Chapter II

Chapter II presents - (i) the theoretical background of the concept - 'alienation'; (ii) the empirical researches conducted over a period of two decades; and (iii) the development of hypotheses proposed to be verified for this study.

Few concepts used in the intellectual diagnosis of the complex and multidimensional relationship between individual and society have aroused such widespread interest as alienation. The large and rapidly increasing body of literature in philosophy and social science, and the growing international and multi-disciplinary group of scholars and researchers at present engaged in alienation theory and research suggest that the study of alienation has emerged today as a firm and legitimate field in its own right. In fact the alienation theme in the analysis of contemporary society has become so prominent that Robert Nisbet (1962) has described it as a 'perspective' rather than a concept.

Increased social differentiation, the breakdown of regulatory norms, the 'difficulty of realising the total self in mass society (Kerlin 1962), separation
of spirit from nature (Keniston, 1965), 'spiritual and physical separation of labour from its product (Marx, 1948), Man's loss of relationship to his work, the individual estrangement from some deep and productive part of himself (Keniston, 1965, - all of these phenomena came to mind as the potent source of alienation; and all seem to involve segments of the population who are in some sense alienated. The dominant response of man to such perverse social condition is his 'skeptical, critical or repudiative attitude towards much of his culture', an "explicit rejection of what are seen as dominant values of the surrounding society' (Kenistan 1965), attitudes of estrangement or separation between parts or whole of the personality and significant aspects of the world of experience.

**Conceptual Perplexity**

The literature on alienation is voluminous and varied. Numerous conceptualizations of alienation have

1. UNESCO Dictionary of Social Science defined alienation as an estrangement or separation between parts or whole of the personality and significant aspects of the world of experience (i) with this general denotation the term may refer to (a) an objective state of estrangement or separation (b) the state of feeling or estranged personality (c) a motivational state tending towards estrangement (ii) the separation denoted by the term may be between (a) the self and the objective world; (b) the self and aspects of the self that have become separated and placed against the self; (c) the self and the self.
been proposed from historical, philosophical sociological and psychological perspectives. The concept has been used in different and sometimes conflicting ways by the same writer (Schacht, 1971; Stokols, 1975).

Scarcely any contemporary study fails to mention that the concept has become muddled and uncertain, 'loosely employed and variously defined' stricken with severe inconsistency and vagueness. Schacht, (1971) has nicely portrayed the confusion: "Because the term is employed in connection with so many different (phenomena) - it enjoys no special association with any of them. Using the term alienation without explain- any further what one has in mind communicate little more today than does tapping one's glass with one's spoon at a banquet, neither does much more than attract attention.' As a result, in the absence of consensus regarding the usage of the concept, alienation research taken collectively manifests a series of discrete, fragmentary and unrelated studies, rather than a cumulative addition to a coherent body of empirically verified propositions.
One possible response to the problem of conceptual confusion as proposed by Israel (1971), is to abandon the term 'alienation' altogether, substituting other terms considered to be more concisely delineated. Radical linguistic surgery of this kind has found few proponents, however, because alienation has proved to be a valuable concept by continuing to generate provocative and urgent questions about social and political life. "If it were eliminated from the language of explanation, then one might plausibly suppose that a range of significant issues would be obscured as well, that difficulties discussing them would be at least be multiplied" (Scaff, 1978).

The primary concern in the following discussion is to review the various conceptualisations and debates on alienation so as to eliminate, if not overcome, the conceptual perplexities. While examining the multiple interpretation of the concept, attention will be given mainly on the controversy over important problems and issues which divide alienation theorists. It will highlight the fundamental epistemological problems concerning the way question and answer about alienation are formulated and studied.
Marx on Alienation

Marx (1948) used the concept 'alienation' to describe the workers condition in capitalist society. Marx saw the worker in industrial societies as alienated because the access to the means of production or economic decision making was dominated by the ruling entrepreneurs. In the writings of Marx, alienation is discussed from both philosophical and ideological perspective. In a philosophical context, alienation is understood in terms of social and historical forces which eventuate in the objectification of labour (i.e. the spiritual and physical separation of labour from its products. From an ideological perspective, conscious recognition of the objectification and exploitation of labour provides the basis on which "class consciousness is attained and the forces of revolution are mobilized". Bottomore (1956) quotes Marx as follows: "the more the worker expends himself in work, the more powerful becomes the world of objects which he creates in face of himself, and the poorer he himself becomes in his inner life, the lesser he belongs to himself. The alienation of the worker in his product means not only that his labour becomes an object which takes on
its own existence but that it exists outside him, independently, and alien to him, and that it stands opposed to him as an autonomous power. The life which he has given to the object sets itself against him as an alien and hostile force. The performance of work is at the same time its objectification. The performance of work appears in the sphere of political economy, as a vitiation of the worker, objectification as a loss and as servitude to the object, and appropriation as alienation”.

In the Marxian analysis, (i) the attainment of class consciousness among the proletarian group reflects a historical process in which objective condition of exploitation are apprehended by certain segments of society and amended through protest and revolution and (ii) the workers as a part of the whole category subject to similar alienating elements of a social structure (Kon, 1967).

One notes that alienation in Marx's work was used as a concept for identifying and criticising a particular kind of social dysfunction. It explains the separation under the capitalist productive system between human beings and the product of labour, work and self identity. According to Marx, "alienation is apparent not only in the fact that my means of life belong to some one else,
that my desires are the unattainable possession of some one else, but that everything is something different from itself, that my activity is something else and finally - that an inhuman power rules over everything."

A Psycho-Social Approach

As opposed to the Marxian emphasis on alienation as a materialistic structural phenomenon, the emphasis on the subjective elements of individually perceived and felt alienation dates back to the writings of Seeman (1959), Bell (1959), Dean (1961), Middleton (1962), Netter (1957), Schact (1970), Keniston (1965) and others. The emphasis in these empirical approach is on the actor's personal expectation and values and the psychological varieties of alienation are generally treated as intervening variables which link structural conditions to behavioural outcomes. The starting point for these empiricists is the isolated individual rather than the organization of social relationships. By re-locating the problem of alienation in the individual, solution to the problem also tends to start with the individual i.e. solutions which emphasize individual adaptation or conformity to the predominant values and institutions of society rather than organized collective action towards substantive or radical structural changes.
Seeman's (1959) typology sharply classifies the various meanings of alienation found in contemporary sociological literature. He put forth five basic ways in which the concept of alienation has been used and accordingly conceptualised five variants of alienation. The concept of alienation in his approach is judged from the point of view of the actor as opposed to the Marxian objective condition. The objective condition according to Seeman, is relevant only in "determining the degree of realism involved in the individuals response to his situation". Seeman's (1959) emphasis on the individual actor is noticeable from the very starting point of his analysis "I propose in what follows, to treat alienation from the personal standpoint of the actor - that is, alienation is here taken from the social-psychological point of view".

**Powerlessness (Variant I)**

"Powerlessness is the expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behaviour cannot determine the occurrence of the outcomes, or reinforcement, he seeks". In Seeman's version of alienation 'expectancy regarding a state of affair' induces a feeling of powerlessness as opposed to Marx's judgement about a State of
affair - the elimination of individual freedom and control. The meaning attached to the Seeman's conceptualization of expectancy relates to the Hotter's (1958) internal versus external control of reinforcement paradigm. Hotter's concept of "external control refers to the fact that the individual is likely to perceive reinforcement as being beyond his control and primarily contingent upon external conditions".

The concept 'powerlessness' is central to the theoretical formulation on alienation. This usage of alienation was suggested by Hegel (1941) and Marx in their discussion of the "workers separation from effective control over his economic destiny of his helplessness; of his being used for purpose other than his own."

Weber (1946) argued that the worker was only one case of the phenomena, for in the industrial society, the Scientist, Civil servant, the student, the Professor are likewise separated from control over his work.

Meaninglessness (Variant II)

The second meaning of alienation refers to individual's understanding of the events in which he is engaged. 'Meaninglessness' seems to be offshoot of a situation that is not clear. Qualifying the meaningless usage of
the alienation concept Seeman states: "when 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". Using the earlier 'expectancy' paraphrase, Seeman operationalised the concept as: "a low expectancy that satisfactory predictions about future outcomes of behaviour can be made."

The first usage of the concept 'alienation' i.e. the sensed ability to control outcome closely resembles the second usage i.e., the sensed ability to predict behavioural outcomes. If the individual is clear as to what he ought to believe, is more likely to feel to have control over the situation. A meaningful structured environment is basic to the 'expectancy for control'. On the contrary an unintelligible complex configuration of events in an environment develop a state of helplessness in the incumbent - consequently a "high expectancy for external control".

**Normlessness (Variant III)**

The third meaning of alienation refers to a state of affair characterised by 'normlessness'. The importance of norm in regulating behaviour was earlier emphasised
by Durkheim (1951) in his 'Suicide' theory. The meaning attached to this concept, based upon the premise that the norms and the normative system, like any other power, is a potential force to "influence, initiate and terminate the action". Normatively regulated behaviour involves power exercised by the group or the society over the individual. In the Durkheim's usage anomie characterises a situation which gives rise to 'overweening ambitions' and in turn these unlimited passions produce a breakdown in the regulatory norms.

Man has unlimited passions but he has no control over the passions. Control of passions is done by the collective force which define, shape and order the goals to which men should orient their behaviour. If the collective order is disrupted, men's aspiration may then rise, exceeding all possibilities of fulfilment. Under these conditions deregulation may occur and this deregulation is the anomie. According to him, "the state of deregulation is or anomie being less disciplined precisely when they need more disciplining." He identified three conditions under which the regulatory forms of the collective order breaks down. They are: (1) sudden depression,
(ii) sudden prosperity, and (iii) rapid technological change. Under these conditions regulatory control of the collective order breaks down and men are led to aspire goals beyond possibility of fulfilment and thus puts strain on the regulatory apparatus of the society.

Merton (1957) extended the theory of anomie i.e. and put on the sociological literature by making it more scientific. Durkheim's notion of overweening ambition and subsequent breakdown of the regulatory norms was the two connecting links between Merton and Durkheim's treatment of anomie. Merton discarded Durkheim's concept of man as a bundle of passion which can be tamed only by social restraints. Merton examined the social pressure but retained Durkheim's definition of anomie as a condition of relative normlessness. Merton suggests that goals and norms may vary independently of each other and that, this sometimes lead to mal-integrated states. In his view two polar types of disjunction may occur -

(1) "There may develop a very heavy, at times a virtually exclusive stress upon the value of particular goals, involving comparatively little concern with the institutionally prescribed means of striving towards these goals."
The second type of polar disjunction is found where activities originally conceived as instrumental are transmitted into self-contained practices lacking further objectives .... sheer conformity becomes a central value." Having identified patterns of disjunction between goals and norms, Merton defined anomie "as a breakdown in the cultural structure" occurring particularly when there is an acute disjunction between cultural norms and goals and the socially structured capacities of members of the group to act in accordance with them. Of the two kinds of malintegrated societies, Merton is primarily interested in the one in which "there is an exceptionally strong emphasis upon specific goals without corresponding emphasis upon institutional procedures." Merton's treatment of anomie is based upon three conditions: (1) disjunction between goals and norms, (2) relationship between norms and goals, (3) differential access to success goals by legitimate means.

Merton (1957) put forth the following adaptation pattern i.e. different kind of response, to the rule that occurs when the disciplining effect of collective standard becomes weak.
Merton considers five types of adaptation to anomie basing upon cultural goals and institutionalised means. The following table gives the typology of modes of individual adaptation where (+) signifies acceptance, (-) signifies rejection and (†) signifies rejection of prevailing values and substitution of new values.

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<th>Modes of adaptation</th>
<th>Cultural goals</th>
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<td>1. Conformity</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Innovation</td>
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<td>5. Rebellion</td>
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According to Merton these categories "refers to role behaviour in specific types of situations, not to personality." His formulation is that in a society "suffering from anomie people tend to put stress on mysticism, the working of fortune, chance, luck."

Seeman's concept of normlessness to a greater extent parallels the formulation of Merton which says that the anomie leads to low predictability in behaviour and a faith in 'mysticism.' Following Merton's lead,
Seeman reinterpreted the normlessness usage of the concept. The revised formulation normlessness, according to Seeman (1959), is a "high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviours are required to achieve a given goal".

A review of literature indicates that at least two rather distinct subtypes of normlessness may be differentiated. The first subtype purposelessness has been rated by Mac Iver (1950) who has described anomie as, "the absence of values that might give purpose or direction to life, the loss of intrinsic and socialised values, the insecurity of the hopelessness, disoriented". The second subtype of normlessness may be considered as conflict of norms. Grazia (1948) has described at some length the contemporary conflict between the cooperative, directiveness, and between the 'activists' and the quietist directives. Karen Horney (1949), in similar vein has described the difficulties of a "person who incorporates in his personality conflicting norms such as the Christianity versus the success imperatives the stimulation towards a constantly higher material standard of living versus the practical denial of a high standard
for many people, and the alleged freedom of individual versus the factual limitation on his behaviour."

Isolation (Variant IV)

Isolation refers to a sort of detachment of the individual from popular cultural standards. Seeman formulated this fourth usage of the concept applying the construct of 'expectation and reward values'. He characterised the alienated as those "who --- assign low reward values to goals or beliefs that are typically highly valued in the given society."

The concept of social isolation may also be traced to Durkheim's concept of anomie, which included "a feeling of separation from the group or isolation from group standards."

Jaco (1954) in his 'social isolation hypothesis' has shown that residential area with the highest schizophrenic rates are those characterised by "a smaller percentage of voting, low social participation, greater unemployment, fewer membership in lodges and fraternal organization, more job turnover, fewer visits with friends etc."

Seeman (1961) latter decided that the concept social isolation was not a very useful meaning and abandoned social isolation as a type of alienation. Nisbet (1962),
Pappenheim (1959) Grodzins, (1956) on the other hand advocated strongly that loss of community in modern society as the source of alienation. Seeman (1961) pointed out that 'social isolation can't readily be separated from differences in associational style - the fact that some men are sociable and some are not - makes clear the desirability of distinguishing social isolation from social estrangement. Townsend (1957) makes such distinction to be socially isolated to have few contacts with family and community. To be lonely is to have unwelcome feeling of lack of or loss of companionship. One is objective, the other is subjective. The two concepts do not coincide. Eric and Josephson (1962) opines that not all isolates are socially estranged nor all non-isolates are free from estrangement. They view that feeling of loneliness is crucial to alienation.

Various attempts that have been made to define alienation, little attention has been given to the distinction between Alienation from self and alienation from society (Srole, 1956; Better, 1957; Dean, 1961; Hajda, 1961).

Taviss (1969) view alienation to be seen as having its origin in the self-society interaction. Alienation
results from dysfunction between social demands and values and individual needs and inclination. Given the tension between self and society, two ideal type extreme forms resolution are possible: (i) social alienation in which individual selves may find the social system in which they live to be oppressive or incompatible with some of their own desires and feel estranged from it. Etsioni (1968) shares this notion of self-society interaction as a potent source of alienation. He views alienation originates from a social "situation which is beyond the control of the actor and hence unresponsive to his basic needs".

Taviss (1969) defines self alienation as one in which individual selves may lose contact with any inclination or desire that are not in agreement with "prevailing social pattern, manipulate their selves in accordance with apparent social demands and/or feel incapable controlling their own action." The socially alienated maintain distance from society, and engage himself in self manipulating behaviour so as to eliminate the distance. Taviss (1969) concludes "although both types of alienation are indicative of tension in the self society relationship, in the case of social isolation the onus of blame is
placed on the society, whereas in the case of self
alienation, the self is seen to be responsible." Hence,
not only is the behaviour of the socially alienated
different from that of the self alienated, but the under-
lying attitude towards society is different. According
to Taviss, social isolation is characterised by -
(1) Isolation or estrangement from other people. (2) Est-
 rangement from norms and values. (3) Violative behaviour
(4) Suspicion, distrust regarding fellow men.

The self-alienation on the contrary connotes
suppression of or distance from needs, objectification
of self and projection of power.

Self-estrangement (Variant V)

Self-estrangement in Seeman's version is a further
development of the notion of Fromm (1955) and Mills (1951).
Fromm, in her classical work, 'The Sane Society' wrote:
"In this following analysis I have chosen the concept of
alienation as the central point from which I am going to
develop the analysis of the contemporary social character ...
by alienation is meant a mode of experience in which
the person experiences himself as an alien. He has
become, one might say estranged from himself".
Mills (1951) wrote: "In the normal course of her work, because her personality becomes the instrument of an alien purpose, the sales girls becomes self-alienated"; and later, "Men are estranged from one another as each secretly tries to make an instrument of the other, and in time a full circle is made; one makes an instrument of himself and is estranged from it also".

According to Seeman (1959), Fromm (1955) and Mill (1951) judge the individual alienation in the context of some ideal human condition, his concept generally refers to the "loss of intrinsic meaning of pride in work." He examined the idea of intrinsically meaningful activity in social learning terms. He states the meaning of alienation as the "degree of dependence of the given behaviour upon anticipated future rewards, that is, upon rewards that lie outside the activity itself."

In this usage of the concept, individual's involvement in the work is lost. For example, the student who reads for a degree, the worker who works for his salary, the housewife who cooks simply to get it over with all signifies essentially to the inability of the individual to find 'self-rewarding or self consumatory' activities that involves him or her. Self-alienated in
this framework is to be "something less than one might ideally be if the circumstances in society were otherwise - to be insecure, given to a appearance, conformist". Jean (1961) offered a concept social isolation or feeling of loneliness and impersonality" to explain alienation.

However the Seeman's 'isolation' variant and Jean's (1961) social isolation to a larger extent are similar and the difference is only contextual. Middleton (1963) suggests that the former be termed cultural estrangement and the latter social estrangement.

According to Nettler (1957) 'alienation': is a psychological state of an individual. He describes an alienated person as "one who has been estranged from his society and the culture it carries." Seeman (1961) latter took the isolation meaning of alienation from the scale devised by Nettler (1957) to measure rejection of popular culture and values.

Clark (1959) taking powerlessness as a central focus in alienation defines alienation as "the degree to which man feels powerless to achieve the role he has determined to be rightfully his in specific situation." This characterisation relates to man's feeling of lack of means to overcome the discrepancy between his definition
of the role he is playing and the one he feels he should be playing in a situation. A measure of alienation Clark asserts, "is a measure of the discrepancy between the power man believes he has and what he believes he should have—his estrangement from his rightful role".

However several criticisms are levelled against the dimensional linguistic surgery to the alienation concept. Dean (1961) Middleton (1963) found significant correlation among various dimensions, especially 'Powerlessness and Meaninglessness' which indicates that although it may be useful to separate them for analytical purposes, they do not usually occur independently of each other. Several authors concerned with the dimensionality of alienation suggest that Powerlessness is the underlying factor common to all dimensions of alienation (Eckhardt and Hendershot, 1967; Israel, 1971; Neal and Seems, 1964; Seeman, 1959).

Marvin Scott (1964) categorised alienation as
(i) Alienation from values; (ii) Alienation from norms;
(iii) Alienation from roles; (iv) Alienation from facilities.

Aiken and Hage (1966) considers alienation as a free floating human condition irrespective of specific
social contexts which produces such mental state. Aiken and Hage distinguished two types of alienation:

1. Alienation from work, and
2. Alienation from relation. They developed their formulations on alienation in the context of an organisation. They took into account two dimensions of organisation i.e., centralisation and formalisation to explain two varieties of alienation, i.e. alienation from work and alienation from relations. Alienation from work reflects feeling of disappointment with career and professional demands whereas alienation from relation reflects dissatisfaction in social relationship with supervisors and fellow workers. By centralisation he meant the degree to which members participate in decision making, to what extent members participate in setting the goal and policies of organisation. Formalisation refers to the degree of work standardization and the amount of deviation that is allowed from standards.

Goertzd (1970) found work alienation is highly related to alienation from fellow workers. The correlation was .75. This shows persons who are dissatisfied with their work environment were also the persons who are dissatisfied with their companionship. The relation between formalisations and work alienation is positive and high (.51) and centralisation and work alienation is still higher (.57).
Hajda (1961) describes alienation as an individual feeling of "uneasiness or discomfort which reflects his exclusion or self-exclusion from social and cultural participation. It is an expression of non-belonging or non-sharing, an uneasy awareness or perception of unwelcome contrast with others". According to his formulation, alienation varies in its scope and intensity. It may be restricted to a small group or it may encompass a wide social universe. It may be a "sporadic feeling, arising from specific encounters and events that involve a small or large number of individuals or it may be continuous and sometimes intense feeling perpetuated by the individuals self-concept, others view of him, and his socio-cultural location." In this sense, alienation is a general social phenomenon, a feeling that may be experienced in some fashion by any member of a given society.

Hajda (1961) offers a contextual approach to the study of alienation and his proposition is that alienation can be understood in the context of its opposite - "the feeling of belonging, sharing or participation which follows from the individuals inclusion or integration into social collectives."
Alienation: An objective social condition or a subjective state of individual consciousness

The emphasis on alienation as a strictly objective or materialistic structural phenomenon as opposed to the 'subjective feeling' (socio-psychological) is still a controversial point. But in recent years scholars in both the camps i.e. Marxist and non-Marxists, seem to hold compromising opinions. One striking development within Marxist scholars is the slow recognition of subjective interpretation of alienation. On the other hand, non-Marxist scholars seem to emphasise on Marx's classical idea of alienation as an objective condition pertaining to the structural relations of domination and subordination, appropriation and exploitation. Most scholars today, Marxists and non-Marxists alike recognise both the subjective and objective dimension of alienation.

Marx, of course, stresses both the objective condition for and the subjective manifestation of alienation. Parallels can also be drawn between the psychological elements of alienation in Marx's early work and certain psychological concepts i.e. Horney's (1954) neurotic personality or Erikson's (1968) 'Concept of Identity Crisis'.
Others working within a Marxist framework also take a dual stance on the objective-subjective issue. Schaff (1981) recognizes and expands upon both objective and subjective conception of alienation in Marx's work. In the first instance, alienation is treated as an objective relation, pertaining to the products of man which become alienated regardless of how he thinks or feels about it. Schaff (1981) distinguishes this from self alienation, a subjective social relation in the sense that it is a man who alienates himself from a world that he has socially created, from other people, and from his own ego. Subjective self alienation, accordingly to Schaff (1981) rests in the feelings, experiences and attitudes of man.

A few other empirical efforts in this vein are worth noting (Kohn, 1977, 1976; Tudor, 1972; Blauner, 1964). A group of researchers have given upon some of the objective conditions of work in addition to the standard survey item on the subjective alienation (Kohn, 1977, 1976, Tudor 1972, Blauner 1964). The objective dimensions in these studies include measure of the substantive complexity of work, the degree of individual responsibility on the job, the variety of tasks to be performed the condition of occupational self direction, the extent of routinization and supervision and the
extent to which workers have immediate control over the process of work and production.

In a more recent conceptual effort, Schacht (1981) focuses on the economic alienations which compromises between the Marxian objective condition and the psychological and attitudinal dimension of the structural functionalists. The notion of economic alienation is narrowed down to specific relations between economic agents and their economic activity, i.e. between a worker and his labour or work-role performance. Two types of economic alienation are distinguished: "one referring to an economic-relational state of affairs, which can be rendered useful as a purely descriptive analytical (neutral) concept in the social sciences; the other referring to an interpretative-evaluative normative) construct, best suited for moral and humanist criticism with regard to the dominant institutions and values of industrial society." Schacht (1981) is concerned with the former, Economic alienation as a purely descriptive analytical category carefully distinguished in objective and subjective forms. The objective form consist of observable socio-economic relations and
behaviours, and alienation is manifested in economic activities that are uncontrollable, impersonally regimented and basically anonymous. Uncontrollability here involves the relinquishment or loss of autonomy and control in relation to one's labour and products. The subjective forms of economic alienation consist of experimental and attitudinal states of individuals involved in economic activity, i.e. intrinsic work dissatisfaction.

Interestingly, the acceptance of subjective alienation among some Marxist scholars today is paralleled by a gradual recognition of objective alienation among non-Marxist scholars and researchers. Olsen (1976) has documented a shift from standard attitudinal approaches to psychological conceptualization of the alienation phenomenon. He suggests, for example, the term 'Political Powerless' be reserved for those objective situations in which the socio-political system prevents individuals from exercising an affective influence on governmental decisions, policies and action. It seems absurd accordingly to Olson, to label as alienated those individuals who define themselves as politically powerless, because much of the time they are perfectly correct in their assessment.
Most psychoanalytic approaches view alienation not so much as a fixed state but more as a process and which unless checked, tends to develop a self perpetuating self-enhancing momentum of its own. The work of Karen Horney (1945) is an important benchmarks in the development of this tradition. Within her conceptual frame of reference, alienation is seen as a "moving away from the real self". The alienated person has moved through his years of development away from some notion about what is natural, unique, and inherent in man as a human being. Others in the social psychiatric tradition (Sullivan, 1964, Szasz, 1970, Becker 1967) several of whom draw on Horney's lead, view the alienating process as a more or less neurotic one, with the accent on some sort of impeded interaction between the individual in his or her formative years and immediate environment.

Keniston (1965) calls one sort of developmental estrangement, a sense of alienation or loss that comes with the abandonment of childish ties to one's childhood self. The level of difficulty to deal with this sense...
of estrangement depends both on the particular kind of childhood experience the individual has had, and also on what he or she finds to take their place. According to Keniston (1960) "--- the other side of the coin of childhood dependence is emancipation, and for the young person who can find new emotional ties and new challenges and rewards in living the loss of the world of childhood will be much less painful." In a period of rapid social change there is likely to be another keenly felt alienation - an acute sense of historical loss: "Most social innovations replace customs, outlooks or technologies and those who are most firmly attached to what has been replaced inevitably mourn their loss" (Keniston, 1960). Whether as a result of unfortunate developmental experience or the demands of society, the individual may feel that somehow he has lost touch with some inner core of his being, and that much of what he does is empty, flat and devoid of meaning Keniston (1960).

Alienation, Identity and Self-esteem

As Mead (1959) observed that the self is essentially a social structure and it arises in social experiences. "The social experiences in his view, establishes a 'generalised other' namely, the "interactive groups to which the individual feels he belongs". And it is these
feelings of belongingness, he states, "are fundamental to personal identification". Erikson (1968) makes much the same point when he states that "in successful identity formation, the community's or cultural subgroup's ways of identifying the individual" meet "more or less successfully the individuals' way of identifying himself with others."

John Lachs (1976) has formulated his approach around the concepts of 'psychic distance' and 'mediation'. These terms, he claims, deal more objectively and accurately with all the phenomena embodied in the classic Marxian idea of alienation. The individual and his actions are the point of departure in Lachs's philosophy of action. Mediated action - or action performed on behalf of another person - produces certain de-humanizing consequences; "a growing readiness to manipulate human beings and to view them as tools, as means to an end; a growing sense of passivity and impotence; and an increasing sense of psychic distance between men and their actions."

Ontological Perspective of Alienation

Ontological orientations to human alienation have a long history in the evolution of Western thought, and scholars especially in the existential and theological
vein continue to draw heavily on it. Alienation in this sense is seen as inherent in human life. While formulations of the problem may differ, there is a fairly firm consensus concerning the omnipresence and inevitability of alienation, independent of personality and society.

Ontological actions of alienation are considered here as manifestations of inescapable cross-pressures. Examples include the eternal discrepancy between existence and essence; Kierkegaard's subject-object dualism; Nietzsche-dialectic between reality and the mind's instrumental constructs; Heidegger's 'thrownness' of man onto a world that he has not created; Sartre's failure to cope with the discrepancy between man's actual as against his potential situation, resulting in 'ontological insecurity' and ultimate aloneness; the gap between the individual's basic human needs and the always limited responsiveness of society (Etzioni, 1968) in so far as this gap is considered insurmountable and omnipresent; Simmel's ceaseless battle of creativity and self-expression against the pressures of social institutions; Freud's instinctual libido opposed to the oppressiveness of civilization, Eros against Thanatos; the conflict between internalized authority and the desire to be free.
REVIEW OF EMPIRICAL STUDIES

This review includes studies on anomie and alienation. The former is included because of its similarity with alienation in conceptualisation and measurement by many of the researchers. For instance, Nettler (1957) meant alienation as an inter-personal condition and anomie as a social condition. Meir and Bell (1959) feel that their concept of anomie is a measure of alienation. Srole (1956) postulated five attitudinal-ideational components of the anomie state of mind and devised a five item scale to measure them using the standard explanatory model in which social malintegration stands as the independent variable and mental state of anomie as the dependent variable. The scale incorporates items referring to the individuals perception of his social environment as well as those about the perception of his own place within that environment. Srole emphasised that he had attempted to devise a measure of inter-personal alienation. His scale, according to his own version is a measure of both anomie and inter-personal alienation. Netter (1957) constructed a scale to measure alienation and correlated it with Srole’s (1962) anomie scale. The Pearsonian correlation is +.309. Although Netter (1957) concludes
that his measure of alienation is related to Srole's anomie, Bell and Meier (1957) reports that Srole's scale mostly measures despair while Netter's scale measures self-estrangement.

McClosky and Schaar (1965) while conceptualising gave emphasis to both personality variables and sociological variables. According to them, as in a society norms are learned, so too are the feelings of normlessness. He emphasised on the impediments of learning arising from individuals social setting and personal characteristics. They examined the role of cognition, emotion, anxiety, substantive belief, psychological inflexibility, group participation on anomie.

**Cognitive Factor**

Whose cognitive and intellectual equipments lacks power and efficiency, he will find it difficult to organise and understand the events and ideas he encounters and is likely to feel more normless of a situation. McClosky et al (1965) found that scores of information test (S.I.T) which are measures of cognitive domain were related to anomie. But this finding cannot be generalised because S.I.T. scale cannot be a measure of cognitive domain.
Substantive belief and opinion

A person's opinion and values have a considerable effect in the way he is received by a group. Newcomb (1943) showed in his Bennington study that persons who have acquired proper values and beliefs are more readily accepted by the members of a group. His participation will reinforce its values in his mind. "A group leader" writes Newcomb (1943) "participates in group life and thus is more devoted than the average members to the group value. On the other hand, persons who fail to learn the dominant values of a group or who hold beliefs and opinions not widely shared are not likely to be received by group members. This reduces communication and makes socialization more difficult and poor learning of norms."

Social participation and anomie

Bell (1957) reports that relative social isolation as reflected in low frequencies of participation in both formal and informal associations, is associated with high anomie. However, these relationships do not hold for the higher economic status groups as measured by an ecological index. Bell finds no significant difference between frequent and infrequent participation in informal groups in the highly ranked neighbourhood and a difference
in their same neighbourhood for members as compared with non-members at less than .05 level of probability. He concluded from his study that "these findings relating informal and formal participation to anomie are not subjects convincing as one would desire, but they offer some evidences in favour of a hypothesis that social isolation may result in personal disorganisation."

In an effort to test the above hypothesis Mizruchi (1958) taking the chap in social participation scale as an index of formal social participation did his study and found a marked and significant inverse association between formal social participation and anomia. The chi-square value obtained was 36.8 (p. < 001).

Sex and Anomie

Mizruchi (1960) replicated the study of Meir and Bell (1959) in order to find out the relationship between sex and anomie and obtained a significant result. Women felt more anomie than men. The chi-square tests of association yields the lowest measure of any of the calculation which states that sex and anomia are associated.

Mizruchi (1960) hypothesised that females will feel more anomie than men. According to him anomie in case of females depends upon presumably whether or not women accept goals (especially those other than being a housewife) when they are prevented from reaching the goal.
Srivastav et al. (1971) in a study to find some correlates of alienation among Indian female students, found that Indian female students are more fear prone and are more anomic.

Tapp (1978) found a significant positive relationship between sex and decreases in alienation resulting from powerlessness over the situation (r = .20, p. < .01).

**Emotion and Anomy**

Mc Closky et al. (1965) states that emotion wrap the perception and interfere with the cognitive functioning. Emotional man finds it difficult structure the world realistically.

Beier and Hanfman (1956) have shown that high emotion is related to evaluative attitudes. High and low emotional scores related with different kinds of experiences and behaviour. Highly emotional subjects in his studies were over reactive individuals compared to medium and low emotional subjects. Kelley (1953) Spence (1951) from their experiments have found that high emotional persons responded at a significantly higher level than low emotional subjects in eyelid conditioning.
Spence (1951) shown that high emotional subjects react emotionally in a chronic manner to all situations, whether stressful or not and high emotional subjects have a lower threshold of emotional response than low emotional subjects to a situation containing some degree of stress.

Inflexibility and Anomy

This condition refers to the unusual rigidity of defense mechanism. Inflexible persons tend towards cognitive closure and are inclined to restrict the range of alternatives they consider relevant to the handling of a problem. They hang tightly to their established perceptual and cognitive structures and resist change in their set ways of thought and action.

Mc Closky and Scharr (1965) found 67 per cent who score high on the inflexibility index score high in anomie. (Cowen (1952) from his study found that persons who are very much rigid in their personality disposition experience more stress when faced with a blockage.
Anxiety and Anomie

Since an inverse relation exists between level of cognitive functioning and anomie, anything that impairs the quality of cognitive functioning thereby heightens the tendency towards anomie. Persons who feel anxious about themselves also feel anxious to external world. This anxiety interferes in the cognitive functioning and tend to project upon the external world the doubts and fears that determine their own mental life.

Mc Closky et al. (1965) found that probability of being anomie is over four times as great when one scores high on manifest anxiety as when one scores low.

Most investigators have assumed that high anxious subjects would be more sensitive to implied personal threat than the low anxious subjects. The bulk of available findings suggest that high anxious subjects are affected more detrimentally by failure than are subjects lower in the anxiety score (Davidson, et al. 1956; Berlyneand Gordog, 1954; Levine et al. 1957). High anxious subjects have been found to be more self deprecatory, more self pre-occupied and generally less content with themselves than subjects lower in the distribution of anxiety scores (Bendig, 1958; Cowen, 1957). High
anxious persons can't perceive the environment in a structured way and they have always a tendency to escape.

Low ego strength and anomie

This refers to the generalised feelings of personal inadequacy and self contempt. Typically a person with low ego strength shall lack self confidence. Mc Closky found that 64 per cent of respondents who have high guilty feeling and are high in measures of anomie.

Anomie and Social Class

Bell (1957) conceptualized anomie as the lack of access to means for achievement of life goals. A small group of researchers gave more emphasis to the social position of the person in the achievement of life goals. Bell (1959) reports lack of opportunity is a result of individual's position in the social structure as determined by such factors as type of occupation, amount of education, income, age, sex, marital status. Bell states that socially structured limitations in access to the means for achievement of life goals produce anomie in the individual so affected. As Bell (1959) has noted, there is some question concerning the empirical support of Merton's hypothesis (1957) that the discrepancy between desired ends and inaccessibility of the means for achieving these
ends leads to greater anomie in the relatively lower class segments of the population. But Srole (1962) and Robert and Hokcach (1969) have reported conflicting results. Srole (1962) in his study used a combination of education and occupation and the reported relationship between class and anomie was not high (-.30).

Mizruchi's (1960) finding contradicts the above findings. Data for his study was gathered as a part of the adult education survey. In this study Holling leads two factor index of social position was utilized as a measure of social class. In this measure of three factor scale, occupation is given a weight of seven, education a relative of four, the occupation scale itself is a modification of the Edward's scale which takes into account the difference among kinds of professional difference and the size and economic strength of business. The scale yields a distribution into five classes. The findings concerning the relationship between these classes and anomie is significant (p < .001).

Roberts and Hokcach (1969) found that when education is held constant the relationship between income and anomie is negligible (.22). But a similar study done by Mizruchi (1958) shows that there is an association between income
and anomie for those who attended college level 
(N = 170, Chisquare = 37.82, 2 df. p. < .001). His 
findings suggests that income alone does not determine 
whether or not persons become anomie, but that expectation 
regarding income - the principal means of achieving success 
play a significant role in the process. Persons who have 
attended college have greater income expectations and when 
the latter are not realised, there is a tendency to 
become anomie. Tumin (1964), Crozier (1964) found a 
positive relation between high stress and expected and 
obtained occupation discrepancy score.

Meier and Bell (1959) found that anomie is inversely 
related with class identification. In this study the 
respondants were asked to rank themselves along a class 
continuum from very low to very high. Mizruchi (1960) 
found inverse relationship between anomie and class 
identification.

Grazia (1966) made a study on status frustration 
and anomia. The data were collected from two general 
population sample: one, a cross section of a population 
of Minnesota (N = 1082) and the other a cross section of 
the national population (N = 1484), status was correlated 
with anomie (r = .42). Better status persons do enjoy
good breeding, wealth, better educational facilities and inferior status persons on the contrary have a sense of shame and self doubt because of lower birth or failure to have risen higher. Such persons feel more anomie.

**Alienation and Status Striving**

Sociologist generally regard alienation as being a direct relationship to certain dominant value orientations of the open class society, particularly that of vertical mobility. But Smith (1971) maintained that an achievement orientation in terms of both - performance and commitment is positively related to sense of personal control. This personal control eliminates the feeling of powerlessness. Neal and Kettig (1963) used Seaman's (1958) scale to test this proposition. The measure of mobility attitude scale which Neal and Kettig used, consisted of a modified short form of Seaman's status orientation scale. Seeman's scale is primarily a measure of the degree of commitment to competitive mobility goals and the extent to which intrinsic values will be sacrificed to enhance mobility attainment. Rettig and Neal (1963) could not get any relation between alienation and social mobility commitment.
Erich Fromm (1965) regards powerlessness as a necessary consequence of status striving. Fromm maintains that individual loses a sense of mastery and personal control "through instrumentalising himself in an intense mobility commitment. Since mobility often requires a sacrifices of personal autonomy the status striver tends to objectify himself into a marketable commodity". Thus she opines that a relation between mobility goals and alienation should exist. However Neal and Kettig's (1963) study on manual worker gave rise to such type of finding as these people do have less mobility commitment (Silberstein, 1959).

**Alienation and Socio-Economic Position**

Middleton (1963), to determine the relation between alienation and conditions of deprivation, found that the percentage of Negros who feel alienated is far higher than the percentage of whites for every type of alienation. Approximately two-third of the Negro subjects agree with most of the items indicating alienation whereas a majority of whites disagree with every item. Among Negros those who have had 12 or more years of education are less likely to feel alienated than those with less education.
Studies of Grodzins (1956), Tanenbaum (1956), Oleson (1965), Boughmen (1971), Martin (1974), Citrin (1975), Keniston (1965), Sinha (1972) have shown that socio-economic status is inversely related to alienation. But, Neal and Rettig (1967) comments that the support has not been of such a magnitude to preclude concentrating on the kinds of and degrees of alienation at the higher socio-economic level. His findings suggests that one should neither assume that men who occupy position of power feel powerful nor the man who lack power by objective criteria feel powerless.

Tomeh (1974) in his student sample found that powerlessness characterised the low education and occupation level. This suggests that when the objective criteria for achieving high socio-economic status are more favourable the expectation for control of one's life helps to predict who will actually be upward mobile. He further found that students of developing societies were more alienated than the industrial society even when S.E.S. was controlled. Powerlessness was negatively correlated with most of life's advantages and the development of a high expectation for control seemed mostly related to father's education and income. It was further observed that
normlessness correlated negatively with occupation and income. The correlation between meaninglessness and social class was small and negative. Citrin (1975) found a higher level of political alienation among the poor than the well-off. Among respondents with a family income of less than $5,000 a year, 31.2 per cent scored high on political alienation index and 14.1 per cent fall in the alighted quintile; among those with an annual family income of more than $20,000 the comparable proportions are 12.2 per cent and 27.5 per cent.

In another sample the author (1975) found a poor correlation between income and political alienation (-.15). He further found that the resentment about being disadvantaged was not the sole source of the association between low income and political alienation. Many of the respondents with annual family income of less than $5,000 were young and college educated. The educated poor were a particularly alienated group; 44 per cent fell into the most alienated quintile of the political alienation index distribution compared to 23 per cent of those with the same income but less education. He came to the conclusion that the educated poor were less likely than others in the low income group to express dissatisfaction with their
economic situation and more likely to be optimistic about their future standard of living. When educated poor were eliminated from the sample the correlation between income and alienation was very insignificant i.e. (-.1). Blacks, (lower in social hierarchy) in his study were found much more likely than whites to feel politically alienated; 44.3 per cent of the black respondents scored high on the alienation index while only 5.8 per cent fell in the allegiance quintile; among whites the comparable figures were 14.4 per cent and 21.5 per cent. Controlling for the effect of other social characteristics such as sex, age, income levels of education or occupational status did not significantly alter this relationship. Bangham (1971) found a positive high correlation between low socio-economic status and alienation and resentment about the society.

Marvin Olsen (1965) taking political incapability and discontentmen as the index of alienation found that the attitude of political incapability was inversely and moderately strongly correlated with education, occupation and income. Of these three the coefficient for education - eta = .58 -- is the highest, while the coefficient for occupation - eta = .43 - is the lowest. When the five factors, such as education, occupation, income, age and sex
are simultaneously related to political incapability, all retained their original zero order correlation. The magnitude of each association is somewhat reduced under these mutually controlled conditions, but none of the relationships are eliminated or reversed. From his study he came to the conclusion that "to the extent that a person's social actions and interactions are hindered or blocked by the structure of his society - over which he plays little or no control - we might very likely expect him to feel incapable of participating effectively in social activities such as politics?"

Taking political cynicism and discontentment as alienation index the findings revealed that cynicism inversely correlated with education and income: for education eta = .15 and for income eta = .26, with occupation eta = .15.

Alienation and Achievement

Propper and Clark (1969) found that from both bright and superior mental ability groups, low academic achievers revealed significantly more of the alienated syndrome.

Sinha (1972) found a positive relation between alienation and academic achievement. High achievers are less alienated than low achievers.
Besag (1966), Lowe (1971) in their study of university students find an inverse relationship between grades in the examination and the scores of alienation. Contrary to this findings Kenistan (1963) found that alienated students despite the skeptical approach to the intellectual matters, their intellectual concentration during the last days before examination help them to score high in the examination.

Tapp (1978) found that a decrease in meaninglessness was related to the achievement of high test scores. He further found that (i) increase in the perceived degree of powerlessness over the situation is negatively related to quiz performance and decrease in isolation via emotional distance are related to classroom attendance (ii) decrease in normlessness is related to the general interest in learning (iii) perceived powerlessness correlated inversely with confidence in presenting before the class, learning through interaction with peers, and loving school and hating classes (iv) the decrease in isolation via emotional distance correlated significantly with three attitudinal items: the concern for good goods, agreement with the feeling that learning was facilitated with the class group, and the feeling of being able to communicate with the teachers at will.
Sood (1979) in her study found a correlation of -.336 between achievement anxiety and alienation in the scheduled caste students revealing that students exhibiting a low level of achievement anxiety. The inverse relation between achievement anxiety and alienation for non-scheduled caste students was also found out.

Alienation and duration of exposure to the Environment

Sinha and Sinha (1972) found that different length of stay on a university does not affect the dimension and degree of alienation and activism. They took a sample of 212 students who were divided into 3 groups having 2, 4 and 6 years of stay in the university. The three groups were compared for the significance of difference on alienation and activism measures. Simple analysis of variance for each of the measures revealed that none of the differences were significant, $t$ scores ranged from 1 to 1.25, $df = 2$, $p < .05$.

Citrin (1975) found a relatively strong negative relationship between age and political alienation ($r = -.24$). Respondents in the 18-21 age group gave the highest proportion of critical response; the number of allegiant responses steadily increased in successively older groups of respondents with a particularly sharp decline in feelings of alienation occurring those over 60.
Martin (1974) found curvilinear relation between alienation and age, the youth most alienated, middle aged category and the elderly in between. Olsen (1965) found that political incapability is markedly noticeable among older persons the co-efficient for the age variable found in his study was eta = .41.

Alienation and socio-political participation and Activism

Goertzø (1971) analysed the relationship between politically efficacy and riot participation in a survey of 237 black male subjects. The self-reported non-participants are more likely to be found among the dissidents - those high in political efficacy but low on politically trust, rather than among the alienated - those who are both distrustful and ignorant of Government.

Sinha (1972) and Patra (1974) found a positive relation between activism and alienation. Students who scored high on alienation scale also scored high on the activism scale. Olsen (1965) found an inverse relationship between political alienation and political action: Persons having strong sense of futility and cynicism (alienation) participate less often than others in activities such as giving attention to political news in the mass media,
discussing political issues with friends, noting and becoming personally involved in political affairs. Citrin (1975) revealed a similar finding.

**Parental control and Alienation**

Among various factors parental control, primary socialisation have been considered to be a major source of alienation (Keniston 1965, Murry and Davids, 1964).

For some authors, the roots of alienation have derived from a particular kind of developmental experience such as disturbed parent child relationship, that would be likely to result in alienation in most societies. (Conger, 1968; Keniston, 1960; Paulson, 1972; Seeman, 1975). Heinz (1981) observes in a recent study that a class-influenced socialization processes are operating at an early age. The family prepares individuals for an 'adaptive normative acceptance' of alienating work condition and built in readiness to absorb inhuman and impersonal conditions associated with the work organization.

**Alienation as a way of life**

Keniston (1965) reported that alienated students do not look different from their classmates and the overt pattern of their daily activities shows relatively little
that is unique and distinctive. But to know whether one is alienated, an analysis should be done as to how they do but not what they do. These students do have intellectual passion. They concentrate on few topics with single minded dedication and show an erratic performance before examination. In intellectual discussion in small groups, these students are active, dominant, negative and hostile.

**Measure of Alienation**

The most controversial issue in scale construction in alienation studies. In the alienation domain Netter (1957), Davids (1964), Lean (1961), Seeman (1959) with somewhat different interpretation of alienation have developed scales of one, three, five and five dimensions respectively. But they have developed these scales for vastly different population and little is known about the degree of redundancy among the scales (Mill, 1967). Although a number of studies have demonstrated the degree of association among selected combination of the scales, the complete pattern of relations among them is not known, particularly on random samples of the general population (Mizruchi, 1964). Commenting upon the scale of Seeman (1961), Middleton (1963) views that the manifest content
of these scale; appears to be a condition of cynicism and pessimism what Netter (1957) and Meier and Bell (1959) name as despair.

Mc Closky et al. (1965) opposes the way the researchers hold the logic of psychological scale construction. He views that psychological scale construction however will not support inferences from scale scores to the state of society because the distribution of scores is a function of difficulty of the scale item themselves.

Moreover, the leap from the subjective feelings expressed by individuals to statements about objective social condition is a perilous one. What people believe about a society may or may not be an accurate reflection of its nature. "Perception and feeling are never a literal copy of what is out there" (Mc Closky et al. 1965) but are always powerfully shaped by need, motive and attitude. Hence one can't say because some people feel anomie, the society is anomie. Likewise a person securing more score on an alienation scale that refers to the objective conditions can't lead one to assume with confidence that the person is alienated.
Clark (1959) offers a unit approach of scale construction to measure alienation. Dean (1961) has constructed scales to measure man's powerlessness, normlessness and social isolation from selected items of social interaction to arrive at a total alienation score. In the Netter's (1957) study the situations in which man feels powerless, normless and isolated are not specific nor possibly representative of social involvement. A more rewarding approach to the problem of measuring alienation might be the single unit approach (Clark, 1959) selecting for study only those whom one can establish to be involved in a single defined unit.

On the earlier work of Murry and Davids (1964) Keniston (1965) developed 13 alienation scales. These attitudes constitute a kind of empirical cluster or alienation syndrome. Distrust, pessimism, resentment, agocentricity, anxiety, interpersonal alienation, social isolation, cultural alienation, self-contempt, vacillation, subspec- tion, outsider and unstructured universe are the 13 syndromes which clustered in the scale of Keniston. He found that if a student held one of these outlooks, he was extremely likely to hold the rest as well. Keniston's (1965) scale seems to be more reliable.
After developing this empirical measure of alienation, he correlated the measure in personality tests, in background factors, in fantasy and in inter-personal behaviour.

**Student Dissent**

There are differences in the individual's behaviour manifestations to the alienating aspect of society or to some particular context in which a person feel embedded. Some may find positive substitute for alienation and may pursue them within the framework of the established social order. Others may feel that the only way to attack and modify the social alienating elements lies outside the traditional process of social change (Mussen, 1974). Some also respond to their alienation by withdrawing from the society involving despair, apathy and indifference. The most serious kind of response to alienation is a 'search for meaningful private alternatives within themselves (Houriet, 1971; Hathaway 1953;). Exene, 1974.

**Private Dissent**

The private dissenters show a common aversion to what they perceive as the aggressive, highly competitive, conformity-demanding nature of modern society, with its emphasis on social status and material success (Conger, 1973). Not only do they view these values as hollow and
meaningless but as inimical to other value, that they hold: love, gentleness, honesty, an immediate relatedness and sharing between people, heightened sensory awareness, typically aided by intoxication, an appreciation of nature and direct experience, an anti-rational, anti-intellectual orientation and a presumed lack of social or sexual inhibition (Allen, 1968; Brown, 1967; Musson, 1974).

They are pessimistic and non-conformist in their behaviour, ideology and dress. In many cases, these students are highly talented and less committed. Many of the hippie subjects of one study were characterized by 'ego deficits' manifested by an "inability of these subjects to understand, organise or integrate the events of their lives (Pittel, 1971). Despite their relative high intelligence test scores (ranging from bright normal to superior, with a mean IQ of 119) and generally good earlier academic records (Pittle, 1971), many of these young people displayed deficiencies in cognitive functioning. "A universally reported experience", of these people is a "profound sense of psychological distance from others which often dates back to childhood experience (Bailey, 1970). Murray and Davids (1964) found that
distrust is a primary variable in the alienation syndrome. They have a low view of human nature and they believe that intimacy ends in disillusionment. Keniston (1965) found that alienated students distrust all positive thinking, and therefore find it almost impossible to agree with any questionnaire statements that clearly expresses an affirmative view. Murray and David (1964) further found that the main focus of these students are present and main source of life-activities in the self.

Pestenjee and Usmani (1980) conducted a study to find out the differences on creative thinking ability and level of alienation between the students of Arts and Science streams. The verbal test of creative thinking and alienation scale were administered on 400 boys (200 each of Arts and Science streams) of intermediate class. The results indicated 'no significant difference on alienation scale' between science and arts students. The coefficient of correlation between creativity and alienation was also not significant.

Vashishtha (1960) conducted a study with a view to exploring and ascertaining the relationship between each of the twenty personality traits on the one hand and with alienation among students on the other. To ascertain the
extent to which personality traits of individual contribute to alienation the date was subjected to Analysis of Variance. The salient findings were: alienation of an average student studying in Meerut University is influenced by ten of the twenty personality traits which contribute to alienation feeling of the majority of students. They are Sizothymia, Affectothymia, Lower-higher scholastic mental capacity, Lower-higher ego strength submissiveness - dominance praxemia autie, artlessness, shrewdness, group adherence low-high erige tension, introversion, tender-minded, exceptionally alert, poise.

Political Activists

Bronfenbreneer (1974) found in his study that the activists were basically immature, insecure undisciplined, deeply troubled young people and were 'fixated at the stage of temper-tantrum. On the contrary a large number of research findings show that the activists are unusually intelligent, mature, psychologically resilient, and social effective (Bay, 1970; Keniston, 1967, 1968; Mantell, 1974; Sampson, 1970). Somers (1964) and Watts (1966) found that the activists students are brighter than their non-active peers, more successful, academically, more flexible, and more individualistic.
Shaw (1968) found in his Osmania University study that 'Seven of the nine leaders admitted that their academic performance has been poor'. These students prefer to live at least in a planned communal existence (Smith 1971, Veysey, 1973, 1974). Most of these students come from middle or upper middle class urban and suburban backgrounds (Pittel, 1971; Polk, 1971) their parents tend to be socially active, politically moderate and success oriented (Pittel, 1971).

Oommen's (1974) case study of Delhi University revealed that academically, most of the student leaders of Delhi University were average students.

Activist students were found to come largely from upper status families with a relatively high income (Flacks, 1967; Trent, 1967; Pattnaik, 1980) and high levels of paternal and maternal education. Fathers of activist students are found more often to be professionals and mothers are more likely to have careers (Flacks, 1967).

In Flacks (1967) study, the views of activist sons and their fathers and non-active sons and their fathers were compared on a variety of social issues - attitude towards war, civil rights. The values of the fathers of
activists sons were found to be more liberal than those of the fathers of non-activist sons. Further, activist sons appeared to share their fathers' liberal values, but to carry them further and to act on them in a more militant fashion. Parents of activists emerged from this study as more permissive in child rearing practices than those of the non-activists. In rating their treatment in childhood, activists sons and daughters tended to rate their parents as milder, warmer and more lenient.

Sampson (1967, 1970), from his studies came to the conclusion that activist students generally had warmer and more positive relationship with their parents.

Kerpelmark (1969) in his investigation found that the activist students were more autonomous, ascendant and assertive than non-activist students. They value leadership more.

University Campus and Alienation

University helps students to master a body of knowledge, prepare for a lifetime career and expand their perspective on man and broader society outside the campus (Gaff et al. 1973). Ideally goal behaviour of one social system are geared into the goal behaviour of the other
related social system (Getzel and Thelem, 1960). The primary goal of the University is to relate its functioning with the related systems like family, society and nation.

The most important analytic unit of the university is its role playing. Roles are dynamic aspects of the position, offices and statutes within an institution and they define the behaviour of the role incumbents (Linton, 1936). Roles are defined in terms of role expectancies. A role has certain privileges, obligations, responsibilities and powers (Getzel et al. 1970) and expectations defined for the number of a system as to what he should do and what he should not do.

Effective achievement of goals in a system, thus logically depends upon the effectiveness and appropriateness of imperative functions; clarity and adequacy of normative dimension and responsiveness of the system to the ideographic dimension. The functioning of university can be analysed into following areas: (1) how far education programme is related to other related systems like family, society etc. and to the needs of participants; (2) how far normative dimensions have clarity and effectiveness; (3) and lastly the way in which both normative and ideographic dimensions are integrated to the needs of participants.
During last few years there has been a rapid growth in the number of student enrolment in the university. As the student body has become larger, the diversity among students has also increased. Whereas during earlier times university served students coming from upper socio-economic strata, the contemporary university attracts substantial number of students from lower socio-economic strata of society. Increased heterogeneity of the student bodies have produced a lack of cohesiveness among student community (Fishman et al., 1964; Schiff, 1964; Peterson, 1964; Sinha, 1972) and regimental type of interpersonal relationship (Singhal, 1977). Evidence shows that as the size of the university increases it becomes more impersonal (Gaff et al. 1972) and social psychological distance between student and teacher becomes more wide (Buchanan and Nicos, 1970).

Since university education provides an institutional opportunity for social mobility, the curriculum is most important for student. A number of Indian studies have shown that students perceive academic programme as poorly motivating and unchallenging (Altbach, 1968; Sinha 1972; Rath, 1973; Singhal, 1977). The learning has little relevance to students own personal and vocational concern
and to the broader social milieu. As the content is not related to the family life, future working life in society and national and international values it increases the structural inadequacies of the system. Society is changing rapidly, but, in par with society, education has made no comparable changes in its programme. Rather it has attempted to accommodate the new students and the knowledge within the same old structure and to teach students in traditional ways.

Faulty examination system (Kao, 1963; Sen, 1971) uncertainty and academic failure (Libona, 1967; Singh, 1972; Bhattacharya, 1972), fear of unemployment and sub-standard education programme (Altback, 1968) make the students feel cynical and decide to withdraw their involvement and attempt merely to play the game so as to obtain a degree.

The organisational deficiencies also play a pivotal role in the determination of campus health. The bureaucratic and unconcerned attitude of the authorities towards student (Sinha, 1972; Singhal, 1977), too much politics in the campus (Lipset, 1968; Altback, 1969; Koss 1968; Eakin, 1972), wide communication gap between students and authorities, non-involvement of students in policies
affecting student life and the felt relative deprivation in their roles as students (Ellis, 1971; Pinner, 1972) are all the precipitating factor towards the breakdown of the integrity of the system. The unresponsiveness of the system towards the needs of participants and normlessness the breakdown in the normative system in the state of affair make the students feel helpless in the face of complexities of life outside the campus. Campus for students is seen as confusing, full of dilemas with problems of belongingness and security. The more structurally and functionally separated are the students from administration, faculty, fellow students and related social systems, more likely the students will feel separated, neglected. The more the students will feel separated the more they will become alienated (Murry and Davids, 1964; Keniston, 1965; Sinha 1973). Especially for an Indian student, such dis-integration will exert tremendous impact because culturally he is nurturance prone (Sinha, 1970). For dependent prone student the campus will be perceived as more alienating.

However, it is recognised that students differ greatly in their general personality characteristics and background factors. A number of studies have shown that
persons who for whatever reason are stranded in the back-waters of symbolic and material mainstream, those whose lives are circumscribed by isolation, deprivation and ignorance, persons who are more anxious and inflexible will feel more anomie than others (Mc Closky and Schaar, 1965; Etzioni, 1968; Sinha, 1972). In a university all students do not behave in the same way though the environment is same for all. Thus a number of background factors singly or in various combinations are relevant for the study of alienation and anomie.

The theoretical framework right from berton to the recent ones suggested that goal-means disparity is a potent source of alienation and the social basis of this disparity lies in differences in the socio-economic status of the person. Class barriers are usually difficult to overcome. Such barriers push and pull individual towards various forms of activities (Mizruchi, 1964). Socio-economic status factor is one of the most important factors that leads the lower socio-economic strata students feel more helpless in the face of adverse world.
HYPOTHESES

(A) **Alienation as a Personality Syndrome**

Keniston (1965) found from his study that alienation "constitute a kind of empirical cluster or alienated syndrome". His thesis was that the alienated students do possess a cluster of 'related alienated outlooks'. The description of alienation in this way distinguishes its phenomenological features from those of other psychological phenomena which are relatively more transitory in nature (e.g. momentary frustration or dissatisfaction). Feelings of alienation extend beyond, both in qualitative and temporal sense, the feelings of despair, frustration, imbalance, dissatisfaction, dislike etc.

**Hypothesis I.**

If one student holds one of the nine alienated outlooks i.e., pessimism, social alienation, distrust, anxiety, unstructured universe, egocentricity, interpersonal alienation, self contempt, and vacillation, he is extremely likely to hold the rest. Students scoring high in one alienated outlook would be found high in the rest of alienated outlooks. In other words, students scores on one dimension are similar to their scores on the other dimensions.
(B) **Alienation from Society and University**

One of the important issues posed by studies of alienation in contemporary social sciences is the levels of focus. In almost many studies alienation has been operationalised primarily with reference to the broader social system with emphasis on national types of political, economic and social events. Some researchers, on the contrary, Neal and Great (1979) put emphasis on the 'proximate and immediate spheres' of life as the point of reference. Baluner (1964), Bonjean and Grimes (1971), Josephson and Josephson (1961) have assumed that alienation from organization and from society are interchangeable. Dean (1961), Han (1971), Seeman and Evans (1963), consider alienation from society as a result of societal-level courses. Clark (1959) and Perlin (1962) by contrast look at organizational cause of alienation from the organization. Aiken and Hage (1966) studied alienation from organization as structural entities and from other workers in the organization. They found a generally strong to moderate relationship across the two levels. Those who are alienated from other workers were also more likely to be alienated from the organization as a structure.
Holian (1972) compared alienation of university students from both the University and society and found that alienation at the two levels did not co-vary for his population of students.

Basing upon the contradictory findings and theoretical formulation the question can be asked; Do people feel the same degree of alienation from organization as from society? Some authors hold the view that alienation develops within the context of ongoing relationship between himself and some other specific entity (Martin, 1974).

Martin (1974) using polity, economy, education, religion, family as different contexts for the study of alienation in differential age strata found that (i) each generation had different contextual pattern of alienation (ii) the youth were noticeably high in familial and religious alienation. The study revealed the multi-dimensional nature of the concept: "Alienation is a multidimensional concept; two individuals may have equal total alienation score but vary dramatically in both mode and context of their alienation".

Considering the importance of university for a student life alienation from the University will be more intense than that from society.
Hypothesis 2

2.1) Significant and positive relation exists between societal and organizational alienation.

2.2) Given the contextual perspective, there will be significant differences in the degree of alienation felt in society and in the work environment (university).

2.3) The scores obtained from the alienation from the university will be higher than the scores obtained from the societal level alienation.

(C) Alienation as a stryole of life

Study habit

Various researches have studied the study habit of the student in relation to the academic achievement (Cooper and Roy, 1969; Brown and Helman 1955; Indiresan, 1979). Such studies are almost non-existent in the field of alienation. The number of studies that highlight on the reading habits of alienated students (Keniston, 1965; Sampson, 1967), are reported basing upon observation, interviews. Keniston describes the intellectual passion in the following way:—"these students are distinguished by their passionate concentration on a few topics of intense personal concern. They pursue their intellectual interest with such singleminded dedication that they almost completely disregard the conventional
distinction between 'work and goofing off' made by most of their classmates. Their capacity for intense intellectual concentration stands them in good stead during the last days before examination, when they are capable of accomplishing extraordinary amounts of work. Moreover, when they are challenged in their work, and above all when their assignment strike some deep personal chord, they can become totally absorbed by intellectual work. Thus despite erratic performance before examination, the overall average of these students are about what was predicted for them on arrival in college".

Since no systematic studies have been reported on the study behavior of alienated students, basing upon the above finding, the following hypothesis is formulated. However the investigation in this respect will be of exploratory nature and the hypothesis is tenative.

**Hypothesis 3**

3: 1) An inverse relationship does exist between 'alienation' and 'study organization' - Higher the alienation poorer is the study organization.

3: 2) There will be significant difference in the study organization between highly alienated and low-alienated students.
The low-alienated students have a better study organization than their highly alienated counterpart.

(D) **Alienation and Mobility Commitment**

Sociologist consider alienation as an off-shoot of the dominant value orientations of the open class society. The society pays high premium for success and status striving - a value inimical to the realisation of a rewarding personal life style (Seeman, 1959). The logic behind this assumption centres around the fact that the commitment to competitive mobility goals is basic to the feeling of powerlessness. The individual loses his sense of mastery over himself through "instrumentalizing himself in an intense mobility commitment" (Fromm, 1955). Mobility requires a sacrifice of such intrinsic values as personal autonomy rewarding personal life style, etc. But contrary to the above theoretical position empirical studies by Rettig and Neal (1963) Patnaik and Indiresan (1980) reveal a poor correlation between measures of alienation and mobility commitment. The commitment for upward mobility otherwise known as status striving no doubt is a potent factor for the study of alienation. The perception of goal-means disparity which is basic to the feeling of alienation is determined by (i) the extent of desire for
achieving a status in the society and (ii) the position of the actor in the socio-economic hierarchy. But once the student becomes alienated, he is less likely to show concern for the nurturance of socially valued rewards.

The basic alienation ideology pertains to (i) the individual’s disillusion with the system of operation of various social institutions and (ii) the feeling of meaninglessness in the socially approved dominant values. Thus an alienated student is less likely to bother for status which he himself consider inimical to the rewarding personal lifestyle. In the present study basing upon the findings of the earlier study it is hypothesised that

(E) Hypothesis 4

4:1) An inverse relationship do exist between alienation and mobility commitment.

4:2) Highly alienated student would show lesser commitment towards mobility goals than the low alienated students.

Alienation and Social participation

The anomie theorist argue that the relative social isolation as reflected in low frequencies in both formal and informal association, is associated with high anomie
(Bell 1959). There also exists a consensus among the alienation researchers that alienation minimises the formal social participation (Mizruchi, 1958; Dean 1961; Litt, 1963; Keniston, 1960, 1965). Edward (1962) and Levin (1960) found that alienated persons participate less often than others (non-alienated) in activities such as giving attention to political news in the mass media, discussing political issues with friends, voting and becoming personally involved in political affairs. On the basis of the previous research findings it is hypothesised that:

Hypothesis 5

5:1) An inverse relationship do exist between alienation and social participation - higher the alienation, lower the preference for social participation.

5:2) There will be significant difference in the preference for social participation between the high and low alienated students.

(F) Alienation and Students background variables

Alienation have repeatedly been found by many researchers to be inversely related to disadvantageous social status (Middleton, 1963; Grodzins, 1956; Oleson, 1965; Citrin, 1975). The students who come from a low
socio-economic class are prevented by discrimination from sharing in the advantageous social condition conducive for the nurturance of such dominant values of society as status striving. Poorly prepared intellectually, psychologically and socially these students enter into universities to discover that they are the Oddmen out in the neck-throat competition for status.

Coleman (1966) and Purcell and Hillson (1969) pointed out that the nature of socialisation process of these students is such that the disadvantaged students in all probabilities fail to achieve the academic standards. Reo (1978) pointed out that the students from disadvantaged group differ from their counterpart with regard to self concept, motivation, social life, language and intellectual performance, among other things. He pointed out further that the socially disadvantaged are not handicapped by genetic deficiency but by the socio-economic circumstances of their life. The socio-economic disadvantage prevents them from developing their basic and natural potentialities. Wooton (1959) Cioovrel (1968) reported that the culture of poverty perpetuates itself though the cycle of disadvantage and intergenerational continuities are maintained by labelling and stigma which mark perception of socially focussed and selective experiences. The differential access
to success goals is considered as an important explanatory variables of alienation. Studies have highlighted that many students are consciously or unconsciously angry and resentful about it (Boughman, 1971; Grier, 1968).

Besides the disadvantageous socio-economic position, awareness of society, explicit role models of the student is an important factor in experiencing alienation. Glaucio Soares (1970) has distinguished between students whose role image is that of the intellectual as against those conceive themselves as scientists and professionals. Those with an intellectual role image, mostly from social sciences and humanities, are much more aware of ideas irrespective of the curriculum and more science students are more concerned with scholarly achievement within a specific subject field or of their college and are serious and organized in their study routine. Huszar (1960) and Aron (1957) have hypothesized that the frequency and intensity of alienation among intellectuals is higher than those who do not carry an intellectual role model.

**Hypothesis 6**

**Sex and Alienation**

6: 1) Female students will differ significantly in alienation from male students and are expected to possess higher mean score in alienation measures than the male students.
Discipline of study and alienation
6: 2) The students of science and Social Science discipline will differ significantly in alienation. The social science students are expected to possess higher mean score in alienation measure than the science students.

Socio-economic status and alienation
6: 3) The socio-economic status of the student will be inversely related to alienation.
6: 4) Students coming from high socio-economic status families will differ significantly in alienation from students who come from middle and low socio-economic families.
6: 5) Students from higher socio-economic strata are expected to possess lower mean score in alienation than students who come from lower and middle socio-economic background.

Schooling and alienation
6: 6) Students who are exposed to advantageous schooling will be lower on alienation measure than those who are exposed to disadvantageous schooling.

(G) Parental Training
Several studies equivocally acknowledge the fact that alienation has its origin from particular kind of developmental experience such as disturbed parent-child
relationship in which parents care less about the child (Keniston 1960; Paulson, 1972; Seeman, 1975). Studies have found significant relationship between parental care and guidance, and students involvement in study and high academic achievement (Hosen et al. 1959; Mc Intyre, 1975). Parental care and supervision help the child to cope with an ever more complex society'.

Paulson (1972) referring to alienation of poor says that "the guidance they might as children expect from parents is often limited by the absence of a father who has had to leave home in order to make his children eligible for welfare, or simply because he has given up a losing battle to act as the responsible head of the household. Those parents often only the mother, who remain in the home are frequently so poorly educated, so worn down or so powerless to cope with the establishment that they can be of little assistance in helping their children to cope with an ever complex society". Basing upon the above findings it is hypothesised that:

Hypothesis 7

7: 1) Parental support and training is inversely related to alienation.

7: 2) The low alienated students are expected to report greater attention and training from parents than the high-alienated students.

The hypotheses proposed above are based upon the studies conducted on samples belonging to developed societies. Their tenability in this study is open to question.