

POLITICAL ALIENATION

by

Kirk F. Koerner

B.A. University of British Columbia, 1965.

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

Master of Arts

in the Faculty of Arts

Dept. of Political Science

We accept this thesis as conforming to the
required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

April, 1968

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and Study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the Head of my Department or by his representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Department of Political Science

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver 8, Canada

Date April 20, 1968

ABSTRACT

This study attempts to clarify the meaning of the concept of alienation for political science by integrating theoretical discussions and empirical studies of alienation with research on political participation in order to assess the implications of alienation, specifically political alienation, for both political participation and political systems.

To this end, the present study reviews the literature on alienation, both theoretical and empirical. This involves appraisal of the use of the concept by social philosophers, analysis of studies considering alienation as a psychological condition as well as empirical studies concerning the social sources and distribution of alienation. These studies are then related to research on political participation.

The idea of alienation found expression in eighteenth century social and political criticism and is particularly evident in the writing of Jean Jacques Rousseau. Hegel was the first to give systematic consideration to the problem of estrangement; he had an important influence on Marx, who recognized Hegel's insight, but rejected his metaphysical explanation of alienation. Hegel and Marx, in turn have had a profound influence on twentieth century discussions of alienation.

A review of recent literature on alienation indicated that the most frequent meanings attached to the concept of alienation are powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation, self-estrangement, aloneness,

and cynicism. Discussions of personal effectiveness, sense of political efficacy, and political cynicism were found to be related to discussions of alienation.

A review of the literature also indicated that most frequently man is said to be alienated from God, nature, himself, other persons, and from society and culture. Politically, alienated man is said to be alienated from political processes. The causes of estrangement include industrialization involving technological advances, the division of labour and ownership, the transition from *gemeinschaft* to *gesellschaft*, the size of the modern state, and position in the social structure.

Empirical research studies of alienation differ in terms of research objectives, assumptions about alienation, and in terms of the measures and scales used. Review of empirical studies reveals serious research gaps including lack of information on the relationship between age, family cycle, residence, religion, race, and alienation. The review also found that evidence concerning the relationship between alienation and political participation tends to be contradictory, although alienation seems to affect the direction of the vote and the level of political information. More research is required on the relationship between alienation and personality. The need for comparative research is evident. The review of empirical research did find a substantial body of research which indicates that alienation decreases as socio-economic status increases, that women tend to be more alienated than men, that within an organizational context, alienation is highly related to satisfaction with

the organization and that organizational structure itself affects alienation. Finally, organization members tend to be less politically alienated than non-members.

In conclusion, alienation appears to be a promising concept, however, empirical evidence on the question is often lacking or inconclusive, and there is need for further research.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I	INTRODUCTION	1
	Purposes of the Study	2
	Sources of Data	3
	Review of the Literature	6
	Measurement of Alienation	10
	Definition of Terms	13
	Procedure	13
II	ALIENATION AND POLITICAL ALIENATION	15
	The Evolution of the Concept	15
	Political Alienation	20
III	SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION	27
	Social Participation	27
	Political Participation	33
IV	ALIENATION AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION	38
	Socio-Economic Factors Associated with Political Alienation	39
	Alienation and Personality	45
	Political Alienation and the Degree and Direction of Political Participation	51
	Conclusion	54
V	SOURCES OF ALIENATION	56
	Political Culture	57

CHAPTER	PAGE
Structure and Process	61
VI SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	66
BIBLIOGRAPHY	69
APPENDIX	82

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The theme of alienation, as Robert Nisbet suggests, "has reached an extraordinary degree of importance. It has become nearly as prevalent as the doctrine of enlightened self-interest was two generations ago. It is more than a hypothesis, it is a perspective."¹ To Ernest Becker, the idea of alienation "may well be for twentieth century man what 'Liberty' was for the Enlightenment . . . "² Yet the theme of alienation is not new and students of the concept have traced it back to Calvin for whom it meant man's fall from grace and eternal separation from God,³ to the Old Testament concept of idolatry,⁴ and to Plato, for whom "being was less than the good."⁵

¹Robert A. Nisbet, The Quest for Community (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953), p. 15.

²Ernest Becker, Beyond Alienation: A Philosophy of Education for the Crisis of Democracy (New York: George Braziller, 1967), p. 88.

³Lewis Feuer, "What is Alienation? The Career of a Concept," Sociology on Trial, Maurice Stein and Arthur Vidich, editors (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1963), pp. 127-147.

⁴Erich Fromm, Marx's Concept of Man (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1961), p. 44.

⁵Becker, op. cit., p. 89.

Frequently, the term alienation is used indiscriminately without explicit definition and some writers define it so broadly that it becomes meaningless for purposes of analysis. Often, alienation is confused with related terms such as anomie with which it is sometimes used interchangeably and it is often defined as a free-floating psychological state without specification of the social and personal sources of this condition. Frequently, theoretical discussions of alienation make no reference to related empirical research, or assess its implications in terms of behaviour, and there are few studies which examine or discuss the consequences of alienation for political behaviour and political systems.

I PURPOSES OF THIS STUDY: THE PROBLEM

The purpose of this study is to examine the historical development of the concept of alienation and to synthesize relevant empirical research in order to assess the impact of the concept of alienation on political participation in political systems. To this end, this study will consider the following questions:

- 1) what is meant by the term alienation and what is the meaning of political alienation;
 - 2) is alienation a concept relevant to political analysis;
 - 3) who are the politically alienated;
 - 4) what is their orientation to the political system and its components;
 - 5) how does alienation affect political participation;
 - 6) what are the determinants of political alienation;
- and

- 7) what are the implications of political alienation for political behaviour in political systems?

II SOURCES OF DATA

This study of the concept of alienation and its application to political participation in political systems is based on a review and analysis of relevant literature on alienation. This literature can be classified into several categories which are not necessarily discrete or mutually exclusive, as follows:

1. Discussions of the origin and evolution of the concept, including attempts at definition and assessments of its usefulness. Numerous writers have successfully traced the development of the concept from a particular starting point, whether it be Plato, the Hebrew Prophets, or Calvin, discussed its evolution from Hegel through Marx to the present, and have tried to define what is meant by alienation.⁶
2. Analysis of the Marxian concept of alienation. The writing on Marx's concept of alienation includes polemical works⁷ as well as attempts to clarify what Marx meant by alienation including a "great debate" on whether or not Marx abandoned the

⁶There are numerous discussions of this nature, but see especially: Fromm, op. cit., pp. 1-83; Becker, op. cit., pp. 87-113; Feuer, op. cit., pp. 127-147; and Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," American Sociological Review, XXIV (December, 1959), pp. 783-91.

⁷For a collection of essentially polemical articles see: Herbert Aptheker (ed.), Marxism and Alienation: A Symposium (New York: Humanities Press, 1965).

concept in his later works along with consideration of Marx's forerunners, Hegel and Feuerbach, and their influence on him.⁸

3. Discussions in which the concept or idea of alienation is a central theme in analyzing the quality of human experience and linking this to social situations and structures. Such analyses often contain conceptions of desirable programmes for change to minimize the influence of alienation. These discussions have considered the implications of the transition from gemeinschaft to gesellschaft, with a concomitant increase in normative uncertainty, secularization, and the decline of moral certitudes. They suggest that political alienation stems from the size and complexity of the modern state; the technical nature of political questions combined with a lack of adequate political information on the part of the masses; and the remoteness of political decision makers. These general themes are echoed not only by Marx and the Marxists, but also by Weber, Durkheim, Toenies, Simmel, and, more recently by Mannheim, Nisbet, Merton, MacIver, Mills, Kahler, De Grazia, Pappenheim, Becker, and others.⁹
4. Empirical studies of alienation which focus on the social and

⁸There is a vast literature on this subject, but see especially; Sidney Hook, From Hegel to Marx (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1962), "Introduction."; Daniel Bell, The End of Ideology (New York: The Free Press, 1960), Chapter XV; Eugene Kamenka, The Ethical Foundations of Marxism (New York: F.A. Praeger, 1962); and Robert C. Tucker, Philosophy and Myth in Karl Marx (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961).

⁹H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (trans), From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946); Emile Durkheim,

personal characteristics of those identified as alienated. Such sociological studies differ in terms of research objectives, assumptions about alienation, and the measures used to identify the alienated individual. Although psychiatrists have become interested in the question of alienation recently,¹⁰ unfortunately few studies systematically assess personality characteristics of the alienated in terms of political participation and electoral choice.¹¹

Suicide, A Study in Sociology, J.A. Spaulding and George Simpson, trans. (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951); Ferdinand Toonies, Community and Society (Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft), C.P. Loomis, trans. (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1957); Kurt H. Wolff (trans.), The Sociology of George Simmel (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1950); Karl Mannheim, Man and Society in An Age of Reconstruction (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1954); Nisbet, op. cit., R.K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (New York: The Free Press, 1957); R.K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (New York: The Free Press, 1957); R.K. Merton, Mass Persuasion: The Social Psychology of a War Bond Drive (New York: Harper and Bros., 1946); Robert M. MacIver, The Ramparts We Guard (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1950); C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959); C. Wright Mills, The Sociological Imagination (New York: Grove Press, 1959); Erich Kahler, The Tower and the Abyss; An Inquiry into the Transformation of the Individual, (New York: George Braziller, 1957); Fritz Pappenheim, The Alienation of Modern Man, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1959), and Becker, op. cit.

¹⁰There are many studies and discussions of this nature. An excellent anthology containing numerous such articles is: Maurice Friedman (ed.), The Worlds of Existentialism: A Critical Reader (New York: Random House, 1964); see also R.D. Laing, The Politics of Experience and the Bird of Paradise (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967).

¹¹See, however: Kenneth Keniston, The Uncommitted: Alienated Youth in American Society (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1960); and Herbert McClosky and John H. Schaar, "Psychological Dimensions of Anomy," American Sociological Review, XXX (February, 1956), pp. 14-40.

The theme of alienation is found also in contemporary art and literature but this study does not include such material.¹² In contemporary philosophy, particularly existentialist thought, the concept of alienation has had a central role.¹³ This study draws on existentialist thought where appropriate in considering the social sources and implications of alienation but it does not attempt to synthesize all of the works of particular thinkers in this area. Since this study seeks to relate research on political participation to studies of political alienation, relevant reviews of the literature on organizational participation in general¹⁴ and political participation in particular¹⁵ are included.

III REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This study is itself a review of the literature about alienation; consequently this section will note only those works which have reviewed the literature on alienation. Some reviews have examined the literature

¹²See, however: Ernst Fisher, The Necessity of Art (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963).

¹³See F.H. Heinemann, Existentialism and the Modern Predicament (New York: Harper and Row, 1958), p. 9.

¹⁴Two comprehensive reviews of the participation literature are: Edmund de S. Brunner, An Overview of Adult Education Research (Chicago: Adult Education Association, 1959), pp. 102-18; and Coolie Verner and John S. Newberry Jr., "The Nature of Adult Participation," Adult Education, VIII (Summer, 1958), pp. 208-22.

¹⁵Bernard Berelson and Gary A. Steiner, Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1964), pp. 422-28; and Lester M. Milbrath, Political Participation (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1965), pp. 78-81.

for the purpose of defining alienation or to identify the sources of it. Some have summarized empirical studies in sociology and political science, and some reviews have appraised the research methodology of the various empirical studies.

The principal review of works about the concept of alienation itself is that of Melvin Seeman.¹⁶ He isolated five separate meanings which have been attached to the concept of alienation and lists these as powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation, and self-estrangement.

Seeman found the idea of powerlessness to be central to Marx's understanding of alienation and to Max Weber's discussion of bureaucracy. Seeman suggests that the notion of powerlessness is the most common meaning attached to the concept of alienation in contemporary social theory. He also finds that the ideas of alienation-as-meaninglessness and alienation-as-normlessness are central ideas in contemporary social theory. The discussion of normlessness was particularly crucial in the Durkheim and Merton discussions of anomie. Seeman found that the idea of alienation-as-isolation is most common in those discussions concerned with the role of the intellectual. The final variant of alienation, identified by Seeman as self-estrangement, was found to be central to Fromm's discussion of alienation.¹⁷

Seeman approached the concept of alienation from an essentially

¹⁶ Seeman, op. cit., pp. 783-91.

¹⁷ Erich Fromm, The Sane Society (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1955).

historical and thematic perspective. Although he made no attempt to relate the variant concepts, he did try to identify them in specific operational terms. Both Dean¹⁸ and Middleton¹⁹ also reviewed the literature from the point of view of definition but they do not differ from Seeman in any significant degree.

Two reviews tried to determine the most frequently mentioned sources or causes of alienation. Feuer not only traced the evolution of the concept, but also isolated six principal modes of alienation as discussed in the literature he reviewed. He identified these as the alienation of:

- 1) class society,
- 2) competitive society,
- 3) industrial society,
- 4) mass society,
- 5) race, and
- 6) the alienation of the generations.²⁰

He concluded his analysis by questioning the essential utility of the concept itself in view of the fact that "its dimensions will be as varied as human desire and need."²¹

Scott, too, reviewed the literature from the point of view of the

¹⁸Dwight G. Dean, "Alienation: Its Meaning and Measurement," American Sociological Review, XXVI (October, 1961), pp. 753-758.

¹⁹Russell Middleton, "Alienation, Race and Education," American Sociological Review, XXVII (December, 1963), pp. 973-77.

²⁰Feuer, op. cit., p. 137.

²¹Ibid., p. 143.

sources of alienation and developed a four-fold typology including alienation from facilities, roles, norms, and values.²² Scott tried to group numerous discussions of alienation into his four categories and emphasized that "the psychological states of alienation, or so-called variants . . . do not correspond to any single source. Between the sources and the variant falls the shadow of indeterminacy."²³

Mizruchi²⁴ and Erbe²⁵ have reviewed research on alienation from the fields of sociology and political science. Mizruchi discussed various studies separately without attempting to synthesize the research findings. Erbe reviewed research studies relating political participation to alienation and alienation to socio-economic status. Although incomplete, it indicates that numerous studies have found that the level of alienation decreases as socio-economic status increases and that the greater his rate of participation in social organizations the less likely is the individual to be alienated.

Neal and Rettig²⁶ reviewed empirical studies of alienation primarily in terms of research methodology. They conclude that the various studies of alienation "differ in research objectives, in assumptions about alienation, and in operational criteria."²⁷

²²Scott, op. cit., pp. 239-52.

²³Scott, op. cit., p. 241.

²⁴Ephraim H. Mizruchi, Success and Opportunity (New York: Free Press, 1964), Chap. 2.

²⁵William Erbe, "Social Involvement and Political Activity: A Replication and Elaboration," American Sociological Review, XXIX (April, 1964), pp. 198-215.

²⁶Arthur G. Neal and Saloman Rettig, "On the Multi-dimensionality of Alienation," American Sociological Review, XXXII (February, 1967), pp. 54-61.

²⁷Ibid., p. 62.

Although there has been much theorizing on the subject, there are large lacunae in empirical research on political alienation. Specifically, the bulk of research has been conducted in the United States and the empirical studies of alienation differ in terms of research objectives, assumptions about alienation, and in the measures and scales used. Because of this, caution must be exercised in drawing conclusions or making generalizations about the degree, distribution, and consequences of political alienation on the basis of existing empirical studies.

IV THE MEASUREMENT OF ALIENATION

Empirical studies of alienation have spawned numerous measures and scales with each reflecting to a certain degree the researcher's understanding of the concept of alienation. Three scales seem to measure what Erbe has termed "retreatist alienation" involving apathy, despair, and passivity.²⁸ Among the most frequently used measures of retreatist alienation is Srole's 5-item anomia scale²⁹ which satisfies the criterion of unidimensionality and is a Guttman-type scale.* The scale is based on Srole's definition of anomia as the feeling of self-to-others alienation. Srole attempted to measure the relationship between anomia, authoritarianism and race prejudice. Others have used this scale to determine the

²⁸William Erbe, op. cit., pp. 198-215.

²⁹Leo Srole, "Social Integration and Certain Corollaries: An Exploratory Study," American Sociological Review, XXI (December, 1956), pp. 709-716.

* See Appendix I.

social characteristics of the alienated³⁰ or to determine the relationship between anomia and voting behaviour.³¹

A second scale devised to measure retreatist alienation is Nettler's scale which assesses commitment to popular culture,³² and a third measure was developed by Dean who constructed three Likert-type scales to measure powerlessness, normlessness, and social isolation as well as interest apathy, information apathy, behaviour apathy, and voting apathy.³³ Dean found that powerlessness, normlessness, and social isolation were so highly intercorrelated that he could combine them into a single measure of alienation.

Srole's conceptualization of anomia as retreatist alienation has been criticized by Campbell³⁴ and Middleton³⁵ among others. As Middleton suggests, "although pessimism and cynicism or despair may ordinarily accompany anomia, they do not in themselves constitute it, and the degree of association is an empirical question."³⁷ In addition to conceptual criticism, Campbell considers Srole's measuring techniques to be crude and

³⁰ Dorothy L. Meier and Wendell Bell, "Anomia and Differential Access to the Achievement of Life Goals," American Sociological Review, XXIV (April, 1959), pp. 189-202; and E.H. Mizruchi, Success and Opportunity (New York: The Free Press, 1964).

³¹ William Kornhauser et al., When Labor Votes: A Study of Auto Workers (New York: Basic Books, 1956).

³² Gwynn Nettler, "A Measure of Alienation," American Sociological Review, XXII (December, 1957), pp. 670-677. See Appendix I.

³³ Dwight G. Dean, "Alienation and Political Apathy," Social Forces, XXXVIII (March, 1960), pp. 185-189.

³⁴ Angus Campbell, "The Passive Citizen," Acta Sociologica, VI (fasc. 1-2), p. 13.

³⁵ Russell Middleton, "Alienation, Race, and Education," American Sociological Review, XXVIII (December, 1963), pp. 973-977.

³⁷ Middleton, op. cit., p. 973.

the results therefore inconclusive.³⁸ He suggests that it may be wise to distinguish between social or cultural detachment and political alienation on the basis of whether estrangement is active or passive. "Personal detachment from community activities and associations does not necessarily imply active rejection of them. The detached person may simply never have learned to communicate at the community level or the physical circumstances of his life may make communication difficult."³⁹ The Srole, Nettler, and Dean measures do not determine whether rejection is active or passive, but they do measure attitudes about the responsiveness of political leaders and are relevant to this study.

Angus Campbell draws a sharp line between "social detachment" and "political alienation". The alienated, as he uses the term, are suspicious, distrustful, hostile, and cynical. "They believe that political office holders are corrupt, self-seeking and incompetent, and that the whole political process is a fraud and a betrayal of the public trust."⁴⁰ If political alienation is conceptualized in terms of cynicism and distrust, various measures of misanthropy and political cynicism are relevant to studies of political alienation. One such measure is Rosenberg's widely used "faith in people" scale.⁴¹ It contains five items and is a

³⁸Campbell, loc. cit.

³⁹Ibid., p. 14.

⁴⁰Campbell, loc. cit.

⁴¹Morris Rosenberg, "Misanthropy and Political Ideology", American Sociological Review, XXI (December, 1956), pp. 690-695. See Appendix.

Guttman type scale. Another scale of the same type is the political cynicism measure developed by Agger et al.⁴²

Several studies define alienation in terms of feelings of powerlessness and negative evaluations of this condition involving cynicism toward and distrust of political leaders.⁴³ Seeman, for example, defines powerlessness as "the expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behaviour cannot determine the occurrence of the outcomes or reinforcements he seeks." He considers this feeling to be a major component of alienation.⁴⁴

V DEFINITION OF TERMS

The analysis of the term alienation as it has been used in the literature is a major task of this study. In the use of the term in this study, alienation will be considered to be a relational concept which identifies a specific and particular orientation that an individual has to social processes and objects. With respect to political participation and the orientation of an individual to political systems, the term alienation involves estrangement from the values, norms, roles, or facilities of a political system and is used in that sense in this study.

VI PROCEDURE

In meeting the purpose of this study the literature relating to the

⁴²Robert E. Agger et al., "Political Cynicism: Measurement and Meaning," The Journal of Politics, XXIII (August, 1961), pp. 477-506. See Appendix.

⁴³See, for example: Wayne E. Thompson and John E. Horton, "Political Alienation as a Force in Political Action," Social Forces, XXXVII (March, 1960), pp. 190-195. Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," American Sociological Review, XXIV (December, 1959), pp. 783-91.

⁴⁴Seeman, op. cit., pp. 783-91.

concept of alienation has been reviewed and analyzed. The salient ideas have been codified and arranged systematically. At the outset, the literature has been analyzed to trace the evolution of the concept of alienation historically and to seek definitions that will provide a structure for the analysis of political alienation. In pursuing the definition of the term, it was determined that alienation can be meaningfully studied by using the structure for analysis which involves the four basic components of social action identified by Smelser:⁴⁵

1. Values, the ends or goals of social behaviour.
2. Norms, the legitimate regulatory rules governing the means for pursuing ends or goals.
3. Roles, the patterned organization of individuals or groups in society.
4. Facilities, the means available to the actor to perform a role.

This structure is then applied to political participation by analyzing alienation from political values, norms, roles and facilities. Specifically, this provides a structure useful in examining how an individual or group relates to the political system as a whole as well as to specific political structures, processes, roles and behaviour. This leads to a more detailed analysis of particular aspects of alienation as they relate to attitudes about political input processes and evaluations of one's self as a participant in those processes.

⁴⁵Neil J. Smelser, Theory of Collective Behaviour (New York: The Free Press, 1963), p. 24-25.

CHAPTER II

ALIENATION AND POLITICAL ALIENATION

Participation in political processes in the society is related to participation in all other social systems in a society. Consequently, alienation from the political system is related to alienation from society itself. In order to approach an understanding of political alienation, therefore, it is necessary first to examine the very broad and general concept of alienation itself. This can be facilitated by an examination of the historical evolution of the concept of alienation. In turn, analysis of the various meanings attached to the concept can lead to a definition of alienation that has functional utility for an assessment of political participation.

I THE EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPT

Erich Fromm suggests that the idea of alienation was first expressed in western thought in the Old Testament concept of idolatry in which there was a protest against the reification of man-created objects.¹ To others, the idea of alienation is as old as literary history.² Although the theme

¹Erich Fromm, Marx's Concept of Man (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1961), p. 44.

²John H. Schaar, Escape from Authority (New York: Basic Books, 1961), p. 174.

of alienation is not new, twentieth century discussions of the problem are probably most closely related to eighteenth century social and political criticism which was centred mainly in France.

It was characteristic of enlightenment thinkers to believe in the possibility of happiness and progress under reason and to believe that reason provided a standard for evaluating both personal conduct and social institutions. To a considerable extent, the utilitarianism of Helvetius, Holbach's attack on religion and government, and Condorcet's belief in the possibilities of education, echo contemporary discussions of the alienating effects of existing conditions in the social structure.³

Rousseau, too, was critical of the social order he found in France, though his criticism differed from his contemporaries in many significant respects.⁴ Rousseau believed that man is basically neutral but formed and shaped by his community and is nothing apart from it.⁵ According to Plamenatz,

There is in Rousseau a conception, rich though confused, of alienated man, of man deeply disturbed, psychologically and morally, by the pressure of society on him, of man 'outside himself' . . . driven by his environment to seek satisfaction where it is not to be had⁶

³For discussions of 18th Century thought see: Paul Hazard, European Thought in the Eighteenth Century, trans. J. Lewis May (New York: Meridian, 1963); George H. Sabine, A History of Political Theory (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961), Chap. 27.

⁴C.E. Vaughan (ed.), The Political Writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915).

⁵Ernest Becker, Beyond Alienation: A Philosophy of Education for the Crisis of Democracy (New York: Braziller, 1967, p. 102.

⁶John Plamenatz, Man and Society (London: Longmans, 1963), II, p. 40.

Plamenatz suggests that this idea is lacking in the early socialists, French and English, but that the idea of alienation closely links Rousseau to Hegel and Marx who are in turn linked to the contemporary debate on alienation. Current discussion of alienation therefore, has its roots, in the eighteenth century.

The concept of alienation or estrangement was central to Hegel's socio-philosophical system and he was one of the first to give extensive consideration to the problem. In his Early Theological Writings,⁷ Hegel refers to an original unity between God, nature, and man. Later, this unity becomes fragmented and opposition develops between them. This opposition is an aspect of estrangement; consequently, the over-coming of alienation requires the ultimate reconciliation and re-union of God, nature, and man. As noted by Schaar, "Hegel's largest question was, how can the consciousness of man become total, unified, at rest?"⁸ Hegel tries to answer this question in three works, Logic,⁹ Philosophy of History,¹⁰ and Phenomenology of Mind.¹¹

⁷G.W.F. Hegel, Early Theological Writings, trans. T.M. Knox (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948).

⁸Schaar, op. cit., p. 176.

⁹G.W.F. Hegel, Science of Logic, trans. W.H. Johnston and L.G. Struthers (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1951), 2 vols.

¹⁰G.W.F. Hegel, The Philosophy of History, trans. J. Sibree (New York: Willey Book Co., 1944).

¹¹G.W.F. Hegel, The Phenomenology of Mind, trans. J.B. Baille (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1964).

Hegel's concept of estrangement was modified by Ludwig Feuerbach who, in his Essence of Christianity, took issue with Hegel's notion that alienation involved disassociation between God and man. Feuerbach attributed alienation to the fact that man projects human qualities on to an Absolute God thus negating and diminishing himself.¹² Marx took Feuerbach as a starting point and declared in The Holy Family:

Real Humanism has no more dangerous enemy in Germany than spiritualism or speculative idealism which substitutes 'self-consciousness' or the 'spirit' for the real individual man and teaches with the evangelist 'that the spirit quickeneth everything and that the flesh profiteth not'.¹³

Humanistic elements in Marxian Socialism have been re-discovered by Western Scholars both Marxist and non Marxist that has resulted in a 'great debate' as to whether Marx abandoned his earlier concept of alienation in his later work.¹⁴ Alienation, as Marx defined it in his early writings, particularly his Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts¹⁵ written

¹² Ludwig Feuerbach, The Essence of Christianity, ed. and trans. E.G. Waring and F.W. Strothman (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1957).

¹³ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, The Holy Family (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1956), p. 15.

¹⁴ See: Daniel Bell, The End of Ideology (New York: The Free Press, 1960); T.B. Bottomore and Maximilian Rubel (editors and translators), Karl Marx: Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company 1964, "Introduction"; Lewis Feuer, "What is Alienation? The Career of a Concept." Sociology on Trial, Maurice Stein and Arthur Vidich, editors (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1963), p. 135; Sidney Hook, From Hegel to Marx (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1962), "New Introduction"; Herbert Marcuse, Reason and Revolution (Boston: Beacon Press, 1960), p. 275; Robert C. Tucker, Philosophy and Myth in Karl Marx (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961).

¹⁵ Karl Marx, Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts, trans. T.B. Bottomore, in Erich Fromm, op. cit., p. 97.

in Paris in 1844, has four main aspects: alienation from the products of work, alienation from the process of work, alienation of man from himself and alienation from others. The so-called Revisionists of the Soviet Bloc have tended to adhere to this early concept. Jordan suggests that

the revisionists found in Marx's socialist humanism an alternative to institutional marxism, the importance of which was enhanced by the disclosure of the crimes and cruelties of Stalinism.¹⁶

Various existentialists have been influenced by the discussions of alienation of Marx and Hegel and have sought to extend consideration of the problem beyond the point where they left off.¹⁷ Some of the major insights of Hegel and especially Marx have been incorporated into contemporary sociological and psychological theory and efforts have been made to test some of these propositions through empirical research.

In the evolution of the concept of alienation there have been three main approaches to both the problem and to the meaning of the concept itself. The first approach treats alienation as primarily a psychological phenomenon and seeks to delineate the subjective states associated with it.¹⁸ This approach has obvious limitations because it is essential to specify

¹⁶ Z.A. Jordan, "Socialism, Alienation, and Political Power," Survey (July, 1966), p. 123; see also, Bertman D. Wolfe, "Marxism Today;" Political Thought Since World War II, W.J. Stankiewicz, editor (New York: The Free Press, 1964), pp. 130-42; Daniel Bell, "In Search of Marxist Humanism: The Debate on Alienation," Political Thought Since World War II, W.J. Stankiewicz, editor, pp. 143-58; and Victor Zitta, Georg Lukacs Marxism: Alienation, Dialectics, Revolution, A Study in Utopia and Ideology, (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1964).

¹⁷ See F.H. Heinemann, Existentialism and the Modern Predicament (New York: Harper and Row, 1958), p. 12.

¹⁸ See, for example, Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," American Sociological Review, XXIV (December, 1959), p. 788.

not only the ways in which alienation is manifest, but also the focus of alienation and the agent of estrangement.¹⁹ A second approach considers and categorizes the social sources of alienation, however defined. Scott, for example, contends that an ad hoc listing of the variants of alienation is not too useful because it fails to relate them so his alternative strategy is to determine the social sources of alienation.²⁰ An obvious difficulty with this approach relates to the area of indeterminacy between the sources and outcomes of alienation.

A third and more promising approach involves a narrowing of the field of inquiry; i.e. the specification of particular objects from which the individual is alienated, the examination of an individual's orientations to these objects, the consideration of reasons for these orientations, and assessing any possible behavioural or systems implications. This approach involves asking a related series of questions:

- 1) from what is one alienated,
- 2) who is alienated,
- 3) how is alienation manifested,
- 4) by what is alienation produced, and
- 5) what are the consequences of alienation?²¹

II POLITICAL ALIENATION

In considering the application of the concept of alienation to

¹⁹ Kenneth Keniston, The Uncommitted: Alienated Youth in American Society (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1960), p. 454.

²⁰ Marvin B. Scott, "The Social Sources of Alienation," The New Sociology, Irving L. Horowitz, editor (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 250-251.

²¹ Igor S. Kon, "The Concept of Alienation in Modern Sociology," Social Research, XXXIV (Autumn, 1967), pp. 507-528.

political systems, the third approach noted above provides a functional basis for the analysis of political alienation. This is derived from Smelser's²² discussion of the basic components of social action and the listing of political objects of orientation proposed by Almond and Verba.²³ In this approach, political alienation refers to an individual's attitude toward, appraisal of, and relations to the political world. This encompasses varying kinds and degrees of estrangement from political structures, political processes, and political leadership as well as certain subjective evaluations of the self as a political participant.

Political alienation may involve estrangement from the political system as a whole and its dominant values. This kind of alienation is significant because the stability of the system depends, in part, upon its legitimacy and an underlying consensus as to collective goals or ends.²⁴ Political allegiants tend to regard the system as legitimate because its values coincide with their own;²⁵ political alienates "assign low reward value to goals or beliefs that are typically highly valued in the given society."²⁶

²²Neil J. Smelser, Theory of Collective Behaviour (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963).

²³Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1963), pp. 14-15.

²⁴Robert A. Dahl, A Preface to Democratic Theory (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), p. 133.

²⁵Robert E. Lane, Political Ideology (New York: The Free Press, 1962), p. 162.

²⁶Seeman, op. cit., p. 789.

Political alienation may involve the rejection of or dissatisfaction with the norms governing political behaviour. Such alienation from the norms of society was identified by Durkheim²⁷ who used the word anomie to identify a social condition of deregulation or relative normlessness. This concept has become a central theme in many analyses of modern society. Merton uses anomie to refer to a social situation in which there is an acute disjunction between cultural goals and socially prescribed means to achieve these goals.²⁸ He hypothesizes that in such a situation illegitimate means may be used to achieve certain goals. The term anomie, therefore, most often describes a social condition. On the other hand, Srole has used the Latin equivalent, anomia, to refer to a subjective state, the feeling of self-to-others alienation.²⁹ McClosky and Schaar use the English translation, anomy, to denote

a state of mind, a cluster of attitudes, beliefs, and feelings in the minds of individuals. Specifically, it is the feeling that the world and one-self are adrift, wandering, lacking in clear rules and stable moorings.³⁰

Seeman considers normlessness to be a variant of alienation and defines the anomic situation from the individual point of view as "one in which there is a high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviours are required

²⁷Emile Durkheim, Suicide: A Study in Sociology, John A. Spaulding and George Simpson, editors (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1951), p. 257.

²⁸Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 121-94.

²⁹Leo Srole, "Social Integration and Certain Corollaries: An Exploratory Study," American Sociological Review, XXI (December, 1956), p. 711.

³⁰Herbert McClosky and John H. Schaar, "Psychological Dimensions of Anomy," American Sociological Review, XXX (February, 1965), p. 19.

to achieve given goals."³¹

This alienation from norms, as Smelser indicates, may give rise to a norm-oriented movement, an "attempt to restore, protect, modify, or create norms in the name of a generalized belief."³² Clearly, alienation from norms may involve normative and value commitment but the "frustration of efforts to be politically effective within the framework of those norms."³³

In applying the concept of anomie or alienation from the norms of society to the political situation, Faia suggests that any examination of alienation from political norms involves three basic tasks:

1. determining what the political norms are,
2. comparing these to data on actual political behaviour,
3. identifying those who conform and those who deviate.³⁴

In addition to anomie or normlessness, political alienation may relate also to an individual's orientation towards roles and sets of roles such as political organizations and structures. Included here is an individual's orientation to and attitudes about the "output structures" such as courts, bureaucracies, legislatures, and executives as well as "input structures" including political parties, interest groups, political

³¹Seeman, op. cit., p. 788.

³²Smelser, op. cit., p. 270.

³³John E. Horton and Wayne E. Thompson, "Powerlessness and Political Negativism: A Study of Defeated Local Referendums," American Journal of Sociology, LXV, 1962, p. 486

³⁴Michael A. Faia, "Alienation, Structural Strain, and Political Deviancy: A Test of Merton's Hypothesis," Social Problems, XIV (Spring, 1967), p. 392.

leadership and evaluations of the self as a participant in political processes.³⁵ Some people may be alienated from the output structures but not from the input structures of politics.

According to Campbell, the politically alienated exhibit suspicion, distrust, hostility, and above all, cynicism.

These people believe that political office holders are corrupt, self-seeking and incompetent, that the whole political process is a fraud and betrayal of the public trust.³⁶

They actively reject politics.

Political alienation has also been examined in terms of an individual's evaluation of his personal political role or sense of political efficacy. Thus, those who feel politically powerless believe that their actions cannot determine political outcomes. Discussions of this aspect of political alienation in the literature centre on "alienation from roles" and "alienation from facilities" where facilities refer to the means available to influence political outcomes. In the literature these are identified as powerlessness and meaninglessness. Seeman, for example, defines powerlessness as

the expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behaviour cannot determine the occurrence of the outcomes, or reinforcements he seeks.³⁷

He found this conception to be central to Marx's discussion of alienation and to a certain extent in Max Weber's discussion of bureaucracy. Angus Campbell's understanding of personal effectiveness closely approaches

³⁵ Almond and Verba, op. cit., pp. 14-5.

³⁶ Angus Campbell, "The Passive Citizen", Acta Socio-logica, VI (Fasc. 1-2), pp. 11-12.

³⁷ Seeman, op. cit., p. 784.

Seeman's concept of powerlessness. Campbell assumes that

people begin at an early age to develop a sense of their own capacity to manage the world around them. We think that some people develop a self confident, positive attitude with which they meet the problems of everyday life while others see themselves as characteristically giving way in the face of environmental pressure, unable to manage the conflicting forces which they encounter.³⁸

Meaninglessness, on the other hand, is defined by Seeman as a state in which the individual feels "unclear as to what he ought to believe--when the individual's minimal standards for clarity in decision-making are not met."³⁹ Since political knowledge is a major tool or political facility essential to political participation, the belief that political information is either absent or purposely confusing induces meaninglessness and the consequent alienation from the political process.

Many writers view powerlessness and meaninglessness as synonymous with alienation but this is a fallacy since the alienated need not necessarily feel powerless. The politically alienated may differ in their appraisals of the existing political order, in the degree of their dissatisfaction with the political process, and in terms of their belief in the possibility or necessity of producing political change through either legitimate or illegitimate channels but this is not necessarily powerlessness.

Estrangement or alienation from the political system may involve one or several of the components of social action as identified by Smelser.⁴⁰

³⁸Campbell, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

³⁹Seeman, op. cit., p. 786.

⁴⁰Smelser, op. cit., p. 270.

Disagreement with particular political policies does not necessarily constitute political alienation unless this disagreement is such that it translates into alienation from values, norms, roles, or facilities which are the components of social action. Rather than identify those who disagree with policy as alienated, Almond and Verba consider them to constitute a policy sub-culture or the "population strata that are persistently oriented in one way toward policy inputs and outputs, but are 'allegiantly' oriented toward the political structure."⁴¹

Since this thesis is concerned with the distribution of political alienation within society and with the effect of alienation on political participation it becomes important to discuss (a) the nature of social and political participation, (b) the distribution of political alienation in society, and (c) the effect of alienation on political participation. In effect, what is required is a closer look at the social and cultural environment of the polity from which political demands stem.

⁴¹Almond and Verba, op. cit., p. 27.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Since alienation implies a withdrawal or isolation from society, alienated individuals do not participate actively in the organized group life of a community. The study of alienation, therefore, seeks to explain such isolation. Before considering alienation in more specific detail, it is necessary to examine participation per se as this approaches the question of alienation from a different point of view and provides a measure of the degree of integration in a community.

Participation in political activities and political systems is closely related to general social participation. The participation of individuals in the ongoing group life of a community has been studied extensively and provides a description of those who participate or not that is useful in the analysis of alienation. Furthermore, the analysis of general social participation is a useful background for the assessment of political participation.

I SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

Research into the question of general social participation has been concerned with a determination of the extent to which individuals are actively involved in social structure and systems. It also has sought to identify those factors which appear to exert an influence on participation

by distinguishing between those who do or do not participate in terms of certain socio-economic characteristics.

Participation in the ongoing group life in a community has been examined from a number of different aspects. Formal participation has been studied by measuring membership in voluntary associations. This has tended to concentrate on the static aspects of participation and does not attempt to explain the degree or quality of the involvement of individuals in the organizational activities in a community. In recent years research has concentrated more on the dynamic aspects of involvement by analyzing attendance at meetings, financial contributions, offices held, and committee memberships among other attributes which illustrate the more active involvement of individuals in social organizations and associations.

Informal participation in community life is more complex and imprecise, nevertheless, this aspect of involvement has been studied to some extent. Such participation has been studied by measuring the degree of involvement in various kinds of informal or autonomous groups,¹ by measuring voting behaviour, and similar activities that are separate and distinct from the formally organized life of a community.

The general consensus from participation studies is that a minority of the population in any community is actively involved in social organizations. Brunner notes that "Church membership and participation in religious organizations are generally the most widely reported forms of

¹See: Hinley H. Doddy, Informal Groups and the Community (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952).

contact with formal organizations."² A substantial number of people in a community have no contact of any kind with any formal organizations but the proportions will vary from one area to another and among different groups of people.³ This does not suggest that the non-participants would all be classed as alienated since alienation implies a psychological state of withdrawal which is not necessarily characteristic of the non-joiners.

Social Status

Sociological research on participation has been reviewed recently in two comprehensive reviews prepared by Brunner et al. and by Verner and Newberry.⁴ These reviews indicate that participation in formal associations is closely related to socio-economic status, whether measured by occupation, income, or education.⁵ Brunner et al. indicate that professional-technical and managerial personnel have the highest rates of participation, are involved in the widest variety of associations, and hold a disproportionate number of offices.⁶ Both reviews indicate that income is an important determinant of participation, but stress that the results of income (i.e. degree of social acceptance, heightened sense of

² Edmund deS. Brunner et al., An Overview of Adult Education Research (Chicago: Adult Education Association, 1959), p. 99.

³ Ibid., p. 100.

⁴ Coolie Verner and John S. Newberry Jr., "The Nature of Adult Participation," Adult Education, VIII (Summer, 1958), pp. 208-222.

⁵ Brunner, et al., op. cit., p. 100; Verner and Newberry, op. cit., p. 209.

⁶ Brunner et al., op. cit., p. 102.

civic responsibility, availability of time, availability of resources) are more influential than the amount of income itself.⁷ Education is also related to the rate of participation since education is a determinant of occupation and thus income which usually leads to a higher status position. Consequently, as occupation, income, and educational level increase, so do rates of participation.

Age

Age affects participation in formal associations as young adults participate rarely. The rate increases sharply in the late 20's and early 30's and remains fairly constant until the age of 50 when it begins to decrease with a more rapid decline after age 60,⁸ although "older people tend to retain their earlier membership long after they have ceased to be active."⁹

Sex

Both reviews note that most participation studies have found that sex is related to participation and to both age and social status. "Women in rural areas and from lower socio-economic levels are least active, however, as social status and the degree of urbanism increases, the participation of women increases even in non church related associations.

⁷Ibid., p. 103; Verner and Newberry, op. cit., p. 210.

⁸Brunner, et al., op. cit., pp. 105-106; Verner and Newberry, op. cit., pp. 210-211.

⁹Verner and Newberry, op. cit., p. 211.

Urban, middle class women attend more meetings more regularly, but men in similar situations belong to more organizations."¹⁰

Religion and Race

Religion and the degree of involvement in church activities influence other kinds of participation. Protestants are more active than Catholics in non-church related associations, but Catholics are more active than Protestants in church organizations.¹¹ Verner and Newberry indicate that Jews are significantly more active in formal associations than are Protestants or Catholics.¹²

Finally, patterns of participation among Negroes in the United States closely parallel those of the white race insofar as status and education influence participation¹³ and recent immigrants participate less than those of longer residence.¹⁴

Informal social participation in unorganized or informal and autonomous groups is very difficult to measure because such groups have limited visibility. Such informal participation is found among all strata of society but it tends to be the dominant or only form of participation other than church attendance for those on the lower socio-economic levels. This suggests that the lower strata of society are

¹⁰Verner and Newberry, op. cit., p. 211.

¹¹Ibid., p. 111

¹²Verner and Newberry, op. cit., p. 212.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Verner and Newberry, op. cit., p. 212.

the least involved in the organized group life in the community and can thus be expected to show higher degrees of alienation and less interest in political activities.

In summary, then, the most important characteristics that appear to be related to general social participation are occupation, income and educational level. These socio-economic status variables indicate that those individuals at higher levels are more apt to participate in the organized group life of the community and, conversely, those at the other extreme are less likely to participate.

II POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

There are a number of ways in which individuals can participate in politics. These include voting, working in elections, making financial contributions to political parties, petitioning and writing letters to public officials, reading about politics, viewing or listening to political broadcasts, engaging in discussions about politics, and holding memberships in political organizations.¹⁵ Some of these modes of participation are identical with formal social participation as discussed earlier but much of political participation is informal in character and thus more difficult to assess.

For the most part, political participation does not differ significantly from general social participation with respect to the descriptive characteristics studied. Here too, socio-economic status appears to be the most significant variable influencing all aspects of political participation.

Exposure to political stimuli, interest and involvement in politics, the development of sophisticated beliefs about politics, and political participation itself, are also closely related to socio-economic status. There is a large body of empirical evidence to substantiate the following propositions:

- 1) exposure to stimuli and socio-economic status are positively correlated;¹⁶

¹⁵See: Robert E. Lane, Political Life (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1959).

¹⁶Lester W. Milbrath, Political Participation, (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1965).

- 2) the higher the socio-economic status, the greater the likelihood of becoming psychologically involved in politics;¹⁷
- 3) people of higher socio-economic status tend to feel more politically efficacious;¹⁸
- 4) socio-economic status and political knowledge correlate positively,
- 5) "No matter how class is measured, studies consistently show that higher class persons are more likely to participate in politics than lower class persons."¹⁹

The major exception is noted by Berelson and Steiner. Their review indicates that "political action is relatively high among socio-economic groups in communities in which they dominate the political and/or social spheres."²⁰

Although income is positively correlated with exposure, interest, involvement, sophistication, and participation, it is a less useful measure than either occupation or education for several reasons. First, income results from occupation, and second, while middle-income persons are more likely to be politically active than low-income persons, high-income persons are not likely to be significantly more politically active than middle-income persons.²¹

¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 53-54.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 57.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 116.

²⁰ Bernard Berelson and Gary A. Steiner, Human Behaviour: An Inventory of Scientific Findings (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1964), p. 424.

²¹ Milbrath, op. cit., p. 54.

Occupation is a less useful measure than education because it, in turn, depends on education. Lipset suggests that some occupations involve a great amount of interaction, leadership skills, and awareness of complex problems and that people in these occupations will tend to be more exposed, more interested and participate more in politics.²²

Further, some occupations do not permit much actual leisure-time, time which could be devoted to political stimuli and, according to Lipset, some occupations allow little psychic leisure-time "free of anxieties that can be devoted to non-personal problems."²⁴ Also, the stressfulness of an occupational role will depend upon the incumbent's capacity in that role and upon certain other personality characteristics. Thus, psychic leisure-time depends both on the occupation itself and upon the capabilities and personality of the actor.

Thus, of the three principal socio-economic variables related to participation, education is the most useful with reference to political participation. Research evidence indicates the following:

- 1) a more educated person encounters more political stimuli than a person of lesser education;²⁵
- 2) persons of higher education tend to be more psychologically involved in politics than persons of lower educational status;²⁶

²²Seymour M. Lipset, Political Man (Garden City: Doubleday, 1960), p. 196.

²⁴Lipset, op. cit., p. 198.

²⁵Milbrath, op. cit., p. 44.

²⁶Ibid., pp. 53-54.

- 3) persons of high educational status are more sophisticated about politics than persons of lower educational status;²⁷ and
- 4) "A trend for those with higher education to be more likely to participate in politics has also been found in many Western countries."²⁸

Also with reference to education, Almond and Verba suggest that:

- a) the more educated person is more aware of the impact of government upon the individual than is the person of low education,
- b) he is more likely to follow politics and election campaigns,
- c) he exhibits more political information,
- d) the focus of his attention is wider, and
- e) he is more likely to participate in political discussion.²⁹

They suggest that "more complex attitudes and behaviour depend on such basic orientations as awareness of the political system, information about it, and some exposure to its operations. It is just this basic set of orientations that those of limited education tend not to have."³⁰

It should be remembered that within the various educational strata there are wide differences in the level of political information, interest, and participation. Motivation must also be taken into consideration--

²⁷ Milbrath, op. cit., p. 68.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 122.

²⁹ Almond and Verba, op. cit., p. 381.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 382.

motivation usually increases with education, but involvement in politics is important in its own right and may act as a surrogate for education.

Since this study is concerned primarily with political alienation, the question of political participation will be discussed in more detail from the point of view of the relationship between political alienation and political participation.

CHAPTER IV

ALIENATION AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Much of the empirical research on alienation depicts the alienated voter as "a person who resents being powerless but is tied weakly if at all, to organized groups through which he might wield power; who distrusts those who do exercise power . . ."¹ This conception implies,

- a) a sense of powerlessness or inefficacy relative to expectations,
- b) dissatisfaction with one's own role in the political input process,
- c) dissatisfaction with the agents and agencies in the input process, and
- d) possible dissatisfaction with governmental output.

This conception of the alienated voter suggests that the failure to participate in political action or to become involved in political systems involves both socio-economic and social-psychological factors. The socio-economic factors are those related to status and are, for the most part, consistent with the variables associated with general social

¹Clarence N. Stone, "Local Referendums: An Alternative to The Alienated - Voter Model," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXIX (Summer, 1965), p. 214.

participation discussed earlier. The social-psychological variables related to political participation are those which have been found to be descriptive of the alienated individuals in society. The application of the concept of alienation to political participation, therefore, provides an analysis of the social-psychological factors influencing political participation. These factors include socio-economic characteristics of the alienated as well as certain psychological traits which have found to be descriptive of alienation.

I SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH POLITICAL ALIENATION

Research studies that have sought to analyze the characteristics of the politically alienated have examined the same socio-economic variables which have been used in other kinds of participation studies.

Social Status

Empirical research studies conducted in the United States indicate that socio-economic status and political alienation are closely related and the higher the social status the lower the level of political alienation.² Of the measure of social status, educational level seems to relate more strongly to political alienation than either occupation or

² Dwight G. Dean, "Alienation: Its Meaning and Measurement," American Sociological Review, XXVI (October, 1961), p. 757; Russel Middleton, "Alienation, Race, and Education," American Sociological Review, XXVIII (December, 1963), p. 977; Arthur Kornhauser, et al., When Labor Votes: A Study of Auto Workers, (New York: Universal Books, 1956), p. 101; Robert E. Agger, et al., "Political Cynicism: Measurement

income.³ Agger et al found that "within every income level, the higher the level of education, the lower the proportion of political cynics."⁴

Similar results have been reported from research in other countries. Cantril,⁵ Kornhauser,⁶ and Lipset⁷ found that workers with lower socio-economic status were more alienated than people of higher status in France, Germany and Italy. In their comparative study, Almond and Verba found that those of higher educational level and higher occupational status expressed pride in the political system more frequently than did others in the United States, Britain, and Mexico while in Germany and Italy "level of education seems to have little relationship to the frequency with which political pride was expressed."⁸ Educational level and occupation in these two countries did relate to input and output satisfaction.

and Meaning", The Journal of Politics, XXIII, (August, 1961), p. 487; Wayne E. Thompson and John E. Horton, "Political Alienation As a Force in Political Action", Social Forces, XXVII (March, 1960), p. 192; Dorothy L. Meier and Wendell Bell, "Anomia and Differential Access to the Achievement of Life Goals", American Sociological Review, XXIV, (April, 1959), p. 140.

³Middleton, op. cit., p. 977.

⁴Agger, et al., op. cit., p. 487.

⁵Hadley Cantril, The Politics of Despair (New York: Collier Books, 1962).

⁶William Kornhauser, The Politics of Mass Society, (New York: The Free Press, 1959).

⁷Seymour M. Lipset, Political Man (Garden City: Doubleday, 1960).

⁸Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1963), p. 67.

Age

Research findings on the relationship between age and alienation are inconclusive. One study found that age and alienation are directly related only for people fifty years of age and over.⁹ Another study found that persons 21 to 30 years of age are as likely as those who are over sixty to be politically alienated with the least alienation among those of middle age.¹⁰ Three studies note rather vaguely that the aged are more alienated than other age groups, but do not elaborate.¹¹

Although research evidence is inconclusive, it can be hypothesized that middle-aged people will be more involved in community activities and organizations, have greater opportunity for participation, and will therefore tend to be less alienated than young adults or the aged. Further research is needed on this question, controlling for education and organizational involvement.

Sex

Several studies have found that women tend to be more politically alienated than men.¹² An interesting exception is reported by Zeigler who conducted a random sample of the Oregon teacher population. (N - 803).

⁹Meier and Bell, op. cit., p. 196.

¹⁰Thompson and Horton, op. cit., p. 192.

¹¹Murray B. Levin, The Alienated Voter: Politics in Boston (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960), p. 66; Agger, et al., op. cit., p. 487; Dean, op. cit., p. 757.

¹²Middleton, op. cit., p. 977; Kornhauser, et al., op. cit., p. 191.

He notes that among teachers, men do not feel more politically efficacious than women. He notes further that "certain kinds of male teachers (downward mobile and high stationary) are considerably more alienated than women."¹³ As with sex differentials in terms of political participation, differences in level of political alienation for men and women seem to be related to differences in childhood socialization.

Family Cycle

Only one study tried to determine whether married people tend to be less alienated than single people, or vice-versa. Middleton found that single people are more politically alienated than those who are married.¹⁴

Religion and Race

Two studies found that Protestants and Jews are more politically alienated than Catholics; they do not report whether Jews are more alienated than Protestants, or vice-versa.¹⁵ Campbell reports no relation between religion and political alienation.¹⁶

¹³Harmon Zeigler, The Political Life of American Teachers (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1967), p. 45.

¹⁴Middleton, op. cit., p. 977.

¹⁵Kornhauser, et al., op. cit., p. 191; Levin, op. cit., p. 66.

¹⁶Campbell, "The Passive Citizen," Acta Sociologica, VI (Fasc. 1-2), p. 14.

Two studies report that Negroes in the United States are considerably more politically alienated than whites even if socio-economic status is controlled.¹⁷

Residence

There appear to be no empirical studies examining rural-urban differences in political alienation levels, or the relationship between community identification, length of residence, and political alienation.

Organizational Membership

At least five studies have found that political alienation and anomia are strongly associated with organizational membership--those who are involved in organizations tend to be less alienated politically than those who are uninvolved, and those who are actively involved are less politically alienated than those who are minimally involved.¹⁸ Of these five studies, two of them found that the relationship held even with

¹⁷ Middleton, *op. cit.*, p. 975; Marvin E. Olsen, "Alienation and Political Opinions", Public Opinion Quarterly, XXIX (Summer, 1965), p. 201.

¹⁸ Wendell Bell, "Anomie, Social Isolation, and the Class Structure," Sociometry, XX (June, 1957), pp. 105-116; Dorothy L. Meier and Wendell Bell, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-202; E.H. Mizruchi, "Social Structure and Anomia in a Small City," American Sociological Review, XXV (October, 1960), pp. 645-654; Arthur G. Neal and Melvin Seeman, "Organizations and Powerlessness: A Test of the Mediation Hypothesis", American Sociological Review, XXIX (April, 1964), pp. 216-226; and Melvin Seeman, "Alienation, Membership, and Political Knowledge: A Comparative Study," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXX, (Fall, 1966), pp. 353-367.

socio-economic status controlled.¹⁹

Non-political, middle-class associations will tend to have more politically aware members than most workers' groups. Lazarsfeld et al indicate that involvement in organizations has a more positive effect on political information and political activity for the middle-class than for the lower-class, and that as far as manual workers are concerned, only trade unions have a strong effect on participation.²⁰

There is considerable evidence that nonpolitical group membership is related to political participation: "Persons who are active in community affairs are much more likely than those not active to participate in politics."²¹ Persons belonging to two or more groups may be subject to cross-pressures, i.e. the groups may make conflicting or incompatible demands on the individual in which case political interest and participation will tend to decrease.²⁵

Lipset suggests that membership in non-political groups may stimulate political awareness and involvement, but that the development of interest group organizations whose prime purpose is to arouse awareness of common problems and organize participation in politics is related to

¹⁹ Neal and Seeman, "Organizations and Powerlessness", American Sociological Review, XXIX, p. 226; Seeman, "Alienation, Membership and Political Knowledge," Public Opinion Quarterly, vol. XXX, p. 366.

²⁰ P.F. Lazarsfeld, et al., The People's Choice (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944).

²¹ Milbrath, op. cit., p. 17.

²⁵ Berelson and Steiner, op. cit., p. 425.

a high degree of social intercourse among people who have similar backgrounds and needs.²⁶ He indicates that the intra-class communications network is more intense in the higher strata than in the lower and that the farther one moves down the class ladder the weaker in-group communication becomes.

II ALIENATION AND PERSONALITY

The degree and direction of political participation is a function of personality traits, beliefs, attitudes, knowledge, political information, and the immediate political situation. The study of attitudes, beliefs, and personality is complex and attitudes, beliefs and personality very often must be inferred from behaviour. Personality may or may not be relevant to political participation in a given context because social situations structure behaviour. Lane suggests that the degree of influence that personality may have on political behaviour depends on at least four factors including the degree to which an approved norm for political conduct has been established by the national or local culture, the extent to which economic, social, or political self-interest guide political choice, the degree to which choice is guided by personal experience and information, and the extent to which the individual is subject to cross-pressures.²⁷ Lane notes that "behind the demographic relationships there lurk the unexplored problems of motivation, both

²⁶Lipset, op. cit., p. 194.

²⁷Robert E. Lane, "Political Personality and Electoral Choice," Politics and Social Life, Nelson W. Polsby, et al., editors, pp. 232-33.

for the portion of the vote that is 'explained' in this fashion and even more for the portion which is considered deviant."²⁸ The influence of personality and motivation on political participation is a relatively unexplored area in political science although the so-called trait approach has been used to examine the influence of sociability, ego-strength, dominance-manipulativeness, intellectuality, authoritarianism, anomie, alienation, etc.²⁹ A number of hypotheses have been suggested about the relationship between motivation and political activity as well as between motivation and information-seeking behaviour.

After 70 qualitative interviews with a non-random sample of American adults, Morris Rosenberg offered a number of suggestive hypotheses about determinants of political apathy.³⁰ Political activity, according to Rosenberg, may have certain threatening consequences. It may pose threats to interpersonal harmony, occupational success, and to ego.³¹ He notes also that people who feel that political activity is futile may tend to be politically apathetic³² and suggests that the feeling that political activity is futile may be based on a sense of personal inadequacy, a feeling that political forces are unmanageable, that the outcomes are a

²⁸Ibid., p. 233.

²⁹Milbrath, op. cit., pp. 72-84.

³⁰Morris Rosenberg, "Some Determinants of Political Apathy", Political Behaviour, H. Eulau, et al., editors, pp. 160-164.

³¹Ibid., p. 162.

³²Ibid., p. 163.

foregone conclusion, that there is too great a gap between the political ideal and reality. He also suggests that to some people the subject matter of politics is not psychologically compelling.

Lane and Sears maintain that there are a number of reasons why people either seek or avoid political information. First, political information may be of little utility to the individual and may thus have a lower priority than other kinds of information.³³ Second, a person with a sense of personal inadequacy or low self-esteem may be so involved with his own dilemmas that he devotes little time to political information.³⁴ Third, news about politics may "grate upon the nerves" of the anxious, the insecure, and the very sensitive, therefore, these people may tend to avoid political stimuli.³⁵

In Political Life, Lane suggests that people reject certain kinds of information because it is threatening to them.³⁶ His classification is somewhat similar to Rosenberg's and is based on types of ignorance: cathartic ignorance, status quo ignorance, socializing ignorance, and privatizing ignorance. Cathartic ignorance results from the need to have unchallenged biases for the purposes of emotional argumentation. Status quo ignorance may become evident when a person who is satisfied with the status quo screens out information which might challenge this contentment. Socializing ignorance may be the result of a social need not to appear too informed, the need to remain unaware of information which might make one socially unpopular with one's peer group.

³³Robert E. Lane and David O. Sears, Public Opinion (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1964), p. 65.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Ibid., p. 66.

³⁶Lane, Political Life, pp. 113-114.

Privatizing ignorance may result from the individual's desire to protect himself from threatening news in his environment--the individual may desire to be left alone and political information represents an unwarranted intrusion into his private world.

Another important determinant of information avoidance would appear to be intolerance of ambiguity. Attention to the mass media reveals that few issues are black and white and few are resolved quickly. Thus, the individual who is intolerant of ambiguity might tend to avoid information which would create doubt. Milbrath's review of the literature finds a fair body of evidence to support the following:

- 1) the greater the degree of exposure to political stimuli,
the greater the likelihood of participation in politics
and the greater the depth of that participation;³⁷
- 2) the greater the attraction to politics, the greater the
degree of exposure to political stimuli;³⁸
- 3) the greater the psychological involvement in politics, the
greater the extent of political participation beyond voting;³⁹
- 4) the greater the degree of political sophistication, the greater
the likelihood of political participation;⁴⁰

³⁷Milbrath, op. cit., p. 39.

³⁸Ibid., p. 49.

³⁹Ibid., p. 51.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 64.

- 5) political information-seeking behaviour tends to be cumulative.⁴¹

It is also possible to relate exposure to political stimuli, psychological involvement in politics, political sophistication and political participation itself to various demographic and social factors.

The only adequate in-depth study of the politically alienated is by Kenneth Keniston who focused primarily on retreatist alienation.⁴² He found that the fathers of the alienated and uncommitted tended to be practical men devoted to career success whereas the mothers of the alienated tended to be hypocritical idealists who criticized their husbands, yet enjoyed the fruits of business success. From these and other childhood-related experiences arose an extremely negative view of adulthood on the part of the alienated, a conscious longing for deep perception and feeling, a sense of fragmented identity, a negative core ideology, and a fear of commitment in any direction. However,

Beneath the alienated emphasis on the impossibility of certainty, however, lies a less conscious and contrasting feeling, a yearning for absolutes. Just as a conscious distress at self-fragmentation conceals an unconscious wish to renounce selfhood altogether, and just as a conscious emphasis on the present masks an unconscious desire to regain the past, so here lack of commitment to any positive value overlap an unconscious search for absolute embracing values, causes, and goals.⁴³

Keniston's study deals with the alienated and uncommitted who reject

⁴¹Ibid., p. 45.

⁴²Kenneth Keniston, The Uncommitted (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1960), p. 454.

⁴³Ibid., p. 193.

societal values and norms, but who do not actively seek to change society. Similar research is needed on the background and personality characteristics of the alienated and committed.

Although there is a lack of extended, in-depth psychological research on the background and personality characteristics of the alienated, several studies have taken basic predispositions as a starting point and have tried to determine how these predispositions relate to "anomy" or alienation. McClosky and Schaar, for example, define anomy as "the feeling that the world and oneself are adrift, wandering, lacking in clear rules and stable moorings,"⁴⁴ and hypothesize that the anomic may never have learned to communicate, that social norms must be learned, that not only may social position impede learning, but also cognitive and emotional factors as well as substantive beliefs and attitudes may have similar effects in terms of the learning of social norms.

Their study involved a cross-section random sample of the Minnesota population (N = 1082) and a national cross-section (N = 1484). They found that independent of social factors, anomy and cognitive functioning were inversely related and that psychological inflexibility, anxiety, low ego strength, generalized anger, and aggression "lower the level of cognitive functioning, distort perception, interfere with social interaction and communication, and generally impair the ability to sort out and make coherent connection among the diverse elements of the social world."⁴⁵ The

⁴⁴Herbert McClosky and John H. Schaar, "Psychological Dimensions of Anomy," American Sociological Review, XXX (February, 1965), p. 19.

⁴⁵McClosky and Schaar, op. cit., p. 28.

McClosky and Schaar findings regarding substantive beliefs and attitudes also indicate that deviant beliefs and attitudes act as barriers to interaction and social learning.⁴⁶

The problem of determining the temporal priority of the two variables--alienation and learning--has not been resolved. Seeman's studies (discussed previously) have approached the problem from the other direction, i.e. alienation impedes learning of control-relevant information. The interactionist solution to this problem has been set forth by Hobart who conceptualizes alienation as a process involving the feeling that others do not understand which leads to an impaired ability to communicate and to learn which in turn increases alienation further.⁴⁷

III POLITICAL ALIENATION AND THE DEGREE AND DIRECTION OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Does political alienation affect the degree and direction of political participation? One study found that if socio-economic status and organizational membership were controlled there was no correlation between political alienation and the degree of political participation and suggests that "most of its effect (alienation) seems to be due to the fact that the least alienated (and the highest participators) are also the highest in status and in organizational activity."⁴⁸

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 32.

⁴⁷Charles W. Hobart, "Type of Alienation: Etiology and Inter-relationships," The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, II (May, 1965), pp. 92-107.

⁴⁸William Erbe, "Social Involvement and Political Activity: A Replication and Elaboration", American Sociological Review, XXIV (April, 1964), p. 213.

Angus Campbell reports that at every status level the politically alienated are "most withdrawn from the normal concern with party politics."⁴⁹ Kornhauser's study of automobile workers in Detroit found that the most "cynical workers tend not to vote at all or to vote contrary to the prevailing sentiment among their fellow workers."⁵⁰ The alienated also had markedly less interest in political matters. McDill and Ridley report that the politically alienated are less sophisticated about politics and are less likely to vote than their non-alienated counterparts.⁵¹ Both the Campbell and Kornhauser findings relate to interest and participation in national politics.

However, as Thompson and Horton suggest, "given the two party system, the compromising nature of national politics, and the limited chance to vote on specific issues, the 'politically alienated' would be predicted in national elections more likely to be found among the non voters."⁵² In a number of studies at the local level it was found that the politically alienated did not show appreciably less interest in political issues and were only slightly less likely to vote.⁵³ Dean

⁴⁹Campbell, "The Passive Citizen", p. 14.

⁵⁰Kornhauser, et al., When Labor Votes, p. 193.

⁵¹McDill and Ridley, op. cit., pp. 205-213.

⁵²Thompson and Horton, op. cit., pp. 190-191.

⁵³See, for example: Dwight G. Dean, "Alienation and Political Apathy", Social Forces, XXXVII (March, 1960), pp. 185-189; Thompson and Horton, op. cit., p. 193, Agger et al., op. cit., p. 494.

suggests that the low correlations between alienation and apathy in his study may be because the alienated may personalize politics or vote for apolitical reasons.

In terms of politics at the local level, there exists what Stone⁵⁴ has called an alienated voter model which involves the following assumptions:

- a) rising tension in a political system may lead to increased voter participation;
- b) most communities consist of civic leaders and upper strata citizens who identify with the existing regime and lower status citizens loosely attached to the community and latently dissatisfied;
- c) the lower status citizens tend to fluctuate between apathy and opposition to the prevailing leadership and at election time between non-voting and protest voting, thus alienation leads to political negativism at the local level which "cannot be accounted for solely by economic self-interest or similar factors";⁵⁵ and
- d) as turnout rises the proportion of "no" votes increases.

This model of community conflict has been amplified by Coleman who suggests that "lack of attachment to community organizations or through them to the national government allows people to vent on the local government those frustrations and aggressions which would

⁵⁴Stone, op. cit., p. 214.

⁵⁵Loc. cit.

ordinarily be expressed elsewhere."⁵⁶

The alienated voter model was found to have validity in at least four studies at the local level: The politically alienated tended to vote negatively on various local issues in protest against the civic administration causing the defeat of administration backed proposals.⁵⁷ It may well be that in national voting in the United States the opportunities for expression of discontent are smaller than at the local level, hence alienated voter apathy and withdrawal. As Janowitz and Marvick suggest, "a consensus is incomplete and fragile which lacks the adequate involvement of one social class or ethnic group."⁵⁸

The same model may be useful at the national level in countries where there are or can be viable protest parties. In France and Italy the Communist Party attracts the alienated lower status voter who, "while he is properly described as cautious and conservative, as reformist rather than revolutionary may vote for the Communist Party despite all its shortcomings."⁵⁹

IV CONCLUSION

It was noted earlier that the most displaced strata in society will

⁵⁶James S. Coleman, Community Conflict (New York: The Free Press, 1957), p. 19.

⁵⁷Thompson and Horton, op. cit., pp. 190-195; McDill and Ridley, op. cit., pp. 205-213; Frederick Templeton, "Alienation and Political Participation: Some Research Findings", Public Opinion Quarterly, XXX (Summer, 1966), pp. 249-261; Dean, op. cit., pp. 184-189.

⁵⁸Morris Janowitz and Dwaine Marvick, Competitive Pressure and Democratic Consent (Ann Arbor: Institute of Public Administration, University of Michigan, 1956), p. 98.

⁵⁹Cantril, op. cit., p. 231.

tend to be the most politically alienated. The displaced strata consist of two principal groups: those most distant or isolated from positions of power and those least integrated into the social structure. Empirical studies in the United States indicate that in absolute terms, the lower orders manifest the greatest degree of political alienation, are most dissatisfied with their own role in the political input process and are most alienated from the process itself. They are also less committed to democratic values and to the democratic rules of the game.⁶⁰ But while the empirical studies of political alienation do point to reservoirs of discontent among the lower orders they fail to grasp the problem entirely. This is because they attempt to assess absolute levels of political alienation. There are too few studies focusing on alienation within the upper strata alone. Riesman believes that the politically significant "center of gravity of discontent has shifted upward in the status system." The isolated and unorganized lower-class citizens, he points out, are "as yet unavailable as constituencies for radical political leadership."⁶¹ Most empirical studies of political alienation are too narrow in their focus: they account neither for political alienation in the upper and middle strata nor do they adequately assess the implications of alienation for political systems.

⁶⁰ Samuel A. Stouffer, Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties (New York: Doubleday, 1955); Lipset, op. cit., pp. 92-95.

⁶¹ David Riesman, "The Intellectuals and the Discontented Classes: Some Further Reflections," The Radical Right, Daniel Bell, Editor (Garden City: Doubleday, 1964), p. 141.

CHAPTER V

THE SOURCES OF ALIENATION

The polity performs many functions for the more inclusive social system of which it is a component part. These functions include goal specification, resource mobilization, integration and allocation of costs and benefits. From its physical and social environment the political system receives numerous "inputs" which may be grouped as follows: (a) demands and expectations, (b) resources, and (c) supports. Various polities have various structures, i.e. particular sets of interrelated roles, which perform the functions and through which the inputs are processed or translated into political system outputs.¹

The study of political alienation focuses attention primarily on the support input into the political system and upon the legitimacy of the system. Political support relates to different political objects which stand in an hierarchical relationship to one another and which include public policies, political leaders and personnel, political processes, political structures, and political values. Political

¹For similar analyses, see: Gabriel Almond, "Comparative Political Systems," Journal of Politics, XVIII (August, 1956), pp. 391-409; David Easton, "An Approach to the Analysis of Political System," World Politics, IX (April, 1957), pp. 383-400; Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1957), chap. 1; William C. Mitchell, The American Polity (New York: The Free Press, 1962), chap. i.

alienation (and possible social conflict) may be caused by innumerable factors and is most likely to occur during periods of change which place strains on social structure. Change and strain may affect one or several of the objects of political support and as strain moves from lower to higher levels of the hierarchy, legitimacy is threatened.

Any discussion of political support is inextricably linked to consideration of political culture defined as "the pattern of individual attitudes and orientation toward politics . . ."² Thus the sources of strain and of political alienation are most conveniently analyzed within the following general categories: (1) the political culture and social environment of the polity, and (2) in terms of the structure and process of the polity itself with reference to responsiveness to demands, expectations and to change itself.

I POLITICAL CULTURE

The nature of political demands, expectations, resources and support which flow into the polity is determined by the composition of the physical and social environment of the political system which in turn affect its political culture. By social environment is meant the nature and composition of the social system subsystems including the economic, stratification and socialization systems. As Almond and Powell suggest, "the degree of homogeneity of political culture is a matter for empirical investigation."³ One of the most important problems facing all political systems relates to

²Gabriel A. Almond and G. Bingham Powell, Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach (Boston: Little Brown, 1966), p. 50.

³Ibid., p. 63.

the inclusion of various ethnic, geographic, economic and social groups within a centralised political framework and the creation of a homogeneous political culture. In part, success or failure in this endeavour is determined by when and how the problem has been confronted.

Eisenstadt suggests that there were and are discernible patterns of continuous, pluralistic modernization in Britain, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, the United States and the Dominions, that these societies successfully confronted three crucial developmental problems: the incorporation of various traditions, the extension of political participation, and the problems attendant on urbanization and industrialization.⁴ In part, success was attained because the problems did not occur simultaneously and because "only rarely did there develop movements in which political, social, economic, and cultural divisions coalesced so as to create total rifts among groups and strata."⁵ Thus central institutions were solidified and various traditions were incorporated before the development of broad demands for participation and before the development of problems caused by urbanization and industrialization. Further, in these countries the political system was responsive enough to develop policies dealing with political problems, policies which facilitated the extension of the suffrage and wider participation and which led to the development of social services. In most cases this resulted in a rather homogeneous political culture and

⁴S.N. Eisenstadt, Modernization: Protest and Change (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1966), pp. 55-64.

⁵Ibid., p. 62.

in a polity that is responsive to change. Furthermore, the socialization process is relatively consistent and the agencies of socialization--schools, family, church, youth organizations, political parties, interest groups, mass media--tend to reinforce this homogeneity of political culture.

State and nation building, participation, urbanization and industrialization have posed serious problems for the societies such as France and Italy. These problems were not successfully resolved and "rather serious rifts developed in these countries in the central political symbols."⁶ Specifically, the temporal sequence of problems was such that central institutions were not solidified and various traditions incorporated before the advent of demands for participation and before the development of changes resulting from industrialization. Thus in France there developed divisions between groups with traditional and modern, aristocratic and republican, religious and secular orientations, social strata exhibited a wide degree of isolation and segregation, and interest groups and social movements were not "integrated into wider party political frameworks."⁷ Hence the political system never gained legitimacy and the political culture remained fragmented. Similar patterns are discernible in Italy. In Canada, too, non-political cultural divisions have periodically lessened the homogeneity of political culture and have called into question support for various component parts of the political system.

⁶Ibid., p. 65.

⁷Ibid., p. 66.

Fragmentation, involving distinct subcultural orientations has often been reinforced and perpetuated by the various subcultural socialization agencies which do not ratify common symbols or inculcate common political orientations.

In Germany, political unification was imposed by elite strata and the bureaucracy. Legitimacy of the political system was not assured before the advent of demands for political participation and the elite tried to bloc full participation for the wider strata. As Lipset has noted, "in nations like Germany where access was denied for prolonged periods, first to the bourgeoisie and later to the workers, and where force was used to restrict access, the lower strata were alienated from the system and adopted extremist ideologies which in turn, kept the more established groups from accepting the workers' political movement as a legitimate alternative."⁸ The onset of industrialization and urbanization in Germany in the 1960's further increased the already existing cleavages and in Germany and Russia "a tension developed between the attempt to forge out new symbols of national unity and the existing state, which was to some extent the repository of the more traditional symbols of unity."⁹

All of the problems discussed above are, of course, highly significant when considering the legitimacy of political systems of the emerging nations in Asia and Africa. In many, the political culture is fragmented

⁸Seymour M. Lipset, Political Man (New York: Doubleday, 1960), p. 67.

⁹Eisenstadt, op. cit., p. 74.

and there exist within a single political system distinct religious, caste, tribal, and linguistic communities. Clearly, these loyalties must be transferred to the wider political system, a system which strengthens and widens identity.⁹

The above discussion of political culture, abbreviated though it is, serves to indicate one major source of political alienation. The degree of cohesion or fragmentation in a political culture will affect the nature of demands and expectations and the degree of political system; where political culture is fragmented there will be a multiplicity of conflicting demands, low support levels, and a higher degree of political alienation. This proposition appears to be empirically verified by the Civic Culture data which indicate, for example, that persisting cleavages in Germany and Italy stemming from the failure to resolve various systems development problems have resulted in higher overall levels of political alienation than in societies such as Britain and the United States which have by and large resolved them.¹⁰

II STRUCTURE AND PROCESS

Political structure refers to particular sets of inter-related roles which perform political functions and through which inputs are processed or translated into political system outputs. Two important processes to consider when discussing political alienation are interest articulation and interest aggregation. Interest articulation refers to the process by

¹⁰ Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture (Boston: Little, Brown, 1963), pp. 307-336.

which individuals and groups make demands upon political decision-makers.¹¹ Interest aggregation is the process of converting demands into general policy alternatives.¹²

Interest articulation is performed by individuals, by several different kinds of interest groups, by social movements and political parties. These structures use different means and different channels in the process of interest articulation.¹³ All structures performing interest articulation may also perform interest aggregation, however, in modern political systems the aggregation function is performed by political parties and the bureaucracy primarily.

The degree of alienation in a society may depend upon first, the possibility of forming groups for the purpose of interest articulation and second upon the openness of channels of access to political decision-makers. As Almond and Powell put it:

1. Where certain groups in a society are denied the right to form political groups and to engage in interest articulation . . . the responsiveness of the system is limited and discontent can easily arise.¹⁴
2. The access structure can also hinder effective responsiveness. If only one major legitimate access channel is available . . . it is difficult for all groups to achieve adequate articulation.¹⁵
3. Access may easily be closed, and entrenched interests may dominate whatever access exists.¹⁶

¹¹Almond and Powell, op. cit., p. 73.

¹²Ibid., p. 98.

¹³Neil J. Smelser, Theory of Collective Behavior (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), p. 283.

¹⁴Almond and Powell, op. cit., p. 84.

¹⁵Loc. cit.

¹⁶Almond and Powell, op. cit., p. 89.

Interest articulation structures such as interest groups, social movements and political parties may make demands for modifications or changes of political values, structures, norms, leaders or policies. Structural conduciveness refers to the possibility of demanding changes or modifications at one level without at the same time having to advocate modifications at higher levels. For example, when there is no possibility of agitating for normative change, discontent may move to the level of values and call into question the legitimacy of the political system as a whole.¹⁷

Modern political systems generally have functionally specialised structures which aggregate demands. The structures include political parties and the bureaucracy; the importance of these agencies should not be underrated. Eisenstadt, in his comparative analysis of situations of breakdown and of sustained growth, found that very often breakdown was the result of the fact that few effective interest aggregation agencies developed within which various types of political demands could be regulated and made concrete.¹⁸ Hence demands were made to central decision makers directly or to central decision-making structures. In many cases support for the system was weakened. Also, the volume of unaggregated demands became too great for central decision-making structures to handle resulting in "overloading" and a weakening of responsiveness.

Two related problems concern the degree of autonomy of interest

¹⁷Smelser, op. cit., p. 284.

¹⁸Eisenstadt, op. cit., p. 135.

aggregation structures and whether or not they accept the rules of the political game. Smelser found that if a political party sees itself as a prime legitimizing instrument of the state, it will interpret all challenges to it as threats to the state and it becomes difficult "for competing parties or interest groups to challenge this party on bases other than the claims to legitimacy."¹⁹ Johnson sees this as central to the frustration and alienation of traditional conservative groups in Mexico which are excluded from effective involvement in the political system by virtue of one party dominance.²⁰ The pattern is similar in Communist countries and in many other newly established revolutionary regimes.

Second, conflict regulation requires that interest aggregation structures accept other such structures as legitimate. Where this is not the case it may impair "the ability of a political system to win or retain the support of different solitary groupings . . ."²¹

This chapter has considered the structures and processes involved in interest articulation and interest aggregation. Demands and expectations are seen as arising from the physical and social and cultural environment of the polity; these demands may focus on policies, leaders and personnel, structures, norms, or values and can be classified on this

¹⁹ Smelser, op. cit., p. 281.

²⁰ Kenneth F. Johnson, "Ideological Correlates of Right Wing Political Alienation in Mexico," American Political Science Review, LIV (Sept. 1965), pp. 656-664.

²¹ Lipset, op. cit., p. 44.

basis. Whether these demands result in threats to the stability of the political system is contingent on at least four factors: (1) the legitimacy of the system; (2) its effectiveness in responding to them; (3) the openness of channels for interest articulation and interest aggregation; (4) and by the manner in which people participate in the political process.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

There are three approaches to both the problem and to the meaning of the concept of alienation. The first approach seeks to delineate the subjective states associated with alienation, a second approach considers and categorizes the social sources of alienation however defined, and a third approach considers individual and group orientations to social objects, assesses reasons for these orientations and tries to assess possible behavioural or systems implications. This study has determined that the first two approaches are of little utility to social science since the subjective states associated with alienation are varied, the sources of alienation innumerable. The third approach, however, provides a functional basis for the analysis of political alienation since it narrows the field of inquiry and attempts to be relatively specific. It involves the development of an alienation model based on individual or group orientations to specific political objects which stand in an hierarchical relationship to one another and which include public policies, political leaders and personnel, political norms, structures, and values. The sources of these orientations and of possible political alienation are to be located in the physical, social, and cultural environment of the polity from which political demands stem; they are shaped also by the performance of the polity itself. This conceptual and analytic framework

aids systematic study of alienation within one society and facilitates cross-national comparisons. The model has predictive value and asserts that the stability of the political system is threatened as alienation moves from lower to higher levels of the hierarchy.

Analysis of political alienation within the above framework involves consideration of the social and cultural environment of the polity and of political structures and processes with particular reference to the following variables: (a) homogeneity of political culture; (b) consistency of socialization processes; (c) degree of responsiveness of the political system; (d) the possibility of forming groups for the purpose of interest articulation; (e) effectiveness of aggregating structures; (f) openness of channels of access to political decision-makers. Attention to these variables as they relate to orientations toward political objects provides insight into cross-national differences in levels and kinds of political alienation. Some tentative conclusions with reference to them were presented in Chapter V, however more research is required in this area.

It is also important to consider the social distribution of alienation and the impact of alienation on political participation. In an effort to relate alienation studies to findings on political participation, the present study focused on political participation and then reviewed and synthesized empirical research on political alienation. It was found that empirical research studies of alienation differ in terms of research objectives, assumptions about alienation, and in terms of the measures and scales used. The review indicated serious research gaps including lack of information on the relationship between age,

family cycle, residence, religion, and alienation. The review also found that evidence concerning the relationship between alienation and political participation tends to be contradictory, although alienation seems to affect the direction of the vote and the level of political information. More research is required on the relationship between alienation and personality. The need for comparative research is evident. The review of empirical research did find a substantial body of evidence which indicates that alienation decreases as socio-economic status increases, that women tend to be more alienated than men, that within an organizational context, alienation is highly related to satisfaction with the organization and that organizational structure itself affects alienation. Finally, organization members tend to be less politically alienated than non-members.

In conclusion, alienation appears to be a promising concept, however, empirical evidence on the question is often lacking or inconclusive, and there is need for further research.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. BOOKS

- Adorno, T.W., et al. The Authoritarian Personality. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950.
- Almond, Gabriel A. and G. Bingham Powell. Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach. Boston: Little Brown, 1966.
- Almond, Gabriel A., and Sidney Verba. The Civic Culture. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963.
- Apter, David E. The Politics of Modernization. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1965.
- Arendt, Hannah. The Human Condition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958.
- Argyris, Chris. Understanding Organizational Behavior. Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1960.
- Ash, William. Marxism and Moral Concepts. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1964.
- Barnard, Chester. The Functions of the Executive. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953.
- Becker, Ernest. Beyond Alienation: A Philosophy of Education for the Crisis of Democracy. New York: Braziller, 1967.
- Bell, Daniel. The End of Ideology. New York: The Free Press, 1960.
- Berelson, Bernard, and Gary A. Steiner. Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1964.
- Blauner, Robert. Alienation and Freedom: The Factory Worker and His Industry. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964.
- Brunner, Edmund deS., et al. An Overview of Adult Education Research. Chicago: Adult Education Association, 1959.

- Burns, Emile (ed.). A Handbook of Marxism. London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1935.
- Campbell, Angus, et al. The Voter Decides. Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson, 1954.
- Campbell, Angus, et al. The American Voter. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1964.
- Coleman, James S. Community Conflict. New York: The Free Press, 1957.
- Dahl, Robert A. A Preface to Democratic Theory. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956.
- DeGrazia, Sebastian. The Political Community. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948.
- Doddy, Henley H. Informal Groups and the Community. New York: Teachers College, 1952.
- Durkheim, Emile, Suicide: A Study in Sociology. Trans. J.A. Spaulding and George Simpson. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1951.
- Eisenstadt, S.N. Modernization: Protest and Change. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1968.
- Etzioni, A. (ed.). Complex Organizations: A Sociological Reader. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964.
- Etzioni, A. Modern Organizations. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1964.
- Feuerbach, Ludwig. The Essence of Christianity. Ed. E.G. Waring and F.W. Strothmann. New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1957.
- Fischer, Ernst. The Necessity of Art. Trans. Anna Bostock. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963.
- Friedman, Maurice. The Worlds of Existentialism: A Critical Reader. New York: Random House, 1964.
- Fromm, Erich. Escape From Freedom. New York: Avon Books, 1965 (copy. 1941).
- Fromm, Erich. Man For Himself: An Inquiry into the Psychology of Ethics. Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Publications, 1965 (copy. 1942).
- Fromm, Erich. Marx's Concept of Man. New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1966 (copy 1961).

- Fromm, Erich. The Sane Society. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1955.
- Gerth, H.H., and C. Wright Mills (trans.). From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. New York: Oxford University Press, 1946.
- Grodzins, Morton. The Loyal and the Disloyal. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956.
- Hammond, G.B. Man in Estrangement: A Comparison of the Thought of Paul Tillich and Erich Fromm. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1965.
- Hazard, Paul. European Thought in the Eighteenth Century. Trans. J. Lewis May. New York: Meridian, 1963.
- Hegel, G.W.F. The Phenomenology of Mind. Trans. J.B. Baille. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1964.
- Hegel, G.W.F. The Philosophy of History. Trans. J. Sibree. New York: Willey Book Co., 1944.
- Hegel, G.W.F. Early Theological Writings. Trans. T.M. Knox. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948.
- Hegel, G.W.F. Science of Logic 2 vols. Trans. W.H. Johnston and L.G. Struthers. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1951.
- Heimann, Eduard. Reason and Faith in Modern Society. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1961.
- Heinemann, F.H. Existentialism and the Modern Predicament. New York: Harper and Row, 1958.
- Hook, Sidney. From Hegel to Marx. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1962.
- Homans, George C. The Human Group. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1950.
- Janowitz, Morris and Dwaine Marvick. Competitive Pressure and Democratic Consent. Ann Arbor: Institute of Public Administration, Univ. of Michigan, 1956.
- Josephson, Eric and Mary (ed.). Man Alone: Alienation in Modern Society. New York: Dell, 1962.
- Kahler, Erich. The Tower and the Abyss: An Inquiry Into the Transformation of the Individual. New York: George Braziller, 1957.

- Kamenka, Eugene. The Ethical Foundations of Marxism. New York: F.A. Praeger, 1962.
- Keniston, Kenneth. The Uncommitted: Alienated Youth in American Society. New York: Harcourt Brace and World Inc., 1960.
- Kornhauser, Arthur, et al. When Labor Votes: A Study of Auto Workers. New York: University Books, 1956.
- Kornhauser, William. The Politics of Mass Society. New York: The Free Press, 1959.
- Laing, R.D. The Politics of Experience and The Bird of Paradise. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967.
- Lane, Robert E. Political Ideology. New York: The Free Press, 1962.
- Lane, Robert E. Political Life. New York: The Free Press, 1964.
- Lane, Robert E., and David O. Sears. Public Opinion. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1964.
- Lazarsfeld, P.F., et al. The People's Choice. New York: Columbia University Press, 1944.
- Levin, Murray B. The Alienated Voter: Politics in Boston. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1960.
- Lipset, Seymour M. Political Man. Garden City: Doubleday, 1959.
- MacIver, Robert M. The Ramparts We Guard. New York: The MacMillan Co., 1950.
- Mannheim, Karl. Man and Society In An Age of Reconstruction. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1954.
- Marcuse, Herbert. Reason and Revolution. Boston: Beacon Press, 1960.
- Marx. Karl. Wage Labour and Capital. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House (no date given).
- Marx. Karl. The Poverty of Philosophy. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House (no date given).
- Marx. Karl. Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy. Trans. T.B. Bottomore, Ed. T.B. Bottomore and Maximilien Rubel. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1964.

- Marx, Karl, and F. Engels. The Holy Family. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1956.
- Marx, Karl, and F. Engels. On Religion. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1955.
- Marx, Karl, and F. Engels. The German Ideology, Parts I and III. Ed. R. Pascal. New York: International Publishers, 1947.
- Merton, Robert K. Mass Persuasion: The Social Psychology of a War Bond Drive. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1946.
- Merton, Robert K. Social Theory and Social Structure. New York: The Free Press, 1957.
- Milbrath, Lester W. Political Participation. Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1965.
- Mills, C. Wright. The Power Elite. New York: Oxford University Press, 1959.
- Mills, E. Wright (ed.). Images of Man: The Classic Tradition in Sociological Thinking. New York: George Braziller, 1960.
- Mitchell, William C. The American Polity. New York: The Free Press, 1962.
- Mizruchi, Ephraim H. Success and Opportunity. New York: The Free Press, 1964.
- Nelson, Lloyd, et al. Community Structure and Change. New York: MacMillan, 1960.
- Nisbet, Robert A. The Quest for Community. New York: Oxford University Press, 1953.
- Pappenheim, Fritz. The Alienation of Modern Man. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1959.
- Plamenatz, John. Man and Society. Vol. II. London: Longmans Green Co., 1963.
- Polsby, Nelson W., et al. Politics and Social Life. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1963.
- Roethlisberger, F.J., and W.J. Dickson. Management and the Worker. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939.
- Sabine, George. A History of Political Theory. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961 (copy. 1937).

- Schaar, John H. Escape from Authority. New York: Basic Books, 1961.
- Smelser, Neil J. Theory of Collective Behavior. New York: The Free Press, 1963.
- Stankiewicz, W.J. (ed.). Political Thought Since World War II. New York: Free Press, 1964.
- Stauffer, Samuel A. Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties. New York: Doubleday, 1955.
- Tinder, Glenn E. The Crisis of Political Imagination. New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1964.
- Toennies, Ferdinand. Community and Society (Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft). Trans. C.P. Loomis. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1957.
- Tucker, Robert C. Philosophy and Myth in Karl Marx. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961.
- Vaughan, C.E. (ed.). The Political Writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915.
- Wolff, Kurt H. (trans.). The Sociology of Georg Simmel. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1950.
- Zeigler, Harmon. The Political Life of American Teachers. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1967.

B. PERIODICALS

- Agger, Robert E., et al. "Political Cynicism: Measurement and Meaning," The Journal of Politics, XXIII (August, 1961), pp. 477-506.
- Aiken, Michael, and Jerald Hage. "Organizational Alienation: A Comparative Analysis," American Sociological Review, XXXI (August, 1966), pp. 497-507.
- Almond, Gabriel. "Comparative Political Systems," Journal of Politics, XVIII (August, 1956), pp. 391-409.
- Braybrooke, David. "Diagnosis and Remedy in Marx's Doctrine of Alienation," Social Research, XXV (Fall, 1958), pp. 325-345.
- Browning, Charles J., et al. "On the Meaning of Alienation," American Sociological Review, XXVI (October, 1961), pp. 780-81.

- Campbell, Angus. "The Passive Citizen," Acta Sociologica, VI (fasc. 1-2), 1962, pp. 9-21.
- Clark, John P. "Measuring Alienation Within a Social System," American Sociological Review, XXIV (December, 1959), pp. 849-852.
- Coleman, James S. "Implications of the Findings on Alienation," American Journal of Sociology, LXX (July, 1964), pp. 76-8.
- Dean, Dwight G. "Alienation: Its Meaning and Measurement," American Sociological Review, XVII (October, 1961), pp. 753-758.
- Dean, Dwight G. "Alienation and Political Apathy," Social Forces, XXXVIII (March, 1960), pp. 185-189.
- Erbe, William. "Social Involvement and Political Activity: A Replication and Elaboration," American Sociological Review, XXIX (April, 1964), pp. 198-215.
- Faia, Michael A. "Alienation, Structural Strain, and Political Deviancy: A Test of Merton's Hypothesis," Social Problems, XIV (Spring 1967), pp. 389-413.
- Faris, Ellsworth. "The Primary Group: Essence and Accident," American Journal of Sociology, XXXVIII (July, 1932), pp. 41-50.
- Freilich, Morris. "Toward an Operational Definition of Community," Rural Sociology, XXVIII (June, 1963), pp. 117-127.
- Hajda, Jan. "Alienation and Integration of Student Intellectuals," American Sociological Review, XXVI (October, 1961), p. 758.
- Hanley, F.W. "Some Social Attitudes to Personality With Implications for Psychotherapy," The Canadian Psychiatric Association Journal, II (December, 1966), pp. 492-496.
- Hillery Jr., George A. "Definitions of Community: Areas of Agreement," Rural Sociology, XX (June, 1955), pp. 111-123.
- Hobart, Charles W. "Types of Alienation: Etiology and Interrelationships," The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, II (May, 1965), pp. 92-107.
- Horton, John. "The Dehumanization of Anomie and Alienation: A Problem in the Ideology of Sociology," British Journal of Sociology, XV (1964), pp. 283-300.
- Johnson, Kenneth F. "Ideological Correlates of Right Wing Political Alienation in Mexico," American Political Science Review, LIV (Sept. 1965), pp. 656-664.

- Jordan, Z.A. "Socialism, Alienation and Political Power," Survey, July, 1966, pp. 119-133.
- Kon, Igor S. "The Concept of Alienation in Modern Sociology," Social Research, XXXIV (Autumn, 1967), pp. 507-528.
- Litt, Edgar. "Political Cynicism and Political Futility," The Journal of Politics, XXV (May, 1963), pp. 312-323.
- Lowith, Karl. "Man's Self-Alienation in the Early Writings of Marx," Social Research, XXI (Summer, 1954), pp. 204-230.
- McClosky, Herbert, and John H. Schaar. "Psychological Dimensions of Anomy," American Sociological Review, XXX (February, 1965), pp. 14-40.
- McDill, Edward L., and Jeanne Clare Ridley. "Status, Anomia, Political Alienation, and Political Participation," American Journal of Sociology, LXVIII (September, 1962), pp. 205-213.
- Meier, Dorothy L., and Wendell Bell. "Anomia and Differential Access to the Achievement of Life Goals," American Sociological Review, XXIV (April, 1959), pp. 189-202.
- Middleton, Russell. "Alienation, Race, and Education," American Sociological Review, XXVIII (December, 1963), pp. 973-977.
- Milbrath, Lester W., and Walter W. Klein. "Personality Correlates of Political Participation," Acta Sociologica (fasc. 1-2), 1962, pp. 53-66.
- Mouledous, Joseph C., and Elizabeth Mouledous. "Criticisms of the Concept of Alienation," American Journal of Sociology, LXV (July, 1964), pp. 78-82.
- Neal, Arthur G., and Melvin Seeman. "Organizations and Powerlessness: A Test of the Mediation Hypothesis," American Sociological Review, XXIX (April, 1964), pp. 216-226.
- Neal, Arthur G., and Saloman Rettig. "On the Multi-dimensionality of Alienation," American Sociological Review, XXXII (February, 1967), pp. 54-64.
- Neal, Arthur G., and Saloman Rettig. "Dimensions of Alienation Among Manual and Non-Manual Workers," American Sociological Review, XXVIII (August, 1963), pp. 599-608.
- Nettler, Gwynn. "A Measure of Alienation," American Sociological Review, XXII (December, 1957), pp. 670-77.

- Roberts, Alan H., and Milton Rokeach. "Anomie, Authoritarianism and Prejudice: A Replication," American Journal of Sociology, LXI (January, 1956), pp. 355-358.
- Rosenberg, Morris. "Misanthropy and Political Ideology," American Sociological Review, XXI (December, 1956), pp. 690-695.
- Seeman, Melvin. "On the Personal Consequences of Alienation in Work," American Sociological Review, XXXII (April, 1967), pp. 273-285.
- Seeman, Melvin. "Powerlessness and Knowledge: A Comparative Study of Alienation and Learning," Sociometry, XXX (June, 1967), pp. 105-123.
- Seeman, Melvin. "Alienation and Social Learning in a Reformatory," American Journal of Sociology, LXIX (November, 1963), pp. 270-284.
- Seeman, Melvin. "Alienation, Membership and Political Knowledge: A Comparative Study," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXX (Fall, 1966), pp. 353-367.
- Seeman, Melvin. "On the Meaning of Alienation," American Sociological Review, XXIV (December, 1959), pp. 783-91.
- Seeman, Melvin, and John W. Evans, "Alienation and Learning in a Hospital Setting," American Sociological Review XXVII (December, 1962), pp. 772-782.
- Shils, E.A., and Morris Janowitz, "Cohesion and Disintegration in the Wehrmacht in World War II," Public Opinion Quarterly, (Summer, 1948), pp. 280-315.
- Simmons, J.L. "Some Intercorrelations Among 'Alienation' Measures," Social Forces, III (March, 1966), pp. 370-372.
- Srole, Leo. "Social Integration and Certain Corollaries: An Exploratory Study," American Sociological Review, XXI (December, 1956), pp. 709-716.
- Srole, Leo. "Anomie, Authoritarianism and Prejudice," American Journal of Sociology, LXII (July, 1956), pp. 63-67.
- Stone, Clarence W. "Local Referendums: An Alternative to the Alienated-Voter Model," Public Opinion Quarterly XXIX (Summer, 1965), pp. 213-222.
- Streuning, Elmer L., and Arthur H. Richardson. "A Factor Analytic Exploration of the Alienation, Anomia, and Authoritarianism Domain," American Sociological Review, XXX (October, 1965), pp. 760-76.

Thompson, Wayne E., and John E. Horton. "Political Alienation As a Force in Political Action," Social Forces, XXXVII (March, 1960), pp. 190-195.

Verba, Sidney. "Political Participation and Strategies of Influence: A Comparative Study," Acta Sociologica (fasc. 1-2), 1962, pp. 22-42.

Verner, Coolie and John S. Newberry Jr. "The Nature of Adult Participation," Adult Education, VIII (Summer, 1958), pp. 208-222.

Zeitlin, Maurice. "Alienation and Revolution," Social Forces XLV (December, 1966), pp. 224-236.

C. ESSAYS AND ARTICLES IN COLLECTIONS

Arieti, Silvano. "Recent Conceptions and Misconceptions of Schizophrenia," The World of Existentialism: A Critical Reader, Maurice Friedman, editor. New York: Random House, 1964. Pp. 472-476.

Becker, Ernest. "Mills' Social Psychology and the Great Historical Convergence on the Problem of Alienation," The New Sociology, Irving L. Horowitz, editor. New York: Oxford University Press, 1965. Pp. 108-133.

Becker, H.S. "The Teacher in the Authority System of the Public School," Complex Organizations: A Sociological Reader, A. Etzioni, editor. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1964. Pp. 243-251.

Bell, Daniel. "In Search of Marxist Humanism: The Debate on Alienation," Political Thought Since World War II, W.J. Stankiewicz, editor. New York: The Free Press, 1964. Pp. 143-158.

Berelson, Bernard. "Democratic Theory and Public Opinion," Political Behavior, Heinz Eulau, et al., editors. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1956. Pp. 107-115.

Binswanger, Ludwig. "Freud's Conception of Man in the Light of Anthropology," The Worlds of Existentialism: A Critical Reader, Maurice Friedman, editor. New York: Random House, 1964. Pp. 413-426.

Boss, Medard. "Psychoanalysis and Daseinanalysis," The Worlds of Existentialism: A Critical Reader, Maurice Friedman, editor. New York: Random House, 1964, Pp. 426-440.

- Campbell, Angus. "Recent Developments in Survey Studies of Political Behavior," Essays on the Behavioral Study of Politics, A. Ranney, editor. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1962. Pp. 103-171.
- Dalton, M. "Conflict Between Staff and Line Management Officers," Complex Organizations: A Sociological Reader, A. Etzioni, editor. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964.
- Farber, Leslie H. "Will and Willfulness in Hysteria," The Worlds of Existentialism: A Critical Reader, Maurice Friedman, editor. New York: Random House, 1964. Pp. 455-462.
- Feuer, Lewis. "What Is Alienation? The Career of a Concept," Sociology on Trial, M. Stein and A. Vidich, editors. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1963. Pp. 127-147.
- Frankl, Viktor E. "From Death-Camp to Existentialism," The Worlds of Existentialism: A Critical Reader, Maurice Friedman, editor. New York: Random House, 1964. Pp. 462-468.
- Fromm, Erich. "Alienation Under Capitalism," Man Alone: Alienation in Modern Society, Eric and Mary Josephson, editors. New York: Dell, 1962. Pp. 56-73.
- Greenstein, F.I. "Sex-Related Political Differences in Childhood," Politics and Social Life, Nelson W. Polsby, et al., editors. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1963. Pp. 244-254.
- Goldstein, Kurt. "Human Nature in the Light of Psychopathology," The Worlds of Existentialism: A Critical Reader, Maurice Friedman, editor. New York: Random House, 1964. Pp. 403-404.
- Janowitz, M. "Hierarchy and Authority in the Military Establishment," Complex Organizations: A Sociological Reader, A. Etzioni, editor. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1964. Pp. 198-212.
- Lane, Robert E. "Political Personality and Electoral Choice," Politics and Social Life, Nelson W. Polsby, et al., editors. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1963. Pp. 231-243.
- Laslett, Peter. "The World We Have Lost," Man Alone: Alienation in Modern Society, Eric and Mary Josephson, editors. New York: Dell, 1962. Pp. 86-93.
- LeRoy, Gaylord C. "The Concept of Alienation: An Attempt At a Definition," Marxism and Alienation: A Symposium, Herbert Aptheter, editor. New York: Humanities Press, 1965. Pp. 1-14.

- Marx, Karl. "Theses on Feuerbach," A Handbook of Marxism, Emile Burns, editor. London: Victor Gollanz Ltd., 1935. Pp. 228-251.
- May, Rollo. "Existential Bases of Psychotherapy," The Worlds of Existentialism: A Critical Reader, Maurice Friedman, editor. New York: Random House, 1964. Pp. 440-454.
- Merton, Robert K. "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality," Complex Organizations: A Sociological Reader, A. Etzioni, editor. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964. Pp. 48-61.
- Mizruchi, E.H. "Alienation and Anomie: Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives," The New Sociology, Irving L. Horowitz, editor. New York: Oxford University Press, 1965. Pp. 253-267.
- Moreno, J.L. "Philosophy of the Third Psychiatric Revolution," The Worlds of Existentialism: A Critical Reader, Maurice Friedman, editor. New York: Random House, 1964. Pp. 468-472.
- Mumford, Lewis. "The Mechanical Routine," Man Alone: Alienation in Modern Society. Eric and Mary Josephson, editors. New York: Dell, 1962. Pp. 114-122.
- Neumann, Franz. "Anxiety and Politics," Man Alone: Alienation in Modern Society, Eric and Mary Josephson, editors. New York: Dell, 1962. Pp. 239-262.
- Rogers, Carl R. "On Becoming a Person," The Worlds of Existentialism: A Critical Reader, Maurice Friedman, editor. New York: Random House, 1964. Pp. 476-485.
- Rosenberg, Morris. "Some Determinants of Political Apathy," Political Behavior. Heinz Eulau, et al., editors. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1956. Pp. 160-169.
- Scott, Marvin B. "The Social Sources of Alienation," The New Sociology, Irving L. Horowitz, editor. New York: Oxford University Press, 1955. Pp. 239-252.
- Stanton, A.H., and M.S. Schwartz, "The Mental Hospital and the Patient," Complex Organizations: A Sociological Reader, A. Etzioni, editor. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964. Pp. 234-243.
- Sykes, G.M. "The Corruption of Authority and Rehabilitation," Complex Organizations: A Sociological Reader, A. Etzioni, editor. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964. Pp. 191-197.
- Trub, Hans. "Individuation, Guilt, and Decision," The Worlds of Existentialism: A Critical Reader, Maurice Friedman, editor. New York: Random House, 1964. Pp. 404-410.

Von Weizacker, Vicktor. "The Unity of Perception and Movement," The Worlds of Existentialism: A Critical Reader, Maurice Friedman, editor. New York: Random House, 1964. Pp. 404-410.

Wolfe, Bertram D. "Marxism Today," Political Thought Since World War II, W.J. Stankiewicz, editor. New York: The Free Press, 1964. Pp. 130-142.

Whyte, W.J. "Human Relations: A Progress Report," Complex Organizations: A Sociological Reader, A. Etzioni, editor. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964. Pp. 100-112.

Zitta, Victor. George Lukacs Marxism: Alienation, Dialectics, Revolution. A Study in Utopia and Ideology. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1964.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX ON SCALES AND INDEXES

1. Srole's Eunomia-Anomia Scale

Respondents were asked to agree or disagree with the following items:

There's little use writing to public officials because they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man.

Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.

In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better.

It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.

These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on.

Respondents agreeing with items were given a score value of one for each item. The number of points was then summed to compose the index. An explanation, see: Leo Srole, "Social Integration and Certain Corollaries: An Exploratory Study," American Sociological Review, XXI (December, 1956), pp. 709-716.

2. Nettler's Alienation Scale (Commitment to popular culture)

Respondents were asked to respond to the following items:

Do you vote in national elections? (Or would you if of voting age?)

Do you enjoy T.V.?

What do you think of the new model American automobiles?

Do you read Reader's Digest?

Were you interested in the recent national elections?

Do you think children are generally a nuisance to their parents?

Are you interested in having children?

Do you participate in church activities?

Do national spectator-sports (football, baseball) interest you?

Do you think most married people lead trapped, frustrated lives?

Do you think most politicians are sincerely interested in the public's welfare or are they more interested in themselves?

Do you think religion is mostly myth or mostly truth?

Life, as most men live it, is meaningless. Do you agree or disagree?

For yourself, assuming you could carry out your decision or do things over again, do you think a single life or married life would be more satisfactory?

Do you believe human life is an expression of a divine purpose, or is it only the result of chance and evolution?

Most people live lives of quiet desperation. Do you agree or disagree?

Respondents were given a five point response choice. R = 87%.

For discussion, see: Gwynn Nettler, "A Measure of Alienation,"

American Sociological Review, XXII (December, 1957), pp. 670-677.

3. Rosenberg's Faith in People Scale

Respondents were asked to answer the following items:

Some people say that most people can be trusted. Others say you can't be too careful in your dealings with people. How do you feel about it?

Would you say that most people are more inclined to help others or more inclined to look out for themselves?

If you don't watch yourself, people will take advantage of you.

No one is going to care much what happens to you when you get right down to it.

Human nature is fundamentally cooperative.

Respondents were scored according to their responses. $R = 92\%$.

For discussion, see: Morris Rosenberg, "Misanthropy and Political Ideology," American Sociological Review, XXI (December, 1956), pp. 690-695.

4. The Agger, et al. Political Cynicism Scale

Respondents were asked to agree or disagree with the following items:

In order to get nominated, most candidates for political office have to make basic compromises and undesirable commitments.

Politicians spend most of their time getting re-elected or reappointed.

Money is the most important factor influencing political hacks.

People are very frequently manipulated by politicians.

Politicians represent the general interest more frequently than they represent special interest.

Guttman scaling procedures were used and a composite political cynicism scale was assigned to each person. $R = 94\%$. For discussion, see: R.E. Agger, et al., "Political Cynicism: Measurement and Meaning," The Journal of Politics, XXIII (August, 1961), pp. 479-506.

5. The Campbell, et al. Sense of Political Efficacy Scale

Respondents were asked to agree or disagree with the following

items:

I don't think public officials care much about what people like me think.

Voting is the only way people like me can have any say about how the government runs things.

People like me don't have any say about what the government does.

Sometimes politics and government seems so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.

Disagreement with items was treated as an efficacious response.

For Discussion, see: Angus Campbell, et al., The Voter Decides (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson, 1954), pp. 187-194.

6. The Campbell, et al. Personal Effectiveness Scale

Respondents were asked to agree or disagree with the following

items:

I would rather decide things when they come up than always try to plan ahead.

I seem to be the kind of person that has more bad luck than good luck.

There's not much use for me to plan ahead because there's usually something that makes me change my plans.

I often have the feeling that it's no use to try to get anywhere in this life.

Persons disagreeing with these items were scored as effective.

The scale was developed by Survey Research Center, University of Michigan. Cited in Lester Milbrath, Political Participation (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965), p. 168.