

A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF ALIENATION

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to illuminate the problems which arise in seeking to test Marx's theory of alienation empirically, and to assess the contributions of empirical studies of alienation to circumvent some of these problems.

Firstly, a framework is constructed to analyze different theories of alienation. Next, Marx's theory is so analyzed, as well as a number of other empirical studies. This theory and these studies are critically assessed.

In conclusion, it is shown that Marx's theory needs elaboration especially with regard to the conception of "class consciousness". Empirical studies of this theory, moreover, tend to be either too confined in theoretical scope, on the one hand, or too divergent from the basic marxist approach, on the other.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>INTRODUCTION</u>		1
<u>CHAPTER ONE:</u>	An Analytical Framework for the Study of Alienation	4
<u>CHAPTER TWO:</u>	Marx's Theory of Alienation	15
<u>CHAPTER THREE:</u>	The Analysis of Empirical Studies of Alienation	61
<u>CHAPTER FOUR:</u>	Concluding Remarks on the Problems of Empirically Testing Marx's Theory of Alienation	117
<u>LIST OF REFERENCES</u>		

I N T R O D U C T I O N

The aim of this study on Marx's theory of alienation is to illuminate through a consideration of empirical studies of alienation, the problems which arise in seeking to test Marx's theory empirically. And to assess the contributions which these studies make to circumvent some of these problems.

Recently, there has been an intense revival of interest in Marx's works. Many articles have appeared furthering the age-old debates among protagonists and yet it is interesting to note that the subject of these debates is invariably Marx's humanism. One could quote dozens of books and articles both by marxists and non-marxist students which seek to appropriate Marx's humanism particularly in the guise of alienation, to their particular explanation of social reality. Of interest also, are the various attempts to synthesize the works of marxists and structural-functionalists.¹⁾ It would appear that there exists concurrently two contradictory trends: the one an attraction toward a marxist analysis of social reality, and the other a rejection of marxist analysis and structural-functionalism in favour of a synthesis combining the two approaches. It may be suggested that these contradictory trends are in part a consequence of the confusion surrounding Marx's work especially with regard to his theory of alienation.

Confusion about Marx's theory of alienation, can be largely traced to the inadequate social-psychological empirical studies of alienation which purport to be based on Marx's theory. In these studies alienation is used to characterize divergent phenomena. It is at once the most common and poorly defined term used at present to characterize the "ills of our times". It is the cause of the generation gap, of the student uprisings, of the apathy and sense of powerlessness of the voter, of the

1) See in particular D. Atkinson: Orthodox consensus and radical alternatives and B. Jessop: Social order, reform and revolution.

discontent of the worker, of militancy of the blacks and so forth. Reference is constantly made to it in conjunction with the growth of urbanization, the disintegration of the family, the superficiality of interpersonal relations, the competitive ethos permeating human relations, the sexual objectification of women, the isolation and autonomy of individuals, meaninglessness and the death of God.

In the process, Marx's theory of alienation as a critique of capitalist society, encompassing a theory of social change, is forgotten. Attempts are continually made to divorce Marx's discussion of the "estrangement of man" from this critique and theory of social change. As a consequence, such aborted renderings of the theory of alienation prove inadequate for the analysis of social reality. Before one can conclusively state that Marx's theory of alienation is irrelevant to the understanding of contemporary reality, however, it must be tested by an analysis of empirical reality.

Marx's theory of alienation is very complex. Empirical research of the phenomena of alienation as delineated by Marx is not readily executed; witness the lack of substantive studies. There are many problems which must be circumvented in the conceptualization and operationalization of Marx's theory for empirical research. A clear understanding of Marx's theory is essential for the undertaking of such an endeavour.

In this study of Marx's theory of alienation, we shall be interested in: firstly, clearly elucidating Marx's theory of alienation and its supersession; secondly, evaluating empirical studies of alienation in terms of their attempted operationalization of alienation within the marxist tradition. The purpose in doing so is: to discover the state of empirical research on alienation, to identify the problems which must be resolved in seeking to test empirically Marx's theory of alienation, and to seek out innovative ways of operationalization and conceptualization which suggest means for circumventing some of the problems which come to light.

These investigations will not include a consideration of the specific empirical measurements devised by various authors to test their conceptualizations. Nor will the validity of the conclusions regarding hypotheses posed in various studies be questioned. Rather in this regard, discussions will be limited to explicating any hypotheses under study and revealing their theoretical origins.

In chapter one an analytical framework for the analysis of Marx's theory of alienation, and empirical studies of alienation will be formulated. In chapter two Marx's theory of alienation will be explicated in terms of this framework, and problems which are likely to arise in investigating alienation within this tradition, revealed. In Chapter Three empirical studies of alienation will be analyzed and their contribution to the empirical study of Marx's theory illuminated. Finally, in the concluding chapter we shall be interested: firstly, in briefly restating Marx's theory of alienation, secondly, in posing pertinent questions concerning problems we are likely to encounter in empirically studying Marx's theory of alienation; thirdly, considering the contribution of the empirical studies for circumventing some of these problems.

Chapter One: An analytical framework for the study of alienation

The conceptualizations of alienation vary from the simple hypothesis of a discrepancy between an expected and an actual state of affairs to a complex theory about the effects of social conditions of a particular historical stage of development on man and human relations. The former is a variation on the theme of relative deprivation, and may refer to a variety of expected states defined by values, norms, economic trends or the like. Alienation is a subjectively experienced state of dissatisfaction relating to the perceived discrepancy between the expected and actual state of affairs. There does not exist any theoretical construct which purports to account for either the discrepancy or the subjective perception of this discrepancy, nor, is the resulting state of experienced alienation related to any objectively observable behaviour. Alienation is not a process, but is, rather a social psychological state, and investigation into this state entails determining through attitudinal tests whether the subject perceives his alienation. Reference throughout is made to either the subject's expectations or a typical ideal-type of expectation based on the values or norms of the society, which it is hypothesized should be typical of the subject's expectations.

On the other side of the continuum is the complex theoretical construct about the effects of social conditions of a particular stage of historical development on man and human relations. Alienation is conceived as a process in time, the result of historical forces which influence the organization of social production. The organization of social process or social conditions characterizes a particular social structure which structure the relations between individuals, and tend to create certain psychological states. Thus, given a certain theory of human nature, certain sociological processes will create certain psychological states. In addition there may or may not be a theory concerning the relationship between the objective process of alienation and the subjective awareness of this alienating process. Certainly, it is not necessary that alienation be experienced before one can speak of alienation. Similarly, there may or may not be a theory linking awareness of alienation to a particular course of action. Such a theory may be

1) The works of Mészáros, Rosner, Kon, and Israel have been most helpful in the writing of this chapter.

inclusive of all spheres of activity or may pertain to only one particular sphere such as is frequently the case in empirical studies, the economic sphere.

It is readily evident that there exists much variation both within these two ideal-types and between them (in terms of a continuum) The simple variation would readily include anomia, for example; the discrepancy between the expected and actual state of affairs may actually be the result of the lack of institutional opportunities for underprivileged groups which adhere to a common success - oriented value system, (the American Dream). On the other hand theories of a more complex nature may vary from a radical critique of society with a revolutionary programme for change, to a conservative diagnosis of labour discontent with a sophisticated institutionalized grievance reform programme.

As is frequently the case, in seeking to differentiate conceptualization of alienation, we are dealing with a wide spectrum of issues and it would appear that there exist as many conceptualizations as there exist variations on issues. Our essential task, thus, is to abstract variations in terms of dominant characteristics, or issues in order to construct a framework for the analysis of alienation. It is useful at this stage to pose questions which will give direction to our inquiry: a) who is alienated and from what? b) how is alienation manifested in social life? what are the different aspects which comprise alienation? c) what are the causes of alienation and the chances of eliminating it? Essentially we are inquiring into the causes, condition, and consequences of alienation. We are interested in determining whether alienation is conceived as a sociological process or a psychological state, and in making explicit the relationship between objective and subjective aspects of alienation.

Ogurzov, the Soviet Russian philosopher maintains that alienation is a philosophical-sociological concept referring to "a sociological process characterized by the fact that the individual's productive activity, his work, and the results of

his activity have become independent and have gained command over the human being". (2,5) Israel suggests that, although there exists much confusion about alienation, as it is both a sociological and psychological concept, it is possible to distinguish between the two in terms of the focus of interest of the two approaches: "On a sociological level one can attempt to describe and analyze the economic-sociological processes which affect the individual and his role in society. Given a certain social structure, one important task will be to study processes which affect the individual's relation to his work, his social relations and the relations he establishes to non-human objects. On a psychological level one can attempt to describe and to analyze those psychological experiences which are a consequence of the individual's relations to persons and objects". (2,4) I would add that on a sociological level it would be important to consider political aspects of alienation particularly in a consideration the transcendence of alienation.

We might note in passing that there is another use of the term alienation which has its origins in the works of philosophers such as Rousseau and Hegel. We are referring, of course, to the identification of alienation as the "human condition" or the fall of man in the works of Jean-Paul Satre and Paul Tillich among others. Such formulations will fall outside our area of interest as we are primarily interested in studies which have an empirical reference and which implicitly or explicitly acknowledge the possibility of a transcendence of alienation.

It is useful to make a distinction between subjective and objective aspects of alienation, particularly with regard to empirical studies. The subjective aspects of alienation refer to the individual's experiences and his description of these experiences. The focus of interest is on the subjective point of view of the actor, and concerns social-psychological conditions, such as work satisfaction.

There are two possible interpretations of alienation as an objective phenomenon. Firstly it can refer to the study of objectively observable behaviour. The focus of interest is

still on social-psychological conditions, but it is distinguishable from the subjective aspect of alienation in that the observations of the behaviour are independent of the subject's report of the experience. Thus, it is possible to conceive of alienation as objectively observable behaviour of which the subject is not aware. This naturally poses the problem of determining under what circumstances the individual will become aware of his "alienated" behaviour. There must exist an assumption, furthermore, that "alienated" behaviour is identifiable and that alienation can be equated with this manifestation of "alienated" behaviour.

In the second interpretation of alienation as an objective phenomenon the focus of interest is on social conditions which characterize a particular social structure and make for particular types of social relationships. Alienation is essentially a sociological process and the task at hand is to study the objective social conditions within a given social structure.

These approaches to alienation can be combined. Alienation is then studied as a sociological process which structures social relationships and gives rise to certain psychological states. Problems of concern, given this orientation are: the correlation of certain social conditions with the structure of particular types of social relationships; the correlation of manifested "alienated" behaviour with particular types of social relationships; and the stipulation of the conditions under which the subject experiences certain psychological states and relates these psychological states to alienative social conditions. A final problem for a complete sociological analysis of alienation would be the correlation of a psychological awareness of alienation, as a social condition, to particular types of social action, apathy, activism etc. Needless to say, this complete analysis of alienation is lacking at present in the social sciences. One of our important tasks is to try and discover the reason for this lack.

Mészáros has very rightly pointed out that the key to the understanding of Marx's concept of alienation is his concept of

"aufhebung" that is the transcendence, supersession, suppression of alienation. Similarly by starting off from what constitutes the supersession of alienation in any given theory, we can readily find answers to the orienting questions we posed at the outset of this discussion. One may ask, what if a particular conceptualization of alienation does not discuss or perhaps even conceive of a practical transcendence of alienation? This is not uncommon, particularly with studies which center on work alienation as the consequence of technology. It is suggested that the lack of a theory of transcendence in itself is very significant. Either the conceptualization is incomplete or alienation is regarded as a phenomenon entirely beyond the control of man and this certainly does shed some light on why research based on such conceptualization appear to be rather meaningless, except in terms of diagnosing a particular problem. But we shall tackle these problems presently.

Any transcendence of alienation implies that there exists or could exist a state of non-alienation and that alienation is either a state or process in time and hence has a historical dimension. The transcendence of alienation should be effected by an agent, either a social being, a group of social beings or given a predeliction to a deterministic notion of the development of society, a supernatural or historical force. Alienation is a state or process which relates to man and his environment, which includes other social beings and significant social constructs, both ideal and concrete. Alienation is usually seen to arise from incompatible demands of "society" and man, or, between men in society. Thus, for a full understanding of alienation and its transcendence, it is essential to examine four elements implicit in the conceptualization of alienation and its transcendence: a) a theory of human nature, b) a theory of society, c) a theory of the relationship between man and society, and d) a theory of the relationship between man and man in society. It is quite evident that conceptualizations may differ on any of these four elements, and that the orientation in the exposition of these elements may be predominantly psychological or sociological. Thus, for example, in Freud's work, a theory of society is relevant only to the extent that it sheds some light on the psychological development of man, and the relationship between man and society and between men would be studied in terms of psychological

variables. It should be fairly evident that the term alienation is at this point used as a generic concept covering a wide range of phenomena. However, this does not imply that a delimitation is not necessary, and indeed we shall consider this problem in this chapter. Let us now consider briefly each of the four elements enumerated above.

Theories about human nature vary widely; some are very pessimistic about man's innovative qualities, and others quite optimistic, and of course some theorists feel that there is no such thing as human nature per se, that man's capacities are unlimited, and are determined by environmental conditions, both social and physical. Durkheim had a very pessimistic view of man. He felt that man without regulation by society would suffer from the malady of infinite aspiration. Essentially uncoöperative, man would not be able to regulate his emotions to adjust to social conditions, or even to his own needs without external constraints. Man is essentially egoistical and the solution to the Hobbesian problem of order was certainly not to be found in trusting in human nature. Durkheim makes this point rather emphatically in his discussion of organic solidarity. "It has sometimes been said that we can deduce the normal extent of the development of the individual from the concept of human personality (Kant), or from the notion of the individual organism (Spencer) In any event, what is certain is that in historical reality it is not on these abstract considerations that the moral order is found. In fact, in order that man might recognize the rights of others, not only logically, but in the practical work-a-day world, it was necessary that he consent to limit his rights, and, consequently, this mutual limitation could be made only in a spirit of agreement and accord. But, if we suppose a multitude of individuals without previous links between them, what reason could there have been to induce them to make these reciprocal sacrifices?" (1,120)

Marx on the other hand, was optimistic about man. Man is a social being, a creative being who naturally expresses himself in practical activity. His tendencies lie toward changing.

the circumstances of his life, asserting his control over nature through coöperative activity. Man is a total being, in that his human essence is the totality of all social relations. Marx, in his Thesis on Feuerbach explicitly states that "the essence of man is no abstraction inherent in each separate individual. In its reality it is the ensemble (aggregate) of social relations". (5,198) The defining characteristic of man is clearly his sociality. Marx definitely rejects the standpoint of political economy which recognizes "the only moving forces" as "the lust for gain and the war between seekers after gain, competition". (4,TF:81-2) Indeed, the image of human nature held by the political economists, Marx states is a consequence of alienation, and a manifestation of it. "According to Adam Smith, society is a commercial enterprise. Every one of its members is a salesman. It is evident how political economy establishes an alienated form of social intercourse, as the true and original form, and that which corresponds to human nature". (4,TF:536-7)

Theories of society also vary considerably but we shall be primarily concerned with structural-functionalism and marxism. Although both approaches analytically conceive of society as a structured system of interdependent parts, marxism differs from structural-functionalism, in that the activity in the economic substructure is considered to be the major determinant of social relations in society. This does not negate, however, the fact that other structures, the political, ideological, etc., have an affect on the economic structure and social relations. There is an element of feedback in the marxian system. Nevertheless, for a change in social relations to come about, a change must be effected in the structuring of activity in the economic system. We may note in passing that this is an important consideration in the analysis of studies on alienation which claim to adhere to the marxist tradition. For one cannot in Marx's theory separate economic and political variables. To speak of alienation solely in terms of the economic sphere or the political sphere is impossible within this tradition. If man is alienated politically the cause must be sought in the economic structure. And man cannot be alienated in the economic sphere without being subject to the political aspects of alienation

Similarly a transcendence of alienation is at once a political change, (the precondition for initiating change in the organization of production, and an economic change, (the actual change in the organization of production).

The structural-functionalists conceive of society as comprising interdependent sub-systems which are organized to facilitate the fulfillment of the four functional requisites, goal attainment, adaptation, integration, and pattern maintenance. Social integration, the acceptance of a normative order, is the most important element for the structuring of social relations.

The structural-functionalists, in considering conflict relations between man and society, are concerned with the problem of generating commitment to normative order. Although positing system integration as an important element for the successful maintenance of society, the emphasis is continually on normative social integration as the basis of order in society.¹⁾ Thus, the problem is defined in terms of deviance; and the malintegration of the individual. Such deviating behaviour which results in conflict and chaos, inhibits the development of "ideal" coöperative social relations and social structures. The individual must necessarily be constrained for in this normative regulation by society, lies the answer to the Hobbesian problem of order.

Within this tradition, thus, societal regulation is seen as important for assuring coöperation among men. The question is what constitutes societal regulation? Durkheim saw the division of labour as an important element in societal regulation because it has a "natural" tendency to provide the necessary regulative force, which produces solidarity, because it creates among men an entire system of rights and obligations, which binds them together. This is clearly the reason which could "induce them to make these reciprocal sacrifices". (1,120) Durkheim's concept of anomie centers on the fact that the rapid growth of the economy has occurred without a corresponding growth of collective forces which could regulate it. Of particular importance is the lack of occupational groups which establish occupational laws and ethics. The division of labour

1) These terms are Lockwood's: see "Social Integration and System Integration". (3,245)

when properly regulated is a source of solidarity in industrial society because, firstly, there exists a sense of community which should ideally uphold equality and justice, and secondly, the individual is educated in terms of serving the community, in acting within the confines of specialized roles.

Marx's conception of the division of labour and the "beneficial" social structure is the antithesis of Durkheim's. A division of labour in which each man has a particular exclusive sphere of activity thrust upon him, in which practical activity is divorced from intellectual pursuits, only serves to enchain man. Firstly, thought is separated from action and hence man is either engaged in mindless activity or else sterile speculation. Both situations are limiting and do not allow for creative productive activity to which Marx often refers as Praxis. Such a division of labour also separates men who make decision from those who execute decisions and tends thus to promote conflict, particularly in that speculative thought is valued above practical activity.

The marxian concept of society is a historical one. Society is defined in terms of a particular social structure which is formed by a specific economic mode of production. The focus of interest is on social relations of production which divide men up into antagonistic classes. Thus, the particular type of economic activity, capitalism, is seen as the determinant factor for turning men against each other through the structuring of social relations according to the demands of capitalism.

Israel has found it quite useful to differentiate among theories of alienation according to theories of human nature and theories of the "type of solution for basically existing conflict" which they comprise. (2,15) Theories of human nature can be of the type sociological-psychological or philosophical-antropological and the analysis of conflict identifies either the individual as the source of problems (society-oriented theories) or sees the society or structuring of the relations between men in society as problematic, and in need of change (individual-oriented). Using these two variables, Israel classifies various theories of alienation as used in the generic sense. His classification

is interesting but not very useful for our purposes because, firstly, another division between psychological and sociological theories is important in looking at empirical studies of alienation and secondly, we are excluding studies of philosophical-antropological conceptions of alienation. Israel maintains that "young" Marx's theory of alienation is a philosophical-antropological theory, whereas his theory of alienation in later works is sociological. This is questionable, particularly in light of the fact that there is continuity in his works. Granted, in his early works, he is primarily concerned with explicating the phenomenon of alienation, whereas in his later works, he is more concerned with the transcendence of alienation. But his analysis is sociological, in that he is consistently concerned with tracing the effects of social forces arising from a defined mode of production on the relations of individuals within groups or rather "classes". Furthermore, his discussion of man's relationship to nature is not abstract philosophy but is grounded in an analysis of man's social activity in a society. In other words Marx does not see man as "essentially" hedonistic, good or evil. Man's nature is not predetermined but is changing continually through his activity in society. Marx is merely suggesting that man's distinguishing characteristics are firstly his creative or productive labour and secondly his sociality. Looking at man's activity, Marx sees that man is creative, he produces objects for his use, and man is social, he coöperates with other men.

It is hoped that an extensive examination of studies of alienation in terms of the four elements discussed above, posing the questions of the condition, cause, consequence of, and transcendence of alienation will prove fruitful in critically assessing the uses of this concept in empirical research. It will be necessary to differentiate "society-oriented" and "individual-oriented" theories of alienation, and to designate these theories in terms of differing concepts such as anomie and alienation respectively.

Throughout the formulation of this framework, alienation has been used as a generic concept to denote any kind of incompatibility between the demands of men, man and society. In this study

however, we shall be concerned specifically with Marx's theory of alienation. Thus, we shall select for study empirical studies which purport to study alienation within the marxist traditions. Whether they in fact do so is another matter with which we will be naturally concerned. Prior to our analysis of empirical studies of alienation, we shall firstly clearly set forth Marx's theory of alienation by applying our analytical framework to his works on alienation.

Chapter Two: Marx's theory of Alienation

Introduction

In this chapter, we shall be concerned with Marx's theory of alienation. The process of alienation is very important in Marx's works on capitalism and communism. As the basis of Marx's entire system, the theory of alienation, comprising a discussion of the transcendence of alienation, is at once a criticism of capitalism, centering on the social relations of production, and a blueprint for initiating political and economic change which will usher in communism as a comprehensive "social practice". Thus, it will be necessary to consider the totality of Marx's works. Much of our attention, however, will be concentrated on the Paris Manuscripts which contain the most explicit formulations of the theory of alienation.

It has been suggested, by Mészáros, that the Paris Manuscripts of 1844 outline the conception of alienation, whereas the latter works concern the presentation of the "concrete elaboration of the complex problematics of alienation". The conception of alienation, "the outline or preliminary synthesis must be rendered specific enough in every respect, otherwise the practical realization of the philosophical programme inherent in this synthesis cannot be seriously contemplated for a moment". (1,238-9) Clearly the concept of "aufhebung" is not only the key to the understanding of alienation, as mentioned previously, but is also the essential link in the totality of Marx's works. Mészáros would not wish to imply that Marx's discussion of alienation in the Paris Manuscripts represents a philosophical-antropological approach, however. On the contrary, in a criticism of Daniel Bell's The End of Ideology, he challenges the view that Marx in his early works was concerned with philosophy and in his later works with Political Economy. He states that the proposed distinction makes for a false dichotomy in Marx's and is entirely contradictory to his theory of praxis, and furthermore, that Marx's first concern, in the Paris Manuscripts, is with practical activity, labour.

In addition to critics who make a distinction between Marx's works in terms of a focus on philosophy or political economy, there are several who claim that there are two Marxs, and that later writings radically diverge from earlier works.¹⁾ Such critics usually proceed to accept either the earlier or later works, rejecting the other. Thus, either the philosophical and normative problems of freedom of the individual, or, the revolutionary programme of marxism which is inseparable from the demystification of capitalist society is, depending on ideological leanings, avoided. The fact that Georg Lukács in History and Class Consciousness, anticipates Marx's arguments on alienation, particularly in his discussion of reification, is evidence for the continuity in Marx's works. Certainly, there is considerable support for the belief that there is continuity in Marx's work. But it is suggested that Mészáros' discussion is particularly significant, in that he conclusively shows that alienation is central to the concern of the Young and Mature Marx. His semantic analysis of Marx's writings, for example, demonstrates that Marx does not, in fact, drop the concept of alienation, which has several translations in German. And with regard to the two quotes on alienation in the German Ideology and Communist Manifesto which are advanced to support the claim of discontinuity, he suggests that they have been misinterpreted and, in fact, do not substantiate the claim. (1,236-8) For Marx's works can be rather confusing because he tends to use the terminology of his predecessors, at times to refer to their usage, and at other times to his own, usage which encompasses an entirely different meaning.

Although Jordan suggests that Marx does "discard the term and concept of alienation altogether in his later works," he would agree with Mészáros, that alienation is central to Marx's system. "The definition of alienation in sociological terms explains the fact that, while Marx continued to refer to the phenomenon of self-alienation, as he did implicitly or explicitly whenever he spoke of the social relations in the capitalist system - he discarded the term and concept of alienation altogether. Since the phenomena of alienation are inherent in the socio-economic formation of capitalism, they are fully considered in his study

1) See in particular Feuer, Tucker and Bell.

of the class struggle, class domination and the capitalist mode of production". (4,19, emphasis added)

It is hoped that the foregoing discussion will help to clear up certain misconceptions about Marx's works in general, and of his theory of alienation in particular. The important factors to bear in mind in our study are: that alienation is the basis of Marx's system, that the transcendence of alienation is both the key to the understanding of alienation, and the link between earlier and later works, and that consequently, a consideration of the totality of Marx's works is essential.

It is perhaps necessary at this time to point out, that in our study of Marx's theory of alienation, we are primarily concerned with the problems which would arise in empirically investigating the process of alienation. We shall raise these problems subsequent to our exposition of his theory. Thus, we are not so much concerned with determining whether Marx's theory of alienation is a good explanation of contemporary phenomena. It is suggested that Edwards, Reich and Weisskopf have, among others, in the Capitalist System, concerned themselves specifically with this problem and have aptly demonstrated the contemporary significance of certain aspects of Marx's works.

In our exposition of Marx's theory of alienation, we shall be interested in considering: the background to the articulation of the theory of alienation; Marx's concept of nature, man, the relationship between man and nature and between men in society; the economic and political aspects of alienation. Throughout our discussion, the transcendence of alienation is the important key to the understanding of alienation, of the condition, and **causes** and **consequences** of alienation.

Background to Marx's Articulation of Alienation

Marx was not the first theorist to make use of the concept of alienation. Although Fichte seems to have coined the term, (4,15) Hegel and Feuerbach were responsible for its widespread introduction. But the idea of alienation as an "estrangement" does not originate with the use of the concept alienation.

The idea is implicit in Rousseau's discussion of the "noble savage" and the nature of man; and also permeates the Judeo-Christian ethic of centuries past. Marx's particular conceptualization of alienation arises from a combination of largely two factors: firstly, it is the product of criticisms of political economy and philosophy and natural science; and secondly, it is a response to the specific formulations of his predecessors Hegel and Feuerbach.

Hegel's theory of historical development is based on the assumptions that: what is real is rational; and the force determining history is impersonal and general, the role of individuals and particular events is insignificant. History is the unfolding of reason, the progressive manifestation of the universal mind. Although acknowledging the essence of man as productive labour (6,EPM 123), Hegel suggests that individuals have no influence in the actual shaping of history, they are merely the vehicles for the partial manifestation of the "weltgeist". Hegel suggests that alienation is inherent in the nature of all spiritual creations, for the "exteriorization" of the world spirit sets up the creative world as an object opposed to it. Man as a creator, necessarily experiences his creation as beyond his control, a force contraining his actions.

"The essential purpose of historical progress is to overcome alienation - the alienated forms of existence and the self-alienation of human consciousness - in and through the process of knowledge. Although the goal of the Spirit is to realize its ideal being, this goal is achieved through the stages of creation, alienation and sublimation". (5,16) "Society itself and all the principle parts of its structure, its laws, its morals, its religion and institutions which embody them - advance under the continual tension of internal forces and their endless readjustment by thought". (7,640) Thus, Hegel does not envisage a total transcendence of alienation. Rather alienation is continually reestablished with each creation or unfolding of reason and must be superseded anew.

Feuerbach's contribution to philosophy was very important for he totally diverged from the current belief that the world is a creation of the mind acting through historical states and historical individuals, and affirmed the material basis of social and political institutions. To quote a renowned ~~phrase~~ - He stood Hegel's philosophy on its head. The World Spirit or Divine Being was but a reification of man's activity. Man imputed to the Divine Being all the idealized qualities to which he aspired. In so doing, he constructed an idealized object divorced from human activity, which confronts him revealing his inadequacies. "This erroneous 'self-evaluation' in connection with a projection of the best of human qualities onto God, creates alienation. Man, declared Feuerbach, becomes alien to his own essence, because it is projected onto God, and therefore alien to himself". (6,31)

Marx acknowledges Feuerbach's great step forward but entreats him to finish the task and "engage in battles against the existing order". In the Theses on Feuerbach, Marx states that, "Feuerbach starts out from the fact of religious self-alienation, the duplication of the world into a religious, imaginary world and a real one. His work consists in the dissolution of the religious world into its secular basis. He overlooks the fact that after completing this work, the chief thing still remains to be done. Feuerbach does not see that the 'religious sentiment is itself a social product, and that the abstract individual whom he analyses belongs in reality to a particular form of society". (11, TF, 4&5, 87-88) Thus, the foundations of alienation must be sought in the social conditions a particular social structure at a given stage in history.

It has been suggested that prior to the writing of the Theses on Feuerbach, Marx was a follower of Feuerbach. Although he praises Feuerbach, a close reading of the Paris Manuscripts will reveal the divergence between his and Feuerbach's theory of alienation. Nevertheless, Marx's semantic use of the concept of alienation to refer to the usage of his predecessor at times and to his own particular meaning at other times can cause confusion. Mészáros' discussion on the influence of Feuerbach

on Marx is very interesting, for it includes an analysis of two important letters addressed by Marx to Feuerbach, which conclusively show that Marx was quite aware of the limitations of Feuerbach's analysis when he was engaged in writing the Economic and Political Manuscripts. Mészáros suggests that the reason why Feuerbach was not criticized in these manuscripts is that "perhaps Marx had illusions about Feuerbach's willingness or ability to engage in such battles against the existing order, perhaps he only wanted to enlist the support of a powerful ally and at the same time, as a good editor, push his would-be collaborator forward in radicalism, bringing him into line with his own conception of the journal's task". (1,234)

Thus, Marx's theory of alienation developed in response to the formulation of his predecessors, Hegel and Feuerbach. He acknowledged that Hegel "grasps the self-creation of man as a process, objectification as loss of the object, as alienation and transcendence of this alienation, and that he, therefore, grasps the nature of labour, and conceives objective man (true, because real man) as the result of his own labour". (12,123) However, he rejects Hegel's understanding of labour as "abstract mental labour" and the accompanying conceptualization of creation as the unfolding of reason. Marx's concept of alienation certainly derives much of its substance from Hegel: the idea of a dialectical process, the creation of the object, objectification and alienation, and the supersession of alienation; the essence of man as creative labour, admittedly reinterpreted by Marx as Praxis, the unity of theory and practice.

From Feuerbach's work is derived, the material basis of society, and the reification of man's activity in the religious sphere. "Feuerbach resolves the religious essence into the human essence". But Feuerbach neglects the fact that "the human essence is no abstraction inherent in each single individual". "In its reality, it is the ensemble of the social relations". (12,TF,87) Marx, as Hegel, although differing in his interpretation of historical development, sees man and his creations in historical perspective. Feuerbach on the other hand does not. Furthermore, Feuerbach, in developing his concept of "human sensuous activity" forgets that man is an active being, "the subject of history". (12,TF,86) An important factor in Marx's

theory of alienation is the idea of Praxis, the unity of theory and practical activity - a negation and synthesis of Feuerbach's and Hegel's conceptions of human activity or creative labour.

It was stated previously that Marx's theory of alienation is partially a product of criticisms of political economy, natural science and philosophy. Essentially the criticisms revolve around the question of why there exists such a gulf between these disciplines in their activities and approaches to reality. The answer lies in the alienated and reified social relations of production. The standpoint of each discipline (that of property in political economy for example) is a reflection of the reified constructs of alienated social relations of production. The crux of the matter, is that production, or creative activity, has been divided into labour and property, which are antagonistically opposed. Political economy as we have seen "begins with the fact of private property; it does not explain it". (12 ,EPM,167) Identifying with the standpoint of property, Political Economy is bound to formulate its theoretical scheme in terms of property and labour, rather than in terms of opposing the abstract concept of man to property and labour, as is characteristic of the reifications of philosophy. But we are anticipating the discussion of Marx's conception of alienation which is essential to the understanding of these criticisms of political economy and philosophy.

Marx's Conceptualization of Man and Productive Activity

A discussion of Marx's concepts of man and productive activity is relevant to the understanding of Marx's theory of alienation. We mentioned previously that one factor distinguishing theories of "alienation" is the underlying conceptions of man and man's relationship to man. Furthermore, Marx in his theory of alienation discusses the conditions of alienation relative to a non-alienated state. This non-alienated state is conceptualized from the subjective point of view of the actor in terms of his relationship to "nature" or the sensuous external world. 1)

1) It would also be possible to conceptualize a non-alienated state in terms of objective or structural conditions, and in fact Marx does so. But with regard to his discussion of the subjective conditions of non-alienation he is concerned with man's relationship to his work.

There is controversy as to whether Marx did have a definite notion of "human nature". Certainly Marx did not attribute a priori positive or negative characteristics to man; man is neither egoistical nor altruistic in Marx's scheme of things. Man's morality, belief system, and actions are formed by the particular social circumstances which structure his existence. And although Marx's concept of essence is confusing as it is used in a variety of contexts (12, EPM 123, GI 178, TF 87), in so far as human essence is used to refer to "human nature" it is not defined in fixed terms. "The human essence is no abstraction inherent in each single individual. In its reality it is the ensemble of the social relations". (12, TF 87) But consider for a moment the "ensemble of social relations", To what is Marx referring?

One of the important assumptions in Marx's work is that productive activity is the mediating link between man and nature. Man relates and creates the "sensuous external world" through his productive activity. Thus "the first historical act is the production of the means to satisfy these needs, the production of material life itself....; the second point is that the satisfaction of the first need (the action of satisfying and the instruments of satisfaction which have been acquired) leads to new needs and the production of new needs; the third circumstance which, from the very outset, enters into historical development is that men, who daily remake their own life, begin to make other men, to propagate their kind...;" fourthly, man is essentially a social being, "the production of one's own life in labour and of fresh life in procreation, now appears as a double relationship: on the one hand as natural, on the other as a social relationship. By social we understand the coöperation of several individuals, no matter under what conditions, in what manner and to what end"; and fifthly, "man also possesses 'consciousness'".(12,GI 94-8)

What then typifies the "ensemble or social relations". Firstly productive activity and secondly social activity, "the coöperation of several individuals". It is debatable whether one could

consider productive activity and social coöperation as attributes of man - his human essence or human nature, for these two factors characterize interaction, which implies a relationship of some sort. Productive activity as stated earlier is the mediation between man and nature, and is necessarily social. At this point productive activity in Marx's scheme could take many different forms and as he states "social refers to coöperation of several individuals, no matter under what conditions, in what manner and to what end". It would appear, however, that Marx in his earlier works does implicitly define when discussing alienative productive activity, the type of productive activity, social activity which makes for "man's fulfillment".²⁾ Let us discuss in further detail the idea of productive activity as the mediation between man and nature.

Marx states that man is distinguished from animals by his creative labour; man has the capacity to create the means for his subsistence, to produce independently of human needs extending his control over nature. The products of his creation are said to embody subjectivity because once man has produced the means for his subsistence, he continues to produce to satisfy subjectively created needs. And this process of objectivation is continuous.³⁾ Thus man is unique in that through his productive activity he creates subjective needs, and the means for satisfying these subjective needs.

Secondly, man can be distinguished from animals by his "consciousness". Man is endowed with consciousness; he has the capacity to reflect upon his activity, "to establish a distance from his producing and its product, such that he can take cognizance of it and make of it an object of his consciousness". (1,199)

2) Thus productive activity refer to activity which is "fulfilling". Whereas productive labour and alienative productive activity refers to activity which is not "fulfilling".

3) "Objectivation is the process whereby human subjectivity embodies itself in products that are available to oneself and one's fellow men as elements of a common world. Human subjectivity must continuously objectivate itself - man is a world producing being". (1,199)

By this process of objectification⁴⁾, man comes to form definite conceptions about the world he is living in. "The production of ideas, of conceptions, of consciousness, is at first, directly interwoven with the material activity and the material intercourse of men, the language of real life". (12, GI 92)

Above all man is a social being. In his productive activity he coöperates with other men, creative activity is always social activity. "Even when I carry out scientific work, etc. an activity which I can seldom conduct in direct association with other men, I perform a social, because human act. It is not only the material of my activity - such as the language itself which the thinker uses - which is given to me as a social product. My own existence is a social activity. For this reason, what I myself produce I produce for society, and with the consciousness of acting as a social being". (12, EPM 99)

Hence man relates to the world through his productive activity. In his productive activity man comes to an awareness of himself through the objects which he produces. They are in effect an extension of himself, the means through which he relates to the world as a social being, as an active subject, and a conscious subject reflecting on his activity. "As man produces his life so he is".

There are certain underlying assumption in Marx's discussion of productive activity in the German Ideology and Paris Manuscripts which are revealed in the foregoing discussion. Marx's discussion is very much an historical analysis of the genesis of man's production of the objective world: "the first historical act ... thus, at this stage there does not exist a division between man and his work, between material activity and conscious reflection upon this activity. Marx is considering productive

4. Objectification is a moment in the process of objectivation in which man establishes distance from his producing and its product, such that he can take cognizance of it and make of it an object of his consciousness. Objectification refers to the way in which the world produced by man is apprehended by him. (1,199)

activity in its "totality". 5) This is the non-alienated form of productive activity which is implicit in Marx's discussion of alienated labour. Productive activity in this context would be equivalent of what Henri Lefebvre refers to as creative praxis or revolutionary praxis as distinguished from the other two levels of praxis, repetitive and mimetic praxis. (7, Chap. 2)⁶⁾

Praxis combines both practical activity and theoretical thought, and can be characteristic of all areas of human endeavour, "Praxis in its supreme realization (creative, revolutionary praxis) does not exclude the theory it animates and verifies. It comprises theoretical decision as well as the decision to act. It involves tactics and strategy". "Through praxis thought is re-united with being, consciousness with sensuous or physical nature, the mind with spontaneity". (7, 56-58)

Thus, the idea that "human essence is the ensemble of social relations" refers us to the fact that man engages in productive activity of a social nature. This productive activity is creative, embodying man's subjectivity, is both practical and reflective activity and is activity in coöperation with others. The form of coöperation Marx had in mind, when conceiving of non-alienated labour, excluded competition, and using men as objects to further material gains.

Thus, although Marx did not have any fixed notion of human nature, he did conceive of a specific relationship between man and nature which would be characteristic of a non-alienated state. This will become readily apparent in a discussion of the conditions of alienation.

5) The concept of "totality" refers us to the fundamental ontological sphere of human existence. In reference to productive activity "Marx realize that the non-alienated foundation of that which is reflected in an alienated form in political economy as a particular sphere is the fundamental ontological sphere of human existence and therefore it is the ultimate foundation of all kinds and forms of activity." (14,88)

6) It is understandable that Lefebvre found it necessary to formulate levels of praxis, for Marx uses the expression Praxis in a variety of contexts. He often uses the expression praxis simply to refer to what man does as opposed to what he thinks. (12, TF, 86, GI 98)

Having considered Marx's view of productive activity, we shall now turn to a consideration of what constitutes alienative productive activity, and of how this alienative productive relationship arises and of how it is to be transcended. Let us bear in mind that Marx states that "this sum of productive forces, capital funds and social forms of intercourse, which every individual and generation finds in existence as something given, is the real basis of what the philosophers have conceived as "substance" and "essence of man" (12, GI 178) We are reminded thus, that the relationship between man and nature is variable and is structured by the prevailing mode of production. The alienative productive relationship which Marx discusses, he suggests is characteristic of the capitalist mode of production. In discussing the causes and transcendence of alienation it will become readily apparent how the capitalist mode of production structures the relationship between man and nature in the form of alienative productive activity.

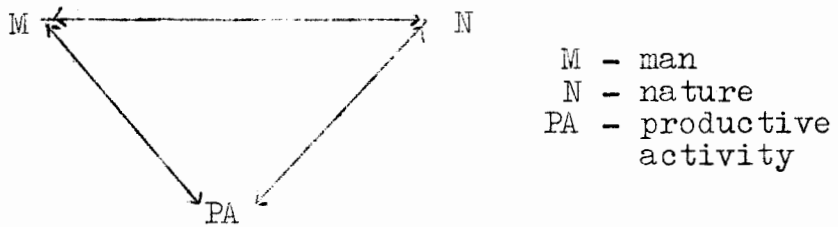
The Condition of Alienation: Social Processes of Alienation

The condition of alienation can be characterized in terms of both objective sociological processes, and psychological states defined from the subjective point of view of the actor.

It is useful to start our analysis from Marx's basic assumption of the relationship between man and nature. To recall our foregoing discussion there exists a reciprocal relationship ⁷⁾ between man and nature which is mediated by man's productive activity. Man transforms nature through the process of objectivation; he creates the world he lives in. In so doing man objectifies his activity; he becomes aware of his activity and the product which he produces. His activity and product is the means by which man expresses his subjectivity and individuality. Thus man is able "to contemplate himself in the world of objects as well as ideas". The relationship

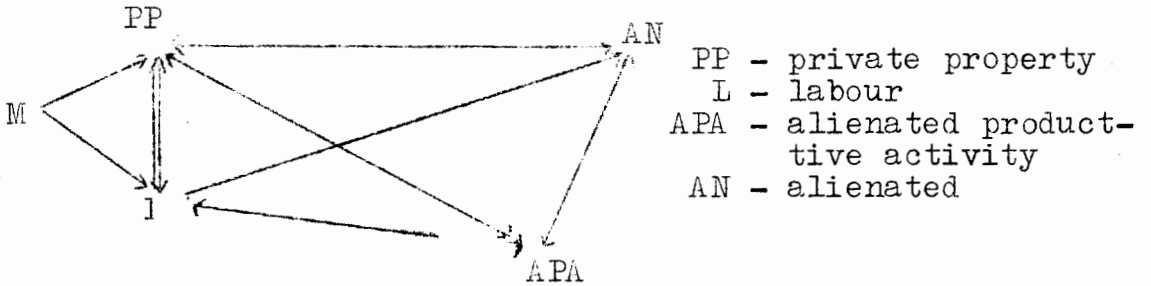
7) A reciprocal relationship between man and nature refers to the fact that man is both the object and subject of history. He creates the world through his activity and is changed through his productive activity exercised in the objectified world. His activity in the world, his social relationship structure his way of looking at the world and relating in this world.

between man, nature and productive activity can be illustrated as follows:



The arrows indicate a dialectical reciprocity.

Given a certain mode of production, that of capitalism, the process of objectification gives way to the process of alienation. In the capitalist mode of production the worker does not own the products he creates. The products he produces are the property of the bourgeois who own the means of production. The worker exchanges his labour potential for a wage. Thus, he has no control over the nature of the product he produces. His productive activity is no longer an expression of his subjectivity and individuality. Productive activity assumes the form of alienated labour in which "the unity of the producing and the product is broken". (1,199) This can be illustrated as follows: (14,108)



As a result of the objectification of productive activity in the form of alienated labour we have a multiplicity of basic interrelations". (14,108)

1. Man is split into private ownership and labour
2. These two classes antagonistically oppose each other
3. The original M - PA - N reciprocity is transformed into the alienated interrelationships between:
 - a) PP - APA - AN
 - b) L - APA - AN

Everything is subordinate to the basic antagonism of labour and property, thus, we have the additional alienated interrelations of:

4. PP - L - APA
5. PP - L - AN

Mészáros does not spell out these interrelations in any further detail but turns to a consideration of the standpoints of political economy and philosophy given the acceptance of the "alienated labour" relationship. But it is useful to trace the referent of this "multiplicity of basic interrelations in Marx's works, specifying social processes and psychological states.

In the Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts (12, 123-132) the social process of alienation, which structures the relationship between man, nature, and productive activity, is specified in terms of two basic conditions, that of "exteriorization" and "disposing of".

Exteriorization means that the productive activity, the essence of man, and the product of labour, the objectification of man's nature, are divorced from man. Thus "work is external to the worker his work is not voluntary but imposed forced labour ... the external character of work for the worker is shown by the fact that it is not his own work but work for someone else, that in work he does not belong to himself but to another person". (12, EPM, 127-8) Work, in fact, becomes an object which he must acquire in order to exist, an object which must be sought after, "which he can only acquire by the greatest effort and with unpredictable interruptions". (12, EPM, 125)

Thus, not only is work external to man, it is also a force to dominate him and control him. "The worker becomes a slave of the object; first, in that he receives an object of work, i.e. receives work, and secondly, in that he receives the means of subsistence. Thus, the object enables him to exist, first as a worker and secondly, as a physical subject. The culmination of this enslavement, is, that he can only maintain himself as a physical subject that he is a worker". (12, EPM, 126)

In speaking of the exteriorization process, we are referring thus, to the relationship of the worker to his product and to productive activity itself, which encompasses the worker's interaction with his coworkers. To refer back to Mészáros' schema; the alienated interrelations between a) PP - APA - AN and b) L - APA - AN designate the process of exteriorization. In this threefold relationship of "alienated labour" man is alienated from nature, the object of his production stands in opposition to man; and man is alienated in the act of production, and hence from himself as objectified in his labour or activity, (self-estrangement). There are necessarily two relationships expressing exteriorization because "the possessing class and the proletarian class express the same human alienation. But the former is satisfied with its situation, feels itself well established in it, recognizes this self-alienation as its own power, and thus has the appearance of a human existence. The latter feels itself crushed by this self-alienation, sees in it its own impotence and the reality of an inhuman situation". (HEF Marx, quoted in 5,52)

The second aspect of exteriorization, disposing of, refers to the process of marketing one's labour as a commodity. "The worker disposes of his working power when he sells it as a commodity". Thus man is transferring power and control over his productive activity and his product to "the alien being to whom labour and the product of labour belong to a man other than the worker". (12,132) We are referred to the earlier statement that "the relation of man to himself is first realized, objectified, through his relation to other men. If he is related to the product of his labour, his objectified labour, as to an alien, hostile powerful and independent object, he is related in such a way that another alien, hostile powerful and independent man is the lord of this object". (6, 132)

Thus, we have the alienated interrelations of: 4) PP - L - APA, in which man is alienated from man, and set in opposition to man by virtue of his position with regard to labour and property; and 5) PP - L - AN, the alienation of man from his "species-being. To recall our discussion for Marx species-being is an expression

of the totality of man as "universal and consequently free being" and productive labour is his "species-life". (12,129) "While, therefore, alienated labour takes away the object of production from man, it also takes away his species-life; alienated labour turns the species-life, and also nature as his mental species-property, into an alien being and into a means for his individual existence. It alienates from man his own body, external nature, his mental life and his human life". (12, 130-1) Thus, man is not able to objectify his species-life, to reproduce himself not only in his imagination, but also actively, in empirical reality, in such a way that he can look at his image in the world he creates. The unity of theory and practice is broken, and man's creative or productive activity is negated.

Israel suggests that in Marx's later works, reification is introduced as another subprocess of alienation, and predominates over the other two processes of exteriorizing and disposing of one's productive activity. He bases his analysis of reification on Marx's discussion of the 'fetishism of commodities'. Man's labour comes to be defined as a commodity for exchange instead of a creative activity, an expression of "species-life". And the products of his labour become commodities for exchange instead of the means of need-satisfaction. Through this process, man becomes a means which can be exploited for a certain end. This does not appear abnormal to the worker. Through "the process of reification it acquires the characteristic of a "natural" relationship". "Thing-hood becomes the standard of objective reality, nothing can be conceived of as real that does not have the character of a thing". (1, 200)

The term reification was first introduced by Lukács in his study of class consciousness. Building on the writings of Young Marx, but before the Paris Manuscripts with their analysis of alienation had been discovered, Lukács in History and Class Consciousness, used the concept of reification critically as a weapon against bourgeois society and ideology. His main theme centers on the inability of bourgeois categories to comprehend the reification of human relations in capitalist society, a reification which arise from the growing relationalization

of capitalist production. For Lukács as for Weber, rationalization is the major characteristic of capitalism, but it is a mechanized rationalization which reduces human labour to "an inhuman, standardized division of labour analogous to that which we have found in industry on the technological and mechanical plane". (9,99) He states that "it is not only a question of completely, mechanical, "mindless" work of the lower echelons of the bureaucracy which bears such an extraordinarily close resemblance to operating a machine and which indeed often surpasses it in sterility and uniformity. It is also a question, on the one hand, of the way in which objectively all issues are subjected to an increasingly formal and standardized treatment and in which there is an ever-increasing remoteness from the qualitative and material essence of the "things" to which bureaucratic activity pertains. On the other hand, there is an even more monstrous intensification of the one-sided specialization which represents such a violation of man's humanity". (9,99) Walton et al suggest that "Marx's concept of reification was developed to describe an existentially-induced false consciousness whereby human relations are conceptualized as things-in-themselves". (19, 263) Reification thus, is not a process limited to the "reduction of all objects for the gratification of human needs to commodities. It stamps its imprint upon the whole consciousness of man; his qualities and abilities are no longer an organic part of his personality, they are things which he can "own" or "dispose of" like the various objects of the external world". (9,100) Man's conception of society become reified. "The true structure of society appears rather in the independent, rationalized and formal partial laws whose links with each other are of necessity purely formal ..." (19,206) Society is not conceived of as "the sum of relations, in which these individuals stand to each other, and of the connections between them". (5, GKPO 103) Reification tends to be perpetuated and legitimized because theoretical reifications such as sociology, political science, jurisprudence and so forth "represent our knowledge of ourselves precisely as reified". (1,198) One has only to consider, for example, the preoccupation with the Hobbesian problem of order in sociology.

(18)

It was stated previously that the social process of alienation affects both the worker and non-worker, but that their respective experiences of alienation differ widely. Marx is almost exclusively concerned with elaborating the plight of the worker. Although expressing an intention to consider the alienative relation from the side of the non-worker, (12, EPM 132) he, in fact, does not do so in a comprehensive manner, equal to his discussion of the worker's alienation in the Economic and Political Manuscripts. As such we shall be occupied in examining primarily the experiences of alienation from the subjective point of view of the worker.

The Condition of Alienation - psychological states

The social processes of "exteriorization" and "disposing of" affect man's subjective relationship to his work, to his fellow man engaged in production, and determine his consciousness, his conceptions of man, society, and himself. In this section, the focus of interest is Marx's conception of how the worker is likely to experience these alienative social processes.

Man will experience the product of his activity as alien to him. He will not view it as an embodiment of his subjectivity and individuality. It is rather an object which controls his activity. For man is powerless in choosing the product which he produces. If there is a demand for a particular product as a commodity it will be produced.

Similarly, man has no control over his productive labour. When exchanging his labour potential for a wage, man cedes control over his productive labour. The owners of the means of production determine what form his labour will assume. A division is effected between his mental and practical activity.

For man, work is not spontaneous and voluntary but imposed. Work is simply a means to an end, necessary for providing the means for his existence, his physical existence. Man does not feel fulfilled in his work he has "a feeling of misery rather than well-being, does not develop freely his mental and physical

his mental and physical energies but is physically exhausted and mentally debased. The worker, therefore, feels himself at home only during his leisure time, whereas at home he feels homeless". (12, EPM 126)

As a consequence of man's loss of control of his activity and the resulting self-alienation, man feel impotent and crushed, chained by his labour. "Man feels himself to be freely active only in his animal functions - eating drinking and procreating, or at most also in his dwelling and in personal adornment - while in his human functions he is reduced to an animal". (12, EPM 128)

The alienation of man's labour subjects him to the "domination, coercion and yoke of another man". Thus man is antagonistically opposed to man. Their pleasures and interests are diametrically opposed; if the worker's activity is a "torment to him it must be a source of enjoyment and pleasure to another". A symmetrical power relations develop and the owner of the product and of labour is seen as an alien, powerful, hostile and independent man. (12, EPM 132) Thus, the worker is unhappy crushed, powerless in the face of his subjugation, his isolation, and the debasement of his creative activity.

It was stated previously that the ideological superstructure, the dominant values in society will reflect the interests of the ruling class. Thus, we can surmise the subjective view of the non-worker in the alienated relationship by considering the ideology of the capitalist society. In discussing the system of alienation, Marx suggests that it is important to grasp the connection between private property, acquisitiveness, monopoly and competition. (12, EPM 124) He also stresses that money and objects becomes the means for expressing value, a value entirely independent of the commodity's physical properties and labour which went into producing it. This fetishism "which attaches itself to the products of labour, so soon as they are produced as commodities has its origin in the peculiar social character of the labour that produces them" - in alienated labour. (10, CM 176) The fetishism of commodities permeates through to the bourgeois' family relations. "The bourgeois sees in his wife a mere instrument of production. He hears that the instruments of production are to be

exploited in common and, naturally, can come to no other conclusion than that the lot of being common to all will likewise fall to the women". (11, CM 25) We can expect therefore, that one of the effects of alienation will be the exploitative superior attitude of the bourgeois towards his fellow woman, and for that matter towards his children. "The bourgeoisie has torn away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family relation to a mere money relation". (11, CM 10)

Thus, the bourgeois experience of the alienated relation will be characterized by acquisitiveness, competition, the ruthless exercise of power, the fetishism of commodities, the debasing of man as a means for production, the separation of consciousness from activity. But "the bourgeois is satisfied with the situation, feel himself well established in it, recognizes this self-alienation as its own power, and thus having the appearance of a human existence". (Marx HF, quoted in 5,52)

The fetishism of commodities, acquisitiveness, competition, is not exclusive to the consciousness of the bourgeois. An ideology by its very character and purpose permeates the underprivileged classes.⁸⁾ Thus, for instance, "the working class work socially in production for the private property of a few capitalists in the hope of individual private property for themselves and their families". (15, 154)

Although, the interests of labour and property differ vastly, the ruling class has, through ideology, submerged the differences. The question remains when will these differences come to light and becomes the basis for a radical class consciousness?

8) It is important to reveal how the fetishism of commodities, acquisitiveness and competition become "ideologized" and internalized by the proletariat. We have discussed the fetishism of commodities as arising from the alienative labour process. Acquisitiveness and competition also arise from structuring of the alienative labour relations. The question of ideology will be raised again subsequent to a consideration of the transcendence of alienation. It will become clear that ideology is a major pivot of Marx's theory of revolution but is inadequately conceptualized and incorporated into his theory.

To answer this question we have first to consider the causes of the alienated labour relation and thus establish the possible transcendence of alienation.

The Causes of Alienation

The mode of production is the determinant factor structuring the relationship between man, productive activity and nature. Hence our task is to analyze the particular mode of production which makes for alienated labour relations.

Although, a measure of alienation has existed at various stages in the historical development of society, full alienation only came into effect with the introduction of industrial labour. The important characteristics of industrial labour, or the capitalist mode of production which cause alienation are: the transformation of labour into a commodity, the division of labour and the private ownership of the means of production. These three elements are interdependent.

The transformation of labour into a commodity is directly linked with the issue of surplus-product and surplus-value. With the creation of surplus-product, the process of exchange gradually developed. Initially the surplus-product was simply exchanged for another product. As the exchange process became increasingly complex, a media of exchange, money, came into being, and products were produced for their exchange-value. "The commodity ... is a product created to be exchanged on the market, as opposed to one which has been made for direct consumption. Every commodity must have both a use-value and an exchange-value". (20,111)

The use value of a product and commodity is its value in the satisfaction of a need. "A commodity without a use-value to anyone would consequently be unsalable, would constitute useless production, would have no exchange-value precisely because it has no use-value. On the other hand, every product which has use-value does not necessarily have exchange-value. It has an exchange-value only to the extent that the society itself, in which the commodity is produced, is founded on exchange, is a society where exchange is a common practice" (20 ,112)

In a capitalist society, the exchange-value of an article is independent of its use-value, and to a degree of its cost of production; it is determined by the capitalist market system of supply and demand.

The profit made on a commodity, the difference between the exchange-value and the cost of production to the owner of the product is part of the surplus-value reaped by the property-owner. Surplus-value is the means by which the worker is exploited and his labour turned into a commodity to be exchanged for the means of his subsistence. Through his work and the creation of surplus-value, the worker makes possible the accumulation of capital. The accumulated capital is then invested and in this way increases the possibility of new exploitation, i.e. the creation of surplus-value which the owner of the means of production can appropriate for himself." In this process not only is the product of man's activity appropriated, but man's very labour becomes a commodity. The worker is forced to sell his labour for wages in order to buy commodities essential to his existence. Thus "the worker becomes poorer the more wealth he produces and the more his production increases in power and extent. The worker becomes an ever cheaper commodity the more goods he creates. The devaluation of the human world increased in direct relation to the increase in value of the world of things. Labour does not only create goods; it also produces itself and the worker as a commodity, and indeed in the same proportion as it produces goods". (12, EPM 125)

In the capitalist society the production of commodities is increasingly rationalized to such a point that the worker is overwhelmed by the inflexible law of supply and demand, and his labour entirely subject to the economic laws of production. He ceases to have control over both the product and his productive activity on the worker; his work is either manual or intellectual. "He is a hunter, a fisherman, a shepherd, or a Critical Critic, and must remain so if he does not want to lose his means of livelihood ..." (12, EPM 134) And the tools of Man's activity control his productive activity; machines determine what he does and at what pace. Creative manual skilled work

is devalued, and made subordinate to machine labour. Another aspect of the division of labour is the separation of man from man by virtue of the acquisition of the means of production by a limited few. The classes which develop are in antagonistic opposition to one another. This brings us to the question of private ownership of the means of production.

Private property in Marx's work is seen as both the result and cause of alienation. The worker by selling his labour makes possible the creation of surplus-value. A part of this surplus-value is appropriated by the owner of the means of production. The accumulation of profits makes possible the acquisition of property. If the worker owned the products which he produces it would not be possible to accumulate capital from surplus-value. Thus the worker's alienative productive activity "creates" private property. But private property is a means of production. Concentration of private property and capital in the hands of the bourgeois creates the process of exploitation, for the worker is forced to sell his labour in order to exist. The owner of the means of production has the power to appropriate the worker's productive labour and products which he produces. "The existence then of private property accelerates and deepens the process of alienation within society". (5, 49)

Marx in his later works accepted the inevitability of the division of labour.⁹⁾ "Work is an inescapable necessity, an everlasting, nature-imposed condition of human existence, common to all social formations and all possible modes of production". (12, C 53) "Work cannot become a play". (12, GKPO 53) Since man cannot be free from work as the separation of intellectual

9) This necessarily implies that productive activity defined as Praxis cannot be realized, although the other aspects of alienated labour are abolished i.e..the capitalist's appropriation of the worker's productive labour and the products he produces.

and practical activity, he must try insofar as possible to bring his productive labour under his control. Marx suggests that "the harmful and disadvantageous effects of an advanced technology can be allayed by the reduction of working hours, the increase and creative use of leisure, technological training which benefits the worker for a variety of labour, and restraints on the division of labour whenever it goes wild". (6, 54) Through a control of the economy it should be possible to decrease labour time and the cost of production. This leisure time could then be used by man to pursue his creative interests, allowing him to participate in both manual and intellectual activity.

Prior to the discussion of the alienated labour relation, it was suggested that Marx discusses the alienated labour relation relative to a conceptualization of a non-alienated state. A non-alienated state is conceptualized as a situation in which there exists a reciprocal relationship between man and nature which is mediated by man's productive activity. In other words man relates to the world in terms of his activity and is influenced or changed by the world when engaging in this activity. The distinguishing feature about productive activity is that it is conscious practical activity in coöperation with other men. We discussed, at some length, Marx's idea of productive activity.

Alienation is a social process in which man's productive activity becomes alienated productive activity or, in other terms, productive labour. The transcendence of alienation implies the transcendence of alienative productive activity; the freedom of man to engage in productive activity in relating to the sensuous external world. Before man can freely engage in productive activity he must be free from "human necessity and the interfering power of other men". (14, 153)

Marx felt that the development of capitalist society was essential for the realization of freedom from necessity. The organization of production under capitalism, however, does not allow for freedom from the "interfering power of other men". Man through his alienated labour places himself under the yoke of

other men, and the unequal distribution of freedom of necessity is likely to occur as a monopoly of control over the means of production is effected by the bourgeois. Thus, although the development of capitalist society is essential in order to free man from necessity, there is no guarantee that individual men or classes of men will be free from necessity. Freedom of necessity is attainable theoretically, but not in practice unless the alienated labour relation which makes for an unequal distribution of capital and property is abolished. This brings us to the question of the transcendence of alienation.

The transcendence of alienation is historical. This means simply in terms of Marx's scheme, that: firstly, the forces in the capitalist mode of production must be sufficiently developed so as to necessitate their negation - "no social order ever disappears before all the productive forces for which there is room in it have developed and new higher relations of production never appear before the material conditions of their existence have matured in the womb of the old society "(11, CPE 44); and secondly, that man must "seize" upon the contradictions inherent in the mode of production, and bring about political and economic change. The forces of change were discussed in general when explicating Marx's conception of society and its formation. We have but to examine how the practical transcendence is envisaged and the role the worker plays as the active agent of change, for "man is the subject of history".

The Transcendence or Supersession of Alienation

The most important factor to bear in mind in analyzing the transcendence of alienation and the concomitant self-realization of man, is that man is an integral part of society. Man is distinguished from animals by his productive activity and the essence of the productive activity is that it is social activity. It is a direct expression of man sociality. But sociality is not an abstract characteristic assigned to man as is egotism or greed. Man can only be social in relation to other men, in society. To create a false dictomy between man and society is to misunderstand Marx's conception of man,

productive activity, and nature (interpreted as the social organization and products of man's activity) Marx warns us that "it is above all necessary to avoid postulating 'society' once again as an abstraction confronting the individual. The individual is the social being. The manifestation of his life - even when it does not appear directly in the form of a communal manifestation, accomplished in association with other men - is, therefore, a manifestation and affirmation of social life". (12, EPM 99) He states further that "individual human life and species-life are not different things, even though the mode of existence of individual life is necessarily either a more specific or a more general mode of species-life, or that of species-life a specific or more general mode of individual life". (12, EPM 99-100)

Thus, the two following points should be noted in our orientation to the transcendence of alienation: firstly, the self-realization of the individual cannot be abstracted from the social structure of which man is an integral part. This means that if man is to engage in productive activity, the social structure in which he participates, the social relationships, the social institutions, and the mode of production, must all be conducive to the exercise of man's productive activity. The superstructure is a reflection of the economic substructure but acquires a "life" or independence of its own and serves to reinforce the social relationships of production. Law is necessary to the safeguarding of private property; the inalienable right of all to private property is a capitalist ethos well entrenched in the ideological superstructure. The transcendence of alienation must be effected in both the economic substructure and the superstructures. And furthermore, the transcendence of alienation must involve a radical change in the mode of production. The alienation of the individual will not be superseded simply by equalizing the distribution of the means of production.

Although freedom from necessity and the "interfering powers of other men are prerequisite to man's engaging in productive activity, one cannot infer that man can then automatically engage

in productive activity. The very fact of productive labour as a separation between theory and practice must be transcended.

The second point to be made is that the transcendence and supersession of alienation, the self-realization of the individual, can not be separated from the transcendence of alienation of all men and establishment of man as "species-being". This merely serves to emphasize the point we made earlier, that alienation is a process affecting both the worker and non-worker, and that the transcendence of alienation is, necessarily, a universal phenomenon. This point is of particular importance for the understanding of Marx's idea of "the withering away of the state; an idea we shall explore presently.

Alienation is a process which totally affect the mode of production. It affects both the relationship of man to his product and to the means of production, and the relationship of man to man in the social relations of production. The social relations arising from a particular mode of production are quite inflexible and resistant of change, whereas the forces of production, technology and knowledge are much more flexible and subject to rapid changes. One of the important reasons for the inflexibility of the social relations of production is that these asymmetrical power relations are entrenched in the State. A change in the political structure, therefore, is a necessary prerequisite for change in the economic mode of production, and the supersession of the economic as well as the political aspects of alienation.

Mészáros would go so far as to suggest that the economic analysis of alienation is conceived, in Marx's works, "as the theoretical basis of an envisaged political action". (14, 130) He is not, however, naïvely suggesting that political action alone will bring about the supersession of alienation. Rather, is it suggested that he is concerned to demonstrate, that Marx's concerns himself with the practical supersession of alienation, only as regards the political aspects. The omission of the spelling out of the practical supersession of the economic aspects of alienation could possibly be attributed to the fact that Marx's works are unfinished. But a more likely reason is that Marx's

system is an open historical system. This means simply that one cannot totally anticipate the social conditions which will arise in a society as a result of changes in the social relations of production, for history is not determined by inexorable laws, but by the actions of men. As in the transition from agricultural to industrial production, from feudalism to capitalism, "the first stage in the development of the alienation of labour had to have a political form, because the existence of an agricultural surplus-product does not contain any economic determination to the manner of its appropriation" for "an economic principle of appropriation and redistribution, can only operate at a fairly high level of development and it presupposes a relation, already fixed politically, between production and appropriation" (14, 151) - similarly, the step in the transition from capitalism to communism must be a political one, "because there are no social agencies which could effectively restrict, let alone supersede alienation" (14, 160) The economic transformation necessary for the self-realization of man, is, in fact, dependent on: the agency of political transcendence, the rule of the proletariat; and on scientific developments. But let us examine the arguments Mészáros puts forth for the necessity of political action as the first step in the transcendence of alienation.

Mészáros suggests that the major reason for Marx situating transcendence activity as a political task is that the characteristics of politics is to "anticipate" future social and economic developments. "Politics can be defined as the mediation (and, with its institutions, as a means of this mediation) between the present and future states of society ...", economics by contrast has no such function of mediation and therefore cannot operate with categories of the future". (14, 128) In Parsonian terms, the policy is concerned with goal attainment whereas the economy is not. Mészáros' clarification certainly contributes to an understanding of the necessity of political action in the supersession of alienation, but we have still to consider why the supersession of alienation is historical necessary and immanent and why the proletariat is the agency of political change, for alienation is experienced by both the bourgeois and proletariat.

The supersession of alienation through political action is dependent on three necessary conditions: firstly, the development of structural contradictions in the economic system, secondly, the subjective awareness of these contradictions by the proletariat and the development of class consciousness through participation in class conflict, and thirdly, the negation of the capitalist system through revolutionary activity.

Marx in analyzing the objective structural conditions which allow for the possibility of revolutionary change stressed the importance of developing contradictions in the economic sphere. His theory of social change is based on the contention that the mode of production is the foundation of man's existence. Thus, "in every historical epoch the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange and social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built, and from which alone can be explained the political and intellectual history of that epoch...." (11, CM 4) 10)

Within the economic sphere, or mode of production, predominance is given to the forces of productions in precipating changes. "No social order ever disappears before all the productive forces for which there is room in it have been developed....." (11, CPE 44) Contradictions in the mode of production arise because of the uneven development of the forces of production and the relations of production. The forces of production (encompassing technology, organization of production, state of knowledge and rationality) tend to be fluid and dynamic. Whereas the relations of production, (comprising the mode of "appropriation of man's labour, exchange and distribution, class interests) tend to be more static and resistant to change. "At a certain stage of their development the material forces of production in society come into conflict with the existing

10) For an contemporary discussion of the development of contradictions in the economic sphere consult Mandel E. The Laws of Uneven Development, New Left Review 59 and Where is America going? New Left Review 54.

relations of production... From forms of development of the forces of production these relations turn into their fetters". (11, CPE 44) Thus, the consequence of the "struggle" between the forces of production and the relations of production is the negation of the mode of production. For the productive system will no longer be able to meet the needs of the proletariat. The capitalist mode of production geared to the accumulation of profits does not allow for the rational use of the "socialized productive forces" to meet the needs of the proletariat. (11, SUS 90-101)

Although the historical materialist approach of Marx seeks the impetus for change ultimately in the economic or "infra" structure, this does not mean that the superstructure does not influence the process of change. In a letter to Bloch, Engels explicitly states Marx's and his position with regard to the non-economic elements of change. "We make our history ourselves but, in the first place, under very definite assumptions and conditions. Among these the economic ones are ultimately decisive but the political ones, etc., and indeed even the traditions which haunt human minds also play a part, although not the decisive one. The economic situation is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure also exercise their influence upon the course of the historical struggles and in many cases preponderate in determining their form". (11, Bloch 398)

Although the superstructure is based on the economic structure, it is not merely a reflection of it. The superstructure arises out of the mode of production, but, the precise form and content of the institutions will be shaped to a significant degree by interaction among the component spheres. And in the case of the economic sphere, one sector of the superstructure is likely to predominate. But Marx did not propose which sector is likely to be most important, nor did he discuss explicitly the types of contradictions which are likely to arise in the superstructure. For he contrasts ".... the economic conditions of production

which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic, or philosophic - in short, ideological" (11, CPE 44) It would appear that he investigates the role of the non-economic variables simply in an empirical manner. (11, 18th B 320) And although Engels suggests that the superstructure is important in determining the form the struggle is to take, he does not further elaborate this important mediating function of the superstructure.

It is necessary at this point, before proceeding to a discussion of the other two conditions for the transcendence of alienation through political action, to clarify the role of man in Marx's theory. Although Marx discusses the subjective economic aspects of alienation in terms of the individual, the ideal-typical man, his conception of the social integration of individuals and political action of individuals is only on the level of collectivities; the motivations of a separate individual are of little concern. Class interests is the dynamic variable in his theory. Action is conceived of as action according to class interests. And class interests are seen as arising from the relations of production. The motivations of the members are considered as a uniform whole reflecting class interests through the medium of ideology. Thus, when speaking of consciousness, the referent is collective and not individual.

The second condition for political transcendence of alienation is that the objective conditions inherent in the development of capitalism must be understood, and the antagonistic class interests of the bourgeois and proletariat revealed. This necessitates the development of class consciousness. 11)

Firstly consciousness is an awareness of the world which develop through the process of interaction. "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence but on the contrary their social existence determines their consciousness". (11, CPE 43) In the capitalist mode of production, a "consumer consciousness

11) In the following section we shall focus on the effects of contradictions in the superstructure on the development of class consciousness, in addition to discussing Marx's statement on the development of class consciousness.

develops and is supported by a highly articulated ideology, of freedom of choice, of freedom to consume and express social worth through consumption. The entire educational system is geared towards this end. But as we have seen, with the development of capitalism, disfunction social forces arise in the form of contradictions.

The contradictions of consumer consciousness create the condition for the negation of consumer consciousness. "The very ideology that claims a man's thoughts are his own and that all is free choice (you can choose between one product and a thousand others) serves to protect him. Expanding the consciousness of many (for the sake of expanding consumerism) does mean expanding their consciousness. And the products of this expanded consciousness are more elusive than those of the factory conveyor belt. The ideologies cultivated in order to achieve ultimate control of the market (the free choice of the individual whatever brand of car suits his individuality) are one which can rebel in their own terms. The cult of the individual can surpass its use by the system to become that radical revolt of "do-your-own-thing". (15, 30-31) ¹²⁾

Contradictions of consumer consciousness are stimulated by contradictions in the educational sphere. The capitalist system needs educational expansion to develop both consumer consciousness and the consumer-oriented market. But educational expansion tends to outstrip the market potentials and a surplus of workers arises. And furthermore, "the conflict in the university ... between its ideology of its own privacy and "free-speech" and its increasingly obvious public functions, not just to provide the right economic workers but to train personnel for the maintenance of the ideological structure itself; an ideological structure that

12) It is an open question whether a revolt of "do-your-own-thing" will be directed into revolutionary action. Etzioni's discussion of inauthenticity is of relevance in seeking an answer to this question (see chapter 3).

radical students reject", only serves to undermine consumer consciousness. (15, 32, 33)

The question that presents itself now is just how do these individual dissatisfactions come to be expressed in terms of coherent class interests. How does a class-in-itself become a class-for-itself?

Marx would suggest that this process arises through the progressive immiseration of the worker, through the increase and concentration of the proletariat, through the equalization of the interests and conditions of life of the proletariat, through the fluctuation of wages because of the growing competition among the bourgeois, through the collisions between individual workmen and individual bourgeois which becomes increasingly more the collision between two classes, and through the forming of permanent associations by the workers. (10, CM 184-5)

Thus, with the development of capitalism the workers increase in numbers and concentration and consequently through interaction and communication, in awareness of their common plight which is deteriorating continually because of the growth of capitalism. It must be emphasized that Marx in speaking of immiseration, is concerned with relative deprivation; "our wants and pleasures have their origin in society; we, therefore, measure them in relation to society, we do not measure them in relation to their objects which serve for their gratification. Since they are of a social nature, they are of a relative nature". (21, WLC 33) And further, that immiseration does not merely concern man's material well-being. It relates to man's relationship to his productive activity and to his relationship to himself and other men.

Immiseration is important in Marx's scheme as the basis for the development of class antagonisms, for a class can only become a class-for-itself through the antagonistic interaction between the bourgeois and proletariat. "A thread which runs through all of these criteria" (criteria of what determines a class).

"is the hostility a class displays for its opponent classes, whether in work politics or culture". (13, 578)

Thus, for Marx, a proletarian class which is aware of itself is not necessarily a revolutionary class. It only becomes a revolutionary class in its struggles against the bourgeois, (10, PP 187) and the proletariat alone of all the classes "which stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today", is the really revolutionary class, the "grave-diggers" of the bourgeoisie. "All the preceding classes that got the upper hand, sought to fortify their already acquired status by subjecting society at large to their conditions of appropriation. The proletarians cannot become masters of the productive forces of society, except by abolishing their own previous mode of appropriation, and therefore, also every other previous mode of appropriation. They have nothing of their own to secure and to fortify; their mission is to destroy all previous securities for, and insurances of, individual property. (12, CM 154-5)

Marx does suggest, however, that it is possible for members of other classes, upon theoretically comprehending the realities of the class struggle, to join the proletariat in their revolutionary action. "Finally, in times when the class struggle nears the decisive hour, the process of dissolution going on within the ruling class, in fact within the whole range of old society, assumes such a violent glaring character, that a small section of the ruling class cuts itself adrift, and joins the revolutionary class, the class that holds the future in its hands. Just as, therefore, at an earlier period, a section of the nobility went over to the bourgeoisie, so now a portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat, and in particular, a portion of the bourgeois ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movement as a whole. (10, CM 186)

The revolutionary action of the proletariat will result in the abolishing of "their own previous mode of appropriation". (12, CM 155) The private ownership of the mode of production, will be destroyed and the division of man from man into antagonistic classes based on the differential social relations of

production will cease. Through revolutionary political action, man will create the preconditions for the transcendence of alienation. For it is important to recall that alienation has its origins in the capitalistic organization of production, and that alienation is a universal phenomenon.

This calls our attention, firstly, to the fact, that the mere abolition of private ownership of the means of production will not bring about the transcendence of alienation. "To conceive the task of transcendence simply in political terms could result in the 're-establishing of society as an abstraction visá vis the individual' against which Marx gave his warning. And this would re-establish alienation in a different form". (14, 160) The transcendence of alienation must ultimately be effected in the economic sphere, through the re-organization of the mode of production according to the human needs of man.

The second point to bear in mind, is, that alienation is a universal phenomenon and hence, the universal transcendence of alienation cannot be effected by one partisan group. "All politics is bound to a greater or lesser extent to partiality. This is clearly implied by Marx when he says that the emancipation of society from private property is expressed in the political form of the emancipation of the worker (EPM). To expect, therefore, from partiality to accomplish the universality of positive transcendence would be as a practical attitude at least naïve and as a theory self-contradictory". (14, 161) The implication, is, therefore, that the transcendence of alienation will only be effected with the abolishment of partiality and the negation of politics. Mészáros' interpretation of this aspect of Marx's theory is worth noting for its clarity and preciseness:

Mészáros calls our attention to the "crucial Marxian distinction that between communism as a political movement which is confined to a particular historical stage of human development - and communism as comprehensive social practice". "Marx's position is that communism 'of a political nature' is still affected by the estrangement of man. As a negation of private property, it is a form of mediation. (That is, it sustains a position

by means of negating its opposite. And it is a "negation" of a "negation" because it negates private property which is itself a "negation of human essence". It is not a "self-originating position but rather a position originating from private property" which means that "so long as this mediation remains, some kind of alienation goes with it". (14, 163) Communism as a comprehensive social practice on the other hand, is equated to humanism, the universality of social practice as a whole.

Thus, for the universal transcendence of alienation, communism as a comprehensive practice must come into being and the state, the agency of this transition, must wither away. "If this agency, for one reason or another, cannot recognize its own limits then the dangers of "re-establishing Society" as an abstraction vis à vis the individual will be acute". (14, 160, 161)

In this exposition of Marx's theory of alienation, an attempt has been made to consider each aspect of his theory in turn, and to separate analytically the objective and subjective aspects of alienation, the sociological processes and psychological states, and the economic and political aspects of alienation. Thus, we have focused on the subjective and objective conditions of alienation, the social processes which constitute the causes of alienation, and the transcendence of the economic and political aspects of alienation. It is hoped that this analytical analysis of Marx's theory of alienation has contributed to a clear understanding of the components of Marx's complex theory. It is of particular importance to identify the components which make up a theory if one is concerned with the empirical investigation of the theory.

It is now opportune to discuss the problems of Marx's conceptualization of his theory of alienation. The focus of interest is specifically on those problems which are relevant to an attempt to study empirically Marx's theory of alienation.¹³⁾

13) The discussion is not intended as a systematic review of 'revisionists' or young marxists. We are just interested in raising questions relevant to the empirical study of alienation and cite various writer primarily for illustrative purposes.

Problems which arise with Marx's conceptualization of Alienation with reference to the empirical study of alienation.

Summarizing Marx's theory of alienation, it is possible to identify four different stages of investigation: firstly, the development of alienation: the alienated labour relation; secondly, the emergence of class consciousness through the understanding of the alienated labour relation and the developing contradictions in the economic structure and superstructure; thirdly, the transformation of consciousness into revolutionary praxis; fourthly, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the development of communism as a comprehensive social practice. In Marx's work the second and third stages are frequently considered as revolutionary Praxis.

The question to pose in considering an empirical study of these various relationships is what factors would have to be specified or changed in Marx's theory in order to apply his theory to a study of contemporary phenomena. The assumption is that Marx's theory of alienation is relevant as a sociological analysis of political action and as a general critique of capitalism, although there are certain problems with his analysis which have not been resolved.

In the first stage of investigation, the proposition to be investigated is that certain objectively defined social processes will give rise to certain objective social conditions which may or may not be subjectively recognized or even experienced. It is possible thus, to question, firstly, whether the social processes do, in fact give rise to objective conditions of alienation. And secondly, whether those alienated subjectively experience these conditions negatively as discontent.

In Marx's theory the objectively defined social processes are: the division of labour, the fetishism of labour - labour transformed into a commodity - and the private ownership of the means of production. In his later works the division of labour was considered to be an inevitable consequence of industrialization which could not be surmounted. One could but "humanize" the division of labour by abolishing capitalist control and fully utilizing the productive forces to shorten

the working day and make available leisure time for other activities. Thus, productive activity defined as praxis, the unity of thought and action could not be universally realized. Necessarily limits are thus placed on the possibilities of engaging in creative labour or work. However, man could be creative in his leisure hours.

This modification of approach to the division of labour has consequences for the study of the conditions of alienation. It is no longer a question of focusing on the division between intellectual and practical activity, but rather, concentrating on the measure of control the worker has over the organization of production and the degree of leisure time he has to engage in creative activity (in which he can express his subjectivity and individuality). If his labour is debasing, it is unlikely that in his leisure time he will be able to engage in productive activity. And if he must be pre-occupied with just earning the means to satisfy his needs, it is unlikely that he will have the leisure time in which to be creative.

Thus the important factors to consider in defining the social processes characterizing capitalism as a mode of production are: firstly, ownership of the means of production, which draws our attention to exchange and distribution; secondly, fetishism of commodities, by which relationships, particularly in the economic sphere, take on an exploitative nature and people become defined as commodities.

When discussing the conditions of alienation Marx focuses primarily on the proletariat. The objective social conditions are: exteriorization, disposing of, and possibly reification which is implicit in Marx's discussion of fetishism. Exteriorization and disposing of are essentially an analysis of the labour relationship, man's relationship to his activity, product, and himself as objectified in his labour. Of relevance to a study of these objective conditions is the assertion that labour is forced, the worker has no control over his activity, nor over the product he produces. As such it is suggested that man is not fulfilled in his work. Reification is a more general condition

which refers to the process of the fetishism of commodities. Man's labour acquires the nature of a commodity, and man becomes a means to an end. Hence man becomes in effect an object. This perception of men as objects becomes generalized to other spheres of activity, and the defining characteristic of relationships is the tendency to treat people as objects. People come to be defined in terms of their ascribed status such as sexuality, race and so forth. Hand in hand with the alienative objectification of people is the increasing desire for commodities. Acquisitiveness becomes the force structuring man's existence.

Having determined that these social processes give rise to these objective conditions of alienation, the question remains, do the alienated feel oppressed? Hence we must focus on the subjective experiences of the objectively defined "alienated". Marx identifies the subjective experiences of the proletariat in the following manner: a member of the proletariat experiences his productive activity as alien, the products of his activity as alien, and his relationship with other men as alien, he is estranged from other men and his species-being. The focus of attention is primarily on the working sphere, and on the effects of the division of labour. This is somewhat misleading and tends to minimize the power of Marx's criticisms which centers on the fetishism of commodities and the process of exchange and distribution. Marx, in discussing, in detail, the relationship of the worker to his labour, is using a specific example to make a general point of significance. He is trying to portray the powerlessness of the worker to order his existence; the might of the capitalist system in determining every aspect of man's activity. The important points to note with regard to the subjective experience of the workers are that: the workers have little control over their lives; are in opposition to other men who control their activity (and, hence, they structure their world in terms of we and they to a certain extent); are objectified as commodities or means to ends; and in incorporating the bourgeois ideology, tend to treat other men as objects.

It is quite possible that the workers will not define their situation in negative terms and will not feel oppressed or

discontented. They may fully incorporate the dominant ideology of the bourgeois: acquisitiveness, competitiveness, objectifying human relationships, consumerism and so forth. Particularly if their needs are being met.¹⁴⁾ One of the problems with Marx's theory is the question of the incorporation of the dominant ideology by the proletariat. How do the workers come to accept the dominant ideology? Is it a question of continual participation in alienative relationships in the various spheres of activity, so much so that these alienative situations become the only way of seeing reality? This unresolved question in Marx's work brings to mind the counter question. Under what conditions does the proletariat not only become aware of feelings of discontent, but identify these feelings in terms of the alienative mode of production.

Thus, we come to the perplexing question of the development of revolutionary class consciousness. In discussing the formation of class consciousness Marx considers both objective and subjective factors.

The objective factors in the development of class consciousness are contradictions which arise in the economic structure and the superstructure. Marx concentrates on sketching out the contradictions which arise within the economic structure - between the forces and relations of production. These contradictions have a determinant effect on the proletariat and the bourgeois. Increasingly the mode of production is inadequate in meeting the needs of the proletariat. Further severe competition and the consolidation of the means of production force members of the bourgeoisie to become wage labourers.

Hence there is an increase in and concentration of the proletariat. This gives rise to heightened communication and the equalization of the interests and conditions of life of the proletariat. Immiseration of the proletariat will become increasingly acute, particularly with the fluctuating wage which is a consequence of growing com-

14) See below: Discussion on Marcuse.

petition among the bourgeois. Through these processes it is suggested that polarization of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat will increasingly occur. The proletariat will organize themselves into unions. The conflict between the bourgeois and the proletariat will intensify and become increasingly a conflict between opposing classes.

There are many criticisms of Marx's theory of the breakup of capitalism which focus on the inadequacies of his economic predictions.¹⁵⁾ It is claimed that neither the theory of declining profits nor the underconsumption theory are adequate analysis of the realities of capitalism. (8, 112-7) And further that the theories of capitalist imperialism¹⁶⁾ proposed by Bauer, Adler, and variants thereof by Rosa Luxemburg and Lenin have not adequately come to terms with the problems in Marx's analysis. (7 & 2) These criticisms and revisions of Marx's theory have focused on immiseration in absolute terms, but there is another variant in Marx's thesis which lays stress on relative deprivation as the basis of immiseration.

One must measure the immiseration of the proletariat in terms of their relative deprivation. But the question immediately arises relative to whom? It cannot be automatically assumed that the proletariat will measure their wants and gratification against those of the bourgeoisie.

Marcuse in focusing on the relative needs and gratifications of the proletariat suggests that the capitalist system tends to suppress the need for qualitative change, and that as the economic needs of the proletariat are being met, the inherent contradictions in the system are not revealed. He even suggests that the process of reification has negated any possibility of the development of revolutionary consciousness based on a demand for qualitative change. (5) The productive system stimulates in man the needs it requires to continually expand, and in terms, satisfies

15) For discussions of such criticisms see: Lichtheim G., Marxism, chapter 8, "Marxian Economics" and Aron: Main Currents in Sociological Theory, pp. 126-140

16) For a concise summary of the Theory of Capitalist Imperialism and variants thereof see: Schumpeter J., (7).

these needs, and creates new needs.

Juliet Mitchell on the other hand suggests that the creation of consumer consciousness will bring about the eventually demand for qualitative changes and the destruction of capitalism "Expanding the consciousness of many (for the sake of expanding consumerism) does mean expanding their consciousness. (6, 31) This interpretation is quite interesting in that it poses the question of the relationship between the economic structure and the superstructure and the question of contradictions in the superstructure.

It was stated previously that Marx did envisage contradictions in the superstructure as playing a determinant role in the development of class consciousness, and that the superstructure did, in fact, determine the form conflict would assume. Unfortunately, however, he did not develop these themes adequately. The fact that both the role of contradictions in the superstructure in facilitating social change, and the contradictions in the relationship between the economic structure and the superstructure are indeterminate in Marx's theory, is a theoretical weakness and a source of difficulty in studying empirically the development of class consciousness.¹⁷⁾ But let us consider some attempts to come to terms with these inadequacies.

The major concern of young marxists such as Nairns, Mandel, Stedman, Jones, Weisskopf, Reich, Edwards, among others, has focused primarily on contradictions in the superstructure, especially in the education sphere. They reveal for example the contradiction between the liberal philosophy - knowledge for the sake of knowledge - and the examination system which stresses the instrumental aspects of education. The suggestion is that this contradiction will in time force a confrontation between the students, and the administrators and educators. The analysis, however, is related neither to contradictions in the

17) It is recognized that there are limitations on specifying the contradictions which exist as this is, essentially an empirical question. Nevertheless, it is possible to consider the relationship between the economic structure and the superstructure, and the relationship between sectors in the superstructure, theoretically.

economic structure, nor to the development of a subjective awareness of inconsistencies (let alone class consciousness). There have been some rather isolated attempts to study contradictions between the economic and superstructure,¹⁸⁾ and the relationship of contradictions within the superstructure to the economic structure.¹⁹⁾ These attempts, however, with the noted exception of Margaret Benson's analysis of production in the home, essentially are empirical analyses.

One of the major difficulties with studying contradictions in the structures is relating these contradictions to subjective factors making for class consciousness. By subjective factors we are referring to actions of the masses and leaders, in bringing about class consciousness. Marx did give us some indication of how a class-in-itself was to become a class-for-itself. He stressed especially the importance of class confrontations which would arise out of the contradictions within the economic structure. However, we noted that problems arise with regard to analysis of contradictions and even given the validity of his analysis, the contradictions did not result in the development of antagonistic classes as he had predicted.

Lenin stressed the importance of the revolutionary vanguard and propaganda in awaking the awareness of the proletariat. (4, 92-96) He also considered that revolutionary action was important in demonstrating the contradictions of the system, and in forcing the proletariat to adopt either the bourgeois or proletariat ideology. However, the problem of defining the conditions under which bourgeois ideology is rejected and proletariat consciousness accepted, remains. In Marx's terms, what is the role of contradictions in the economic and superstructure and how does this

18) See for example: Juliet Mitchell's analysis of the ideology of the family and the demands of the economic system. (6, 156) and Stedman Jones' analysis of the demands of higher education for critical analysis and the demands of the economic system for compliance. (3, 35)

19 See in particular Margaret Benson and Juliet Mitchell.

relate to the actions of the vanguard?

These problems are also reflected in the writings and actions of those who make the revolutions. Take for example Cabral, leader of the PAIGC for the liberation of Guiné. In an address to the Tricontinental Conference at Havana he discusses the national liberation's foundations and objectives.... no matter how close may be the similarity between cases and between the identities of our enemy, national liberation and social revolution is not for export. They are ... the outcome of a local and national elaboration that is more or less influenced by external factors, (favourable or not), but essentially is formed and conditioned by the historical reality of each people, and is carried to success by right solutions to the internal contradictions which arise in this reality". (1,75) The realities of action in the situation are, however, different. Admitting a lack of ideology, which is attributed to an ignorance of historical reality, Cabral makes his revolution through a combination of propaganda and violence intended to "give our people the conviction that they can triumph directly over the enemy". (1,90) The practical revolutionary readily recognizes that without hope there is no success.

Thus, the experiences of the revolutionaries do not help very much in clarifying the interaction between contradictions in the superstructure and the economic structure. However, on another level they pose more difficulties for Marx's theory of social change. They question the role of the proletariat in bringing about revolutionary change.

The revolutions of the twentieth century have not, except for one exception, been proletarian revolutions. More often, they have been the creation of the peasants, the disinherited or subproletariat. There is much disagreement as to which group constitutes the revolutionary class, but most points of view call into question Marx's conception of the revolutionary class, and his basis for defining this class.²⁰⁾

20) For a discussion of Marx's concept of class and problems thereof see S. Ossowski, "Old notions and new problems" and Marx's Concept of Class and R. Aron, "Two definitions of class".

The general trend is toward redefining class in terms of oppression or exploitation,²¹⁾ although there are groups which maintain that the proletariat is still the agent of revolutionary change and that other groups can but attempt to reveal the contradictions which exist in the structure.²²⁾ The former position in some ways reflects and reinforces the theoretical conceptualization of "overdeterminism" set forth by Althusser.²³⁾

The idea of overdetermination stresses the importance of contradictions arising in various spheres of activity at different times. Historical reality is a synthesis of activity in the various spheres at any one time, hence it is quite possible that contradictions can cancel themselves out. Juliet Mitchell suggests that the position of women in society can be analyzed in these terms. Positing four separate spheres of activity: production, reproduction, sexuality, and the socialization of children, Mitchell suggests that contradictions between reproduction and production are cancelled out by development in the sphere of socialization of children. Although middle-class women attained control over their reproduction and limited the years spend in reproducing they still did not enter into the productive sphere. The socializing role of motherhood had arisen to replace the reproductive role of women. (6, 119)

According to the principle of overdetermination, the possibilities of change will only arise when "the contradictions so reinforce one another as to coalesce into the conditions for a revolutionary change". (6,101) Again, however, this insight about the contradictions in the structure is not linked to the subjective awareness or actions of the "revolutionary class" or "vanguard".

In discussing the development of class consciousness, we have tried to illuminate some of the theoretical problems which are relevant to an empirical study of Marx's theory of alienation.

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- 21) The basis of this oppression may be sex, race, youth, or economic deprivation which is usually seen to emerge as a consequence of the capitalist mode of production.
 - 22) The student Democratic Society up to 1970 were of this opinion.
 - 23) For the implication is that one must work for change in various spheres of activity simultaneously. And this tends to support the claim that revolutionary potential is not exclusive to the proletariat.

It will be interesting to consider empirical studies of alienation in light of our understanding of these problems.

The final stage of investigation of Marx's theory of alienation would involve an analysis of the actions of the proletariat as the agents of political change, the mediation between the past and future societies, in terms of its goal of ushering in communism as a social practice. With regard to this aspect of the transcendence of alienation, however, Marx says very little. He merely suggests that the proletariat must realize the limitations of their role and create the conditions for their self-negation as a political force. In this manner communism as a comprehensive social practice can be effected. The reason why Marx is vague with regard to this aspect in the transcendence of alienation is, that his system is an open historical system and he cannot anticipate scientific developments and the political actions of the proletariat. They are conditional on future developments in the mode of production, and on the self-consciousness of the proletariat as the political agency of change.

For these reasons the fourth stage in the theory of alienation is incomplete and consequently cannot be subjected to empirical investigations.

Having considered Marx's theory of alienation, in terms of various stages which present themselves for investigation, and having illuminated some of the problems which are likely to arise, it is now opportune to turn to a consideration of empirical studies which are said to be based on Marx's theory of alienation. As we have seen, Marx's theory is a very complex one, encompassing various propositions, hence it is to be expected that empirical studies will tend to focus on one particular relationship or proposition. Thus, our extrapolations of the numerous variables and relationships between variables in Marx's theory should prove quite useful in analyzing these empirical studies. Certainly, we shall thus be able to ascertain whether in fact these studies are concerned with a marxist theory of alienation, and whether they are adequate to the purpose, in terms of their conceptualizations and subsequent operationalizations.

Chapter Three: The Analysis of Empirical Studies on Alienation

Introduction

It was stated, previously, that the conceptualizations of alienation can vary from the simple hypothesis of a discrepancy between an expected and an actual state of affairs to a complex theory about the effects of a particular stage of development on man and human nature. In the foregoing analysis of Marx's theory of alienation, it is quite clear that we have been dealing with a complex conceptualization. Necessarily, the investigation of the phenomena sketched by Marx as a complex process in time, the result of a historical mode of production, is, itself, very complex. Three feasible stages of investigation were identified and were seen to comprise a variety of questions about the various dimensions of the phenomena of alienation. Thus, for example, the investigation of the alienated labour relationship involves: the study of the objective social processes making for the alienated labour relationship, and giving rise to the social conditions of alienation and the identification of these social conditions, both objectively, in terms of objective social conditions, and subjectively, in terms of the subjective point of view of the actor.

The empirical studies which we shall investigate are much more simplified and usually involve the study of only one or two dimensions of any one of the three stages of investigations of Marx's theory of alienation which we have outlined. It has been suggested that Marx's theory is in effect too complex, involving "a whole composite range of issues" which are "impossible to reduce to measurable parameters", (9,163) or "too vague to be concretely applicable". (13,193) Possibly this is so, but it is probable that the empirical studies are quite elementary because of the lack of conceptual clarity about the phenomena of alienation delineated by Marx, and the absence of theoretical schemes as a background to the empirical studies. Nevertheless, this is a criticism to which we must respond, and certainly, after, having studied the various attempts to conceptualize and operationalize the phenomena of alienation, we should be able to do so.

In our first chapter, an analytical scheme for the study of alienation was formulated. This analytical scheme will be the basis for examining empirical studies of alienation. Let us recall briefly what the analysis entails. Firstly it is important to distinguish the causes and condition of alienation. Secondly, the question is whether the condition of alienation is conceptualized subjectively, and/or objectively, and if it is conceptualized both objectively and subjectively, what is the correspondence between the two conceptualizations. Under what conditions will an objectively-defined state of alienation be experienced subjectively by the alienated subject? Thirdly, we are interested in what constitutes the transcendence of alienation, for not only will this serve as a basis for relating the subjectively experienced alienation to some form of political action, but will in addition shed more light on the causes of alienation. Having considered these elements we should now be in a position to assess the level of abstractness and scope of generality of the studies. We should also be able to determine if a study is essentially psychological or sociological or a combination of both. It will also be important to differentiate between society-oriented and individual-oriented conceptualizations of alienation, through a consideration of the underlying theory of human nature, the relationship between man and society, and the relationship between man and man, which each entails. We shall see that there exists a certain degree of confusion between the concepts of alienation and anomie. As we noted in our first chapter, there is a significant difference between the two conceptualizations in terms of their ideas vis á vis man and society, such that the former reflects a highly critical stance towards the capitalist organization of society, and the latter centers on problems of social integration of individuals in capitalist society.

Before proceeding to the analysis of empirical studies, the rationale underlying the use of this analytical framework sketched above for the study of empirical works on alienation, may be disclosed. Let us contrast our projected analysis with that of Richard Schacht's. (13)

Richard Schacht's article on the uses of alienation in sociology is very helpful in illuminating the many conceptualizations of alienation. He distinguishes four major categories of uses of alienation: interpersonal alienation, work alienation, politic-economic alienation, and socio-cultural alienation. Within each category, he suggest that, it is possible, further, to identify a variety of different and independent phenomena. For example, as regards politic-economic alienation, the concepts powerlessness, distrust, apathy, meaninglessness of choice, have all been advanced to characterize this type of alienation, and the meanings assigned to these concepts vary from author to author. Thus, powerlessness, for instance, is considered by some authors to constitute a dimension of alienation only if it is viewed negatively, whereas, others maintain that the mere factor of experiencing a sense of powerlessness, is, in itself, alienating.

Schacht's study is essentially classificatory. Having identified various major categories of uses of alienation, he classifies numerous studies accordingly. He does attempt tentatively to suggest that some uses of alienation are more valid than others, but the basis for his evaluation is variable and hence confusing. At times, he makes reference to "more common special uses in ordinary speech", (13,160), at other times to the "tradition of Hegelian and Marxian usage" (13,173) or the "historical legitimization of Hegel's use of the term", (13,190) as the basis for the acceptance of a particular usage. The only basis on which he negates some uses of alienation is in terms of the semantic meaning of alienation. (2,191) "With regard to the expectancy that 'socially un-approved behaviours are required to achieve given goals', it is not clear why Seeman, Middleton, and others refer to this expectancy as such as a type of alienation. 'Alienation' must be alienation from something; something must seem 'alien' in some way if the term is to have any application. It is difficult to see, however, what the object of the 'from' clause in the present case could be". (13,191)

Although Schacht distinguishes between anomie and alienation he does not use the distinction as the basis for restricting

the applicability of the term alienation. Neither does he point out the incompatibility of the kinds of action necessary for the transcendence of anomie and alienation. The transcendence of anomie is effected by restricting the activities of individuals by imposing a normative order and the transcendence of alienation is effected through the revolutionary action of the proletariat.

Schacht's purpose in examining the uses of alienation is to promote some consensus among social scientist about the definition and the use of alienation to refer to a particular phenomenon. He thus considers the possibility of either limiting the application of the term, or trying to synthesize various definitions. His end result, however, is inconclusive. One of the factors perhaps contributing towards his vague and indecisive conclusions, is, that his classificatory system precludes an analysis of each study as a composite theoretical structure. Essentially, he extracts various terms from the studies, in order to examine the differing meanings which are assigned to these terms in different studies.

Although he mentions in passing, that many studies lack theoretical reference, (presumably to Marx, Hegel, Durkheim or Merton), and are "conceived operationally", he does not attempt to disclose the assumptions about man, society, and the cause of alienation, which underlie these conceptualizations.

The analytical framework which we intend using, on the other hand, focuses specifically on theoretical structures and/or underlying assumptions or arguments, by posing questions which concern the causes, and conditions, and transcendence of alienation. In examining empirical studies within this framework, we shall readily be able to differentiate between those formulations which contribute to an understanding of the phenomenon of alienation, and those formulations which merely detect the existence of individuals' experiences of the state of alienation.

In our analysis we shall be primarily concerned with the conceptualization of alienation in empirical research. It is somewhat difficult to do an extensive analysis of measurements of

alienation, as reports of empirical studies frequently do not include a comprehensive list of empirical measurements, and although such measurements were requested from the authors of these empirical studies, the response was minimal.

The various stages of empirical research seem to fall into five major operations: firstly a phenomenon is selected for study and named; secondly, a criterion for the basis of classification of relevant phenomena is devised which will enable the researcher to differentiate the phenomenon under study from other aspects of reality. The classification of the phenomenon should be a true reflection of its conceptualization in stage one; thirdly, empirical measurements are constructed for this purpose; fourthly, a relationship is hypothesized between the phenomenon under study and another aspect of reality which has similarly been defined, conceptualized and operationalized; fifthly, the hypothesized relationship having been subject to empirical verification is either rejected, accepted, or deemed subject to other intervening variables. In our particular study we shall be interested in determining whether the empirical study in question simply consists of a classification or whether a hypothesis is being investigated and whether this hypothesis is part of a composite theoretical structure. Secondly, we shall be interested in examining the basis of conceptualization and whether this conceptualization is consistently used throughout the study. In so doing we shall refer primarily to the theoretical formulations of Marx, Durkheim and Merton. Necessarily, we shall include a study of the basis or criterion of classification, but we shall not be concerned with empirical measurements and the reliability of these measurements. And although we shall be very interested in explicating any hypotheses under study and revealing their theoretical origins if any, we shall not be concerned with the validity of the conclusions regarding these hypotheses.

In this chapter, therefore, we shall be interested in evaluating empirical studies, and a theoretical study with empirical reference, in terms of their attempted operationalization of alienation within the marxist tradition. The purpose in

doing so is: to discover the state of empirical research on alienation, to identify the problems which must be resolved in seeking to empirically investigate Marx's theory of alienation, and to seek out innovative ways of operationalizing and conceptualizing alienation which suggests means for circumventing some of the problems which come to light.

Our procedure will be as follows: firstly, we shall consider two conceptualizations of alienation, Seeman's and Dean's which serve as the basis for many other studies; secondly, we shall consider perhaps the best example of an application of Seeman's dimensions of alienation to a study of alienation among workers, Blauner's Alienation and Freedom. It would be possible to review a number of studies which are similar to Seeman's or Dean's studies of alienation, however, little would be gained from it as the studies are in most instances similarly conceptualized or very poorly conceptualized, and are in any case limiting in documenting merely the subjective experience of alienation. ¹⁾ Thirdly, as these studies are rather simplistic, it will be necessary to consider fairly complex studies of alienation, which in two cases differ quite substantially from Marx. We shall not, however, be interested in examining studies which are explicitly concerned with the study of anomie or anomia. Rather our interest is centered on studies which profess to be concerned with a marxist analysis of alienation, (although they may in fact differ quite considerably from a marxist analysis).

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- 1) Bonjean et al attempt to correlate bureaucracy, (seen as a multi-dimensional concept), with alienation measured in terms of Seeman's and Scrole's anomie dimensions. He concludes that the relationship between bureaucracy and alienation is not significant.

Middleton sees alienation as arising from disabling social conditions which limit or block attainment of culturally valued objectives. Thus, he attempts to correlate alienation as defined by Seeman with race as an ascribed status. He found race was only correlated with meaninglessness.

McClosky and Schaar's study is an example of study which is concerned with anomic feelings and hence not useful for our purposes.

McClosky and Spaar suggest that anomic feeling are experienced whenever the learning of norms is severely impeded. They are interested in determining whether anomic feeling arise from primarily socio-cultural factors or personality factors impeding the learning of norms. They conclude that both factors are determinant.

The following four studies include examples of simplistic conceptualizations and/or studies focusing on only one sphere of social activity.

Nettler is interested in measuring estrangement from society which he suggests is a disassociation from popular cultural standards. He attempts to correlate estrangement with social psychological factors such as creativity, mental disorders, criminal behaviour, suicide. The study is inconclusive as it is simplistically conceptualized and operationalized.

Cooper's study is very superficial in that he reduces all dimensions of alienation discussed by various authors to one factor: the lack of variety or stimulation. He concludes that workers in England lack variety and stimulation.

Aige and Hage see alienation as a sense of dissatisfaction with social relationships in the working sphere. They suggest that such dissatisfaction is a result of centralization and formalization. The operationalization of these concepts does not reflect their conceptualization and thus is inadequate.

Clark defines alienation as a sense of powerlessness which is regarded as illegitimate. He attempts to correlate the lack of participation and knowledge with feelings of powerlessness. The relationship is not significant. Clark's study differs from similar studies of powerlessness in that alienation defined as powerlessness is measured on a continuum.

Seeman's five psychological dimensions of alienation

Melvin Seeman's work on the conceptualization of alienation is important in terms of our investigation as it is frequently referred to as a point of orientation in empirical studies of alienation. Seeman's conceptualization is social-psychological; his interest lies in analyzing the subjective experience of alienation which he feels is not a uniform experience but can be analyzed in terms of five dimensions. The five dimensions are conceptually independent and draw from both 'society-oriented' and 'individual-oriented' theories, include aspects of Marx's, Durkheim's, Mannheim's and Merton's work on man's estrangement from society, himself and others. For the most part, his analysis is restricted to a study of the subjectively experienced condition of alienation, and does not deal with the cause, consequence, objective condition of, and transcendence of alienation. As regards the scope of his analysis; of the five dimensions, two specifically concern activity in the economic sphere whereas the other three dimensions deal more generally with social interaction. Let us consider each of the five dimensions in turn.

Powerlessness

Seeman, in his discussion of powerlessness, focuses on two uses of the term in sociological literature. Firstly, powerlessness "is the notion of alienation as it originated in the Marxian view of the worker's condition in capitalist society: the worker is alienated to the extent that the prerogative and means of decision are expropriated by the ruling entrepreneurs". (14,784) Secondly, Seeman suggests that in Weber's work the notion of alienation as powerlessness was extended beyond the industrial sphere of activity, to characterize all of man's relationships to his work; "the modern soldier is equally 'separated' from the means of violence: the scientist from the means of enquiry, and the civil servant from the means of administration". (14,784) Seeman suggests that both of these uses of powerlessness refer to certain states of affairs, (in our terms objective social conditions). He states however, that his particular interest lies rather in the subjective experiences of the individual: "my version of alienation refers to the counterpart, in the individual's expectations, of that

state of affairs". (14,785)

For Seeman, the idea of alienation as powerlessness is "the expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behaviour cannot determine the occurrence of the outcomes, or reinforcements, he seeks". (14,784) He states that this notion of alienation is applicable in the socio-political sphere and is the 'depiction of man's relation to the larger social order. This sense of powerlessness is subjectively experienced; it is independent of an observer's assessment of the objective situation of powerlessness, of an observer's judgment of the wrongness or rightness of this powerlessness, and of the individual's assessment of the discrepancy between what he controls and feels he should control. It is purely a measure of the individual's feeling of control over socio-political events such as the economy, international affairs and so forth. It does not encompass any critique or judgment on the part of either an independent observer or the experiencing subject.

What is perhaps of most importance for our investigation, is the contention that the subjective experience of powerlessness need not necessarily be correlated with an objective state of powerlessness, and the utter disregard for the possibility of alienation existing without the conscious awareness of the alienated subject. Seeman does suggest that it is desirable that objective conditions of alienation should be dealt with in research for "these objective conditions are relevant, for example, in determining the degree of realism involved in the individual's response to his situation", (14,784), but on the other hand he states that they can be ignored, and he does not in any way attempt to sketch out possible alienative social conditions. He merely refer us to Marx, affirming that his conceptualization does not differ radically from Marx's. But his statement that powerlessness should be limited to the 'depiction of man's relation to the larger social order' would suggest that his frame of reference is in actuality quite divergent. Marx is concerned with the relationship between men, and, of man to himself, as reflected in, and determined by, the economic structuring of activity. Seeman's referent is the individual opposed to 'society'.

As regards the causes of powerlessness, and the consequences for action of this sense of powerlessness, Seeman is silent. He does not consider these aspects of the problem of alienation; he states emphatically that he is solely interested in the subjective experience of powerlessness.

Meaninglessness

The concept of meaninglessness in Seeman's work refers to the sense of the lack of understanding of events, and the resultant inability to predict action. An individual would be highly alienated if he was "unclear as to what he ought to believe - when the individual's minimal standards for clarity in decision-making are not met". (14, 786) Thus, the individual would be uncertain as to the consequences of acting according to a certain belief, concerning either descriptive events, or normative standards.

Seeman's concern is with the subjectively experienced sense of meaninglessness; the structural causes of this invading sense of meaninglessness are not explored in any significant manner. He cites Mannheim's discussion of 'the increase of functional rationality and the concomitant decline of substantial rationality' as an instance of the use of meaninglessness. In Mannheim's work, the individual's inability to 'act intelligently or with insight' was the result of increasing functional rationality; the emphasis on specialization and high production. Mannheim suggests that "As society increasingly organizes its members with reference to the most efficient realization of ends (that is, as functional rationality increases), there is a parallel decline in the capacity to 'act intelligently in a given situation on the basis of one's own insights into the interrelations of events". (14, 786) It is unclear whether Seeman implicitly accepts Mannheim's analysis of the cause of meaninglessness, for he also refers, in passing, to Adorno's analysis of the post-war German situation, as an instance of meaninglessness arising from the individual's inability to "choose with confidence among alternative explanations of the inflationary disasters of the time". (14, 786) But he does not explicitly propose in his work either analysis as the cause of meaninglessness. Neither is he concerned with the consequences of the individual's experiencing this sense of meaninglessness.

One of the important questions to ask in connection with meaninglessness, is, to what extent this experience of a sense of meaninglessness is a group phenomenon and in what way is the anxiety resulting from a lack of information and direction dissipated. Is such a sense of meaninglessness among a group of individuals likely to lead to the formation of a generalized belief? The relationship between the individual's sense of meaninglessness, and institutionalized or uninstitutionalized action of a group is not considered in Seeman's discussion of meaninglessness.

Normlessness

In his formulation of the concept of normlessness, Seeman states that he is drawing on the traditions of Durkheim and Merton. His concern is with the concept of anomie as developed in their works. Merton and Durkheim differ in their respective interpretations of anomie hence it is necessary to consider their works separately.

The concept of anomie in Durkheim's work is linked very much to his discussion of mechanical and organic solidarity. In seeking a solution to the problem of order in society, Durkheim suggested that the division of labour, when properly regulated is a source of solidarity in industrial society because, firstly through reciprocal rights and obligations there exists a sense of community which should ideally uphold equality and justice, and secondly, the individual is educated in terms of serving the community, in acting within the confines of specialized roles. The question is what happens if the division of labour is not properly regulated, if the rapid growth of the economy occurs without a corresponding growth of collective forces, (such as occupational groups establishing laws and ethics) to regulate it. Durkheim posited that a state of normlessness, (anomie) in which societal norms break down, in which people are unaware of any clear norms governing behaviour, in which there is a lack of norms, would result. Durkheim subsequently generalized his concept of anomie, (in a study on suicide), to refer to any institutional mal-

-72-

functioning, the breakdown of normative structures. It is important to stress that Durkheim was concerned not with individual deviance and questions of conformity, but with institutional functioning, in the regulation of behaviour.

In Merton's conceptualization of anomie, the focus of interest is the subjective point of view of the actor. Anomie arises in a situation in which "culturally prescribed goals are not congruent with the available means for their attainment". (14,787) Anomie will develop to the extent that an individual, although accepting the legitimacy of given goals, violates societal norms in order to attain these goals. Thus, Merton is acknowledging the existence of well-defined norms and is concerned with deviation from these norms.

Seeman, for his part, following Merton's conceptualization, states that "the anomic situation, from the individual's point of view, may be defined as one in which there is a high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviours are required to achieve given goals". (14,788) He does not sketch, however, the social situations or conditions under which such an expectancy is likely to take root. It is a question of inadequate social integration, (individual deviance), or are institutional structures deficient in providing legitimized means to obtain legitimized goals, or are groups differentially incorporated in the institutional structure, such that their access to means is restricted? Neither does Seeman postulate consequences, for the individual or given social system, of such expectancies, although he does call our attention to the importance of research into such matters.

It should be quite evident that in his formulation of the concept of normlessness as alienation, Seeman departs entirely from the Marxist tradition. He focuses on norms and values; the legitimization of a dominant value system is the basis of his analysis. He is concerned with social integration as opposed to system integration, and he focuses on the individual's relationship to 'society'.

Isolation

Isolation, an aspect of alienation in Seeman's work, deals with the individual's 'apartness from society', his estrangement from society and the culture it transmits. It is the assigning by the individual of a "low reward value to goals or beliefs that are typically highly valued in the given society". (14,789) Seeman states that implicit in the notion of isolation is the act rebellion, whereas, normlessness involves 'the innovation of culturally disapproved means to attain goals'. He does not, however, discuss the process whereby this rebellion of individuals becomes directed into group political behaviour, neither does he advance reasons for the rejection of dominant societal values by individuals or groups.

Self-estrangement

Seeman states that the major difficulty in formulating the concept of self-estrangement is that implicit in such a concept is an ideal human condition from which the individual is estranged. "To be self-alienated, in the final analysis, means to be something less than one might ideally be if the circumstances in society were otherwise". (14,790) Seeking to specify the content of the 'ideal human condition' for the purposes of research, Seeman turns to Marx's theory of alienation.

Self-alienation, he states, in the marxist tradition, is generally characterized as the 'loss of intrinsic meaning or pride in work'. The question is whether activity is intrinsically satisfying or merely a means to an end. Self-estrangement thus would entail a "high degree of dependence of the given behaviour upon anticipated future rewards". (14,790) Objectively, activity would be characterized in terms of an instrumental focus, and subjectively, the individual would not be able to find self-rewarding activities that 'engage him'.

Although Seeman incorporates Marx's concept of man's estrangement from productive activity and himself, he does not correlate such alienative conditions with the alienative social processes, identified by Marx, as the division of labour, fetishism of labour, and private ownership of the means of production. He

He does not postulate any causal relationships about self-estrangement.

Concluding Remarks on Seeman's five dimensions of alienation

We have focused on each of the five dimensions of alienation in turn, let us now consider these five dimensions as forming a composite whole.

Firstly, it is readily apparent that the five dimensions of alienation are conceptually independent and as a whole do not form any theoretical explanation of alienation. Nor is there any attempt to formulate any researchable hypotheses. The phenomena under study seems to have been arbitrarily selected from a variety of 'alienative phenomena' analyzed by various social scientists. The question is why have these particular five dimensions been selected for study

Secondly, the basis of classification of the relevant phenomena, powerlessness for example, is from the subjective point of view of the actor. "Alienation is here taken from the social-psychological point of view". (14,784) Thus the basis for identifying any of the five dimensions of alienation is the subjective attitudes of individuals. If these five dimensions of alienation are not experienced by the individual he cannot be classified as alienated. In all instances, except as regards self-estrangement, objective conditions are irrelevant in identifying alienative phenomena. The implication, thus, in terms of the construction of empirical measurements of alienation, is that attitudinal studies are the sole means for researching the five dimensions of alienation proposed by Seeman.

To conclude, Seeman's study of alienation is rather disappointing for it involves simply a socio-psychological classification of attitudinal states. The cause, consequence and transcendence of alienation are open questions.

Dean's study on the Meaning and Measurement of Alienation

Dean's study of alienation is an attempt: to delineate the major components of alienation, namely, powerlessness, social

isolation, and normlessness; to construct a scale to measure these components of alienation; and to test hypotheses correlating alienation with social variables such as occupational prestige, education, income, education, age, and rural background.

The three components of alienation selected by Dean are similar to Seeman's dimensions. Powerlessness refers to the individual's feeling of being unable to influence or understand events which critically determine one's life. The dimension is equivalent to a combination of Seeman's powerlessness and meaninglessness, in that it incorporates both a feeling of the incomprehensibility of events and the inability to control events. The marriage of the two concepts is not necessarily fortuitous, however. Seeman points out that it is possible to feel powerlessness in the face of events and structure while fully comprehending them; take the case of the alienated intellectual.

Dean states that he derives his concept of normlessness from Durkheim, but if we consider the subtypes of normlessness which he proposes it can be readily seen that other influences are at work. The concept of normlessness can be broken down into two different subtypes: purposelessness and conflicting norms. The notion of purposelessness, "the absence of values that might give purpose or direction to life, the loss of intrinsic and socialized values, the insecurity of the hopelessly disoriented", (4,757) accords quite closely with Durkheim's concept of anomie.

The second dimension of normlessness, the conflict of norms, calls attention to the existence of conflicting norms in society. The Christian ethic and the success imperative, for example, are conflicting norms which form part of western culture. Such conflicting norms Seeman, suggests create, difficulties for individuals who have incorporated them into their standard of normative directives.

The third component, social isolation, is supposedly derived from Durkheim's concept of anomie, "which includes a feeling of separation from the group, or of isolation from group standards", (4,755), but it would seem to tally better with Durkheim's concept, egoistic, if at all. Although the conceptualization of social

isolation includes "isolation from group standards", this aspect is not operationalized in the scale of alienation that he constructs.

In Dean's study a number of hypotheses concerning the relation of alienation to the social variables we mentioned previously are investigated. The hypotheses are not formulated within a theoretical structure, and the rationale underlying the proposed relationships is not disclosed. Our speculation, it seems plausible that the author rests his hypotheses on the assumption that individuals or groups highly integrated in the social structure are less likely to feel alienated. Thus, one could expect a negative correlation of social isolation and powerlessness with rural background, occupational prestige, income and education and a positive correlation with advancing age. There remains the problem, however, of the relationship between normlessness defined as an absence, and a conflict of values, and these social variables. For we assume that normlessness, as so defined, refers to the malfunctioning of institutions and not the social integration of individuals. The low but significant correlations between alienation and the variables tested, although of interest to the author, do not contribute significantly to our understanding of the phenomena of alienation. Dean would appear to be in accordance with this view for he states that one explanation of the low order of correlations "might be that alienation is not a personality trait but a "situation-relevant variable. It is plausible, for example, that an individual might have a high Alienation-Powerlessness score in regard to political activity, but a low one in regard to religion". (4,757) What he is merely pointing out, is that one must identify the objective social conditions under which an individual will feel alienated.

Most of the criticisms of Seeman's work apply equally to Dean's. His concern is simply with the subjective condition of alienation. His analysis does not include a study of the cause, consequence, and transcendence of alienation. The three dimensions of alienation are not formulated in terms of any composite theoretical structure. The study is social-psychological and focuses on the

individual's perception of his relationship to 'society'. The operationalization of his concept of social isolation does not mesh with its conceptualization.

Blauner's Study of Alienation in Industry

Blauner in his study of alienation amongst American industrial workers uses four of Seeman's five dimensions of alienation: powerlessness, meaninglessness, isolation, and self-estrangement. Having rejected the idea that alienation is the product of a capitalist mode of production, he feels, nevertheless, that alienation is very much a part of contemporary reality, that alienating tendencies are inherent in modern factory and industrial organizations. Having accepted this premise, the question is, under what conditions are such tendencies intensified; what situations give rise to different forms of alienation? Blauner postulates that a "variety of structural differentiation results in a variety of alienation". (3,7)

Blauner quite evidently regards alienation as a general syndrome comprising various dimensions or sub-types of alienation. He states that "alienation exists when workers are unable to control their immediate work processes, to develop a sense of purpose and function which connects their jobs to the over-all organization of production, to belong to integrated industrial communities, and when they fail to become involved in the activity of work as a mode of self-expression". (3,15) As regards structural differentiation, Blauner is referring to the influence of technical, economic, and social forces on the structuring of activity in the working sphere. The aim of his study is to "discuss how various aspects of technology, work organization, and social structure further four types of alienation (powerlessness, meaninglessness, isolation and self-estrangement) corresponding to nonalienated states: control, purpose, social integration, and self-involvement". (3,16)

Technology, one of factors shaping the work process, refers to the machine system, the degree and extent of mechanization, and the technical knowledge and ability which is necessary in the work activity. The kind of technology used is determined by three

factors: (1) "the overall state of industrial arts" - that is the state of development of scientific and technological knowledge in use in the manufacturing process; (2) "the economic and engineering resources" a firm has at its disposal; and (3) the nature of the product being manufactured.

Blauner in his analysis compares industries characterized by four different types of technology: craft; machine-tending; assembly-line; and continuous-process in which automation has been introduced to a very great extent. The printing industry is characteristic of a craft industry which still requires craftsmen because of the diversity of the products produced and the lack of standardization of the work process. The textile industry is a good example of an industry, in which the main task of the workers, is machine-tending. The spinning and weaving processes are mechanized and the worker is responsible for supplying the machines with materials and in insuring continuous production. The assembly-line is typical of the motor industry. There exists a highly advanced division of labour into operations which are performed, primarily, by unskilled workers. Their activity is regulated by the time and function imperatives of large conveyor belts. The chemical industry employed the most advanced technology. The work process was largely automated and with the exception of those workers responsible for the repair of the system, the workers' main task was the supervision of the control panels. Although the job was repetitive it did involve quite a lot of responsibility.

Blauner compared these four types of industries in terms of the type of technology each employed. The extent of mechanization is particularly apparent. He suggested that technology was very important in affecting the worker's control over his work activity, in determining his involvement with his work, in structuring the formation of work groups, the degree of solidarity and cohesion, and in affecting the formation of leadership.

The second factor which Blauner identified as important in structuring the work process is the division of labour. Technology does set limits on the organization of the work

process, but there does exist a number of different systems of organization possible under one technology. The division of labour directly affects the meaning and purpose of work. The assumption is that, as the division of labour increases in complexity, the worker is less able to act upon his own initiative, as he lack insight into the organic connection of the work process.

The third factor Blauner takes into consideration is, the social organization of work, the system of general standards and specific rules governing the work process. There has been a shift from the traditional, characterized by norms of employee relations based on custom, particularistic and diffuse criteria, to bureaucratic organization, in which rules are more rationalized, and in which formal procedures replace personal considerations. It is suggested that a high degree of bureaucracy is likely to have an adverse effect on social integration.

The fourth factor affecting the work process is the economic structure which can be considered in such terms as market competition, profit margins, growth rates, trends in demand and so forth. Blauner suggests that in a "profitable and progressive enterprise" it is likely that workers are "less subjected to intensive pressures, more likely to be free from fears of unemployment and to have opportunities to advance". (3,10)

The data which Blauner used in his study of alienation was a Job-attitudinal study conducted by Roper-Fortune of 3,000 blue-collar workers in California and a job-attitudinal study undertaken for the Bay Chemical Co. by Louis Davis. The data consisted primarily of informal descriptions of work conditions, and questions investigating work satisfaction. The data, hence, is somewhat limiting and cannot be used to measure various dimensions of alienation. Consequently, Blauner does not undertake "any real tests of hypotheses concerning the connection between the four sociological factors - namely, technology, division of labour, social structure, and economic structure - and the various psychological dimensions of alienation".(8,219) Nevertheless, Blauner's findings do support his generalizations.

Subjective feelings of alienation were greater in industries where the worker has very little control over his work processes in terms of both technology and the division of labour, and where bureaucratization predominated.¹⁾ A sense of purpose and meaning and involvement in the work process was more characteristic of worker's attitudes in the printing industry and in the chemical industry. Although workers in the chemical industry did not, as such, produce the product, their surveillance of the chemical processes involved a large degree of responsibility and allowed freedom of activity. Blauner did, however, run into some difficulty when considering the attitudes of textile workers. Objectively the workers should experience alienation but, in fact, they do not.

It is significant that Blauner chooses to explain this variance by introducing the individual's level of aspiration with regard to those factors which give a positive value to the work as an intervening variable. "Textile workers have been drawn largely from traditional elements of society - the foreign-born, rural southerns, women, and the uneducated Workers with traditional orientations do not value control and self-expression as much as do modern industrial workers; the absence of these factors, therefore, does not result in felt self-estrangement". (5,80) Israel presents a very convincing argument to support his contention that Blauner's study is formulated within the normative consensus orientation and has a definite 'value' bias. (8,219-223) Given that there was no correlation between objectively alienating conditions and the subjective experience of alienation, Blauner was forced to seek an alternative explanation.

1) Bonjean and Grimes in a study of Bureaucracy and Alienation come to a different conclusion. Using a combination of Dean's and Scrole measures of alienation and anomie which include powerlessness, social isolation, meaninglessness and self-estrangement concluded that the relationship between bureaucracy and alienation was not significant, although the form of alienation most closely related to bureaucracy among hourly paid workers was self-estrangement. The discrepancy may be a consequence of the variance in measures of bureaucracy used by Blauner and Bonjean and Grimes. Bonjean and Grimes: Bureaucracy and Alienation: A dimensional approach, Social Forces Vol. 48 3 1970 pp. 365-373.

He could have postulated that the workers were falsely conscious, or that his measures were inadequate or his variables not relevant, or he could have introduced the problem of normative integration. He chose the last alternative by suggesting that aspirations arising from the internalization of dominant values, was an important intervening variable in the study of alienation. To further clarify this criticism of Blauner's study, it is useful to discuss his study in terms of the cause; objective and subjective condition of alienation; the consequence and transcendence of alienation.

Blauner rejects the marxist idea that alienation is the product of a capitalist mode of production in which workers by selling their labour for wages alienate themselves from their work activity, the product of their activity, their fellow man and from their very essence. He does not accept the postulate that man's essence is creative labour, that man in order to fulfill himself must engage in meaningful activity or work. Rather, as the quotation about textile workers cited above suggests, men come to adopt a positive value to work through their social integration in the modern industrial complex. This assumption, of course, is highly questionable. Thus, Blauner seeks the cause of alienation in a "variety of structural differentiation". Alienation, as such, cannot be transcended utterly, for it is seen as a necessary evil inherent in modern factory and industrial organization. But, it can be mitigated by manipulating various structural factors, such as, technology, division of labour, social organization of work, market competition, concentration within industry, profit margin, and economic rate of growth. Although Blauner is concerned with the economic structure, he does not, at all, consider the effect of the conditions of ownership and wage labour. In his empirical investigation, the question of whether or not the conditions of ownership affect the experience of alienation is neglected, although he is fully cognisant of the Marxist theory of capitalism.

Alienation, in terms of objective conditions, is described under four general conditions: powerlessness; meaninglessness; isolation; and self-estrangement. "A person is powerless when

he is an object controlled and manipulated by other persons, or by an impersonal system, and unable to assert himself, as a subject, to change or modify this domination". (3,16)

Specifically, Blauner is referring to the workers' lack of control over conditions of employment and over the immediate work process. Although recognizing that the worker is powerless, in his separation from ownership of the means of production and, in his inability to influence general managerial policies, he does not feel that these aspects are of central concern to the worker, particularly as they are ubiquitous in a capitalistic economy. Powerlessness is operationalized in terms of pace, pressure, freedom of physical movement, freedom to control quality and quantity of production, and in the selection of working methods.

Meaninglessness, a result of the increasing complexity of the division of labour, results in "the decline of an actor's ability to act intelligently in given situations on the basis of his own insights into the inter-relations of events". (3,17)

Meaning is dependent on three aspects of the worker's relation to production processes and organization of work: the character of the product; the scope of the product; the sphere of production allocated to the worker.

Isolation is essentially a function of normative integration. "An organization is normatively integrated when there is a consensus between the work force and management on standards of behaviour, expectations of regards, definition of fair play and justice and when there are agreed upon rules of the game". (3,20)

Self-estrangement arises when the "worker becomes alienated from his innerself in the activity of work". (3,23) In such situations the worker's activity is not congruent with his "individual social commitments", his work is separated from the community, and becomes a means to an end and not an end in itself. Boredom, monotony, heightened time consciousness are objective indicators of self-estrangement.

Subjectively, the actor will experience powerlessness in terms of a lack of security, of a sensed inability to influence the controls governing his work activity. He will feel that his

work is meaningless, that his activity is divorced from the whole structure. He will have little understanding of the overall work process. His isolation will be manifested in a lack of loyalty to the industrial enterprise, a lack of feeling of membership in the industrial community. In his self-estrangement the worker will feel that working relations are characterized by a sense of depersonalized detachment. Work will become merely a means to an end.

It does not necessary follow, as we have noted previously, that a worker who exists in an objectively alienative situation will necessarily subjectively experience this alienation. Blauner suggests that the individual's level of aspirations is an important variable to contend with. The worker will only experience alienation if he attaches a great importance to work. Blauner suggests that workers with traditional ²⁾orientations do not value control and self-expression. This assumption, however, is not substantiated. Possibly, the worker who originated from a rural environment is just not as articulate in expressing his aspirations or is overwhelmed by the industrial process. Furthermore, how can we account for high aspirations among urban workers who have continually experienced external domination over their work activity? "Quite clearly, it is not sufficient merely to introduce psychological variables such as the level of aspirations, if at the same time one is not able to say how these variables are related to the basic assumption regarding learned needs and values". (8, 221)

As regards the transcendence of alienation, we noted that Blauner does not conceive of the transcendence of alienation, per se, for alienation is a permanent condition of modern organization and industry. It is, rather, a question of manipulating the structural conditions of work, in such a manner, as to minimize alienation.

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- 2) We may question exactly what "traditional" refers to?
Is he considering ethnic groups and/or rural groups?

There exist difficulties with Blauner's study of alienation, which we have dealt with, for the most part, in our discussion. However, let us briefly summarize our evaluation of his study. Firstly, the four dimensions of alienation are not conceptually related. This is not surprising in that these dimensions were directly adopted from Seeman's work, and he certainly did not posit any relationship between the various dimensions. Necessarily, the criticism of these dimensions, in the discussion of Seeman's work, apply equally to this study. Although Blauner draws on both marxist and functionalist traditions, to some extent, he has a definite predeliction for the functionalist normative approach, in that he stresses the importance of values in his study and neglects problems of system integration - such as the relationship between the means of production and the relations of production.

His study is limited to the work sphere. He does not consider the consequences of alienation in the work sphere for activity in the political sphere.

Although Blauner's findings did confirm his generalizations his study is not conclusive for a number of reasons. He did not pose the question of the relevance of non-ownership of the means of production in the alienation of the work. Hence, it is not possible to negate this influence. He did not account adequately for the lack of a subjective awareness of alienation among textile workers whom he defined as objectively alienated. He did not consider the possibility that workers had chosen particularly alienative working conditions because they were already alienated and had fully characterized work merely as a means to and end. This salient possibility was proposed by Goldthorpe in his study of a Vauxhall car factory in Luxton

England. 3)

Of value in Blauner's work is the imaginative operationalization of his conceptualizations. He has very scrupulously sought to maintain a distinction between the objective and subjective measures of alienation. In so doing, he presents us with the possibility of realistically investigating the process whereby people become subjectively aware of their alienative conditions. It is unfortunate, however, that the subjective awareness of alienation was not correlated with definite social or political actions. Although informative in itself, knowing that people are alienated and experience this alienation, does not contribute significantly to an understanding of their social and political actions.

Seeman, Dean, and Blauner state that their conceptualizations derive from the marxist tradition. We have seen, however, they diverge widely from the marxist approach, and that their studies cannot be considered empirical operationalization of Marx's theory of Alienation. Hence, we must accept that we will find little inspiration among the social-psychological empirical studies of alienation characteristic of western sociology, in America and England. 4)

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- 3) Goldthorpe in his study of assembly workers concluded that "the instrumental orientation is not a consequence of the technological shape of the work, but rather that workers sought jobs because they had a strong instrumental orientation". (228) Hence "Alienation must be sought not merely in technological conditions but in aspects of the wider society which generates their tremendous drive for economic advancement, and their disregard for the costs of this through the impoverishment of their work lives". (229) The instrumental orientation must be considered as an independent variable related to the work situation rather than the product of the work situation. "Predominantly the instrumental orientation to work was not a consequence of the job type but because of a desire and an eventual decision to give priority to high level economic returns from work at the expense of satisfaction of an intrinsic kind". (227)
- 4) Our review of literature was for the most part limited to a study of American and British studies because of the inaccessibility of material and journals of Eastern sociology and French sociology, in South Africa.

Thus, let us now turn to the analysis of two fairly complex empirical studies of alienation, and one theoretical study which includes reference to the empirical study of alienation in positing ways of operationalizing relevant concepts.

Allardt's study of types of protests and alienation

The study of alienation in Allardt's work arises out of a concern with understanding political behaviour as expressed in voting patterns. The specific problem motivating his study is "to inquire whether Communist voting strength (in Finland) is explained by different or similar background factors in different regions". (1,51) Having ascertained that Communist strength is associated with different background factors in different regions, it then becomes important to explain the differences. Why is Communist strength in developed regions associated with background factors reflecting stability and why is the contrary true for less developed areas, which are in a state of transition.

Allardt constructs a theoretical model, derived from Durkheim's work on mechanical and organic solidarity in order to make sense of his findings. He then proceeds to apply his theoretical model to "further explanations of different kinds of protests". (1,53) In so doing, he considers deprivation, alienation and attitudes to change.

Allardt's theoretical explanation of the differences in the source of Communist strength in different areas is based on Durkheim's distinction between mechanical and organic solidarity. Mechanical solidarity is based on "likeness" in a society which has little differentiation in the form of division of labour. Organic solidarity on the other hand, is primarily a consequence of regulated social exchanges arising from a complex division of labour. It is suggested that although Durkheim speaks of similarity or uniformity he is in fact concerned with "pressures toward uniformity".⁵⁾ Allardt suggests, furthermore, that

5) "Strong pressures towards uniformity may be defined as having two necessary conditions: a) existing social norms are specific and related to strong sanctions that are applied with great consistency and b) there are no or very few conflicts between norms." "The division of labour is defined in terms of the number of dissimilar items for exchange". (1,47)

"instead of saying, as Durkheim does, that mechanical solidarity is based on similarity and organic solidarity is based on the division of labour, we can assume that they are to separate variables that can be used together to explain both types of solidarity". (1,47) Thus, it would be possible to conceive of four types of solidarity, two strong and two weak, if one treats pressures toward uniformity and division of labour as separate independent variables.

The resulting typology based on the interaction of these two variables is expressed in a fourfold table of varying solidarity.

<u>pressures toward</u> <u>uniformity:</u>	<u>division of labour</u>	
	<u>low</u>	<u>high</u>
strong	1. strong solidarity: mechanical solidarity	3. weak solidarity
weak	2. weak solidarity	4. strong solidarity: organic solidari- ty

It is important to note that Allardt chooses to define the obverse of solidarity as "legitimacy conflicts". Thus, he would postulate for example that "the more developed the division of labour and the stronger the pressure toward uniformity, the greater the likelihood of legitimacy conflicts". (1,48)

The Communist vote is viewed as an expression of a legitimacy conflict. Communist support arises in conditions which make for weak solidarity: in the developed regions, the social conditions reveal a strong pressure toward uniformity; strong political traditions, slow economic change, little migration, resulting in strong group ties, reflect "some kind of hindrances to people in using their resources or abilities". In such a situation where there exists a high social exchange, strong social pressures inhibit the process of exchange, and weaken solidarity.

The contrary is true in the "backward regions": the traditional values, rapid economic change, social insecurity, and a high amount of migration can all be interpreted as indicators of a low pressure toward uniformity". (1,53) Lacking a highly developed exchange system and strong mechanical solidarity, the community

disintegrates.

Allardt is concerned with political protests and readily concedes that there are various types of political protests which are expressed or formulated in different ways. Hence, it is necessary to introduce other variables, which will account for these variations in political action and expression. All of these variables are considered within the context of his theoretical model.

Thus, for example, he introduces the concepts of institutional deprivation and diffuse deprivation to account for the variation in organization of political expression, (highly organized - slightly organized). His argument is as follows: In a situation of weak solidarity arising from strong uniformity and a high division of labour, the process of social exchange is restricted. Hence, some groups will not have free access to the "rewards" of exchange. In a society in which there exists a high division of labour, individuals evaluate their status and rewards with reference to a "comparative reference group" other than the one they identify with. Thus, the likelihood is that they will resent their situations and experience relative deprivation, and tend to socialize their children to experience relative deprivation. In such situations of "institutionalized relative deprivation" Allardt suggests, that "one can expect a high amount of social participation and organizational activities. The individuals are strongly tied to their community and social classes but are isolated from the national community. Social participation tends to be planned and instrumental". (1,55) Diffuse deprivation, on the other hand, is likely to lead to a low level of organizational activity.

Diffuse deprivation arises in a situation in which there exists, neither strong pressures toward uniformity, nor a highly developed system of exchange. According to Allardt, individuals will not have difficulty predicting the actions of others, and will not have any reference groups, with which either to identify (normative reference group), or to evaluate themselves (comparative reference group.)

There are, obviously, some major difficulties with Allardt's analysis. Does it necessarily follow that individuals experiencing relative deprivation are likely to translate their dissatisfaction into positive political opposition. And in a situation in which "the potentialities for a free exchange are hindered, for instance, by class and race barriers", do the restricted individuals necessarily recognize their special positions and become "strongly tied to their communities and social classes"? (1,54-55) But let us proceed with our main concern - alienation.

Alienation is also considered an important variable in determining types of political action. The assumption is that certain types of alienation will result in certain types of political action. Allardt's discussion of the relationship between alienation and political action is an attempt to synthesize the works of Seeman and Smelser, and incorporate the product in his theoretical model.

Having postulated that there are two differing situations of weak solidarity, Allardt suggests that we may distinguish two types of alienation which correspond to these two conditions of weak solidarity. Drawing on Seeman's work, Allardt suggests that it is possible to equate alienation arising in a situation of high division of labour and strong pressures toward uniformity, with the concept of powerlessness. "Powerlessness is a state in which the individual feels that he does not have any control over the rewards he receives". (1,60) The other dimensions of alienation enumerated by Seeman can be subsumed, (with the exception of isolation which is rejected), under the concept of "uprootedness or uncertainty". This type of alienation arises in situations characterized by diffuse deprivation. (1,61) To recall our discussion diffuse deprivation occurs in situations in which there is little division of labour and little pressure for uniformity.

Seeman in his work on the various dimensions of alienation did not attempt to relate the five dimensions to each other; conceptually they are independent and as a whole do not form any theoretical explanation of alienation.

Allardt, however, in adopting Seeman's dimensions of alienation is interested in postulating cumulative relationship between the dimensions of alienation (meaninglessness, normlessness, self-estrangement) which characterize situations of diffuse deprivation. He derives his inspiration primarily from Smelser's Theory of Collective Behaviour, liberally equating Seeman's dimensions of alienation to Smelser's structural strain in the components of action.

Firstly, Allardt suggests that it is possible to formulate a relationship between the various forms of uprootedness, if we accept that pressures toward conformity can be manifested in a variety of ways. "We may say that social values, norms and role-expectations can educe and contain demands for uniform behaviour". (1,61) Thus the lack of pressures toward uniformity, and the lack of normative regulation arising from the process of exchange, would create an ambiguous situation. "uncertainty concerning values or goals may be labelled as meaninglessness, uncertainty regarding norms or institutionalized means as anomic alienation, uncertainty regarding situational facilities as situational alienation". (1,160) Acknowledging his debt to Smelser, Allardt then proceeds to relate his various forms of uprootedness according to the value-added process. He states that "Smelser assumes that these four factors form a hierarchical and cumulative order in such a fashion that values determine norms, roles and situational facilities, whereas for instance, norms do not determine values but strongly influence both role-expectations and situational facilities. Lowest in the hierarchy we have the situational facilities". (1,61) Allardt even goes so far as to suggest that "all these forms may educe political reactions which very much will follow the pattern described by Smelser", and that if mobilized, the alienated who feel meaninglessness, for example, will be apt to join value-oriented movements". (1,62)

Powerlessness, characterizing situations of relative deprivation, as opposed to diffuse deprivation, according to Allardt, need not necessarily be related to the other dimensions of alienation. Allardt's discussion of powerlessness, however, is not very informative. One wonders why he did not attempt to apply Smelser's analyses to powerlessness, "a state in which the individual

feels that he does not have any control over the rewards he receives" (1,60). Smelser is not only concerned with "uncertainty". Opposition or conflict over the components of action is an important focus of his study. Thus, Allardt's dimension of powerlessness could be interpreted as conflict over control of the normative definition of the rewards he receives, conflict over control of the rewards in terms of situational facilities, and so forth.

There are many difficulties with Allardt's analysis of alienation. Variables have been chosen, seemingly at random, and various theoretical constructs incorporated in a somewhat haphazard fashion. Applying our analytical framework, in which the cause, condition, consequence and transcendence of alienation is distinguished, is rather difficult, for conceptual clarity is not maintained in Allardt's analysis. Nevertheless, an attempt is made to reveal the most likely distinctions.

No specified social processes are put forth as the cause of alienation. ⁶⁾ Rather we must surmise, given his solidarity model, that alienation, divisible into two distinct phenomena, is a consequence of: a) the restricted social process of exchange; and b) the breakdown of institutional constraints, the ineffectiveness of institutions in regulating behaviour. ⁷⁾

In order to define the objective conditions of alienation, it is useful to consider the relationship which Allardt posits between

6) Allardt does state that "among the conditions" (for the emergence of alienation) "one could list factual isolation, factual separation from the means of production and so forth". (1,61) But he does not develop these conditions, they do not enter into his analysis and seem only to serve as a tokenism for the marxists. We must surmise as he situates his analysis of alienation within his solidarity model that the conditions of weak solidarity are determinant social causes of alienation.

7) It is readily apparent that both Merton's and Durkheim's conceptualizations of anomie are at play.

deprivation and alienation. Although Allardt only suggests that, alienation which is defined as uprootedness and uncertainty is characterized by "diffuse deprivation" (1,61), it is consistent to assume then, that alienation which is defined as powerlessness, is characterized by "institutionalized relative deprivation". To be more explicit, we may recall that "diffuse deprivation" arises out of a situation in which the relevant normative and comparative reference groups are lacking and that "institutionalized relative deprivation" derives out of a situation in which there exists a discrepancy between peoples' normative and comparative reference groups. (1,54-55)

These objective conditions are experienced subjectively as powerlessness, and as uprootedness or uncertainty (comprising meaninglessness, normlessness, and uncertainty about situational facilities) respectively.

Allardt states that, if the alienated are mobilized ⁸⁾ they are very likely to join movements which are directed at alleviating their uncertainty or powerlessness. Thus, for example, if the alienated experience meaninglessness, when mobilized they will join value-oriented movements. "If powerlessness leads to political reactions, it will result in fairly systematic and instrumental activities, aimed at changing the whole power structure". (1,60) Mobilization is more likely to occur, according to Allardt, in a situation of institutionalized relative deprivation. He is assuming that (upon the system of social exchange), because of the restrictions which are superimposed, "the demarcation line between the rulers and the ruled", will be emphasized and "individuals will be strongly tied to their communities and social classes but isolated from the total national community". (1,55) However, it is equally

8) He does not state explicitly the conditions under which they will become mobilized.

plausible that the competition for scarce resources will tend to divide the alienated, that other structural cleavages will reinforce their isolation. On the other hand, it is possible that the "dispossessed", although physically isolated, through effective organization would be readily mobilized. Structurally, there would exist few lines of differentiation. Dispossessed, unemployed, sharing similar formative experiences, may become a revolutionary force. Allardt does not put forth any theoretical arguments to substantiate his assumptions about political mobilization. They are based on his findings concerning variations in the degree of participation in political activity in the "backwoods" and urban centers of Finland. He found that there was greater participation in politics in the urban areas. He did not however, in his analysis, control for other factors which could influence participation. Take for instance leadership, an important element in stimulating political participation. It is quite likely that the leadership of the communist movement is centered in the cities and that the focus of party organization is on the urban proletariat. 9)

If we consider Allardt's study of "types of protest and alienation" as outlined above, it is not clear why the concept of alienation is at all included. It does not contribute to our understanding of political protests in itself. The crucial contribution lies in the reiteration of Smelser's Theory of Collective Behaviour. The usefulness of substituting Seeman's dimensions of alienation for Smelser's structural strain is not revealed. And in placing Smelser's theory in the context of the solidarity model, Allardt appears only to be restricting the possible origins of structural strain. Structural strain or uncertainty will arise in situations of weak solidarity when there exists either strong pressures for uniformity and a high division of labour, or, neither strong pressures toward uniformity, nor a highly developed system

9) The question of the locus of revolutionary power is a recurrent theme particularly in marxist literature. Our position is succinctly summed up by Peter Worsley. "In sum, there is no single absolute general proposition that one can make about any particular type of class, universally, as being the or even a revolutionary force". "Whether they" (sub-proletarians or dispossessed) "become a revolutionary force, however, does not depend simply upon their "existential" situation alone (i.e. numbers, degree of misery, expectations, relations with other classes, etc. etc.) but in significant measure on the leadership they are given (if any)".

of exchange. Allardt in adopting Smelser's theory uncritically, inherits all the problems surrounding this theory. (2) Of vital importance, (in distinction to marxist analysis) is the normative bias of his analysis, and the lack of concern with the problems of system integration.

Not only are Allardt's theoretical constructs inadequate but the subsequent attempt at operationalizing these concepts are also of little value. His concepts were operationalized as broad generalizations about the division of labour and normative integration, in two different areas: urban and rural. (1,55-57). And he did not operationalize Seeman's dimensions of alienation which he incorporates centrally in his analysis of alienation.

To conclude, Allardt's analysis is a very good argument for the adaptability of Smelser's Theory of Collective Behaviour, but a poor contribution to the study of alienation within the Marxist tradition.

Stanley Greenberg: Alienation and Attitudes to Political Action

Stanley Greenberg, in his study of the political orientations of five poor neighbourhoods in the United States, has succeeded admirably, in contrast to Allardt, in elucidating the relationship which exists between various types of political orientations, and alternately, alienation, group consciousness and class consciousness.

The aim of this attitudinal study was to "trace the path of attitudinal orientations to political action and explain the variations of politics in poor neighbourhoods". (6,5) Although poor neighbourhoods arise out of a historical era involving "a pattern of rural oppression, the imperatives of industrial growth, mass population movements, and the concentration of a redundant and impoverished work force in the inner cities their shared experience does not appear to have dictated mutuality in the political response of the poor". (6,42)

In seeking to account for the variability of politics among the poor, Greenberg formulates several hypotheses which attempt to discern the effects of: lower class culture; alienation

group consciousness, deriving from cultural autonomy; group consciousness based on opposition to another group; and class consciousness; on the formation of political orientations. Although recognizing the importance of his entire contribution, we shall focus primarily on his work dealing with the relationship between alienation and political orientations.

Greenberg's interest in alienation stems from his attempt to make sense of the political responses of the poor. The concept of "political estrangement" is introduced and put forth as a much more determinant force than "the inattention to, or detachment from political life fostered by 'lower class' culture". Political alienation is defined as "a person's sense of estrangement from the politics and government of his society".

(6,109) It is a multi-dimensional concept comprising political or negative identification with the political system, feelings of political ineffectiveness, an evaluation of government performance, and positive or negative attitudes towards the entire political system. (6,107)

It is readily evident that political alienation is considered in terms of the subjective feelings of the actor. The question is does Greenberg in his study of the relationship between political alienation and political orientations consider political alienation in terms of objective conditions arising out of definite social processes? Does he in effect advance a theoretical explanation of political alienation and political orientations?

We have identified the subjective condition of alienation in terms of three basic dimensions: one, a feeling of ineffectiveness in influencing the policy and administration of government; two, a feeling of dissatisfaction with government politics and policy; thirdly, a negation of the legitimacy of the political system. Political alienation, that is, the subjective condition of alienation is seen as arising from an assessment of various factors which define the relationship of the individual to the government. These factors are categorized in terms of an input-output model. There must be a balance between demand and support (input) and policy (output). (6,110)

It is not at all clear whether the specific relationship between government and the individual is seen as the cause or as the objective condition of alienation. We do have an indication that the author does implicitly incorporate the notion of an objective condition of alienation in his work, for he affirms that: "although political alienation is pronounced in poor neighbourhoods, the pattern of response is very varied. What is striking is the relative calm of Summerhill and Belmont despite policies that are highly unfavourable to them, they are fully supportive of the political community". (6,121)

It would appear that political alienation in the above quotation refers to the objective condition of alienation; the discrepancies between political input and output, or more simply the "highly unfavourable policies" which are contrary to the interests of the poor communities. The specific type of relationship between the individual and government deemed or assessed unfavourable, which one could delineate as the objective condition of alienation is not elucidated explicitly, however.

It is possible, on the other hand, that the unfavourable relationship between the individual and government is seen as the definitive cause of alienation. This would seem a likely possibility in light of the use of the equilibrium systems input-output model. Thus, political estrangement would be the result of an imbalance in the political system which may be traced to a scarcity of cross-cutting affiliations (10) or the inaccessibility of elites (12), for example. It is not a question of anomie as conceptualized by either Durkheim or Merton, for there definitely exists normative control and the lack of responsiveness of the government to the demands and interests of the poor is not a consequence of "deviant behaviour" of the poor.

The model relating political alienation and political orientation (6,107), however, suggests that marginality is the cause of alienation, that the objectively alienating situation of the poor is the result of the poor's socio-economic position as poor and marginal.¹⁰⁾ But this does not, necessarily, imply that the capitalist system of wage labour is seen as the root

10) When questioned about the confusion concerning the cause and condition of alienation, the author agreed that marginality is the cause of alienation.

cause of alienation. Equally plausible is the plural society theorists' contention that low socio-economic status of a group is a consequence of its differential incorporation on the basis of ascribed status in the economic and political structures of society. Certainly with regard to the black neighbourhoods, this is a feasible explanation.

Having considered the subjective and objective conditions of alienation and the cause of alienation, let us now consider the consequences of a subjective awareness of alienation, in terms of political orientations. It is affirmed that "the obvious relationship between marginality and estrangement should not pose a simple conception of alienation or a single dimensional linkage with political expression". (6,107) Accordingly, alienation is viewed as a multi-dimensional concept, and it is suggested that political responses will vary with the expression of the different dimensions of alienation. If we recall the three dimensions of political alienation include a sense of inefficacy, policy dissatisfaction and system rejection. It is hypothesized that high policy dissatisfaction coupled with a sense of inefficacy, for example, is likely to lead to a "receptivity to violence", whereas high policy dissatisfaction coupled with a sense of efficacy is likely to lead to a "receptivity to conventional politics". In this manner, Greenberg, attempts to account for the diversity of political response among the poor. This formulation of the problem however, begs the question.

Although the study of political alienation includes a conceptualization of the cause, condition, and consequence of political alienation, (all factors essential to positing a theory of alienation), the composite whole is not an explanation or theory of social action or intention. There exists some very fundamental problems with his analysis.

Firstly, to correlate an expression of political discontent, or estrangement, with a particular orientation to political action is not an explanation. To state, for example, that people, who are dissatisfied with policy but who feel they can influence government, are likely to be receptive to conventional politics,

whereas those who are dissatisfied with policy and feel a sense of inefficacy are receptive to violence, does not clarify significantly the influence of alienation in determining diverse political responses. It would be necessary to account for the reason for the divergence in the expression of political alienation. Why do some poor neighbourhoods experience a sense of inefficacy whereas others do not? Is this subjective experience a realistic reflection of the objective conditions defining their relationship to government?

Greenberg is suggesting that poor neighbourhoods have a politically alienative relationship vis a vis "the politics of the cities".¹¹⁾ Thus, objectively, the poor are politically alienated. But this political alienation is differentially experienced by different groups and is, he states, the *raison d'être* for differing political orientations. The central question, thus, which must be posed is: Why is political alienation (objectively defined) differentially experienced? If we could, for example, state with assurance that the high level of party political activity in Summerhill mitigates the reality of inefficacy among the poor, we could qualify the relationship between alienation and political orientation, taking into consideration the role of ideology, and thus, approach an adequate explanation of the relationship between alienation and political orientations.

Although the author would appear to have neglected this central question, his work is an important contribution to the empirical study of alienation. Firstly, he is concerned to related alienative experiences to orientations to political action. This in itself is quite an endeavour, particularly, in that, he formulates models and subsequently operationalizes them effectively in his research. Secondly, his work raises important problems which relate closely to the problems we anticipated in studying alienation within the Marxist tradition. This would tend to indicate a convergence with regard to fundamental issues. We must come to terms with the problem of consciousness or subjective awareness. Lamarche, Rioux, and Sevigny come to a similar realization upon concluding a study

11) Given the accumulated misdeeds of political authorities, it is hard to imagine the poor not viewing them as distant, unresponsive and perhaps in the service of other more powerful interests". Greenberg: *Poverty and Politics*, p. 107

of the effect of alienation on the lives of french-speaking Montrealers. The relationship between ideology, and the everyday reality of people is determinant. (11) Not only is ideology a key variable in structuring the relationship between the subjective reality of individuals and their objective social situations, but is also decisive in giving definition and active direction to emotive experiences and feelings.

Amitai Etzioni: Basic Human Needs, Alienation and Inauthenticity

Etzioni's study is an important contribution to empirical research and the study of alienation. He presents us with a theoretical framework and (effectively) attempts to operationalize his conceptualization in order that his propositions may be subjected to empirical verification at a later date. Let us comment firstly on his theoretical framework, and secondly, on his empirical operationalization of his concepts.

Etzioni states that he does not wish to adhere to any particular theoretical orientation but would rather construct his framework by drawing on both the structural-functionalist and marxist traditions. His theory is broad in scope, encompassing a consideration of social action in all spheres of activity in any given society. The theory can be considered, in terms of Israel's scheme, as an "individual-oriented" theory because of the theory of man and society which it incorporates.

Etzioni postulated the existence of basic non-biological needs which man seeks to realize. He states that marxists do not make this assumption, but if we contrast his work with that of Marx's in his early works, we can readily note the similarities. Basic human needs "which have attributes of their own, which are not determined by the social structure, cultural patterns or socialization processes" (5,871) postulated by Etzioni include: the need for affection, recognition of achievements, creativity, security, and variety. He presents a detailed methodological argument for postulating such basic needs and suggests empirical means for demonstrating that such needs do motivate men. But what of his view of the relationship between man and society, with reference to the realization of these basic needs?

It is suggested that societies vary in the extent to which they facilitate the attainment of basic needs. In certain social situations man is forced to submerge his identity and forgo the realization of his needs for the most part. (It is recognized that these basic needs cannot be realized in ultimate terms, nevertheless certain structuring of relations are more conducive to the "balanced" realization or satisfaction of needs). Thus it is not a question of the malintegration of the individual, but rather, a question of the actual structuring of relations in a society. Sources of conflict arise from a disadvantageous distribution of power and assets; from acquisitiveness, an instrumental orientation to fellow men, and competitiveness. The ideal structuring of relationships would be one in which men would be valued as members of a community, satisfaction would be derived from participation rather than from the possession or consumption of material objects, and the focus would be on absolute rather than relative levels of satisfaction.

Etzioni's theory of alienation and inauthenticity is an analysis of social situations in which man for the most part is not able to satisfy his basic needs. Alienation is a state or social situation "which is beyond the control of the actor and hence unresponsive to his basic needs". (5,879) In focusing on alienative social situations, he is, specifically, concerned with the role as facilitating the satisfaction of basic human needs. He hypothesizes that certain roles provide less possibilities for the fulfillment of basic needs and are inherently less satisfying. Firstly, some roles are inherently alienative because of the particular task which they involve, and secondly, are a creation independent of man's control and unresponsive to his needs.

It is necessary when discussing the objective condition of alienation to make a distinction between alienation and inauthenticity, for the consequences of each for the actor's behaviour are significantly different. The basis for distinguishing between the two conditions is in terms of two factors: outward appearances and underlying realities. "One may refer to social conditions as: authentic, when the appearance and

the underlying structure are both responsive to basic human needs; as alienation, when both the appearances and the structure are unresponsive; and as inauthentic, when the underlying structure is unresponsive but an institutional or symbolic front or responsiveness is maintained". (5,881) On an institutional level the latter occurs when "appearances of participation" cover "underlying exclusion". For instance, "workers are offered, under a Human Relations program, participation in managerial decision-making while actually management, (following leadership or sensitivity training), is expected to lead the decision-making sessions to those conclusions favoured by management". (5,881) In such situations, although institutionalized channels of participation exist, actual control and participation in relevant decision-making is non-existent.

One of the questions which will arise when considering the operationalization of the "objective conditions of alienation" will be the status of the concepts "appearance", and "symbolic front". Both concepts are seemingly defined from the subjective point of view of the powerless. In an inauthentic situation the powerless would seem to be duped into thinking that they do have control over their situation, because of their participation in decision-making. In an alienative situation such a facade would be lacking and the actualities of power inequalities would be blatant. Does this formulation hence of the alienative situation as one in which "both the appearances and the structure are unresponsive" preclude a separation of the objective and subjective conditions of alienation? In other words, it is possible for an individual to be in an alienative situation without comprehending or experiencing his "alienation" as a lack of control of power? We shall return to this question upon consideration of the consequences of inauthenticity and alienation for social action.

Etzioni predicts that alienation and inauthenticity would be subjectively experienced quite differently. Personal costs are expected to be different because of the differences in the "management of frustration" both conditions generate. "The alienated person's aggression is likely to be focused and have one or more external targets, eg. the establishment. The

aggression of a person in an inauthentic situation will be diffuse and at least in part internalized and bottled-up". (5,881) The suggestion that the alienated person is likely to focus his aggression against external targets, would seem to suggest that implicit in the subjective experience of alienation is an understanding of the inequalities of power and the assigning of "blame" or responsibility to the wielders of power. But this conclusion is not at all certain, for Etzioni in a discussion of the behaviour of individuals in alienative situations states that "the alienated are more likely to exhibit the symptoms of withdrawal or excessive aggression and "that interpersonal violence is more common in alienated relations and suicide in inauthentic ones". (5,882) The ambiguity arises with the use of "interpersonal violence"; to what does it refer? Aggression amongst the powerless or between the powerless and the power wielders?

Let us consider briefly Etzioni's view of an authentic society, for although he does not discuss the transcendence of alienation and inauthenticity, his view of an authentic society should lend further insight into the causes of alienation and inauthenticity. He suggests that an authentic society is an equalitarian society in which there is equality in: the distribution of goods (for "share of assets in an important source of control"), (5,879), allocation of resources, status-symbols, sexual freedoms, knowledge of the system, and access to its controls. The implications are that inauthenticity and alienation which arise from a structuring of roles such that they inhibit the realization of basic human needs are, in the final analysis the product of an unequalitarian society. An unequalitarian society in which there exists: an instrumental orientation to fellows even amongst elites, hatred of leaders among non-leaders - "targets of open or suppressed hate, great concern with marginal increments over peers, and comparisons to remote groups rather than attention to the extent to which one's own basic needs are responded to. (5,882-3)

Thus, although Etzioni does not explicitly state that the source of alienation lies in the capitalist mode of production,

he comes very close to it in suggesting that an alienative or inauthentic society is one in which there exists inequality in the distribution of resources and assets, sources of control.

Having discussed the cause, condition and transcendence of alienation, let us now turn to a consideration of the consequences of alienation and inauthenticity in terms of protest actions. Etzioni suggests briefly that individuals' protest in an alienative situation is likely to take the form of a political protest, whereas the protest arising out of an inauthentic situation is likely to take the form of a bohemian or hippy protest, in which "there is more stress on society as a lie, and on a search - in part Utopian - for truth and for authentic relations, rather than merely for a share of power and of the control of the allocative processes". Alienation on the other hand is likely to lead to a political protest in which the monopoly of power and wealth is contested". (5,883) If we review the differences between alienation and inauthenticity we are reminded that it is a question simply of "appearances and underlying realities". In an alienative situation it is blatantly apparent that structures are unresponsive to needs. There are various questions which immediately arise out of Etzioni's proposition concerning alienation, inauthenticity and protest. How, for example, do individuals, in an inauthentic situation, come to a realization of the inequalities in the structure. This type of question links up with the problem we posed concerning the differentiation between the subjective and objective conditions of alienation. To facilitate our discussion of the ambiguities which arise out of Etzioni's discussion of alienation and inauthenticity it is useful to schematically illustrate possible alternative interpretations of his theory of alienation and inauthenticity.

Figure I represents the most likely interpretation of Etzioni's theory of alienation and inauthenticity, because in terms of both conceptualization and operationalization, Etzioni maintains a distinction between objective structures and subjective experiences, when discussing alienation. Figure I represents a flow diagram of causation; the letters represent

Alternative Interpretations of Etzioni's theory of
Alienation and Inauthenticity

-104-

Figure I

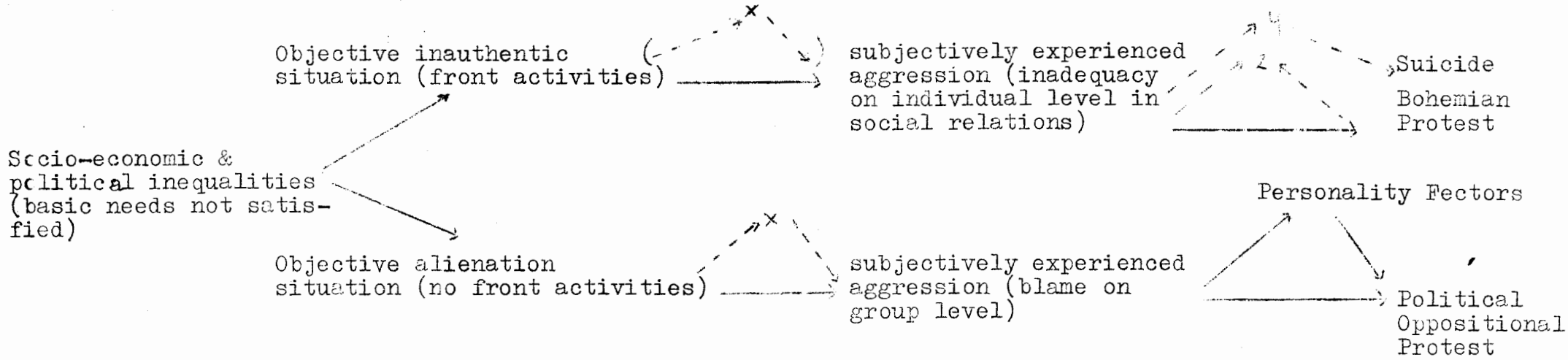
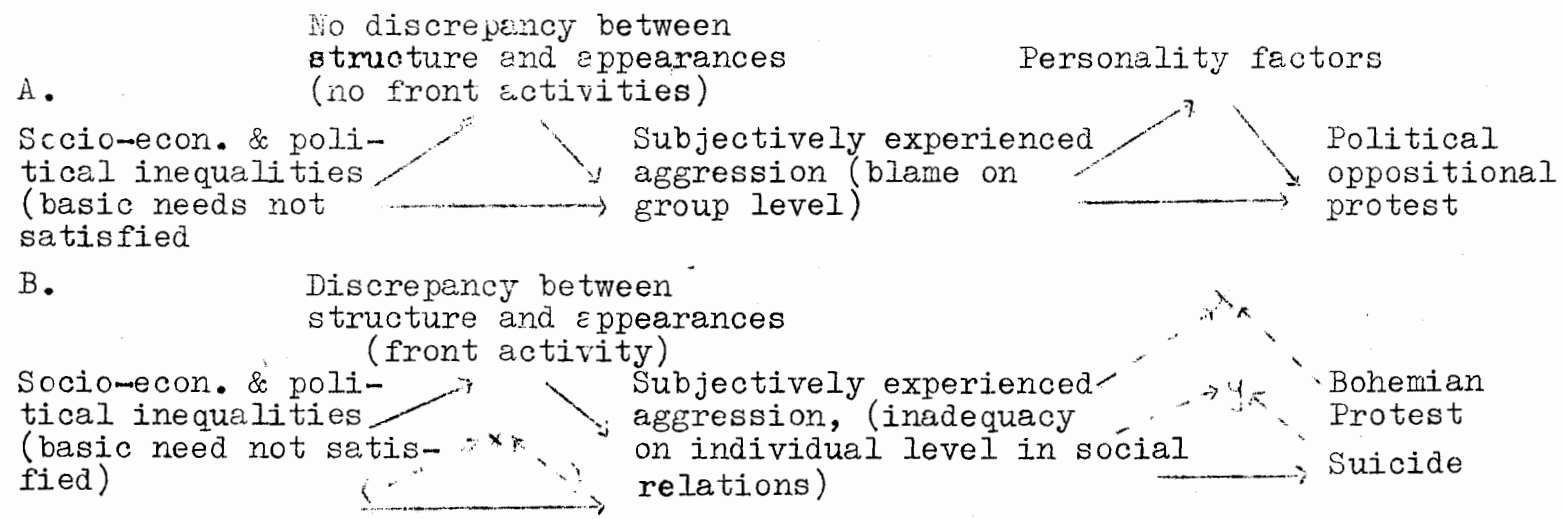


Figure II



unspecified intervening variables. The interpretation of Etzioni's theory as illustrated in figure I is as follows:

Firstly, socio-economic and political inequalities can give rise to two different structural situations which are unresponsive to basic human needs. In a situation of inauthenticity "the underlying structure is unresponsive but an institutional front is maintained". The likelihood is that individuals will experience aggression or discontent on an individual level in terms of their interpersonal relations. It is suggested that this aggression is likely to be internalized to some extent and that feelings of inadequacy will arise. The individual may respond but either calling the authenticity or "truthfulness" of the society into question, or he may commit suicide. Etzioni does suggest that the individual may be totally unaware of the fact that his basic needs are not being met, (although this is an extreme case of inauthenticity, hence the parenthesis). Even though this is highly unlikely Etzioni does not propose hypotheses about the conditions under which such a situation is likely to arise. ¹²⁾ Similarly, with regard to the likelihood of suicide as opposed to a bohemian type of protest occurring no hypotheses are proposed.

If we consider the situation of alienation we are faced with similar "unknowns". Given an objectively alienative situation in which both structures and appearances are unresponsive to basic human needs, it is possible that the individual will not define his discontent, (if any) in terms of a critique of the existing power structure. It is possible that he may have internalized the dominant ideology, for example, and have accepted the blatant inequalities, and unresponsive structures and appearances. Hence it is necessary to stipulate the conditions X under which individuals are likely to subjectively experience alienation as aggression directed against the dominant power group. Similarly one cannot assume that just because

12) It is possible to consider such a situation in terms of idea of reification, and hence to obtain insights about the conditions under which such a situation is likely to arise.

an individual identifies the "oppositional group" source of inequalities, he will then participate in an oppositional political protest. However, in this instance, Etzioni does suggest that one must consider personality factors as important variants in the externalization of aggression.

The striking question that this formulation of alienation and inauthenticity immediately poses is under what conditions are individuals in authentic situations likely to become aware of the "underlying realities". Etzioni's study does not approach a consideration of these "conditions", hence it is not possible to answer that question. And yet it is relevant, for Etzioni suggests that increasingly inauthentic situations are becoming the order of the day. Should we **assume**, thus, that political protests will decrease, and the search for "truth" increase?

Figure II represents the second possible interpretation of Etzioni's theory. The importance of this formulation lies in the opportunity it presents for considering under what conditions inauthenticity is likely to be transformed into alienation. This innovation has important consequences for the conceptualization of alienation and inauthentic situations. The differentiating factor "a discrepancy between structure and appearances" is defined in terms of the subjective point of view of the powerless. In other words, what is important, is the individual's definition of appearances as responsive. Thus, an inauthentic situation would be one in which an individual thought he had a measure of control even if this only entailed being represented by an appointed official. In terms of Etzioni's rather ambiguous definition of "front activities", participation is defined as democratic participation in which an individual either participates personally or elects a representative to represent his interests. An alienative situation would be one in which the individual has no illusions about the inequalities of the system. He clearly recognizes that front activities are just that, front or "symbolic responsiveness".

The difference between alienation and inauthenticity thus would be in terms of the powerless' definition of the situation.

Quite clearly structural or institutional factors would be important determinants of the subjective definition of aggression in terms of either blame or inadequacy. This conceptualization would then closely approximate Marx's theory of the development of class consciousness. With increasing awareness of immiseration and the assigning of blame to power wielders, the powerless would develop a class consciousness which would serve as the basis for political action. Relating Etzioni's theory to Marx's, false consciousness would be characterized as an inauthentic situation, whereas alienation would necessarily imply an understanding of the inequalities arising from a monopoly of power among the elite.

In presenting the two possible interpretations of Etzioni we have to a certain degree, attempted to resolve ambiguities which arise in his work, into two main directions. Necessarily, neither is a complete statement of Etzioni's discussion. In seeking to clarify his work in this manner, however, we have illuminated a novel approach to the study of false consciousness which is worthy of consideration. But let us now turn to a discussion of Etzioni's operationalization of his concepts.

Etzioni, in his study of alienation and inauthenticity has imaginatively attempted to operationalize his conceptualizations. Taking into account the fact that attitudinal studies are not always effective in uncovering latent feelings, Etzioni suggests that we must "turn to tools of social science which prod deeper such as unocused or stress interviews, and projective techniques, to seek if, underneath the apparent euphoria (where it is encountered), there is not a high degree of personal suffering". (5,878) Hence, his empirical indicators are fairly innovative and draw upon the techniques of various disciplines. His work is an eloquent plea for the integration of the social sciences. Let us consider in turn the operationalization of the cause, objective and subjective conditions of alienation.

Although he does not specifically operationalize the causes of alienation, he is very explicit about what constitutes both

an alienated and non-alienated society. Among the various factors he enumerates he chooses to discuss the operationalization of the differences between instrumental and expressive orientations of group members and leaders, referring us to Bales' work. He suggests that we might discover much about the instrumental orientations of the elites if we analyze psychological tests of guards of prisons. His suggestion rests on the assumption that "if the society is a highly commercialized one, the business elites cannot but extend some of the pervading instrumental orientation to fellow-members of their elite and, ultimately, to their view of themselves. Only where men treat each other as members of a community, as having the status of goals - a state which cannot be fully realized but can be approximated - is the leadership itself relatively free from alienation". (5,880) The other factors, such an inequality in the distribution of assets and resources, he states, are fairly straight forward and should not be difficult to operationalize.

Etzioni operationalizes the objective condition of alienation and inauthenticity in terms of both institutional or structural factors, and the social behaviour of the actor. In terms of the individual, inauthenticity is a "surface conformity coupled with an underlying rejection", and on an institutional level, inauthenticity constitutes, "appearances of participation or of other aspects of responsiveness, covering underlying exclusion". With regard to the former, the focus of interest is the division between the actor's public position and private self. In extreme instances, "when the cleavage runs deeper, and the person's consciousness is part of that which is split off his subconscious and basic needs, we must rely on projective techniques or behavioural indicators for what he 'really' prefers". (5,881)

On an institutional level the focus of concern is on manipulation and tokenisms. Equalitarian participation in decision-making can be manipulated by well-trained leaders to elicit the appropriate decisions, or can be limited to participation in making merely token decisions. Another indicator of inauthenticity is "the amounts spend on public relations and other facade

activities as compared to that invested in activities related to the stated goals of given organization". (5,881) "For organizations whose goals are political, medical or educational, differences between the real goals and policies known to insiders, and the stated ones, presented to wider circles of members or outsiders, have often been ascertained". (5,881)

Although Etzioni does not specifically formulate indicators of an alienated social situation, it is easily surmised from his discussion, that an alienated situation is one in which social constraints, restrictive of the gratification of human needs, predominate. He does, however, operationalize the concept of the alienative role. The measure of the alienative role is based on the assumption that "it is more difficult to socialize people to roles which demand submerging the identity of one's efforts in a collective enterprise, i.e. a structure which inhibits individual recognition, than to socialize people to roles which allow for ample individual recognition". (5,874) Thus, if "both socialization costs and those of social control are higher for persons who have been socialized into roles in which their needs for affection and recognition are infrequently satisfied than for roles which offer more frequent satisfaction of these needs, we expect: that given a random sample, more time, resources, attention and manpower will be required to socialize persons into roles which provide less frequent opportunities for affection and recognition; that more time resources, attention, and manpower will have to be devoted to social control, to keep people adhering to the expectations of these roles once they have acquired them, so as to prevent them from seeking roles which are more satisfying or from attempting to change the prescriptions of these roles to be more satisfying; that the direction of the pressure to change will not be indicative of the patterns which are more responsive. Furthermore another indicator of the alienative role would be if "recruitment to one kind of role must be more selective than to the other, i.e. more persons must be screened before suitable ones are found, and if the criteria of selection is not special skills but ease of socialization or search for abnormal personalities - indicative of unnatural quality". (5,874)

Etzioni predicted that alienation and inauthenticity would be differentially experienced: "the alienated person's aggression is likely to be focused and have one or more external targets whereas the aggression of a person in an inauthentic situation will be diffuse and at least in part internalized and bottled up". (5,881) He does not suggest specific empirical measures of these two types of aggression; we are left to surmise that people's subjective experience of alienation will be characterized by aggression toward an external target which blamed for the alienation; whereas people's subjective experience of inauthenticity will be characterized by general dissatisfaction expressed in aggression directed against the total situation, their "reality", and in self-doubt.

Etzioni does devise objective measures of aggression which can be applied in certain cases where alienation and inauthenticity have had an extremely detrimental effect on the health of the individual. He states for instance that illness typically associated with a high level of anxiety is expected to be more common among those in inauthentic situation whereas symptoms of withdrawal or excessive aggression are more prevalent among those in alienative situations. He expects that interpersonal violence would be more common in alienative relations and suicide in authentic ones. Legitimization is an important factor in the expression of outerdirected aggression. (7) In an alienative situation blame is assigned and hence it is quite reasonable to expect that aggression would be outerdirected.

We have certain problems in applying these measures of the two types of aggression. Firstly, they can only be applied in cases in which the individual's health was adversely affected, and yet Etzioni does not specify the conditions under which this is likely to happen. Secondly, one cannot assume that all individuals will experience such extreme aggression. Aggression as used by Etzioni seems to be used as a generic term to apply to anything from extreme aggression directed against oneself or others to undefined discontent. It would be much more useful if Etzioni was more specific about what phenomena he characterizes as aggression or if he specified various intensities of aggression as occurring under various conditions of alienation

and inauthenticity. Thus the task of operationalization would be simplified, also, in the ensuing conceptual clarity.

Notwithstanding certain difficulties which arise in the application of Etzioni's empirical operationalizations, his imaginative operationalization of alienation is an important contribution for our study of Marx's theory of alienation. Although he professes to mesh the marxist and structural functionalist traditions in his study, his conceptualizations are still, for the most part, quite compatible with Marx's. We would go so far as to state that apart from the concept of the "alienated role" (which could equally be interpreted as alienative activity or interaction), Etzioni derives his inspiration from the marxist tradition.

Conclusions: Empirical Studies of Alienation

In this chapter we have concentrated on analyzing both empirical studies of alienation which purport to be based on, in some measure, a marxist orientation to alienation, and a theoretical study of alienation with empirical operational reference which draws much of its inspiration from an attempted synthesis of marxism and structural-functionalism. The major problem we posed ourselves at the outset was to evaluate empirical studies of alienation in terms of their attempted operationalization of alienation within the marxist tradition. The purpose in doing so was: to discover the state of empirical research on alienation, to identify the problems which must be resolved in seeking to empirically investigate Marx's theory of alienation, and to seek out innovative ways of operationalizing and conceptualizing alienation which suggest means for circumventing some of the problems which come to light.

The empirical studies can be classified broadly into two categories: empirical studies of social-psychological subjective experiences of alienation, and, empirical studies of alienation as a sociological process which structures social relationships and gives rise to certain psychological states. With regard to the first category represented by Seeman's and Dean's work, the conceptualizations of alienation are simply a description of

a number of subjective "feeling" states, some of which are related to Marx's discussion of the subjective feeling of estrangement, others related to conceptualization more reminiscent of Durkheim's and Merton's work. These studies, on which are based, with few exceptions, empirical investigations of alienation, do not adequately conceptualize or operationalize Marx's theory of alienation, nor for that matter even provide empirical indicators of estrangement as explicated by Marx. Considered simply as studies of alienation, these studies are inadequate, for it is not very meaningful to know that individuals feel alienated without exploring the consequences of these feelings in terms of their social actions and determining ways in which their alienation may be transcended.

The three studies of alienation as a sociological process which structures social relationships and gives rise to psychological states are quite diversified. Blauner's study of Alienation and Freedom is an attempt to discern the type of structural differentiation which is likely to intensify alienative feelings. Although acknowledging his debt to Marx, he conceptualizes alienation as the inevitable, inescapable consequence of industrialization, and suggests that the vital question to pose is, under what conditions can alienation be minimized. He incorporates Seeman's social psychological dimensions but does attempt, when operationalizing these dimensions, to draw a clear distinction between the objective condition and subjective experience of alienation. Although Blauner's study can be considered a significant improvement on the average empirical study of alienation in that he attempts to make a study of the cause and condition of alienation, there are serious problems which arise with his study because of the normative bias which structures the type of questions posed and defines the limits of acceptable explanation. Nevertheless, Blauner's study is of value, for the operationalization of some of the dimensions of alienation are very imaginative, and shall, as we will shortly see, prove useful as a source of inspiration of innovative operationalizations.

Allardt's analysis of types of protests and alienation promised to be interesting and informative. But it became rapidly apparent that our expectations would not be realized if Allardt continued to incorporate in his study several theoretical

orientations on alienation, anomie, relative deprivation and the like, particularly in that these orientations were not well-integrated.

We were left to conclude that Allardt's study was not an original contribution; the proposed synthesis of Seeman's and Smelser's work and incorporation thereof in his solidarity model based on Durkheim's Division of Labour served only to demonstrate the flexibility of Smelser's theory of collective behaviour.

A study of Smelser's theory (15) readily reveals, however, that it is also inadequate for our stated purpose. His theory is formulated within the structural-functionalist tradition, and stresses the importance of social integration in the regulation of social conflict. Social conflict arises from imbalances within the social system, and collective behaviour is seen as an "uninstitutionalized" attempt to reconstitute the components of social action which are defined in terms of a normative order. Marx on the other hand is concerned with problems of system integration as opposed to social integration based on the acceptance of a normative order. Social conflict arising from contradictions which exist within the economic structure. An analysis of the inherent contradictions between the relations and forces of production is essential for both explaining and affecting a change in society.

Although Smelser's analysis is seemingly compatible with Marx's, in that he locates strain in deficient systemic integration, he does not at all specify the type of systemic malfunctioning he has in mind. Neither does he give primacy to any subsystem as determinant in structuring social action. As regards mobilization for action and the development of a collective consciousness, Smelser has little to offer also. His theory does not allow for a consideration of "false consciousness", nor does it provide an adequate explanation of how individuals come to define their anxiety as the result of a lack of situational facilities or what have you. We are still faced with the problem of explaining how individual grievances become reformulated into a critique of the existing power structure, how an individual protest is transformed into a group or class protest of a collective nature.

Referring back to Allardt's study, other factors mitigating against a contribution to the study of alienation include: firstly, the fact that his hypotheses were not substantiated; secondly, the lack of clarity on a conceptual level; thirdly, the poor attempt to operationalize his concepts, his operationalizations were essentially broad generalizations about the division of labour and normative integration, he does not operationalize Seeman's dimensions of alienation which he incorporated centrally in his analysis of alienation.

In conclusion, it must be stated that Allardt's study of protest and alienation is of no use to our particular study. Neither is it a contribution to political sociology on either a theoretical or empirical level.

The promise of a stimulating study in Greenberg analysis of Poverty and Politics, proved to be justified. Although his study of alienation is limited to the study of "political alienation", problems came to light which were of relevance to our study. The contribution, admittedly, is primarily negative, for we concluded that, although Greenberg's study included a consideration of the cause, condition, and consequence of political alienation, the composite whole was not an explanation of theory of social action or intention. He correlated an expression of political discontent with a particular orientation toward political action but he did not explain the diversity of expressions of political discontent or estrangement. The major question revolved around the problem of sensed inefficacy or efficacy vis á vis the dominant power wielders. Why did some poor neighbourhoods experience a sense of inefficacy whereas others did not? This relates back to the problem of individuals defining their individual discontent as the result of inequalities in the political and economic system, and acting in terms of a collective consciousness based on an assessment of their position vis á vis the power structure.

Positively, Greenberg's study points to the importance of the analysis of the dominant ideology as a key variable in the

structuring of the relationship of the subjective reality of individuals and their objective social situations. A possible indication of whether the ideology is effective or not would entail an analysis of alienated (objectively defined) individuals' senses inefficacy or efficacy, and the objective realities of the situation. To ~~what~~ extent are these subjective feelings a true or accurate assessment of the objective situation?

Also of significance was Greenberg's attempt to correlate various expressions of political estrangement and political orientations to action. He demonstrated the importance of ideology and self or group definition as important intervening variables in correlating alienation and political responses. Although an individual may feel all the negative effects of political estrangement, he may, nevertheless, engage in active politics, for he may feel (justifiably or not) that he, as an individual or member of a defined group, is able to influence government administration and or politics. Greenberg, in a later chapter in his book, goes on to consider the significance of self-identification in terms of a defined group, for structuring individuals' orientation toward political action.

Thus, although Greenberg's study, in itself, does not resolve the question of the relationship between alienation and politics, it is certainly of value in posing the pertinent questions and in revealing, through its shortcomings, the problems which we must confront in any attempt to operationalize Marx's theory of alienation.

Etzioni's competent and thorough study of alienation and inauthenticity can certainly be considered the best attempt to empirically study alienation. Not only does he consider the cause, and condition of alienation but in addition, he attempts to formulate a relationship between alienation and inauthenticity and political protest. There are certain ambiguities in his analysis which give rise to problems of conceptualization and operationalization, of which, perhaps, the undefined relationship

between alienation and inauthenticity, is the most important.

In carefully analyzing possible interpretations of his theory as represented by figures I & II, we can readily see that certain intervening variables must be specified in an adequate study of the relationship between alienation and political protest. Furthermore, by attempting to posit a relationship between inauthenticity and alienation, we have stumbled upon a novel approach to the problems of false consciousness. Thus, the crucial difference between alienation and inauthenticity can be seen as lack or presence of a subjective realization or comprehension of the inequalities arising from a monopoly of power and unequal distribution of assets and resources. An inauthentic situation would be one in which people are "falsely conscious" whereas an alienative situation would be one in which people are fully aware of their class or group position, and interests. This type of conceptualization of the problem of false consciousness emphasizes the importance of focusing on contradictions in structures and on ideology as expressed in "front activities".

Etzioni's study is not only important on a conceptual level but represents a major advance in the operationalization of concepts. His operationalizations for the most part, will be quite useful, particularly in that they are accurate empirical representations of his concepts, which we noted, are, to a significant degree, compatible with a marxist conceptualization of alienation.

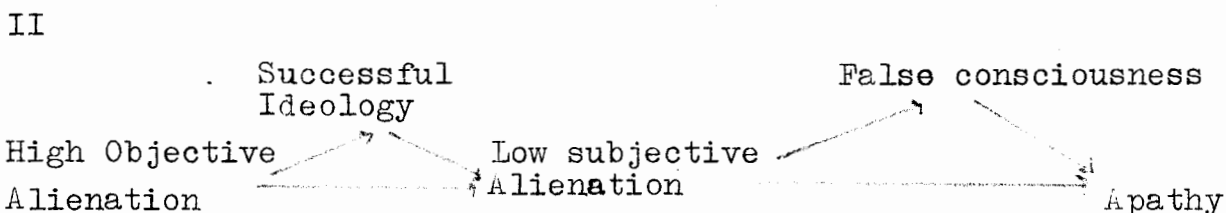
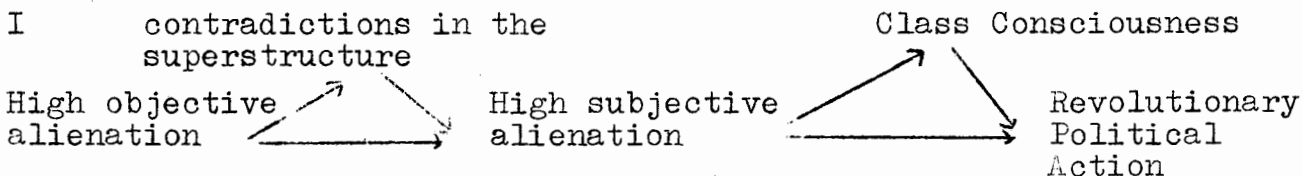
To conclude, Etzioni's study is an important contribution to the study of alienation. It is both imaginative and thorough. Of significance is his grasping of the fact that alienation is not merely a characteristic of the working sphere but is applicable to all social action and interaction in society. When Marx discusses work he is referring to any social activity.

Chapter Four: Concluding Remarks on the Problems of empirically testing Marx's theory of Alienation.

The aim of this study was to illuminate the problems which arise in seeking to test Marx's theory of alienation empirically, and to assess the contributions of empirical studies of alienation to circumvent some of these problems.

In order to facilitate this task an analytical framework was constructed which distinguished the causes, objective and subjective conditions and consequences of alienation. The analytical framework also reveals the implicit theories, of studies, concerning the relationship between man and society, and man and man. In terms of the consequences of alienation the focus of interest was centered on action and intention in the political sphere. The framework, although fairly simplistic, provided a useful tool of analysis and criticism in that it subjected studies to a rigorous analysis of their conceptualization of social processes and conditions of alienation. In this manner the shortcomings of the studies became readily apparent.

Before investigating the empirical studies of alienation, Marx's theory of alienation was elucidated and was seen to comprise a number of hypotheses about the relationship between alienation and political action. These hypotheses can be depicted in terms of two models:



In these two models the relationship between the social processes of alienation and the social conditions(objective) of alienation are taken as given. But, as we stated in our

discussion, investigations could be concerned with demonstrating that the social processes of alienation do produce these social conditions.

The hypotheses which each Figure schematically illustrates are the following: Figure I - Given an objective state of alienation, the workers will experience acute alienation. Through class confrontations and increasing contradictions in the social structure, revolutionary class consciousness will arise, and the workers will attempt to transcend alienation by seizing political power and reconstituting the economic system. Figure II - If workers do not express subjectively their alienation, it is extremely likely that they have fully incorporated the dominant ideology, that their relationships have been reified, divorced from any subjective considerations. In such circumstances one would readily expect that contradictions in the social structure are not readily apparent. The workers will not identify their interests as congruent with the interests of other workers who share their plight. Rather, in accordance with the dominant ideology they will compete against one another for the material benefits of the system.

These models do not do justice to the full complexity of Marx's theory but are useful in tracing the main relationship between alienation and political action.

In a critique of Marx's works it became apparent that there are shortcomings in Marx's work which have not been successfully resolved as of yet. These shortcomings center on the inadequate analysis of the factors which make for class consciousness. Class consciousness is a consequence of both subjective and objective conditions, of contradictions in the economic structure, contradictions between the economic structure and the superstructure and contradictions within the superstructure. Marx focuses primarily on contradictions between the forces of production and relations of production within the economic sphere. His analysis of this relationship has been criticized extensively from the basis of economics. Although the predictions are wrong, the analysis of capitalism is not necessarily invalid. It was shown that "revisionists" and "young marxists" have tended to concentrate on either the subjective or objective factors in studying

consciousness. What is necessary, is a consideration of the relationship between the two. The idea of "overdetermination" is important for sketching contradictions within the superstructure, and between the superstructure and economic structure, but apart from allowing the possibility of revolutionary potential to various groups, there is no link with the subjective aspects of the development of consciousness. Thus, it was also seen through this criticism, that Marx's concept of class is problematic and that, increasingly, class is seen in terms of oppression and exploitation, defined relatively. Furthermore, there was little discussion of the relationship between the alienated analytical understanding of the situation and their decision to act to change the situation. The contribution of revolutionaries, particularly in their discussion of the uses of violence, is significant, to the problem of "hope", or generating commitment.

Having considered these theoretical shortcomings, it is suggested that it is still possible to study Marx's theory in terms of our models. Instead of focusing on the development of class consciousness one could test to see whether class consciousness is relevant to political actions. The influence of ideology on the subjective awareness of alienation and the development of class consciousness is more problematic, however. Nevertheless, it is a pivot of Marx's theory and has seen to be of much significance in the structuring of the everyday realities of man.

We concluded that the empirical studies of alienation were not very helpful as composite explanations of social reality but did provide stimulation in identifying problems. Throughout, in the more complex studies of alienation the problem of class consciousness and ideology predominated. Etzioni in his discussion of inauthenticity and alienation has possibly provided us with a novel approach to the study of false consciousness, in terms of objective contradictions in the structure. His concepts of alienation and inauthenticity, however, would have to be refined somewhat on both operational and conceptual levels. Greenberg's work has demonstrated the importance of ideology and self or group definition as important

intervening variables in correlating alienation and political response.

On an operational level, the studies were not very useful as their conceptualizations differed so radically from Marx's. Nevertheless, the exercise was not fruitless. It pointed out the dangers of choosing a variety of unrelated "dimensions" to characterize the subjective condition of alienation. And of more importance, it revealed the limitations of restricting the study of alienation to the work sphere. Marx's discussion of alienation in the working sphere is used essentially as a specific example to make a general point. Thus, in seeking to study alienation and to conceptualize the conditions of alienation it is important to consider social activity in all spheres of activity.

Hence it is unadvisable to limit the study of the objective and subjective conditions of alienation to the working sphere.

In terms of Marx's theory it would be possible to conceptualize and operationalize the conditions of alienation by focusing on acquisitiveness, reification, competitiveness, the separation of the private and public spheres of activity (in terms of standards of appropriate behaviour, freedom of activity and association). Operationally, one could also consider attitudes to contemporary problems such as pollution, prejudice, structuring of education and the like. In doing so, one would keep in mind, acquisitiveness, competition, and reification. Blauner in his consideration of the worker's control over work has focused on clocked-watching as an operational indicator of boredom and non-fulfillment in working activity. One could equally assess the orientation of the alienated to time, in terms of past, present and future. To what extent are their lives structured in terms of the past, present or future and how does this reflect and support their orientations to problems and people?

The operationalization of class consciousness is quite problematic. In our discussion of Marx we revealed the problems of

defining class interests (which are the basis of class consciousness). Possibly the best approach would be to consider class consciousness as an oppositional orientation to the dominant power structure. This opposition would be based on an understanding of the iniquities of the capitalist system and on experiences of oppression and exploitation.

We have focused on some of the problems of Marx's study and must conclude that they are unresolved as of yet and that the empirical studies of alienation have not been very useful in resolving these problems. It is suggested that further work on both a conceptual and operational level is necessary in order to adequately study alienation within a Marxist approach. The efforts of Etzioni, Greenberg, Althusser, and Gramsci are certainly a step in the right direction.

In terms of the author's struggles with the theory of alienation and concerns with political action, it is now opportune to embark on empirical study of alienation. This conceptual study has been very valuable in clarifying the issues and illuminating problems in considerable detail. However, a practical investigation of alienation will certainly contribute to a better understanding of the operational problems involved (which of course have a bearing on the conceptual level). Subsequent to such an empirical investigation, it would probably be quite fruitful to reconsider the studies we have discussed in this thesis.

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