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A CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS OF ALIENATION
IN CURRENT THEORY AND RESEARCH

BY

LANNY ARON NEIDER

A thesis submitted
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree Doctor of Philosophy, Major in
Sociology, South Dakota
State University

1971

A CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS OF ALIENATION

IN CURRENT THEORY AND RESEARCH

The author wishes to express his appreciation to those of the individuals who helped to make this study possible. Sincere thanks to the members of my committee, Professor Robert M. Dugan (Major Advisor), Professor Donald E. Sawyer, Professor Harry P. Riley, and Professor William B. Evers, who, each in his own way, gave guidance and direction in the completion of this study.

A word of gratitude is owed to the many unnamed students, friends, and colleagues for their vital help and support.

This thesis is approved as a creditable and independent investigation by a candidate for the degree, Doctor of Philosophy, and is acceptable as meeting the thesis requirements for this degree. Acceptance of this thesis does not imply that the conclusions reached by the candidate are necessarily the conclusions of the major department.

Thesis Adviser

Date

Head, Sociology Department

Date

A CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS OF ALIENATION
IN CURRENT THEORY AND RESEARCH
Abstract

LANNY ARON NEIDER

Under the supervision of Professor Robert M. Dimit

The purpose of this study is to examine the assumed relationship between theory and research with respect to alienation.

The basic hypothesis of this study is that empirical research on alienation would be influenced by existing theoretical formulations on the topic. It is argued that Melvin Seeman's 1959 conceptualization of alienation would constitute the major theoretical influence inasmuch as it alone provided a systematic set of researchable meanings.

To test this basic hypothesis, four sub-hypotheses were developed:

- (1) Based upon Seeman's five dimensional scheme one should expect a fairly equal emphasis on the examination of all dimensions of alienation in the literature.
- (2) Given Seeman's specification and definition of the component elements of each dimension one should expect to find these same component elements specified in subsequent studies of alienation.
- (3) Following the five dimensional conceptualization proposed by Seeman, one should expect to find a relationship of independence between the respective dimensions in subsequent studies.
- (4) Given the relationship between theory and research as applied in this study, one should expect Seeman's assumptions as to the nature of alienation (as a social psychological phenomenon) and its treatment (in social learning terms) to be followed in subsequent research.

The data relevant to these four sub-hypotheses provided the evidence for judging the accuracy of the basic hypothesis.

A stratified, sequential, random sample of fifty-one studies was drawn from a population of one hundred three. The analysis of data from these fifty-one studies resulted in the following decisions:

- (1) Sub-hypothesis one was unsupported. The five dimensions identified by Seeman were not represented with equal frequency in research.
- (2) Sub-hypothesis two was unsupported. The same component elements for the five dimensions were not employed in research as defined by Seeman.
- (3) The evidence for sub-hypothesis three was inconclusive and therefore no decision was made.
- (4) Sub-hypothesis four was partially supported and partially unsupported. It was found that empirical researchers viewed alienation as a largely social psychological phenomenon. The same researchers did not use social learning terminology sufficiently which rendered the second part of this sub-hypothesis unsupported. With one part supported and one part unsupported, the evidence was judged inconclusive for sub-hypothesis four.

On the basis of the findings for the four sub-hypotheses it was considered that the basic hypothesis (that Seeman's set of researchable definitions would be used in subsequent empirical research) is not valid.

The conclusion drawn from this study is that empirical research on alienation has not followed Seeman's theoretical formulation sufficiently to determine its strengths and weaknesses. The result has been a growing body of diffuse findings on a variety of topics called alienation with little specification of what these findings mean.

Contrary to the expected relationship between theory and research, research in the area of "alienation" has not made any substantial contribution to a viable theory of alienation.

This thesis is approved as a creditable and independent investigation for a candidate for the degree, Doctor of Philosophy, and is acceptable as meeting the thesis requirements for this degree. Approval of this thesis does not imply that the conclusions reached by the candidate are necessarily the conclusions of the department.

Robert L. ... 1971
Chairman, Department
George A. ... 1971
Chair, Faculty Senate

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer would like to express his appreciation to some of the individuals who helped to make this study possible. Sincere thanks to the members of my committee, Professor Robert M. Dimit (Major Adviser), Professor Howard M. Sauer, Professor Marvin P. Riley, and Professor William R. Kenny, who, each in his own way, gave guidance and direction to "an ambition."

A debt of gratitude is owed to the many unnamed students, friends, and colleagues for their vital help and support.

Special thanks are also extended to Miss Theresa Erschens for her efforts in typing the final draft.

To my wife Judy and son Cornell, "thanks" are just the beginning.

LAN

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

There are at least two interrelated yet distinct tasks involved in scientific work. One is the actual testing of ideas in reality, generally referred to as the empirical task. This includes formulating hypotheses, operationalizing definitions, gathering data, arranging data, analyzing data, and deciding whether the things hypothesized are true or false. The other, according to some, includes everything else that scientists do as scientists. This may or may not be correct depending upon your view. However, one important activity has to do with recasting and reformulating previously tested ideas into higher, more abstract systems of explanation. This is commonly called theoretical work. This dissertation is basically theoretical rather than empirical. An analysis of the meaning of the concept alienation as found in the empirical work published since December 1959 by those who purport to study it specifically is undertaken in an attempt to determine whether its nature and meaning, as so represented, is consistent with or departs from that meaning given to it by Melvin Seeman in The American Sociological Review, Vol. 24, Dec., 1959. This then is a test of conceptual meaning and possible reconceptualization of the concept alienation.

Justification for the Study

The questions might be asked, what is the value of a study of this sort, or what possible justification can be made for attempts at theoretical clarification? Any casual observer has but to undertake a cursory examination of the literature concerning alienation to realize that a confused state of meaning exists in this area. Coser and Rosenberg's (1964:519) statement that alienation "seems to account for variety of discontents in modern civilization" is not one designed to appeal to those concerned with basic theoretical clarity. In conceptualization one finds confusion and ambiguity, while an argumentative dialogue continues among those attempting a systematic analysis of these phenomena. To this point, the product of this dialogue has contributed as much to confusion as it has to clarification.

The ambiguity of the concept of alienation is illustrated by the fact that it is commonly assumed to incorporate several conditions or states of being and a great number of behavioral and psychological correlates ranging from apathy to psychosis. It is perhaps because of such problems that conceptual and theoretical agreement among concerned scholars is not imminent. Perhaps this ambiguity is due partly to the many issues raised by research. Some of the issues concern the methodological implication important in the empirical pursuit of knowledge about alienation.

Under the principle of accepting nothing as valid without first having examined the evidence, it becomes necessary to test all

ideas against reality. This testing necessarily occurs over such a broad spectrum that the findings of the many studies are rarely examined against one another. Equally rare are the instances where the findings are reconciled with or integrated into the original theory. Consequently, the recent history of the concept reveals what might be termed stages of enthusiasm, criticism, second thoughts, and methodological field work. In spite of all this the concept seems to have a strong position in sociological theory and research. Therefore, it seems necessary to attempt to provide some answers. As the foregoing comments indicate, this is neither the first nor the only attempt at melioration in the area. A review of the literature shows, however, a lack of conceptual analysis in terms of the treatment proposed here.

Basic Hypothesis of the Study

The premise upon which any scientific study is based, including the present one, is the necessary link between observation and the systematic arrangement of these observations into intelligible schemes. In the world of common sense each new experience must first be evaluated against what is commonly accepted as a way of judging its meaning and importance. In other words, new experiences become meaningful only when related to those things which are already meaningful.

While the case of science is similar there are important differences. Scientific observations are made from a particular theoretical context. If made in ways which guarantee objectivity, these observations can serve to clarify and redefine the theory.

Therefore, unlike common sense, scientific observation is not merely judged right or wrong according to accepted standards but constitutes a corrective process.

Theory and research are not opposing sides of the scientific enterprise as some have alledged. A more enlightened view sees theory and research as clearly reciprocal and interrelated parts of a single whole. Robert K. Merton's work (1968) has been particularly illuminating on this issue in two seminal essays in Social Theory and Social Structure. His purpose in these two essays is to explain precisely those ways in which theory influences research and the obverse, how research affects theory. Among the functions of theory, according to Merton, are the following: (1) to provide a general context for inquiry necessary for the derivation of determinate hypotheses; (2) to effect conceptual clarification by way of making explicit the character of the data subsumed under a concept, resolving apparent antimonies in empirical findings, and constructing observable indices of social data; (3) providing post factum interpretations of empirical data; (4) providing empirical generalizations which summarize observed uniformities of relationships between variables; (5) to formally state the assumptions and postulates upon which hypotheses are based; and (6) to codify, that is, to systematize empirical generalizations in apparently different spheres of behavior.

On the other side Merton sees four major functions being performed by research which help shape theory: (1) it initiates theory serendipitously; (2) theory is reformulated when an existing

conceptual scheme commonly applied to a given subject matter is inadequate; (3) empirical research frequently raises questions of appropriateness of specific methods; suggesting a shift in focus; (4) conceptual clarification not being an exclusively theoretical task, refinements and clarification are possible through operational definitions and the construction of indices.

When theory and research are thought of along the lines described by Merton it is possible to see firsthand the self-correcting character of science. It is this self-correcting quality which points to the basic hypothesis upon which this study rests. Inasmuch as there should be some relationship between theory and research one would expect an influence of Seeman's theoretical formulation on subsequent study and this study should, in turn, cause clarification and refinement of that theory. By relating this self-correcting process to a conceptual analysis of alienation it can be asserted that given the relationship between theory and research (ala Merton), one should expect an increasing measure of agreement as to the nature and meaning of alienation, which up to now has remained extremely low.

The foregoing considerations are designed to provide the necessary and sufficient conditions for such an analysis as is here proposed.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL REVIEW

Introduction

The concept "alienation" has a lineage which can be traced to the beginnings of recorded history. The early Greek philosopher Plotinus, for example, visualized alienation as being the absence of knowledge (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1968:58-60). Plotinus saw life (self-realization) as the product of the intellect. He further visualized two realms in nature: the unknowable and the knowable. The unknowable was converted to the knowable through the subjective application of the intellect. Failure to develop the intellect meant that one lived in a materially dominated world, devoid of meaning (alienated). One could live in an essentially nonmaterial environment if governed by the intellect. Exactly where one lived depended upon one's measure of rigorous moral and intellectual self-realization. By a generous measure of both one could awake from the alienated, or materially dominated life, and discover oneself. Plotinus's scheme was the basis of a theology wherein the intellect enabled man to attain the highest level of life, or "the Good."

The religious connotation of the term was very pronounced during the Middle Ages and was also popular with the writers of the Reformation. "In the Middle Ages it implied a definite degree of mystical ecstasy in man's communion with God. Later the Protestants

understood the term to represent a spiritual death, or estrangement of man's spirit from God by virtue of his original sin" (I. S. Kon, 1969a:146).

The most notable usage of the term alienation among philosophers prior to Hegel was that associated with Social Contract Theory. Those individuals most frequently identified with this theory are Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Jean Jacques Rousseau. Their theory centered around the need for a strong political authority based on self interest and rational consent. They demonstrated the value of political authority by comparing it to the hypothetical state of nature where political authority was absent and disorder prevailed. By describing things in this manner they hoped to illustrate the advantages of political authority and to provide the rationale for voluntarily entering into contract.

While the conclusions drawn by each of these men differed considerably, their method was the same. Man must renounce his right to act at will; he must surrender or otherwise give up his rights to the sovereign and enter into agreement with the commonwealth. In the case of all three men, however, this contract creates a condition akin to, if not actually, alienation. Even though the contract is to be entered into voluntarily and considered beneficial to society, the end result is the same, restriction of one's freedom of action--even a sacrifice of self. The social

contract alienates one from his natural rights in favor of the community.¹

In terms of early thoughts on alienation, Hegel and Feuerbach are indispensable sources. Hegel is the first to treat alienation in a systematic manner although his thoughts are highly abstract. Assuming an idealistic position, Hegel posits an Absolute mind or Spirit which man does not know and from which he is therefore alienated. In the words of Igor Kon, "Hegel employs the term to denote the alienation of consciousness from the individual, the subject viewing himself as the object, so that the entire objective world is nothing but the 'alienated spirit'" (Kon, 1969b:146-147).

Man's continual search for the absolute constitutes an unending process of de-alienation. According to Richard Lawrence Schacht (Ph.D. dissertation, 1967:82-88), Hegel's use of alienation is dependent upon two factors: the nature of man, and the nature of

¹Original presentation of the ideas discussed above can be found in the following works:

Leviathan or the Matter, Forme and Power of a Commonwealth Ecclesiasticall and Civil by Thomas Hobbes. Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1946.

The Second Treatise of Government by John Locke, edited with an introduction by Thomas P. Peardon. The Liberal Arts Press, New York, 1952.

The Social Contract and Discourses by Jean Jacques Rousseau, translated with an introduction by G. D. H. Cole. E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., New York, 1950.

social substance. The social substance consists of the realm in which man lives and thinks (state, culture, society, community). Hegel sees these as "spiritual" and thus considers man's world essentially a "spiritual world". Hegel also views man as a spiritual entity, having both particular and universal qualities. The universal quality is most important for it can exist only when man has achieved a unity of the social substance. Herein lies man's essential nature.

Furthermore, Hegel uses alienation in two senses: (1) alienation from the substance of living; and (2) alienation in the sense of surrender. In short, Hegel views nature as a self-alienated form of the Absolute Mind and "man is the Absolute Mind in the process of de-alienation" (Gajo Petrovic, 1967a:137).

Feuerbach, on the other hand, rejects Hegel's two usages of alienation and focuses upon religion. "With Feuerbach self-alienation of the human substance is represented as the prime source of Christianity" (Ken, 1969c:147). In an effort to absolutize himself, man has vested his qualities in God, and in so doing has alienated himself from these qualities. In other words, God is merely self-alienated man.

Lengthy discussion could easily be generated from the writings of these and other philosophers as well as philosopher-theologians relating to the notion of alienation. Our objective here, however, is to present those contributions which more clearly bear on the problem under investigation. This requires that we

advance our discussion to that point of interest wherein alienation becomes differentiated from its abstract metaphysical origins. Here one individual has made a seminal contribution, that individual being August Comte.

August Comte

Like many of the philosophers of his period, August Comte was profoundly moved by the social destruction generating from the French Revolution. The very fabric of French society, including the family and the state, had been shaken. The Revolution, together with the effects of industrialization occasioned renewed thinking among prominent scholars as to the fate and fortune of man. As a result, one of the primary interests of Comte's life and work was the improvement and reconstruction of society. Building upon the ideas of others, Comte generated a theory of society which truly set him apart from others.

Comte's thought was influenced throughout by three principles: (1) all reality including the social dimension was subject to natural forces or laws; (2) change took the form of evolution and was subject to these laws; and (3) evolution was progress, betterment. These ideas had been expressed earlier in the works of Bonald, deMaistre, and Condorcet. Comte applied these principles to the human mind and formulated the law of three stages in the evolution of knowledge. (A similar idea regarding the evolution of knowledge is found in the works of Comte's teachers, Saint Simon and Turgot.) The three stages are the theological, the metaphysical, and the positive. Theological

thought was predicated upon the governance of super human forces. All phenomena were summarily the doing of this super force. This mode of explanation (justification) gradually lost its hold on men's minds as they began to question. Questioning was itself an exercise in reasoning which shifted the focus of attention from super natural forces to natural forces. Answers were sought in the phenomena themselves, not in the super human forces believed to control them.

Metaphysical thought was characterized by an effort to explain events in terms of inherent qualities and by analogy. While this was clearly an advance of theological explanation, it did not achieve an independent status. In positive thought the mind seeks limited causal explanations in the form of relationships between phenomena. It does not seek absolute answers or final cause. Comte was of the opinion that European society had evolved to the final phase of the metaphysical stage and that he was to reorganize society along positive lines.

Positive, or rational scientific thought, was considered by Comte to be the panacea for the disease of disorganization afflicting society. Ultimately progress, or synonymously, realization of a stable social order, could best be achieved through the application of science to the problems of society. This reorganization of society did not require a total destruction of existing structures. What it did require was the formulation and propogation of a moral and spiritual value system based upon positive methods that could

exert proper control and discipline over the modern industrial system.

The goal of Comte's positive philosophy was the reconstruction and reinstitution of a sense of community among men. The "religion of humanity", as it became known, would be guided by the sociologists, whose knowledge of the principles upon which enlightened social policy depends, best equipped them for the task. They would, in fact, act as the priesthood of the Positive Religion. Guided by humanitarian values and tempered by brotherhood and altruism, the positive reorganization of society would be the main avenue of progress and a stable social order.

Karl Marx

Marx's conception of alienation represents one facet of his larger theory of history. His work achieves a synthesis of two major bodies of thought, the Hegelian dialectic and the classical economic theory of value. Hegel views thought (ideas) as the substance of everything. Thought and reason are synonymous. All knowledge and understanding exist in the form of thought. The basic premise, therefore, upon which his entire theory was based is that all things could be understood in terms of the logic of ideas. Dialectical reasoning, according to Hegel, consists of the principle of contradiction. Everything has an opposite. Being, for example, is contradicted by not being. Dialectical thought proceeds according to the form of thesis, antithesis, synthesis. When applied to

reality it consists of a process of emergence. Reality is a continuous ongoing process of becoming. In accepting the labor theory of value according to Locke, Smith, and Ricardo and placing it within the context of dialectical thought, Marx formulated what is commonly called dialectical materialism.

In viewing Hegel from another angle, that is focusing on the "real" world rather than on the world of ideas, Marx took stock of the nascent industrial society. Medieval forms of home production were being swiftly replaced by the factory. Workers no longer lived and worked under the same roof. Large numbers of laborers now moved to central locations and worked in regime at increasingly specialized tasks. This system of production, which was both defined and criticized by Marx, is the private enterprise system of capitalism. Marx was particularly keen in his assessment of the emerging mode of production. Labor was being sold for wages to entrepreneurs. This means of production were owned by these entrepreneurs who managed them for profit. Any profit was everything over the cost of production, including the cost of labor. It was Marx's view that the capitalists would exploit labor by paying only a subsistence wage, or less. The effect of all this would be the emergence of two distinct classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The two groups would eventually become solidified against one another and produce a revolution. The result would be the creation of a new arrangement in the means of production free of exploitation.

Of particular significance to the problem of alienation is Marx's description of the mode of production under capitalism. The worker no longer works on the whole product but contributes only a small part to the final product. This separation of worker from the fruits of his labor has far reaching affects. First, it makes of labor a commodity not unlike any other. Moreover, it makes of the laborer the same, a commodity. This means that the thing produced as well as the producing itself confronts the person as an alien thing-- a thing to be reckoned with, an external power.

But alienation penetrates beyond the economic realm. "He alienates products of his social activity in the form of state, law, social institutions. So there are many forms in which man alienates the products of his own activity from himself and makes of them a separate, independent and powerful world of objects toward which he is related as a slave, powerless and dependent" (Petrovic, 1967b:137-138).

Max Weber

With Max Weber we find again the quest for meaning in the developments of Western society. Having studied the works of such men as Comte, Spencer, Tonnies, Wundt, and Marx, he shared their general intellectual orientations. He differed, however, most significantly with Marx. Most unacceptable was Marx's singularistic (economic) explanation of all phenomena, including the social. It did not matter to Weber whether the socio-economic system under which men must live

was socialistic or capitalistic. They were in actuality only slightly different in nature. What was important was that they operated according to yet more fundamental social forces. As Weber asks, "...what does it matter...if ownership passes from the few to the many--as Marx proposed--if the fundamental forces of society--bureaucracy, rationalization of values, alienation from community and culture--continue?" (Nisbet, 1966a:293). The phenomenon of rationality, which accompanies industrialization, is undoubtedly the pivotal point upon which Weber centers his analysis of institutions and societies.

The Germany of Max Weber was a veritable socio-political frontier. His generation saw the country undergo total economic and political transformation. It became a national state rather than merely a number of semi-autonomous, lesser principalities. Industrialization occurred swiftly in this new nation despite strong feudalistic remains. New political factions struggled for power and ascendancy amid conflicting ideological perspectives. Two additional factors contributed to the situation in Germany. First, because industrialization occurred comparatively late in Germany it benefited from the mistakes and achievements of others and consequently progressed very rapidly. Second, as industrialization occurred earlier in England, France, and the United States, they all underwent a reintegration, or settling effect in the form of a revolution. This did not happen in Germany and the result was a prolonged and paralyzing struggle for power and privilege among rival groups. Scholars became

profoundly concerned about such things as the displacement of people, the breakdown in primary relations, the ascendancy of impersonal values, and general rootlessness. These threatened the tried and tested ways of the past and stood to destroy the old community.

Weber studied these problems on a wide spectrum including capitalism, religion, bureaucratic organization, and law. He stressed the role of rationality in the total context of social behavior, pointing out the value of practicality and efficiency. In the end, however, he was not fully convinced that rationalization of life was a net gain. He wondered whether the sacrifice of the traditional way was too big a price to pay for progress, if in fact it was progress at all. "From being a force of 'progress' - the indispensable means of liberating man from the tyrannies of the past--rationalization becomes eventually the seedbed of a tyranny greater, more penetrating, more lasting, than anything previously known in history. Rationalization is no mere process of politics; it is not limited in its effects to political bureaucracy. It has affected all culture, even the human mind, as it has affected the structure of modern economy and state. So long as the process of rationalization had something to feed on--that is, the structure of traditional society and culture that was formed during the Middle Ages--it was a generally creative and liberating process. But with the gradual diminution and desiccation of this structure, with man's increasing disenchantment with the values of this structure, rationalization threatens now to become, not creative and liberating, but mechanizing, regimenting, and ultimately, reason-destroying" (Nisbet, 1966b:294).

It is evident in much of Weber that the trouble he sees is not one of disorganization but rather one of overorganization. For in the overorganization of human action one finds the disappearance of all those vital qualities--love, feeling, compassion, empathy--which are life.

Ferdinand Tonnies

The work of Ferdinand Tonnies closely parallels that of Karl Marx in its treatment of social dynamics. Tonnies views society as a social process characterized by essentially two different forms of human association. He termed these *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, the title of his book. The distinction between the two is this. The *Gemeinschaft* (or community) is association based upon empathy, spontaneity, and impulsiveness. Members relate to one another as whole persons as do members of a family. The *Gesellschaft* is association based on deliberate, purposive, and calculated action.

It was Tonnies's contention that the process of history found societies moving from *Gemeinschaft* to the *Gesellschaft*. This transition, which had begun quite early in history, was bolstered by the changes fostered by the Industrial Revolution. And this change was permanent for there would be no return to the *Gemeinschaft* society (Nisbet, 1966c:75-76).

Tonnies's conception of the process of history was formulated upon three interrelated themes found in the literature of his day. First, there was the change in Western society from the corporate and communal to the individualistic and rational. Second, Western social

organization was changing from one of ascribed status to contract. And, thirdly, there was a decline of sacred values and the ascendancy of secular values. "Tonnies gave these themes theoretical articulation, and although his materials are drawn also from the Western European transition from Medievalism to modernism, his typological use of these materials permit universalized application" (Nisbet, 1966d:73).

Wesenwille, meaning "natural" or "integral will" is the impulsive and spontaneous expression of man's wants and desires. Kurwille represents man's rational qualities. Unlike the Wesenwille, Kurwille is conscious assessment and decision. Alternative courses of action are considered in thought and then pursued.

Tonnies found the Wesenwille to predominate in the Gemeinschaft type of association and Kurwille in the Gesellschaft. Each reflected peculiar qualities of personality and character. The Gemeinschaft association dominated by Wesenwille showed a unity or a wholeness of the person where action stemmed from an inherent inner need. The Kurwille dominated person acted on rational and calculating ground. Means and end were carefully weighed in terms of expected results. "The awareness of means and ends as two separate and independent categories is the very core of Kurwille, whereas both are blended and remain undifferentiated in Wesenwille" (Pappenheim, 1959:71).

Tonnies's work is an important contribution to the understanding of alienation. His account of the transition from family centered life to associational life raised into bold view the profound

changes in human relations. Tonnies regarded these changes as disruptive and was even somewhat nostalgic about the Gemeinschaft; however, he did not advocate a return to the old way. Rather he sought a more meaningful adaptation to the emerging impersonal, autonomous Gesellschaft.

Emile Durkheim

Emile Durkheim shared with Marx a concern for an explanation of the course of history. As noted in the preceeding discussion, Marx saw change as emanating from the nature of social relations associated with the private enterprise system of production. Moreover, this change would produce a revolution and consequently a new social order. Durkheim observed the same general social conditions and preferred to describe them as evolutionary change in social solidarity. Two types of social solidarity are distinguished, mechanical and organic. Mechanical solidarity is characterized by value homogeneity, traditional domination, and likeness. Organic solidarity is based on differentiation and functional interdependence. Most societies of history have been of the mechanical variety wherein the collective conscience reigned supreme. The rise of technology associated with the growth of industrialization introduces a division of labor in society beyond that which is governed by nature. New activities demand revised justification and therefore cause a breach with the traditional values (collective conscience). The result is a new social and moral order marked by segmented interests and values, and united by the functional interdependence of reciprocal roles.

The objective in Durkheim's work was to demonstrate the effects of the division of labor on the nature of social life. It should be noted, however, that while he saw societies changing from the mechanical to the organic type, he did not think favorably of this change. Organic solidarity contained the inherent weakness of instability. Loss of the mutual cohesiveness and trust based upon a community of beliefs and sentiments could result in something of a monstrosity. Durkheim seems to have looked upon the emerging society with some trepidation. The reason for this seems quite clear. The transition from mechanical to organic solidarity left society in a condition of considerable disintegration. With the expanding division of labor, the values and norms of the mechanical society gave way. In their place came segmented interests and personal dislocation. To be sure, a variety of pathologies, both personal and social, became evident. This, together with methodological considerations stimulated Durkheim in the direction of research. He undertook to study the connection between social integration and social behavior. Using suicide as an index of social integration, he observed three types of suicide associated with varying degrees of social integration. The three types were altruistic, egoistic, and anomic. Altruistic suicide occurs in those groups with high levels of integration. Egoistic suicide is characteristic of those groups which stress individuality and have very low levels of integration. Anomic suicide is prevalent where a disintegration or breakdown in values and norms has occurred.

The central theme underlying Durkheim's analysis of the division of labor and suicide was man's isolation from traditional values. As societies grow larger in population, the more complex they become. There ensues a decay of the collective ideological integration. This state of decay and confusion Durkheim identified as normlessness, or anomie, the counterpart of perfect social integration.

Alexis de Tocqueville

The threat to individualism found expression in the work of Alexis de Tocqueville. Unlike a number of his colleagues, Tocqueville accepted the advent of secularism and democracy. His writing was not motivated by hopes of restructuring society or bringing about a new social order. He conducted, rather, a dispassionate appraisal of the democratic influences of society. His objectives in this were intellectual and analytical, not polemical or advocative. Throughout his analysis there is a vivid paradox. There was little doubt in his mind that the principles of egalitarian justice upon which democracy is based are an advancement over the aristocratic system. But the very system which holds greatest promise for the individual has the exact opposite affect. Cast amid a mass of equals the individual loses his sense of potency and worth. A kind of emptiness and resignation prevails. Independence of thought and opinion are dwarfed by the weight of the collective. A general deterioration in the quality of interpersonal life presses man into a state of moral and intellectual starvation.

Political power constitutes the most serious threat to individualism. "For Tocqueville political power is simultaneously a cause of alienation, through its invasion of the communities of membership which form society, and a refuge from alienation: that is, political power in a democracy becomes increasingly a fortress of escape from the ills and frustrations of civil society" (Nisbet, 1966c:133).

The main reasons for the deterioration of the individual under democracy include the secularization of human values and the consequent decline in the hold of religion, the predominance of the mass and public opinion, the specialization of labor, and disruption in the sense of community. Taken together and accompanied by a disintegration of the mechanisms of social control such as honor, loyalty, and trust, one can see the picture of the declined stature of man portrayed by Tocqueville.

George Simmel

"The deepest problems of modern life derive from the claim of the individual to preserve the autonomy and individuality of his existence in the face of overwhelming social forces, of historical heritage, of external culture, and of the technique of life. The fight with nature which primitive man has to wage for his bodily existence attains in his modern form its latest transformation" (Simmel, K. H. Wolff, Ed., 1950:409). Life for growing numbers of people means city life. Originally believed to be the genuine liberation of man, it quickly had the opposite effect. People did not find self-realization in their highly specialized and mechanized

lives. On the contrary, they found it impossible to preserve a sense of wholeness and self identity. What had first signaled the release of individual significance now served only to fragment men into highly regularized and routinized roles.

For Simmel, alienation was a kind of collision between society and the individual in the general form of individual life. He examined the various forms which characterized all social interaction. In fact, it was the description of these forms of interaction that set the task of sociology. All human groups, whatever their size or purpose, show peculiar forms of behavior on the part of member to member. Among these are superiority and subordination, competition, division of labor, formation of loyalties, and in-group solidarity. Simmel described quite clearly how the different properties of groups (size--the triad and the dyad) affected the nature of the relationship between members.

An important area of interest in the work of Simmel was the special case of competition, that being conflict. He was drawn to this particular topic because of the many tensions and anxieties nurtured in the industrial society. In explaining the origins of conflict, Simmel found it to have both functional and dysfunctional import. The same is true of alienation. An amount of alienation was not only inevitable but necessary, for in this condition men find protection from the stress producing stimulation.

Unlike Durkheim and Weber, Simmel viewed alienation in a purely matter of fact fashion, free of any kind of emotional evaluation. In

fact, it happened to be almost totally methodological. Most significantly, then, alienation manifests itself, at least to some degree, in every human relationship.

Erich Fromm

Erich Fromm has perhaps contributed more to the popularity of the concept alienation than anyone. The term found expression in Escape from Freedom (1941) but took on greater significance later in his book The Sane Society (1955a). In this latter work, considered basically a continuation of Escape from Freedom, Fromm proposes an analysis of social character solely in terms of alienation.

Fromm was deeply indebted to Karl Marx for his view of alienation. So similar were they that it is often difficult to distinguish what is Marx and what is Fromm. None the less they do differ in at least two ways. In the first instance Marx's use of alienation was selective, having reference to man's alienation from the products of his labor, making of his own acts an alien power standing over against him. On the other hand, almost nothing escaped Fromm's application of the term (Fromm, 1955b:114). In fact, it was Fromm's express purpose to extend Marx's usage to the wider society and especially to examine the alienating effects of more recent developments. Secondly, in elaborating and extending Marx's conception of alienation, Fromm also "psychologized" the term by elevating to higher levels of importance the mental and emotional connotations of the term.

As stated earlier, Fromm attempted to study contemporary social character from the perspective of alienation. Without question he did just that and in so doing contended that, "alienation as we find it in the modern world is almost total, it pervades the relationship of man to his work, to the things he consumes, to the state, to his fellow man, and to himself" (1955c:114-115).

As Fromm saw it, the roots of man's alienation are found in his evolutionary development. Unlike the lower animals whose functioning is fixed by instinct, man has a physiological endowment which enables him to transcend nature. He no longer lives according to the coercive forces of nature but rather according to the influence of self awareness, reason, and imagination. As a result man has become separated from the oneness of nature and cast into a foreign environment. "The problem of man's existence, then, is unique in the whole of nature; he has fallen out of nature, as it were, and is still in it; he is partly divine, partly animal; partly infinite, partly finite" (1955a:31). The result is essentially a new environmental situation to which man must adjust and adapt. This new situation is problematic in that it spawns a complex of needs requiring satisfaction. Among these needs are the need for relatedness or reunion, the need for creative activity, the need for belonging, the need for self definition and identify, and the need for a perspective or point of view (1955b:35-66).

The position taken by Fromm is that under capitalism man is unable to fulfill any of these needs satisfactorily. Instead of

enjoying a reunion with nature he suffers from isolation and character disintegration. Endowed with the equipment to rise above nature he is, nonetheless, unable to satisfy his felt need for creativity. Nor is he able to find closeness or primaryness in the growing autonomy and impersonality of mass humanity, and perhaps because of these problems he is uncertain of what he is or should be, and consequently faces an identity problem. What remains is a collection of bodies devoid of purpose and direction, point of view and perspective. All the features of capitalist society--work, bureaucracy, competition, leisure, religion, sex, reason, freedom, mass, etc.,--are alienating. The picture portrayed by Fromm is admittedly one-sided but very little can be found to justify optimism.

Karl Mannheim

A number of writers already discussed, including Marx and Tonnies, saw society suffering from distrust and disorganization as a result of the fundamental changes occurring in society in connection with industrialization, rationality, and secularization. Karl Mannheim agreed that these changes were taking place and undertook to give an account of this following closely the method used by Marx.

The key to the problem, as observed earlier by Marx, was the "consequences of the concentration of the means of production and the separation of the worker from those means" (Zeitlin, 1968:310). However, Mannheim went further than Marx for he did not limit the implications of these two factors to the economic sphere. These changes

had equally important consequences in other institutions, notably the political and military. While Marx saw the division of society along production lines with the resulting conflict between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, Mannheim saw both the means of political administration and the means of violence and destruction falling into the possession of a small elite minority. Accompanied by the bureaucratization and rationalization of social life, the basic tenants of democracy were virtually defeated.

Under these circumstances the average individual is reduced to a state of "terrified helplessness" and impotence, and unable to conduct himself as an autonomous agent. Mannheim therefore prescribed as a solution to this condition a system of democratic planning. This proposal met with a great deal of difficulty for how does one reconcile centralization of decision making necessary for planning with the requirements of decentralization in a democracy. Mannheim was never quite able to resolve this dilemma. He charged a small elite with the task of planning in hopes that they would strive for the common good. But past experience has shown that concentration of power has more often than not entailed oligarchy and even totalitarian rule.

In the end it must be said that Mannheim was somewhat ambivalent about democracy. Whereas he frequently attempted to "democratize" non democratic techniques, he is neither without contradiction nor convincing. In spite of all this, however, Mannheim should be recognized for having tried to re-establish some semblance of

guiding principles of the old liberal era which had since lost its economic and social base.

Robert K. Merton

A concern with the concept alienation in the work of Robert K. Merton came by way of his analysis of the social and cultural sources of deviant behavior. Specifically, his objective was to identify and describe those ways in which social structure is related to the performance of anti-social behavior.

Acknowledging the value of functional analysis as an explanatory device, he asserted that the social and cultural structures supply both the desired goals and the proper and acceptable means for achieving those goals. But, he says, in the highly institutionalized societies of the West particularly, there is an obvious imbalance in the emphasis placed upon these two, with the greater stress given to the cultural goals. Highly prized and desired goals without the perceived availability of means for attainment produces a condition of anxious disillusionment or "anomie".

Merton assumes first that all members of the society agree as to the desirability of the goals. In addition, non attainment of a given goal should not indicate failure but rather a delay in the realization of the goal. Failure, in his terms, can only result from loss of ambition (Merton, 1968a:193).

Having conceptualized things in this fashion, Merton then constructed a typology of alternative modes of individual adaptation

of means to ends. He considered five types of adaptation as shown in the following paradigm (Merton, 1968b:194):

<u>Modes of Adaptation</u>	<u>Cultural Goals</u>	<u>Institutionalized Means</u>
I. Conformity	+	+
II. Innovation	+	-
III. Ritualism	-	+
IV. Retreatism	-	-
V. Rebellion	+	+

(+) signifies "acceptance"

(-) signifies "rejection"

Type I, conformity, reflects perfect integration of goals and means and therefore does not imply any deviant behavior.

Type II, innovation, occurs when one has internalized the cultural goals without having equally internalized the institutionalized means for achieving the goals.

Type III, ritualism, finds one practically ignoring the desired cultural goals although there is no radical departure from the accepted and expected norms of conduct.

Type IV, retreatism, includes the dropouts, addicts, psychotics, etc., who have abandoned both the cultural goals and the institutionalized means. These are the truly alienated people. Resigned, asocial, disinherited, frustrated, these people are, as Merton says, "in the society but not of it."

Type V, rebellion, is particularly relevant here since it represents an attempt to substitute a highly modified or new set of

goals and means for a rejected one and so implies alienation from the existing social structure.

By means of this paradigmatic scheme, Merton is able to isolate those structural arrangements (particular adaptations) which can pressure persons to engage in deviant behavior. It can be noted that with the exception of type I, conformity, anomie can exist in either the goals or the means.

C. Wright Mills

The great legacy of the Enlightenment, says C. Wright Mills (1959a), is the value of reason and freedom. An increased application of rationality would, it was believed, make men free. This was the supreme fact of the Modern Period which had witnessed unlimited faith in the notion of progress. But the Modern Period is at an end and is being succeeded by a post modern period wherein "the ideas of freedom and of reason have become moot, that increased rationality may not be assumed to make for increased freedom" (Mills, 1959b:167). The grounds for this assertion are to be found in the human consequences of the "rationalization" of life. From the broader societal level on down to the immediate milieu, men must function within highly rational organizations. With the accompanying increase in the division of labor, life becomes segmented, making reasoning difficult if not impossible. The result is a society characterized by rationality but without reason.

From the point of view of the individual, life becomes an experience of fate. Feeling caught in a set of circumstances and forces beyond control, one does the best he can. The best, however, is an adaptation to the immediate situation which leaves one with a profound sense of hopelessness in the long run and a suspicion that neither freedom nor reason are important or possible. Alienated in all areas of life, Mills asks whether a new "human nature" he calls "The Cheerful Robot" will soon flourish. He fears that it will and wonders further whether we have retained a sufficient amount of intellectual life and freedom to understand it and to respond to it. Although more pessimistic he challenges the social scientist to confront the problem vigorously.

Summary

A preoccupation of nineteenth century thought involved the idea of progress. The philosophical nationalists, including most of the men previously discussed in this chapter, were outspoken advocates of the inevitable growth and development of human life and knowledge. Make men wise and you necessarily make them free became something of the motto of the era.

Practically without exception, these men sought answers to the historical process or the laws of social dynamics which make for progress. But along with this search for the secrets of progressive advancements, there were dissenting views. The same forces which suggested unrestricted optimism also suggested pessimism. All

changes would not result in a net gain in human happiness. On the contrary, it would depreciate man immeasurably. Rationality, technology, and secularism could be used to defend both good and evil--progress and community versus alienation. It might not be unfair or unfounded to say that while the scholars were publicly optimistic, they agreed that the disintegrating and disorganizing forces of society were dominant.

Synopsis of Seeman's Conceptual Scheme

Melvin Seeman has set forth a typology of alienation in his article, "On the Meaning of Alienation" (1959a), which is considered by most scholars to be the definitive analytical statement. Insofar as it brings some degree of order to a chaos of diverse interpretations, it is just that.² His conceptualization consists of a systematic formulation of five dimensions that he has derived from theory and research. They are as follows:

1. A feeling of powerlessness or helplessness on the part of the individual (K. Marx).
2. A feeling of meaninglessness on the part of the individual, referring to the individual's sense of understanding the events in which he is engaged (Adorno, Cantril, Mannheim).
3. The loss on the part of the individual of commonly held standards and a resulting development of instrumental, manipulative attitudes (Durkheim).

²This conceptualization is summarized for the purposes of research in Appendix III, p. 146.

4. The feeling of detachment of one who has become estranged from his society and the culture it carries.
5. The mode of experience by which a person experiences himself as an alien. He has become estranged from himself (Fromm).

The first dimension, powerlessness, is derived from the Marxian view that the worker in an industrial society is alienated to the extent that he does not control the means of production. Seeman notes Weber's extension of Marx's concept beyond the economic sphere of activity, in which the worker's separation from the means of production becomes merely a special case of a more general condition. Seeman asserts powerlessness to be "the expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behavior cannot determine the occurrence of the outcome, or reinforcements, he seeks." The utilization of the expectancy principle is clearly consistent with "social learning" theory and Seeman uses it consistently himself. With regard to powerlessness, Seeman notes that his concept does not take into account the discrepancy factor (control the individual expects as opposed to the control he desires) and although he indicates the possible importance of this factor, he makes it clear that he has chosen to focus on expectancies because it is consistent with his other conceptualizations and because it "avoids building ethical or adjustmental features into the concept."

The second dimension is that of meaninglessness. Seeman notes the use of this concept by Adorno in his analysis of social movements, and by Mannheim who argues that as "functional rationality increases,

the ability of the individual to act intelligently on the basis of his own insights decreases." Seeman asserts that alienation in the meaninglessness sense occurs when "the individual is unclear as to what he ought to believe, when his minimal standards for clarity in decision-making are not met. The individual cannot predict with confidence the consequences of acting on a given belief." On this basis, Seeman defines meaninglessness as a "low expectancy that satisfactory predictions about future outcomes of behavior can be made." Note, however, the possibility that a person can have low expectancy about future outcomes of behavior without having the feeling of meaninglessness. Indeed, this would seem to be a common outlook for many persons. Perhaps the problem here is Seeman's translation of meaninglessness as it is developed in the literature. He appears to adopt Mannheim's view that meaninglessness is referable to man's inability to act intelligently on the basis of insight. If you attach the notion of purposelessness to the concept, however, quite a different understanding results. I believe that meaninglessness can be more fruitfully conceived as a condition of the individual who feels that his life lacks meaning, direction, or purpose. There is a discrepancy between what the individual believes should be and what actually is. This does not necessarily have objective referents (what an individual feels should be, in a society...and what is not), but again, refers to a lack of sufficient purpose or meaning in a person's life when it is felt there should be

some greater meaning or purpose there. This conceptualization seems to be a more perceptive view of meaninglessness than Seeman's.

A third dimension of alienation is that of normlessness which is derived from Durkheim's definition of anomie. In the anomie literature there is reference to a condition of normative deregulation in which the norms become vague, ill-defined, and confused. Merton extended the concept in his description of the consequences of a discrepancy between cultural goals and institutionalized means of achieving these goals. Seeman notes Merton's statement that in such a situation anomie will develop to the extent that "the technically most efficient procedure whether culturally legitimate or not, becomes typically preferred to institutionally prescribed conduct." Furthermore, Seeman distinguishes this dimension of normlessness from the concept of "anomie," since the former is based on the individual's point of view being a "high expectancy that socially unapproved behavior is required to achieve given goals," while the latter "denotes a situation in which the social norms regulating individual conduct have broken down" (1959b:787). Seeman cautions that this formulation of normlessness "narrows the evocative character of the concept," but he also feels that the greater potential that this gives for research justifies this limitation.

The fourth dimension of alienation refers to the individual's sense of social isolation, of estrangement from society. Seeman defines this type of alienation as "the assignation of low reward values to goals or beliefs that are typically highly valued in the

given society." Thus the individual who assigns low values to goals that are generally valued highly would be rejecting society.

The final dimension of alienation is that of self-estrangement. Fromm, more than anyone else, elaborates this version of alienation and describes it as being the state or condition of an individual who is alienated or estranged from himself. Seeman has difficulty with this type and indicates such by noting what he feels is an apparent overlap between it and the other types of alienation, and also, that it is difficult to define what is meant by alienation from self. He resolves this problem by noting that what is being postulated is the estrangement of the self from an ideal human condition, and that the key to the problem is a self-alienation characterized by the loss of intrinsic meaning or pride in work. He then goes on to cast the dimension in social learning terms as "the degree of dependence of a given behavior upon anticipated future rewards" (rewards which are outside the activity itself). This, Seeman indicates, refers to the inability of the individual to find self-rewarding activities that engage him.

It can be concluded, I believe, that Seeman has gone far in his attempt to define the concept in ways congenial to operationalization. I also feel that his effort to recast the concept in social learning terminology lends additional support to that end.

To determine whether or not Seeman has accomplished what he intended and used accordingly in research, as hypothesized here, the

following four sub-hypotheses were derived for the purpose of examining the empirical research that has been done on alienation.

The logic upon which the following four sub-hypotheses are based is found in Merton and others whose writings have articulated the relationship between theory and research. In operationalizing concepts in research it is expected that consideration would first be given to those formulations already in existence.

Formulation of Sub-Hypotheses

1. Based upon Seeman's five dimensional scheme one should expect a fairly equal emphasis on the examination of all dimensions of alienation in the literature.
2. Given Seeman's specification and definition of the component elements of each dimension one should expect to find these same component elements specified in subsequent studies of alienation.
3. Following the five dimensional conceptualization proposed by Seeman, one should expect to find a relationship of independence between the respective dimensions in subsequent studies.
4. Given the relationship between theory and research as applied in this study, one should expect Seeman's assumptions as to the nature of alienation (as a social psychological phenomenon) and its treatment (in social learning terms) to be followed in subsequent research.

CHAPTER III

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Methodological Perspective

To have a theory for something is to have an explanation for it. Quite obviously not all explanations fall within the realm of science. They are found in all areas of ordinary life and serve a multitude of purposes. Their origins are generally the immediate grounds of individual action and their character is especially unique and of limited applicability. On the other hand, explanations in science have (or should have) their origins in vastly wider ranges of human conduct and exceed common sense in terms of scope of known applicability. Consequently, in science explanations are couched in terms whose attributes are abstracted from the empirical world (concepts) and related to one another in such ways as to constitute precise systematic statements (propositions).

A common misconception, even among scientists, is to regard precise systematic statements as necessarily factual. Unfortunately, that is not the case. And even if it were, there are a great many factors which mitigate against it. Eternal unalterable truth just does not happen to fall within the scope of scientific determination. No doubt a great many reasons might account for this, but probably most significant are those of extreme complexity, relativism, change, limitations of man, and probably most important, the limitations of the method of science itself. The result is that attention has turned

to the more limited explanations (Merton, 1968). It appears that social scientists, especially, tend to favor the search for causality within limited systems. Rather than seek final truth, practitioners in the field of sociology attempt to specify conditions under which this or that variable occurs or changes.

Broadly speaking, two methodological approaches have vied for acceptance among sociologists. They are the formal scientific method, modeled after the physical sciences, and the informal Verstehen method (Bertrand, 1967). Sociologists have long debated the relative merits of these methods. Moreover, the history of sociology itself is as much methodological as substantive. Suffice it to say at this point that both sides to the argument have their adherents and spokesmen claiming validity. While these are the two theoretical approaches, sociology has been truly inventive in the many techniques to support them. Among these are the comparative, analytical, experimental, statistical, survey, historical, participant observation, and case study. None of these techniques has been the exclusive property of one theoretical approach. On the contrary, their uses have been determined largely by the knowledge and skill of the individual scientists.

In terms of what has been said so far, the thesis being proposed is basically theoretical in the sense that it seeks an explanation of something - alienation. Of course no new and entirely different explanation is anticipated. None the less, what is intended is the type of analysis which will facilitate clarification and

systemization and in that way be explanatory. The method to be used in this research does not conform, strictly speaking, to either the formal or the informal method, although the actual procedures to be followed are quite common among the "logics in use" in sociology. Specifically, a set of questions were used, the answers to which will supply the data relevant to the above stated sub-hypotheses. Then, by means of a comparative analysis (comparison of the conceptualizations of alienation in research since 1959 to Seeman), it will be possible to observe and weigh the evidence pertinent to the sub-hypotheses.

Since this study is basically an essay in theory, the methods and procedures are necessarily those adapted to this type of work.

Data Selection

A major consideration in any scientific study is the collection of data. Data collection is important because all that one can hope to learn is based upon the data. Errors committed in the process of data collection can easily render a study valueless. Probably the single most important point is that the data gathered should be as truly representative of the total population as possible. Trustworthy generalization, which is the goal of all research, can be achieved only if the criteria of representativeness are satisfied.

Interest in alienation ranges over a wide area, and it is treated from many disciplinary orientations including sociology, social psychology, psychology, political science, and from the

perspective of the educator and administrator. It extends from theoretical and methodological concerns. And it is given both theoretical and empirical treatment. From a wide range of studies, it is necessary for the purposes of research to define a "population of studies" having particular characteristics that are amenable to the problems and hypotheses being considered by this dissertation. Five basic criteria were found desirable for establishing a population of studies concerning alienation. These included: (1) the date of publication; (2) location of the study within the United States; (3) orientation of the study; (4) the inclusion of empirical data; and (5) the kind of treatment given to the "concept of alienation."³

The first criterion specifies that all studies must have been published since December, 1959, the date Melvin Seeman's article on "The Meaning of Alienation," was published in The American Sociological Review. This allows the inclusion of research done by persons who should have had the opportunity to become familiar with Seeman's contribution to the conceptualization of alienation. Studies published prior to this date would not have had such an opportunity and are excluded for that reason.

The second criterion specifies that the research and publication of the study be within the United States of America - a limitation made out of practical necessity. This is functional from the standpoint of the availability of Seeman's article and research

³Refer to Appendix I, p. 132.

within the United States, and the extent to which researchers of the concept may be expected to be aware of the literature on the particular topic "alienation" within a limited geographical area.

The third criterion specifies that the orientation of the study be one of sociology, social psychology, or a related behavioral science. Studies in criminology, political science, education, administrative science, and other related fields are eligible for inclusion. Since the focus of this examination (dissertation) is to determine the treatment given to the "concept of alienation" in terms of the scientific methodology involved in its conceptualization and empirical testing, it was found desirable to include all studies which specifically treat alienation as a concept, regardless of the disciplinary orientation of the research. To limit the treatment of the concept to the area of sociology, per se, would cause the exclusion of pertinent studies from other fields. Hence, some of the studies included in the defined population come from diverse fields within the social and behavioral sciences, while the preponderance of studies come from the discipline of sociology where the study of the concept has been most extensive. Determination of inclusion or exclusion under this criterion was based upon (1) the author's recognized field of competency; (2) the source of publication; and (3) the expressed orientation of the article.

The fourth criterion specifies the inclusion of all studies which contain pertinent empirical data. Five "types of studies" were defined under this category depending upon their varying degrees of

theoretical and empirical content. Type "A" included those studies which lacked reference to any theoretical foundation on which they were dependent. Type "B" consisted of studies which contained a discussion of the theoretical premises on which they were based. Type "C" included studies which were done in such a way as to evaluate or refine theoretical concepts of alienation. Type "D" consisted of primarily theoretical studies which also contained empirical data used to support the theory. Secondary empirical studies done by persons other than the author of the theoretical work are included here. And lastly, type "E", which was excluded from the population because of the failure to include any explicit empirical data. By and large, all philosophical studies of alienation were excluded under the criterion of this category. Because the nature of the problem under investigation necessitates the analysis of empirical research, studies which did not include such data could not be included in the population.

The fifth criterion refers to the treatment of the subject matter, alienation. It was determined that a study must specifically purport to study alienation as either the major subject of investigation, a part of the central theme, or a major variable in the analysis of the problem. The reason for this was that the term alienation must be given enough treatment so that the researcher could determine exactly what meaning was given to the concept of alienation and how it was used in the empirical research. Furthermore, it was required that alienation be treated as a concept or research tool, not merely as a descriptive adjective as is sometimes the case. There

must be some concern on each researcher's part to specify the application of "alienation" in a research problem, or to apply the theoretical concept in such a way that the findings may be held to support, modify, or conflict with the used meaning of alienation. That is, either a definition is necessitated by the research problem, or the research, by its nature, describes the meaning of alienation intended.

Studies of "anomie" are excluded to the extent that they refer to a separate concept. Any studies which expressly treated anomie as a dimension of alienation, were, on the other hand, found acceptable under this criterion. Any term, dimension, or aspect (e.g., narcissism, estrangement, dissidence, isolation, segregation, loneliness, worthlessness, inadequacy, powerlessness, discrimination, etc.) that may be construed as part of, or referring to the concept of alienation was excluded from the population unless the researcher expressly stated that it constituted part of the concept of alienation. This was necessary to prevent the arbitrary inclusion of studies of particular dimensions regardless of how the researchers intended them to be used. In other words, this examination is bound by the usage and meaning given to alienation by the person who did the research.

The ability of a study to meet the above criteria and be included in the population was determined by an analysis of the study or an abstract thereof. The studies themselves were located and identified by an annotated bibliography on the Social Aspects of Alienation (April, 1969) by the National Institute of Mental Health, and a supplemental bibliography prepared from an independent check of

major journals, abstracts, and references cited in the sources listed in Social Aspects of Alienation. A review of the literature showed that this bibliography is quite comprehensive.

From the above sources, a total of one hundred three studies were found suitable for inclusion into the population from approximately three hundred studies considered.⁴ After the population had been defined and identified, it was stratified according to eleven subject areas listed in Social Aspects of Alienation. There were: (1) theoretical and methodological issues; (2) the alienated worker; (3) the alienated voter; (4) the alienated young; (5) the alienated old; (6) the alienated black; (7) the alienated poor; (8) selected aspects; (9) alienation and deviant behavior; (10) alienation and cultural change; (11) alienation and psychological processes; and (12) miscellaneous (for studies which did not fit the above eleven). This stratification was beneficial and necessary to guarantee a broad inclusion of studies on alienation from diverse fields and from several disciplines. There was no particular order followed in the placement of the studies in the strata, as they were categorized in order of their consideration.

From the stratified population described above, a random sequential sample of fifty-one studies was drawn.⁵ This sample is

⁴These are listed in Appendix II, p. 135.

⁵These are listed in Appendix II, p. 135.

held to be representative of studies in general which have focused on defining and testing the concept of alienation with a broad sociological perspective. The extent to which each researcher has examined the prior literature in order to make use of theory and the extent to which Seeman's analysis of the concept of alienation has been used, should be determinable by investigation into the characteristics of this population. In selecting the data for this study we have necessarily been setting boundaries. Since it is hardly feasible to consider all the work of every author who claims to study alienation, a selection must be made. In establishing boundaries for a study one sets the limits of the domain on intended meaning and the universe of discourse.

Sample Characteristics.

The information needed to analyze the four sub-hypotheses was derived from an item analysis form applied to each study in the sample.⁶ Several characteristics of the sample should be indicated. A proportional selection of studies from the strata resulted in the following representation: Theoretical and Methodological Issues-4; Alienated Worker-9; Alienated Voter-11; Alienated Young-9; Alienated Old-1; Alienated Black-2; Alienated Poor-0; Social Structure Aspects-3; Deviant Behavior-6; Cultural Change-0; Psychological Processes-4; and Miscellaneous-3.

⁶This form is presented in Appendix IV, p. 152.

Five disciplinary orientations were represented in the selection: Sociology-21; Social Psychology-22; Political Science-4; Psychology-3; and Education-1. The prevalence of sociology and social psychology was expected since the analysis of alienation is a central theme in these two disciplinary orientations. Many psychological and psychoanalytic studies were considered for inclusion in the population but few were found acceptable under the criteria for inclusion. The reason for this is that most of these studies treat general syndromes of various patients without an attempt to employ a specific meaning of alienation in empirical situations. The authors frequently give impressions and observations they have acquired through years of clinical experience without relating detailed case histories or distinguishable events to a particular conceptualization of alienation. At the same time, however, it appears that the psychoanalyst is the person most often involved in studying the dimension of self-estrangement - a dimension that is infrequently treated at the political and social level. Hence, the frequency of treatment given this dimension in the population is rather sparse.

The purpose for stratifying the sample was to conform to the format presented in Social Aspects of Alienation and to thereby guarantee that the sample would give some treatment to the various contexts in which alienation might be studied. This would in turn give a measure of the difficulty of applying Seeman's scheme in differing contexts as well as its ability to function as a conceptual standard for the population as a whole.

Certain factors studied in this dissertation were shown to have a clear relationship to the stratigraphic categorization: (A) Of the five disciplinary orientations represented in the sample, all four studies included from political science appeared in Stratum C (Voters). All others appeared to be randomly distributed. (B) Seeman's conceptualization was heavily relied upon as a theoretical base in Stratum I (Deviant Behavior--five of six studies) but was not frequently used in Strata D (Youth--one of eight) and K (Psychological processes--none of four). (Seeman was used in only one of eight studies in the former stratum and in none of the four studies in the latter.) Otherwise there seemed to be no distinct relationship between the use of Seeman and a particular stratum. (C) A direct correspondence was indicated between the use of social learning terminology and Strata I (Deviant Behavior) and K (Psychological Processes). This terminology was recorded in all eight studies in the former stratum and in none of the four studies in the latter.

Stratum	Frequency	Percent (N=5)
Powerlessness	32	(64)
Non-participation	13	(26)
Participation	22	(44)
Isolation	12	(24)
Self-estrangement	0	(0)

*Percentages do not add to 100 in the first three tables as multiple responses were possible.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF DATA

The basic hypothesis of this study as stated in Chapter I is that "inasmuch as there should be some relationship between theory and research, one would expect an influence of Seeman's theoretical formulation on subsequent study and that this study should, in turn, cause clarification and refinement of that theory." Four sub-hypotheses were formulated, the data for which were considered the principal evidence pertaining to the basic hypothesis stated above.

Sub-Hypothesis One

Based upon Seeman's five dimensional scheme one would expect a fairly equal emphasis on the examination of all dimensions of alienation in the literature.

The major findings are contained in the following table:

TABLE 1. Frequency and Percent of Use of Dimensions in Research*

Dimension	Use	
	Frequency	Percent (N=51)
Powerlessness	32	(63%)
Meaninglessness	13	(25%)
Normlessness	22	(43%)
Isolation	14	(27%)
Self-estrangement	8	(16%)

*Percentages do not add to 100 in the first three tables as multiple responses were possible.

Two things can be observed immediately. One, all five dimensions have been used in research. Two, there is a wide gap between the most often and least often used dimension. While thirty-two of fifty-one studies include powerlessness, only eight of the fifty-one include self-estrangement. A four times greater usage of powerlessness over self-estrangement is substantial. Normlessness received the second largest coverage with twenty-two of fifty-one studies. The remaining two, meaninglessness and isolation, are very similar, at thirteen of fifty-one and fourteen of fifty-one respectively.

The figures presented in the above table represent the relative frequency of the use of the various dimensions in research. No determination has been made here as to whether the individual researchers were familiar with Seeman. It was only necessary that the dimension be identified in use.

It was also shown that of the fifty-one studies analyzed, sixteen or 31% failed to include any reference of Seeman's dimensions. Further, eight of the fifty-one (16%) included one of Seeman's dimensions; eleven (22%) included only two dimensions; eight (16%) included only three dimensions; five (1%) included only four dimensions; and three (.06%) included all five of Seeman's dimensions.

A number of factors, I believe, have a bearing on the rather disproportionate study of Seeman's five dimensions. First, the notion of powerlessness has a deep and pivotal place in sociology. Having originated in the works of Karl Marx, the term found continued importance in Max Weber's work which was a major influence in the

development of American sociology. A fairly recent reassessment of Marxian thought has further stimulated interest in the phenomenon of power. In view of the large place occupied by considerations of power in human affairs, it is quite understandable why present researchers tend to define problems in those terms.

A second and related factor has its roots in the contemporary general socio-political atmosphere. Quite unlike the climate of ten to fifteen years ago, the socio-political scene of today is under the influence of "participatory democracy." Seen differently by some it involves a keen feeling and desire to be engaged, to be active. Any perspective might be suitable to these feelings, but a perspective involving power relations has greatest appeal. The perspective of the scientist has not been altogether bypassed. It seems that the phenomenon of power has again become a dominant focus in the study of human relations.

A further clarification of the findings pertaining to sub-hypothesis one can be achieved by observing the number of studies that made direct reference to Seeman and those that actually used Seeman's definition in research; this is shown in Table 2.

The reader should be cautioned at this point against oversimplifying the meaning of "noted" and "used" in this table. One might assume that if Seeman is noted in a particular study, the author is also familiar with his conceptualization and therefore more likely to adopt Seeman's scheme. However, this is not a particularly valid assumption since there was considerable variation in both the nature

and purpose of the references. Some referred to Seeman merely in passing while others cited his 1959 work in great detail.

TABLE 2. Notation and Use of Seeman's Definition in Research

	Frequency	Percent (N = 51)
Seeman noted	38	(75%)
Seeman used	21	(41%)

The actual use of Seeman's definition was also variable. Some used Seeman's definition in one context and failed to use it in others. Still others used portions of Seeman's definition and either substituted or deleted the rest. In short, the nature and purpose of the reference, as stated by the authors, often had vague and tenuous connections with the actual use of Seeman's definition.

The source of the concept alienation used in research is most difficult to establish. No single factor is sufficient to explain this although several factors taken together show some rather interesting patterns. As already noted, thirty-eight of the fifty-one studies make reference to Melvin Seeman either as the source of the concept used or as a source of part of the concept used. Twenty-one of the fifty-one studies also used Seeman's definition, leaving seventeen studies citing Seeman but not using his definition in research. The number of studies both citing and using Seeman's definition includes

four studies of which he (Seeman) was the author or co-author. As was quite often the case, the authors of these studies would also use their own definitions or a definition derived from someone else. For example, twenty-seven authors used their own definitions of alienation in their studies, and twenty-four used a definition from some other source. Table 3 shows the frequency with which Seeman's, the respective author's own, and another's definition of alienation is used.

TABLE 3. Frequency of Use of Various Definitions of Alienation in Research

Definition of alienation	Use	
	Frequency	Percent (N = 51)
Seeman's	22	43%
Author's own	27	53%
Other	24	47%

An analysis of the various combinations of alienation definitions used in research provides another perspective on the problem posed in sub-hypothesis one. There were eight possible combinations ranging from those with no definition of alienation to those using all three (Table 4, types I-VIII). Beginning with type I, eight percent of the studies offered no particular source of the definition of alienation used. It was characteristic of studies in this type to use an implicit rather than an explicit definition of alienation. In so

doing the authors rarely made a definitive statement, assuming, I suppose, that it was either previously understood or unimportant.

TABLE 4. Variation in the Use of Seeman's, Author's, and Other's Definition of Alienation*

Definition of alienation	Combinations of definitions and percentage of 51 studies by type							
	I (8%)	II (10%)	III (18%)	IV (10%)	V (16%)	VI (14%)	VII (20%)	VIII (6%)
Seeman's	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+
Author's	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+
Other's	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+

*Plus sign indicates usage; minus sign indicates non-usage of respective definitions.

Only ten percent of the studies analyzed used Seeman's definition of alienation exclusively (type II). In terms of both the number of references made to him (see Table 2) and the acknowledged value of his (1959) operational synthesis of alienation, this is an astonishingly low percentage. The small percentage of studies that used Seeman's definition exclusively is partially explained, I believe, by the eighteen percent (type III) that used Seeman's definition, but either for reason of its believed inadequacy, insufficiency, or inappropriateness, the authors decided to supply their own definitions as well. The result was that some authors simply added their own definitions to Seeman's or used them as alternatives, in which case the meaning was altered entirely.

Ten percent of the studies used both Seeman's definition and a definition from some other source (type IV). A common practice among the studies in this type was the use of one or more standardized scales along with Seeman's definition.

In sixteen percent of the studies, the author's definition was the only definition used (type V). Two factors related to this type are noteworthy. First, only two studies, S-14 and S-24, made no reference to Seeman. It is possible, therefore, that the authors of the other six studies found Seeman's definition deficient in some sense, and hence decided to use or develop their own definitions. Second, of the eight studies in this type only one used a standardized test (S-29 used the TAT). The implication to be drawn from this is that the authors of these studies appeared to be most intent upon conducting their studies and presenting their findings as original works, while at the same time carefully avoiding use of either Seeman's or anyone else's definition of alienation. The evidence for this can be found in the fact that only four of the eight studies included dimensions other than those found in Seeman. Combined, these four studies, S-15, S-18, S-29, and S-48, used only seven other dimensions. Furthermore, four of these eight studies are conspicuously free of any other dimensions, meaning those not present in Seeman.

The next category, type VI, totaling fourteen percent of the studies, avoided Seeman's definition but included both the author's and a definition from some other source. Although not differing appreciably from the previous category in terms of familiarity with Seeman

(as judged by reference note), this type was far more productive of other dimensions, supplying a total of nineteen, with every study containing at least one, and one study having as many as six (S-4).

The largest percentage, twenty in type VII, is represented by those authors who neither used Seeman's definition nor their own, but rather used one developed by someone else. The basic reason for the relatively large representation in this category results from the acknowledged ambiguity of the concept alienation. Most studies of this type employ one or more established scales in hope of avoiding further confusion by contributing yet another definition. The intent is understandable and of some merit. However, the belief that the use of an established measuring instrument would result in a real and immediate clarification of even one small facet of the concept was not particularly sound. The so-called "established scales" are themselves wanting in clarity, scope, and precision (see footnote 8, p. 62). Their use has, as often as not, contributed to and extended the confusion.

The eighth type found the lowest representation with only three studies. Two of the three, S-1 and S-25, are Ph.D. dissertations while the other (S-22) is co-authored by A. Neal and M. Seeman. Few studies are of this variety because of the complexity necessarily accompanying the interrelationships of the definitions. Neal and Seeman qualified for this type because they used Seeman's definition (Seeman also being co-author) plus they used Srole's scale which does not clearly correspond to any one or number of Seeman's dimensions. The Ph.D. became

eligible for reasons of the elaborate, multi-faceted approaches taken to the study of their problems. Several individual and independent definitions were employed and/or developed in the same work.

An assessment of the evidence pertaining to sub-hypothesis one is incomplete without a discussion of the "other dimensions" that have been used by many authors. In the statement of the problem section of this dissertation, notice was given to the unusually confused and imprecise nature of the concept alienation. It was further stated that authors frequently substituted or used in addition, terms which appeared related to the meaning of alienation. In fact there seems to be no end to the number of such terms that might be considered in some fashion connected with alienation. The findings in this study lend a great deal of support to the view expressed in the statement of the problem. Alienation seems to have meant practically anything anyone wanted it to mean. In all, sixty-one other dimensions, meaning dimensions not present in Seeman, were used.⁷

The large number of "other dimensions" found in the studies analyzed in the present research begs the obvious question, why? Why are there so many other dimensions in the first place; and second, how can their appearance be explained? Before we attempt to answer these questions something should be said about the list itself. The large number of other dimensions is not in the least surprising, for the confusion surrounding the meaning of alienation is practically its

⁷Refer to Appendix V, p. 160.

claim to fame. Seldom do writers fail to repeat the often used phrase of "while it has received increasing attention, little is known...." The acknowledged ambiguity and conceptual confusion of alienation and the hope of clarifying some of this, was the principal motive for the present study.

One reason for the extensive use of "other dimensions" is related to the nature of sociology and sociologists. There is still something of a frontier mentality among sociologists. They seem to think that they are working on the fringe of the totally unknown and that they must meet this challenge with originality. This originality has taken the form of "jargon" which when created seems to stimulate further "jargonizing".

Another characteristic of sociologists is their fervent love to dramatically over-explain. Notoriously long-winded, they gather into essays every imaginable variable and give it thorough evaluation. In the end they have over-explained everything to the point of meaning almost anything. What is said and what is meant are often no more clear at the end than they are in the beginning.

These comments are not offered facetiously because a more careful look at the data fails to provide any conclusive explanation although several possibilities are suggested. Viewing our sample according to the terms by which it is stratified, there appears to be some similarity between the substantive areas (meaning the various strata of the present study) and the "other dimensions" used. For instance stratum A, (see Appendix I), entitled Theoretical and Methodological Issues,

included sample numbers one through four. One study (S-3) gave no "other dimension" while the remaining four contained ten "other dimensions." Of these ten "other dimensions," six are used in connection with the scales developed by Srole, Dean, and Rosenberg. The four remaining "other dimensions" include "outlook for the future," "life dissatisfaction," "low self-esteem," and "attitude uncertainty." The purposes of the studies in this stratum are explained by the stratum title. It is conceivable that the authors proposed the "other dimensions" they did because they hoped these would alleviate existing terminological confusion. Those concerned with methodological problems probably felt that a clarification of an existing scale would do the same. Stratum A is less significant for relating the "other dimensions" to the substantive areas because it is not itself a substantive area.

Stratum B, The Alienated Worker, contained sample numbers five through thirteen. All but two of these studies identified at least one "other dimension," with S-7 having eight. A clear relation appears to have existed between the area in which these authors studied alienation and the "other dimensions" used. A frequent reference was "work alienation" (four references) and "anomie" as measured by Srole (five references). The other terms used were derived from one or another of the factors present in the study which the author considered important enough to label. Examples here are "job satisfaction," "status concern," "social participation," "need inviolacy," and self actualization." The other terms, "social

isolation" as measured by Dean, "alienation from expressive relations," and "bewilderment and confusion," can hardly be taken seriously.

The fact that such a large number of "other dimensions" (other than those found in Seeman) cannot be explained by substantive areas of investigation, by use or non use of standardized scales, by chronological appearance, by disciplinary orientation of the study, by judged inadequacy of Seeman, by non-reference to Seeman, or by any number of lesser considerations, makes rather compelling the conclusion that conceptual clarification and precision will remain unachieved so long as researchers persist in their ignorance or disregard of theoretical formulations and methodological precision.

Investigators have focused considerable attention on the many "factors" that are believed to define alienation. We have already discussed the many "other dimensions" found in research, but there are more. A number of synonyms have been used for the five dimensions by Seeman and for alienation generally. Synonyms for general alienation included industrial alienation (S-6) and socio-psychological alienation (S-51).

A curious point to note is the use of helplessness as a synonym for both powerlessness and meaninglessness (S-17).

A number of studies seem to have formulated a synonym for one of Seeman's dimensions out of terms peculiar to certain problem areas. Economic marginality (S-10) is one such case. Synonyms were occasionally the result of the use of scales which were defined as measurements of particular dimensions. Such is the case with "guidelessness" (S-21).

The Usage of Standardized Scales in Measuring Alienation

A total of thirty-one different standardized scales were used to measure alienation.⁸ Three points are of immediate importance in regard to these scales. First, while many of the scales have an infrequent usage, several are relatively predominant. Second, the scales most often used do not seem to be precise in what they measure and they are inconsistently applied. Third, the scales do not have a firm relationship to a theoretical base.

Looking more closely at the first point, seven of the thirty-one scales used to measure alienation were used more than once. Table 6 contains a breakdown of these scales per year. Of these, Srole's scale was used thirteen times as a measure of alienation, Dean's scale was used nine times, Nettler and Rose, three each, and Rotter, Rosenberg, and Seeman, two each. Srole's and Dean's scales are by far the predominant ones; that is, they are the most commonly accepted measures of alienation. This factor alone would have a strong bearing upon the number of dimensions used in research. Whether these two

⁸The following were used in the population as standardized measures of alienation: scales developed by Srole (1956), Dean (1961), Nettler (1957), Zimmer (1964), Kuhn (1954), Campbell (1954), Middleton (1959), Clark (1965), Neal (1959, 1963, 1967), Bonjean and Hayes (1963), Hayes (1959), Rosenberg (1959 + 1963), Stouffer (1955), Kaufman (1960), Pearlin (1962), Sykes and Matza (1961), Williams (1960), Stinchcombe (1964), Liverant (1964), Crandall, Katkovsky and Preston (1962), Seeman (1964), Rose (1962), Rose, McClosky, Clark, and Meehl (1962), and Rotter (1959); items from questionnaires developed by Fromm (1961) and Marx (1963 - see study #44), and Blauner (1964), and standardized scales including the Twenty Statements Test, The Thematic Apperception Test, The Ladder of Satisfaction, and the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (1951).

TABLE 6. Chronological Usage of Standardized Scales by Type of Scale and Number of Studies

Year used	Type of scale						
	Srole*	Dean	Nettler	Rotter	Seeman	Rose	Rosenberg
1947-58	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1959	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
1960	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1961	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1962	2	-	-	1	-	1	-
1963	1	3	-	-	2	-	-
1964	1	1	1	-	-	-	1
1965	1	-	2	-	-	-	-
1966	2	2	-	1	-	-	1
1967	3	2	-	-	-	1	-
1968	2	1	-	-	-	1	-
1969	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1970	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Totals	13	9	3	2	2	3	2

*Srole as used here refers only to those studies that specifically considered his scale a measure of alienation, three studies in the population, S-2, S-9, S-16, considered Srole as a separate "anomia" scale.

The second point of note regarding the standardized scales is their imprecision. Richard Brymer (1967a) made an extensive examination of the standardized scales used in research that indicated

extensive confusion and discrepancy between what particular scales were intended to measure and what was measured in actuality.⁹

According to Brymer, Srole's "Anomia Scale" gives a joint or "lumped" measure of four dimensions including the equivalent of Seeman's powerlessness, meaninglessness, and isolation (or cultural estrangement), and the equivalent of Dean's social isolation (1967b:33-34). In spite of this heterogeneous content in Srole's scale, it has been used to measure a multitude of various dimensions: it was used in S-23 as a measure of "general alienation;" it was used in S-12 as a measure of Seeman's "normlessness;" it was used in S-4 as a measure of "despair;" it was used in S-16 as a measure of "anomia" - here considered not to be a dimension alienation, but in S-11 it is considered a dimension of alienation; it was used in S-20 as a measure of "social alienation;" and in S-1 it is used as a measure of the combined dimensions of powerlessness and normlessness. One would get the impression from this brief list that Srole's scale is capable of measuring anything and everything a particular researcher wishes to find.

In discussing Dean's Scale, Brymer (1967c:35) notes that its separation into the three dimensions of powerlessness, normlessness, and social isolation is misleading. While Dean's measure for powerlessness seems to correspond closely to the type of attitudinal questions (items) used by Seeman, his normlessness measure seems to

⁹See Brymer (1967:33-38) study number one concerning his treatment of standardized measures.

more closely parallel what Seeman referred to as meaninglessness. The normlessness measure includes two items that correspond to Seeman's concept of normlessness, with the result that this dimension in Dean's Scale implicitly measures two dimensions in Seeman's concept while making only one explicitly apparent. Dean's third dimension, "social isolation," does not measure the objective criterion of social separation most sociologists seem to consider the hallmark of this dimension, but rather feelings of loneliness or friendlessness that are more commonly referred to as social-estrangement.¹⁰ In measuring alienation, Dean's Scale is usually taken at its face value, and analyses are made of the three dimensions as though they were clear-cut. Since this is not the case, all analyses done using a dimensional breakdown of this scale are somewhat in doubt.

Brymer's analysis of scales developed by Nettler (1957a:34) and Hajda (1961:37) is that both measure the equivalent of Seeman's isolation (or cultural-estrangement) in spite of their superficially different composition. How many scales are needed to measure the same dimension? As an answer to this, it seems, many scales have come into being, thirty-one or more. Few have found wide-spread usage, perhaps indicating some inadequacy in their composition, but even those that have been used more frequently lack the quality of precision.

¹⁰Brymer located two items in this scale that solicited information about a hidden dimension of alienation, namely future alienation.

The third point, perhaps the most important, is that there is no clear relationship between the scales used and a common theoretical base in sociology. The two most often used scales, Dean's and Srole's, are incomplete. Neither provides a coherent, precise, measure of each of the five dimensions proposed by Seeman. Because of this inadequacy, many researchers have been forced to piece together their own measures of alienation using parts of the more common scales along with their own. Studies eleven and fifty-one, for example, use only Dean's measure for powerlessness, substituting other items for other dimensions. Study twenty-five selected items from Srole and Nettler and used them in conjunction with items developed by the author to test six dimensions of alienation. This lack of a clear relationship between theoretical models and their operationalized form has led to the production of a multitude of scales used to measure a multitude of dimensions, none of which are meaningful beyond the particular orientation of each researcher.

A mistaken assumption frequently made is that when you are uncertain whether one particular scale is measuring something, you need only multiply the number of scales used and thereby solve the problem. The truth of the matter is that one imprecise scale is neither improved nor overcome with the use of other uncertain measuring instruments. It has been demonstrated many times that the use of a number of scales in any given study has served only to compound the confusion.

The test of the first sub-hypothesis involved four individual considerations. The first was the actual frequency that each dimension was used. This point was amplified by noting the difference between the number of times Seeman was referred to and the number of times his definition was used. It was suggested that familiarity with Seeman, indicated by references made to him, might influence his use and consequently the total usage of the dimensions. This assumption did not appear to have much merit.

The second reflection on this hypothesis involved studying the actual sources of the concept used. Among Seeman's, the author's, and a definition drawn from some other source, the author's own attained greatest usage with fifty-three percent. Further consideration of this matter was made by observing the extent to which "other dimensions" and synonyms were also used. After finding that these "other dimensions" could not be accounted for by any one or number of related factors, it was concluded that their use was arbitrarily determined and their value was in question. Although the synonyms appeared far less frequently than "other dimensions," no evidence was found to justify their use.

A final judgment of the first sub-hypothesis was made through an analysis of the use of standardized scales. The availability of scales claiming to be measures of certain dimensions was believed to have had a bearing on the frequency that each dimension was studied. This assumption was not particularly valid because the authors showed no agreement about what these scales measured. This point is

evidenced by the fact that different authors used the same scale to measure several dimensions. This problem was further complicated by the imprecision of the scales.

It can be concluded that with the exception of the Dean scale, the availability of standardized scales had no consistent effect on the relative frequency the Seeman dimension appeared in research.

Sub-Hypothesis Two

Given Seeman's specification and definition of the component elements of each dimension, one should expect to find these same component elements specified in subsequent studies of alienation. Seeman's purpose in proposing a systematic conceptualization was to prepare the way for an eventual clarification of the concept of alienation by providing a "researchable statement of meaning" for each dimension. As presented, each dimension possessed three parts or component elements.¹¹

The composition of these components provides a standardized system of relationships with inclusive categories that provide a systematic method of treating data. The first component of each dimension is concerned with a particular range of expectancies or valuations that is versed in social learning terminology. For example, powerlessness includes the negative expectancy of control element; meaninglessness, the negative expectancy - lack of

¹¹See outline of Seeman's conceptualization presented in Appendix III, p. 146.

understanding element; normlessness, the expectancy of unapproved behavior element; isolation, the low valuation of society's goals element; and self-estrangement, the lack of intrinsic value element.

This particular range is exclusive for each dimension yet the fact that all are considered from a consistent social learning perspective means that they can be compared, discussed, or related at the same level of interpretation. The second component of each dimension specifies the subjective viewpoint of the actor as the source of information concerning expectancies, attitudes, and valuations. The third component of each dimension specifies the social context in which the individual's feeling of alienation is considered, that being some group or situation in which the individual has an expectation of control or understanding, etc. It was according to this scheme that the second sub-hypothesis, as stated above, was operationalized and was researched.

The evidence relevant to this sub-hypothesis was analyzed according to a procedure developed in a study of conformity and independence (Jahoda, 1959:113). The technique merely dichotomizes factors so as to yield a range of types of the phenomenon under investigation.¹² As employed in the present study, this device yielded eight distinguishable types or variations of the dimension based upon the use or non-use of the component elements of the dimension as presented by Seeman. Type A, for instance, resulted when all

¹²See Appendix VI, p. 164, for specific application in this study.

three of the component elements of the dimension under consideration had been identified and used in a study. This meant that in the case of powerlessness the author had (1) viewed the matter in terms of a negative expectancy of control, (2) focused upon the individual, and (3) adopted a social frame of reference and depicted man's relation to the larger social order. Type B resulted when the first two component elements, negative expectancy of control and focus on the individual, were used as part of the author's operational definition, but component element three was not included. Type C represented the combined use of component element one (negative expectancy of control) and component element three (depiction of man's relation to the larger social order) and the omission of component element two (focus on the individual). Type D, the last on the positive side of the paradigm, identifies those usages which included component element one but neither component element two nor three.

Types E through H differed most significantly from those types just discussed by being on the negative side of the paradigm. Hence, they share the characteristic of omitting the first component element of the dimension. The types are further distinguished according to the same rationale as those on the positive side of the paradigm.

An exposition and discussion of the paradigm for each of the five dimensions will provide a picture of the extent to which the research conformed to the prescription offered by Seeman in 1959. The resulting types and their magnitude should provide the evidence

on which changes, either in the form of refinements or reformulations of Seeman's conceptualization, might be suggested.

TABLE 7. Paradigmatic Analysis of the Use of Seeman's Component Elements of Powerlessness in Research*

Component elements	Powerlessness Elements Used							
	Yes				No			
Negative expectancy of control	<u>33</u>				<u>1</u>			
Focus on the individual	<u>33</u> <u> </u>				<u> </u> <u>1</u>			
Depiction of man's relation to the larger social order	<u>14</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>-7</u>	<u>-7</u>	<u>-7</u>	<u>-7</u>	<u>-7</u>	<u>1</u>
Result								
Type	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
N = 29								

*Number of studies having two independent tests of the same dimension = 5.

TABLE 8. Paradigmatic Analysis of the Use of Seeman's Component Elements of Meaninglessness in Research*

Meaninglessness Elements Used								
Component Elements	Yes				No			
Negative expectancy								
Lack of understanding	10				2			
Focus on the individual	10				1		1	
Depiction of man's relation to the larger social order	5	5	-	-	1	-	-	1
Result types	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
N = 11								

*Number of studies having two independent tests of the same dimension = 1.

TABLE 9. Paradigmatic Analysis of the Use of Seeman's Component Elements of Normlessness in Research*

Component elements	Normlessness Elements Used							
	Yes				No			
Expectancy of unapproved behavior	20				1			
Focus on the individual	20				1			
Depiction of man's relation to the larger social order	7	13	-	-	-	-	-	1
Results Type	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
N = 18								

*Number of studies having two independent tests of the same dimension = 3.

TABLE 10. Paradigmatic Analysis of the Use of Seeman's Component Elements of Isolation in Research*

Component elements	Isolation Elements Used							
	Yes				No			
Low valuation of society's goals	8				2			
Focus on the individual	7 1				1 1			
Depiction of man's relation to the larger social order	3 4 - 1				1 - - 1			
Results Type	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
N = 8								

*Number of studies having two independent tests of the same dimension = 2.

TABLE 11. Paradigmatic Analysis of the Use of Seeman's Component Elements of Self-Estrangement in Research*

Component elements	Self-Estrangement Elements Used							
	Yes				No			
Lack of intrinsic value	9							
Focus on the individual	9							
Depiction of man's relation to the larger social order	3	6	-	-	-	-	-	-
Results Type	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
N = 7								

*Number of studies having two independent tests of the same dimension = 2.

The powerlessness dimension included twenty-nine studies whose various usages of Seeman's component elements resulted in three types being represented, types A, B, and H. The magnitudes for the three types were fourteen, nineteen, and one, respectively. Insofar as the term was researched, the component elements of powerlessness found ample inclusion (see Table 7). Particularly consistent is the frequency with which component elements one and two are used. However, a significant exception is represented in the nineteen type B's who failed to conform on the third component element. This means that only fourteen of twenty-nine who studied this dimension conformed to

Seeman's prescription entirely. This raises the question of the actual scope of the individual's negative expectancy of control of behavioral outcomes. Is the scope of expectancy for control to be limited to a specified group or situation in which the individual actually perceives an expectancy of control (type A) or should it pertain to general feelings toward life or society in general without specifying a more limited context (type B)? Some researchers specified the former view, some the latter, and five used both in conjunction by using two independent tests of the same dimension, one broad in scope, and one restricted to a very specific set of social relations.

The results of the meaninglessness dimension presented in Table 8 indicate that careful consideration was given to following Seeman's suggested component elements. Only two studies appear on the E through H side of the paradigm, while ten make up types A and B on the A through D side. Here again one of the eleven studies made two independent tests of the dimension.

A similar pattern is accorded the normlessness dimension (see Table 9). From a total of eighteen users, seven conform to type A, thirteen type B, and one type H, with three studies performing two independent tests on normlessness.

Social isolation was studied eight of fifty-one times (see Table 10). Except for the fact that the dimension received less application in research, its usage was not appreciably different from the three already mentioned. Types A and B had the highest frequencies

with three and four respectively, while types D, E, and H had one study each. Independent tests of isolation were made by two studies.

The self-estrangement dimension found usage in research, although it concerned only seven studies (see Table 11). Types A and B are the only two that are represented, with three of type A tabulated and six of type B.

A summary of the findings here indicates immediately a concentration in types A and B. Together these two types contain the vast majority of the eight possible types. One can conclude that insofar as researchers have studied these dimensions, their definitions included the same component elements identified by Seeman. There is, however, one deviation which requires explanation. This is the greater frequency of type B than type A.

TABLE 12. Unified Paradigm of Seeman's Five Dimensions of Alienation Used in Research

Combined type totals
for the five
dimensions

<u>32</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H

Number of studies = 73

Total number of types = 83

The difference (13) is a function of thirteen studies having two independent tests for the same dimension.

The fact that type B is greater than type A seems to depend on what Seeman intended by "depiction of man's relation to the larger social order." Some authors have considered this component from the standpoint of whether or not they should use type A or type B. There are also some who used one component without consideration of its specific meaning. Still others, when considering the problem, said in effect that one must use designate A, that is, one must specify a particular group in which expectancies might exist before that expectation can be measured. Seeman himself uses both, but has a tendency to use type B more freely. The result of these different interpretations has left the third component element in a decidedly unsettled state.

Sub-Hypothesis Three

Independence of Dimensions

Following the five dimensional conceptualization proposed by Seeman, one should expect to find a relationship of independence between the respective dimensions in subsequent studies.

The determination of this hypothesis depends upon the meaning of "independence." A dimension is treated independently if it is used separately and if its content is sufficiently distinct from another category or dimension to warrant separate treatment, i.e. it cannot adequately be treated by lumping it together with several other dimensions.

TABLE 13. Number of Times Each of Seeman's Dimensions is Treated Independently and is Found With One to Four Other Dimensions That Are Also Treated Independently

Dimension	(n)	Separate treatment	With 1 other	With 2 others	With 3 others	With 4 others
Powerlessness	31	5	13	6	4	3
Meaninglessness	12	0	2	4	3	3
Normlessness	21	0	8	4	6	3
Isolation	13	1	1	3	5	3
Self-estrangement	8	0	0	2	3	3

The independence of Seeman's dimensions would be indicated if they were successfully used independently in research. An examination of Table 13 and Appendix VII, p. 166, will indicate that Seeman's five dimensions have been successfully used in research in an independent fashion. Powerlessness was treated as an independent dimension in thirty-one studies, meaninglessness in twelve, normlessness in twenty-one, isolation in thirteen, and self-estrangement in eight.

In five of the studies in which Seeman's dimensions were given independent treatment, two or more dimensions were also lumped together in a fashion that indicated the presence of some common characteristic. These are listed in Table 14. No explanation is given for the lumping of dimensions in study thirty-nine. In study seventeen powerlessness and meaninglessness were considered as a

common indication of "helplessness." Powerlessness, meaninglessness and normlessness were considered "attitudes of incapability" in a theoretical dichotomy developed by Olsen (1965a) (S-21); normlessness is treated as an aspect of isolation in Blauner (1964a) (S-6); and meaninglessness and isolation are applied in conjunction in Hagedorn (1968) (S-8).

TABLE 14. Number of Times Two or More of Seeman's Dimensions Are Lumped Together Under a Common Characteristic

Study number	Dimensions	
S-39	Powerlessness-normlessness	(one item)
	Powerlessness-self-estrangement	(one item)
	Normlessness-isolation	(one item)
S-17	Powerlessness-meaninglessness	(helplessness)
S-21	Powerlessness-meaninglessness-normlessness	(attitudes of incapability)
S-8	Meaninglessness-isolation	(applied in conjunction)
S-6	Normlessness-isolation	(isolation)

The fact that several studies have lumped two or more dimensions in a single category would be considered an indication of a weakness in Seeman's conceptualization, but only if the lumped category were to be the result of the application of a correct formulation of Seeman's conceptualization in empirical research. Since none of

these studies have performed this necessary testing process, their categories may be regarded as unique theoretical formulations. This is not meant to imply that common characteristics could not be uncovered in Seeman's dimensions, only that the presence of such characteristics must rest upon empirical evidence.

One indication of the interdependence of various dimensions may be determined by a factor analysis of the relative content of each dimension. Several examinations have considered this problem of inter-correlation of dimensions. Neal and Rettig (1963a) reported that anomia, powerlessness, and normlessness constituted orthogonal dimensions. "The findings provided empirical support for Seeman's argument for the conceptual independence of alternative meanings of alienation..." (Neal and Rettig, 1963b:608). A .31 correlation was reported by Dean (1961) for anomia and normlessness as well as a high correlation of .41-.67 for powerlessness, normlessness, and social estrangement; a .33 correlation was reported by Seeman (1964) for anomia and powerlessness; and a .31 correlation was reported by Nettler (1957b) for anomia and cultural estrangement.

Middleton (1963a:973-974) made an examination of the correlation of six dimensions of alienation. The six dimensions include Seeman's five, powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, "cultural estrangement" (isolation), "estrangement from work" (Seeman's self-estrangement), and social estrangement (derived from Josephson, Dean, Nisbet, Pappenheim, Grodzins, and Townsend).

One of Middleton's conclusions is the degree of interrelatedness of the six dimensions used in research: "With the exception of cultural estrangement, the association between each type of alienation and each other type is moderately strong, with Q's ranging from .46 to .81. As expected, cultural estrangement is not highly correlated with other variants of alienation; the only statistically significant relation is with normlessness, and even here the Q is relatively low .31. The type of alienation most highly correlated with the other types is estrangement from work. This suggests that it may indeed be a useful index to self-estrangement, if, as Marx and Fromm have maintained, "self-estrangement is at the core of the phenomenon of alienation" (Middleton, 1963b:975).

Brymer's reaction (S-1) (1967d:43) to the Middleton study was that: "These inter-correlations would seem to indicate that there is some degree of empirical overlap between the various operationalizations of alienation and its sub-types. The fact that none of the correlations is very high, however, would also indicate that there is considerable room for independent variance." And further (Brymer, 1967e:43) that, "Of the various types of alienation, it would appear from both an empirical and an operational point of view that the Seeman variant of isolation - or cultural estrangement of Middleton, or alienation of Nettler and Hajda - is perhaps the most separable and distinct element."

Simmons (1966a:370) (S-4) examined the relationship of eight variables or concomitants of alienation: "normlessness, powerlessness, social isolation, despair, misanthropy, low self-esteem, life dissatisfaction, and attitude uncertainty." These are examined in terms of their degree of relatedness versus their independence by use of Dean's scale, Srole's scale, Rosenberg's scale, and several scales developed by the author. A .53 correlation was obtained for powerlessness and normlessness, possibly indicating a more general subjective sense of a circumscribed opportunity structure. Since the article is very short, the exact components of the dimensions tested are not given, nor are there examples of the types of questions which were asked to determine the presence of a particular dimension; however: "An overall appraisal of the table would seem to suggest that there is a modest but pervasive interrelationship among the eight variables. This suggests that there might exist a general personality pattern or syndrome running from 'complacency' to 'disturbance'. However, it should also be noted that the scales still display a large measure of independent variation" (Simmons, 1966b:371).

The essential concern of a study done by Neal and Rettig (1967a: 55) (S-2) is to determine the relationship of various dimensions of alienation used in research. Several of the authors' conclusions are worthy of note here: "While there is a growing literature on the empirical measurement of different aspects of alienation, very little has been done to empirically delineate multidimensional structures of alienation. Yet delineating such structures seems necessary for

effective usage of the alienation framework in sociological research."

"The methodological and theoretical issues in the generality-versus-separability of alienation construct cannot be definitively settled by particular methods of data analysis alone. They must be related to the particular context of alienation research and the current proliferation of conceptual schemes and modes of data analysis. If opposing conclusions are reached through the use of alternative methodological procedures, it does not mean that one approach is a misapplication and another is technically correct. Instead, the adherence of data to different operational criteria are more likely to be involved.

"As guidelines for alienation research, we suggest the criteria: (1) that each alienation construct have a single, identifiable referent; (2) that researchers operationalize their concepts and assume responsibility for showing the congruence of their concepts with empirical referents; and (3) that the alienation constructs be related empirically to either their generative social conditions or their social consequences" (Neal and Kettig, 1967b:61-62).

"While the present study indicates the separability as well as the relatedness of alienation measures, the research of others has often led to different conclusions.... Taken collectively, these unidimensional studies of alienation differ in research objective, in assumptions about alienation, and in operational criteria" (Neal and Rettig, 1967c:62).

"In the absence of agreement on the meanings of the major variables involved, alienation research, taken collectively, manifests a series of discrete and unrelated studies, rather than cumulative additions to a coherent body of empirically verified propositions" (Neal and Rettig, 1967d:63).

As Neal and Rettig have indicated, much research has been done concerning the inter-correlation of Seeman's dimensions. Yet most of these studies have been rendered inadequate by the methods or scales used in the examination.

The inter-correlation of Seeman's dimensions has been inadequately tested by empirical research. No empirical treatment has been used to justify the lumping of several dimensions into a single category. And the five dimensions have been used extensively and independently in research. From this, it must be concluded that research has not yet indicated that Seeman's five dimensions are anything other than independent categories.

Sub-Hypothesis Four

Congruence of Assumptions

Given the relationship of theory and research as applied in this study, one should expect Seeman's assumptions as to the nature of alienation (as a social psychological phenomenon) and its treatment (in social learning terms) to be followed in subsequent research.

Seeman's basic assumptions about the nature and treatment of alienation are that it should focus upon "the personal standpoint of

the actor" (the social-psychological point of view) and that it can adequately be treated by casting each dimension in terms of expectancy and reward, or reinforcement value (Seeman, 1959b:784). To the extent that subsequent studies have followed these two assumptions, they have conformed to the relationship between theory and research as applied in this study.

All but two of the fifty-one studies included in the sample focus upon the personal standpoint of the actor by soliciting the individual's feelings on attitudinal questionnaires. The other two seek to measure alienation in terms of criteria that are observable to the researcher (e.g., social isolation may be determined by the number of groups an individual participates in). Of further note here is that ten of the forty-nine studies which obtain empirical information from the individual also involve determinations by the researcher as to objective indications of alienation. The percentages of these three treatments of objective versus subjective data are given in the following table.

The indications of Table 15 are that Seeman's focus on the individual has generally been followed in research and it is of further note that a researcher's objective interpretations of a situation or of an individual's behavior are seldom made without congruent studies determining the individual's attitudes of the same situations.

Table 16 is a breakdown of the subjective versus objective treatment given by those studies which specify Seeman as their

conceptual base. All of the studies indicate acceptance of the focus upon the individual; none treat alienation solely from the researcher's point of view and only two involve the use of some form of objective data. It is the consensus of the data presented in Tables 15 and 16 that this assumption of Seeman has been adequately used in research.

TABLE 15. Focus Upon the Individual in Research Studies

Focus	Research Studies	
	Frequency	Percent
Subjective view of the individual	39	76
Objective view of the researcher	2	4
Combination of subjective and objective views	10	20
Total	51	100

The extent to which subsequent research has followed Seeman's second assumption is indicated by Tables 17 and 18. Table 17, p. 88, is a tabulation of the number of studies which use social learning concepts to describe the nature of alienation. Some examples of this are: Seeman's own research (S-3, S-12, S-16, S-22, and S-43); Whyte's study (S-30) which conceives of behavior being goal oriented and based upon expectations; Jackson's study (S-31) which discusses internal and external expectancies of control; Empey and Lubeck's study (S-41)

which views alienation in terms of anticipations and expectations; study (S-49) which is a treatment of the social learning process; Bickford's study (S-50) which views alienation in terms of expectations, goals, and values; and Photiadis's study (S-51) which treats the internalization of values and norms.

TABLE 16. Studies that Specify the Use of Seeman and Focus on the Individual in Research Studies

Focus	Research Studies	
	Frequency	Percent
Subjective view of the individual	17	82
Objective view of the researcher	0	0
Combination of subjective and objective views	2	9
Indefinite view	2	9
Total	21	100

TABLE 17. Usage of Social Learning Terminology to Describe the Phenomenon of Alienation

In general sample	In social psychology	In sociology	In political science	In psychology
22/51 43%	16/22 73%	5/21 24%	0/4 0%	1/3 33%
In education	In research begun prior to 1960	In research begun post 1959	In studies that specify use of Seeman's scheme	
0/1 0%	4/12 33%	18/39 46%	17/22 81%	

TABLE 18. Schemes Used in the 51 Sample Studies to Describe the Nature of Alienation by Frequency and Percent

Scheme	Use in Sample Studies	
	Frequency	Percent
Social learning	22	42
Social structural	11	22
Social interaction	1	2
Status and role	1	2
Emotional characteristics	3	6
Implicit in scale usage	2	4
Other social psychological	4	8
Perceived power discrepancy	2	4
Behavioral patterns	1	2
Content analysis	2	4
Not otherwise determinable	2	4
Total	51	100

In the general sample, only 42 percent of the studies follow the social learning conceptualization of alienation. This indicates that Seeman's second assumption has not been consistently followed in research. Several further breakdowns of this information help clarify the factors relating to the use of the social learning explanation of alienation. One would expect a greater frequency of usage of the

social learning approach in those studies classified as social psychological in orientation than those having some other orientation. And indeed, this is the case.

Seventy-three percent of all social psychological studies used this approach, twenty-four percent of the sociology studies used this approach, none were used in political science, and only one in psychology. It appears from these data that there is a general usage of Seeman's second assumption, as would be expected, in the social psychological orientation. Eighty-one percent of the studies which specify Seeman as their theoretical source also employ social learning terminology in their own treatment of the nature of alienation. Furthermore, it appears as though a general increase in the use of Seeman's second assumption is indicated by the higher percentage of studies which began research after 1959 and used the social learning approach, 46% (for post 1959) versus 33% (for pre 1960).

Although Seeman's second assumption has not achieved general consideration in the sample, no other single perspective has been given as much treatment. As Table 18 indicates, of ten categorized approaches, social learning was used in 43%, social structural in 22%, emotional-psychological in 6%, and miscellaneous ones in 30%. These data do not change the conclusion stated above that Seeman's second assumption has not found general use. It only indicates that in a sample of studies on alienation using a diversity of assumptions, social-learning terminology has been most frequently used.

Evidence Relating to all Four Sub-Hypotheses

Inadequacies Attributed to Seeman's Conceptualization

Several studies included in the population discussed their reasons for not using Seeman's conceptualization in their research due to its inherent inadequacies. Several others used Seeman's scheme but also found it inadequate in one way or another.

Those studies which did not use Seeman because it was found inadequate include Dyson (1964a) (S-15), Horton (1960a) (S-18), Olsen (1965b) (S-21), Hajda (1961a) (S-28), Couch (1966a) (S-45), and Tavis (1969a) (S-48). The reasons given vary, but they all have one thing in common: none give empirical treatment in support of their contentions. Seeman is found theoretically unsuited to test the "essential" dimension of alienation or is found unrelated to the particular situation being considered by the author and no further explanation is given. The following discussions of these five studies will bear this out.

Dyson (1964b:4) (S-15) finds Seeman's conceptualization inadequate because it does not treat distinct behavioral patterns, something that he feels is essential: "Yet it is obvious that these inner feelings (Seeman's five dimensions) do not set up an analytical scheme in that they do not provide exclusive categories of things.... It is sounder and certainly more manageable, to treat dissimilar behavior patterns as distinct phenomena, rather than as different manifestations of one phenomenon. In spite of his rejection of

Seeman's conceptualization, Dyson does not show that his proposed substitution of three behavioral patterns (apathy, discontent, and dissidence) in any way provides a system of more coherent, researchable statements of meaning. In fact, he summarizes his study with the statement that his findings "would generate little controversy" and do not go far beyond what "common sense would suggest" (Dyson, 1964c: 260).

Horton (1960b:44) (S-18) finds Seeman inadequate because his conceptualization blurs the all important distinction between "psychological" and "sociological" alienation. Powerlessness, isolation, meaninglessness, and self-estrangement, Horton says, "refer to psychological manifestations of some socially structured strain." Seeman's normlessness, however, is viewed as "not alienation but rather a problem-solving response to alienation, which is a type of psychological frustration or strain" (Horton, 1960c:44). He further defines "real alienation" as an objectively determinable condition and "psychological alienation" as a subjective condition (Horton, 1960d: 46).

It is perhaps significant that Horton's research was completed before Seeman's article was published, the result being that Horton had no opportunity to test the empirical usefulness of Seeman's conceptualization before constructing his own research approach. Yet to propose the rejection of Seeman's work on the basis of the social-psychological dichotomy seems rather arbitrary.

Olsen (1965c:25-28) (S-21) finds Seeman's conceptualization partially inadequate on the basis of its social learning perspective (expectancies and valuation). To overcome this problem, he re-casts each of Seeman's dimensions in social-interaction terminology. To overcome possible confusion with other dimensions of alienation, he re-labels Seeman's normlessness as "guidelessness" and isolation as "cultural estrangement." The high correlation reported between Seeman's powerlessness, meaninglessness, and normlessness, is taken as an indication that the three should be treated in conjunction as a measure of "attitudes of incapability."¹³ He further finds Seeman's conceptualization inadequate to explain the essential dichotomy between (a) forced alienation that is a consequence of conditions, and (b) a chosen alienation that is a response to a situation. To explain this dichotomy, Olsen finds it necessary to propose three new dimensions: dissimilarity, dissatisfaction, and disillusionment. In this case, Seeman was found inadequate for the approach the author chose to use and a new concept was proposed for general usage. Since Olsen's research was begun in 1957 it is unlikely that Seeman's conceptualization could have been found adequate to categorize data that were already collected under some other research structure.

Hajda (1961b) (S-28) regards Seeman's conceptualization of the isolation dimension as "too narrow," feeling that Seeman chose to

¹³See discussion of study 21 or Olsen, 1965:31-33.

limit the application of this dimension to intellectuals. This is not the case, however. Seeman (1959:788) mentions in his discussion of "isolation" that its "usage is most common in descriptions of the intellectual role," but he does not limit its use to the "intellectual type." Hajda's whole study is an attempt to prove that intellectuals may or may not be isolated, and that nonintellectuals can be isolated as well, i.e., it is based on a misinterpretation of Seeman's conceptualization. Hajda's research was completed prior to the publication of Seeman; hence it cannot be considered as an invalidation of Seeman based upon empirical research.

Couch (1966b:225) (S-45) finds Seeman's dimensions vague and their composition illogical: "Seeman specifies five meanings for the term alienation. One of these is 'self-estrangement.' Yet even self-estrangement, or self-alienation, appears to be vague and difficult to measure. But it does appear possible to conceptualize and measure 'attachment to' or 'alienation (estrangement) from' statuses assigned by others." After dismissing Seeman's dimensions as difficult to measure, Couch proceeds to use selected items from the Dean scale as a measure of alienation. Yet Dean's scale is also used by others to measure several of Seeman's dimensions.¹⁴ While dismissing Seeman as unmeasurable, Couch makes no empirical attempt to measure Seeman's self-estrangement, and hence, cannot be certain whether the difficulty is merely an "appearance" or a "reality."

¹⁴I.e., powerlessness and normlessness; see for example S-1, S-42, and S-51.

Taviss (1969b:46) (S-48), by treating written matter as evidence of alienation, seems to depart from the subjective perspective of the individual that is an essential component of Seeman's definition. For this reason, perhaps, Seeman's conceptualization could have been of little use to Taviss. However, she chooses to excuse her decision not to use Seeman by referring to its "ad hoc" nature: "though Seeman's variants of alienation (1959) include conceptions of self- and social-alienation, an attempt to overcome the ad hoc nature of Seeman's presentation eliminates the self-estrangement component (Browning, et al., 1961)." No empirical data are given to support this sweeping conclusion.

Those studies which purport to use Seeman's basic scheme in research, yet find it in some way inadequate include Brymer (1967f) (S-1), Elauner (1964a) (S-6), Middleton (1963) (S-34), and Photiadis (S-51). Generally, these researchers hope to improve or modify Seeman's conceptualization to expand its coverage or adapt it to a particular situation.

Brymer (1967g:38) (S-1) chooses not to follow Seeman's conceptualization explicitly because there is no adequate operationalization of it available for his use. He notes that Seeman's own research studies (to date) do not involve the subjective determination of a person's realm of expectancy before soliciting his general feelings. Brymer also finds it desirable to measure several dimensions not covered by Seeman, including "despair," "satisfaction with the present," and "outlook for the future."

Blauner (1964b:16) (S-6) found Seeman's definition inadequate mainly because of the particular situation he chose to study: "I have made a rather free adaptation of his discussion redefining a number of his categories so that they better fit the industrial situation, an application Seeman does not himself make." Only four instead of five of Seeman's dimensions are used in order to conform to the author's perception of four "dichotomies or fragmentations" existing in the industrial setting: 1) subject-object (powerlessness); 2) part-whole (meaninglessness); 3) individual-social (social isolation); and 4) present-future (self-estrangement), which equate to Blauner's perceived split in the organic relationship of man and existential experience (Blauner, 1964c:32). The meaninglessness dimension is used to categorize some aspects of Seeman's normlessness thereby preserving the four dichotomies, and "social isolation," while being credited to Seeman, does not follow Seeman's definition of "isolation."

After establishing the above theoretical base for analyzing the presence of alienation in the "technological environment," Blauner makes a comparative study of data gathered under several differing theoretical bases.¹⁵ Unfortunately, the incongruence of the data collection processes has led to an incongruence of the kind of information produced, and Blauner is forced to depart from or modify

¹⁵"Some limitations of this study should be emphasized. There was no overall research design applied to the four industries which would have assured precisely equivalent materials for each case" (Blauner 1964:13).

his own theoretical base in order to present the material in a somewhat consistent fashion.

While Blauner seeks to apply his four categories to each of four industrial situations considered, some information in one category may consist of empirical data while in others it may not. For example, while meaninglessness is considered as a dimension in all four situations, empirical data are available only for the chemical factory. Information on the meaninglessness category for the other three industries consists of the author's own observations, i.e., an inferred situation of meaninglessness. Another exception that he makes is in his operationalization of meaninglessness and social isolation in the printing industry. Regardless of his previous decision to treat normlessness as an aspect of meaninglessness (Blauner, 1964d:13), Blauner decides to discuss social isolation in terms of the norms and standards agreed upon within the industry (1964e:49). This usage would parallel the meanings given to Seeman's normlessness and isolation, respectively.

Although Seeman's conceptualization is found inadequate on the basis of both the number of dimensions and their component elements, Blauner is unable to consistently apply his own proposed modification of Seeman because it does not fit the data he is using.

Middleton (1963b:974) (S-34) chooses to use Seeman's conceptualization with the renaming of one dimension, the substitution of one, and the addition of another. Isolation is renamed "cultural estrangement;" "estrangement from work" is substituted for self-estrangement;

and "social estrangement" is added to the list. Isolation is renamed to avoid confusion with other terms. Estrangement from work is substituted for self-estrangement because the former is "one of the oldest themes in the literature of alienation" and is identical in meaning to the latter, while the latter is actually "as broad as the concept of human nature." Social estrangement is included for the sake of thoroughness, and is justified by its high correlation to other dimensions and its frequent usage by other researchers.

Photiadis (1971b:23) (S-51) acknowledged that Seeman's conceptualization is "the most often used" but decided not to use it because a preliminary interview indicated "that other components were more appropriate for the present problem." These other components include a measure of "bewilderment and confusion" (Rose, 1962), a measure of "subjective reflection of participation in the social system" (need inviolacy), and anomia (Srole, 1956). The exact statements encountered in the preliminary interview are not given in this study; however, Photiadis (1971c:24) indicates that "even businessmen who did not feel powerless to improve their businesses or cope with modern changes, often indicated that they felt bewildered or confused whenever they tried to pinpoint what was going on in business and society in general." Exactly how one is to differentiate between this dimension of "bewilderment and confusion" and Seeman's meaninglessness is not discussed by Photiadis. It is also impossible to differentiate these two dimensions on the basis of the questions asked, e.g., "I don't know who is to blame when things go wrong in the business world

today" (for bewilderment and confusion [Photiadis, 1971d:247]) and "Things have become so complicated in the world today that I really don't understand just what is going on" (for meaninglessness [Gottlieb, 1969:1087]). In spite of this close similarity between "meaninglessness" and "bewilderment and confusion," Photiadis does not indicate why the latter is "more appropriate" than the former. Furthermore, the relationship of the other two "more appropriate" dimensions to his concept is not given. To the contrary, Srole's scale is sometimes used as a measure for normlessness.¹⁶

These summaries of inadequacies found in Seeman's work do not include all of the variations found in the sample; nevertheless, they do give an indication of the treatment the problem has received. It should be noted here that although Seeman's formulation is expected to be inadequate in some respects, indiscriminate modification, exclusion, or substitution of it does not aid conceptual clarity.

Temporal Examination of the Usage of Seeman's Conceptualization

It is expected that reference to Seeman's conceptualization and its actual use in gathering empirical data should occur with increasing frequency through time, assuming that the conceptualization has been found adequate. The reason for this expectation is that sociologists would gain greater understanding of Seeman's work as it comes under increased analysis and use within the discipline of sociology.

¹⁶See studies S-12 and S-34.

Tables have been prepared to indicate the number of times Seeman's conceptualization was used or referred to on the basis of the year the empirical data were gathered, the year the study was published, and the disciplinary orientation of the study.

A total of twelve studies that were published after December, 1959, but whose empirical research was begun prior to 1959, were included in the population. Of these twelve, nine made reference to Seeman and three involved Seeman's conceptualization in the data analysis.¹⁷ Since much of the empirical data was gathered in these three studies prior to the publication of Seeman's work, there is no direct correspondence between the kinds of questions that were asked in the field and the kinds of answers that were given in the theoretical application. Since all twelve studies were published after 1959, it is legitimate that they make note of Seeman's work.

From the total of 51 studies in the sample, thirty-eight (75%) made reference to Seeman's work and twenty-one (41%) actually used Seeman in their research and analysis (See Table 2). As will be noted from Table 19 there is a general increase in both the number of times Seeman's conceptualization is referred to or used in research. The rise in the number of studies (n) included after 1959, and their decline after 1967, correspond to the time-lag between empirical research and publication. If one focuses upon those studies that

¹⁷ These three include S-6 (research begun in 1947), S-17, and S-19 (research begun in 1959).

were researched after 1959, an even higher percentage are found to use Seeman's conceptualization in research (51% versus 41%), while at the same time the references to Seeman remain at a nearly constant level (about 75%).

By further refining the data - by specifying the disciplinary orientation used in the study - we note that 50% of those studies in sociology or social psychology whose research was begun after 1959 use Seeman's conceptualization. Twenty-seven percent in sociology alone used Seeman, 71% in social psychology, and 33% in political science.¹⁸ One usage of Seeman was reported in the field of education and none were reported in psychology.

The conclusions of these data are that Seeman's concept is the primary one used in social psychology and that it has gained wide acceptance in sociology and political science as well. While it is not the only conceptualization of alienation that has been used, however, it seems to be the predominant one followed in this population by Dean, Srole, and Rose.

¹⁸ Refer to Tables 20-24.

TABLE 19. Temporal Chart of the Usage of Seeman's
Conceptualization by Year

Pre Seeman	Year	(n)	Seeman Noted	Seeman Used
	1947	1	1	1
	1952	1	1	0
	1954	1	1	0
	1957	2	2	0
	1958	2	1	0
	1959	5	3	2
Sub total		12	9	3
Post Seeman	(Seeman's article published in late 1959)			
	1960	1	0	0
	1961	0	0	0
	1962	5	3	2
	1963	8	7	5
	1964	5	4	3
	1965	5	2	1
	1966	6	5	4
	1967	5	5	4
	1968	2	2	0
	1969	2	1	1*
	1970	0	0	0
Sub total		39	29	20 51% used
Totals		(n) 51	(noted) 38	(used) 21 41% used

*Seeman is noted only in S-48 but is used in S-50.

TABLE 20. Temporal Chart of the Usage of Seeman's Conceptualization in Sociology and Social Psychology

Pre Seeman	Year	(n)	Seeman Noted	Seeman Used
	1947	1	1	1
	1952	1	1	1
	1957	2	2	0
	1958	2	1	0
	1959	4	2	1
Sub total		10	7	3
Post Seeman				
	1960	1	0	0
	1961	0	0	0
	1962	3	1	1
	1963	7	7	5
	1964	5	4	2
	1965	3	1	0
	1966	4	4	3
	1967	5	5	4
	1968	2	2	0
	1969	2	1	1
	1970	0	0	0
Sub total		32	26	16 50% used
Totals		(n) 42	(noted) 32	(used) 19

TABLE 21. Temporal Chart of the Usage of Seeman's
Conceptualization in Sociology

Pre Seeman	Year	(n)	Seeman Noted	Seeman Used
	1957	2	2	0
	1958	1	1	0
	1959	3	1	0
Sub total		6	4	0
Post Seeman				
	1960	1	0	0
	1961	0	0	0
	1962	2	0	0
	1963	4	4	3
	1964	1	0	0
	1965	3	1	0
	1966	0	0	0
	1967	2	2	1
	1968	1	1	0
	1969	1	1	0
	1970	0	0	0
Sub total		15	9	4 27% used
Totals		(n) 21	13	4

TABLE 22. Temporal Chart of the Usage of Seeman's
Conceptualization in Social Psychology

Pre Seeman	Year	(n)	Seeman Noted	Seeman Used
	1947	1	1	1
	1952	1	1	1
	1958	1	0	0
	1959	1	1	1
Sub total		4	3	3
Post Seeman				
	1960	0	0	0
	1961	0	0	0
	1962	1	1	1
	1963	3	3	2
	1964	4	4	2
	1965	0	0	0
	1966	4	4	3
	1967	3	3	3
	1968	1	1	0
	1969	1	0	1*
	1970	0	0	0
Sub total		17		12 71% used
Totals		(n) 21	(noted) 19	(used) 15

*S-50 uses Seeman without noting him.

TABLE 23. Temporal Chart of the Usage of Seeman's Conceptualization in Political Science

Pre Seeman	Year	(n)	Seeman Noted	Seeman Used
	1959	1	1	1
Post Seeman				
	1962	1	1	0
	1963	1	0	0
	1966	1	1	1
Totals		(n) 4	(noted) 3	(used) 2

TABLE 24. Temporal Chart of the Usage of Seeman's Conceptualization in Psychology and Education

Pre Seeman	Year	(n)	Seeman Noted	Seeman Used
	1954	1	1	0 (psych)
Post Seeman				
	1965	2	0	0 (psych)
			1	1 (education)
	1966	1	0	0 (psych)
Totals		(n) 4	(noted) 2	(used) 1

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Part One

Although difficult to summarize systematically, the many and varied findings discussed in Chapter IV can be organized into a framework for a final appraisal. The findings and conclusions for the individual sub-hypotheses will be treated first. In summarizing the findings we hope to make clear whether the evidence justifies a decision in support of the sub-hypotheses or against them. An effort will also be made to state the strength of the decision.

The second part of this chapter will concern a discussion of the findings as they relate to the basic hypothesis of this study. To achieve this, impressions will be drawn from the decisions on the four sub-hypotheses.

The application in research of the five dimensions of alienation identified in Melvin Seeman's 1959 article has not been widespread. As a measure of the frequency of use for these dimensions, their appearance in research was simply counted. In the fifty-one studies examined, thirty-two used the word powerlessness, thirteen meaninglessness, twenty-two normlessness, fourteen isolation, and eight self-estrangement. Powerlessness was the only term that appeared in over fifty percent of the sample. The appearance of the others ranged from forty-three percent for normlessness to sixteen percent for self-estrangement.

Not having specified the meaning of the term in the above count, it became necessary to determine whether the terms used in research were in any way similar to those in Seeman's article. A check was then made to see whether the appearance of a term in research was accompanied by a reference to Seeman or a statement indicating that Seeman's dimension was the one being used. Here it was found that seventy-five percent of the studies had referred to Seeman while only forty-one percent said they actually used Seeman's term.

Checking further on the origin of the dimension used, it was found that among the three sources of the definition of alienation used in research, forty-three percent used Seeman's, fifty-three percent used their own, and forty-seven percent used a definition from some other source. Since these three sources were not used separately it was felt that the combined usages would be helpful in explaining the meaning of alienation used and consequently the actual use of the various dimensions. A major finding here was that the most frequently used combinations of the sources of the meaning of alienation were those where the author used a definition from some other source exclusively. The second most frequently used combination was where the author used both his own and Seeman's definition together.

The use of "other dimensions," i.e., those not among the five offered by Seeman, was also thought to be an important indicator of the five dimensions used in research. It was felt that these "other

dimensions," if used frequently and in peculiar patterns, could explain the infrequent and unequal use of the five dimensions in research.

As was shown, however, there were no peculiar patterns in the use of "other dimensions," and to that extent no further explanation was offered for the unequal use of the five dimensions. The only important point is that the relatively infrequent use of Seeman's dimensions generally might be explained by the generous number of "other dimensions."

The use of synonyms was also considered in connection with sub-hypothesis one. But the prognosis here does not differ significantly from that given for the "other dimensions." That synonyms were used is interesting from the point of view that they only contribute more confusion to an already troubled area. Otherwise they offer no new clues for the unequal appearance of the five dimensions in research.

Melvin Seeman offered a "set of researchable meanings" but he did not supply the instruments to empirically test these meanings. Therefore, it was considered likely that the availability of scales claiming to measure one or more of Seeman's dimensions would affect the frequency with which those dimensions were studied.

The two most widely used scales are those developed by Srole and Dean.¹⁹ Their usage, however, did not result in a consistent

¹⁹See footnote number 8 on page 62 of Chapter IV and Table 6, p. 63, of the same chapter.

study of particular dimensions. It seems that the scales are flexible enough to allow for different interpretations depending upon the theoretical perspective of the author and the objectives of the study. Modification in the scales used was a frequent occurrence and supports the view taken here.

Based upon this evidence, it is decided that sub-hypothesis one is not supported. This means that the equal use of the five dimensions in research has not occurred as expected. The strength of this decision is considered as moderate. First, all five dimensions did find application in research. Second, Seeman suggested that there might be a greater focus upon powerlessness than upon the other four dimensions, and this might have influenced the outcome. Third, the fifth dimension, self-estrangement, has heavy psychological implications and for that reason might have been less appealing to sociologists, political scientists, educators, and possibly some sociologically oriented social psychologists.

The second sub-hypothesis states that one should expect to find the same component elements of each dimension (according to Seeman) specified in subsequent studies of alienation. The evidence relevant to this issue was examined according to a paradigmatic scheme which summarized the actual usages into types (See Tables 7-11). The conclusions drawn from the frequency with which each type occurred is that Seeman's three components were not followed sufficiently in research which necessitates a decision of non-support for sub-hypothesis two. The strength of this decision is shown to be

extremely low by the large representation of type B. Type B indicates that two of the three component elements proposed by Seeman were used while one (specifically component element three) was not. Further discussion of this point will occur in the final part of this chapter.

An additional factor causing a non-support decision was the number of studies that failed to identify component elements for any of the dimensions.

The independence of the five dimensions of alienation was originally suggested by Melvin Seeman in 1959. It was subsequently restated by several individual writers. This independence of the dimension was considered sufficiently important with respect to the clarity of alienation to warrant separate treatment. This treatment is provided with sub-hypothesis three.

The findings on this point are generally inconclusive. There is evidence which seems to indicate that the five dimensions are moderately interrelated. There is evidence which supports the precise opposite conclusion as well. The problem of independence-interdependence greatly depends upon the methods and scales used to determine such. Inasmuch as both the methods and scales have not been sufficiently developed and refined, the matter here under consideration remains inconclusive. This means that insofar as the issue is presently understood, the independence of Seeman's five dimensions is yet to be validated.

The fourth sub-hypothesis was designed to test whether and to what extent research on alienation conformed to two of Seeman's

assumptions. These two assumptions are (1) that alienation is a social psychological phenomenon and (2) that it can be considered advantageous in social learning terminology.

With respect to the first assumption, it was found that the vast majority of the studies considered here focused upon the "personal standpoint of the actor." This supported the first part of the hypothesis. While a small but insignificant percent supplemented a measure of the subjective view of the individual with an objective view by the researcher, the conclusion remains unchanged. The evidence in support of the first assumption is strengthened when (as shown in Table 16) it is noted that the percent increases for those studies which focus both on the subjective view of the individual and also specify Seeman as their conceptual base.

The second assumption, concerning the use of social learning terminology has not found wide application. Forty-three percent of the studies follow Seeman's prescription. The percentage increases when one specifies the orientation of the study. For example, a greater percent of those studies considered social psychological in orientation used this terminology. Additional refinements of the data show that the percent using social learning terminology is greater for the research begun after 1959 (time of Seeman's article) than for that begun before. It is also noted that eighty-one percent of the studies which specify the use of Seeman's scheme also use social learning terminology. The most important finding is that showing only forty-three percent of the general sample using social learning terminology.

This specifies a decision of non-support for the second part of sub-hypothesis four. A moderate strength of this decision is suggested by the finding concerning the use of social learning terminology in studies having social psychological orientations and the high percent among those studies specifying the use of Seeman's scheme.

Part Two

Having supported the first part of sub-hypothesis four, but failing to support the second part indicates that the evidence is inconclusive. Thus, a decision in this case is impossible. The findings of this research, while limited in scope, indicate that a possible reason for the lack of clarity surrounding the term alienation has resulted from the manner in which researchers have seen fit to interpret theoretical formulations.

It is true that researchers did not refer to existing theoretical formulations to the extent one might expect. This is an important omission, but it is secondary to what has occurred in many cases when researchers did refer to theory, especially to Seeman. Whether Seeman was not studied carefully, whether he was not understood, whether the researchers had motives of their own, or whether the methodology was absent, the result has been a general drifting in research on alienation rather than systematic cumulative additions to a coherent body of verified propositions. What has been achieved in the clarification of the concept alienation, if in fact clarification has occurred, is more likely the result of accident than design.

The explanation for this is by no means known to this writer; however, impressions gained at practically all stages of this research suggest a number of reasons. First, either for reason of failure or unwillingness of many researchers to take cognizance of the role of theory in research, an astonishingly large variety of theoretical and quasi-theoretical views were used. The result was that writers would conceptualize their problems in spontaneous fashion or give vague expression to a view adopted from some related or probably unrelated context. The possible error in this is that a specific theoretical formulation is not being examined and/or re-examined by the evidence. These researchers are simply disclosing that this or that general view of alienation, cited at the beginning of their studies, either exists or does not exist in this particular situation. Most important in this is the lack, or at best, vague relation established between the researcher's theoretical base and the determination of the presence of alienation. Hence, it is not possible to expose any theoretical formulation to the evidence and thereby refine or reformulate theory in proper ways.

Melvin Seeman's formulation is no more than, but no less than a set of researchable meanings. Inasmuch as it stood alone for some time as the most clearly articulated formulation and that it was taken into account more often than any other single formulation, would lead one to think that its possible merits and demerits would have been at the very least exposed by research. There is only one finding in this study with sufficient weight that seemed to indicate a "weakness" in

Seeman's formulation. That point concerns the specification of the meaning of the third component element (social frame of reference) of the five dimensions of alienation. The evidence was both quantitatively large enough and consistently interpreted to carry either of two meanings as to require further clarification or reformulation of that point. It should be made clear precisely what is meant by "social frame of reference" as related to "depicting man's relations to the larger social order."

With the exception of this finding, the strengths and weaknesses of Seeman's formulation remain to be determined. For the most part, the problem which faced Seeman in 1959 and caused him to conceptualize the term as he did is unresolved.

After all the findings of this study, we must, in the final analysis, conclude that precious little more is known about alienation now than was known ten years ago. A fitting conclusion to the discussion of the basic hypothesis of this study is contained in a quotation: "It seems to me that, as with many another idea that has become stylish, 'alienation' is a notion that has been pulled out of shape, and utility, by its many contending proprietors. It would be helpful were students of human behavior to use terms that they say more clearly what they mean" (Nettler, 1969:554).

CHAPTER VI

IMPLICATIONS

Social scientists, with few exceptions, have found in the term alienation an explanation for many problems ranging from the alienated lower class minority group tutees in select tutorial programs in secondary schools, to the alienated intellectual, from the alienated businessman to the alienated reformatory inmate. Once alienation is treated as the independent variable, another time it is considered the dependent variable, other times it is viewed as both, and it is even treated as an intervening or contaminating variable. Much work has been done hoping to specify those feelings, attitudes, or conditions associated with alienation. The result has been that while interest in the phenomenon has grown, our understanding has not. There appears to be as little agreement on the meaning of the term today as when Melvin Seeman wrote his article in 1959.

It was precisely this problem of conceptual confusion regarding alienation that prompted the present study. In the hope of attaining a better understanding of this problem, one view of the relationship between theory and research was held up for examination in reference to alienation. The results of this evidence were discussed in the previous chapter. It remains now to take stock, as it were, of what has been attempted here, what has been achieved and what has not.

The claims of achievement in this study are meager at best. To undertake an analysis of both the number and complexity of studies as

was attempted here is an enormous task. It is questionable whether sufficient attention was given to the data, especially considering that in many cases the information sought was implicit rather than explicit in the work. It would be advisable, especially in studies of this sort, where the meanings and intentions of researchers is seldom obvious, to further limit the quantity of data to be analyzed.

Another limitation of this study concerns the instrument used to gather the data. Data gathering is a most delicate matter. A goal of any study is to gather all the data which pertains to the problem under investigation. An over supply of data not specifically relating to the hypothesis can cause problems in analysis. One method of determining exactly those data that are relevant to specific hypotheses is to pretest. This should enable one to sharpen the data gathering instrument so that the collection of irrelevant or superfluous information is kept at a minimum. In future research on this topic or even for research on similar topics including this data, it would be helpful to undertake a thorough pretest of the data gathering instrument. Much confusion and inconvenience could be avoided.

One decision made in this study deserves some post analysis commentary. This concerns the inclusion of dissertations into the population. Studies published in learned journals differ so greatly from doctoral dissertations that they pose numerous problems for analysis. Differences in size, complexity, and thoroughness made the rendering of equal analytic treatment most difficult. Future research

on this topic should concern itself with the development of both a rationale and a procedure for handling dissertations.

Several findings of this study suggest avenues for future research which might aid the effort to understand the phenomenon of alienation.

One might undertake an examination of the many "other dimensions" used in past research. A more complete knowledge of their origins and meanings might be clarified which could provide some clues for their integration.

An area requiring even preliminary study is that concerning the development and use of instruments to measure the dimension of alienation. Very little, if any, clarification of a term can be achieved if the instruments used to measure phenomena are themselves unclear. While several attempts have been made to develop scales, their systematic refinement has been jeopardized by the variable interpretations and modifications made of them. Research on these scales might reveal continuities and discontinuities of assumptions, areas of overlapping, and patterns in their application.

The findings and resultant indecision of sub-hypothesis three represents an area most desperately in need of study. Quite beyond the scope of the present study, a comprehensive examination of the independence of these five dimensions, in terms of such factors as the congruence between the operational definitions and their empirical referents; the uni- versus the multidimensional views of the five dimensions; and, a specification of the social (structural) conditions

under which specific conceptualizations hold, might provide future substantive research on alienation with some direction.

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1967 *Skid Rowers: Their Alienation and Involvement in Community and Society. East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University.*
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APPENDIX I

APPENDIX I

POPULATION CRITERIA

The following criteria were applied to each of three hundred studies examined to determine if they were qualified for inclusion into the population.

- I. Publication of Study: Dec. 1959 - Feb. 1971
- II. Location of Study and Publication: United States
- III. Orientation of Study: Sociology, Social Psychology, or a Related Behavioral Science

(Based upon: 1--author's recognized field of competence; 2--source of publication, i.e., journal, Ph.D.; 3--expressed orientation of the study.)

IV. Type of Study:

- A. Empirical--lacks reference to theoretical foundation or definition.
- B. Empirical--includes reference to theoretical foundation or definitions used.
- C. Empirical and Theoretical--involves use of empirical data expressly to evaluate theory.
- D. Theoretical--including explicitly given secondary empirical data.
- E. (Excluded) Theory only--no empirical data explicitly given.

V. Subject Matter: Alienation

- A. The work must specifically purport to study Alienation as: 1) The major subject of investigation; 2) A part of the central theme; 3) A major variable in the analysis of the problem.
- B. "Alienation" must be treated as a concept or research tool, not merely as an adjective; i.e.,

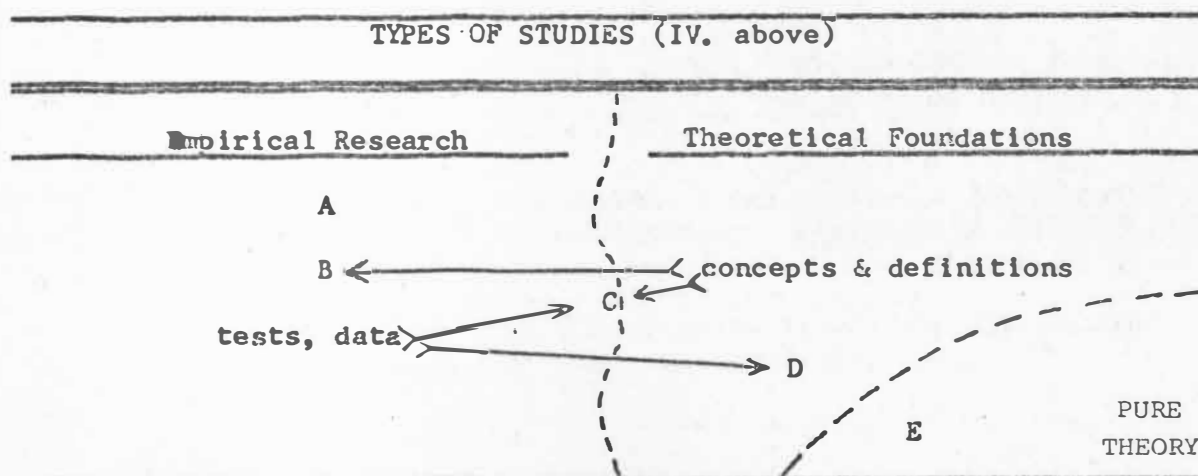
*As treated here, "alienation" lacks an understood meaning.

there must be some concern in defining the term* in order to 1) specify its application in a research problem; or 2) apply the theoretical concept in such a way that the findings may be held to support, modify, or conflict with the used meaning of alienation. Either a definition is necessitated by the research problem, or the research, by its nature, describes the meaning of alienation intended.

- C. Studies of "anomie" are excluded on the basis that anomie constitutes a separate concept as treated in the literature, unless the writer expressly considers it a dimension of "alienation."
- D. Any term, dimension, concept, or aspect (eg., narcissism, estrangement, dissidence, isolation, segregation, loneliness, worthlessness, inadequacy, discrimination, disjunctive communication, etc.) that may be construed as part of, or referring to the concept of alienation will be excluded, unless the researcher expressly states that it is part of the concept, i.e., it is referred to as "alienation."

(This is necessary to prevent an arbitrary inclusion of studies of particular dimensions regardless of how the researcher intended them to be used.)

The ability of a study to meet the above criteria is determined by an analysis of the study or an abstract thereof.



*As treated here, "alienation" lacks an understood meaning.

POPULATION AND SAMPLE

The first value is a listing of the studies that qualified for inclusion in the review. From which a random sequential sample of one-half of the studies was selected. The population was stratified according to the first two variables, Social Aspects of Alienation. The statistical analysis of these studies selected for analysis is indicated in Table 1.

Statistical and Methodological Issues

Sample Size

1. Alienation and socialization. Unpublished manuscript, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, 1967.

APPENDIX II

2. Alienation: Its meaning and measurement. American Sociological Review, 26 (5):753-758, 1961.
3. Alienation and socialization: On the multi-dimensionality of alienation. American Sociological Review, 26 (5):759-764, 1961.
4. Alienation and socialization: The process and the social structure as predictors of prejudice. Sociological Quarterly, 2(2):193-202, 1961.
5. Alienation and socialization: John W. Alderson and Kenneth Alderson. American Sociological Review, 26(5):765-772, 1961.
6. Alienation and socialization: A comparative study of alienation and learning. Sociometry, 3(2):107-117, 1967.
7. Alienation and socialization: Some intercorrelations among "alienation" measures. Social Forces, 44(3):370-371, 1966.

POPULATION AND SAMPLE

The following is a listing of the studies that qualified for inclusion in the population, from which a random sequential sample of one-half was drawn. Prior to sampling, the population was stratified according to the format used in Social Aspects of Alienation. The numerical designation of those studies selected for analysis is indicated to the left.

A. Theoretical and Methodological Issues

Sample No.

- 1 Brymer, Richard. Stratification and alienation. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, 1967.
- Dean, Dwight G. Alienation: its meaning and measurement. American Sociological Review, 26 (5):753-758, 1961.
- 2 Neal, Arthur G. and Rettig, Salomon. On the multi-dimensionality of alienation. American Sociological Review, 32(1):54-64, 1967.
- Rhodes, A. L. Authoritarianism and alienation: the F-scale and the Srole scale as predictors of prejudice. Sociological Quarterly, 2(3):193-202, 1961.
- 3 Seeman, Melvin and Evans, John W. Alienation and learning in a hospital setting. American Sociological Review, 27(6):772-782, 1962.
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Struening, Elmer L. and Richardson, Arthur H. A factor analytic exploration of the alienation, anomia and authoritarianism domain. American Sociological Review, 30(5):768-776, 1965.

B. The Alienated Worker

- 5 Aiken, Michael and Hage, Jerald. Organizational alienation: a comparative analysis. American Sociological Review, 31(4):497-507, 1966.

Barakat, Halim I. Alienation from the school system: its dynamics and structure. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1966.

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Miller, George A. Professionals in bureaucracy: alienation among industrial scientists and engineers. American Sociological Review, 32(5):755-767, 1967.

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- Sherpard, Jon M. Man-machine relationships, attitudes toward work and meanings in the work role. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, 1968.
- 13 Zurcher, Louis, Jr.; Meadow, Arnold; and Zurcher, Susan Lee. Value orientation, role conflict and alienation from work: a cross-cultural study. American Sociological Review, 30(4):539-548, 1965.
- Blood, M. R., and Hulin, C. L. Alienation, environmental characteristics, and worker responses. Journal of Applied Psychology, 51:284-290, June 1967.

C. The Alienated Voter

- 14 Alford, Robert R. and Scoble, Harry M. Community leadership, education and political behavior. American Sociological Review, 33(2):259-272, 1968.
- Dean, Dwight G. Alienation and political apathy. Social Forces, 38(3):185-189, 1960.
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- Hill, Duane W. and Johnson, Kenneth F. A cross-cultural approach to political alienation. Rocky Mountain Social Science Journal, 2(1):137-171, 1965.
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- Horton, John E. and Thompson, Wayne E. Powerlessness and political negativism: a study of defeated local referendums. American Journal of Sociology, 67(5):485-493, 1962.
- 19 Levin, Murray B. The Alienated Voter: Politics in Boston. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960. 84 p.
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- 24 Abcarian, G. and Stanage, S. M. Alienation and the radical rights. Journal of Politics, 27:776-796, November 1965.

D. The Alienated Young

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- 27 Ellis, Robert A. and Lane, W. Clayton. Social mobility and social isolation: a test of Sorokin's dissociative hypothesis. American Sociological Review, 32(2):237-253, 1967.

- Gould, Laurence J. The alienation syndrome: psycho-social correlates and behavioral consequences. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Connecticut, Storrs, Connecticut, 1966.
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- E. The Alienated Old
- Ellison, David Lee. Alienation and the will to live. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana, 1966.

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F. The Alienated Black

- Bullough, Bonnie. Alienation in the ghetto. American Journal of Sociology, 72(5):469-478, 1967.
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- 35 Searles, Ruth and Williams, J. Allen. Negro college students' participation in sit-ins. Social Forces, 40(3):215-220, 1962.

G. The Alienated Poor

Vander Kooi, Ronald C. Skid rowers: their alienation and involvement in community and society. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, 1967.

H. Alienation and Selected Aspects of Social Structure

- 36 Gerber, Gerold. Alienation and marital adjustment. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1968.
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I. Alienation and Deviant Social Behavior

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Final population = 102

SEEMAN'S CONCEPTUALIZATION

The following summary of Seeman's conceptualization was used to analyze the presence of dimensions, component elements, and assumptions in each study. It is based on Seeman's On the Meaning of Alienation (1959).

I. Five alternate meanings of alienation

- A. Powerlessness
Meaninglessness
Normlessness
Isolation
Self-Estrangement
- B. For each is given a "researchable statement of meaning" (*italics*). The goal is to achieve a sharp empirical statement of what alienation is.
- C. The five meanings have "logically distinguishable usages," but "alternative meanings can be profitably applied in conjunction." Self-Estrangement often overlaps with the other four meanings. The first and second have some connection; third and fourth have independent meanings.

II. Focus on the individual

"Alienation" is conceived of here in terms of the individual's point of view; it is based on the concepts of social learning theory; it focuses on the individual's sense, or expectancy of control over the reinforcement situation, versus external control by chance or manipulation by others; it is also seen in terms of the value an individual places on some activity or goal; it does not evaluate the situation in terms of what the individual's place in society should be.

III. The individual's social frame of reference

The concept of alienation should be applied only to "expectancies that have to do with the individual's sense of influence over socio-political events (control over the political system, the industrial economy, international affairs, and the like)." i.e., intimate need areas (e.g., love, affection, status-recognition) and global concerns are to be excluded from the theoretical construct until empirical research shows they are neither too close to the personality nor too distant to be effectively considered as "alienation." Basically, the concern is with a particular group of which the individual is a member, hence, it does not refer to SOCIETY in general.

Five Alternate Meanings (or Dimensions) of Alienation and Their Components

I. Powerlessness*

"The expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behavior cannot determine the occurrence of the outcomes, or reinforcements, he seeks." (784)

Components:

- (a) **Negative Expectancy of Control**--The individual thinks he lacks the power to get what he wants. This is not intended to determine the degree to which a person feels he cannot get what he wants, nor is it intended to determine the difference between what an individual wants and the limitations of his own abilities. It is not intended to test whether or not an individual should expect control, only if he does. Nor is this meant to be a measure of whether or not the observer feels the conditions of the group are likely to make the individual feel powerless.
- (b) **Focus on The Individual**--The individual's point of view is used. This represents the individual's appraisal of the situation, not the perspective of

*According to Seeman (784), this meaning of alienation has most frequent usage in current literature.

the observer, the group, nor the larger society an individual is in. The individual himself must think he is powerless.

- (c) Frame of Reference--The larger social order or group. An individual is alienated to the extent that he is alienated from something. Seeman does not seek to use as frame of reference either intimate need areas (e.g., love and affection), for this may be confused with indices of personality adjustment; nor a global reference frame that the individual holds no serious expectations of controlling.

II. Meaninglessness

"The individual is unclear as to what he ought to believe--when the individual's minimal standards for clarity in decision-making are not met. It is characterized by a low expectancy that satisfactory predictions about future outcomes of behavior can be made." (786)

Components:

- (a) Negative Expectancy-Lack of Understanding--The individual is not certain what is happening in his present situation and is not sure what may result regardless of what action he takes. Because the situation is unclear to him, he cannot predict the results of his actions.
- (b) Focus on Individual
- (c) Social Frame of Reference

Note: An individual can be powerless yet understand his situation perfectly. A person who does not understand his situation may be powerless to act, even if he is Charles Atlas.

III. Normlessness

"A high expectancy that socially unapproved means are required to achieve given goals." (788)

Components:

(a) Expectancy of Unapproved Behavior--The individual's feeling that he must deviate from the norms of the group in order to achieve the things he wants. Not to be confused with "anomie" which refers to the social perspective of the breakdown of behavioral rules.

(b) Focus on Individual

(c) Social Frame of Reference

IV. Isolation

"Individual assigns low reward value to goals or beliefs that are typically highly valued in the given society." (789)

Components:

(a) Low Valuation of Society's Goals--The values and beliefs of the society or group are not held in high esteem by the individual, regardless of whether or not he practices those beliefs or has his own.

(b) Focus on Individual

(c) Social Frame of Reference

V. Self-Estrangement

"The individual's degree of dependence of the given behavior upon anticipated future rewards." (790)

Components:

- (a) Lack of Intrinsic Value--An Individual sees little or no value in the activity at hand--it is only performed in the expectation of a future reward (e.g., salary). It indicates the individual's inability to find his activities self-rewarding.
- (b). Focus on Individual
- (c) Social Frame of Reference

APPENDIX IV

DATA COLLECTION

The following item analysis form was applied to each study selected in the sample in order to derive information necessary for the four sub-hypotheses.

Sample Number

1. Author _____
2. Title of article _____

3. Journal, book, etc. _____
4. Date of publication: month/season _____; year _____
5. Inclusive dates of research, if given, or dates of each successive research. List month/year for first two and last research done here. List additional studies on separate sheet.*
6. Name the sponsors of the project, i.e., source of grants and institutional support: (a) Ph.D. sociology; (b) Ph.D. social psychology; (c) Ph.D. psychology; (d) Ph.D. political science; (e) D. education; (f) governmental agency; (g) business; (h) foundation; (i) other, list: _____
If "f," "g," or "h" was answered, specify the group: _____
7. What is the purpose of the study, i.e., why was the study made? Specify on separate sheet.

a	b
c	d
e	f
g	h

*Note: Circle question number if separate sheet is used.

	Sample Number	
8. What is the disciplinary orientation of the study? (a) sociology; (b) social psychology; (c) psychology (d) psychiatry; (e) political science; (f) education; (g) criminology; (h) administrative science; (i) other, specify: _____	a c e	b d f
For criteria, use author's expressed orientation or source of publication.	g	h
9. Does the introduction to the study contain (a) a review of similar studies; (b) a historical account of the development of the concept of alienation; (c) little or no information that places the study in a theoretical context or perspective; (d) discussion of a theoretical context that is concerned with something other than "alienation."	a c	b d
10. Is Seeman's definition of alienation included in the discussion of the theoretical background of the study if one is given? (y) Yes; (n) No; pp _____	y	n
11. In what way is Seeman referred to? (a) as source of the concept of alienation used; (b) merely as a historical reference; (c) as a conceptualization of an inadequate, hence unused definition of alienation; (d) as source of part of the concept used; (e) as developer of a concept good only in sociology, but not in the discipline of the author; (f) Seeman is not referred to; (g) other, list: _____	a c e	b d f
If Seeman is not included, list probable cause.		
12. Is the concept of "alienation" explicitly defined in the text? pp _____; (y) Yes; (n) No	y	n
13. Does the author attribute any of the dimensions he uses in research to Seeman? pp _____	1	2
If so, which ones? (1) powerlessness; (2) meaningless; (3) normlessness; (4) isolation; (5) self-estrangement.	3 5	4
14. Does the author use or refer to the five dimensions of Seeman without crediting Seeman?	y	n

Sample Number

15. Does the author propose his own definition of alienation or one of the used dimensions? pp_____ y n
If so, describe what it is, i.e., list its components and how it is used, on separate sheet.
16. Does the author use a definition of alienation or a dimension proposed by someone else? (not Seeman) y n
If so, list its dimensions and components, and give the source, on separate sheet. Also note any theoretical background given.
17. List on separate sheet any other persons cited by the author as secondary contributors to the meaning of the concept used. Are there any? (y) Yes; (n) No. y n
18. Is the relationship between the "concept of alienation" and listed dimensions and variables given or used in research clearly indicated? y n
(y) Yes; (n) No; (s) Sometimes. List on separate sheet if notable. s
19. If alienation is not explicitly defined, can its components be determined on the basis of how it is used? Explain. y n
20. If Seeman's definition and dimensions are not used, which of the used dimensions have alternate or parallel meanings to those of Seeman? List.
21. Did the author find Seeman's definitions or a dimension inadequate? If so, state why, and what was done to resolve the problem. y n
22. List any added components the author decides to add to any of Seeman's dimensions.
23. Does the author propose a change or refinement in another person's definition of alienation or one or more of its dimensions? If so, list the source, change, and reason for change in each case. y n

Sample Number

24. In general, if the author proposes a redefinition, addition, or some other change, or chooses to add a dimension not included by other researchers, what reasons are given? (a) the author feels, or asserts a change is necessary; (b) a theoretical analysis of sociological (or other) literature indicates a change or a new dimension is necessary; (3) the author's research, i.e., actual tests or pre-tests indicate a change is necessary; (d) the given definition is not suitable for the approach the author chooses to use; (e) other, specify.
25. On the basis of how the author applies the new definition or added dimension in research, do you find that (a) all changes were necessary and functional; (b) only some changes were functional, others were unnecessary or detrimental; (c) none of the changes were necessary. Specify on separate sheet.
26. Name the group(s) on which the research was conducted: _____
27. What are the specific hypotheses that the research is testing? List on separate sheet.
28. How were the actual tests of these hypotheses constructed? List all variables that alienation is related to or tested against. Is the dimension of alienation treated as (a) the independent variable; or (b) the dependent variable.
29. What methods/techniques of research are used? (a) case study; (b) written questionnaire; (c) structured interview; (d) unstructured interview; (e) analysis of statistics or census data; (f) content analysis; (g) participant observation; (h) psychiatric examination; (i) control group; (j) other, specify.
30. What standardized tests or scales are used to measure alienation? (a) Dean's alienation measure; (b) Srole's anomia scale; (c) Twenty Statements Test (TST); (d) Guttman Scale; (e) Internal-External Scale (IE); (f) Foster Scale; (g) Nettler's scale for alienation; (h) ASCH; (i) other, specify.

Sample Number

31. Do the tests used determine (a) only whether or not an individual is alienated; (b) the degree to which an individual is alienated; (c) a combination of a and b. a b c
32. For each of the following dimensions or meanings of alienation used in research, give the appropriate letter: a, b, c, d, e, f, g, or h from the paradigms of components used for analysis. 1. _____
 (1) Powerlessness; (2) Meaninglessness; 2. _____
 (3) Normlessness; (4) Isolation; (5) Self-Estrangement. 3. _____
 4. _____
 5. _____
33. List any synonyms used by the author for any of Seeman's dimensions; give paradigm, if appropriate.

34. What other dimensions are used in research, besides the five listed in #32 above? List:

35. Are the meanings given to the dimensions used in research (a) in any way sustained by the research; (b) in any way refuted by the research; (c) not examined by the process or results of the research. a b
 c
36. If another dimension is included in #34 above, is (a) the need of this added meaning indicated by research; (b) the dimension necessitated by the problem being considered that none of the other five can satisfy; (c) other, specify. a b
 c
37. Are the dimensions and components of alienation used in various tests consistently applied? If not, explain. y n
38. If the author discusses Seeman's definition, does he propose that the five dimensions are (a) mutually exclusive, i.e., should be given separate treatment; (b) somewhat interdependent, some meanings overlap; (c) highly correlated, i.e., all five should be applied in every case of alienation considered. a b
 c

Sample Number

39. Does the author's research support the conclusion in #38 above? y n
40. List all dimensions that the author thinks overlap or must be applied in conjunction and state why.

- Is this supported by research? If so, explain. y n
41. Does the author make a general test of alienation by lumping together several dimensions? If so, list. y n
42. Based on the author's use and discussion of Seeman's dimensions, does the author understand Seeman's conceptualization and use it the way he intended? y n
43. Does the author use a social-psychological approach, i.e., does he follow the application of the social-learning terminology (expectancy, value, reward)? y n
44. Does the author propose a revision of the "concept of alienation" on the basis of the results of the research? If so, describe, unless listed elsewhere. y n
45. Is the definition of alienation used otherwise suitable and adequate? y n
46. In what ways is alienation referred to or used in this study? As (a) a syndrome in psychiatry; (b) a philosophical problem involving man, nature, and God; (c) a process having several levels or stages of development; (d) a condition resulting from other factors; (e) a theoretical concept used as a tool in empirical research; (f) an undesirable state of being; (g) a feeling someone has; (h) a variable in a test measuring satisfaction; (i) a variable in a test measuring adjustment; (j) a concept based on social-learning theory; (k) a situation of political apathy; (l) the result of anomie; (m) the symptom of a decaying society; (n) other: _____
- Which of the above is the most emphasized in this study? List letter designation: _____

- | | Sample Number | |
|---|---------------|---|
| 47. What frame of reference is used to interpret the situation of alienation? (a) the individual's view of his position in SOCIETY in general; (b) the individual's view of his position in a larger group of people of which he is a member; (c) man's relationship to his destiny, or God; (d) SOCIETY'S view of the individual as a deviant; (e) a group's view of the individual as a deviant; (f) a researcher's view of the individual's position or situation in SOCIETY or a larger group of people; (g) other: _____ | a | b |
| | c | d |
| | e | f |
| | g | h |
| 48. Is the information obtained on alienation from (a) tests performed by the author; (b) tests performed by another person (whose data are included in the text); (c) author's observations only; (d) other: _____ | a | b |
| | c | d |
| 49. Specify the type of study according to the types used for analysis: (a) mainly empirical, lacking theoretical background; (b) empirical, with theoretical background; (c) composite theory-empirical in which theory is in some way tested or evaluated or refined; (d) empirical included from a secondary source only, otherwise theoretical; (e) theory only; (f) other, specify. | a | b |
| | c | d |
| | e | f |
| 50. According to the author, the results of his (her) study are (a) valid only for the group studied; (b) valid for all similar groups; (c) valid for groups or society in general. | a | b |
| | c | |
| 51. Did the study satisfy the purpose as specified in #7 above? What were the conclusions of the study regarding alienation? | y | n |
| 52. Does the author make an evaluation of the situation of alienation studied, i.e., a moralistic one? | y | n |
| 53. List on separate sheet any biases that the author or study seems to have. | | |

RESUME

Give a resume of the study:

OTHER DIMENSIONS

The following list includes all of the dimensions used in research other than those proposed by Maslow. In some cases, the meanings of two or more dimensions are identical, but they have been given different terms. The dimensions have been listed by source, those which were determined by the usage of the Broke or Dean scales. The latter appear at the end of the listing.

Theoretical and Methodological

(10)

Freedom satisfaction with life
 Outlook for the future
 World philosophy
 Life dissatisfaction
 Life satisfaction

-1
 -1
 -1
 -1
 -1

APPENDIX V

Alienated Worker

attitude uncertainty
 high alienation
 alienation from supervisor relations
 self-valorization
 low satisfaction
 future concern
 social participation
 low self-esteem
 bewilderment and confusion
 low involvement

-1
 -1
 -1
 -1
 -1
 -1
 -1
 -1
 -1

Alienated Voter

lonely
 ill-adjusted
 dissidence
 over-consciousness
 political alienation

-1
 -1
 -1
 -1
 -1

OTHER DIMENSIONS

The following list includes all of the dimensions used in research other than those proposed by Seeman. In some cases, the meanings of two or more dimensions are identical, but they have been given different terms. The dimensions have been listed by strata, excluding those which were determined by the usage of the Srole or Dean scales. The latter appear at the end of the listing.

<u>Theoretical and Methodological</u>	(n)
Present satisfaction with life	-1
Outlook for the future	-1
Misanthropy	-1
Life dissatisfaction	-1
Low self-esteem	-1
<u>Alienated Worker</u>	
Attitude uncertainty	-1
Work alienation	-4
Alienation from expressive relations	-1
Self-actualization	-1
Job satisfaction	-1
Status concern	-1
Social participation	-1
Low self-esteem	-1
Bewilderment and confusion	-2
Need inviolacy	-2
<u>Alienated Voter</u>	
Apathy	-1
Discontent	-1
Dissidence	-1
Power consciousness	-1
Political alienation	-1

Alienated Young

Religious alienation	-1
Family alienation	-1
Future alienation	-1
Social alienation	-1
Self-alienation	-1
Anxiety	-1
Repression	-1
Dependency	-1
Subjective depression	-1
Authority conflict	-1
Social isolation (objective)	-1
Emotional alienation	-1
External influence	-1
Socially isolated or withdrawn (subjective)	-2
Individual alienation	-1
Social alienation	-1
Self-alienation	-1
Responsibility	-1

Alienated Old

Social isolation (objective)	-1
------------------------------	----

Alienated Black

Social estrangement	-1
Bewilderment and confusion	-1
Social distance	-1

Deviant Behavior

Deviancy factor	-1
Sociability factor	-1

Psychological Processes

Ladder of satisfaction	-1
Social alienation	-2
Emotional alienation	-1
Self-alienation	-1

Miscellaneous

Bewilderment and confusion	-1
Need inviolacy	-1

Srole's Scale used to measure

#Uses

Anomia (using Srole scale)

- as a dimension of alienation
- as distinct from alienation

-5

-2

Anomie (using Srole scale)

- as a dimension of alienation
- as distinct from alienation

-1

-1

Social alienation (after Srole)

-1

Alienation (using Srole scale)

-1

Despair (using Srole scale)

-1

Combined normlessness and powerlessness
(using Srole scale)

-1

Dean's Scale used to measure

Social isolation (subjective)

-7

RESEARCH PARADIGMS

Research paradigms according to scheme used by Janda (1970:173)

as applied to each of Gannon's dimensions.

- (+) indicates presence of component
(-) indicates absence of component

1. Overlappiness

(a) Negative expectancy

of control.....

(b) Focus on individual.....

(c) Soc. frame of ref.....

(d) (none)



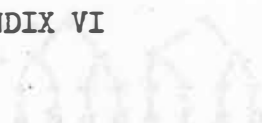
2. Headwinds

(a) Negative expectancy

lack of control.....

(b) Focus on individual.....

(c) Soc. frame of ref.....



APPENDIX VI

3. Headwinds

(a) Expectancy of

unsuccessful behavior.....

(b) Focus on individual.....

(c) Soc. frame of ref.....



4. Isolation

(a) Low valuation of

individual's goals.....

(b) Focus on individual.....

(c) Soc. frame of ref.....



5. Self-Entrapment

(a) Lack of intrinsic

value.....

(b) Focus on individual.....

(c) Soc. frame of ref.....



RESEARCH PARADIGMS

Research paradigms according to scheme used by Jahoda (1959:113)
as applied to each of Seeman's dimensions.

(+) indicates presence of component
(-) indicates absence of component

1. Powerlessness

(a) Negative expectancy
of control.....
(b) Focus on individual....
(c) Soc. frame of ref.....
(results)

2. Meaninglessness

(a) Negative expectancy
lack of understanding.....
(b) Focus on individual.....
(c) Soc. frame of ref.....

3. Normlessness

(a) Expectancy of
unapproved behavior.....
(b) Focus on individual.....
(c) Soc. frame of ref.....

4. Isolation

(a) Low valuation of
society's goals.....
(b) Focus on individual.....
(c) Soc. frame of ref.....

5. Self-Estrangement

(a) Lack of intrinsic
value.....
(b) Focus on individual.....
(c) Soc. frame of ref.....

TABLE OF CONDENSED DATA

This table contains a brief listing of some of the information relevant to the hypotheses under consideration. The items considered are represented by the following abbreviations, with an explanation of each appearing to the right.

Stra.-Stratum: (a) Theory; (b) Alienated Worker; (c) Alienated Voter; (d) Alienated Young; (e) Alienated Old; (f) Alienated Black; (g) Alienated-none; (h) Social Structure; (i) Deviant Behavior; (j) Social Structure-none; (k) Psychological Processes; (l) Miscellaneous

S# - sample number

Dimensions According to Paradigm

Power. - Powerlessness (Paradigm: a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h)
Mean. - Meaninglessness (Paradigm: same as above)
Norm. - Normlessness (Paradigm: same as above)
Iso. - Isolation (Paradigm: same as above)
Self. - Self-estrangement (Paradigm: same as above)

(Note: a/b - indicates both used)

OD. - Number of other dimensions used.

Dis. - Disciplinary orientation: Sociology (S); Social Psychology (SP); Political Science (PS); Psychology (P); Education (E).

Ass. - Assumptions: Social learning (SL); Social structural (SS); Psychological (P); Other Social Psychological (SP); Social Interaction (SI).

SN - Seeman's conceptualization referred to

SU - Seeman's conceptualization used in some way as a theoretical base.

P1959 - Research begun prior to 1959.

Str.	a	a	a	a	b	b	b	b	b
S#	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Power.	b	a/b	a	b	-	b	b	-	a
Mean.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Norm.	b	a/b	-	b	-	a/b	-	-	-
Iso.	-	-	-	-	-	b	b	-	-
Self.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
OD.	4	1	-	6	2	SP	SP	S	SP
Dis.	S	S	SP	SP	S	SS	SS	-	SL
Ass.	SS	SL	SL	SP	-	X	X	X	X
SN.	X	X	X	X	-	X	-	-	X
SU.	X	X	X	-	-	X	-	-	-
P1959	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-

Str.	b	b	b	b	c	c	c	c	c
S#	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
Power.	a	a	b	-	-	-	a	a	b
Mean.	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
Norm.	-	-	b	-	b	-	-	-	-
Iso.	X	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
Self.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
OD.	3	3	2	1	-	3	1	-	1
Dis.	SP	S	SP	S	S	PS	SP	SP	S
Ass.	SP	-	SL	-	SS	-	SL	SL	SS
SN.	X	X	X	-	-	X	X	X	X
SU.	-	-	X	-	-	-	X	X	-
P1959	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	X

Str.	c	c	c	c	c	c	d
S#	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Power.	-	-	a	b	-	h	b
Mean.	-	-	a	-	-	h	-
Norm.	-	-	a	-	-	h	b
Iso.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Self.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
OD.	-	2	3	-	1	-	3
Dis.	PS	S	S	SP	PS	PS	E
Ass.	-	SS	SI	SL	SS	-	SS
SN.	X	-	X	X	X	-	X
SU.	-	-	-	X	X	-	-
P1959	X	X	X	-	-	-	-

Stra.	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	e
S#	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
Power.	-	-	-	-	-	-	b	-
Mean.	-	-	-	-	-	-	b	-
Norm.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Iso.	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Self.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
OD.	10	2	-	1	2	1	1	1
Dis.	P	SP	S	P	SP	SP	S	S
Ass.	P	SP	SS	SL	SL	SL	SP	-
SN.	-	-	X	X	X	X	X	X
SU.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
P1959	-	X	X	X	X	-	-	X

Stra.	f	f	h	h	h	i	i	i	i	i
S#	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43
Power.	b	X	a/b	b	-	b	X	-	b	a/b
Mean.	b	-	a/b	-	-	X	-	-	-	-
Norm.	b	X	a/b	b	-	X	X	-	b	-
Iso.	b	X	-	-	-	X	X	-	-	-
Self.	b	-	a/b	-	-	X	-	-	-	-
OD.	1	-	1	1	3	4	-	2	1	-
Dis.	SP	S	SP	S	S	S	S	S	SP	SP
Ass.	SL	-	SL	-	SL	SL	SL	SL	SL	SL
SN.	X	-	X	X	-	X	X	-	X	X
SU.	X	-	X	-	-	X	X	-	X	-
P1959	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-

Stra.	j	k	k	k	k	l	l	l
S#	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51
Power.	a/b	b	-	-	-	a	a/b	a
Mean.	-	-	-	-	-	a	b	-
Norm.	a/b	b	-	-	-	a	a	-
Iso.	a/b	-	-	-	-	-	a	-
Self.	a/b	b	-	-	-	-	a	-
OD.	-	2	1	1	2	1	1	3
Dis.	SP	SP	P	S	S	SP	SP	SP
Ass.	SL	-	P	SS	SS	SL	SL	SL
SN.	X	X	-	-	-	X	-	X
SU.	X	-	-	-	-	X	X	-
P1959	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-