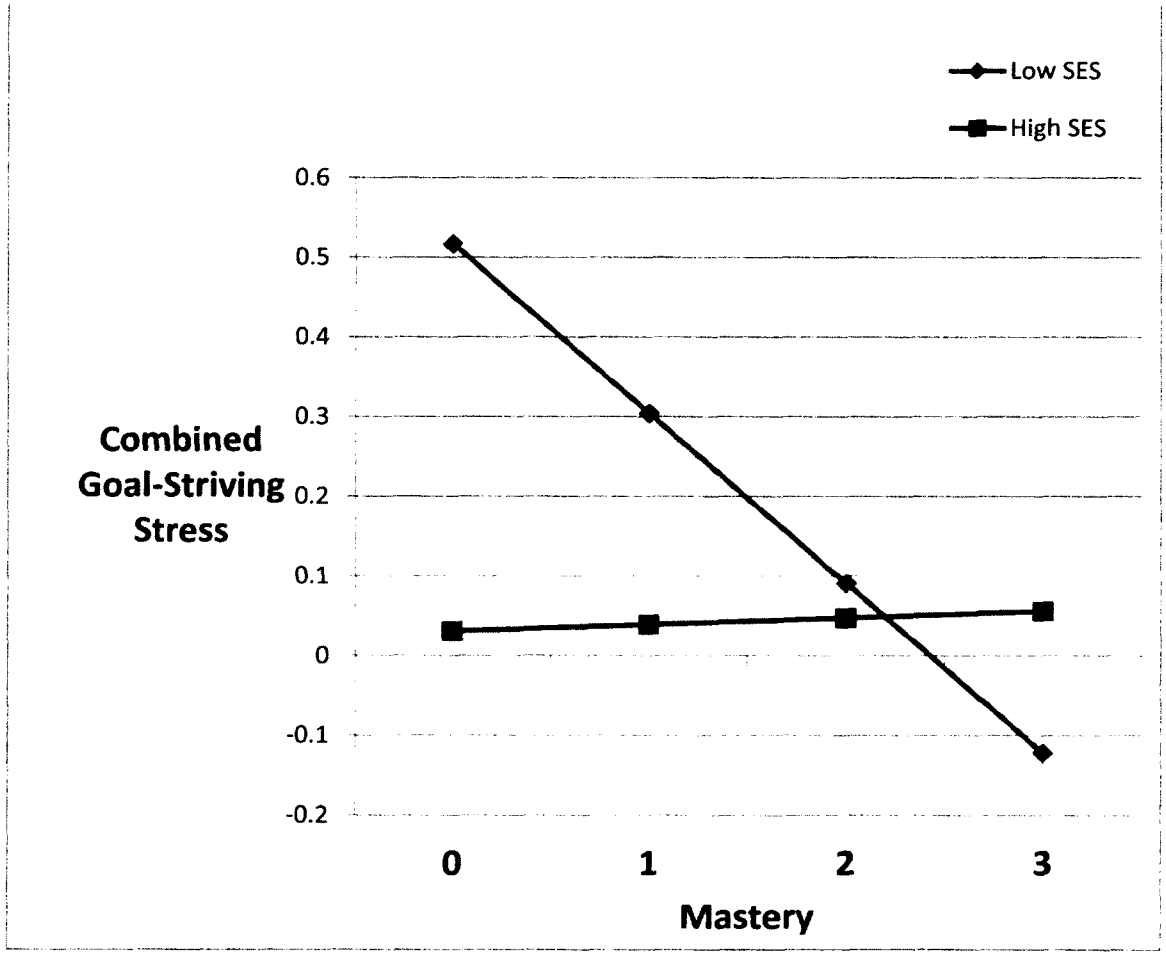
Equation 2 in Table 5 assesses the significance of mastery as a predictor of combined goal-striving stress. The analysis shows that mastery is not associated with combined goal-striving stress. The results do not support the second research hypothesis that mastery mediates the relationship between socioeconomic status and combined goal-striving stress. In Equation 2, only depression is a significant predictor of combined goal-striving stress, while socioeconomic status, mastery, and other background variables are not.

In the third equation of Table 5, mastery is tested for moderating effects in the focal relationship between socioeconomic status and combined goal-striving stress. In support of the third research hypothesis, mastery moderates the relationship between socioeconomic status and combined goal-striving stress. Thus, the elaborated model confirms an association between socioeconomic status and combined goal-striving stress that is conditional based on values of mastery. The variance explained in combined goal-striving stress by the independent variables is approximately 7 percent.

Figure 2 shows the conditional effects of socioeconomic status on combined goal-striving stress at each of the four values of mastery. The predicted values of combined goal-striving stress at the high and low quartiles of socioeconomic status are shown to be contingent on values of mastery. Of primary note is that mastery is associated with a decrease in combined goal-striving stress for the low socioeconomic status group. While the third research hypothesis posed that mastery would moderate the relationship between socioeconomic status and combined goal-striving stress, the nature of the conditional effects of mastery is

unexpected. Specifically, it was predicted that an increase in mastery would be associated with a decrease in combined goal-striving stress. However, Figure 2 shows that for the high socioeconomic status group, mastery has little effect on combined goal-striving stress, while the predicted values of combined goal-striving stress decrease as mastery increases for the low socioeconomic status group.

Figure 2: Conditional Effects of Mastery on Combined Goal-Striving Stress



Summary of Results

Hypothesis 1

The first research hypothesis posed that socioeconomic status is inversely related to all types of goal-striving stress. The results do not support this hypothesis. The first equation in each model reveals no association between socioeconomic status and each measure of goal-striving stress. However, in the elaborated models that predict occupational and combined goal-striving stress, the effects of socioeconomic status on goal-striving stress are shown to be conditional on values of mastery.

Hypothesis 2

The second hypothesis that mastery mediates the relationship between socioeconomic status and each measure of goal-striving stress is not supported in multiple analyses. Primarily this is the case because there is no statistical relationship between socioeconomic status and any measure of goal-striving stress. As a result, the addition of mastery in the elaborated model, by definition, cannot mediate or explain a non-existent relationship.

While mastery does not mediate the relationship between socioeconomic status and the measures of goal-striving stress, mastery is associated with occupational goal-striving stress. The unique link between mastery and occupational goal-striving stress is worthy of future research and will be further discussed in this thesis. It is important to note, however, that the statistical association between mastery and occupational goal-striving stress is not

explaining or changing the strength or significance of the relationship between socioeconomic status and occupational goal-striving stress. Hence, there is no support for the second hypothesis.

Hypothesis 3

The analyses show partial support for the third hypothesis, and highlight the unique associations between socioeconomic status, mastery, and each measure of goal-striving stress. Mastery does not moderate the relationship between socioeconomic status and educational goal-striving stress. However, mastery does moderate the relationship between socioeconomic status and both occupational goal-striving stress and combined goal-striving stress. In the case of occupational goal-striving stress, mastery is associated with a decrease in occupational goal-striving stress especially for the low socioeconomic group. The conditional effects of mastery on the inverse relationship between socioeconomic status and occupational goal-striving stress are stronger for the low socioeconomic status group. In the case of combined goal-striving stress, the results partially support the third hypothesis. An increase in mastery is associated with a notable decrease in combined goal-striving stress only for the low socioeconomic status group.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

The elaborated hypotheses in this thesis begin with the simple prediction that socioeconomic status is a primary predictor of goal-striving stress. This hypothesis follows the body of stress process research showing that socioeconomic status differences in stress exposure – and stress reactivity – lead to differential health outcomes between socioeconomic strata (e.g. Dohrenwend 2000; Thoits 1995). Accordingly, the first hypothesis predicted that goal-striving stress, like other types of socially distributed stress, is linked with socioeconomic status, and that high socioeconomic status is associated with a decrease in goal-striving stress. This hypothesis was not confirmed. Zero-order correlations reveal no statistical correlation between socioeconomic status and goal-striving stress; and OLS regression models that control for background variables do not reveal a statistical association between socioeconomic status and goal-striving stress.

Following the primary hypothesis, it was subsequently hypothesized that the inverse association between socioeconomic status and goal-striving stress is mediated by mastery. That is to say, that mastery is the mechanism by which socioeconomic status leads to goal-striving stress. This hypothesis follows other stratification research and stress process research that explores exactly how

socioeconomic status is a powerful determinant of differential outcomes. Socioeconomic status does not directly affect educational, emotional, and physical outcomes; it does so through mechanisms. Accordingly, the second research hypothesis posed that mastery is the mechanism by which socioeconomic status leads to goal-striving stress; and that by adding mastery into the OLS regression, the hypothesized statistical association between socioeconomic status and goal-striving stress would no longer exist. However, since no statistical association exists between socioeconomic status and goal-striving stress, then, by default, there are no mediating mechanisms that can explain this relationship.

The addition of mastery in the OLS regression models did reveal an interesting phenomenon. Mastery predicts occupational goal-striving stress, but not educational goal-striving stress. This finding reveals a unique relationship between mastery and occupational goal-striving stress. As mastery increases, occupational goal-striving stress decreases. This is not the case with educational goal-striving stress. It may be that mastery is a personal resource that is particularly efficacious in lowering occupational goal-striving stress. Conversely, occupational goal-striving stress may be a type of stress that is uniquely affected by mastery. Based on the national context of declining rural economies, economic recession, and the proliferation of educational opportunities, it may also be the case that achieving educational aspirations requires less mastery than achieving occupational aspirations.

Underlying the hypothesized link between socioeconomic status and each measure of goal-striving stress is the assumption that lower status individuals will have fewer personal and social resources to assist them in achieving their educational and occupational aspirations. It was hypothesized that in addition to encountering structural barriers, lower status individuals would possess less mastery, which would interfere with their own beliefs that they could accomplish their aspirations. Specifically, it was hypothesized that the effects of socioeconomic status on goal-striving would be conditional on values of mastery. This hypothesis is represented in the most elaborated OLS models that include the addition of the interaction between socioeconomic status and mastery.

The results show that mastery moderates the association between socioeconomic status and both occupational goal-striving stress and combined goal-striving stress, but not educational goal-striving stress. In the case of both occupational goal-striving stress and combined goal-striving stress, the association between socioeconomic status and goal-striving stress outcomes are conditional on values of mastery. While earlier results in this analysis showed that goal-striving stress is not associated with socioeconomic status, this finding shows that goal-striving stress is indeed related to socioeconomic status, but this relationship is modified depending on values of mastery.

By considering the conditional effects of mastery, it is revealed that socioeconomic status is related to goal-striving stress outcomes, but that this relationship is conditional on values of mastery. Mastery is associated with a decrease in occupational goal-striving stress for both the high socioeconomic

status group and the low socioeconomic status group, but more so for the low socioeconomic status group. Mastery is associated with a decrease of combined goal-striving stress for the low socioeconomic status group, and mastery is largely unrelated to combined goal-striving stress for the high socioeconomic status group.

These findings partially support the third research hypothesis, and show that mastery is associated with a decrease in occupational and goal-striving stress and combined goal-striving stress particularly for lower socioeconomic status groups. Figures 1 and 2 visually depict this conditional relationship, and show that for the low socioeconomic status group both occupational goal-striving stress and combined goal-striving stress decrease more steeply as mastery increases. For the high socioeconomic status group, an increase in mastery is associated with a decrease in occupational goal-striving stress and an insignificant increase in combined goal-striving stress. This finding is unique to the composite measure of combined goal-striving stress, and does not hold true for either educational or occupational goal-striving stress.

Further research and analysis can investigate how and why higher levels of mastery are associated with lower levels of combined goal-striving stress particularly among the low socioeconomic status group. In the language of the revised consolation prize hypothesis, this finding provides some evidence of a threshold of dysfunction, above which mastery no longer protects against combined goal-striving stress for the high socioeconomic status group. While further research is necessary, it may be the case that high mastery among the

high socioeconomic status group represents a type of illusory personal control which no longer protects against goal-striving stress.

An important part of this discussion is that as socioeconomic status decreases, there is a wider spread of scores for both occupational and educational goal-striving stress. Conversely, there is a comparatively small range of occupational and combined goal-striving stress scores as socioeconomic status increases. In comparison to the lower socioeconomic status group, the high socioeconomic status group has goal-striving stress values that are tightly concentrated and comparatively low. Additionally, for the high socioeconomic status group, occupational and combined goal-striving stress scores vary very little at different levels of mastery. Conversely, the low socioeconomic status group has widely spread occupational and combined goal-striving stress scores, and these scores are shown to vary according to values of mastery. Therefore, mastery does little to affect occupational and combined goal-striving stress among the high status group, yet mastery strongly affects occupational and combined goal-striving stress among the low socioeconomic status group. These findings generally affirm the salutary benefits of mastery, particularly among the low socioeconomic status group.

Among the Rural Youth sample, higher socioeconomic status is associated with higher mastery. This finding is consistent with prior research showing that socioeconomic status is associated with higher mastery, and that mastery is one of the many personal and social resources that protect high status groups from a host of negative outcomes. Conversely, as prior research has

shown, low status individuals are at risk for both higher stress exposure and greater vulnerability to stress. The deficit of personal and social resources among low status groups put them at risk for disorder, distress, and unwanted outcomes. This research shows that mastery, as a personal resource that protects against goal-striving stress, is particularly valuable for lower status groups. It may be that in the absence of other personal and social resources, mastery becomes a particularly valuable resource among low status groups, and has the potential to buffer against goal-striving stress outcomes.

CHAPTER V

LIMITATIONS

While this research has added to current knowledge on status discrepancies among rural youth, certain limitations warrant consideration. First, although the data allows for testing Wave II goal-striving stress using Wave I predictors, the data do not allow for controlling for Wave I goal-striving stress. As a result, any associations between Wave I predictors and Wave II goal-striving stress outcomes do not account for prior levels of goal-striving stress. Therefore, caution must be exercised in making causal inferences between Wave I predictors and Wave II goal-striving stress outcomes.

The analysis is also limited in regards to the educational goal-striving stress measure. Respondents are asked how important and how likely it is that they will finish college. Increasingly, it is common for young adults to complete a four-year Bachelor's degree, and aspire towards higher educational achievement in the form of an advanced degree. As a result, significant variance in educational goal-striving stress is lost on account of not measuring aspirations for graduate and professional degrees. In consideration of the data showing that the Rural Youth Sample has a tendency towards greater occupational goal-striving stress as compared to educational goal-striving stress, there are two competing explanations. First, as an artifact of insufficient measurement, it may

be that the limits of the educational goal-striving stress measure do not capture aspirations for advanced educational degrees. On the other hand, as an artifact of sample characteristics, it may be that the Rural Youth Sample has a tendency to experience fewer discrepancies in relation to education as compared to occupation. The limits of this data do not allow testing these opposing explanations.

Additionally, a possible limitation in the analysis is that the variance in goal-striving that is explained in the predictive equations does not exceed seven percent. While an adjusted R^2 of 0.07 is generally considered low, the nature of this analysis does not support explaining a high variance in goal-striving stress. This is true primarily because the outcome variables of goal-striving stress represent discrepancies between aspirations and expectations, and youth – more so than adults – have limited opportunities to experience status discrepancies. The life-course perspective on status discrepancies would suggest that adults – more so than youth – have had sufficient life-experience to either achieve, or not achieve, their desired goals. As a result, the low variance of goal-striving stress that is explained in the predictive equations may well be an artifact of the sample characteristics, rather than indicative of insufficient predictive modeling.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The goal of this research is to understand how goal-striving stress is linked to socioeconomic status, and how mastery helps explain or modify this focal association. The results show that the relationships between socioeconomic status, mastery and each measure of goal-striving stress are complex and nuanced. Indeed, the associations and contingencies that link socioeconomic status and goal-striving stress vary depending on which measure of goal-striving is being considered.

The first research hypothesis was not supported in the analyses. Regressing each form of goal-striving stress on social status and control variables reveals that no statistical association exists between socioeconomic status and goal-striving stress. However, the elaborated models show that a conditional association exists between socioeconomic status and both occupational and combined goal-striving stress. The second research hypothesis is not supported in any of the analyses. Mastery does not mediate or explain the relationship between socioeconomic status and each measure of goal-striving stress. This is true because the focal relationship between socioeconomic status and goal-striving stress is not significant, and as a result, it cannot be explained by the inclusion of an additional explanatory variable. The third research

hypothesis is partially supported; mastery moderates the relationship between socioeconomic status and occupational goal-striving stress and combined goal-striving stress, but mastery does not moderate the relationship between socioeconomic status and educational goal-striving stress.

These findings add to current knowledge regarding the mechanisms that link socioeconomic status to status inconsistencies and stress exposure. These findings also add to the knowledge regarding the unique exigencies related to status achievement among rural youth. Taken together, this research contributes to three primary conclusions.

First, additional research is needed to understand the social distribution of goal-striving stress. This analysis shows that a bivariate relationship does not exist between socioeconomic status and each measure of goal-striving stress, and OLS models that control for background variables similarly do not establish a link between socioeconomic status and goal-striving stress. As noted, elaborated OLS models do reveal that a conditional relationship exists between socioeconomic status and occupational goal-striving stress as well as combined goal-striving stress. This conditional effect is particularly strong for the low socioeconomic status group. While the relationship between high mastery and lower goal-striving stress among the low socioeconomic status group is noteworthy and amenable to intervention, future research can further investigate other factors that affect the social distribution of goal-striving stress.

The second conclusion of this research is that the antecedents of goal-striving stress vary according to which measure of goal-striving stress is being

considered. For instance, as this analysis shows, socioeconomic status, mastery and the interaction between socioeconomic and mastery are all significant predictors of occupational goal-striving stress, but not educational goal-striving stress. The composite measure of combined goal-striving stress is intended to capture a fuller socio-psychological phenomenon related to the additive effects of both educational and occupational goal-striving stress. However, considering the different antecedents associated with educational and occupational goal-striving stress, future research should consider the theoretical justification for combining multiple dimensions of status inconsistency into a single measure.

In spite of the different antecedents associated with educational and occupational goal-striving stress, this analysis provides justification for examining both the individual measures of educational and occupational goal-striving stress as well as examining the measure of combined goal-striving stress. The high correlation ($r=0.46$, $p=0.00$) between occupational and educational goal-striving stress justifies combining the two into a composite measure that captures the additive effects of goal-striving discrepancies. The differences between educational goal-striving stress and occupational goal-striving stress justify measuring the distinct dimensions of goal-striving stress. For instance, educational goal-striving stress, in contrast to occupational goal-striving stress, has a lower mean value and more negative values, indicating cases for which educational expectations exceed educational aspirations. In the language of the measure, the negative educational goal-striving stress values represent respondents for whom educational achievement is less important than

it is likely. Simply put, these are respondents who expect to achieve beyond what they aspire towards. Occupational goal-striving stress, on the other hand, has fewer negative values, and a higher mean value, indicating fewer respondents who expect to fulfill their occupational aspirations.

While educational goal-striving stress and occupational goal-striving stress are correlated, differences in their distribution are related to the unique characteristics of rural youth in emerging adulthood. Firstly, among the Rural Youth Sample, an increase in age is related to a decrease in educational goal-striving stress, but not occupational goal-striving stress. It may be that youth "age out" of educational goal-striving stress as they get older. This makes sense considering education is generally seen as preparation for the working-world of the independent and successful adult. Yet, educational opportunities are expanding. An alternate explanation of comparatively low educational goal-striving stress in the Rural Youth Sample would point to the expansion of educational opportunities providing increased opportunities for youth to achieve their aspired educational goals. By most accounts, occupational opportunities are not expanding, particularly in rural areas. Thus, the different distributions of educational goal-striving stress and occupational goal-striving stress may relate to changes in rural livelihoods. Researchers theorize that lower rural educational aspirations have, until recently, been sufficient to prepare rural youth for the lower-skill jobs available in rural communities (Byun, Meece, Irvin and Hutchins 2012; Elder and Conger 2000). However, with the decline of rural economies, and the loss of low-skill agriculture, forestry, and manufacturing jobs, rural youth

are increasingly forced to choose between staying in their home communities or leaving in favor of finding higher pay and higher skilled work. This sample exhibits higher levels of occupational goal-striving stress as compared to educational goal-striving stress, which, taken in the light of local and national economic trends, affirms the need to investigate whether – and to what degree – education, and the expansion of educational opportunities is preparing both rural and non-rural youth to fulfill their occupational aspirations.

The third and final conclusion of this analysis is that mastery is an important resource that protects lower socioeconomic status groups against occupational and combined goal-striving stress. While mastery does not protect against educational goal-striving stress, it is clearly associated with lower occupational and combined goal-striving stress, particularly for lower socioeconomic status groups. While future research is necessary, it is reasonable to assume that mastery protects against occupational and combined goal-striving stress, but not educational goal-striving stress, largely because educational achievements have become increasingly accessible among all groups, and are therefore less dependent on beliefs in personal control. Because of increased access to higher education, mastery becomes less important in regards to educational achievement.

In contrast, rural youth expect occupational aspirations to be more difficult to achieve than educational aspirations. This finding is couched in the context of rural youth who are increasingly looking beyond their rural communities to find satisfactory employment; it is similarly couched in the context of the national

economic down-turn and the growing national trend of income inequality. In both contexts, mastery is an important personal resource that can protect lower socioeconomic status rural youth from the experience of occupational goal-striving stress. Mastery is uniquely important among lower status rural youth, for whom the risk of occupational goal-striving stress is particularly high. At all but the highest value of mastery, the main effects of socioeconomic status are sufficient to protect high status rural youth from experiencing occupational and combined goal-striving stress at levels above the low socioeconomic status group. However, for lower socioeconomic status rural youth, mastery is a valuable personal resource which, at high levels, can put them at less risk for occupational goal-striving stress than their high socioeconomic status counterparts. For the lower socioeconomic status group, it may be that the absence of other personal and social resources makes mastery that much more valuable in protecting against goal-striving stress.

Moreover, mastery is a personal resource that is amenable to intervention. Unlike socioeconomic status, which tends to be a much more static characteristic, mastery represents a personal characteristic that is amenable through familial, educational, and extracurricular intervention. For example, despite their best efforts, parents are limited in their ability to change their family's socioeconomic status; however, parents may be able to improve their children's sense of personal mastery through informed child-rearing practices. Similarly, educators have even less control over affecting the socioeconomic status of their rural pupils, yet they possess opportunities to affirm mastery and

competencies among their students. As a result, both parents and educators are capable of assisting rural youth in lowering their occupational and combined goal-striving stress through interventions aimed at improving mastery and personal competencies. Following the conclusions of Wheaton (1980) as well as Mirowsky and Ross (1990), one caution must be noted: parents and educators would be advised to engender realistic appraisals of personal control among rural youth, and avoid engendering illusory control–which has been shown to be related to emotional distress.

LIST OF REFERENCES

Abramson, J. H. 1966. "Emotional Disorder, Status Inconsistency and Migration - Health Questionnaire Survey in Jerusalem." *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly-Health and Society* 44(1):23-48.

Adler, Nancy E., W. Thomas Boyce, Margaret A. Chesney, Susan Folkman, and S. Leonard Syme. 1993. "Socioeconomic Inequalities in Health." *JAMA: The Journal of the American Medical Association* 269(24): 3140-3145.

Adler, Nancy E., and Marilee Coriell. 1997. "Socioeconomic Status and Women's Health. "*Health care for Women: Psychological, Social, and Behavioral Influences.* Washington, DC. American Psychological Association xxvii: 439.

Ainsworth, Mary S. 1979. "Infant–Mother Attachment." *American Psychologist* 34(10):932-937.

Alexander, Karl L., Doris R. Entwisle, and Maxine S. Thompson. 1987. "School Performance, Status Relations, and the Structure of Sentiment: Bringing The Teacher Back In." *American Sociological Review* : 665-682.

Andres, Lesley, Maria Adamuti-Trache, Ee-Seul Yoon, Michelle Pidgeon, and Jens Peter Thomsen. 2007. "Educational Expectations, Parental Social Class, Gender, and Postsecondary Attainment: A 10-Year Perspective". *Youth and Society* 39: 135-163.

Aneshensel, Carol S. 1992. "Social Stress - Theory and Research." *Annual Review of Sociology* 18:15-38.

Aneshensel, Carols S. 2009. "Toward Explaining Mental Health Disparities". *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 50: 377-394.

Angner, Erik, Sandra Hullett, and Jeroan J. Allison. 2011. ""I'll Die With the Hammer in my Hand": John Henryism as a Predictor of Happiness." *Journal of Economic Psychology* 32(3): 357-366.

Avison, William R., and R. Jay Turner. 1988. "Stressful Life Events and Depressive Symptoms: Disaggregating the Effects of Acute Stressors and Chronic Strains." *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 253-264.

Baum, Andrew, J. P. Garofalo, and Ann Yali. 1999. "Socioeconomic Status and Chronic Stress: Does Stress Account for SES Effects on Health?" *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 896(1): 131-144.

Bowlby, John. 1988. "Developmental Psychiatry Comes of Age." *The American Journal of Psychiatry* 145(1):1-10.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1986. "The Forms of Capital." In John Richardson, ed. Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education. New York: Greenwood Press 241-258.

Byun, Soo-yong, Judith L. Meece, Matthew J. Irvin, and Bryan C. Hutchins. 2012. "The Role of Social Capital in Educational Aspirations of Rural Youth". Rural Sociology 77(3): 355-379.

Chance, Norman A. 1965. "Acculturation, Self-Identificaiton, and Personality Adjustment." *American Anthropologist* 67:372-93.

Congressional Budget Office. 2011. "Trends in the Distribution of Household Income Between 1979 and 2007". Retrieved July 1, 2013. (http://www.cbo.gov/sites/default/files/cbofiles/attachments/10-25-HouseholdIncome.pdf)

Crocker, Jennifer and Brenda Major. 1989. "Social Stigma and Self-Esteem: The Self-Protective Properties of Stigma". *Psychological Review* 96(4): 608-630.

Dressler, William W. 1988. "Social Consistency and Psychological Distress." *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 29(1):79-91.

Dohrenwend, Bruce. P. 2000. "The Role of Adversity and Stress in Psychopathology: Some Evidence and its Implications for Theory and Research". *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 1-19.

Elder, Glen H., and Rand D. 2000. Conger. *Children of the Land: Adversity and Success in Rural America.* University of Chicago Press.

Guo, Guang. 1998. "The Timing of the Influences of Cumulative Poverty on Children's Cognitive Ability and Achievement." *Social Forces* 77(1): 257-287.

Haller, Emil J., and Sarah J. Virkler. 1993. "Another Look at Rural-Nonrural Differences in Students' Educational Aspirations." *Journal of Research in Rural Education* 9(3): 170-78.

Higgins, E. Tory, Ronald N. Bond, Ruth Klein, and Timothy Strauman. 1986. "Self-Discrepancies and Emotional Vulnerability: How Magnitude, Accessibility and Type of Discrepancy Influence Affect." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 51(1).

Higgins, E. Tory, Ruth Klein, and Timothy Strauman. 1985. "Self-Concept Discrepancy Theory: A Psychological Model for Distinguishing Among Different Aspects of Depression and Anxiety." *Social Cognition* 3(1): 51-76.

Higgins, E. Tory. 1987. "Self-discrepancy: a Theory Relating Self and Affect." *Psychological Review* 94(3): 319.

Hirschfeld, R.M.A., G.L. Klerman, H.R. Gough, J. Barrett, S.J. Korchin, and P. Chodoff. 1977. "A Measure of Interpersonal Dependency." *Journal of Personality Assessment* 41:610-18.

Hornung, Carlton A. 1977. "Social Status, Status Incosistency and Psychological Stress." *American Sociological Review* 42:623-38.

House, James S., Ronald C. Kessler, and A. Regula Herzog. 1990. "Age, Socioeconomic Status and Health." *The Milbank Quarterly* 383-411.

Frey, Bruno, and Alois Stutzer. 2007. "Should National Happiness Be Maximized?" Zurich IEER Working Paper No. 306.

Gibbs, Robert, Lorin Kusmin, and John Cromartie. 2005. "Low-Skill Employment and the Changing Economy of Rural America". *United States Department of Agriculture Economic Research Report* 10.

Hughes, Everett C. 1944. "Dilemmas and Contradictions of Status." *American Journal of Sociology* 50: 353-59.

Jackson, Elton F. 1962. "Status Consistency and Symptoms of Stress." *American Sociological Review* 27(4):469-80.

Jackson, Elton F., and Peter J. Burke. 1965. "Status and Symptoms of Stress: Additive and Interaction Effects." *American Sociological Review* 30(4):556-64.

Johnson, Monica Kirkpatrick, Glen H. Elder, and Michael Stern. 2005. "Attachments to Family and Community and the Young Adult Transition of Rural Youth." *Journal of Research on Adolescence* 15(1): 99-125.

Kasl, Stanislav V, and Sidney Cobb. 1969. "The Intrafamilial Transmission of Rheumatoid Arthristis–Association of Rheumatoid Arthritis with Several Types of Status Inconsistency." *Journal of Chronic Diseases* 22:259-78.

Kaplan, George A., and Julian E. Keil. 1993. "Socioeconomic Factors and Cardiovascular Disease: a Review of the Literature." *Circulation* 88(4): 1973-1998.

Lantz P.M., J.S. House, R.P. Mero, and D.R. Williams. 2005. "Stress, Life Events, and Socioeconomic Disparities in Health: Results from the Americans' Changing Lives Study. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 46: 274–288.

Lenski, Gerhard E. 1954. "Status Crystallization: A Non-Vertical Dimension of Social Status." *American Sociological Review* 19: 405-13.

Ley, Joyce, Steven Nelson, and Svetlana Beltyukova. 1996. "Congruence of Aspirations of Rural Youth with Expectations Held by Parents and School Staff". *Journal of Research in Rural Education* 12(3): 133-141.

Marmot, Michael G., Manolis Kogevinas, and Maryann A. Elston. 1987. "Social/Economic Status and Disease." *Annual Review of Public Health* 8(1): 111-135.

Mehan, Hugh. 1992. "Understanding Inequality in Schools: the Contribution of Interpretive Studies." *Sociology of Education* 65(1): 1-20.

Merton, Robert 1938. "Social Structure and Anomie." *American Sociological Review* 3:672-82.

Merton, Robert K. 1957. "Continuities in the Theory of Social Structure and Anomie". *Social Theory and Social Structure* 215-248.

Michalos, Alex C. 1985. "Multiple Discrepancies Theory (MDT)." *Social Indicators Research* 16:347–413.

Mills, Meghan L. "Goal-Striving Stress and Depression and Delinquency Among Rural Youth." Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of New Hampshire, Durham, NH. (To be published May 2014).

Mills, Meghan L. 2012. "Goal-Striving Stress and Health Among Rural Adolescents." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Conference on Social Stress Research, Dublin 2, Ireland. June 23.

Mills, Meghan L. and Karen Van Gundy. 2012. "Socioeconomic Status and the Stress Process in Rural Youth: The Role of Social Attachments." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Denver, Colorado, August 20.

Mirowsky, John, and Catherine E. Ross. 2003. *Social Causes of Psychological Distress.* Transaction Publishers.

Mirowsky, John, and Catherine E. Ross. 1990, "The Consolation-Prize Theory of Alienation." *American Journal of Sociology 95(6):* 1505-1535.

Muntaner, Charles. Edwin Ng, Christopher Vanroelen, Sharon Christ, and William W. Eaton. 2013. "Social Stratification, Social Closure, and Social Class as Determinants of Mental Health Disparities". In Aneshensel, C.S., Phelan, J.C., and Bierman, A. (Eds.), *Handbook of the Sociology of Mental Health (2nd Edition).* New York: Springer.

Nakao, Keiko, and Judith Treas. 1992. "The 1989 Socioeconomic Index of Occupations: Construction from the 1989 Occupational Pretige Scores." *GSS Methodological Report* 74. Chicago: NORC.

Neighbors, Harold W. Sherrill L. Sellers, Rong Zhang, and James S. Jackson. 2011. "Goal-Striving Stress and Racial Differences in Mental Health". *Race and Social Problems* 3: 51-62.

O'Hare, William P.1988. "The Rise of Poverty in Rural America." *Population Trends and Public Policy.*

Pappas, Gregory, Susan Queen, Wilbur Hadden, and Gail Fisher. 1993. "The Increasing Disparity in Mortality Between Socioeconomic Groups in the United States, 1960 and 1986." *New England Journal of Medicine* 329(2): 103-109.

Parker, Seymour, and Robert J. Kleiner. 1966. *Mental Illness in the Urban Negro Community* New York: Free Press.

Pearlin, Leonard I., and Clarice W. Radabaugh. 1976. "Economic Strains and the Coping Function of Alcohol." *American Journal of Sociology* 82(3): 652-663.

Pearlin, Leonard I., Elizabeth G. Menaghan, Morton A. Lieberman, and Joseph T. Mullan. 1981. "The Stress Process." *Journal of Health and Social Behavior 22(4):* 337-356.

Pearlin, Leonard. 1999. "The Stress Process Revisted: Reflections on Concepts and Their Interrelationships." Pp. 395-415 in *Handbook of the Sociology of Mental Health*, edited by Carol S. Aneshensel and Jo C. Phelan. New York, NY: Kluwer Academic/ Plenum Publishers.

Pearlin, Leonard I. 1989. "The Sociological Study of Stress." *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 30(3):241-56.

Pearlin, Leonard I., and Carmi Schooler. 1978. "The Structure of Coping." *Journal of Health and Social Behavior 19(1)*: 2-21.

Pollard, Kelvin M., William P. O'Hare, and Ruth Berg. 1990. "Selective Migration of Rural High School Seniors in the 1980s". *Population Reference Bureau.*

Radloff, L. S. 1977. "The CES-D Scale: A Self-Report Depression Scale for Research in the General Population". Applied Psychological Measurement 1(3): 385-401.

Reynolds, John R., and Charlie L. Baird. 2010. "Is There a Downside to Shooting for the Stars?: Unrealized Educational Expectations and Symptoms of Depression." *American Sociological Review* 75:151-72.

Ross, Catherine E., and John Mirowsky. 1989. "Explaining the Social Patterns of Depression: Control and Problem Solving–or Support and Talking?" *Journal of Health and Social Behavior 30 (2)*: 206-219.

Ross, Catherine E. and John Mirowsky. 2013. "The Sense of Personal Control: Social Structural Causes and Emotional Consequences". In Aneshensel, C.S., Phelan, J.C., and Bierman, A. (Eds.), *Handbook of the Sociology of Mental Health (2nd Edition)*. New York: Springer.

Scott, Lane, and Michael W. O'Hara. 1993. "Self-Discrepancies in Clinically Anxious and Depressed University Students." *Journal of Abnormal Psychology* 102(2):282-287.

Seeman, Melvin, Alice Z. Seeman, and Art Budros. 1988. "Powerlessness, Work, and Community: A Longitudinal Study of Alienation and Alcohol Use." *Journal of Health and Social Behavior 29(3)*: 185-198.

Sellers, Sherrill L., and Harold W. Neighbors. 2008. "Effects of Goal-Striving Stress on the Mental Health of Black Americans." *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 49(1):92-103.

Sellers, Sherrill L., Harold W. Neigbhors, and Vence L. Bonham. 2011. "Goal-Striving Stress and the Mental Health of College-Educated Black American Men: The Protective Effects of System-Blame". *American Journal of Orthopsychiartry* 81(4): 507-518.

Sirin, Selcuk. R. 2005. "Socioeconomic Status and Academic Achievement: A Meta-Analytic Review of Research". *Review of Educational Research 75*(3): 417-453.

Smith, G. Davey, Martin J. Shipley, and Geoffrey Rose. 1990. "Magnitude and Causes of Socioeconomic Differentials in Mortality: Further Evidence from the Whitehall Study." *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* 44(4): 265-270.

Smith, Warren K. 1987. "The Stress Analogy". *Schizophrenia Bulletin.* 13(2): 215-220.

Smith, Peter., and John. Frank. 2005. "When Aspirations and Achievements Don't Meet. A Longitudinal Examination of the Differential Effect of Education and Occupational Attainment on Declines in Self-Rated Health among Canadian Labour Force Participants." *International Journal of Epidemiology* 34(4):827-34.

Sorlie, Paul D., Eric. Backlund, and Jacob B. Keller. 1995. "US Mortality by Economic, Demographic and Social Characteristics: The National Longitudinal Mortality Study". *American Journal of Public Health* 89(7): 949-956.

Salonen, Jukka T. 1982. "Socioeconomic Status and Risk of Cancer, Cerebral Stroke and Death due to Coronary Heart Disease and any Disease: A Longitudinal Study in Eastern Finland." *Journal of Epidemiology Community Health* 36: 294-297.

Shekelle, Richard B., Adrian M. Osfeld, and Oglesby Paul. 1969. "Social Status and Incidence of Coronary Heart Disease." *Journal of Chronic Diseases* 22:381-94.

Turner, R. Jay , and Donald A. Lloyd. 1999. "The Stress Process and the Social Distribution of Depression." *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 40(4):373-404.

Turner, Heather A. and R. Jay Turner. 2005. "Understanding Variations in Exposure to Social Stress". *Health: An Interdisciplinary Journal for the Social Study of Health, Illness, and Medicine* 9(2): 209-240.

Thoits, Peggy. A. 2010. "Stress and Health: Major Findings and Policy Implications." *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 51:S41-S53.

Van Gundy, Karen. 2006. "Substance Abuse in Rural and Small Town America". Durham, NH: The Carsey Institute.

Van Gundy, Karen T. and Meghan L. Mills. 2013. "Health and the Stress Process in Rural America". Poverty and Health in America, Volume 2: Place and Health among the Vulnerable. Kevin Fitzpatrick editor

Van Gundy, Karen T., Nena F. Stracuzzi, Cesar J. Rebellon, Corinna Jenkins Tucker, and Ellen S. Cohn. 2011. "Perceived Community Cohesion and the Stress Process in Youth." *Rural Sociology* 76 (3): 293-318.

Van Gundy, Karen, Meghan L. Mills, Corinna Jenkins Tucker, Cesar J. Rebellon, Erin Hiley Sharp and Nena F. Stracuzzi. 2013. "Socioeconomic Status, Stressful Events, and Health Outcomes in a Rural Youth Sample: The Role of Family and Community Attachments." (Submitted to The Journal of Rural Health May 2013).

Veblen, Thorstein. 1965. *The Theory of the Leisure Class: 1899.* AM Kelley, Bookseller.

Weber, Max. 1946. Class, Status, Party. *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* 180-195.

Wheaton, Blair. 1985. "Models for the Stress-Buffering Functions of Coping Resources". Journal of Health and Social Behavior 26(4): 352-364.

Wheaton, Blair. 1980. "The Sociogenesis of Psychological disorder: An Attributional Theory". *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 21(2): 100 -124.

Wheaton, Blair. 1983. "Stress, Personal Coping Resources, and Psychiatric Symptoms: An Investigation of Interactive Models". *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 24(3):208-29.

Wheaton, Blair. 1994. "Sampling the Stress Universe." Pp. 77-114 in *Stress and Mental Health: Contemporary Issues and Prospects for the Future,* edited by W.R. Avison and I.H. Gotlib. New York: Plenum Press

Wheaton, Blair. 1999. "The Nature of Stressors". Pp. 176-196 in *A Handbook for the Study of Mental Health: Social Contexts, Theories, and Systems*, edited by A.V. Horwitz, T. Schied. New York: Cambridge University Press

Wheaton, Blair, Marisa Young, Shirin Montazer, and Katie Stuart-Lahman. 2013. "Social Stress in the Twenty-First Century." Pp. 299-324 in Handbook of the Sociology of Mental Health, edited by C.S. Aneshensel, J.C. Phelan, and A. Bierman. New York: Springer.

Wheaton, Blair, Patricia Roszell, and Kimberlee Hall. 1997 "The Impact of Twenty Childhood and Adult Traumatic Stressors on the Risk of Psychiatric Disorder." Pp. 50-72 in Stress and Adversity over the Life Course: Trajectories and Turning Points, edited by I.H. Gotlib and B. Wheaton. New York, NY.

APPENDIX A

MEASURES

Socioeconomic Status

A. Financial Strain

1. Families are different in the amount of money they have. How would You rate your family?				
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Very little money available				Lots of Money Available

2. How satisfied are you with your family's financial situation?				
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Not very satisfied				Very Satisfied

B. Parents' Education

1. What is the highest level of education received by your mother?
2. What is the highest level of education received by your father?
    1. Less than High School
    2. High School
    3. Some College Education
    4. Associate Degree (2-year college)
    5. Bachelor's Degree (4-year college)
    6. Graduate or Professional Degree (Ph.D., M.D., M.A.)

Mastery

		Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree
1.	There is really no way I can solve some of my problems.	0	1	2	3
2.	I can do just about anything I really set my mind to.	0	1	2	3
3.	I often feel helpless dealing with problems.	0	1	2	3
4.	What happens in the future mostly depends on me.	0	1	2	3
5.	There is little I can do to change things in my life.	0	1	2	3

Goal-Striving Stress

A. Educational Goal-Striving Stress

1. Educational Aspirations

		Not at all Important						very Important
1.	How important is it to you to finish college?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

2. Educational Expectations

		Very Unlikely						Very Likely
1.	When you think about your future, how likely is it that you will finish college?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

3. Peer Educational Expectations

		None		Half			All
2.	How many of your friends are planning to finish college?	1	2	3	4	5	6

B. Occupational Goal-Striving Stress

1. Occupational Aspirations

		Not at all Important						Very Important
1.	How important is it to you to save a lot of money?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
2.	How important is it to you to have a secure job?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
3.	How important is it to you to have a successful career?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

2. Occupational Expectations

		Very Unlikely						Very Likely
1.	When you think about your future, how likely is it that you save a lot of money?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
2.	When you think about your future, how likely is it that you will have a successful career?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
3.	When you think about your future, how likely is it that you will have a secure job?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

3. Peer Occupational Expectations

		None		Half			All
1.	How many of your friends are planning to save a lot of money?	1	2	3	4	5	6
2.	How many of your friends are planning to have a successful career?	1	2	3	4	5	6
3.	How many of your friends are planning to have a secure job?	1	2	3	4	5	6

Stressful Life Events

In the past 12 months...		No	Yes
1.	Did you have a very bad accident or injury?	0	1
2.	Did you have a very bad illness?	0	1
3.	Did you have trouble with the law?	0	1
4.	Did a close friend or family member die?	0	1
5.	Did your parents' divorce or separate?	0	1
6.	Did you lose your home because of a flood or other disaster?	0	1
7.	Was one of your parents fired or laid off from work?	0	1
8.	Did you repeat a grade level in school?	0	1
9.	Did a close friendship end?	0	1
10.	Did you and your boyfriend/girlfriend "break up"?	0	1
11.	Did you move to a worse neighborhood or home?	0	1
12.	Was your home broken into?	0	1
13.	Did your parents ask you to leave your home? (kick you out)	0	1
14.	Did anyone steal something from you and never give it back?	0	1
15.	Did anyone break or ruin any of your things on purpose?	0	1
16.	Did anyone hit or attack you on purpose?	0	1
17.	Did you get scared or feel really bad because kids were calling you names, saying mean things to you, or saying that they didn't want you around?	0	1
18.	Did you get scared or feel really bad because grown-ups in your life called you names, said mean things to you, or said they didn't want you?	0	1
19.	Did someone close to you drink or use drugs so often that it caused problems for your family?	0	1

Parents' Marital Status

1. What is your parents' current marital status?
   1. Married to each other
   2. Divorced or separated from each other
   3. Widowed
   4. Never married
   5. Other _____ (If "other," please fill in)

Family Attachment

A. Relationship with your mother (or female guardian)... B. Relationship with you father (or male guardian)...						
		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral or Mixed	Agree	Strongly Agree
1.	I feel comfortable talking to my mother/father.	1	2	3	4	5
2.	I feel close to my mother/father.	1	2	3	4	5
3.	I wish I felt closer to my mother/father.	1	2	3	4	5
4.	I really enjoy spending time with my mother/father.	1	2	3	4	5

Self-Esteem

How much do you agree with the following?					
		Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree
1.	I have a number of good qualities	0	1	2	3
2.	I am able to do things as well as most other people.	0	1	2	3
3.	I take a positive attitude toward myself.	0	1	2	3
4.	On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.	0	1	2	3

Depression

In the past 6 months...					
		Not at all	Occasionally	Frequently	Almost all the time
1.	...I felt sad	0	1	2	3
2.	...I couldn't get going.	0	1	2	3
3.	...I did not feel like eating.	0	1	2	3
4.	...my sleep was restless.	0	1	2	3
5.	...I felt depressed.	0	1	2	3
6.	...I felt fearful.	0	1	2	3
7.	...I felt lonely.	0	1	2	3