

ALIENATION AND ESCAPIST

TELEVISION VIEWING

HIGH SCHOOL TV. VIEWING AND ALIENATION:
AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF A
SYNTHESIS MODEL

By

JOHN ANTHONY DVORAK, B.A.

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AUTHOR: John Anthony Dvorak, B.A. (McMaster University)

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is both empirical and theoretical, as well as specific and general. We were determined not to have just an empirical study, as we see no value in doing empirical studies that lack solid theoretical support. And as we found most alienation studies to lack a sound theoretical base, our theoretical purpose was to establish a conceptual model that would eliminate this problem. Hence we began with a critical appraisal of several theories of alienation, bringing to light all the problems regarding definitions, causes, consequences and validity dilemmas. To solve these we next developed a new model which viewed alienation as a process, and through a synthesis we were able, by now using this new model, to crystallize alienation into a specific concept. However logical a model might sound, it must be tested in practice. Hence we established a specific research problem. We wanted to test whether the television medium is used as a mechanism of escape from the viewers' feelings of alienation. Furthermore, we also wanted to see whether the model generally works.

In conclusion, the model was not rejected after the data analysis since the predicted variable relationships were confirmed totally or in part. We then offered several lines that future research should take in using this model. With regard to our specific problem, we did find a positive relationship between escapist television (high amounts of watching for escapist reasons) and certain attitudinal properties found in the second stage of our alienation model.

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INTRODUCTION

"Ideas are related not only to current moral contexts, they have also a genetic relationship to earlier sequences of ideas." 1

Theoretical thinking about the impact of the mass media upon individuals is influenced by sociological conceptions concerning the fundamental nature of man and his society. There exists a "genetic" relationship between the ideas on man, as expressed in social theory, and the theories of mass communications. We can cite several examples of this interrelationship.

The early sociologists' conceptions of a "mass" as being composed of anonymous individuals, having little interaction, being loosely organized and heterogeneous, had a great effect on the theories of mass communications. These sociological assumptions resulted in a theory called the Hyperdermic Needle Model, which then postulated that each audience member is personally "stuck" by the medium's message.

Parsonian theory can also be seen to play a part in this "genetic" link, for with its advent, the mass media came to be regarded as a social system. The media was now like any social system, a manifestation of the culture and the psychological orientations of the individuals within that culture, and operating within a specific external system. This resulted in the realization that the components of the media (audience, producers of content, advertising) are all influenced by the general social, political, economic, cultural

conditions of the society.

Our final example of this interconnection between social theory and mass communications lies in the rise of symbolic interactionism. This resulted in a Cultural Norms Theory which then gave a new insight into the media. Now, the media came to be viewed as a provider of guides for action approved and supported by society, a definer of situations.

Generally, one of the main purposes of this thesis is to examine empirically another linkage between social theory and mass communication's hypothesized function in society. The mass society theory that we will examine are those of alienation, from which arose the hypothesized notion that television functions as an escapist mechanism from this alienation. It is this theoretical interconnection that we will investigate.

Alienation

Theories of alienation became a major perspective in the sociological tradition right from its early beginning in the Conservative Reaction to what has been generally called modernism: the French Revolution and the onslaught of the groups and institutions of the Middle Ages. Because of their conservative values, these sociologists reacted pessimistically to the rapid changes that were occurring in their societies. Nineteenth century was seen by them as a large and complex system that seemed to be growing more complex, leading to the consequences of individuality, heterogeneity, a reduction of informal control, contractual relationships, psychological isolation and increasing alienation. This theme of alienation has also penetrated many of the cultural analyses of the twentieth century as well. Today, alienation has become a very popular

theoretical concept. It has become the Neo-Marxists' new catchword phrase and is also used by student power radicals, social critics, politicians and sociologists. Alienation has been baptized by them to be the modern human condition:

Alienation signifies the decline of a social order. Alienation is not oppression; alienation is an affliction. Its essence is a kind of anti-humanism, for a human this is, as it were an illness. 2

The following cases are often used to exemplify this illness:

1. Complete statistics on the extent of the battered child are lacking. But an estimated 10,000 children a year are battered, maimed, burned, starved and broken in body, mind and spirit by the people who should care most for them. Clearly this is a psychiatric as well as legal problem. 3
2. There are to be more than five million alcoholics in the nation today. 4
3. About 153 people out of every 100,000 in the population entered a mental hospital in 1963 compared to only 92 in 1940. 5
4. Dr. F. Rossweller, advisor to the Pentagon, demanded in the Saturday Evening Post (Jan. 1965) "What's So Terrible About Germ Warfare?"
5. The growth of savagery in the United States is so extensive that the gun has become an extension of the American hand. 6
6. A man teetering at the edge of a tenth floor apartment ledge, contemplating suicide, attracted five hundred spectators calling him to jump. 7
7. Time magazine in 1964 praised a British movie called Zulu, a movie which showed mutual bayonetting and decapitating, but of it they said: Zulu's bloodbath refreshes the spirit with its straight forward celebration of valor, tenacity and honor among men.

To some social theorists, the underlying explanation for all these cases is alienation.

Television Function

Popular culture has been criticized for a very long time. For example, Plato, who preached serious contemplation as the proper goal-activity, saw entertainment as a threat to the minds of the young.

Throughout time, each new media: print, radio, movies, television, was criticized by intellectuals for their bringing about a deterioration of public taste. However, in spite of all these criticisms, the content of the mass media was not raised to the aspired "higher" cultural yearnings of the intelligentsia. This tenacity and stability of content, in spite of all the criticisms needed an explanation. Charles Wright in his book, Mass Communications, concluded that obviously this type of "low" culture must serve some basic need. The omnipresence of theories of alienation in social theory led to the notion that the media serves the need to escape, and secondly, serves as a substitute to the meaningless, alienated everyday life.

Reich in his book The Greening of America describes our alienating society as unable to give individuals a sense of manhood and adventure. Instead, people are offered vicarious experiences as substitutes:

Deprived of his political and public manhood, denied work of which he could be proud, the corporate state provided substitute images of the heroic life. 8

We then have as substitutes the manufactured adventures of James Bond, Mannix and their black counterpart, Shaft, soothing us into the acceptance of our deprived lives. Thus, the content of the media supposedly brings to individuals images that are indispensable for their satisfaction in the conditions in which the over-all system have placed them.

The radio must compensate for the inhumanities of life in today's cities. In a milieu in which the human being is unable to make true friendships or to have profound experiences, radio must captivate and reassure him. 9

Escaping alienation through television leads the individual into an artificial paradise, which then gives meaning to a devoid life.

Rather than face his own phantom, he seeks film phantoms into which he can project himself and which permit him to live as he might have willed. For an hour or two he can cease to be himself, as his personality dissolves into the anonymous mass of spectators. The film makes him laugh, cry, wonder and love. He goes to bed with the leading lady, kills the villain and masters life's absurdities. In short, he becomes a hero. Life suddenly has meaning. 10

This hypothesized function of entertainment, like the theories of alienation, is not a modern notion of our times, but has been a part of the social consciousness throughout history. Montaigne, for example, saw life as hard, full of anxieties, feelings of insecurity and psychological stress. To avoid these feelings, man requires mechanisms of escape, and Montaigne saw the arts as providing the necessary diversions enabling man to escape for his well being.

Values and Facts

Underlying this theoretical notion, i.e. the escapist function of entertainment, lies a negative normative thrust. **Overuse of media substitutes, vicarious experiences is condemned in this perspective for this activity makes people into passive, uncritical and non-creative beings.**

This negative evaluation of entertainment also has ancient roots. These roots can be traced to the Graeco-Roman philosophies of ascetism, curbing body desires, and the Stoic value of moderating the appetites. Other values also colored much of scientific thinking. "Much of the impetus of contemporary negative criticism of entertainment stems directly from religio-moral values."¹¹ These religio-moral values are the values of Christian theology- emphasizing the perfection of life through the exercise of virtue, and the Calvinistic damnations of idleness, frivolty and personal enjoyment.

Conservatism was another value which further influenced this negative evaluation of entertainment. The eighteenth century conservatives had nothing but contempt for the tastes and habits of the common man, which thus would include their popular culture. ¹²

Marxism also contributed critics of the mass media. Marxists regard the mass media as being artificial, quite opposite to the genuine folk culture. They describe the media as being exploitative, used by the ruling class to extend their control by distorting truth and forcing the working class to identify with the media laden bourgeois values. Thus, Marxism came to be a source of the present fear of the mass media as another opiate of the masses.

We now see that there exists underlying values and ideological elements in both social and mass communication theories. Thus as certain values (such as conservatism, Marxism) predisposed theorists to the notions of alienation, these same values also led to a negative appraisal of the mass media and theorizing it as an opiate. Earlier we mentioned that there exists a "genetic" interconnection between social and mass communication theory. Now we realize that the bonds that link the theory of man and society (alienation) and theories of popular culture (escapist function), seem to rest on the same values. Values present in theories however raise the problem of validity:

In tracing back the original impetuses behind the contemporary negative thrust against entertainment it is clear that these impetuses stem from the very basic kinds of human fears, guilts, and anxieties that have in turn been reinforced through social valuation and social sanction. Essentially we moderns have been left with a series of world weary judgements, values and cliches regarding entertainment and its alleged personal and social effects. But where are the facts? Are we merely to accept these judgements and values prima facie? Whose judgements and values are we to accept then—those of Aristotle or those of Marx? By what criteria shall we judge the validity of one value system as compared with another? ¹³

The research design to be developed in the empirical half of the thesis will have the purpose of getting the facts, that, as Mendelsohn said, are so lacking. For we intend to empirically scrutinize the relationship between the theory of societal alienation and the media-escape hypothesis.

The problem of validity in the theories of alienation will be exemplified in the theoretical half of the thesis. We will there show that this problem is inherent in the theories of Hegel, Durkheim, Marx and Fromm. However, it will later also be our purpose to offer a solution to this general condition.

Theoretical Problems

In trying to operationalize the polemic theories, the researcher came across several problems concerning the concept of alienation. One of the problems of alienation theory is the total lack of preciseness in its definition. Moreover, alienation has been used so diffusely, with so many varied meanings, that it now signifies nothing, unless the author explicitly specifies the meaning he intends when using the expression. However, to be of scientific use, alienation must evoke one specific meaning or else it will remain as a general notion of dissatisfaction, having no practical use. Another aspect of this definitional problem is another lack of **agreement**, but now with regards to from what alienation is assumed to be.

These conceptual difficulties became even more perplexing with the addition of validity problems. Because of the existence of values within the theories, we could not choose any one of the many diverse definitions and maintain it to be the true definition, and thus in this way achieve a single meaning.

A fourth dilemma that we encountered in alienation theories is that we found alleged alienation consequences far too inclusive of all evils, almost all the atrocities of our age. Again we stress the need for alienation to be a specific concept and not a dogmatic catch-word phrase to be attached to everything.

The alleged causes of alienation have also been as varied as the definitions and alleged consequences of alienation. Some say that the source lies in the private ownership of the means of production, others say that it is the division of labor that is at fault, while a few blame the over-all conditions of human existence. Is technical progress the source? What about psychological factors, might not they also come into play? This latter question raises another one. Is alienation an objective or subjective experience? In conclusion we can safely say that "when speaking of man's alienation and describing its symptoms, different authors mean totally different things."¹⁴ Alienation at present is used like a magic key, being applied to all doors, but because of its pervasiveness it has failed to explain any specific social process.

Thesis Purposes

Before we could establish a relationship between alienation and television watching, all the confusion surrounding the theoretical concept; i.e., alienation is what? from what? results in what? located where?, had to be cleared.

Overcoming these theoretical problems became a major purpose of this thesis. We were determined not to just have an empirical study. We see no value in doing empirical studies which lack solid theoretical support. Because of the many theoretical problems with regard to alienation, we deemed it necessary to try to solve them

first of all. This theoretical exercise will comprise the first half of the thesis, chapters one to four. These subsequent chapters will expand and elaborate each of the mentioned theoretical problems. In clearing the problems, we will in chapter four offer a new model of alienation developed by H. Barakat, as a new alternative that will enable researchers to use this concept of alienation. ¹⁵

With the development of a new theoretical framework that appeared to dissolve the problems, we were able to proceed to our empirical purpose. This second major focus is in the latter half of our thesis, chapters five to seven. For now it became possible to operationalize the concept and subsequently develop a research instrument in the process. Hypotheses regarding the consequences of alienation, such as excessive television viewing for escapist reasons, could now be empirically tested. Our empirical study however is closely related to the previous theoretical chapters. For this study not only serves the purpose of seeing whether the polemic hypotheses regarding alienation and mass media usage hold up to some facts, but also the very important purpose of seeing whether the earlier developed new theoretical model works. These then are the following purposes of this thesis:

Part A. Theoretical Purposes

1. A critical appraisal of several theories of alienation, bringing to light all the theoretical problems regarding definitions, causes, consequences, validity dilemmas, etc.
2. The second purpose is to clear up the confusion that surrounds the concept. We will show how the new model solves them by synthesizing all the common elements of previous theories, crystallizing alienation into a specific concept which still embodies the essential meaning of the concept.

Part B. Empirical Purposes

3. The research design will serve a dual purpose. The study will serve the purpose of examining the relationship between alienation and television viewing. Secondly it will provide an empirical test of the new theoretical model.

Review of Following Chapters

In the first chapter we will examine various notions regarding the causes and nature of alienation. The major purpose of the chapter is the illumination of a major weakness in alienation theory. Chapter II. will be a history of the concept in social thought and theory, examining the definitions of Hegel, Marx, Durkheim and Erich Fromm. Besides being an attempt at focusing on definitional difficulties, this chapter will also introduce a further theoretical problem- the problem of validity, as we will show that each of the theories rest upon underlying metaphysical assumptions that can not be proved. Chapter III. furthers our critical appraisal as we describe the many confusing definitions used in empirical sociological research. In Chapter IV. we will introduce Barakat's model and use it to clear the conceptual mess. Using the sources aspect of Barakat's framework we will through a synthesis, delineate all the various sources into a specific theoretical conception. The many notions regarding from what alienation occurs will also be synthesized into a precise common denominator. Furthermore, we will use this common denominator and synthesize the various theories in social thought and classical sociology. Another stage of the model will be introduced, by which we were able to synthesize now all the empiricists' notions as well. Thus, Chapter IV. is our solution chapter. Chapter V. begins the empirical half of the thesis, in which we will show in full the new theoretical model, our operationalizations and measures. The research design used, the statement of the problem area, a survey of the literature concerning the problem area will also be included. Finally, general hypotheses and ordinary propositions will be generated. The research instrument and its development through a pre-test will be presented

in Chapter VI. We now forewarn the reader that this chapter is a pre-test, exploring measures, which is often allocated to an appendix. But we have included it in the body of the thesis because we believe that a lot of important discoveries arose from it. The following chapter will be the analysis of the research results and the testing of the hypotheses. Finally, Chapter VIII. will conclude with the implications and potentialities seen as a result of the research for this thesis.

FOOTNOTES - INTRODUCTION

1. Nisbett. Tradition and Revolt (New York: Random House, 1960), p. 75.
2. Aptheker. Marxism and Alienation (New York: Humanities Press, 1965), p. 21.
3. New York Times. "Suffer Little Children," (March 5, 1965)
4. Aptheker. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. New York Times. (June 8, 1964)
8. Reich. The Greening of America (New York: Bantam Books, 1971), p. 160.
9. Ellul. The Technological Society (New York: Knopf, 1970), p. 379.
10. Ibid., p. 377.
11. Mendelsohn, H. Hess Entertainment (New York: University Press, 1966), p. 23.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid., p. 32.
14. Kon, Igor. "The Concept of Alienation in Modern Sociology," Social Research, 34(1967), p. 512.
15. We must strongly note that we are doing much more than just replicating Barakat. First, we will use his model as a tool by which we will be able to eliminate existing problems in the alienation literature. It is we who will be doing the synthesis solution. Secondly, we have done the operationalizations. We surveyed and chose some appropriate measures, and created others on our own to enable us to use the theoretical conceptions empirically.

CHAPTER I

SOURCES OF ALIENATION IN MASS SOCIETY

Introduction

If alienation is to be characterized as a state, then there would be only a need to describe the situation without indicating its origin. However, in our new model we will define alienation as a process and thus one of our tasks then, is to elucidate how it occurs. Notions about the causes of alienation have been many, as this chapter will demonstrate. The major purpose of this chapter is to illuminate a major weakness in alienation theory with respect to the alleged sources of alienation. By giving specific examples of hypothesized sources we intend to make the reader aware of the existing theoretical confusion and the problems that we need to solve. Besides just focusing on the causes of alienation, this chapter will also deal with another definitional problem. From what is one alienated? Just as there are many and separate theories regarding the causes of alienation, there are as many trying to answer this question. In an attempt to solve these two issues presented in this chapter, we will in chapter four, offer Barakat's model as a proposed solution.

Technique As The Source

Jacques Ellul, in his book, The Technological Society, sees the culprit of man's alienation being what he calls "technique". As technology became a determining factor in our society, it gave rise to a particular form of social conscience- technique. He defines this as the totality of methods rationally arrived at, and having absolute efficiency.

Historically, we have had technique for a long time, since

technical activity is the most primitive activity of man. However, since industrialization, it has changed dramatically from what it was a few centuries before. Then it was not as pervasive, and was applied only in certain limited areas. "The activity of sustaining social relations and human contacts predominated over the technical scheme of things." ¹ Ellul, to demonstrate this lack of primary concern with technique before the industrial revolution, gives the example of the "bee", where the technical effort was usually secondary to the pleasure of simply being together with others. Another example that Ellul offers, is the fact that at that time new tools were not developed to meet new needs since the skill of the worker (which was more valued then) compensated for the primitiveness of the tool. The accent was on the human being who used the tool and not on the tool that he used. Technical operations were then also always dependent on aesthetic preoccupations.

The great transformation occurred after the industrial revolution, and technique followed Engel's law which states that a change in quantity will result in a change of quality. As a result, today, technical progress is conditioned only by its own norm of efficiency, and with efficiency, there is no room for aesthetics. Furthermore, the search for efficiency is no longer personal, experimental, workmanlike, but abstract, mathematical, and industrial; subordinating as a consequence, aesthetics, fantasy and the individual.

According to Ellul, technique has become completely independent of the machine, totally autonomous, as a way of life. It transforms everything it touches into a machine. Organizations, for example, are extensions of technique, with the result that completely natural and spontaneous effort is replaced by standardization and

rationalization to improve yield and profit. Impersonality prevails, as the organization now relies more on methods and instructions than on individuals. By transforming everything it touches into a machine, techniques creates an inhuman atmosphere, dehumanized factories, estrangement from nature, lack of space, air and time. Life in such an environment has no meaning and is alienating.

Marcuse goes a further step in Ellul's analysis. He sees technique as also being an ideology, an ideology used to legitimate and justify the way things are:

The negative features of society, (over-production, unemployment, insecurity, waste, repression) are not comprehended as long as they appear merely as more or less inevitable byproducts of the other side of the story of growth and progress.

Technique, then, is not only the source of alienation, but by also being an ideology, it legitimates its presence.

Rationality As The Source

Other writers saw the source of alienation in the growth of rationality, but they give a similar account to Ellul's conception of technique. Weber analyzed this fundamental force of rationalization in Western society and its converting primary, communal and traditional values and relationships to the larger, impersonal and bureaucratized types of modern life. He saw the last stage of this development resulting in alienated individuals, which he described as: "Specialists without spirit, sensualists without heart." ³

Jurgen Habermas also perceived this historical growth in rationalization. He used different terminology in his writings, but still maintained the same theme in his two concepts of work and interaction. He defined work as purposive rational action, instrumental,

governed by technical rules and based on analytic knowledge. On the other hand, interaction (symbolic interaction) is communicative action, governed by consensual norms which define reciprocal expectations about behaviour. He believed that society was moving from being based on interaction to its polar opposite-instrumental action. "Self understanding of a social life world is replaced by the self reification of men under categories of purposive rational action." ⁴

Zijderveld describes us as already having reached the extreme point of rationality, the result of which is an "Abstract Society". Our social structure has become abstract, rational and bureaucratic, and has also grown autonomous, independent of man who is reduced to a mere social functionary. Man, assumes Zijderveld, is a double being, a homo duplex: first, a unique individual (homo internus) and at the same time a social being as we, (homo externus). But, our "Abstract Society" has made man into a one sided homo externus. Alienation is the result of a society in which men can no longer be able to experience intersubjective meanings.

All the protests against the "Abstract Society" involve a search for subjectivity, by withdrawing from the objective world through religious mysticism and drugs, or by retreating to communal facades and the simplicity of nature. What these achieve however, is romantic absolutism, which is according to Zijderveld, just as harmful as the objectivity absolutism present in the society from which they sought to escape. Why? Because, society is essential to the growth of man, for as Mead said, the personality of man can only develop to its full potentialities only if the "I" is confronted by a "Me". Granted then, man must maintain his double nature, but in our "Abstract Society" our institutions are so detached from human experience that they are no longer able to stimulate or channel man's emotionality.

In conclusion, the above mentioned theorists all had similar notions on the dynamic factor causing alienation. Technique, rationality, instrumentality, objectivity, all are seen as forces which make external social conditions such that they are alienating, divorced, separated from such human needs as aesthetics, subjectivity, emotionality and interaction. Thus: "Alienation has become entirely objective, the subject which is alienated is swallowed by its alienated existence." ⁵

Future Shock As The Source

Alvin Toffler blames the greatly accelerated change of pace in our modern society for creating impermanence, transience, novelty and resultant alienation.

We are the waste makers, living in a "throw-away" culture. Because of this, our relationships with things become temporary. That many individuals rent everything from cars to clothes and furniture shows this brief relationship with things that we have. Impermanence is also evident by the many portable playgrounds, classrooms, and even universities on rails that are becoming prominent as a way of life. Things however are very important for our psyches as they help us establish a sense of continuity and security. All this is disappearing.

In Toffler's eyes, place, just like things, has also become impermanent. One reason for this is the continuous razing of buildings which were not built to last. Place has also become impermanent since movement in America has increased over the past decades and relocation is becoming more prevalent. The Organization Man is a man who left home and kept on going. Commuting and travelling causes a decline of the significance of place since the average residence in one place is less than four years.

This transience and impermanence extends to people as well as to things and places. Because of urbanization, which increases contact with people, (each American has a pool of acquaintances from 500 to 2500) and shortens duration, and because of the above mentioned increasing geographical mobility, people form limited involvement relationships with most of the people around them. Why establish close ties with neighbors when a move will occur shortly? The sense of community, and the close knit web of relationships in it are all destroyed in this process.

Jobs have also become impermanent, as today we have what Toffler calls serial careers. "The knowledge that no job is truly permanent means that the relationships formed are conditional, modular and by most definitions, temporary." ⁶ Even bureaucracy is no longer as stable and rigid with permanence as Weber's typology would indicate. Today, there now is constant organizational change in structure, always responding to changing needs. Certain task forces are created for certain specific problems. They dissolve after the solution has been accomplished. This "Ad-Hocracy" destroys any permanent relationships with fellow workers.

As well, there is impermanence manifested with regard to society's symbols. Klapp in Collective Search for Identity writes for example of the rapid turnover in today's symbolic leaders. This he thinks contributes to instability, especially to those people who use these vicarious icons as models for behaviour. Our language symbols also have a high rate of impermanence. Knowledge is impermanent. There are no permanent schools of art. As we can see, man's relationship with his symbolic imagery is growing more and more temporary, and secondly, the rate at which a person must process his imagery is

accelerated.

The second variable, besides impermanence, in Toffler's analysis is an increase in novelty. The future holds many new things in store for us: open ocean cities, weather control, organ technology, frozen embryos for sale, control of animal behaviour via remote control, and genetic engineering. This increase in novelty merely increases the impermanence of life, strains our adaptation capacities and our views of reality.

Diversity is also increasing, and is evident in the increasing subcults for example. With a greater choice possible, it has become harder to search for an identity. Membership in groups become shallow as people join one after another. Individuals develop serial selves, consuming diverse life styles and living impermanently. As a result, "Failure to identify with some such group or groups condemns us to feelings of loneliness, alienation and ineffectuality. We begin to wonder who we are?" ?

The feature of transience, diversity and novelty create a crisis of adaptation with the result of physical and psychological distress-what Toffler calls "future shock". The over stimulation, the stress of the fast pace of life and the resulting impermanence, novelty and diversity results in anxiety, hostility, senseless violence, physical illness, depression and apathy. It also leads to feelings of normlessness, isolation and loneliness, lack of self-identity; all of which are labelled by other sociologists like Seeman as variants of alienation.

Georg Simmel in his essay "The Metropolis and Mental Life", preceded Toffler's notions about the fast pace of life. "Rapid crowding of changing images, the sharp discontinuity in the grasp of a single

glance, and the unexpectedness of onrushing impressions. These are the psychological conditions which the metropolis creates." ⁸ Simmel also believed that the metropolis creates an intensification of nervous stimulation. This results in a psychic molding of the metropolis man, creating such characteristics as a blase attitude, and a mental attitude of reserve towards other metropolitans. This reserve appears to be cold and heartless in the eyes of small town people. The reserve is not merely indifference to others but also a " slight aversion, a mutual strangeness and repulsion, which will break into hatred and fight at the moment of a closer contact, however caused." ⁹ Man is alienated from man Fromm would say!

The "Invisible Hand" And Competition As The Source

To Marx, alienation results because of the anonymity of the capitalist system, a system in which workers are controlled and guided by an invisible authority consisting of profit, market public opinion, and economic necessities. Adam Smith termed this authority as the Invisible Hand. But not only are there a lack of explicit laws, these laws of the market are uncontrollable. As a result, "Man does not experience himself as the active bearer of his own powers and richness, but as an impoverished Thing, dependent on powers outside of himself, unto whom he has projected his living substance." ¹⁰ This feeling of powerlessness has been defined by empirical sociologists to be a variant of alienation. And this alienation, according to Marx and Marcuse, manifests itself because the social life in capitalism is governed by an anonymous authority.

It is also through the nature of our social system that there is tension and anxiety created for the individuals within that society. Critics state many diverse reasons why our society pervades a

state of psychological tension. Because production is based on a competitive system, tension is created between individuals via a fear of being beaten. Others blame advertising and its creating a constant state of desires plus perpetually stimulating needs as the source of the existing tension. That our work and rewards are all tied to the clock makes for a tense environment. The result of this tension, which is rooted in the social structure, is a psychological state of anxiety amongst the people. To get rid of this anxiety, the individual creates the illusion that he is happy and active by, "frequenting places where life is noisy and hectic, goes to the movies, reads magazines, drives his car, or wanders around the shops where his desire to purchase is excited." ¹¹ But then, these activities are criticized by the social critics as also being tension producing and thus they merely reinforce and not alleviate the original anxiety, thus perpetuating a constant need for escape and substitutes for the real human needs of life. Television is also supposed to function in this manner as well, i.e. as a tension producing escape mechanism.

Blocked Creativity As The Source

Several social critics exhibit a line of thought which states that there results an alienated society if its institutions or social structure does not permit the optimal development of the individual and his true human needs. Marx and Durkheim can be placed into this categorization, but they, as well as others like Marcuse and Fromm, differ with regard to their underlying assumptions on just what "true" human needs man's nature has. This difference will be elaborated in the next chapter where we will specifically examine the underlying human nature assumptions each of these theorists use.

Fromm maintains that man, through his uniqueness, has certain

common needs which transcend cultural variations, and these he regards as man's essential human nature. One of these needs, he postulates, is a common need for relatedness. This need can be met in several ways however. We can become one with man by submitting ourselves to a group, institution and idols, or secondly by dominating and asserting ourselves onto others, and thirdly, the most productive and healthy way- through love. In Fromm's schema there is also a need for transcendence, which also can be met by two opposite ways, either through destructiveness or creativeness, (productive vs. non-productive). "The will to destroy must rise when the will to create cannot be satisfied." ¹² Unfortunately, our society is such that it blocks the productive way of satisfying these human needs, and since mental health depends on the satisfaction of the human needs productively, there results mental illness, apathy, destructiveness, lack of self identity, and alienation. "Man's failure to use and spend what he has is the cause of his sickness and unhappiness." ¹³

For the majority, this sickness is not really manifest as there are several operations in process that enable it to be latent. One way, for example, of how this sickness may be hidden is if everyone has it. Thus it becomes a socially patterned defect, since an individual by sharing it with many others does not become aware that it is a defect. Secondly, the defect may even be raised to the level of a virtue by the culture. For example, activity in our society is looked at as being a virtue, and doing nothing is of course being lazy and thus bad. But, Fromm perceives this activity as a defect in our society. He says that people today are so active because they always have to keep doing some form of activity or else boredom sets in. In Fromm's eyes, this activity-compulsiveness is neurotic, yet it is not defined as such

because it is deemed as a virtue. A third operation that enables this sickness to remain dormant is culture's provision of opiates like television, which then allow people to live with the defect without becoming ill. However, these opiates, if they were ever withdrawn, would result in the appearance of the illness because while it is now out of awareness, it still is not out of existence. What proof has he of this? Mostly his proof is very vague. While most people do not admit their feelings of fear, boredom, loneliness and hopelessness, this alienation can be detected from their facial expressions of boredom and malaise. Further proof that we are indeed an insane society is that over half of all the hospital beds in America are being occupied by the mentally ill. Still another lack of mental health is indicated in the high rate of suicide and alcoholism that we have.

To Fromm, alienation seems to be a part of the mental illness and sickness that results from society's failure in satisfying man's human needs productively. It must be noted that it is Fromm's definition of what the real human needs are, and how they should be productively satisfied that his analysis of alienation is based.

What proof is given of this supposed societal blocking of creativity? Following Marx's analysis of alienation, work is given as an example by the social critics of the blocking of creative consciousness. They postulate that the very nature of jobs in our society are deadening, wasteful and stupefying. "Workmen are indifferent to the job because of its intrinsic nature; it does not enlist worthwhile capacities, it is not interesting, it is not his, he is not "in" on it, the product is not really useful." ¹⁴ And because creativity is not allowed to be expressed in work, it

then becomes merely a duty, as a means of getting money or an obsession to escape the boredom of inactivity. Because of this, youth, as Paul Goodman has observed, are growing up absurd.

Lefebvre gives another example of our society blocking creativity by citing the lack of style present in it:

In the heart of poverty and direct oppression there was style; in former times labours of skill were produced, whereas today we have commercialized products and exploitation has replaced violent oppression. Style gave significance to the slightest object, to actions and activities, to gestures; it was a concrete significance, not an abstraction taken piecemeal from a system of symbols." 15

Consumption As The Source

Several of the above mentioned analyses of the roots of alienation have merely given vague generalities such as "society blocks creativity" or "man's essential nature is not satisfied". However others have been more specific in finding the source of alienation to lie in the mode of economic production (and therefore consumption) in our society.

We are living in a consumer society in which not only do we consume various goods but also signs. One may deduce that consumer goods are not only glorified by signs and "good" only so far as they are successfully advertised, but that consumption is primarily related to these signs and not to the goods themselves. Let us elaborate on this more fully. Each product has a brand image or a social symbolic meaning. This image is created by the advertisers after they researched the symbolic needs of the market. As products become more and more alike, cigarettes for example, the sign has become more and more important. The consumer is then really consuming the sign as his decision to purchase is more based on what the product means than what it actually is. The buyer consumes the symbolic character which

he thinks is appropriate to his character, life style and self-conception. Nothing appeals more to people than themselves, so why not help people buy a projection of themselves? These products, then, function as extensions of power and self, and are used to communicate certain things about the self to others.

Critics, like Lefevbre, see this consumption growing so pervasively that eventually there will be a vast substitution and signs will begin to replace reality. He cites the following as an example of this happening already:

The sightseer in Venice does not absorb Venice, but words about Venice, the written words of guide books and the spoken words of lectures, loudspeakers and records; he listens and looks, and the commodity he receives in exchange for his money, the consumer goods, the trade value, is a verbal commentary on the Piazza San Marco, but the experience value, the thing itself, eludes his avid consumption which is restricted only to talk. 16

This consumption of signs negates real, meaningful experience, as for example, tourism becomes taking a picture of the family in front of the Mona Lisa.

Klapp also perceived this sign consumption, which he believes results in a lack of symbols that make a person's life meaningful and interesting. "While information piles up, the nondiscursive language and the interaction through which it is communicated dry up." 17 The nondiscursive language of which he speaks is composed of:

1. Reassurances from the gestures of others that one is loved, understood, needed, and somebody special.
2. Ritual, which gives a person a sense of himself and fills his life with valid sentiments.
3. Place symbols.
4. Voice of the past.
5. Psychological payoffs in recognition for work. 17

It is assumed that consumption has smothered this type of symbolism

from developing, thus resulting in symbolic poverty. This is due to the prevalent consumer ideology that things are enough.

This analysis goes further as the list of things consumed is expanded. Consumption spreads to all phases of society, and this can be seen by the fact that people have also become consumers of politics, and the "brand" that has made the deepest impression will win. We also consume art, the past and people. The result is total meaninglessness as our society becomes traditionless, historyless as everything is consumed.

What effect has this marketing orientation on the identity of individuals? As mentioned before, products are used to enhance the self, Publicity is then directed to associate the product with the self concept desired by consumers. Maslow describes American society with the dominant needs of love (affection and belonging), esteem (self respect, prestige, success), and self actualization. Consumer products are used to serve these needs as such slogans as: "Your guests will enjoy your parties more when you serve Crispy Crackers" are used by the advertisers to exploit the self actualization need. The hypothesized over-all effect of this marketing orientation is that people experience themselves with the things they have and the images that they try to project. People also become consumption products as the fetish of commodities extends its embrace to humans. Soon, they see others not as subjective humans, but as objective categories. Thus, the economic activity of consumption creates a pseudo identity, a packaged self, and thus alienated from a true identity which is defined by critics in such vague terms as "being" instead of "having". This alienation is also reinforced by the fact that when everybody is adopting, or consuming symbols, no one can tell who one really is, for in such a milieu, one

does not know where people stand or think. The dominance of other directed identities is also seen by some to be a cause of self-alienation. Let us now turn to this source.

Other-Direction As The Source

Marxists assume that the method of production determines man's social relations, and personality is then molded by the way people relate to each other. The method of production usually molds personality types that will be functional to it. For example, "The necessity to work, for punctuality, orderliness, had to be transformed into an inner drive for these aims. Society had to produce a social character in which these strivings were inherent." 19

Our method of production (a consumer society) today has a functional need for a personality molded such that men co-operate in large groups, who want to consume ever more, who fit into the social machine passively and whose tastes and desires can be standardized and influenced. This character structure of co-operativeness and conformity, created by the need of the economic structure, was termed as "other-direction" by David Riesman. The sense of "I" becomes dulled as the self is experienced as a sum total of other's expectations. Thus, because the system needs conforming individuals, because to get ahead successfully usually means packaging the self, individuals never really develop an authentic identity but instead a pseudo self of roles that constantly change to meet other peoples' approval. And unfortunately, this other directedness is so extreme in our society that almost all individuality is gone:

In contrast with the lone reader of the era of inner direction, we have the group of kids today, lying on the floor, reading and trading comics. When reading and listening are not communal in fact, they are apt to be so in feeling; one is almost conscious of the brooding omnipresence of the peer group. 20

The other-directed children of today are never alone, and as a result no inner dimension of uniqueness can be developed by the individual, for he has become totally the other. Because the person has no roots, nothing apart from conformism, he is alienated from his self.

Summary

Since a major purpose of this thesis is to criticize present alienation theory, we exemplified two specific problems found in the mass society literature. Generally, in this chapter, we intended to reduce the definitional problem of alienation to smaller specific issues. The first specific issue that we focused upon is the alleged sources of alienation. We have demonstrated in this brief survey some of the proposed sources held by mass society critics. We found them to be many and quite varied. The few that we investigated were: the increasing growth of technique, rationality, efficiency, instrumentality and objectivity- all resulting in the creation of an "Abstract Society"; the economic superstructure- the Invisible Hand, capitalistic competition, consumer market orientation and the fetish of commodities. These sources make man alienated. But alienated from what? This question also had many diverse answers. These are a few that were mentioned: alienation from nature, others, self, emotionality, subjectivity, human nature, human needs, man's essence, work and labor. In conclusion we are left with multiple sources of alienation and multiple conceptions regarding from what alienation occurs. Thus, we are now aware of the lack of conciseness in alienation theory in mass society literature. The next chapter examines the classical sociology literature.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER I

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5. Marcuse, op. cit., p. 11.
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16. Ibid., p. 133.
17. Klapp, Collective Search For Identity (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Wilson, 1969), p. 332.
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CHAPTER II

ALIENATION IN CLASSICAL SOCIOLOGY

Introduction

In the first chapter we showed that one of the many pervasive ideas in the writings of mass society critics is alienation. But, we critically noted that today it has become merely a fetish word, signifying nothing unless the writer defines the meaning he intends when using the concept. To examine the historical roots of the theories of alienation may clarify the meaning of the term. Thus, in this chapter we will trace the development and use of this Nisbettian unit-idea in social thought and theory. But, one can trace alienation theory as far back as Adam and Eve and their alienation from God. However, our theoretical notions today are mainly affected by the nineteenth century classical sociologists who began writing their theories in reaction to the Enlightenment, which was seen by them not to be leading to creative liberation from customs, but to a rendering of insecure, frustrated and alienated individuals. Durkheim was a part of this moral reaction. Hegel will also be included in this analysis because of his influence on Marx. Erich Fromm is used to exemplify modern social thought on alienation. Besides being an attempt at focusing on definitional difficulties, this chapter will also introduce a further theoretical problem - a problem of validity that each alienation theory has because of the presence of certain underlying assumptions. This problem will thus also have to be removed before we can begin to use the concept for our research purposes.

Hegel

Hegel theorized that Self-Alienation is due to the fact that the Spirit has a dual personality: being man (subject) and also world (object).¹ The world is perceived by man as an alien being. All of man's attempts at conquering the hostile alien world shows the conflict between subject and object. Hegel's theory of self-alienation is thus expressed in his image of man against the world. However, this alienation, viewing the world as something other than self is "untrue consciousness"² for both, in Hegel's philosophy, are really one and the same, externalizations of the Spirit.

De-alienation of the world is through knowing, since it is through knowing that the strangeness of the world is removed and overcome. Thus, true consciousness (de-alienated) is achieved by piercing through the illusion of the strangeness of the world via knowing, which then results in object being no longer viewed as alien, being no longer seen as other but as self. Through knowing, man recognizes the world as being objective Spirit and thus transforming the earlier subject-object relation into a subject-subject one. The process of de-alienation Hegel calls transcendence and because of it, man now knows that, "What seems to take place outside it, to be an activity directed against it, is its own doing, its own activity; and substance shows that it is in reality subject."³ But transcendence is not a permanent state once achieved, for there comes to be a new alienation when a new culture world is established and it too then has to be eventually grasped as Spirit and transcended. Alienation and its negation are constant cyclical movements.

There is still a need to explain one major question, and that is why the world is regarded by the subject as being alien. The answer to

this lies in Hegel's underlying assumptions regarding his definition of Spirit. Spirit is defined as an absolute, infinite Being, the whole of reality. Another necessary assumption needed in this theory is that man is an externalization of Spirit. Since subject is defined as an Absolute Being, a something else must be seen as alien and hostile, for it negates the subject as being absolute. "An object means a something else, a negative confronting me." ⁴ Because of its presence, the subject becomes aware of finitude and not encompassing all of reality, and this is why the world is seen as alien and hostile.

Alienation is the necessary consequence of the antagonism between Absoluteness and Self-Consciousness. Because of the need for self consciousness, the Spirit needs objects to reflect itself. Absoluteness however causes these objects to be seen as something alienated since they are barriers that threaten to obliterate the experience of Absoluteness. This opposition of contradictions results in a continuing dialectical process: Spirit objectifies itself for self-consciousness, it is then negated (through knowing) because it threatens its Totality, and this negation is negated by the creation of new objects. And so the process goes. In conclusion, we can derive at a definition of alienation from Hegel's theory. Hegel uses the concept of alienation to mean separation, a separation of the Spirit into subject and object.

The meaning of alienation in his second theory remained the same. But now, instead of speaking about a separation of the Spirit into subject-object, Hegel describes the separation of man from the social substance. The rise of individualism led man to regard the social substance, with which he was in unity with before, as something

other, external and opposed to the individual. The social substance became alienated when man ended identifying with it. Hence, a loss of universality, in this case a separation from the social substance, results in that man " thereby alienated himself from his inner nature and reaches the extremety of discord with himself." ⁵

Underlying this theory of alienation is the conservative assumption that man's essential nature is the social substance. ⁶ Hegel philosophizes that the social substance is the objectification of the Spirit, and thus, when man ceases to identify with it by seeking to develop his particular nature and character, and asserting independence at the expense of unity with the substance, it is the objectified Spirit that is alienated from him. But, this objectified Spirit is the True Self, and therefore it is really the individual's true self that is alienated from him, i.e. self-alienation. Man, in the tide of individualism, fails to see that the social substance is not really alien, but is one's own creation.

Again, to be no longer self-alienated, one must through knowing realize that one's true self lies in the social substance and then willingly merge into it to lose the particularity of the self. This is because, "the spiritual content of the state constitutes the essence of the individual as well as that of the people." ⁷ A person with the right conception, knowledge, will submerge himself willingly, for he rightly sees that universality can only be attained through the relinquishment of individuality and particularity:

For the power of the individual consists in making himself comfortable to that substance i.e. in relinquishing his self and thus establishing himself as the objectively existing substance. ⁸

In summary, we can see that for Hegel, the term alienation

seems to imply separation where unity once prevailed in both his theories. First, in his account of the alienation of the Spirit, he describes that in the beginning there was only Spirit, hence unity, but because of the process of externalization there came to be the world, an other, which came to be untruly regarded as being alien. Secondly, Hegel uses this meaning not just a loss of unity of the Spirit and the resultant subject-object relation, but he also refers alienation to mean a loss of unity with the social substance.

Durkheim

Following Hegel we will now examine the writings of Emil Durkheim, whose hypotheses have its historical source in the whole structure of the Conservative view of society.⁹ Because of this, there then will be many similarities with the works of Hegel, who also can be placed amongst the conservative reaction. Durkheim however did not have a theory of alienation per se, although his notion of anomie has been transformed by modern sociologists into a psychological variant of alienation, denoting feelings of normlessness. But, we feel that Durkheim was using anomie to refer to a structural state and not a psychological one. In our new model, we will view anomie as a structural source of alienation. To Durkheim this structural source resulted in suicide. Theoretically we will be able to fit this into our model in which suicide will be regarded as a consequence of the process of alienation.

Durkheim believed that the dual aspect of human nature was at a disequilibrium.¹⁰ "The individualistic element in personality has become relatively hypertrophied, the communal atrophied."¹¹ Like Hegel, Durkheim was reacting to an excessive individualism, whose

growth results in that the social part of human nature becomes neglected.

This theoretical notion of a disequilibrium between the two aspects of human nature, was seen by Durkheim as being the cause of such pathologies as suicide. "In egoistic suicide it is deficient in truly collective activity, and thus depriving the latter of object and meaning."¹² There is a lack of balance between the dual components of human nature. Durkheim saw a need for both individualism and society. What was wrong today however, was the growth of excessive individualism at the expense of the collective conscience. Now, man "belonged entirely to himself", much more than "entirely to others".¹³ Since man has lost the "best part of himself" and the collective conscience no longer gives meaning to individuals, the consequences resulting from this are such pathologies as suicide.

While Durkheim damn excessive individualism, he also regards excessive collective conscience as being just as harmful: the former leading to egoistic suicide while the latter to altruistic suicide. Thus, in his reaction to excessive individualism, Durkheim differed Hegel, in that he did not wish to suppress the individual totally by merging him within the state:

Civilizations have as their object not to suppress these inevitable divisions, but to attenuate their consequences, to give them meaning and purpose, to make them more bearable, to console man for their existence. ¹⁴

Durkheim's solution thus lay not in suppression but in equilibriumizing the excessiveness. To balance this excessive individualism, he hoped for the emergence of a new moral authority that would give meaning to individuals. He, unlike Hegel, eliminated the state for fulfilling this role because he believed that the state is too remote from individuals.

A nation can be maintained only if, between the State and the individuals there is intercalated a whole series of secondary groups near enough to the individuals to attract them strongly in their sphere of action. 15

His solution then lay in one of these secondary groups (the new occupation associations) and Durkheim hoped that " The bond that unites them with the common cause attaches them to life and the lofty goal they envisage prevents their feeling personal troubles so deeply." 16

While Durkheim does not specifically mention alienation, the above mentioned theory closely parallels Hegel's second alienation theory that described man being separated from the ethical, social substance and as a result lost his true self, or the best part of himself. Durkheim further elaborated this notion by asserting that the consequence of this separation was suicide. He also added that a separation from individuality (excessive collective conscience) would result in the same consequences. Man is thus alienated whenever there is an imbalance, disequilibrium, or separation of either aspect of his dual human nature.

Durkheim also wrote of another imbalance. When passions, needs and desires are unregulated, there may result anomic suicide. " In anomic suicide, society's influence is lacking in the basically individual passions, thus leaving them without a check reign." 17 This theory, like the egoistic and altruistic suicide ones, also needs certain underlying assumptions regarding human nature. 18

The source of this lack of regulation lies in the economy, which thought Durkheim, was in an anomic state, having no ethics and freed from any moderating action of regulations. Since economic functions concern the greatest number of citizens, it is a notable

source of demoralization. " This liberation of desires has been made worse by the very development of industry and the almost infinite extension of the market." ¹⁹ Other states of anomy occur in what he called the forced division of labor, when the distribution of social functions does not respond to the distribution of natural talents. Because all the conditions of organic solidarity have not been reached "spontaneously" is the reason why the worker in today's society is unhappy. Further states of anomy are exemplified in depressions, sudden booms of prosperity, painful crises and abrupt transitions- all of which have high rates of suicide. Thus we can see that anomy refers to a structural source and not to a psychological feeling.

In summary, Durkheim saw the man of his times as having excessive individualism and excessive appetites. The former needs to be balanced by a moral authority and give " content" , meaning to the individual since "the better part" of his nature is derived from society. The latter needs restraint and regulation for happiness. We viewed this separation where there was once balance as being a definition of alienation, and his theories of suicide merely focused on the consequences of this alienation. Durkheim hoped that this separation would be balanced by the moral authority of corporations or occupational groups which would give meaning to its members, thus balancing the excessive individualism, and also restrain all excessive appetites. This notion is used by many modern sociologists in their theories of alienation as an intervening variable. They have shown that workers who belong to unions are less alienated than those who do not belong in such a mediating secondary group. ²⁰

Marx

Marx's theories of alienation have borrowed several ideas from Hegel, but which Marx transformed into a materialistic framework. For Hegel, only the Spirit is the true essence of man. Marx criticized this use of idealism and thus "inverted" Hegel to bring his philosophy down to earth:

For Hegel, the thought process (which he actually transforms into an independent subject, giving it the name of Idea) is the demiurge of the real; and for him the real is only the outward manifestation of the Idea. In my view, on the other hand, the ideal is nothing other than the material when it has been transposed and translated inside the human head. 21

To Marx then, the alienation in the labour process is not the manifestation of the Idea, but instead, the alienated Idea is the manifestation of the real alienation of man in his economic life. This is the inversion of Hegel. The basic theory remains the same, except that "man" is substituted for "Spirit", and now, instead of Spirit producing itself as Spirit and finding itself in confrontation with an alien world, becomes now, man producing himself as man and finding himself as such. Hegel's image of the Self-Alienated Spirit becomes an image of the working class as the living expression of self-alienation.

Marx's theory of alienation became an intellectual construct through which he wanted to show the effect of capitalist production on human beings. In capitalism, the relations that distinguish the human species have disappeared, and man is separated from the human condition.²² Marx's theory also needs to presuppose a concept of human nature upon which to base it.²³

While Hegel used the term alienation to mean separation where there was once unity, Marx perceived it as being separation because of

surrender, and the cause of this surrender was rooted in the capitalist economic system.

Alienation Of Product

Man is separated from his product of labor because of the surrender to the bourgeoisie class. "It exists independently, outside himself, outside of his control, and alien to him, and stands opposed to him as an autonomous power."²⁴ The worker no longer chooses to make it, or even how to make it, plus his individuality is suppressed in the production line. In the end, the product is not his but is alien to him. "Another alien, hostile and powerful and independent man is lord of this object."²⁵ Not only is the product not his, but it also serves the lord's interests by which he becomes more powerful and can do as he pleases, even at the expense of the laborer's well being. In conclusion, under capitalism, the product is no longer the self-realization of the worker's personality. Marx mentions another reason for this alienation, one that we mentioned already in the first chapter. "Alienation is apparent not only in the fact that my means of life belong to someone else, but also that an inhuman power rules over everything."²⁶ This inhuman, impersonal power is the market laws, (fluctuations of market price, movement of capital), and it governs the worker's product instead of the worker's own will. Alienation, the fact that the product is not self-realization, is thus because of the surrender of the product to another class and the market.

Alienation Of Labour

Labour is also alienated. A person's labour is his own labour, when it is spontaneous, free and self-directed activity, reflecting the worker's own interests. These are Marx's underlying assumptions.

But what we have today is the opposite - imposed, forced labour, the surrender of one's labour to another. To Marx, submission to another is the necessary and sufficient condition of alienation. Labour is also alienated, not only because it is not free, but because "labour appears not as an end in itself, but as the servant of wages. It is not the satisfaction of a need, but only a mean's for satisfying other needs." ²⁷

Alienation From Others

Another alienation that Marx elaborates is the alienation from others. Civil society is seen as a war of all against all. "Civil society as the sphere of egoism...A world of atomistic, antagonistic, individuals." ²⁸ Marx sees this egoism as alienation from others since this is a separation from man's essential nature, i.e. social life and human co-operation. Marx's description of egoistic man is very similar to Hegel's particularistic man and Durkheim's excessive individualism notions. However, Marx does differ from them by rooting the cause of this egoism, and thus the alienation from others. Like everything else, Marx roots the cause to the economic structure to explain its presence. Capitalism encourages egoism, needing it for its survival. There can be no co-operation in a system in which people are regarded as rivals, in a system in which the productive forces are controlled by a minority and thus preventing any co-operative action. Durkheim by rooting egoism as being part of human nature made its elimination impossible, but Marx, by rooting it in the economic structure, saw its removal with a change in the economic structure.

Self Alienation

Self alienation is a separation from man's essential nature,

which to Marx (unlike Hegel's formulation of the social substance), is his own concrete activity. Thus, this concept of self alienation needs the underlying assumption that man's product of labor is his life in objectified form, and thus when the product is alienated from him, his own self is alienated from him as well. Man is also alienated from his self because, "As a result of the division of labor, the worker is reduced to the condition of a machine."²⁹ Man is separated from his self as man because he has become dehumanized. This condition exists because he is now under the compulsion of direct physical needs, like animals, and because he is a sub-human slave of the capitalists. Furthermore, man is not human until all his senses are cultivated. Life is not human unless it is social life. All these alienations compose self-alienation.

Alienation Via Reification

In his later years, Marx elaborated a new conception of the essence of man.³⁰ As a result, he began dealing with the problem of reification and commodity relations. In these later writings, man is separated from human relations, and although Marx does not specifically speak of alienation, implicitly the idea is present.

A product has two values, a use-value being the instrumental value of the product, and an exchange-value. Money is the general exchange value as it can be exchanged for every product. A product becomes a commodity when it can be exchanged for another product. Once a commodity, the use and exchange values are separated as the exchange value is determined by the laws of the market. The result of commodity relationships is that the object is no longer used for its original purpose but becomes a "thing" with a certain exchange value, which is no longer based on its property as a means for need

satisfaction.

The market system, with its commodity structure, changes the social relations between people into relations between things.

Human labour also becomes transformed into a commodity:

The worker becomes poorer the more wealth he produces and the more his production increases in power and extent. The worker becomes an ever cheaper commodity the more goods he creates. The devaluation of the human world increases in direct relation with the increase in value of the world of things. 31

As things produced become more and more important, human interaction decreases as humans become means for each other. They begin to evaluate each other as objects, the same way they evaluate a commodity. With man transformed into a commodity, he is separated from others, human relations and self. The theme of alienation pervades even in Marx's analysis of commodity relations and the fetish of commodities.

In summary, Marx in using the concept of alienation also maintains the essential meaning of the term, that being separation. But, his usage implies separation because of surrender. Early Marx maintained that man is separated from his product because it is no longer his self-realization; he is separated from his labor because it is not an end in itself; he is separated from others because of the rivalry and lack of social co-operativeness; and he is separated from his self because of the dehumanization which occurred under capitalism. Generally, man is separated from his life activities, essential essence. Later, Marx speaks of commodity relations which also seem to create the same alienations.

Erich Fromm

Let us now examine a twentieth century social theorist, Erich Fromm, and his theories of alienation. It was Erich Fromm who made the

word alienation a household word. He wanted to add to the Marxian concept because he saw alienation as being even more pervasive than Marx thought, and as a result Fromm applied the term to almost every sphere of modern life. In the end he came to use the term in such a variety of ways that now one does not know what he means. Fromm's usage is very confusing as alienation is sometimes an experience, other times an attitude, or a process, or a relating failure. Generally, his theory states that the cause of alienation is the unproductive way that human nature is satisfied. ³²

Alienated relations are found in nature, self, others, work and things. "The essence of this concept is that the world (nature things, others and he himself) have become alien to man." ³³ The reason why man is alienated from nature are varied, and sometimes even contradictory. Man is alienated from nature because he developed self-awareness, and as a result, transcended nature. But, in a later book, Fromm states that man is alienated from nature because through the development of tools, he achieves mastery over it. This however contradicts what he maintains in the Sane Society, that this alienation can be overcome by productive work. But does not productive work lead to mastery over nature? Furthermore, in Marx's Concept of Man, his idea now is that this alienation arises from the lack of relating oneself fully to nature. But then he also postulates that man should not be totally related with nature, for if a person seeks harmony with nature, and as a result regresses back to the level of animals, he loses his self-awareness and thus becomes alienated from himself.

Fromm's concept of alienation from others is a theory which is similar to Hegel's notion that this is a result of individualization

through which man becomes aware of being a separate entity from all others. In Fromm's eyes, new ties with man can make this alienation bearable only if "He relates himself fully to his fellow man."³⁴ And there is only one way of being related fully, and that is "The productive one, love."³⁵ Conforming is another way of relating, but this way is unproductive and results in other alienations. "When one adopts entirely the kind of personality offered to him by cultural patterns, one ceases to be himself."³⁶ Fromm, in reacting to mass society and the mass man of other direction and conformity, placed a high value on the individual uniqueness of self, and thus anyone who lacks individuality and spontaneity is self-alienated. "The self has no conception of himself as a unique and induplicable individual."³⁷ But, to add to the confusion, Fromm lists two other instances of self-alienation. First, "The self does not experience himself as the bearer of productive human powers."³⁸ A second instance of alienation is when the self "does not experience himself as a thinking, feeling, loving person."³⁹

Fromm also extends alienation to include language, which is alienated when people are under the illusion "that the saying of the word is the equivalent of the experience."⁴⁰ Fromm also speaks of the alienation of thought which is unquestioned acceptance of other's statements instead of true thinking. In conclusion, we can say that Fromm, instead of clarifying the meaning of alienation (by extending its usage, having contradictory meanings for example) has merely added to the list of meanings and thus increased the confusion.

Conclusion Of Chapter II

This chapter was a survey of the historical treatment of

the concept of alienation in social thought and theory. We examined the works of Hegel, Durkheim, Marx and Fromm in an attempt to clear up the definitional confusion. But in tracing the development and use of this concept in their works, we found different usages in each of their different theories. Hegel meant separation where unity once prevailed; Durkheim used it to mean (our superimposition from his theories regarding suicide) a separation where a certain amount of balance should be; Marx meant separation because of surrender; and Fromm used it in even more different ways. Because of this lack of agreement, we then have the following alternatives, one of which must be done to establish alienation as a specific useful concept.

1. We can try to see a common element in their writings and try to develop a definition of alienation which tries to encompass all of them.
2. We can decide to stick to one of the theorist's specific usage, the one which seems to be the most scientific and most beneficial for an analysis of society.
3. We can establish a new definition based on new assumptions.
4. Finally, we can abolish the term.

The second alternative is impossible because of the problem of validity that each theory of alienation from Hegel to Fromm has. One source of this validity problem is the fact that each theory that we examined had to have certain underlying assumptions on human nature. Thus, to accept one of the theories, we would have to have the same assumptions, but on faith, because all these human nature assumptions are metaphysical and can not be proven, validated. For example, we can not prove that there is no Hegelian Spirit, nor can we prove the Marxian assumption of a need for productive labor, nor his assumption that the product of labor is self-realization. Also, we can not prove the dual conflicting concept of human nature

that Durkheim postulated, and we definitely can not prove the innate human nature that Fromm describes. A Marxist would choose the second alternative that we proposed to clear the lack of preciseness of the concept. He would maintain that Marx's theory of alienation is the most scientific and all others like Hegel's idealism should of course be purged. But we believe that all these theories, even though they stand on unproven assumptions, have given us many valuable insights on the human condition. For example, we can not totally disregard the idealism of Hegel by saying it is not scientific. It is true that it is not materialistic, but it too has a reality. If a worker thinks that he is alienated, even though the material conditions would not make him such, the alienation is real to him, and he is alienated with this perception. Hence, which theory can we pick out and decide to use?

A second source of the validity problem, and thus intensifying the impossibility of choosing one theory of alienation over another, is the presence of large ideological and subjective elements in the theories. We will not dwell on this problem of values, a problem which seems impossible to be obliterated. We merely now ask whether some perspectives are better than others, and who could really choose?

Thus there would stand over and against one another two opposed judgements of the truth of a world perspective. Now the epistemologist takes upon himself the task, the role of an impartial judge. To which of the world perspectives shall he concede the advantage with respect to truth? Is he however truly an impartial umpire? Is he not also imprisoned in a conceptual apparatus which dictates to him his world perspective. Even the epistemologist cannot speak without a language, cannot think without a conceptual apparatus. He will thus make his decision as to truth in a way which corresponds to his world-perspective. 41

It is then impossible to stick to one theory and assert that it is the best. Furthermore, validity problems also eliminate the establishment of a new definition based on new assumptions. Will these new assumptions be

any more valid? On what value basis?

With these eliminations, we decided that the first alternative be used for we think that a synthesis of the usages might be the best answer to come up with a specific meaning and plus remove the validity problems. We are now aware that all these theories are based upon unproven assumptions and thus not one theory is absolute. A theory utilizing the common elements of each single writer may be a closer approximation to truth:

In the absolute and general process of development of the universe, the development of each particular process is relative, and that hence, in the endless flow of absolute truth, man's knowledge of a particular process at any given stage of development is only relative truth. The sum total of innumerable relative truths constitutes absolute truth. 42

We also believe that this synthesis should be tested out in practice.

Why? Mainly because values may be uncovered in practice:

Discover the truth through practice, and again through practice verify and develop the truth. Start from perceptual knowledge and actively develop it into rational knowledge; then start from rational knowledge and actively guide revolutionary practice to change both the subjective and objective world. Practice, knowledge, again practice, and again knowledge. This form repeats itself in endless cycles, and with each cycle the content of practice and knowledge rises to a higher level. 43

The new model of alienation to be elaborated in the fourth chapter will synthesize, via the common element found in the theories of alienation in social thought and theory. And, this synthesis will be tested in practice when we will use it for our research purposes. However, before we suggest a new conception for alienation, we should examine the consequences of the old conceptions in modern sociology.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER II

1. Before one can comprehend Hegel's theory of alienation, one must be familiar with his whole philosophy, and especially his underlying theoretical assumptions. That is why we are including it here as a background to his theories of alienation.

Hegel's Phenomenology of Mind is the history of the Self-Realization of God, a God who is not in another beyond realm but who has his Being in the world, actualized in it. Thus, the world is viewed by Hegel as an auto-biography of God.

God is fully itself only when he knows himself to be God, a "process of becoming in terms of knowledge." (Phenomenology, p.807), and this is the historical process of Self-Realization that God goes through in the world. It is through man's mind that this historical process occurs, for as human knowledge progresses, God becomes Self-Knowing, conscious of himself as God.

God is defined by Hegel as Absolute, the All, the Whole of Reality, an Infinite Being that manifests itself in nature, history and the world. Thus, "Spirit is alone reality. It is the inner being of the world, that which essentially is and is per se." (Ibid., p.801) History is a manifestation because it is God in development over time. Hegel also describes the world as the Divine Personality or Weltgeist.

The world has been created because only as a concrete substance can God attain Self-Consciousness and therefore must then externalize itself into objective forms: "The very essence of Spirit is activity; it realizes its potentiality, makes its own deed, its own work and thus it becomes an object to itself; contemplates itself as an objective existence." (Philosophy of History, p.74) The creative activity of the Spirit is the process by which it objectifies itself, and Hegel called this activity Self-Externalization. Through the Spirit's creative self-expression, we learn what powers it inherently has from the products that it originates. Thus to serve the Geist's need to be conscious of itself, the self externalization manifested in creative products is expressed in man's culture.

While history is Spirit externalized in time, Nature is Spirit externalized in space. However, nature is unconscious of itself as Spirit. It is only man who has consciousness and thus it is through man that the Spirit is in the act of becoming self-conscious of itself as Spirit. This is why man has the tremendous urge and desire for knowledge. It is because of this need for the Spirit to attain Self-Knowledge. It is also in man that the Spirit experiences Self-Alienation.

2. Hegel, The Phenomenology of Mind. (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1931), p. 137.
3. Ibid., p. 97.

4. Hegel, The Logic of Hegel (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1950) p. 62.

5. Ibid., p.64.

6. As a background to his second alienation theory, we must describe Hegel's conceptions regarding human nature. Hegel recognizes that man is essentially individual, but individuality however is only but one aspect of his nature: "Spirit is the nature of human beings generally, and their nature is therefore twofold: at one extreme, explicit individuality of consciousness and will, and at the other universality which knows and wills what is substantive." (Phenomenology, p. 500) Similar to the dual nature of Spirit, Hegel has a dual conception of human nature, particularity and universality. Universality is defined as being the social substance, what is common to the whole of the people, transcending the particularity of individuals. This notion was maintained by Durkheim in his idea of the collective conscience.

Since man must attain universality if he is to realize his essential nature as Spirit, man needs unity with the social substance, and must submerge himself to the State (Divine Substance) and live in accordance with it: "It is in an ethical (social) order that individuals are actually in possession of their own essence or their own inner universality." (Ibid., p. 506)

Hegel describes the ethical world as the stage of human development at which time there is an immediate identification with the social substance, leaving no room for individuality as the identification, relation with the social substance is complete. There is total unity as the self is conceived as a part of the universality of the social substance. But, certain conflicts drove man out of this actuality into himself. This resulted in a self conception as a distinct individual, apart from society. The reality of self is no longer found in the ethical world as self identification has come to be based on the particularity of the person. Hegel regarded this recent happening as man's loss of his essential being.

7. Hegel, The Philosophy of History (New York: Humanities Press, 1954), p. 51.

8. Hegel, The Phenomenology of Mind, op. cit., p. 517.

9. See Nisbett, Tradition and Revolt (New York: Random House, 1968)

10. To really understand Durkheim's theories, we have to dwell on his underlying assumptions concerning human nature. Like Hegel, he saw man as having a double nature: "There are two beings in him: an individual being which has its foundation in the organism and the circle of whose activities is therefore strictly limited, and a social being which represents the highest reality in the intellectual and moral order that we can know by observation." (Elementary Forms of Religious Life, p. 16-17) This same theme is maintained in a later piece of work and it is evident by its title, "The Dualism of Human Nature." Man thus has the two parts of individuality and also a social part, which is society internalized within the individual's subjective self: "Society is also in us, and is everywhere an aspect of our nature. We are fused with it." (Moral Education, p. 71)

Durkheim, with this underlying assumption can be seen to be in the Conservative Reaction to the Enlightenment, a tradition that highly valued society. We previously mentioned that Hegel believed that man's true self lies in the social substance, and this same idea is emphasized in several of Durkheim's books. In the Elementary Forms of Religious Life for example, Durkheim maintains that the "individual gets from society the best part of himself." (Op. Cit., p.347)

In spite of this emphasis on the importance of society, Durkheim does not totally obliterate the individual, as he admits that society exists and lives only in and through individuals: "For society can exist only if it penetrates the consciousness of individuals." (Dualism of Human Nature). There are several other references made by him to the need of individualism. Contrasting Hegel, who wished to eliminate particularity for universality, Durkheim writes, "The ego cannot be something completely other than itself, for, if it were, it would vanish. In order to think, we must be, we must have individuality." (Ibid.) Not only in order to think that we must have individualism, but also for the division of labor to begin, individual variations are necessary. Deeming individualism as being essential for the development of progress, Durkheim in the Division of Labour describes it as "the fruit of an historical development." (p.199) which moves on to achieve finally the "highest social type" (p.138) based on organic solidarity. Durkheim's altruistic suicide typology also implies the need for individualism, since this pathology occurs when the collective conscience is so strong that the individual counts for nothing.

In conclusion, it seems that the conception that Durkheim had on human nature is that it is composed of dual parts and he assumes both of them to be very important: individualism for progress and protection from a too strong collective conscience, and secondly society's collective conscience, the "source of life" (D.O.L., p. 80) to give content to the ego so that man has a human nature that is different from the primitive animals.

11. Durkheim, The Division of Labour in Society (New York: Macmillan Company, 1933) p. 200.
12. Durkheim, Suicide (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1950), p.258.
13. Ibid., p.300
14. Durkheim, "The Dualism of Human Nature"
15. Durkheim, The Division of Labour in Society, op. cit., p. 28.
16. Ibid.
17. Durkheim, Suicide, op. cit., p. 258.
18. Another underlying assumption that Durkheim developed was that the individual is an archaic creature with egoistic impulses, passions, needs and desires. "In the absence of an external regularity force, our capacity for feeling is in itself an insatiable and bottomless. Unlimited desires are insatiable by definition and insatiability is rightly considered a sign of morbidity." (Suicide, p.247)

While a certain amount is needed for progress, when in excess they have to be restrained and regulated. Thus, along this assumption of man having an "Id"-ian nature, there also is the assumption that to be happy man needs stability: "Society must exert moral pressure so that each in his sphere vaguely realizes the extreme limit set to his ambitions and aspires to nothing beyond." (Ibid.) Just as he condemned excessive individualism, Durkheim similarly believed that the presence of excessive passions was also a morbidity, needing a moral authority to restrain them. The corporations that he hoped would balance the individual-society imbalance could also serve to restrain excessive impulses.

19. Durkheim, Suicide, op. cit., p. 255.
20. Arthur G. Neal and Melvin Seeman, "Organizations and Powerlessness: A Test of the Mediation Hypothesis," American Sociological Review, 29 (April, 1964), 216-226.
21. Marx, Capital (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1933), Preface.
22. We must examine these species relations so as to understand his theories of alienation. In his earlier works, Marx conceives human nature to have "powers" and "needs", powers referring to capacities that man has, and needs being desires, wants for something. Each power has certain needs for objects which enable man to realize that capacity. The production and satisfaction of these needs is an historical process. Each stage of history has its specific needs which later disappear as soon as the material life of man, which shapes these needs, changes.

Powers and needs are distinguished into two separate categories: natural and species. Man's natural power is sometimes referred to as the animal function which is linked to physical needs. Man's natural powers are labour, eating and sex, which are all the necessary undertakings to stay alive. For each of these, man feels impulses, physical needs for the objects that would realize them and keep them alive. Man also has abilities by which he can realize them, and certain tendencies which direct him to particular objects. Natural man is still like an animal, identical with their activity, working only to get physical needs and having no self-consciousness nor intellectual capacities. However, man today does have self-consciousness and thus is a "being for himself" (Marx, 1844 Manuscripts, p. 74.) which he later called a species being. Marx describes species powers as "seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting feeling, thinking, being aware, sensing, wanting, acting, loving." (Ibid., p. 106). He speaks of these species powers as mental and physical senses. He included the five senses even though animals have them, because man uses them in a human fashion.

There exists a link between species and natural powers. First, species powers are only possible because man labors, eats and is sexually active. Secondly, natural powers can also become species powers, as for example, when sex becomes expressed humanly, and woman is no longer a sex object, sex will become a species power. Human nature, the essence of man is the total relationship between the natural and species powers. Included as well are objects by which the powers are realized since "they can find their realization

in natural objects only." (Ibid., p. 111.)

Man's powers are related to the world by the three processes of perception, orientation and appropriation. Perception is defined as man's immediate contact with the world through his sense. Orientation establishes the patterns of action, and appropriation is the process whereby powers are realized. These three processes are interconnected: perception leads to orientation, which by structuring goals then leads to appropriation—the process by which the object is made in some way to become a part of the individual.

Appropriation is rooted in the material life activity of man—in production. As production forges ahead, new and different objects are produced, and as a result, man's powers can realize themselves in ways which were never before possible. Production then is where the individual's powers are evident: "The object of labor is the objectification of man's species life, for he duplicates himself not only as in consciousness, intellectually, but also actively in reality." (Ibid., p. 76.) This underlying assumption of viewing production as being Self-Realization, an assumption which is essential to his theories of alienation, is borrowed from Hegel who similarly wrote, "In the work one does, self-existence is externalized and passes into the condition of permanence." (Hegel, Phenomenology of Mind, p. 238.) However, Marx went further in his analysis as he examined the nature of the labor process under the capitalist system and found that capitalism perverts production so that it does no longer contribute to self realization. It is no longer enriching but has become "direct, one-sided gratification, merely in the sense of possessing, of having." (Marx, op. cit., p. 105) Under capitalism, people no longer feel drives to see, hear, love, and think, but only to have, to own what is seen, heard, loved, and thought about. This desire to own has been conditioned on man by capitalism, resulting in that "Man has no human needs. Money is the true and only need produced in capitalism." (Ibid., p. 116.)

Hegel and Durkheim did not have this human nature conception, regarding man as having a totality of potentialities that need to be developed. While they saw man's essential nature coming from society, Marx saw it coming from labour since the chief way that man appropriates is through activity, labor or work. Labour thus is man's life activity. "How could work ever be anything but a development of human capacities." (Marx, German Ideology, p. 117.) Productive activity is defined as when all of man's powers are used, and is in itself a satisfaction of a need and thus is "voluntary, free, own work, his own spontaneous activity." (Marx, Early Writings, p. 128.) Labour should be an activity through which man fulfills himself and develops freely his physical and spiritual energies. Creative work is when it is simply not a means but an expression of man's nature and capabilities.

Social life is another aspect of man's essential nature, and like productive labour, it is also a life activity of the species being. Just as productive labour comes from production, so does social life since production is the example of human co-operation and is where man's social character emerges from.

The third life activity of man is his sensuous life, a "human sensibility" that has to be cultivated to make the sense become human

Marx's examples of human sensibility are: "a musical ear, an eye which is sensitive to beauty and form." (Ibid., p. 161.)

These then are the necessary concepts upon which Marx's theories are based upon. It is this human condition from which man is alienated, separated.

23. To show how these underlying assumptions are necessary for his theories, we will now be more specific. Marx sees for example natural man as having a need to hunt and roam, which reveals the power to play and seek out variety. And this aspect of the human condition is used in his later work, Capital, in his criticism of work's uniformity in capitalism, a uniformity which "disturbs the intensity and flow of man's animal spirits, which find recreation in mere change and activity." (Volume I., p. 341)
- Another underlying assumption that will become very crucial to his theory of alienated labor, is that man seeks his fulfillment in objects which exist outside him, needing these objects to express his powers. "Man is established by objects. Objects reside in the very nature of his being." (Marx, 1844 Manuscripts, p. 15)
24. Marx, Early Writings, trans. T.B. Bottomore. (London: Bantam Books, 1963), p. 122.
25. Ibid.
26. Marx/Engels, Selected Works (Moscow, 1962) , p. 177.
27. Ibid., p. 125.
28. Ibid., p. 15.
29. Ibid., p. 72.
30. Marx's earlier conception of human nature based on a philosophical-anthropological definition was dropped in his later works, and with this, his previous theory of alienation changed. Still, one can not separate the young Marx and the mature Marx by saying that his later works do not dwell on alienation because it is impossible to conceive Marx without this fundamental idea of alienation in his works. His later works do deal with the same basic conceptions as his earlier works, although the word alienation is never used. Its usage was dropped because Marx was aware that by using the same term would result in his having a colossal tautology, and also that using the same term is mystifying without having any references to social practice. Thus his conception of alienation remains even in Capital, only his presentation is different.

Marx in his later works presents a more sociological definition of man. "The essence of man is not an abstraction inherent in each particular individual. The real nature of man is the totality of social relations." (Historisch-Kritische Gesamtausgabe, 1.5/ p.534)

Marx also saw man as being more than just a totality of his social relations, or what sociologists call a homo sociologus, for man is also an active, creative being, creating the conditions for his social relations. As the productive forces develop and alter the structure of society,

man's social relations are changed, along with human nature. This definition carries Marx away from his earlier philosophical speculations, as now he is dealing with existing economic and social conditions and how these affect man.

31. Marx, Gundrisseder (Berlin, 1953.), p. 82.
32. We must also examine Fromm's underlying assumptions regarding human nature, for this writer, like all the previous ones, needs them to base his theories of alienation. Fromm assumes that there exists basic needs which are common to all human individuals, and an environment that does not allow the satisfaction of these needs productively, results in mental illness and alienation. One of man's human needs is the need for relatedness. This need can be met either productively or no-productively. Submission and domination are the non-productive ways, while love is the only productive way of meeting this need. Because our society blocks the productive way of meeting this need, there results alienation. His other needs are transcendence, rootedness, sense of identity, and all these needs in his underlying assumptions on human nature, if satisfied in unsatisfactory ways, leads to alienation, apathy, and mental illness. The way these needs are met depends on the structure of society, which through determining the content of the individual's social character, determines how the individual meets these needs."Socioeconomic conditions in modern industrial society which create the personality of modern western man are responsible for the disturbance in his mental health." (The Sane Society, p. 80.)
33. Fromm, Beyond the Chains of Illusion (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1962.), p. 46.
34. Fromm, Marx's Concept of Man (New York: F. Ungar Pub. Co., 1961.), p. 5.
35. Fromm, The Sane Society (New York: Rinehart, 1955.), p. 41.
36. Fromm, Escape From Freedom (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Windsor, 1941.), p. 208.
37. Fromm, The Sane Society, op. cit., p. 130.
38. Ibid.
39. Fromm, Beyond the Chains of Illusion, op. cit., p. 46.
40. Fromm, Marx's Concept of Man, op. cit., p. 45.
41. Ajdukiewicz, Readings in Philosophical Analysis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967.), p. 188.
42. Tse-Tung, The Wisdom of Mao (New York: Book Sales Inc., 1968.), p. 22.
43. Ibid., p. 24.

CHAPTER III

ALIENATION IN MODERN EMPIRICAL SOCIOLOGY

Introduction

In our critical appraisal of the theories of alienation, we now will, in this third chapter, focus on the usages in modern empirical sociology. The large sweeping generalizations evident in the works of some of the previously mentioned mass society critics are avoided as the modern sociologists try to anchor the term in empirical operationalizations. Unfortunately, instead of narrowing the definition of the concept, they merely diffuse it by the fact that every definition that they operationalize is a distinct conceptualization, unrelated to other usages. Because of this further confusion, alienation can not be conceived as a unidimensional or even a multidimensional phenomena. We will now demonstrate this lack of cohesion amongst the empiricists by portraying some of their definitions and operationalizations.

Alienation From Others

The use of the concept alienation by modern empirical sociologists on their micro level of analysis has become a psychological state: "Alienation is a psychological state of an individual."¹ Thus most of their operationalizations are statements in an attitude questionnaire.

Alienation from others has been defined by Mclosky and Schaar as being loneliness: "The feeling of loneliness and yearning for supportive primary relationships."² This feeling is tapped by such statements on an attitude scale: "What is lacking in the world today is the old kind of friendship that lasted for a lifetime."³

Hajda has defined alienation from others in a quite different manner than this feeling of loneliness that Mclosky and Schaar propose it

to be. To Hajda, alienation from others is a feeling of a lack of solidarity or integration, due to peoples' perceptions of others as having different interests:

Alienation is an individual's 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 contact with others. 4

In his study of the alienation of student intellectuals, Hajda measured this feeling of estrangement by asking the students how often they felt uncomfortably different in the presence of non-academic people, because of their views on religion, politics, personal tastes, concern about solving social problems and great interest in a specialized field that non-academic people do not understand.

Aiken and Haige, in their study of alienation in welfare organizations, added another distinction by defining alienation from expressive relations (i.e. others) as being "dissatisfaction in social relations."⁵ In operationalizing this definition, the amount of alienation from others was computed on the basis of responses to the following two questions:

1. How satisfied are you with your supervisor?
2. How satisfied are you with your fellow workers? 6

Thus, from the empirical literature, we have discovered three separate and distinct definitions regarding alienation from others: a feeling of loneliness, a general awareness of social uneasiness, and in the Aiken and Haige case, a specific expression of dissatisfaction. Because of these contradictions in definition, much confusion may follow. For example, one might be satisfied with his workers (and thus be unalienated according to Aiken and Haige) and still have feelings of loneliness which is alienation according to Mclosky and Schaar. One might also be unsatisfied at work and not have the social uneasiness

that Hajda implies to be alienation. Is this person then alienated from others? Because of these differences in definition, we really can not say.

No one has tried to examine the relationships between these measures and seeing whether they correlate. Now however, as these contradictory definitions stand in the literature, they make the utility of the alienation concept context bound. Results from such alienation studies can only be interpreted with specific reference to a given operation of measurement. We hope to solve this hindrance by removing these contradictory definitions by fitting them into a new specific definition of alienation as expressed in our new model.

Alienation From Work

Unfortunately, alienation from work has just as many different usages as alienation from others. Aiken and Haige maintain that this alienation is concerned with job satisfaction, a "feeling of disappointment concerning one's position of employment." ⁷ Alienation from work reflects a feeling of dissatisfaction with career and professional development, as well as disappointment over the inability to fulfill professional norms. Thus they hypothesize that workers are alienated when they are not satisfied with their position relative to other workers; not satisfied with the recognition given to them by their superiors; or not satisfied with how their job measures up to their career expectations. They compiled six statements for an index of work alienation:

1. How satisfied are you that you have been given enough authority by your board of directors to do your job well?
2. How satisfied are you with your present job when you compare it to similar positions in the state?
3. How satisfied are you with the progress you are making towards the goals which you set for yourself in your present position?

4. On the whole, how satisfied are you that your superior accepts you as a professional expert to which you are entitled by reason of position, training and experience?
5. On the whole, how satisfied are you with your present job when you consider the expectations you had when you took the job?
6. How satisfied are you with your present job in light of career expectations? 8

This operationalization enabled them to measure alienation empirically by the score computed from the responses to these questions.

Their definition diverges quite radically from Marx's notion of alienation from work. To Marx, work was alienated when it did not express the worker's personality, i.e. was not his self-realization, and also by the fact that it was forced labor. These quite different usages can also result in misconceptions. For example, alienation may exist in the Marxian sense, however the worker may still be satisfied with his job, which in Aiken and Haige's usage is un-alienation. Mills, in The Marxists pointed out that a person may be alienated from his work, yet still be satisfied with his job, and thus to equate alienation with job dissatisfaction is to misunderstand Marx.

George A. Miller tried to approximate the Marxian meaning by defining alienated work as when the laborer "works merely for his salary."⁹ Thus, "The measure of work alienation consists of statements referring to the intrinsically pride or meaning of work."¹⁰ He therefore subjectified Marx's belief that work should be an end in itself, and operationalized it with the following five statements:

1. I really don't feel a sense of pride or accomplishment as a result of the type of work that I do.
2. My work gives me a feeling of pride in having my job done well.
3. I very much like the type of work that I am doing.
4. My job gives me a chance to do the things that I do best.
5. My work is my most rewarding experience. 11

Another Marxist meaning was used by Blauner in his defining alienation as being a lack of control:

Alienation...a quality of personal experience exists when workers are unable to control their immediate work processes, to develop a sense of purpose and function which connects their jobs to the overall organization of production, to belong to integrated industrial communities and when they fail to become involved in the activity of work as a mode of personal self-expression. 12

Unlike Marx however, Blauner is operating on a psychological level for he has no measures which are concerned with the connection between sociological factors and the psychological aspects of alienation.

Apart from Marx's theory, we now have three more conceptions regarding alienation from work: job dissatisfaction, lack of intrinsic worth and lack of control. Since these definitions do not overlap, a researcher using one definition may get different results from a researcher using another one. This lack of specificity in one meaning dilutes the research capabilities of the concept.

Alienation From Society

Alienation, according to Gwynn Nettler, is a psychological state defined as a feeling of estrangement from society. An alienated person is "a person who has been estranged from, made unfriendly toward, his society and culture." 12 Thus the alienated person resents the common cultural values of society. Unpopular and adverse attitudes towards familism, the mass media, mass tastes, conventional religion, the voting process, the telic view of the individual's life, current interest in events and nationalism were tapped by a seventeen item scale. Here are a few representative questions of his scale:

1. Do you vote in national elections?
2. Do you read Reader's Digest?
3. Do you think children are generally a nuisance to their parents?
4. Do you think religion is mostly myth or mostly truth?
5. Do you believe human life is an expression of a divine purpose?

The alienated have a disdain of American mass culture (Reader's Digest), none is a church member, they reject the telic view of life, show only a slight interest in current events, are politically disenchanted, and have a Schopenhauerian view of the family.

This notion of estrangement is maintained in the works of Kenneth Keniston, who defines alienation not as an "aversion" but as a "generalized refusal of American culture." This involves a rejection because the alienated reject what Keniston call the American "ego-dictatorship" social values comprised of "problem solving, cognitive control, work, measurement, rationality and analysis." ¹³

Keniston's definition parallels Merton's retreatist, Merton in his book Social Theory and Social Structure describes the American culture as emphasizing the success goals of wealth and power. And in his modes of individual adaptation to the dissociation between cultural goals and institutional means, retreatism is defined as the rejection of both goals and means. Retreaters are "in the society but not of it. Sociologically these constitute the true aliens." ¹⁴

Alienation is presented by these writers as a rejection of common culture values, social values, goals and means. They vary in this definition only in their operationalizing different societal values which they assume are commonly held.

Alienation As Powerlessness

Melvin Seeman attempted to clarify the usage of alienation. He organized all the previous notions into five categories, the five basic ways in which the concept has been used. These then are regarded by him as being variants of alienation. Powerlessness is his first variant. This category originated in the Marxian view of the workers' condition in capitalistic society and Weber's extension beyond the industrial

sphere (for example to civil servants who are separated from their means of administration). This notion of alienation as being powerlessness is defined by Seeman as the "expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behaviour cannot determine the occurrence of the outcomes."¹⁵ Seeman then limits the applicability of the concept to expectancies that have to do with the individual's sense of influence over such socio-political events as control over the political system, international affairs and the industrial economy. It has to be restricted, because the concept should not be so global as to "make the generality of powerlessness a matter of fiat rather than fact."¹⁶ Here then are a few of the statements used to operationalize this definition:

1. There's very little we can do to bring about a permanent world peace.
2. More and more, I feel helpless in the face of what's happening in the world today.
3. This world is run by the few people in power and there is not much the little guy can do about it.
4. There's very little we can do to keep prices from going higher.

Powerlessness is assumed to be a specific brand of alienation, susceptible to specific predictions in the terms of the theory of mass society. One of these theories is the one that stresses the importance of organizational ties to mediate between the isolated individual and the State. Kornhauser in The Politics of Mass Society sums up this theory in this statement: "Meaningful and effective participation in the larger society, requires a structure of groups intermediate between the family and the nation, without such groups the individual can not readily perceive himself as having the capacity to determine his life and to affect the lives of his fellows."¹⁷

Neal and Seeman used the above mentioned powerlessness variant definition of alienation and in their study they tested the mediation

hypothesis. Their conclusion was that membership in a work-based organization is associated with a strong sense of control. They came to this conclusion as they found that manual workers who were unorganized had a higher degree of powerlessness than those manual workers who were organized. This conclusion is congruent with the above mentioned mass society theory.

Dwight Dean also has this powerlessness component in his alienation scale. He conceived powerlessness as the feeling that one understands or influences less and less the very events upon which one's life and happiness are known to depend. His operationalizations do not deal with political events as does the items Seeman uses. It seems as though Dean is referring to a personal sense of powerlessness in an individual's personal life. Here are a few of the scale items he developed:

1. Sometimes I have the feeling that other people are using me.
2. It is frightening to be responsible for the development of a child.
3. There are so many decisions that have to be made today that sometimes I could just blow up.
4. There is little chance for promotion on the job unless a man gets a break.

Dean also includes in his scale two items that appear to denote a pessimism of the future:

5. I worry about the future facing today's children.
6. The future looks very dismal. 18

The underlying assumption regarding the inclusion of these last two items is that an agreement response indicates that the individual feels that he has no control over future events. Thus while both Seeman and Dean agree that powerlessness is a component of alienation, their operationalizations differ.

Alienation as being powerlessness was given a new twist by

Thompson and Horton. In their view, powerlessness is not alienation, but powerlessness gives rise to alienation. "Political alienation is most accurately understood as a reaction to perceived relative inability to influence or to control one's social destiny." ¹⁹ But before alienation can occur... "This powerlessness is regarded as in some sense illegitimate." ²⁰ They then define alienation as a feeling of wrongness of the existence of powerlessness.

Thompson and Horton's theme is maintained also by Levin, who in his book The Alienated Voter writes that the alienated voters feel angry and resentful about their powerlessness.

John P. Clark has a definition similar to Seeman and Dean's: "Alienation is the degree to which man feels powerless to achieve the role he has determined to be rightfully his in specific situations." ²¹ But it is only the first half of this definition that is congruent with Seeman and Dean, the second part indicates that Clark too like Thompson, Horton and Levin maintains that alienation is a perception of some sort of wrongness. This is even more evident when talking about measuring alienation Clark says, "A measure of alienation must be a measure of the discrepancy between the power a man has and what he believes he should have." ²² Thus in his measure Clark asks the interviewee how much say he feels members should have about how the institution is run, contrasting it with the interviewee's statement of how much influence he feels he has in the institution. Any discrepancy amount would indicate a sense of wrongness.

Another response to powerlessness has been used to define alienation other than this sense of wrongness. McDill and Ridley define alienation as apathy and a general distrust of political leaders, both being responses to political powerlessness. ²³

In conclusion, we can see that even under this general rubric of powerlessness, we have several variations. While Neal, Seeman and Dean define alienation as powerlessness (though their operationalizations differ), others say that it is powerlessness that gives rise to alienation. This response does not have any general agreement either for Clark and Levin maintain alienation is a sense of wrongness while McDill and Ridley see it a distrust and apathy.

Alienation As Meaninglessness

Seeman's second category, which he believes summarizes a major usage of the alienation concept, is meaninglessness. This variant is depicted in Manheim's work, Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction, in which he describes how an increase in functional rationality leads to a decline in the "capacity to act intelligently in the given situation on the basis of one's own insight into the interrelations of events."²⁴ Thus another definition is introduced as Seeman defines the meaninglessness variant as a "low expectancy that satisfactory predictions about future events, outcomes of behaviour can be made."²⁵ As a result, the individual is unclear as to just what he ought to believe. "We may speak of high alienation in the meaningless usage, 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."²⁶

Russel Middleton used this Seeman definition. He operationalized each of his variants with one attitude statement. The single item he used for meaninglessness was: "Things have become so complicated in the world today that I really don't know or understand just what is going on."²⁷

Is meaninglessness alienation? But this definition has no reference to the essential root meaning of alienation (i.e. separation) used by Hegel and Marx. Instead of calling meaninglessness as being alienation, might not incomprehensibility be a better term, one that also fits the above description and thus eliminate a certain amount of confusion about alienation's meaning.

Not only is confusion increased because alienation is defined as meaninglessness, but meaninglessness itself has varied definitions. Meaninglessness to Levin means having no choice. He then cites two examples of meaninglessness defined as a lack of choice: in an election that has no real differences there exists meaninglessness (no choice possible) or another example is when there is a lack of information upon which someone can make decisions. ²⁸

Thus, we have a divergence surrounding this definition. Seeman and Middleton mean a lack of knowing what is going on, not knowing what to believe, unable to predict behavioural outcomes, while Levin means a lack of choice. Of course these definitions also lead to different operationalizations. Are they both measuring the same thing? It seems to us that these two definitions are very much distinct and as a result, should not both be called meaninglessness. For example, an individual may have adequate source of information upon which he can base a choice, however he cannot predict with confidence the consequences of acting on a given belief. Is this person alienated? He would be in Seeman's measure but he would not be in Levin's operationalization. The end result is confusion.

Alienation As Normlessness

The third variant in Seeman's schema is normlessness, a

definition which is supposedly rooted in Durkheim's concept of anomie, (a situation of non-regulation because of the disintegration of norms). Merton, in his discussion of normlessness noted that the anomic situation leads to low predictability in behaviour, and secondly that the anomic situation may well lead to the belief in luck. Following this notion, Seeman then defined normlessness as a "high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviours are required to achieve given goals."²⁹ Operationalized, political normlessness statements refer to the necessity of force and fraud in government:

1. Having pull is more important than ability in getting a government job.
2. Those elected to public office have to serve special interests.

Economic normlessness refers to the necessity of force and fraud in business:

3. For a strike to be effective, picket violence is necessary.
4. In getting a good paying job, it's necessary to exaggerate one's abilities or personal merits.³⁰

Dean, in his discussion on the meaning of alienation, differentiated normlessness into what he believes are two distinct subtypes. The first subtype is labelled as purposelessness, and he uses MacIver's description of anomy, "the absence of values that might give purpose or direction to life, the loss of intrinsic and socialized values, the insecurity of the hopelessly disoriented," to portray what he means by purposelessness.³¹ The second subtype of normlessness is described as a conflict of norms. This facet occurs for example when a person incorporates in his personality conflicting norms such as the standards of Christianity and the success imperative. Dean operationalized normlessness into six statements:

1. What you get in life is often more important than the way you go about in getting it.
2. People's ideas change so much that I wonder if we'll ever have anything to depend on.
3. Everything is indefinite and there just aren't any definite rules to live by.
4. I often wonder what the meaning of life really is.
5. The only thing one can be sure of today is that he can be sure of nothing.
6. With so many religions around, one doesn't really know which to believe. 32

At face value it appears that Dean did not include any items to tap his second subtype of normlessness. It also appears that purposelessness, in all but the first item, resembles Seeman's definition of meaninglessness rather than Dean's definition of normlessness.

Russel Middleton is congruent with Seeman, as he too restricts the normlessness usage to the expectation that illegitimate means must be employed to realize culturally prescribed goals. His single item tapping this alienation is: "In order to get ahead in the world today, you are almost forced to do some things which are not right." 33

Dean and Seeman thus have differing views on normlessness. It seems that Dean's items refer to problems encountered in trying to discover what one's commitment should be, which does indicate purposelessness, but then this overlaps with Seeman's meaninglessness variant.

Alienation As Social Isolation

The alienation as social isolation category is similar to Nettler's definition of alienation being an estrangement from the society's culture. "The alienated in the isolation sense are those who, like the intellectual, assign low regard value to goals and or beliefs that are typically highly valued in the given society." 34

This definition given by Seeman can also be the definition of Nettler's scale measuring an apartness from society.

Dean's third component of alienation is also social isolation. But his conception of social isolation is quite different from Seeman's as we can see in his scale items:

1. Sometimes I feel all alone in the world.
2. I don't get invited out by friends as often as I'd like.
3. Most people today seldom feel lonely.
4. Real friends are as easy to find as ever.
5. I don't get to visit friends as often as I'd like. 35

Thus it seems that Dean's meaning of social isolation deals with the individual's friendship status and feelings of loneliness, rather than an isolation from societal culture. Middleton in his category of social estrangement follows Dean's operationalization as his single item used to measure social estrangement is: "I often feel lonely." 36 Thus we have under the same label of social isolation varied meanings and operationalizations.

Alienation As Self-Estrangement

Alienation in the sense of being self-estrangement is Seeman's final variant. Its roots are found in Erich Fromm's The Sane Society; "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." 37 It is also found in C. Wright Mills: "In the normal course of her work, because her personality becomes the instrument of an alien purpose, the salesgirl has become self-alienated." 38

Seeman comments that the basic idea contained in the rhetoric of self-estrangement is the idea of a need for intrinsically meaningful activity. Thus he sees alienation as "the degree of dependence of the

given behaviour upon anticipated future rewards, upon rewards that lie outside the activity itself." ³⁹ Thus self-estrangement refers to an inability of a person to find self-rewarding activities, i.e. to a worker who merely works for his salary. But, we earlier mentioned this very same notion when we described George A. Miller's measure of alienated work. Can it be estrangement from the self as well?

Variations On A Theme: Anomie, Anomy, Anomia

Alienation is sometimes spoken of as anomie. Neal and Rettig employed this word and defined it as being Srole's anomie scale. It interestingly enough emerged as a separate and unrelated dimension, even from Seeman's normlessness variant. Why this is interesting is because Seeman's variant is supposed to be rooted in Merton's definition of anomie: "A breakdown in the cultural structure, occurring particularly when there is an acute disjunction between cultural goals and the socially structured capacities of members of the group to act in accord with them". ³⁹ The result of this is that cultural goals can be achieved only through deviance from behavioural norms. This is congruent with Seeman's definition as an expectancy for unapproved behaviour. But, since Srole's anomie scale is distinct from Seeman's normlessness scale, and since they should be theoretically related, it seems that Srole's scale should not be called an anomie scale.

Srole himself deemed the scale as anomia, which measures five aspects of feeling:

1. Those in power are not concerned with the individual and his needs.
2. Impossibility of understanding society, of predicting consequences of one's actions.
3. Feeling of meaninglessness since both norms and goals no longer function.

4. One's social relations are disintegrating; one receives no support from other people.
5. Individuals incapable of reaching goals.

These five items seem to include the previously mentioned notions of powerlessness (Seeman), normlessness (Seeman), meaninglessness (Dean), and social isolation (Dean). Meir and Bell maintain that the Srole scale measures despair: hopelessness, sadness, distress as the person is not able to exercise any confidence that his desires may be realized.⁴⁰ But is despair equivalent with alienation? Srole's scale is more of a personal disorganization measure. Meir and Bell adopted the term anomia to mean despair, disheartenment and hopelessness. They used this concept to show that anomia results when individuals lack access to means for the achievement of life goals and that this lack of opportunity is a result of the individual's position in the social structure. In their conclusion they sum up by saying: "We have illustrated this hypothesis by showing the very high negative correlation between anomia, as measured by the Srole scale, and structural access to the means for the achievement of life goals."⁴¹

Mizruchi, in Success and Opportunity also maintained that anomia results when individuals lack access to the means for the achievement of life goals. Those with low income and education have higher anomia since they do not have the resources used as means leading eventually to success. Thus, one of the pre-conditions is that the means at the person's disposal are insufficient. There is also a second pre-condition for anomia, and that is that a person must accept the goals regarding success. Status incongruity is also hypothesized to lead to anomia. People with large resources (such as education) will feel anomia when they experience themselves as not receiving enough in exchange for their resources, (by having low incomes for example).

McClosky and Schaar added another variation with their anomy concept. Anomy is defined as a state of mind, a cluster of attitudes, beliefs, feelings: "The anomic feels literally demoralized, for him the norms governing behaviour are weak, ambiguous and remote."⁴²

By this definition it would appear that this concept is normlessness with another label. But examining a few of the items on the anomy scale:

1. With everything so uncertain these days, it almost seems as though anything can happen.
2. With everything in such a state of disorder, its hard for a person to know where he stands from one day to the next.⁴³

it would appear that they refer to the effects of normlessness more than to normlessness itself. The core of anomy is a feeling of moral emptiness.

Alienation defined as anomie, anomia or anomy are all distinct and varied definitions, yet all supposedly definitions of the same thing.

Summary

To summarize our investigation of the definitions and operationalizations used in empirical sociology, we have prepared a summary table, listing the alienation types found, how they were defined and by whom.

Alienation Types	Whose	Definition
1. Interaction Alienation (in contact with others)	McClosky & Schaar	loneliness
	Hajda	social uneasiness
	Aiken, Haige	dissatisfaction
	Dean	social isolation
2. Activity Alienation (in involvement with work)	Blauner	control

Alienation Types	Whose	Definition
2. Activity Alienation (in involvement with work)	Miller Seeman Aiken, Haige	intrinsic pride self-estrangement dissatisfaction
3. Membership Alienation (in identity with society)	Nettler Seeman Keniston Merton	estrangement social isolation refusal rejection
4. Power Alienation (in participation)	Seeman Dean Clark Thompson Levin McDill, Ridley	sociopolitical- powerlessness personal, future- powerlessness is-ought discrepancy wrongness resentful apathy, distrust
5. Meaning Alienation (in comprehension of order)	Seeman Levin	unclear beliefs lack of choice
6. Norm Alienation (in expectation of deviance)	Merton Seeman Middleton Mclosky, Schaar Srole Dean	anomie normlessness illegitimate means Anomy anomia purposelessness & conflict of norms.

In this survey of empirical usages regarding the concept of alienation, we have tried to illuminate the state of confusion in which the term is. Let us now assemble the sources of the confusion.

First, confusion can only result when there are so many definitions, for these twenty or so mentioned definitions in no way

help to establish a specific meaning of the concept. Let us exemplify this point by comparing definitions between two prominent users of the concept. Melvin Seeman has defined alienation to be the five variants of powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation and self-estrangement. However, Anthony David views alienation to be a personality syndrome composed of five different variants: egocentricity, distrust, pessimism, anxiety and resentment. These two definitions proposed by Seeman and David have nothing in common and are quite distinct. This shows the lack of agreement that exists throughout the literature.

A second source of confusion is due to the fact that even when two writers have the same conceptualization, they mean different things. Seeman and Levin both regarded alienation to be meaninglessness, but whereas Seeman meant a lack of clear beliefs, Levin meant a lack of choice. The same concept of social isolation was defined differently by Seeman and Dean. Seeman defined this alienation variant as a feeling of estrangement from society, whereas to Dean, social isolation meant feelings of personal loneliness.

Thirdly, we found instances where the same definitions were operationalized differently. For example, Seeman operationalized his powerlessness variant to refer to socio-political events. Dean on the other hand, operationalized the same concept to tap a sense of powerlessness in an individual's personal life.

Confusion also increases because of the presence of some overlap among conceptualizations that were deemed to be different by the definitions. For example, Dean's purposelessness subtype of normlessness, overlaps in meaning with Seeman's meaninglessness variant. Seeman's self-estrangement variant overlaps into Miller's

definition of alienation from work. Both stress the need for intrinsically meaningful activity. Thus, a worker who merely works for his salary would be an instance of self-estrangement according to Seeman, and an instance of alienated work according to Miller.

So far, we have many definitions, the same definitions having different meanings and operationalizations, also, same meanings having different definitions. The effect of all this is a diminishing conceptual clarity of the concept of alienation.

One way of clarifying the concept is to use its essential meaning. Historically, alienation always meant estrangement or separation. Thus, another major criticism that can be said about these many empirical definitions is that not one of them incorporates this essential root meaning. Instead, modern sociologists refer to an extraordinary variety of psycho-social disorders including anxiety states, anomie, despair, depersonalization, apathy, loneliness, atomization, powerlessness, meaninglessness, isolation, pessimism and the loss of beliefs and values. We believe however that any deviation, which all of these are, from the essential meaning of alienation is semantically confusing.

A further basic limitation that these writers have with regards to this concept, is that they make no distinctions between the social and psychological level of alienation. The empirical sociologists all viewed alienation as a cognitive, psychological condition, and never related this condition to the social and normative structures. In fact, many of these empiricists transformed earlier social theorists' structural notions of alienation into a psychological level. Durkheim's concept of anomie, an objective structural feature became a feeling of normlessness. Marx's description and analysis of

the domination of the ruling class came to be a feeling of powerlessness. We are not saying that this subjectivization is a total misrepresentation of the alienation concept, for we think that it is an integral part of any analysis regarding alienation, but, we also believe that these conditions should be systematically related to the objective social structures. We are emphasizing the need for a synthesis of the two.

Conclusion

Our first theoretical purpose in this thesis has now been accomplished. We began earlier with a critical appraisal of some theories of alienation in mass society, social theory, classical sociology and empiricism. We brought to light the conceptual mess that surrounds this concept. Thus, this thesis up till now, represents an attempt at conceptual analysis:

Conceptual analysis represents a concern with definitions, and definitions in sociology are legion. Perhaps we have too many; it may be, however, that the plethora of definitions is in inverse relationship to their adequacy. 44

And we certainly did find a plethora of definitions for alienation. Lack of agreement was not only with regard to what alienation means, but also with the question of from what alienation occurs, and also the sources of this alienation. In this chapter, we painstakingly went through the definitions of alienation used in empirical sociology. We found a jungle of varied definitions that did not tap the original semantic meaning of the word. Definitions were in some instances so distinct from each other that a person may be defined alienated in one meaning and be also in a state of un-alienation if the other definition is applied. Varied definitions, different operationalizations, some overlapping of distinctively labelled categories, all add up to

an overused, unclear term that could not in its present state lead to any scientific findings of any validity.

As we later plan to use alienation as a theoretical construction in our research hypotheses regarding mass media use, the confusion about its definition has to be cleared. To solve this dilemma is our second theoretical purpose. And we intend to accomplish this in the following chapter. As we mentioned previously, a definition that would synthesize all of the usages seems to be the best way to overcome the problems. In the next chapter we will introduce our new model of alienation and demonstrate how it synthesizes the confusion into a specific theoretical tool.

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CHAPTER IV

BARAKAT'S MODEL: A PROPOSED SOLUTION THROUGH SYNTHESIS

Introduction

Our second main purpose in this thesis, as outlined in the introduction, is to clear the confusions surrounding alienation and establish it as a concise conceptual tool. To accomplish this, we will use Halim Barakat's model. In this chapter we will demonstrate how this model solves the earlier developed problems, (alienation from what? located where? objective or subjective phenomena? validity and definitional problems in social thought and theory). All the many theories can be synthesized into Barakat's model, and thus theoretically and conceptually make sense of the varied and distinct notions.

Alienation From What? A Proposed Synthesis

All the notions regarding from what one is alienated can be integrated by the common thread that connects them. Each one of the theorists that we examined seems to have a conception of what ought to be utopian such as aesthetics and craftsmanship for Ellul, "being" instead of "having", relatedness through union and love for Fromm. When these notions are not seen to exist in the real world, the theorist writes of alienation. Generally then, alienation can thus be regarded as a separation from ideal states. One is alienated from the Ought. The reason why there was in the literature so many diverse notions regarding from what alienation occurs is because each theorist had a different notion of utopia. Now however, if we use only the

common denominator that lies below all this diversity (separation from the Ought), the definition of alienation on this specific issue is crystallized into a specific concept.

Objective Vs. Subjective Phenomena

Is this separation from the Ought caused by objective or subjective phenomena? From the various writings analyzed in the first chapter, we saw all the theorists blaming the social conditions external to the individual for the presence of alienation. Alienation then is seen to be caused by objective structures. Using our new model we can say that alienation occurs when these objective structures are far from their ideal states. But we believe that an examination of these external social conditions is not enough. The concept of alienation must also include the individual's perceptions of these external conditions and whether they are from the ideal for him personally. Let us support this with a hypothetical example. Situations may be found to be alienating in the theorist's eyes, but the hypothesized consequences of this supposedly existent alienation are not realized because other individuals do not perceive the condition as being far from the ideal. Alienation in the objective sense must also be perceived before any personal behaviour will occur. Therefore alienation is neither purely objective, nor purely subjective, it is both. A macroscopic sociological approach must be synthesized with a micro psychological approach to really capture the two dynamic factors of alienation. Later, we will show that the new model does indeed include both objective social conditions and "the subject's attitude to the appropriate phenomena, and this attitude explains behaviour." ¹

So far we have cleared the questions of where alienation is

located (objective social structure and subjective self-perception), and from what it occurs, (from the ideal, Ought). Now let us turn to the second problem that we encountered in the mass society literature. This problem was the confusion and lack of agreement on the sources of alienation.

Barakat's Source Stage: A Proposed Synthesis

For Barakat, alienation is a process consisting of the three main stages of: sources at the level of the social and normative structures; alienation as an attitudinal property of individuals; and thirdly the behavioural consequences of alienation. This perspective thus has the earlier mentioned need for a synthesis of the two factors of alienation, social and normative structures and attitudes. Barakat is also congruent with the previously stated notion that the process of alienation starts at the level of the normative and social structures. The sources are, he believes, diversified and multi-dimensional. Analytically however, he was able to identify two major classes of sources of alienation. And these two major sources, which he labels as states of overcontrol and states of undercontrol, also seem to synthesize the many varied sources cited in chapter one into a coherent framework.

A. States of Overcontrol

Barakat defines state of overcontrol in terms of extreme bureaucratization; over integration in Durkheimian terms; a social system in which there is an over emphasis on moulding the individuals within it. He cites three instances of this state of overcontrol, existing in states of powerlessness, depersonalized relationships and thirdly, in a demand for conformity.

States of powerlessness exist when there is a lack of opportunities for individuals to control and influence their destinies, as for example there is no provisions for dialogue, or a lack of participation in the decision makings affecting the individual in the social system. The earlier mentioned governing by autonomous, invisible and uncontrollable market laws of individuals in our society, can be placed into this state of overcontrol.

Depersonalized relationships is another condition of the social structure that is a potential source for the feelings of alienation. These are instances of mechanical relationships, when individuals are regarded as numbers, things, functions and roles. "Efficiency is the measure of their worth. Thus, individuals are means; their products rather than they as persons are the goals." ² Into this categorization, we can synthesize Ellul's analysis of technique in formal organizations and the emphasis on efficiency. Also, we can include the mentioned assumptions of man's character and identity having been transformed into a commodity, regarding others as objective categories.

A third instance of overcontrol is in a great demand for conformity and a high degree of structure, standardization, in the social system and having limited provisions for variation. We spoke of other-direction as a source in chapter one, a notion that fits well into this analytical slot of a state of overcontrol.

B. States of Undercontrol

Undercontrol refers to states of disintegration and lack of restraints. For analytical purposes, Barakat defined it in terms of the two states of normlessness and disintegration in interpersonal relations.

Like Durkheim's concept of anomie, Barakat views normlessness not as a psychological state, as does Seeman, but as a property of the normative structure rather than the individual. "Such a normative structure is characterized by the collapse of systems of norms, values, and symbols."³ He mentions the emergence of city life and industry contributing to the shift from what was structured and clear to what is ambiguous and conflicting. Simmel's article on "Metropolis and Mental Life" can be synthesized into this category. Barakat also mentions that "symbols have been losing their compelling power and becoming less and less binding."⁴ To this we can add our discussion on the consumption of signs and notions of symbolic poverty. In this description of normlessness, Barakat further adds that "This normative structure is also characterized by rapid changes and discontinuity."⁵ Into this statement we can synthesize Toffler's writings on the fast pace of modern life, increasing mobility, transience, diversity, and novelty. Barakat agrees with Toffler when he says "Things in modern times are changing so rapidly that many people are unable to comprehend and cope with them."⁶ Barakat also synthesizes the theory of Robert Merton into his model when he included the dissociation between legitimate means and prescribed goals as another aspect of normlessness.

The second feature-disintegration of impersonal relations, refers to a lack of intimate participation in group life. In big urban centers, people live very close but do not relate to one another. In this notion is incorporated such concepts as Toennies' distinction of Gemeinschaft vs. Gesellschaft relations, and other ideal types like Redfield's folk-modern continuum. "Being close to others without relating to their souls and minds is the Tantalusian condition of modern man."⁷

In summary, we presented Halim Bakarat's first stage of the alienation process, the source stage, and we showed how it synthesizes the previous notions we mentioned in the first chapter into a few concise categories:

Social Structure:

- A. States of Overcontrol
 - 1. Powerlessness
 - 2. Depersonalized relations
- B. States of Undercontrol
 - 1. Disintegration of interpersonal relations
 - 2. Tantalusian condition

Normative Structure:

- A. States of Overcontrol
 - 1. Conformity
 - 2. Structuredness
- B. Undercontrol
 - 1. Normlessness
 - 2. Change and discontinuity
 - 3. Permissiveness
 - 4. Dissociation between means and goals

We briefly now state that we will use this theoretical framework in our research design, and we will use two variants of the social and normative structures of a specific social system to tap the source.

These two states of over and undercontrol do not necessarily result in alienation at the cognitive level and thus it is not possible, in an analysis of alienation, to jump from the structural sources to the behavioural consequences. One might, for example, accept one's powerlessness, if one sees that everyone else is powerless, or by some such justification as the meek shall inherit the earth. Marx's notion of false consciousness may also be an intervening variable. This notion, for the need of synthesizing structural source with subjective attitudes is also C. Wright Mill's argument against the Marxian notion of labor as being alienated once it is not creative. This however is not necessarily the case, for the workers may have learned to accept their unpleasant working conditions:

For the historical destruction of craftsmanship
and of the old offices does not enter the consciousness

of the modern wage worker. Only the psychological imagination of the historian makes it possible to write of such comparisons as they were of psychological import. 8

This problem is cleared, because in Bakarat's second stage of the process of alienation, defined as alienation proper, involves feelings and certain attitudinal properties, thus enabling us to measure the way individuals experience things under the conditions hypothesized to be the source.

The New Definition Of Alienation

We previously said that alienation involves a separation from the ideal. But only a perceived discrepancy between the real and ideal will result in the second stage of alienation as an attitudinal property for the individual. This tendency, "has its roots in the discrepancy for the person between reality or the world as it is and utopia or the world as desired and as it ought to be...The greater the gap between reality and utopia, the greater the alienation." 9

The definition that synthesizes other notions (a definition that is an integral part of the new proposed model) and which we are offering to clear all the confusion is: Alienation—a process encounter between utopia and reality. Now we will show how this new definition synthesizes the theories of Hegel, Durkheim, Marx and Fromm. In the second chapter we found them to be different. Now we can place them into our new model since a discrepancy between the Is and the Ought is the common element in all their theories.

Is-Ought Synthesis Of Hegel

In chapter two we saw that Hegel used the concept of alienation to mean separation, a separation of the Spirit (unity) into subject and object. We can fit his theory though into our new model. Alienation

exists because of a discrepancy between what Is (object-subject relations) and what Ought to be, (subject-subject relations or unity). That he sees unity as an ideal can be seen in his terming subject-object relations as being untrue consciousness. Hegel's theory then is congruent with our new definition of alienation as an encounter between reality and utopia, (the reality, Is, separated from Utopia or the Ought).

Hegel's second theory of alienation can also be seen as part of the new model's definition. There once again is a separation between reality and utopia. The reality that Hegel perceived during his time was the rampant growth of individualism. His notions of utopia are just the opposite, i.e. universality because "the ultimate identity of a person is that of a representative or organ of such an organic whole rather than that of an irreducibly individual being."¹⁰ This loss of unity with the social, ethical world is tragic, since it is a loss of man's essential being. This term, "essential being" denotes that it is something that should or Ought to be. Thus, we can see how Hegel's theories can be synthesized into this new definition. There is to Hegel a separation from the ideal. The utopia being unity (Spirit, God fully itself, universality, submerged to the state) separated by the reality (subject-object relations, individualism).

Is-Ought Synthesis Of Durkheim

Our superimposed theory of alienation from Durkheim's writings may be seen as another example of the new theoretical perspective that we are developing. While Hegel's ideal of authentic man was a man totally submerged to the state to achieve universality, Durkheim's assumptions on authentic man was a balance of individualism and society. Both saw their times as creating inauthentic man because

of excessive individualism. Alienation for both involves a separation of what man is and what he ought to be. For Durkheim, the Reality or Is, was an imbalance or disequilibrium of the dual aspects of human nature. The utopia was its opposite, that of a balance, and alienation involves a separation from this ideal state and having suicide as a consequence. We might also mention here that unlike Hegel and Marx, Durkheim felt that there is no final utopia, no end to alienation:

This antinomy is so deep and so radical that it can never be completely resolved.....We are never completely in accord with ourselves, for we cannot follow one of our two natures without causing the other to suffer. 11

Regarding anomic suicide, Durkheim has another idea concerning what he thinks man ought to be. In the Division of Labor he elaborates that we all have "the need of stability in our enjoyments and regularity in our pleasures." ¹² What Is, however, is a lack of regulation of man's unlimited needs, appetites, excessive passions and desires. This present Is-state results in such pathological consequences as suicide and:

Greed is aroused without knowing where to find ultimate foothold. Nothing can calm it, since its goal is far beyond all it can attain. Reality seems valueless by comparison with the dreams of fevered imaginations; reality is therefore abandoned. 13

This theory can then also be conceived of as a theory of alienation defined as a separation of what man Is (egoistic impulses) and what he Ought to be (stable, regulated). This theory of Durkheim's has more in it than just this common definition we are fitting on theorists to clear the confusions surrounding the concept. Durkheim also has a notion of a source of alienation, anomie, which can be categorized into our new model under the state of undercontrol in the normative structure, i.e. normlessness. Durkheim also perceives some of the consequences of alienation such as suicide, greed, abandonment of reality

and other pathologies. These notions can be synthesized into the third, consequences stage of our new model.

Is-Ought Synthesis Of Marx

Marx's underlying assumptions on human nature, describe what he thinks out to be. And one of these oughts is that for appropriation and development of man's powers, the worker's product should be his Self-Realization. But under capitalism, this has been perverted. The Reality is that workers are being told what products to do and are forced to give them up. Alienation of product is this separation between what is and what ought to be.

Marx's theory of alienation of labor shows the disparity between labour in capitalism and the character of the essential nature of labour or how it ought to be. In labor, there then is another discrepancy between the ideal and the real: the ideal being free, spontaneous labour that should be an end in itself, and the real being the forced labor for such extrinsic ends as money. Marx roots the fundamental cause of alienation to capitalism which cause profound changes in the work situation. Private property, the private ownership of the means of production plus the division of labor, makes both the product and labor as alien to the worker. These notions of the source can be also synthesized into the powerlessness category in the first stage of our new model.

Regarding alienation from others, we can say very simply, that this alienation from others is also a separation from the ought. One of man's life activities is human co-operation assumes Marx. But in capitalism, man does not have this realized, for instead there is rivalry and egoism, an egoism that is not a natural state of man, but one that has been encouraged by capitalism.

Self-alienation is also a separation of the actual condition and what ought to be man's essential nature. Capitalism creates this gap by not allowing this essential nature to become reality. By dehumanizing man, by preventing his human sensibility from being cultivated, by separating him from his product of labour and by making social life impossible, capitalism separates man from his true self, the Ought in Marx's assumptions.

Finally, the alienation due to the commodity relations that now exist between man under capitalism, can also be regarded as a separation of the Is and the Ought. The ought is based on many ethical notions that man is not a "thing", an object or a means. That he has become one under capitalism is the separation from this assumed utopian human condition.

Is-Ought Synthesis of Fromm

Fromm has a normative theory of alienation as most of it is based upon what he termed as a humanist ethical world view. It is from this view that his notions regarding the productive, correct ways of satisfying man's needs stem from. These are his conceptions of what man ought to be, and alienation results when these oughts are blocked. Although Fromm has confusing reasons for this alienation, the essential meaning of the term, that of separation is still retained. The discrepancy between utopia (relatedness with nature, however not excessive) and reality (man dominating nature) can also be brought into light to demonstrate how his theories involve a separation from the Ought. Thus, his theories bear the common element of alienation being a discrepancy between the Is and Ought, for it seems that alienation is the result whenever something does not fit in his ethics.

In conclusion, previously we showed how it is an ideal state that something is alienated from. And it is this which is the common element found in the social theorists, as each of their theories involves a separation from their notions of the Ought. And as we have so far shown, this new definition encompasses all the theories, and thus removing some of the confusion by being a specific notion of what alienation is.

Correlations Of Empirical Alienation Measures

Further dilemmas were encountered when we surveyed the use of the concept in modern empirical sociology. We found many separate and diverse definitions. But, in spite of this conceptual confusion, the various definitions and operationalizations also seem to be related empirically. Let us now examine some of the interconnections between varied alienation scales.

Table 1. Inter-Correlations of Types of Alienation*

	Meaning.	Norm.	Cult. Est.	Social Est.	Work Est.
Powerlessness	.58	.61	.06	.54	.57
Meaninglessness		.59	.17	.46	.81
Normlessness			.31	.48	.67
Cultural Estrangement				.08	.20
Social Estrangement					.71

* The number of cases is 256; the measure of association is Yule's Q. The values of chi square for all relationships for which Q exceeds .30 are significant at the .05 level

These inter-correlations are based on the single attitude operationalizations of each alienation type by Russel Middleton in his study "Alienation, Race and Education."¹⁴ In chapter three we encountered his operationalizations, and we noted that they were similar to Seeman's definitions. It appears that all these types of alienation, with the exception of cultural estrangement, are significant-

ly related.

J.L. Simmons also discovered a general pattern of inter-correlations among eight personal disturbance measures, and found that the variables commonly held to be facets of alienation, form something of a multi-dimensional syndrome.

	Power	Isolate	Despair	Mis.	Self	Diss	Uncertain
Norm.	.43	.33	.25	.20	.16	.33	.29
Power.		.53	.35	.30	.22	.35	.21
Isolate			.23	.36	.28	.37	.21
Despair				.35	.02	.10	.08
Misanthrop					.10	.19	.07
Lo Self						.42	.30
Life Diss.							.35

The Scales: Normlessness, Powerlessness, Social Isolation (Dean)
 Despair (Srole)
 Misanthropy (Rosenberg)
 Low self esteem, life dissatisfaction, attitude uncertainty
 (Simmons)

* With an N of 391, an r greater than .10 is significant at the .05 level and an r of greater than .13 is significant at the .01 level

Examination of the table reveals that all 28 correlations are in the predicted direction, and that 23 of them are significant at the .01 level. Simmons concluded that the pervasive interrelationships suggest that alienation is a general syndrome.

How can we explain this empirical overlap between the various operationalizations of alienation and its sub-types? A plausible explanation might be that these different operationalizations are all measuring the same underlying factor. The state of research in this line is such that many more factor analyses will have to be done to confirm this explanation.

Simmons also examined another possible explanation:

A possible alternative explanation of the correlations is that the empirical measures of the variables are contaminated by each other. The content of the specific questions may be so similar that the scales are distinct in name only. 16

However, Simmons carefully examined the scale items and found that even scales having dissimilar content had at least moderate correlations. "For example, the misanthropy and the social isolation scales differ markedly in content yet show an r of .36." ¹⁷

Let us now offer another plausible explanation of these correlations by introducing another aspect of our new theoretical model. By viewing these variables not as variants or definitions of alienation per se, but as stages in a process of alienation, the varied measures' correlations make sense theoretically. For example, we have argued above that normlessness, dissatisfaction and isolation are different variants of alienation. However, the confusion regarding the definitions will be cleared and the interconnections explained if we view these not as variants but as different stages of the same process. "Normlessness at the social level is conceived as a source of alienation, dissatisfaction is conceived as alienation proper, and isolation is conceived as a consequence of alienation." ¹⁸

Once we have further introduced this model, we will show how the many varied definitions of the variants can be synthesized into the three stages of the process of alienation. Since these fit so well into the stages, we would expect them to be correlated, either because they are in the same stage, or related to the next one. This plausible explanation will be empirically tested in our research design when we will investigate correlations amongst the varied alienation types, now placed as facets of the alienation process stages.

Second Stage: Alienation as a mode of Experience

It is this essential aspect of the process of alienation, being the root of alienation as an attitudinal tendency for an individual, that can be regarded as the real definition of the concept.

Alienation is then a process encounter between reality and utopia in which the individual perceives a separation from the ideal. We have already shown how this definition synthesizes the writings of social theorists.

There must be a perception of a gap between the actual world in which we live and the utopian one to which we aspire, and as a result of this perception, the process moves to the alienation proper stage. The attitudinal properties of this stage have been defined by Barakat as an experiencing dissatisfaction and rejection of the objectives, values, norms, activities of the system. "Such relatively enduring dissatisfaction and rejection represent the basic melody and the leitmotiv in the symphony of alienation." ¹⁹

This second alienation stage, an experience of dissatisfaction, and rejection that is rooted in the discrepancy between reality and utopia, also results in a series of manifestations. Alienation proper manifests itself "in one or a combination of feelings of anxiety, despair, anger, loneliness, emptiness, purposelessness, loss of identity, resentment, disgust, sadness, discontent, which strike modern man at the core. These are manifestations rather than variants of alienation." ²⁰

Third Stage: Behavioural Consequences of Alienation

As man perceives a gap between reality and utopia, this motivates him to do something about it. This doing, moves the process to its final stage, the behavioural consequences of alienation, or what is done about the confronting gap:

Feelings of alienation resulting from the disparity between reality and utopia may be reflected in certain behavioural activities which could be conceptualized on a retreatism-involvement continuum. An alienated person either retreats from, compiles with, or acts upon the social system from which he is alienated hoping to narrow the gap between the real and utopian worlds. 21

A. The Retreaters

The retreaters are the alienated people who run away from their alienation. This may be achieved by seeking immediate gratifications, or by escaping from worries and problems by driving aimlessly, watching television and filling time with superficial things which leads to what Karen Horney calls "shallow living." Another way of retreating is through isolation, withdrawing from all involvements and commitments. To others, suicide provides the only exit. Another retreatist consequence is apathy and indifference.

B. The Activists

The activists are quite the opposite of the retreaters. They, instead of running away, engage in activities to change the system and thus remove their alienation."These activists can be sublimators or revengers. The former group attempt to transcend their alienation and change the world for the better through creativity, love, hope, knowledge, wisdom and courage. They invent ways, ideas, and means to save themselves and others from despair. The revengers, on the other hand, engage in activities aimed at destroying the system rather than improving it." 22

C. The Compliers

The compliers comply publicly rather than privately with the demands of the system as they fit into the system and engage in activities that promote its concerns.."values and objectives without being able to internalize them. These the author would like to hypothesize are likely to be pragmatic, practical status seekers." 23

In conclusion, this then is the theoretical perspective that we will operationalize to further test its use and see whether or not the escape hypothesis regarding television watching stands up in light of empirical facts.

Synthesis Of Modern Usages

Let us now specifically elaborate how this new model synthesizes the writings of modern empirical sociologists into a concise framework. We have already mentioned that this new definition synthesizes all the theories of Hegel, Durkheim, Marx and Fromm. They all have discrepancy theories. They all saw alienation as a separation of what is and what ought to be. The notion that alienation is a process synthesizes all the modern definitions into the stages of the process and thus, in the end, clarifying the confusion of its multi-definition. For now, all the definitions presented in chapter three will be regarded not as definitions of alienation per se, but as stages of the process of alienation.

At the first stage, the source of alienation, we can fit Blauner's lack of control definition and Levin's definition of meaninglessness, i.e. a lack of choice. Both are states of overcontrol in the social and normative structures respectively. Dean's second subtype of normlessness, conflict of norms, is also a source—a state of undercontrol in the normative structure.

Powerlessness, in the objective structural sense is also a source of alienation. However, Seeman's expectancy definition would be placed under the second stage of the process, as a manifestation. Thus, Thompson and Horton's view is congruent with our model as they view powerlessness giving rise to alienation. They regarded it also as a source. They parallel our theory even more when they say that before alienation can occur, powerlessness has to be regarded in some sense illegitimate. This exemplifies our stressing the need for a perception of a discrepancy between reality (how much power he has) and utopia (how much power he believes he should have). The resultant feeling of

wrongness would be a manifestation of this process of alienation.

Clark then also fits into this discrepancy as he maintains that:

"A measure of alienation must be a measure of the discrepancy between the power a man has and what he believes he should have."²⁴

Normlessness, anomie are also structural sources. But Seeman and other modern empiricists' metamorphosing of these concepts to a psychological level would place these definitions into the manifestations aspect of our model. Other definitions that can be placed into the second stage of manifestations are Dean's purposelessness category, Seeman's meaninglessness variant, Mclosky and Schaar's feeling of loneliness and Hajda's feeling of uneasiness. Srole's anomia scale, which others say measures despair, can also be regarded as part of the manifestations stage. Mclosky and Schaar's anomy, a feeling of moral emptiness would be another one. Four of the five aspects of Anthony Davids personality syndrome of alienation: anxiety, pessimism, resentment, and distrust are also manifestations of alienation.

Alienation proper, defined as feelings of dissatisfaction and rejection is also the second stage of this process. Several of the writers presented in chapter three focused on this stage in their writings. Thus, Aiken and Haige's definition of alienation as being dissatisfaction in social relations and jobs is really a definition of the alienation proper stage, not alienation itself. Nettler's definition of the alienated as unfriendly to society -having rejected their culture, can also be synthesized into this stage. So can Kenneth Keniston's similar notion of alienation being a generalized refusal, be fitted into this stage, as can Merton's definition of the true aliens.

Now, at our final stage, the consequences of alienation, we can fit McDill and Ridely's definition of apathy. Dean's social

isolation component is another consequence of the alienation process, as is Anthony David's egocentricity component.

Our second major theoretical purpose is now accomplished. We have derived a specific meaning of alienation, a definition that encompasses the social theorists. We have a new model of alienation that synthesizes the empirical writings which no longer confuse the definition but builds the various stages of the alienation process. Thus, through this major synthesis, we have overcome the problems surrounding this concept. The next major task is to operationalize this model for our research design. But let us now examine some literature that supports our new model even more.

Survey Of Supporting Literature

Mills also has a discrepancy theory definition of alienation. He views a social structure as being alienated when it is separated from its ideal state. "The state of alienation which Mills describes and analyzes concerns the discrepancy between certain democratic ideals and the possibilities which society offers for their realization." ²⁵

In his description of self-estrangement, Seeman questions what writers like Fromm, Mills and Hoffer are intending when they speak of self estrangement. He comes to the same realization that we postulated, that is, it is some ideal human condition from which the individual is estranged. "To be self-alienated, in the final analysis, means to be something less than one might ideally be if the circumstances in society were otherwise...to be alienated in this sense is to be aware of a discrepancy between one's ideal self and one's actual self." ²⁶

To Charles Reich, a state of alienation may be a positive

stage, for in his theories of consciousness, he believes that a new consciousness is a product of two interacting forces: the promise of life and threats to that promise. Thus a discrepancy between what could be and what is, alienation, leads to a new and heightened consciousness. This consequence would occur in our activists, whose perception leads them to think and do differently.

Empiricists have also used this discrepancy notion. Alphonso Lorenzo Sorhaindo, for example, studied the relationship between value-expectancy discrepancy and alienation in college students. "The general hypothesis was formulated that high discrepancies between values and expectancies for them are significantly related to alienation."²⁷ Sorhaindo found that high discrepancy subjects are significantly more alienated and conflicted about their alienation than low discrepancy subjects. This is congruent to what we have said earlier, i.e. the greater the gap, the greater the alienation.

Festinger has suggested that "if a person knows two things- for example, something about himself and something about the world in which he lives-which somehow do not fit together, we will speak of this as cognitive dissonance."²⁸ Dissonance prompts behaviour which attempts to reduce the dissonance. This theory can also be synthesized into our new model, as a perception of an ideal-real discrepancy would be a state of cognitive dissonance which then activates a mode of adaptation to reduce the dissonance-retreatism, compliance, and activism.

We have said that anxiety is a manifestation of the alienation process, comprising its second stage. We also mentioned that there needs to be a discrepancy perception before the process moves to this stage. This anxiety manifestation has been correlated to a discrepancy root

by Nelso Paul. In his article, "Anxiety: Discrepancy Between Need Value and Expectancy", he writes that he found a "linear relationship between anxiety and discrepancy between expectancy and need value in the academic area."²⁹

There have been several studies that appear to correlate certain behaviours with alienation. In our new model, these studies would be dealing with the consequences of the alienation process.³⁰

Conclusion

In this chapter we offered Barakat's model as a proposed solution to the many conceptual problems that we uncovered in alienation theories. Alienation defined as an encounter process between utopia and reality, a discrepancy (separation) between the Is and the Ought, became the specific definition that we proposed to clarify the meaning. We also showed that the empiricists were not defining alienation but its different stages. Into this new model we were able to synthesize all the social theorists and modern sociologists as well. We were able to find some literature supporting this new model.

The model has all the essential aspects that make it an excellent conceptual tool, apart from its clearing the confusions via synthesis, for it has notions of the structural sources as well as the attitudinal properties in the process. Thus, this model integrates an objective structural analysis with a subjective one. Various consequences of alienation are also proposed as the third stage.

It is this third stage to which our research design will focus upon, as we will try to determine whether television watching may be a retreatist consequence of alienation. The next chapter is an elaboration of this main purpose of study as we move to operationalize Barakat's model and propose our hypotheses.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER IV

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27. Sorhaindo. Dissertation Abstracts, 31 (1971), 4345.
28. Festinger, Leon. A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance. (Evanston: Row-Peterson, 1957)
29. Nelso, Paul. "Anxiety: Discrepancy Between Need Value and Expectancy," Psychological Reports, 28 (No.2), p. 663.
30. Eileen Harris in an article entitled, "A Measurement of Alienation in College Student Marihuana Users and Non-Users" concluded that marihuana users are much more alienated than non users. This conclusion was also supported by the fact that marihuana usage has increased among college students, but so have alienation scores, states Harris, as she compared scores between the ten year span from 1959 to 1969. This to us indicates that drug taking is a consequence of alienation, one that can be categorized as a retreatist one. The activism counterpart also has been correlated with alienation. See Watts, "Alienation and Activism," JCP, 16 (No.1), 1-7.
31. **We must remeber that the television problem is only one purpose of the empirical study. Our thesis became more than an empirical investigation of this problem. Another major purpose of the research is the testing of the whole new theoretical model. It has an exploratory purpose of investigating patterns of relations within, between the model's stages as well.**

CHAPTER V
THE RESEARCH DESIGN

Research Design Alternatives

In the course of conducting research, the social scientist must choose one of the several design alternatives that are available. Stephen Isaac and William B. Michael in their book, Handbook in Research and Evaluation mention eight possibilities.¹ The choice amongst one of these alternatives depends upon the purposes of the particular study to be undertaken and the nature of the specific problem to be investigated. By these two criteria, we were able to eliminate all the designs except for the causal and correlational. Further examination of our variables led us to see the impossibility of determining the independent variable as opposed to the dependent one in our model. This is due to our very important underlying assumption with regard to our model, i.e. that the relationships between the different stages are not uni-directional but are viewed as being multi-directional, circular and interactional. Let us now demonstrate this proposition with a concrete example. Social isolation and excessive television watching may be an effect of alienation, but maybe alienation is a consequence of isolation and excessive television watching. Isolation causes an increase in television watching due to a need for vicarious personal interactions, but on the other hand, television watching may increase social isolation. Thus, because of this dialectical interplay between variables, it is impossible to determine cause and effect, merely association.

A second reason for our disregarding the causal design lay

in our inability to meet the defined prerequisites of this type of inquiry, i.e. that a relationship is sequential:

The logic of causal inquiry is fairly simple. An event Y is said to have a causal condition X if X is always present when Y is present, and always absent when Y is absent, and, furthermore, if the cause X always precedes the effect in time. 2

And we could not, in this limited study, conclusively say that alienation preceded excessive television watching.

The most suitable alternative became a correlational design to demonstrate association and say nothing about cause and effect. This design is appropriate where variables are such that they do not lend themselves to the controlled manipulation of the experimental method as it permits measurement of several variables and their interrelationships simultaneously, even getting at the degree of relationship. A.N. Oppenheim calls this design the analytic relational survey, "set up specifically to explore the relationships between particular variables. It is less oriented toward representativeness and more toward finding associations and explanations...to explore specific hypotheses." 3

The Problem Area And Purpose Of The Study

Having mentioned our research design we now will explain the problem area to which the design will be applied, mentioning the problem situation and a general purpose of the study.

The area of concern that we will focus on is excessive television watching and the reasons for this delinquent behaviour. Many critics have hypothesized that television in our society functions as an opiate, as an escape mechanism from the feelings of alienation that they experience in their everyday lives. This theory however has grave implications if it can be substantiated, for other theorists have also

written that television increases man's alienation. This then would merely reinforce the original malaise from which they were attempting to escape from in the beginning. Because of these implications, we felt a need to try to substantiate the first postulate, i.e. that excessive television watching is an indication of people who are escaping from high feelings of alienation.

We encountered a basic difficulty with the construct of alienation, its multi definitions and varied meanings on what it is, what causes it and what the effects of it are. These problems had to be overcome before we could use this concept in our television study. This was the purpose of the first theoretical half of the thesis.

The purpose of this empirical study is twofold. First, we have proposed a model that we think clears the confusions and difficulties that surround alienation. This study then will provide an empirical test of the new theoretical framework, examining its practicality and workability in research.

The second purpose of this study is to examine the relationship between alienation and television viewing. This then is the general hypothesis of our research design: "People are deprived and alienated, and so they turn to the dreamlike world of the mass media for substitute gratifications." ⁴

Survey Of The Literature Relating To The General Hypothesis

One of the historical antecedents of modern empirical studies that have tried to confirm that alienation tends to drive people to seek refuge in the mass media is in the writings of Sigmund Freud and his basic pleasure principle. According to Freud, humans have a fundamental need for pleasure but society imposes severe limitations on the

unrestricted pleasure giving expression of basic psychological urges. This repression results in psychic pains for the individual, pains that he tries to alleviate by various mechanisms that involve some form of fantasying. Art, fiction, and drama are social mechanisms that can be used to relieve the pains of repression and offer psychic pleasure to the individual through such psychological mechanisms as objectification, catharsis, disguise and symbolism:

Since objectification necessarily involves the projection of our problems upon others- the fictional character- and thus enables us to disown unwelcome impulses and concerns, it also contributes to the achievement of another goal, the minimization of anxiety. 5

Thus the language of fiction, mass media, helps minimize anxiety through the process of objectification:

A perfectly satisfied person, Freud declares would not daydream. Nor would a perfectly satisfied person feel any need to read stories. We read because we are beset by anxieties, guilt feelings and ungratified needs. The reading of fiction permits us, in direct fashion, to satisfy those needs, relieve our anxieties and assuage our guilt. It transports us to a realm more comprehensible and coherent, more passionate and more plastic, and at the same time more compatible with our ideals than the world of our daily routine, thus providing a kind of experience which is qualitatively superior to that which we can ordinarily obtain from life. 6

This Freudian analysis of fiction gave impetus to modern studies that concerned themselves with the mass media and the escape function that it is supposedly serving.

H. Mendelsohn in an article entitled "Socio-Psychological Perspectives on Mass Media and Public Anxiety", defended mass media entertainment on the grounds that it controls and reduces anxiety. "Radio functions as a diverting companion and it helps to fill voids that are created by routine and boring tasks and feelings of social isolation and loneliness." ⁷ Thus, another function that he found is the vicarious and identificatory participation with the media. Talk shows for example, "by attending to the adventures of these individuals

qua individuals, the listener enjoys a feeling of participation and is reassured...On television the old Jack Paar show and its receptivity by audiences epitomized this dynamic." ⁸ Let us remind the reader that in our new theoretical perspective, anxiety and feelings of loneliness are two of the many manifestations of alienation, and thus this study supports the view that the mass media are used to soothe alienation. Also, let us note the similarity of his discussion of talk shows with the previously mentioned process of objectification.

William Hazard in his study, "Anxiety and Preference for Television Use of Fantasy", also found data which supports the hypothesis that high anxiety leads to the choice of fantasy as television fare, and low cultural participation. We can also fit this study into our theoretical framework in which high anxiety is regarded as a manifestation of alienation. We also mentioned at the retreatist consequence stage, isolation and shallow living. Into this stage we can place the low cultural participation (isolation) and fantasy television viewing (shallow living) that Hazard found with a high anxiety level. Hazard also found that persons of low position socially, tend to be more likely than others to seek out fantasy programs. Low social position also correlated with a low level of cultural activity. This finding regarding social position can be interpreted by our new model as the source of alienation, i.e. low status, which leads to the second stage manifestation of anxiety and finally to the consequence stage of the process-fantasy and isolation. Hazard concluded by saying that it seems as though escape viewing in fantasy content is a functional alternative to cultural participation. ⁹

Leslie Sargent in a publication called "Alienation and Mass Media Use" states that recent studies have suggested that the same kind of relationship exists between alienation and media use that earlier studies found between poverty and media use. In general, the pattern is one of less use of news media by the poor and the alienated and the greater use of media for escape purposes by the poor and the alienated. This tends to mean that the poor and the alienated use the newspaper less and the radio and television more than the average man. From this study, however, we must not assume that poor people watch television because they have no other resources for, "If a person whose income is under \$3000 has other leisure interests, owns other pieces of leisure equipment, or is a heavy newspaper reader, he is more likely to be a heavy TV viewer, not less likely." ¹⁰

Sargent found that the poor and alienated watch television because television serves their fantasy needs, which work to alleviate their alienation.

Pearlin, in his study of "Social and Personal Stresses and Escape Viewing", maintained that television is used as a mechanism for coping with stress. "It was expected that those who experienced relatively lasting and intense states of stress would more typically look at television as a means of escape to get away from their troubles." ¹¹ And this hypothesis was confirmed in his report. Television is thus functional in the sense that it provides a safety valve by diverting the audience from the stress under which they live. However, Pearlin ended on a note of condemnation, for "when such escape mechanisms are habitually and exclusively used in place of more lasting adjustments, they then begin to assume dysfunctional proportions." ¹² Stress, like anxiety is also a manifestation of alienation in our new model. Thus this study supports our

general hypothesis. Many other empirical works support our hypothesis, and several of them can be fitted into our new framework. ¹³

Conclusion

We can now conclude from this small survey of related studies to our design regarding mass media usage that:

The amount of agreement reached amongst different investigators is very striking, particularly on the nature and distribution of the gratifications involved; the provision of escape or release from anxiety, loneliness, tension, personal troubles, usually into a fantasy world, often by the mechanism of identification with hero. ¹⁴

Television is seen to be a mode of adaptation for alienated living, an avenue of escape that does not involve risks as other so called escape mechanisms, alcohol and drugs. A brief survey of the literature has given us some support to our general hypothesis. We reinterpreted several of the studies to fit into our alienation model. Anxiety for example was treated as a manifestation of alienation. These reinterpretations substantiated that alienation and either excessive television watching, or programs being fantasy, are positively associated.

Counterarguments

Almost every hypothesis has to have conflicting sides, and this one regarding television and alienation, is no exception as a few articles have been written to denounce this relationship. H. Mendelsohn in his book Mass Entertainment listed several arguments to attack the escape-hypothesis.

In Mendelsohn's eyes, entertainment is for the achievement of the good life and not for the escape from the oppression, deprivation,

and pains of toil. For proof, he cites that we are living free from excessive physical labour, having a short week and "thus it appears that the proliferation of mass entertainment is associated with economic abundance rather than with economic deprivation and grinding physical toil."¹⁵ But, can there not be oppression and repression in abundance, such as mental and psychic tensions?

Mendelsohn then mentions that the lower class watch as much television as the upper class, and if television is an escape mechanism, he would expect that the watching of the oppressors should be different from the ways of the oppressed. However, we criticize this point as well, for the oppressors can be just as alienated in this system as the oppressed. Marx even spoke of bourgeoisie alienation, an alienation that he believed can be just as powerful as the proletariat alienation.

To Mendelsohn, the pursuit of mass entertainment is definitely for relaxation and not for escape. He then uses Steiner who found that 42% of the subjects in his national survey cited viewing television as a perfect way to relax, to support him. However, Steiner in his list that asked audience response to the media, did not include the word "escape". Besides, might not an escape mechanism be also relaxing? Since it makes viewers feel relaxed, peaceful and content, then television is an attractive escape mechanism to use.

Mendelsohn further writes, "large masses of Americans use mass media entertainment for social emulation purposes."¹⁶ Using reference group theory, he maintains that television functions as a means of emulating the upper class, and also as a means to learn the knowledge that may actually ease membership into reference groups. But this does not explain why some individuals need fantasy programs.

Besides, do not the upper classes frown on this type of television content? Secondly, this does not explain why certain individuals watch excessive amounts. Whom are they emulating?

Finally, Mendelsohn proposes that persons watch not to escape but to seek cues from the mass media that may enable them to reconcile the stresses they are experiencing. We can not deny this possibility, but we wonder if a person could find anything on television that would remove his alienation in the real world. However, this last point has also been stressed by Leo Lowenthal in his sociological analysis of literature in our society. He also believes that literature is not used for escape but morely for information:

The reader is looking for prescriptions for inner manipulation, an abridged and understandable psychoanalytical cure, as it were, which permit him by way of identification and imitation to grope his way out of his bewilderment. 17

Lowenthal believes that escape involves an attitude of self reliance and is much more likely to be found in times of individual stability than in our present period "characterized by ego weakness needing alien crutches for survival" ¹⁸ We can not find any grounds to reject this counterargument, and thus if we will find that highly alienated people do not watch television for escapist reasons, we will have another theoretical assumption ready for an explanation, i.e. that the highly alienated are using the media for information, cues by which they can remove their stress, and not for escape.

Another counterargument to our general hypothesis lies in the theoretical perspective of Nettler's definition of alienation. To Nettler, an alienated person is one who has been estranged from, and made unfriendly toward his society and culture, therefore has rejected the values of that culture. However, in North America, mass culture is the norm. Thus an alienated person would then reject it.

"There is a vocal disdain of American mass culture. Automobiles, TV, radio and the press, popular magazines, advertising, and national spectator sports are disliked."¹⁹ The scale that Nettler proposes to be a measure of the dimension of estrangement from society, operationalizes alienated criticism of American mass culture by such items as: "Do you read Reader's Digest? Do you enjoy TV?"²⁰ If the alienated do have this aversion to television, they then will not use it as an escape mechanism.

Is television watching conforming to cultural values? Geiger and Sakal believe that television watching is a rejection of middle class norms since "television clashes with the traditional commitment of middle class Americans to activity, sociability, and productive goal oriented concerns."²¹ Using this perspective we can criticize Nettler by saying that watching fantasy programs and excessive amounts are not the middle class norms but a rejection of them.

We are now ready to begin the construction of our research design. Our first step will be to lay out the model to be used. This model then will have to be operationalized, and we will describe the related questionnaire. Thirdly, we will deal with our sample. The last step will be the generation of hypotheses that will be tested once the data has been collected.

Model To Be Used

The model that we will be using is the one that we introduced in chapter four. This new model was offered to solve the many definitional problems that confused alienation theory. Alienation is now regarded as a process moving through three stages, instead of being a set of variants.

Alienation As A Process

SOURCES

Social Structure:

Normative Structure:

- A. States of Overcontrol
1. Powerlessness
 2. Depersonalized relations

- A. States of Overcontrol
1. Conformity
 2. Structuredness and simplification

- B. States of Undercontrol
1. Disintegration of interpersonal relations
 2. Tantalusian condition

- B. States of Undercontrol
1. Normlessness
 2. Permissiveness
 3. Change and discontinuity
 4. Means-goals dissociation

ALIENATION PROPER

1. Feelings of dissatisfaction with and rejection of the dominant concerns, objectives, values, activities of the system.

2. Manifestations: anxiety, despair, emptiness, anger, purposelessness, sadness, etc.

CONSEQUENCES

Retreatism

Compliance

Active Involvement

1. Isolation
2. Suicide
3. Shallow Living

1. Opposition and Rebellion
2. Creativity

The process begins at the level of the objective social and normative structures. However, a subjective study is also necessary, which then leads us to examine the second stage, defined as alienation proper—the attitudinal properties of individuals. But before the process can reach this stage, there has to be for the individual a perception of a discrepancy between reality and utopia, (Is-Ought). And it is this very important aspect of our model that is used as a definition of alienation. Alienation is now defined as a separation between the is and the ought. This new definition synthesizes the writings of the historical predecessors and their so thought varied writings and meanings of alienation. The attitude of alienation, rejection and dissatisfaction, also result in several manifestations such as despair and anxiety. Alienation in this second stage is a mode of experience.

Feelings of alienation resulting from the separation between the Is and the Ought, may be reflected in certain behavioural activities. These are the consequences: the alienated person either retreats from, complies with or acts upon the social system to narrow the gap between the real and utopian worlds.

We must also remember that these are not necessarily unidirectional relationships but we conceive these stages to be multidirectional, dialectical or what Zetterberg calls a reversible relation. This then forces us to have a correlational research design, set up to investigate the relationships of these variables, and speaking only of association and saying nothing about cause and effect.

Operationalization: The Related Questionnaire

This theoretical model was operationalized into specific scales onto a questionnaire. We now briefly mention the scales used

for this purpose, as we promise further elaboration in the following chapter, which deals specifically with the development of our research instrument. Each stage of the process of alienation has been operationalized.

I. The Source Stage

In this study, we have chosen the educational system as our orientation for the sources of alienation. We believe that the structural and normative features of the educational system play a part in the beginning the process. To tap this, we will in our study use two varying social systems of education, on a traditional-modern continuum. One source measure will tap the amount of discrepancy students perceive in their educational system. One discrepancy scale is with regard to an ideal-real separation. A second scale, which we call the School-Success Discrepancy Scale, measures a discrepancy between the ideology of education and success, and the students' perception of it really being so.

II. The Alienation Proper Stage

This stage was operationalized by five attitude scales. The attitudes of rejection and dissatisfaction were operationalized into a General Rejection Scale measuring the rejection of cultural values, and a system specific Dissatisfaction Scale to measure the satisfaction of being a student. To strengthen these measures, we have also included three scales to tap three of the manifestations: the Srole scale for despair, the Mclosky scale for moral emptiness, and an anxiety measure. These scales then will be combined to give us composite indexes: an alienation proper index, a manifestation index and finally a composite index of alienation:

The actual independent variables that he has measured are simpler. Consequently, he then pools information from several of those variables and forms an index which represents the more complex and synthetic configuration whose explanatory power he then examines. 22

III. The Consequences Stage

Television, of course, is the major concern of this study. It is viewed as a retreatist consequence. Several measures were developed to get at this retreatism aspect. First, there is a measure of the amount of hours watched per week. Secondly, we developed a TV-Escape Scale as an attempt to tap why the individual watches. We believe that excessive hours by itself is not an indication of escape, for the person might be using it for other reasons such as accumulating information to guide his behaviour. We also asked which media is most important to the respondent and then asked him why. Fourthly, we asked his favorite television shows to see the content favored. Finally we asked him which medium is to him used for information.

Social isolation is also considered to be a retreatist consequence, and thus we included Dean's scale as a measure of this. The compliance consequence was operationalized by asking the student how much homework he spends after school, and also his grade point average. The third mode of adaptation in our final stage is activism. This was further categorized into positive activism, attempting to change the world or self, and into negative activism or rebellion. The first sub-category was operationalized by questioning whether the individual does anything to change a situation for the better. The rebellionists were measured by three questions Stinchcombe developed.

In our theoretical discussion on alienation we mentioned that subsystems may buffer the need to watch television. To tap these subsystems we asked the respondents what they do in their leisure time.

The Sample

Altogether three hundred and seventy six questionnaires were distributed to our sample in the three Hamilton, Ontario high schools of Westdale, Westmount and Lord Elgin. Westdale Secondary high school is located in the west end of Hamilton. It is one of the original high schools of the city, now approximately forty three years old. As a result the physical structure of the school is not very lavish. The grey corridors inside are poorly lit for example. From the outside, the school looks like a medieval prison. The vice-principal of the school, who had helped us in getting inside, described the teachers and their methods as being very traditional. We then administered approximately sixty questionnaires to grade ten students and sixty to grade twelve students during their class periods. To increase our sample for the traditional school structure, we also approached Westmount Secondary School, a school that is located on the west end of the mountain in Hamilton. This school is newer than Westdale, but still considered not to be a radical or progressive school in its teaching methods. Here we gave out a total of eighty questionnaires, again divided between grade tens and twelves.

Lord Elgin High School was used as our second variant in school structure. It is a brand new school that is experimenting with progressive ideas. Physically, it is a very beautiful school. For example, art is displayed in the school's foyers. The school is constructed on an open classroom concept. There are no separate classrooms but one large area that has partitioned spaces with a few desks and chairs that are not in single files but grouped in a circle. Teachers do not often give formal lectures but instead focus more on

individual instruction. Small group discussions and independent studies by the students are the major means of instruction. Students do not have to write formal exams. The school is based on a three semester system. The administrators believe that this scheduling allows a concentration in four or five subjects at one time rather than a more diluted approach to seven or eight. It has the advantages of emphasis and sustained interest over the semesters, and through contributing to flexibility in scheduling, affords greater variety in course offerings. Of great importance also is the fact that students may accelerate their accumulation of credits, graduate earlier and then work, travel, seek early admission to higher learning, or become assistants in the schools. This last point is very interesting, in that older students of the school are allowed to teach subjects to earlier grades, thus combine the roles of student and teacher into one.

The subjects that are available to the students are also very modern and up to date. Many of these courses relate to the outside world and the everyday lives of the students. There is for example, a literature course called "Youth to Maturity" which focuses upon the concerns of young people in both times past and present. Here are just some of the areas that are touched on: the generation gap, young love, alienation, education, childhood recollections, drugs, alcohol and other social problems related to the psychological and mental disturbance of young people. Other relevant courses are future studies, a course on pop poetry from the blues to acid rock and a sex roles course.

Other courses are available that create many opportunities for the students to develop their creativities. In the field of art,

sculpture, ceramics, printmaking and individual studio projects are available. The school's play productions allow students to participate in the following roles: director, stage manager, actor, make up designer, lighting and sound technician. Subjects on film and television arts allow the students to practice what they learned by producing short 8mm. films. They also have for credit an outdoor education course which is an immersion study of such outdoor activities as campcraft, canoeing, hiking, first aid techniques, culminating in an extended camping trip to Algonquin Park. Thus, all in all, this school appeared to be more modern, progressive than the schools of Westdale and Westmount. Two hundred questionnaires were given to the students of Lord Elgin. One hundred were filled out by grade twelves, and because grade tens were not available, another hundred were given to grade nine students.

We must now note that all the findings of our study will be merely suggestive as sample biases have made generalizations from this specific sample impossible. First, the sample is not representative of the non-student population. Secondly, since not all the students of a school were included, the sample is then unrepresentative of students as a whole. Thirdly, the method of stratified random sampling was not done in this study as we accepted happily the students given to us by the principals. Thus, although we did classify the data according to each respondent's sex, grade and socioeconomic status, we did not ensure that each category was proportionally represented in the sample. However, in spite of these limitations, we can still accomplish our research aims, for we believe in the position that Hans Zetterberg takes with regard to sampling: "Representativeness of sample is not crucial when the research concerns relationships

between variables." 23

The Hypotheses

The final step in the construction of our research design is the generation of hypotheses from our theoretical framework for the purpose of being tested by the data accumulated from the questionnaires.

We have included four situational variables in our study: socioeconomic status, school structure, sex and grade. Our dependent variable is the process of alienation and its three stages. Let us now set up the hypotheses needed to examine the relationships between all our variables for the dual purpose of determining if the new theoretical model and its operationalizations are working and secondly to test the relationship specifically with regard to television and alienation:

First, we will begin by stating the general hypotheses, what Zetterberg refers to as being theoretical propositions. These general hypotheses do not make any reference to either time nor space and proper names. As defined by the Dictionary of Philosophy a hypothesis is a provisional assumption about the ground of certain phenomena, used as a guiding norm in making observations and experiments until verified or disproved by subsequent evidence. Our provisional assumptions will be derived mainly from our new theoretical framework and model, but also from other research results and previous theories. The general hypotheses will serve as our guides for analysis as it will be from them that we will extract specific ordinary propositions. These ordinary propositions will list the presupposed empirical relations expected from the general hypothesis, relating certain variates to each other. Through empirical investigation, the relation-

ships actually obtained will determine whether our presupposed relationships derived from our general hypothesis will survive the research test or whether alternative interpretations will be deemed necessary to explain the results.

General Hypothesis 1

If, at the social and normative structures, such states of overcontrol as high demands for conformity begin the process of alienation (i.e. are the source), we then can generally hypothesize that the higher the state of overcontrol, the greater the alienation. Secondly, if a traditional type of school structure generates a higher state of overcontrol than a progressive school, we then can hypothesize that the more traditional the school, the greater the alienation. Now, from these general hypotheses we can derive several ordinary propositions.

Ordinary Propositions

- 1a. We expect that the students of Lord Elgin will have lower discrepancies between reality-utopia than students from Westmount and Westdale.
- 1b. We expect an inverse relationship between modernism of school structure and alienation. That is, we expect Lord Elgin, the most progressive school, to have the lowest alienation.

General Hypothesis 2

Included in our new theoretical model is another source of alienation, the Mertonian notion of a dissociation between means and ends. This is now regarded as a state of undercontrol in the normative structure. From this theory we can generally hypothesize that the greater the means-goals disjunction, the greater the alienation. Secondly, if social class represents certain opportunities or means available to achieve certain goals, then the lower the social class, the lower the available means.

Ordinary Proposition

- 2a. We expect an inverse relationship between socioeconomic status, as measured by Pineo's operationalization, and alienation as measured by our alienation composite index. That is, we expect persons with lower status to be more alienated than persons with higher status.

General Hypothesis 3

From such previous writings as those of Stinchcombe, we have the general hypothesis that the most rebellious amongst both girls and boys are those students who tend to perceive a poor connection between current academic activity and future status. This however can be explained into our new model. Rebellion is one of the consequences of alienation. Thus now we can hypothesize that the higher the perception of a poor connection between school and future status, the higher the alienation. This perception is of course a perception of another discrepancy between reality-utopia. Schooling ought to assure students well paid jobs and high status. This is the whole ideology of the educational system. A perception of reality, i.e. that schooling does not result in this utopia leads to alienation and the rebellious consequence.

Ordinary Proposition

- 3a. Within any high school population, the higher the perception of a discrepancy between school and success, the higher the alienation.

And if girls are not worried about their future job status because their main orientation is finding a husband and not a career, then we can further postulate another two ordinary propositions:

- 3b. We expect girls to have lower school-success discrepancies than boys.
3c. We expect boys to be more alienated than girls.

General Hypothesis 4

From our model we can derive the general hypothesis which states that there must be a perception of a discrepancy between the Is and the Ought before the process of alienation can move to the second stage, the attitudes of rejection and dissatisfaction.

Ordinary Proposition

- 4a. We expect a positive relationship between a discrepancy perception between what an ideal school ought to be and what it is, and the attitudes of school dissatisfaction and general rejection.

General Hypothesis 5

Since in our model the attitudes of rejection and dissatisfaction comprise the alienation proper stage of the process, they should be interconnected. This was our assumption regarding the correlations found among varied alienation types. But we have two different attitudes, one that is specific to a social system, and another one that is general to the societal and cultural values. It is also impossible to determine direction, i.e. which attitude leads to which. Thus we need to generate two general hypotheses regarding these two attitudes. First, we can hypothesize that general rejection of societal values leads to the dissatisfaction of a specific social system, which, since is part of the whole, also incorporates the rejected values. Secondly, we may hypothesize that dissatisfaction with a specific social system leads finally to total disillusionment with everything and thus to a general rejection of society's values.

Ordinary Proposition

- 5a. We expect a positive relationship between the general rejection of social values and dissatisfaction with school.

General Hypothesis 6

Our theoretical model also has the general hypothesis which states that the second stage of the process of alienation includes the manifestations of despair, moral emptiness and anxiety.

Ordinary Propositions

- 6a. We expect a positive relationship between despair, anxiety and moral emptiness.
- 6b. We expect a positive relationship between the alienation proper attitudes of rejection and dissatisfaction; and the manifestations of despair moral emptiness and anxiety.

General Hypothesis 7

We have hypothesized that the second stage attitudes lead individuals to certain behaviours in an attempt to cope with their feelings. The modes of adaption from alienation proper were hypothesized to be retreatism, compliance and rebellion. If these modes are separate and unchanging, then:

Ordinary Propositions

- 7a. We expect a positive relationship between social isolation and alienation especially when the other consequences are controlled.
- 7b. We expect a positive relationship between rebellion and alienation, especially when the other alternatives are controlled.
- 7c. We expect a positive relationship between compliance and alienation, especially when the other two modes are controlled.
- 7d. We expect a negative relationship between retreatism and rebellion.
- 7e. We expect a negative relationship between compliance and rebellion.
- 7f. We expect a negative relationship between retreatism as expressed in the isolation measure and compliance.

General Hypothesis 8

We mentioned several studies that have correlated mass media use with the socially isolated. Many studies have shown for example that the old use the television set as a friend and companion. From these previous studies we can hypothesize that the isolated utilize the television more than the non-isolated. This can also be explained into our new theoretical model which perceives isolation and the "shallow living" through television as both being retreatist consequences in the process of alienation.

Ordinary Propositions

- 8a. We expect that the more television one watches, the greater his isolation.
- 8b. We expect a positive relationship between social isolation and escapist reasons for watching television.

General Hypothesis 9

This is the crucial hypothesis, the main one that led us to do this study as we decided to see if the many polemic theories that link the social theory of alienation with the mass communication's "escape-function" theory, would hold after an empirical investigation. Thus, our general hypothesis is that the alienated use television as an escape mechanism from their malaise.

Ordinary Propositions

- 9a. We expect a positive relationship between alienation and escapist reasons for watching television.
- 9b. We expect a positive relationship between amount of hours watched and escapist reasons for watching.
- 9c. We expect a positive relationship between alienation and amount of hours watched, controlling for other variables that may affect viewing time, such as social class, grade, or sex.

Social class may be an independent variable that affects

television watching. Schramm has hypothesized that working class people have fantasy seeking norms which are met by the television fare of entertainment. From this hypothesis we would expect:

- 9d. Lower class people watch more television.
- 9e. The lower the social class, the more non-print is the most important of the medias presented to them.

Grade may also be an independent variable affecting the norms regulating television behaviour. We have two general hypotheses, both of which predicts that younger students would utilize this medium more.

- 9f. We expect that students in earlier grades will watch more television.

This proposition may be based on the general hypothesis that younger students have a limited opportunity to do anything else in their leisure time. If television watching is primarily related to limited opportunities then:

- 9g. For the younger grades, we would expect no relationship between escapist reasons for watching, and grade.

Another plausible hypothesis is that older students have found that television does not relieve alienation, while younger students may not have as yet found this out. Then:

- 9h. For the younger grades we would expect more of a relationship between escape reasons for watching and grade than for the older grades.

General Hypothesis 10

We have hypothesized that television watching is a retreatist consequence in the process of alienation.

Ordinary Propositions

- 10a. We expect an inverse relationship between compliance and television watching hours. Thus we expect a negative relation between amount of hours watched and school grades plus amount of homework done after class.

10b. We expect an inverse relationship between television watching and rebellion.

General Hypothesis 11

We will finally hypothesize that Gemeinschaft systems are intervening variables, buffering the consequence stage of the alienation process. Thus, the primary group, or peer group, if warm and communicative will buffer the need to escape via television.

Ordinary Proposition

11a. We expect the positive relationship between alienation watching television to be accentuated once intervening variables, sub-system buffers, such as listing friends as first choice on leisure activities are controlled.

Conclusion

For our study, we decided to establish as our alternative, the correlational design, with the intent to study the relationships between variables. Specifically, the relationships that we wish to examine all relate to the purposes of the study. One of the purposes was to test the new alienation model. Thus expected relationships stemming from our model became a prime target of our hypotheses as we set up ordinary propositions regarding its every stage, from relationships to social structure to within stage relationships. The second major purpose was to critically test the general hypothesis that alienated persons use television and its substitutive gratifications as a mechanism of escape. Thus this relationship was also to be studied. From our problem area we were able to establish general hypotheses and ordinary propositions based on previous theory, research, and from our new theoretical model. These propositions are for the testing of the relationships that we have just mentioned.

Our next chapter deals with the development of our research

instrument in great detail. Also it describes the results of a pre-test and how certain changes were made to perfect the instrument before it was finally given out.

Chapter seven will then be an analysis of the results of the data collected and will test the hypotheses relating to our problem and purposes that we have generated in this chapter.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER V

1. These are the eight research design possibilities: a historical design in which the researcher reconstructs the past in relation to a hypothesis; a descriptive design which involves systematic descriptions of situations; a developmental design that examines patterns and sequences of growth, change over time; a case or field design by which sociologists study the backgrounds, current status and interactions of a social unit; a correlational design to examine which variations in one factor correspond with variations in another; a causal design to investigate causal relationships; an experimental design which involves a comparison of an experimental group with a control group; and finally a quasi-experimental design in which the researcher does not control all the relevant variables.
2. McCormick. Methods of Research. (New York: The Free Press, 1951), p. 31.
3. Oppenheim. Questionnaire Design and Attitude Measurement (New York: Basic Books, 1966), p. 9.
4. Katz. Public Opinion, 26, 377-388.
5. Lesser, S. Fiction and the Unconscious (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957), p. 132.
6. Ibid.
7. Dexter. People, Society and Mass Communications (New York: The Free Press, 1964), p. 244-45.
8. Ibid.
9. Hazard. "Anxiety and Preferences for Television Use of Fantasy," Journalism Quarterly, 45 (No. 2, 1968) 324-325.
10. Meyerson. Public Opinion Quarterly, 32 (No. 1, 1968), 102-112.
11. Pearlin. "Social and Personal Stress and Escape Viewing," Public Opinion Quarterly, 23, p. 255.
12. Ibid., p. 259/
13. Katz and Lazarsfeld in their book Personal Influence, found that women who worry more, or reported themselves as more anxious than others, are more frequent consumers of confessional magazine fiction and of radio soap operas and the like. Thus their findings also supports the notion that alienation leads to increased exposure to fantasy media used for escape.

If the use of television does reflect a need for vicarious

satisfaction through fantasy, then those children who are most frustrated should use it most. Eleanor Maccoby in "Why Children Watch TV?" (POQ. 15) found this to be true for she found that middle class children who experienced difficulty with parents watched more television, using it as an avenue of escape.

This finding was confirmed by Schraam and his study of Television in the Lives of Children. He found that high disparities between a child's aspirations for himself and the perceived aspirations of parents was related to high use of fantasy oriented media. This finding can also be incorporated into our new model of alienation as well. There is a perception of a discrepancy between reality (child's aspirations) and the ideal (parents' aspirations) which leads to the second stage of the process of alienation, that of dissatisfaction and the manifestation of frustration, and then to the final stage of high fantasy media use to retreat from the alienated condition. Schraam also found that fantasy seeking in teen years is also related to parental conflict. "The more a child has a parent problem, then the more he tends to leave the field, to seek his satisfactions and work out his agressions with fantasy, to select audiovisual entertainment media rather than the printed ones." (Television in the Lives of Children, p. 128)

Warner and Henry did a symbolic analysis on the radio daytime serial. These serials were found to help reduce the wife and mother's sense of futility, and increase both the feelings of insecurity and her acceptance of her position in society. (Psychological Monographs, 37 p. 7-13.

Herzog also examined the women fans of day time serials and came to the conclusion that the women derived many gratifications from them. Some vicarious compensation for their own hardships, by finding scapegoats in story characters. The serials allowed an identification with more rewarding and exciting way of life.

Bailyn found a tendency of certain types of children to seek an escape from restrictive home backgrounds via identification with aggressive hero content on the media. ("Mass Media and Children," Psychological Monographs, 73, p. 1-48.

Katz and Lazarsfeld found that a high exposure to popular fiction was linked with subjective feelings of depression and with low scores of gregariousness, which from our model would be viewed as being manifestations of alienation.

Irving Howe views mass culture as providing "relief from work monotony without making the return to work too unbearable." (Rosenberg, Mass Culture. p. 496-503)

Blumer adds support in his book Movies and Conduct in which he maintained that the solitariness of urban life are made more bearable by vicarious social intercourse that is provided by identification with popular heroes and personalities.

Van de Haag also writes that "the total effect of mass culture is to directly distract people from lives which are so boring that they generate obsession with escape." (A Dissent from the Consensual Society, Daeldus, 315-324.)

Mendelsohn mentions that the essential appeal of the mass media lies in its ability to activate childlike pleasures. He then hypothesizes: "As society becomes more complex with concomitant differentiation in its institutional roles for which historical precedents do not exist, there develops a greater need for individuals to regress to those cherished experiences that are known to be universally pleasurable-the experiences of childhood." (Mass Entertainment, p. 145) We consider regression to be a mechanism of escape and his discussion of the complexity of society we would consider to be a source of alienation which then creates a drive for regression i.e. escape into simple childhood pleasures via the media.

Social norms are an active element in determining the extent to which people become fantasy seekers or reality seekers of the mass media. Several studies have shown that a high usage of television accompanies a present time orientation, and a low use of television with a future orientation. Geiger K. Sokol found that television is associated with the values of seeking immediate gratification in his study entitled "Social Norms in Television Watching" (American Journal of Sociology, 65, p. 178) Schraam also discovered that high television watchers have no capacities for deferred gratification. Here is a percentage of the respondents who disagreed with this item: "The best way to live is to enjoy today and not think about tomorrow."

% Disagree

57%	Low Users (Low TV, print)
43%	Fantasy Oriented (High TV, low print)
83%	Reality Oriented (Low TV, high print)
59%	High Users (High TV, high print)

Philip Anast did a study on the personality determinants of mass media preferences and substantial support was given to the hypothesis that sensation oriented persons prefer the well structured media of television and movies. Intuitive persons prefer the more ambiguous stimulus of the printed page in novels and magazines. In our new theoretical perspective we have an underlying assumption that the alienated are sensation oriented as they have rejected the dominant values of rationality predominating our society. From this we can also then assume that the alienated will prefer television over print.

Another consequence of alienation in our model is social isolation, a consequence that like excessive television watching is categorized as being retreatist. Arnold Rose in a paper the "Attitudinal Correlates of Social Participation", writes: "One of the hypotheses of this paper is that nonparticipants are anomic." (Social Forces, 37 (1969) p. 202-206) This hypothesis was based on the belief that the greater the extent a person will participate in organizational activities, the greater will be his opportunity to internalize the meanings and values of his culture and thus be less anomic. The cause and effect direction is thus hypothesized by Rose to flow from social isolation to anomy, i.e. nonparticipation results in anomy since a person does not as a result internalize the meanings of the culture. However, we believe that the direction can also go the other way, anomie resulting in nonparticipation, for a

person who has rejected the middle class values (therefore is alienated, anomic) will not join organizations based on those rejected values, and this will result in his nonparticipation. This exemplifies the impossibility of determining cause and effect, only association. Rose did find an association between anomie and social isolation. "The degree of anomie as reflected by Srole's questions is positively related to the extent to which his social participation has been limited." (Ibid.) He then writes: "Six individual items, as well as the anomie scale, discriminated groups of respondents who reported many friends, and many or some organizational affiliations, as having more optimistic attitudes, greater satisfaction with their lives and more confidence in society than groups reporting fewer friends and organizational affiliations." (Ibid.) If we then have an association between alienation and social isolation, there then should be a positive association between social isolation and television watching as they both are retreatist aspects in our model. Several writers have written of this association.

James S. Coleman has hypothesized that for an adolescent there needs to be a stable peer structure or else he would end up with a negative self-evaluation: "When he is in a system that fails to give him status and allow him a positive self-evaluation, the adolescent often escapes to a world where he need not have such a negative self-evaluation: the world of mass media." (The Adolescent Society, p. 243) This hypothesis has been substantiated in several media studies that have examined the mediation hypothesis with regard to television watching.

The Rileys in "A Sociological Approach to Mass Communication Research," (Public Opinion Quarterly, p.56) found that children isolated from peers are much more exposed to adventure stories on television. They also discovered that children who do not have many friends among their age mates will daydream about a program after it is over. The socially well integrated child will not use the program so much for escape as they are more interested in television's utility, using it more to get ideas from it for subsequent discussions with his friends. Television watching then is also affected by the group relations the audience member has.

Himmelweit correlated an insecure child who felt rejected by his peer groups with heavy viewing of television. All these studies portray these solitary individuals as ones who use the television to obtain vicariously some of the satisfaction he is unable to obtain from real interpersonal relationships. "Psychopathic youngsters, whose identifications with meaningful adult figures have been seriously impaired, whose self-censoring and self governing mechanisms are defective, are likely to be shallow and transitory in their relations with others. Poised to rebel, unsure of their own image, distant in their relationship, they may use the television criminal as their model of rebellion and be precipitated and guided by him." (Freedman, "Daydream in a Vacuum Tube", in Schramm, Television in the Lives of Children)

Marvin E. Olsen in "Movie Picture Attendance and Mass Social Isolation", investigated this hypothesis: "It is the hypothesis of this paper that to a large extent people go to the movies because they cannot

find other more personal forms of recreation. Movies act as a substitute form of recreation for people who lack close friends." (Sociological Quarterly, (Vol. 1) p. 107-08.) In operational terms, this would mean that the greater the social isolation, defined as lacking close personal friends, the higher the movie attendance. This was confirmed through the use of correlations. In Olsen's study, isolation was seen as a result of the urban way of life, which by being increasingly mobile, results in the inability to develop close friendships.

14. McQuail. Towards a Sociology of Mass Communications (London: Faber, 1968), p. 74.
15. Mendelsohn, H. Mass Entertainment (New Haven: College University Press, 1966), p. 50.
16. Ibid., p. 67.
17. Lowenthal, L. Literature, Popular Culture and Society (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957), p. 157.
18. Ibid.
19. Nettler, G. "A Measure of Alienation," American Sociological Review, 22 (December, 1957), 670-677.
20. Ibid.
21. Glick and Levy. Living With Television (Chicago: Aldine Pub. Co., 1962), p. 47.
22. Hyman, H. Survey Design and Analysis (Glencoe: Free Press, 1955), p. 272.
23. Zetterberg. On Theory and Verification in Sociology (Totawa, N.J.: Bedminster Press, 1965), p. 54-55.

CHAPTER VI

DEVELOPING THE RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

Introduction

Since no single approach is necessarily superior, in choosing the best method of instrumentation, the researcher must choose the one most appropriate to what he seeks, the types of questions to which he needs an answer. The technique of data collection to be used in this survey will be a questionnaire. As the purpose of this research is to establish relationships between such variables as attitudinal clusters with certain personal behaviours like television viewing, a questionnaire is most appropriate. The data needed, for the questionnaire is not just a list of questions to be answered but a scientific instrument for measuring and collecting particular kinds of data, can be tapped with the least amount of cost and effort by this research instrument.

A questionnaire is not a perfect research instrument, and errors are to be expected. A researcher must have the allowance that respondents, for example, may give incorrect replies to the questions. Another source of error lies in a certain lack of consistency or stability in questionnaire response. These two methodological problems have plagued sociologists from the onset of empirical research.¹

Hence, one has to allow for error and inaccuracy since there just is not one method of data collection that is without imperfection. Thus questionnaire data is not any less accurate than data arrived at through interviewing, participant observing or using personal documents.

The errors must be anticipated and eliminated as much as possible. Pre-tests are tools to achieve such an aim. A pre-test of the questionnaire is an essential step in perfecting the research instrument. Such errors as biases due to questionnaire design and wording, lack of validity of the instrument, and misunderstanding may be removed after the analyses of the pre-test responses. The researcher then can more confidently give out his revised instrument to his larger sample.

The Questionnaire: Is-Ought Source

In alignment with the previously developed new theoretical perspective that is being tested, the source of the process of alienation has been defined as a perception of a discrepancy between utopia and reality. In other words, a perception of a social structure as being far from its ideal would constitute a discrepancy. Since the sample to be used for the pre-test will be first year university students, the specific social structure used to tap the discrepancy between the Is and the Ought will be the educational institution, (ideal one versus McMaster university).

To operationalize this theoretical conception into a scale by which a numerical value could then be attached to the amount of discrepancy present, we constructed twenty questions to create an Is-Ought scale. These statements were collected from the works of such social critics of the educational system as John Holt, Paul Goodman, Ivan Illich and their ideas regarding what an ideal university ought to be. Our instructions asked the respondents whether they agreed that the statement does describe an ideal university, and secondly, whether this idealness exists at McMaster, but only if they agreed to the first question. The more statements which respondents

checked in agreement with the ideal, without indicating its existence at McMaster, the higher their perception of a discrepancy between the Is and the Ought.

The Is-Ought Scale

1. Universities are places where people go to find out the things they want to find out, and develop the skills they want to develop.
2. Students soon learn to ask questions since the teacher is there to satisfy their curiosities.
3. The buildings are not cold, ugly and inhuman, but have in the halls to make them more alive, pictures, murals and sculptures.
4. The university is a place where the student wants to be.
5. Students judge their own work, having the chance of detecting their own mistakes, and correcting them.
6. The curriculum is not fixed but is interesting and useful to the student in helping to make sense of the world.
7. Real learning is possible since there are no grades, exams, which merely result in an exaggerated concern with getting right answers and avoiding mistakes.
8. Students feel free to protect their own personalities without worrying about what impression to make on the teacher.
9. The university gives students not a sense of subjection and slavery but a sense of vocation.
10. Learning for its own sake is a joy.
11. Life within the university is not a rat race.
12. Real learning takes place for the learners plays a dual role: he is both learners and teacher, doer and critic, listener and speaker.
13. The teacher treats the students as if they were reasonable and sensible human beings, having great respect for them.
14. Students' essays don't have in them bull-slinging and snow jobbery but have honest and genuine opinions about what they are writing.
15. Learning is not memorizing disconnected facts.
16. The ability to think critically, creatively, or constructively is another outcome of schooling.
17. Instead of teachers giving many answers, there is lots of room for the individual student to raise questions.
18. Instead of teaching answers to questions, students are provided with the education that will enable them to ask the best questions.
19. Students are given the chance to become very productive inquirers and in the process become enthusiastic, highly motivated learners.
20. It is more important for the students to created knowledge for themselves and participate in its creation than to have the right knowledge and the correct information.

Expectancy Discrepancy

To tap an alternative discrepancy source, two other statements were also included in the questionnaire. This second discrepancy scale now determines the extent of the respondents' perception of a gap between his expectancies and reality. The expectancies that were measured were the expectancies towards university prior to its exposure, and expectancies towards career opportunities.

The Questions

1. On the whole, how satisfied are you with your present job as a student when you consider the expectancies you had when you took the job?
2. How satisfied are you with your present job as a student in light of career expectancies?

This Likert scale had five response categories, ranging from strongly satisfied to strongly dissatisfied. These options were numbered such that those strongly dissatisfied are experiencing a high gap between expectancies and reality.

Alienation Proper- General Rejection

In our new theoretical framework we have defined the second stage of the alienation process as the clustering of certain attitudes, labelled alienation proper. These attitudes are said to be composed of rejection and dissatisfaction. In trying to discover just what this attitude of rejection is comprised of, we found the works of Kenneth Keniston to be very useful. First, we found Keniston to be compatible with the theoretical conceptions that we wished to use, and secondly, his description of the alienated youth enabled us to establish a general rejection scale.

Keniston, in The Uncommitted: Alienated Youth in America defines the general alienated ideology as being a rejection of the

dominant values, roles and institutions of the society. This ideology involves a total rejection, a generalized refusal of the American culture. The alienated refuse, reject commitments, mistrusting people, self and others. For example, political and social activities are not desired. Pessimism is another predominant disposition of this attitude of rejection. They hold a pessimistic view of human nature. Furthermore, this pessimism extends to other phases of life, and the resultant attitudes seem to be compatible to those held by existentialists. The rejectionists emphasize the darkness, isolation and meaninglessness of life. The world is a dark and gloomy place in "a universe without structure, regularity or purpose, filled with anxiety." ² Their pessimism leads them to reject the reliability of appearances since nothing can be accepted at face value. Because of the uncertainty of the future, long range planning is not possible and thus they reject the future orientation of middle classes in America and instead stress the now, the present. Another dimension exhibited in this attitude of general rejection is one of anger, scorn and contempt so pervasive that it extends toward the self. They believe that hatred and contempt are inevitable and desirable, thus they make no attempts at stifling their angers, instead, they acknowledge them. Furthermore, in rejecting the rationality and materialism of our culture, they instead place an emphasis on experience and feeling: the aesthetic quest. Thus, they also refuse the conventional definitions of success, achievement and happiness as being money and status. Finally, autonomy is also valued, "solitary and lonely individualism of the outsider, the man who lives physically within his society but remains psychologically divorced from it." ³ This seems to exactly describe Merton's definition of a true alien.

The above description of the rejection alienation proper attitude has already been operationalized by Anthony David in 1955. In fact, it was from him that Keniston borrowed most of his statements to which alienated youth would highly agree with. David's affect questionnaire however, measures all the dispositions mentioned by Keniston. His definition of alienation is identical with Keniston's later elaboration:

The syndrome is composed of the following five interrelated dispositions: egocentricity, distrust, pessimism, resentment, anxiety. Our findings indicate that subjects who are high on any one of these dispositions tend to be high on all of them. 4

These same dispositions will be included in our operationalization of the general rejection attitude. David also falls into our new theoretical model's view of the need to have an Is-Ought discrepancy as a source for the alienation proper stage. "The negative discrepancy between the subject's own responses and the responses of his ideal person will be greater in subjects who are high on alienation than in subjects low on alienation." 5

Keniston in another book, Young Radicals: Notes On Committed Youth, mentions the statements which he used to tap the empirical cluster of attitudes differentiating the alienated. These statements were found to be interrelated. 6 It is these statements, and a few others from his previous book that were used to construct our general rejection scale. It is a Likert scale, having the three options of agree-uncertain-disagree. Since a high score should indicate a high general rejection, the numerical values assigned were 3-2-1 respectively. Constructing Likert scales are much less laborious than Thurstone ones which have the additional problem of obtaining a group of judges. Besides, it seems that Likert scales correlate well with the Thurstone ones.

In creating this scale, we made a few changes. At first, all the statements that were selected were negative, (to which the alienated agree). But, a Likert scale should have an equal number of positive and negative statements. Hence, we reworded several of the previous negative statements into positive ones, (to which now the alienated would disagree). Of course, the scoring for these statements had to be reversed.

Although attitude scale scores are qualatative data in the strict sense, most researchers treat them as being quantatative, assuming equality of intervals. This seems to us to be an invalid underlying assumption, and thus we regarded our data as being purely ordinal, not interval. This limited our statistical analyses to the nonparametric ones allowed for ordinal data.

To simplify the task of answering the questionnaire, the respondents were asked to merely circle their appropriate responses amongst those printed below every statement. Other questionnaires have the options at the beginning of the page and the respondent is asked to fill in a numerical value representing his alternative response. We felt that this method is a much too tiring way of completing the questionnaire, besides errors are also increased since the respondent has to remember the number which corresponds to his response.

General Rejection Scale

1. It's nice to have faith in your fellow man since it really does pay off.
2. Experience in the ways of the world teaches us to be suspicious of the underlying motives of the general run of men.
3. Human nature is at best self-centered.
4. Emotional committments to others are usually the prelude to disillusion and disappointment.

5. It is generally advisable to seek close personal attachments to others.
6. Teamwork is the last refuge of mediocrity.
7. The whole idea of taking an active part in the life of the community gives me a warm feeling inside.
8. Political activity is like games children play.
9. I leave speculation about world affairs to our politicians; they are so completely inept at doing anything other than speculating.
10. Second thought about things we have undertaken are only natural; almost every endeavor has disadvantages which become apparent once we are embarked on it.
11. I rarely have inner doubts or reservations about the wisdom of undertaking the responsibilities or tasks for which I have made commitments.
12. The Canadian ideals of success and prestige give me pleasure.
13. Wise men know that the pain and misery in life do not outweigh the pleasure and delight.
14. I think that a lot of people really do find satisfaction in life.
15. I have come to experience horror at the good Canadian way of life, namely the comfortable, middle class existence.
16. The best way to live is to enjoy today and not think about tomorrow.
17. Whether he admits it or not, every modern man is the helpless victim of the worst ailments of our time-neurotic anxiety.
18. Everyday the newspapers give fresh cause for apprehension; holdups, senseless murders, persecutions, preparations for war, prophecies of disaster.
19. I am sure that man and nature are governed by regular laws.
20. Honesty compels us to admit that our lives are without any inherent regularity, purpose or form.
21. Because man is just a fairly miraculous accident, the only way he can accept the fact that his life is slightly more meaningful than that of a crab, is to carve some meaning out of it for himself.
22. There is meaning in each individual's presence here on earth.
23. The idea that most people wear masks is ridiculous.
24. Long range planning is easy, given the certainty of the future and the likelihood that things will turn out well.
25. I cannot take life as it comes; I must penetrate to the heart of it see people stripped of their externals.
26. I do not feel guilty about the feelings of resentment the mere sight of some people arouses in me.
27. No normal person is ever tempted at times to spit on his hands, hoist the black flag, and start slitting throats.
28. Any man who has really known himself has good cause to be horrified.

29. I am often filled with self accusation and self recriminations about things I have done or might have done.
30. My time in life can be most profitably spent in accumulating the most varied, the most valuable and the most significant sense experiences it is possible to take in.
31. Life without emotion, without passion, is merely another form of death.
32. Reason, not feeling, is the truest force at man's command. Through it he knows what he is really like.
33. An important force in my philosophy is the desire to be a true individual, wholly independent from outside influences, both mental and physical.
34. For myself, society and others can go to hell, for most often society has only a mold to force you into, destroying rather than creating.
35. Financial success and high status are fundamental to the achievement of happiness.
36. It is worthwhile to spend four or eight years acquiring the skills needed to make money.

Alienation Proper-Dissatisfaction

The second component of alienation proper has been defined as being dissatisfaction. While the scope of the rejection scale is extremely general, it was decided that we would focus the dissatisfaction attitude measure to a system specific situation. Since the discrepancy being measured is within the educational utopia-reality perception, it was decided that the dissatisfaction scale should also be specific to this system, and thus measure the satisfaction of being a student and going to university.

The scale used is an index of job satisfaction developed by Arthur H. Brayfield and Harold F. Rothe. It contains eighteen items with Thurstone scale values ranging from 1.2 to 10.0 with approximately .5 step intervals. A Likert scoring system of three categories is applied to each item. The only changes we made were to make the scale specific and thus whenever the word "job" appeared it was substituted with going to university. Work was

substituted with studying, courses, studies.

Dissatisfaction Scale

1. Going to university is like a hobby to me.
2. Going to classes is usually interesting enough to keep me from getting bored.
3. It seems that my friends are more interested in their studies.
4. I consider going to university to be rather unpleasant.
5. I enjoy my courses more than my leisure time.
6. I am often bored with going to university.
7. I feel fairly well satisfied with going to university.
8. Most of the time I have to force myself to go to classes.
9. I am satisfied with being a student for the time being.
10. I feel that my job as a student is no more interesting than others I could get.
11. I definitely dislike going to school.
12. I feel that I am happier in my work as a student than most others.
13. Each day of going to university seems like it will never end.
14. Most days I am enthusiastic about my studies.
15. I like going to the university better than the average student does.
16. Going to university is pretty uninteresting.
17. I feel real enjoyment in my work as a student.
18. I am disappointed that I ever came to university.

Alienation Proper Composite Index

An alienation proper composite index was constructed by the combination of the two scales of general rejection and dissatisfaction. For each total score the following values were assigned: 0=Low, 1=Medium, 2=High. The two scales are then added together and the resultant alienation proper index ranges from 0-4.

Manifestations: Despair, Moral Emptiness, Anxiety

Three scales were used to tap the manifestations in the alienation process. We followed the advice of Meir and Bell in their assertion that Srole's anomia scale measures despair. We decided to

include it as a manifestation measure.

Despair Scale

1. There's little use writing to public officials because often they are not really interested in the problems of the average man.
2. Nowadays, a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.
3. In spite of what people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse not better.
4. Its hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.
5. These days a person does'nt really know whom he can count on.

Mclosky and Schaar developed an anomy scale. They define anomy as a state of mind, a cluster of attitudes and beliefs:

The items express the feelings that people today lack firm convictions and standards, that it is difficult to tell right from wrong in our complex and disorderly worl, that the traditional values which gave meaning to the individual and order to the society have lost their force, and that the social ties which bound men together have dissolved. ?

The core of these items is a feeling of moral emptiness, lacking in clear rules and stable meanings.

Moral Emptiness Scale

1. With everything so uncertain these days, it almost seems as though anything could happen.
2. What is lacking in the world today is the old kind of friendship that lasted for a lifetime.
3. With everything in such a state of disorder, its hard for a person to know where he stands from one day to the next.
4. Everything changes so quickly these days that I often have trouble deciding which are the right rules to follow.
5. I often feel that many things our parents stood for are just going to ruin before our very eyes.
6. The trouble with the world today is that most people do'nt believe in anything.
7. I often feel awkward and out of place.
8. People were better off in the old days when everyone knew just how he was expected to act.
9. It seems to me that other people find it easier to decide what is right than I do.

An anxiety scale developed by Paul Helmos in Solitude and Privacy was used as the third manifestation measure.

Anxiety Scale

1. Are you often startled at a sudden noise?
2. Do you find it difficult to relax when sitting or lying down?
3. Do you ever get palpitations when excited or upset?
4. Do you find it difficult to make a complaint in a shop or in a bus without feeling uncomfortable?
5. Do you ever get a sinking feeling in the stomach?
6. Do you ever get that feeling that something dreadful is going to happen?
7. Do you feel ill at ease when entering a restaurant?
8. Do you often have to go back to make sure of something like turning off the lights?
9. Do you sweat a lot without exercise?
10. Do you find it difficult to make friends?
11. Do you feel self-conscious in the presence of superiors?
12. Do you find it difficult to get into conversations with strangers?
13. Do you suffer from "nerves"?

While the above two measures of despair and moral emptiness were scored agree-uncertain-disagree (3-2-1) the anxiety scale was classified on a yes- no (2-1) response.

Indexes: Manifestation and Alienation

The three scales of despair, moral emptiness and anxiety were combined, using the same procedure, to create a Manifestation Composite Index, (0-6 range). An Alienation Index was also constructed, incorporating the five scales of the alienation proper stage: general rejection, dissatisfaction, despair, moral emptiness and anxiety, (0-10 range).

Social Isolation Consequence

The modes of adaptation in the process of alienation comprise the consequences stage: retreatism, compliance and activism. An

act of withdrawal or retreatism can be seen to exist if the individual cuts off his ties with others. Social isolation then is an indication of this consequence or mode of adaptation to the feelings of alienation. Dean's social isolation scale was chosen to tap this alternative.

Social Isolation Scale

1. I do'nt get invited out by my friends as often as I'd like.
2. Most people today seldom feel lonely.
3. Sometimes I feel all alone in the world.
4. Real friends are as easy to find as ever.
5. One can always find friends if he shows himself friendly.
6. The world in which we live is basically a friendly place.
7. There are few dependable ties between people any more.
8. People are just naturally friendly and helpful.
9. I do not get to visit friends as often as I'd really like.

Television Retreatists

We have also hypothesized that large amounts of television viewing is another retreatist consequence in the alienation process. Thus, a question asking the amount watched per week was inserted into the questionnaire. It was a closed ended question as five possible hour categories were available: 0-5 hours; 6-9 hours; 10-14 hours; 15-21 hours and 22 or more hours. Research polls and studies report that on the average, people tend to watch an hour and a half a day. This would make our third category as our operationalization of medium viewing.

To establish that television is being used as a mechanism of escape, i.e. retreatism and withdrawal, a scale was constructed to ask respondents' reasons for watching television. These statements were taken from Glick and Levy's book, Living With Television, for

they believe that to determine if television is all embracing, it is not enough to examine the amount watched but find just what television means to the individual. Two other statements from Ellul were also included. These picture the role that television plays in society as being a substitute for reality.

Television Escape Scale

1. A main gratification derived from television watching is simply in watching, regardless of content, and it is only as a more or less secondary consideration that I make program choices.
2. I turn on the television set just to keep me company when I am alone.
3. I watch television only to see specific programs that I enjoy very much.
4. I watch television to get away from the ordinary cares and problems of the day.
5. I watch television because I think that by watching I can learn something.
6. Television gives me what I seek; absolute distraction, total obliviousness of myself and my problems, and loss of consciousness.
7. Television shows like Mannix, Mod Squad give substitutes for the lack of adventure and meaning in our everyday lives.
8. In a milieu in which the human being is unable to make true friendships or to have profound experiences, television must captivate and reassure him.

A control question was included which asks which of newspapers, magazines, radio, television, is most important for the respondent. The reason for its inclusion is the possibility of other media being used for the function that television is hypothesized as serving. Why it is important followed this control question. Five response options were specified:

1. It makes me understand the world.
2. It fills the time when there is nothing to do.
3. Its a good way to escape.
4. It gives me stimulating ideas, information and knowledge.
5. Its entertaining.

To determine the type of content being watched (educational vs. fantasy), a question asking their favorite programs was also inserted. The available choices were: serious, educational, informative, fantasy and entertaining.

Activism Consequence

Another consequence alternative is at the other end of the continuum, opposing retreatism, and this is activism. Activists are also dissatisfied, alienated, however, instead of choosing to withdraw they actively try to change the objective situation that is causing their condition and thus are attempting to alleviate it actively. An open ended question asked whether the respondent does anything in trying to change a situation with which he is dissatisfied. Secondly, what activities does he then do is asked. Finally, to determine the degree of activism, a question asks what percent of the individual's leisure time is devoted to these activities.

In trying to determine another possible consequence within the range of "shallow living", another open ended question asked how the person spends his free, leisure time listed in order of preference. The first one listed, i.e. the most preferred was the one coded for analysis.

The Pre-Test Analysis

Introduction

To perfect the research instrument, it was distributed to a sample of fifty first year undergraduates enrolled in the introductory sociology course at McMaster for a pre-test. The results were analyzed for its reliability, its validity, consistency,

and distributions. Item analysis and the Guttman scalogram analysis were also employed as means of picking out the bad questions and giving hints about revising the format, wording, available response sets and scoring. All the data were recorded onto IBM cards and fed into a computer for analysis.

Is-Ought

Histograms showed that the distribution of the scale scores was far from being a normal curve. The scale was also found to be invalid. As the test of validity by the use of a criterion is impossible (comparing high alienated groups with low for example), we decided to use the notion of construct validity as the test. This means that this scale should be related to other attitudinal variables:

Such constructs, once obtained, would be expected to enter into relationships with other variables in predictable ways. Validity is inferred from such a predicted network of relationships; this validates both the measure and the theory behind it. 8

Spearman correlational coefficients, applicable to ordinal data, were used to determine the interrelationship between the Is-Ought scale and other variables as a measure of construct validity. All relationships with the scale were found to be insignificant.⁹ This major lack of validity may have been due to the format and the instructions asked of the respondents. Since they were asked to perform two tasks simultaneously, we believed that this complexity made for many errors. Misunderstanding may have also contributed to errors. In fact, several individuals did not follow them correctly. They were instructed to check if they believe that McMaster exhibits the statement only if they had checked that they believe it describes an ideal university. Some however, mistakenly did not do this but

instead checked the Is without the Ought.

As a result, the format was decided to be changed to simplify the task and clear the misunderstandings. The revision entailed the dividing of each statement into two separate parts. The first part was a statement of utopian education: "A high school ought to have/be ...". The second statement had the same content but was merely reworded to be specific: "At my high school ..Is true". It was also decided that these statements should not follow one another but be scattered throughout other items in the final questionnaire.

Discrepancy Scale

When examining the histograms we decided that if over eight percent replied the same way, that then the statement should be eliminated as it does not differentiate respondents very well. For the discrepancy scale, the distribution of the two items were not such that they would have to be eliminated. The scale was also found to be both consistent ⁹ and reliable, ¹⁰

General Rejection

The reliability of this scale was enhanced because of the fact that a whole set of questions were used. Sets of questions are:
 more reliable than single opinion items;
 they give more consistent results, mainly
 because vagaries of question wording will
 probably apply only to a particular item and
 thus any bias may cancel out, whereas the underlying
 attitude will be common to all the items in a set or scale. 11

We measured reliability by using the split half technique, comparing the scores on one half of the scale with the other half. The degree of reliability is then expressed as the coefficient correlation between the two sets of measurement. The general rejection scale was found to be reliable. ¹²

Problems arose when another test for consistency was tried. We had sometimes two statements, presumed to be measuring the same attitude but worded oppositely, one statement positively and the other negatively. Thus, to be consistent, the respondent agreeing to the positive statement would also disagree to its negative counterpart. Crosstabulations were done on such items. But unfortunately, for the majority, consistency between positive and negative statements were not that high.¹³ With the presence of all these inconsistencies between positive and negative items, the strong split-half correlation did not appear to make any sense, unless the respondents were consistent with their inconsistencies.

These self contradictory responses might constitute an indication of the presence of a response set--a tendency to reply to attitude scales in particular ways. However, we found that the socially desirable tendency did not hold as respondents agreed not only to socially desirable attitudes, but also to their negative counterparts. Secondly, the acquiescent set tendency also did not hold as there was no general tendency to assent more than dissent. There is another more plausible explanation to this problem and that is, by rewording the Keniston statements into positive ones, we created totally different statements. Oppenheim even mentions that one can not ask the same questions in another form to assess their reliability. "Since attitudinal questions are more sensitive than factual questions to wording, context, emphasis, and so on, it becomes impossible to assess reliability by asking the same question in another form. It will no longer be the same question."¹⁴

Internal consistency was scrutinized by examining correlations between each item and the total score. Only those with the highest

correlations were retained.¹⁵ A strong negative correlation between items and the total score is indicative that the scoring might be needed to be changed.¹⁶ Using these two techniques we eliminated five items from the scale.

All scales were also placed under the Guttman Scalogram analysis and were evaluated by a simplified variant of the Goodenough technique. This gives a number of statistics to help in the evaluation of the scales, such as the coefficient of reproducibility, a measure of the extent to which the respondents' scale scores are a predictor of the response pattern. Values greater than .9 indicate a valid scale. Our score was very close.¹⁷ However, judicious manipulating of the cutting points could have resulted in even higher coefficients.¹⁸ Secondly, we could have increased the coefficient of reproducibility once the bad questions were eliminated.¹⁹

Next, Spearman rank order correlations were done between the rejection scale and the others to determine construct validity. The results were very positive.²⁰ The only one not working was the relationship with the Is-Ought scale. Also, the elimination of bad questions, plus increasing the options to strongly agree-strongly disagree should also increase the correlations between these variables.

Dissatisfaction

The distribution of each item was such that none of the items had to be eliminated because of excessive responses to one category. The scale was also found to be reliable as the split half coefficient was excellent.²¹ and since item analysis found each item correlated well to the total score. Furthermore, item analysis

showed no strong negative correlation between items. The scale was also deemed valid as it entered relationships with other variables in a predicted direction. Except for the strong correlation with the Expectancy Discrepancy, all others were significant but weak.²² One reason why the expected relationships are not that strong, like with the manifestations, is that the sample may be composed of compliers. This indication was strengthened when crosstabulations were done between two of the dissatisfaction scale items. If they are compliers then this would explain the low correlations with social isolation and television.²³

Despair

The Guttman scalogram analysis gave positive results, such that not one item had to be eliminated.²⁴ However, the histogram seemed to indicate that this Srole scale is really two scales. The frequency distributions showed that there were three questions to which the majority agreed, (numbers 1,3,5). The other two statements had the majority disagreeing. Also, at face value, these two sets of questions seemed to have different underlying assumptions, variables. The first one appears to be pessimism, despair regarding people, while the other two items indicate despair regarding time (the future). Thus our sample had despair towards people but not towards time.

Factor analysis is a technique used to determine existing underlying factors that might account for the interrelationships in the data. We in fact did find two factors after oblique rotation, giving further proof of the presence of two sets of scales. However, these two underlying factors strongly correlated, and thus the reason why Srole included them together into one scale. As we only

have ordinal data, factor analysis was merely used in an exploratory way and not taken very seriously. The reason for this is that for the correlation matrix, factor analysis uses the product-moment correlation coefficients, which however, can only be used when the data is interval. Distortion of the data may result when ordinal data is given the factor treatment. In fact, this did happen in our case. Our correlation matrix, Pearson coefficients, showed many more strong negative correlations between items than when non-parametric correlations, Kendall's Tau, Spearman's rank order correlations were used.

The Yules Q correlation coefficients indicated that there is no basis for separating the questions into two separate scales.²⁵ Finally, the scales was found to be valid as it entered the expected relationships with the other variables, such as the manifestations in the predicted direction.²⁶

Social Isolation

The coefficient of reproducibility was found to be adequate.²⁷ Further analysis showed that the second question had a perfect negative correlation with three of the items and perfect positive correlations with the others. This was explained as soon as we looked at the item's distribution and found that 96% were in the same category, disagreeing with the item. Thus, this item was eliminated. Its elimination would not change the content of the scale very much, since the next statement taps the personal dimension of feeling lonely. Also, the relevancy of what the respondent feels about "most people" is not that important to be included.

Dean is supposed to have accomplished a split half reliability of .84. But by only having three Likert options and an item with a high distribution in one option, plus some negative correlations between items, our split half reliability was very low.²⁸ Furthermore we did not arrange the items in the right order, i.e. choosing which items should be in the first half and which in the second half. If this would have been done, the split half coefficient would have been much higher. Finally, correlations with other variables made us conclude that the scale has construct validity.²⁹

Anxiety

The histogram of the total scores showed an almost perfect normal distribution. But we must remember that because we only had a small sample of fifty, deviations are not that large as to question the distribution.

One scale item had an extremely high similar response. With this knowledge we were tempted to toss this statement out from the final questionnaire. But, in examining the distribution of the other items, we found a cumulative response to each one of them. This indicated to us that the scale might be a Guttman one, in which case, the above mentioned item should not be removed.

The coefficient of scalability should be well above .6 if the scale is truly unidimensional and cumulative, i.e. having the characteristics of a Guttman scale. However, our measure did not meet this standard, indicating that it is not a Guttman scale and thus the previously mentioned item should be eliminated.³¹

The first item was also dropped as it had a low .1 correlation with the scale. Other statistics indicated that the scale was valid and reliable.³² The relationships with other variables were

significant but not that strong. This lack of strength may be explained by the fact that this scale had only two response options while the others had three. It was then decided that we should change the format of these anxiety items to the same number of categories as the other scales for the final questionnaire.

Television Scale

The scale was found to be unreliable.³³ The reason for this might have been due to the fact that the last two items do not deal with personal reasons for watching television but deal instead with a more general description of television as functioning to give substitutes for the lack of adventure and true friendships in our every day lives. Why we included them was based on our assumption that those individuals who personally watch television for escapist reasons would also agree that television functions that way for others, "most people", or society in general. We found that the pre-test sample definitely did not watch for escapist reasons.³⁴ However, it was also apparent that those who did not watch for escapist reasons did agree that television serves as a substitutive mechanism for others. Thus, it was decided that the last two items should not be separated, because the respondents may have been using other media for their personal avenue of escape. Hence, a change to a sample that watches television would increase the reliability of the scale.

Cognitive dissonance theory states that persons will not admit affirmation to statements which will give them a negative self evaluation. To remove this problem of a negative self confrontation, many researchers do not use the word "I" in their questionnaire. Pearlin for example, in his television study replaced "I" with "most people", with the underlying justification that since the

respondents do not know the reason why most people watch television, they transfer their own personal motivations in answering the item. This parallels Freud's notion of self-projection, the tendency for people to perceive in others those things that are actually in themselves. However, this seems to us to be a weak psychological assumption since respondents may transfer their friends' motivations to the questionnaire or may even answer on a vague impression of why others watch television; all of this being quite unrelated to their personal reasons. Hence, we did not change the word "I" to most people.

Oppenheim mentions that a failure to predict a particular action does not constitute proof that the attitude scale was invalid since the attitude may have been offset or nullified by other tendencies. Thus our negative response, the sample not watching for escapist reasons at all, does not mean that the scale is either invalid or that people do not watch for escapist reasons. In fact, we did find that other factors did come into play and nullify the expected results.

To the question, "Which is to you the most entertaining?", the majority of the sample answered radio over television.³⁵ To the question, "Which is to you the most important?", again the majority picked radio over choosing television.³⁶ This high value placed on the radio may be the offsetting factor and why the respondents are not watching television for escape. The radio may be serving this function.

Not only did they not watch television for escapist reasons, the respondents did not watch television for large amounts of time. In total, 68% of the sample were low users of this mass medium.³⁷

Again let us stress that radio may be the substitutive media used by them. Why radio may be so predominant can be explained by the possibility that the sample lived in residence and thus did not own a television set and had the radio as their only available alternative medium. Unfortunately, place of residence was not included as a control question in this pre-test. However, one respondent who had marked zero hours of television wrote on his questionnaire that he watches over twenty two hours when he goes home. But he checked off zero hours on the questionnaire. Thus this hypothesis, non-ownership as an intervening variable that nullifies the television scale, is plausible. A change to the sample of high school students who live at home will very much improve these results.

For the question asking their favorite television programs, we felt that an open ended type may be more suitable. We did this change because for example 62% chose the entertaining category but this does not tell us very much about the quality or kind of program preferred. An open ended question would not be as restricted to limited general categories and thus would allow for a much better opportunity for content analysis.

Moral Emptiness

Item analysis showed that each item correlated highly to the scale, except the sixth item which was insignificant, and thus dropped for this very reason. Further evidence for it being dropped was given in the Guttman scalogram analysis which showed it as having extremely high negative correlations with other items. And of course, its elimination would raise the coefficient of reproducibility and the scale-item correlations.

Leisure Activities

A.J. Vidich and Joseph Bensam in their book Small Town in Mass Society showed the importance of Gemeinschaft systems: friendship groups, neighborhood groups, which are seen as buffers preventing the alienation of the urbanite. Thus, another reason why the amount of television viewing may not have been so high may be due to the fact that other social systems buffered this need to escape. To tap the presence of these buffers, we asked how the respondents spent their leisure time. We were able to code the responses into five general categories: going to the pub; using other media like listening to records, reading, radio, movies; activities like sports, hobbies, clubs; visiting or talking to friends; other escapist mechanisms like taking drugs or sleeping. Activities and friends were the ones that were picked by the majority.³⁹ Perhaps these friends and activities are buffering the need to watch television excessively.

Activists

The other consequence alternative to retreatism in the alienation process is to become an activist and thereby try to narrow the perceived gap between reality-utopia. The university students were non-activists.⁴⁰

At first, we assumed that there should be a positive correlation between activism and alienation proper. However, further reading convinced us for the necessity of differentiating activism into positive and negative categories, what Barakat distinguishes between sublimators and revengers. The sublimators are the positive activists, transcending their alienation proper attitudes by attempting to change their world for the better. However, there

should be a negative correlation between this positivism and alienation proper:

I doubt that culturally alienated students are much interested in political protest...the political pessimism, distrust, lack of interest in group activities, and scorn for politics and politicians of the alienated would seem to inure them from any prolonged participation in a protest movement. 41

In fact, Keniston further argues that student protest, positive activism, is not even a consequence of alienation:

I am inclined to see most student protest not as a consequence of alienation, but rather of commitment to the very values that alienated students reject...The activist seems to be determined to implement and live out his parent's values, whereas the alienated is determined to repudiate them. 42

On the other hand, negative activism, the revengers out to destroy rather than improve, should be positively related to alienation. This was shown by A.I. Stinchcombe in his book School Stinks. In fact, his theoretical perspective is similar to the one used in this thesis. His definition of expressive alienation has the same qualities used in our general rejection scale: immediate gratification or "short run hedonism", ideological disagreement with norms, indifference, hatred, sullenness, cynicism, no long run goals, and an emphasis on autonomy. His proven hypothesis was that high school rebellion is a consequence of this alienation:

High school rebellion involves expressing of alienation from socially present authorities... High school rebellion is an active rejection of the social world of the school. That is, it involves the rejection of both the goals and means of success, as success is defined by the school and by the labor market. 43

Our sample is to be high school students, and thus to increase the predictive value of our research instrument, questions measuring rebellion (negative activism) will be included. The index of

rebelliousness will be these three questions:

1. Have you ever skipped school with a gang of kids?
2. Have you ever been sent out of class by a teacher you did not get along with?
3. How many classes did you get flunk notices for?

The index will be a partial ordering of the respondents by their patterns of response to these items, affirming being the indication of rebellion. Thus this pattern + + + is more rebellious than + + -. These three questions are supposed to be related to each other, since those rebellious by one criterion are more likely to be rebellious by another.

Compliers

To measure the complying alternative in the alienation process, two further questions were added:

1. How much time on the average do you spend doing homework outside of school?
2. What is your final grade point average?

A New Structural Source

Since the sample of respondents will be high school students, the first item on the Expectancy Scale regarding university expectations will have to be removed. However, the scale's second item regarding job expectancies will be used in the construction of another source scale. The new structural source to be tapped will be the "perceived lack of connection of school work to occupational success", which according to Stinchcombe, "produces rebellion."⁴⁴ This source leads to system dissatisfaction as well, since "the perceived value of school depends on the school's perceived connection with success."⁴⁵ To construct a School-Success Discrepancy Scale we also included the last item on the general rejection scale, now reworded specifically to refer to school. Thus the two items are:

1. How satisfied are you with your present job as a student in light of career expectancies?
2. It is worthwhile to spend four or eight years in school acquiring the skills needed to make money.

Conclusion

The pre-test allowed us to test the research instrument, make revisions and changes, additions, all with the purpose of eliminating errors and increasing the potentialities of the instrument. Now we are ready to test the hypotheses and predicted relationships that the theoretical framework demands. The next step in the research is the handing out the new revised questionnaire to a new and larger sample. The following chapter will be the analysis of our findings.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER VI

1. Herbert Hyman experimentally tried to examine whether or not respondents tell the truth when answering a questionnaire. He acquired a list of names from a bank of persons who had recently redeemed their war bonds. Two hundred and forty three respondents were then given questionnaires. The results certainly diminished faith in honesty in responses as 17% of the sample denied having turned in their war bonds. Hyman concluded his article with a warning to researchers to be cautious because his findings have shown that "the distortions are significant enough to suggest at least with respect to behaviour having a prestige character, the results of public opinion polls should be used only with the greatest caution." (Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 8., p. 599)

Cuber and Gerberich in "A Note on Consistency in Questionnaire Responses" tried to determine whether the inaccuracies derived from inconsistency are because of a faulty use of the questionnaire or whether this source of error is inherent in the technique itself. To come to a conclusive conclusion, Cuber and Gerberich gave the same respondents identical questionnaires at three separate times. The results showed that only 71.8% of responses were consistent. Thus it seems, there is error inherent in the technique itself. However, a sophisticated researcher will necessarily allow for this.

2. Keniston, K. The Uncommitted: Alienated Youth in America (New York: Dell, 1970), p. 56.
3. Ibid., p. 64.
4. David, A. "Alienation, Social Apperception and Ego Structure", Journal of Consulting Psychology, 19 (No.1)
5. Ibid.
6. Keniston, K. Young Radicals, Notes on Committed Youth (New York: Brace & World, 1968). Proof of interrelationship was found by Keniston as he discovered the mean scale to scale correlation value to be +.47.
7. McLosky and Scaar. "Psychological Dimensions of Anomy," American Sociological Review, 30(February, 1965), 14.
8. Oppenheim. Questionnaire Design and Attitude Measurement (New York: Basic Books, 1966), p. 76.
9. It was assumed for example that a discrepancy between an ideal university and McMaster should be related with dissatisfaction, the system specific measure of feelings towards the university. The correlation with the Is-Ought came to be .08 with a .6 level of significance.

The Kendall correlational coefficient for these two items was .66 and significant at the .001 level.

10. The Spearman correlation with dissatisfaction was a .50 and also significant at the .001 level.
11. Oppenheim. Op. Cit., p. 73.
12. The split half reliability of the general rejection scale was a .55 and significant at the .001 level.
13. A crosstabulation between question four and five showed on the contingency table that the majority of the respondents agreed to both or disagreed to both, thus demonstrating to us inconsistency. Only 20.4% of the sample maintained consistency in this sample.
14. Oppenheim. Op. Cit., p. 73.
15. Items 9-11-18-29 were all decided to be dropped because of the low correlation to the total score.
16. Most of the correlations were positive, the negatives were also extremely low and insignificant. Item 32 however did have high negative correlations, even to the total score, thus it was dropped. The rest of the items had significant correlations of over .3 to the total score.
17. Since there is a limit to twelve variables on one scale, the 36 questions had to be broken up into three sub-scales for analysis by the computer. The coefficient of reproducibility was .7 for all three sub-scales.
18. The cutting point used for the general rejection scale was three. Thus we did not include the uncertain (a value of two) in this analysis, had we, and thus reduced the cutting point, our resulting coefficients would have been much higher.
19. For example, item 32 had a part-whole correlation coefficient (Bi-serial type) of -.17. It also had eight negative item-item correlation coefficients based on Yules Q. Variable 29 also had high negative correlations. Both, then, were liquidated.
20. General Rejection correlated with: Social Isolation=.57 (.001), Despair=.47 (.001), Moral Emptiness=.41 (.003), Dissatisfaction=.29 (.04), Television Escape= .36 (.001), Anxiety=.33 (.02).
21. The split half reliability coefficient of the dissatisfaction scale was an excellent .79 which was significant at the .001 level.
22. The expected relationship with the Expectancy Discrepancy was validated with a .50 (.001) correlation. Correlation between dissatisfaction and: Rejection=.29 (.04), Isolation=.27 (.06), Despair=.12 (Insignificant), Moral Emptiness=.17 (Insig), Anxiety=.33 (.01), Television Escape=.23 (.10).
23. 51% of the sample disagreed to the item which stated "I feel that my job as a student is no more interesting than others I could get." Thus, they believe that there are more interesting jobs other than that of being a student. However, in spite of this, the majority

of these twenty five people agreed with the statement "I feel fairly well satisfied with going to university." This indicates that they are compliers.

24. The coefficient of reproducibility was .8. Also there were no negative item-item correlations, and all the item-scale correlations were above .3.
25. The Yules Q correlation coefficients indicated that the two time items correlate highly with the others (people despair). The fourth item correlated .79 with the first one and .59 with the third one, both of which are regarding people. The second item, also thought to be a time measure, correlated with the last item as well, getting a .48 value.
26. Correlations of the Despair scale with: Rejection=.41 (.001), Isolation=.36 (.01), Moral Emptiness=.50 (.001), Television Escape=.40 (.004), Anxiety=.24 (.10).
27. The coefficient of reproducibility for social isolation was found to be .8.
28. The split half reliability of the social isolation was a low .23, significant at the .05 level.
29. Correlations between isolation and other variables were: Rejection=.57 (.001), Despair=.36 (.01), Moral Emptiness=.51 (.001), Dissatisfaction=.27 (.05), Television Escape=.28 (.05), Anxiety=.29 (.04).
30. The item "Do you find it difficult to relax when sitting or lying down received a 92% response of no.
31. The coefficient of scalability was a mere .3.
32. The coefficient of reproducibility was .8 and the split half reliability correlation a .38 and significant at the .004 level.
33. The split half coefficient was an unreliable .12, sig. at the .2 level.
34. 88% of the sample disagreed with the first item; 82% disagreed with the second; 60% disagreed with the fourth and 66% with the sixth.
35. 38% of the sample chose radio as most entertaining.
36. 36% chose radio as most important over the 22% who chose television.
37. 48% watched 0-5 hours, and 20% watched 6-9 hours per week.
38. The coefficient of reproducibility of the moral emptiness scale was .8 and the scale-item correlations were .45.
39. It was found that 31.8% listed activities; 25% mentioned friends; 22.7% were visiting the pub; 13.6% listened or used other media; and 6.8% were escaping through drugs and sleep.
40. 62.2% of the sample were totally nonactivists; 24.4% were low activists.

41. Keniston. Young Radicals, Op. Cit., p. 329.
42. Ibid., p. 341.
43. Stinchcombe. School Stinks (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1964), p. 7)
44. Ibid., p. 71.
45. Ibid.

CHAPTER VII
THE DATA ANALYSIS

Introduction

This chapter sets out to accomplish the final purpose of this thesis. Our third purpose, as outlined in the introduction of the thesis, was to examine whether or not the new theoretical model of alienation, an operationalization of Barakat, is able to predict behaviours of individuals. One specific behaviour that we are most interested in, is watching excessive amounts of television for escapist reasons. Thus, certain hypotheses were generated regarding this relationship. But, not only are we interested in this specific relationship, we are also interested in the general workings of the new model. To investigate this, many hypotheses were derived which then expected certain relationships of the model. As the model has three stages, expected associations within stages and between stages were established in the research design chapter. Now that the research has been accomplished, it is the purpose of this chapter to analyze the collected data, and test the specific television problem hypotheses and the general model hypotheses. Hence, this chapter has an exploratory purpose of finding relationships.

Having completed certain preliminary tests on our research instrument ¹, we then began the data analysis. Our first method of analysis was testing the theoretical model hypotheses by the correlation method. Since we have ordinal data, we could only use the nonparametric statistical test of the Spearman correlation to measure the degree of association between our theoretical variables.

Ours will be merely a simple correlation analysis and not a partial one that holds one or more variables constant, allowing the others to vary. We plan to control for spurious relationships when using the contingency table analysis. Secondly, once we found whether our hypotheses are confirmed or rejected by the correlation method, we then found the situational variables that will eventually have to be controlled. Thus, our second step was just finding what theoretical variables the situational ones affect. These findings were also related to our hypotheses, as we have several regarding their expected relationships. Thirdly, once we have found the necessary controls, we further examined our theoretical variables by the crosstabulation method to see if new relationships come to the surface, or if relationships found by the correlation method disappear.

Theoretical Relations of Model

I. The Source

Our first measure of the source in the alienation process was a scale to measure the amount of discrepancy between the respondents' perception of what their institution ideally ought to be, and what their institution actually is. Our second source measure was a scale to tap another discrepancy, one between the ideal relationship of going to school and attaining future success because of it, and the perception of whether this exists in actuality. The following table gives in full the correlations, in decreasing order of strength, found between these two source measures and all the theoretical variables.

Proposition 3a. stated that within any high school population, the higher the perception of a discrepancy between school and success, the higher the alienation. Our correlations however only

Table 1: Source-Theoretical Variables Correlations

Sources	
Is-Ought Discrepancy	
Variables	
Is	-.86
Dissatisfaction	.44
Ought	.35
Rejection	.34
APC	.31
Isolation	.17
Non-Conformity	.14
Rebellion	.12
Despair	.11
Anxiety	.09
Moral Emptiness	.06
MI	.05 [*]
Television Escape	-.05 [*]

Sources	
School-Success Discrepancy	
Variables	
Dissatisfaction	.39
APC	.36
Is	-.33
Is-Ought	.30
Rejection	.25
Rebellion	.20
Non-Conformity	.13
Anxiety	.03 [*]
Ought	-.02 [*]
Moral Emptiness	-.05 [*]
MI	-.03 [*]
Isolation	-.01 [*]
Television Escape	-.12 [*]
Anxiety	.00 [*]

* the correlation is non-significant.

partly confirm this. If we examine Table 1, we see that this source measure is associated with the alienation proper stage, but only with the attitudes of rejection and dissatisfaction. There was no association with the manifestations of despair, anxiety and moral emptiness. With regard to the final stage, this school-success discrepancy source correlated most strongly with the rebellion consequence. This positive association confirms Stinchcombe's finding that the most rebellious are those who perceive a poor connection between current academic activity and future status.

Our fourth hypothesis expected a positive relationship between a perceived discrepancy between an ideal school and the respondents' actual school, and the alienation proper attitudes of dissatisfaction and rejection. Our correlations confirm this, as we found a strong positive relationship between the Is-Ought source and the alienation composite index, APC, the index that combines the dissatisfaction and rejection attitudes together. Again, there was only a weak relationship with the three manifestations. This can be seen by the low correlation it has with the manifestations index, MI. Thus, these manifestations must have as their source something else. The strongest association was with dissatisfaction. But then this was expected since the Is-Ought source scale was specific to the school institution, and the dissatisfaction scale was also specifically tapping the same institution. With regard to the final stage, this source measure is associated most strongly with social isolation.

Another additional finding is that the two source measures correlate well with each other. Not only is there a positive relationship between the School-Success Discrepancy Source measure

and the Is-Ought discrepancy one, but also there is a negative relationship between the School-Success Discrepancy and the Is component. This means that the higher the School-Success Discrepancy, the greater the perception of the school not meeting its ideal state.

In conclusion, our correlation findings indicate that the two source variables in stage one are associated. Both measures of stage one are related with the dissatisfaction and rejection variables of stage two, but not with the manifestations. With regard to stage three, the Is-Ought is most strong with social isolation, and the School-Success discrepancy with the rebellion consequence.

II. Alienation Proper

The second stage of the process is composed of the feelings of alienation- dissatisfaction, rejection and the manifestations of despair, moral emptiness, and anxiety. First, we will examine the relationships within the stage, and then the relationships with the subsequent third stage.

Table 2: Alienation Proper Correlations

	Empti.	Despair	Anxiety	Reject.	Dissat.	MI
Emptiness		.61	.27	.40	.04*	.70
Despair			.12	.40	.04*	.65
Anxiety				.16	.05*	.56
Rejection					.17	.38
Dissatisfaction						.07

* correlations are non-significant.

In proposition 5a. we expected a positive relationship between the general rejection of social values and dissatisfaction with school. We were not sure whether rejection leads to dissatisfaction or whether dissatisfaction causes general rejection. But, we did expect the two to be associated since they are components of the

same stage. Our correlations show that general rejection and dissatisfaction were significantly and positively related, although not too strongly as the coefficient was $+.17$.

Proposition 6b. expected a positive relationship between the alienation proper attitudes of rejection, dissatisfaction and the manifestations of despair, anxiety and moral emptiness. However, this hypothesis was again only partly confirmed. We did find a positive relationship between rejection and the manifestations: a $.40$ correlation with despair and moral emptiness, and a weaker $.16$ with anxiety. Dissatisfaction on the other hand, was not related with these manifestations. For example, dissatisfaction and moral emptiness attained a $.04$ correlation that was significant at the $.2$ level. Thus our hypothesis has to be qualified. The manifestations are associated only with general rejection and not with dissatisfaction. This can be further shown if we examine the correlations with the manifestation index: MI with rejection equals $.38$ while MI with dissatisfaction equals $.07$.

We also expected a positive relationship between despair, moral emptiness and anxiety. Examining the manifestation correlations with each other, we see that they all correlate with each other, but not equally well. For example, moral emptiness had the highest correlation with despair, a $.61$, then a lower correlation with anxiety, a $.27$. Despair and anxiety achieved only a $.12$ coefficient. Looking at the separate relationships with the manifestations index, we can see that moral emptiness and despair are more strongly associated with the index than anxiety is. Thus, anxiety does not appear to be very strongly related with the other manifestations.

Let us now examine the relationships between this stage and the next, the consequences one.

Table 3: Correlations Between Stage II and III

	MI	TV.	Isolation	Rebellion	NonConformity
MI		.35	.49	.04*	.01*
Emptiness	.70	.34	.40	.05*	.08
Despair	.65	.31	.38	.18	.14
Anxiety	.56	.23	.36	-.08*	-.14
Rejection	.38	.08*	.38	.09*	.09*
Dissatisfaction	.07	.06	.07*	.37	.36

* correlations are non-significant.

In proposition 7a. we expressed an expected positive relationship between social isolation and alienation. Our correlational analysis findings again confirms this only partly, and thus the hypothesis has to be qualified. Once again our results showed that we can not speak of feelings of alienation in a total sense. We only found general rejection and the manifestations (variables which are related together as well) to be associated with the social isolation retreatist consequence. MI with isolation resulted in a high .49 correlation and rejection (which has a .38 correlation with MI) also resulted in a .38 correlation. If we examine the above table, we can also see a very interesting pattern between the separate manifestations and social isolation. As each manifestation weakens with the index, the strength of the correlations with social isolation decreases as well. Thus, anxiety, which has the lowest correlation with the index, also has the lowest correlation with social isolation. Why the hypothesis has to be qualified is because of a lack of any association between dissatisfaction and social isolation. Perhaps we should have anticipated this. We were quite sure of a relationship with rejection as one of the components of this scale is a general mistrust of contact with others, rejecting all involvement with people. Dissatisfaction on the other hand we could not be as sure of just which consequence it would be related

with. Our mistake was thinking that they both would associate the same way.

With regard to the other retreatist consequence, escapist television viewing, we expected a positive relationship between it and alienation. This ninth ordinary proposition was partly confirmed. Our results show that neither alienation proper attitudes of rejection and dissatisfaction have any relationship with escapist television watching. We found only the manifestations-despair, moral emptiness and anxiety, to have the expected positive relationship. These manifestations, measured in total by the index, achieved a .35 correlation with the television scale. Again we found the same pattern mentioned above between the separate manifestations and social isolation. Now, as each manifestation decreases its association with the index, the correlation weakens with the television scale. Again it is anxiety that has the weakest relationship of all the manifestations with the television measure.

From our model, we derived a hypothesis stating an expected relationship between alienation and the rebellion consequence. This too has to be qualified. We discovered only the dissatisfaction variable to be positively associated with rebellion, all other second stage variables did not exhibit any associations. Thus it seems that our variables are showing specific relationships between the two stages. It is the manifestations that are primarily related with the retreatist consequences of social isolation and escapist television watching, and they are not related to the other two alternatives of rebellion and conformity. These latter consequences associate only with dissatisfaction. We can demonstrate this by examining in table three the correlations between MI and the television scale plus the rebellion scale. The correlation with

the manifestations index and rebellion was much lower (.04) than the correlation with the television scale (.35). The retreatist consequences seem to be primarily related to the manifestations. We did find that rejection is related to social isolation, but this could possibly be a spurious relationship, as rejection is also associated with the manifestations which are positively related with social isolation as well. The other two consequences, rebellion and conformity relate well not with the manifestations, but with dissatisfaction. This can be further shown by comparing the .04 correlation between APC and the television scale with the high .31 correlation between APC and rebellion.

Let us now turn our discussion to the relationships within the third and final stage.

III. The Consequences

Table 4: Correlations of Consequence Variables

	Consequences		
	Television-Escape	NonConformity	Rebellion
Isolation	.17	-.002*	-.03*
TV		.13	.16
NonConformity			.43

* correlations are non-significant.

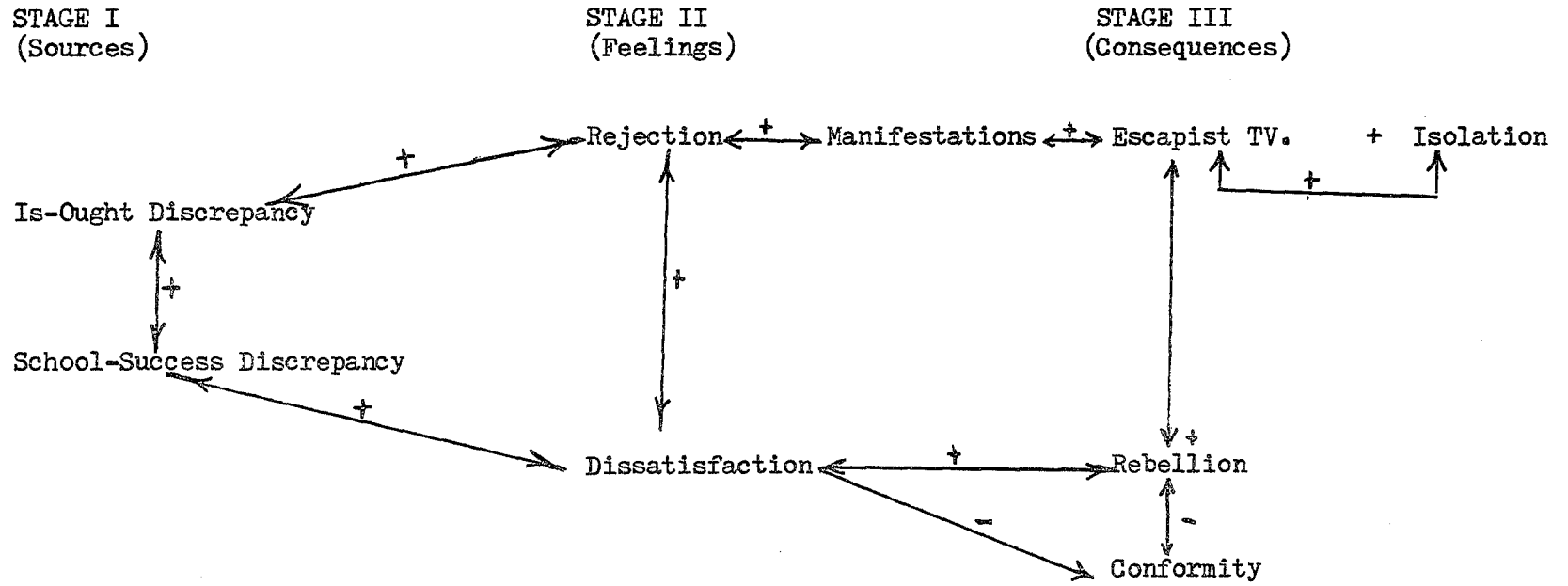
Since isolation and escapist television viewing are both hypothesized retreatist consequences, then they should be positively related. This expected relationship was expressed in proposition 8b in the research design chapter. They are significantly related as table IV shows, but the relationship is not that strong. However, we must remember that in this correlational analysis we are not controlling for other factors. Perhaps when we analyze this relationship with subsequent controls, this association may be increased.

We also mentioned three hypotheses expecting negative relationships with the alternative modes. These were based on the assumption that since the consequences are alternative adaptations to the feelings of alienation, they should be mutually exclusive. Thus, we expected a negative relationship between conformity and rebellion. Our table indicates a .43 positive relationship between rebellion and non-conformity, which means a negative relationship with conformity. There was no relationship found between isolation and the other two consequences of rebellion and conformity. Escapist television did achieve a negative correlation with conformity. But, also we found a positive relationship between the television measure and rebellion. Thus, it seems that rebellion and television watching are not mutually exclusive consequences.

In conclusion, we must emphasize a general finding, besides the hypotheses confirmations. For from our examination of certain relationships amongst our theoretical model, we now perceive the process to be more complex than we had earlier stated. The relationships are not total from stage to stage, nor even at the same stage, but instead, they are more specific. Certain variables relate only to certain others. This is why the ordinary propositions had to be qualified. Thus, our model has now acquired an even more complex pattern. To show what we see the pattern to be, we will describe it pictorially in diagram one.

The two discrepancy sources are related to each other and are also positively associated with the alienation proper attitudes of rejection and dissatisfaction. Is-Ought is most strongly associated with social isolation while the School-Success source is most strongly related with rebellion.

Diagram 1: Correlation Relations of the Model



At stage two, we found the two attitudes of dissatisfaction to be weakly related. The manifestations were however, only related with general rejection. These three manifestations were found to be related only with the two retreatist consequences of social isolation and escapist television watching. Dissatisfaction on the other hand was not related with either the manifestations nor the retreatist consequences, but related to rebellion and conformity.

Finally, at the consequences stage, we found a negative relationship between conformity and rebellion. No significant relationships were found between isolation and the rebellion-conformity consequences. There was a positive relationship however between social isolation and escapist television viewing. Although we found a negative relationship between conformity and the television scale, the expected negative relationship with rebellion was not confirmed. The positive relationship found between them, indicates that rebellion and escapist television watching are not mutually exclusive modes of adaptation to the feelings of alienation.

Before we further investigate these theoretical relationships by the crosstabulation method, we have to discover the necessary controls that will then have to be introduced. Hence, our second step of analysis is to find the effects of the situational variables. Examining the relationships between our situational variables and our theoretical variables has a dual purpose. First of all, this will be a test of the several propositions regarding the situational variables. Secondly, we will also discover which of the school, sex, grade, and socioeconomic status variables need to be controlled. Once found, and thus able to be controlled, we will again analyze our theoretical hypotheses to see if the results arrived at by the

correlation method have to be changed, i.e. by eliminating spurious relationships or by adding new ones found when the controls were added.

We will analyze each variable first by mentioning the situational variable hypothesis. Most of these propositions were stated in very general terms in the research design chapter, because at that time, we thought the process of alienation to be more general than what we found by the correlations. Thus, we did not expect differences between schools for example on specific theoretical variables. The following analysis then will qualify these propositions dealing with the situational variables.

The Situational Variable of School Structure

We have two propositions regarding the school structure situational variable. First, we proposed that Lord Elgin, the most modern structure, will exhibit lower discrepancies between reality-utopia than students from either Westmount or Westdale. If we examine the difference between variable means between schools, we see that this proposition holds.

Table 5: Source Variable Mean Differences Between Schools

Sources	Schools					
	Westdale	S.D	Westmount	S.D.	Lord Elgin	S.D.
Is-Ought Discrepancy	28.9	13	23.3	12	11.1	10
School-Success	3.6	2	3.7	1.3	3.2	2

From inspection we can see that the Is-Ought source measure is indeed affected by school structure as there is a dramatic difference between the schools on this scale. There appears to be a rank order school pattern from Westdale-Elgin, high to low discrepancy. Thus, Lord Elgin had the lowest discrepancies between reality and utopia.

The other source measure does not appear to be affected by school structure

Our second proposition regarding school structure expected an inverse relationship between modernism of school structure and alienation. That is, we expected Lord Elgin, the most progressive school to have the lowest alienation. Above we have mentioned that Elgin has the lowest Is-Ought discrepancies and since this is a source of the process, then Lord Elgin should exhibit the lowest alienation. But, this hypothesis could not totally be confirmed. As a result of our crosstabulation analysis, the general term "alienation" will have to be qualified because only certain specific components of the process appeared to be affected by the school structure.

On the two attitudes of dissatisfaction and general rejection, our analysis found a rank order from Westdale to Elgin, Westdale having high and Lord Elgin low scores on the scales. Thus this pattern is in the direction predicted by our hypothesis. Lord Elgin has the least amount of alienation in this sense.

Table 6: Dissatisfaction Between Schools

Schools	Dissatisfaction			Total Row
	Low	Medium	High	
Westdale	36.8%	27.2%	36.0%	125 (33.2%)
Westmount	36.2%	30.4%	33.3%	69 (18.4%)
Elgin	49.5%	26.4%	24.2%	182 (48.4%)
Column Total	(161)	(103)	(112)	376 (100%)
chi square= 7.8 level of significance=.10 Cramer's V=.10				

Table 7: General Rejection Between Schools

Schools	General Rejection			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Westdale	24.0%	34.4%	41.6%	125 (33.2%)
Westmount	26.1%	50.7%	23.2%	69 (18.4%)
Elgin	33.0%	44.0%	23.1%	182 (48.4%)
Column Total	(108)	(158)	(110)	376 (100%)
chi square=15.2 level of significance=.01 Cramer's V=.14				

Because the alienation composite index is a combination of these two attitudes of rejection and dissatisfaction, it too demonstrates the same relationship.

Table 8: Alienation Composite Index Between Schools

Schools	APC			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Westdale	30.4%	31.2%	38.4%	125 (33.2%)
Westmount	37.7%	30.4%	31.9%	69 (18.4%)
Elgin	48.4%	28.0%	23.6%	182 (48.4%)
Column Total	(152)	(111)	(113)	376 (100%)
chi square=11.8 level of significance=.01 Cramer's V=.13				

Thus this finding confirms our hypothesis. But only partly, for with regard to the manifestations, no relationships were found between the schools on the feelings of despair and anxiety. And interestingly enough the moral emptiness manifestation displayed a reversed relationship. Now Elgin was higher than Westdale on this alienation aspect. This relationship stayed even when other situational variables like grade and SES were also added as controls. Why this unexpected reversal? This may be due to the fact that the moral emptiness measure may be a manifestation of a state of undercontrol or permissiveness at Lord Elgin. We did mention in our research design how Lord Elgin lacks overcontrol because of such structural features as students being allowed to work much more on their own than at a more

traditional school. However, the possibility exists that this feature may have resulted in a state of undercontrol and thus the scale of moral emptiness, which basically measures feelings of normlessness, may reflect the permissive state (and therefore alienating source) that perhaps exists at Lord Elgin. Table nine exemplifies the relationship found.

Table 9: Moral Emptiness Between Schools

Schools	Moral Emptiness			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Westmount	25.6%	50.4%	24.0%	69 (18.4%)
Westdale	39.1%	46.4%	14.5%	125 (33.2%)
Elgin	24.2%	47.8%	28.0%	182 (48.4%)
Column Total	(103)	(182)	(91)	(376)
chi square=8.3 significance level=.10 Cramer's V=.11				

At the final consequence stage of the alienation process, we found school structure to affect conformity and social isolation. Our contingency table analysis indicated that Westdale students were the most non-conformists and Elgin students the most conformists.

Table 10: Conformity Between Schools

Schools	Conformity			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Westdale	10.8%	28.0%	24.0%	125 (33.2%)
Westmount	11.6%	46.4%	31.9%	68 (18.4%)
Elgin	13.7%	48.9%	30.8%	182 (48.4%)
Column Total	(108)	(172)	(116)	376 (100%)
chi square=8.3 significance level=.10 Cramer's V=.16				

The retreatist consequence of social isolation somehow was also affected by some aspect of the school structure. Westdale students had the highest feelings of social isolation as the next table demonstrates.

Table 11: Social Isolation Between Schools

Schools	Social Isolation			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Westdale	20.0%	43.2%	36.8%	125 (33.2%)
Westmount	24.6%	50.7%	24.6%	69 (18.4%)
Elgin	30.8%	47.3%	22.0%	182 (48.4%)
Column Total	(98)	(175)	(103)	376 (100%)

chi square=10.1 significance level=.05 Cramer's V=.12

Controlling for further situational variables such as sex, did not obliterate this pattern.

Table 11A: Social Isolation Between Schools By Sex

Schools By Sex	Social Isolation			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
WESTDALE				
Males	17.9%	46.4%	35.7%	56 (31.1%)
Females	21.7%	40.6%	37.7%	69 (35.2%)
WESTMOUNT				
Males	28.1%	53.1%	18.7%	32 (17.8%)
Females	21.6%	48.6%	29.7%	37 (18.9%)
ELGIN				
Males	30.4%	47.8%	21.7%	92 (51.1%)
Females	31.1%	46.7%	22.2%	90 (45.9%)
Column Totals				
Males	(47)	(87)	(46)	180 (100%)
Females	(51)	(88)	(57)	196 (100%)

chi square for both sexes=5.7 level of significance=.3 Cramer=.12

Thus although the relationship is not significant, the same pattern still does appear. This finding parallels our correlational one as well. For the correlations showed that the Is-Ought source affects social isolation the most. Now we found the school structure to affect the Is-Ought, thus school structure also should affect social isolation.

In conclusion, the school hypothesis was partly confirmed as Lord Elgin was low on the theoretical variables of rejection, dissatisfaction, social isolation and the Is-Ought discrepancy. However,

there was no relationship with despair, anxiety and rebellion. Plus, the relationship with moral emptiness and conformity were reversed to what we had expected when we spoke of "alienation" in a general sense. Thus, another major finding is that we can not talk about alienation in such general terms. For example, we thought we would tap alienation by a composite index that would combine all the variables of the second stage-alienation proper and the despair, anxiety, moral emptiness manifestations. However, when we used this measure of alienation and did a crosstabulation between schools, no significant or even strong relationship appeared.

Table 12: Alienation Index Between Schools

Schools	Alienation Index			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Westdale	33.6%	48.8%	17.6%	125 (33.2%)
Westmount	44.9%	42.0%	13.0%	68 (18.4%)
Elgin	40.1%	46.2%	13.7%	182 (48.4%)
Column Total	(146)	(174)	(56)	376 (100%)
chi square=2.99 level of significance=.7 Cramer's V=.06				

Because the manifestations of despair and anxiety are not affected by the school is why this pattern is so weak. Also, the moral emptiness manifestation is even in the opposite direction to the rejection and dissatisfaction attitudes. Thus, when combined, these variables cancel any strong relationship. Now we see that we must not speak in such vague terms as Lord Elgin having less "alienation". Instead, we have to specify the certain components that are affected by the school structure source.

Summary

We found Lord Elgin to be lowest in the two alienation proper components, rejection and dissatisfaction. Because this school had the

lowest state of overcontrol, we expected this. Thus the finding partly confirmed our hypothesis. Two of the manifestations were not affected. The third, moral emptiness, was affected but in a reverse fashion. This might be due to unknown sources of undercontrol present at Lord Elgin.

We also found the consequence stages of compliance and social isolation to be affected. These results can be explained by our theoretical model. Because Westdale is so much higher in overcontrol, its students refuse to conform. Also, since they are much higher on alienation proper, they should then be more affected by the retreatist consequence and have higher social isolation.

The Situational Variable of Sex

We proposed two propositions regarding the situational variable of sex. First we expected girls to have lower school-success discrepancies than boys. Thus we also expected boys to be more alienated than girls. But once again we thought alienation to be a general process. However, only specific aspects of the process reflected a sex difference.

Table 13: Means of Source Variables Between Sexes

	Males	Females
Sources		
Is-Ought Discrepancy	18.5	20.1
School-Success	3.6	1.2

With respect to our first proposition, it seems that girls do have lower school-success discrepancies. Males perceive a larger gap between education and future success. However, on the other independent variable, the Is-Ought discrepancy, girls have higher scores. Females perceive a larger gap between an ideal school and the one they actually attend.

The second proposition, i.e. that males are more alienated, appeared to be at least partly confirmed. Males were found to be higher on the alienation proper attitudes of rejection and dissatisfaction as the next three tables show.

Table 14: Dissatisfaction Between Sexes

	Dissatisfaction			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Sex				
Males	36.1%	32.2%	31.7%	180 (47.9%)
Females	49.0%	23.0%	28.1%	196 (52.1%)
Column Total	(161)	(103)	(112)	376 (100%)
chi square=6.98 level of significance=.05 Cramer's V=.14				

Table 15: General Rejection Between Sexes

	Rejection			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Sex				
Males	23.3%	45.0%	31.7%	180 (47.9%)
Females	33.7%	39.3%	27.0%	196 (52.1%)
Column Total	(108)	(158)	(110)	376 (100%)
chi square=4.9 level of significance=.10 Cramer's V=.11				

Table 16: Alienation Proper Between Sexes

	APC			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Sex				
Males	35.0%	30.0%	35.0%	180 (47.9%)
Females	45.4%	29.1%	25.5%	196 (52.1%)
Column Total	(152)	(111)	(113)	376 (100%)
chi square=5.3 level of significance=.10 Cramer's V=.12				

Thus it appears that we now have two situational variables, school structure and sex, affecting the same alienation proper stage. Is one just a spurious relationship? To determine this, we ran some crosstabs that controlled the alternate situational variables. Our first crosstab was between school and dissatisfaction, but now we

controlled for sex. If school is the real affecting variable, then the Westdale-Westmount-Elgin rank that we previously found, should appear in both sexes.

Table 17: Dissatisfaction Between Schools By Sex

Schools By Sex	Dissatisfaction			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
MALES				
Westdale	33.9%	41.1%	25.0%	56 (31.1%)
Westmount	37.5%	18.7%	43.8%	32 (17.8%)
Elgin	37.0%	31.5%	31.5%	92 (51.1%)
	(65)	(58)	(57)	(180)
FEMALES				
Westdale	39.1%	15.9%	44.9%	69 (31.1%)
Westmount	35.1%	40.5%	24.3%	37 (18.9%)
Elgin	62.2%	21.1%	16.7%	90 (45.9%)
	(96)	(45)	(55)	(196)
chi square for males=5.6 level of significance=.3 Cramer's V=.12				
chi square for females=23.9 level of significance=.001 Cramer=.25				

As table 17 indicates, a perfect linear relationship does exist from Westdale-high to Elgin-low in dissatisfaction, but only for the girls. The males deviate from this rank pattern. For example, the majority of Westdale males, instead of being in the High category, are found in the medium and low dissatisfaction category. Furthermore, the Westmount males, instead of the majority being in the medium range, split almost evenly in the low and high categories. Also, the male crosstab was at an insignificant .3 level whereas the females achieved the .001 level and a very strong Cramer's V of .25. From this analysis we concluded that both situational variables must affect dissatisfaction. The school variable via girls, and the sex variable via boys both play a part. The school structure affects the girls to get the Westdale-Elgin rank, while the male component of the sex variable operates through all the schools to get the male-high, female-low dissatisfaction relationship.

The general rejection scale also is affected by the two situational variables of school and sex. In our school analysis, we found a Westdale-Elgin pattern, and in our sex analysis, a male-high female low rejection pattern. Once again to eliminate a spurious relationship, we ran a crosstabulation between schools on rejection, but now controlling for sex.

Table 18: Rejection Between Schools By Sex

	Rejection			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Schools By Sex				
MALES				
Westdale	19.6%	44.6%	35.7%	56 (31.1%)
Westmount	21.9%	46.9%	31.3%	32 (17.8%)
Elgin	26.1%	44.6%	29.3%	92 (51.1%)
	(42)	(81)	(57)	180 (100%)
FEMALES				
Westdale	27.5%	26.1%	46.4%	69 (35.2%)
Westmount	29.7%	54.1%	16.2%	37 (18.9%)
Elgin	40.0%	43.3%	16.7%	90 (45.9%)
	(66)	(77)	(53)	196 (100%)
male chi square=1.1 level of significance=.9 Cramer's V=.05				
female chi square=22.2 level of significance=.001 Cramer's V=.24				

Although the school pattern does remain in both sexes, for females it is dramatically significant and strong, whereas the chi square and Cramer's V in the male crosstab indicate an insignificant weak pattern. Thus, school structure appears to affect the females with regard to general rejection, just as with dissatisfaction.

A crosstabulation between sex and rejection indicated that throughout each school that was now controlled, males were higher than females on the rejection categories. The above two findings also resulted when controls were introduced to the crosstabulations of the alienation proper index. Both situational variables, school structure and sex, operate to affect alienation proper and its two components of dissatisfaction and general rejection. The school structure seems

mainly to operate via girls, while sex via boys affect the alienation proper stage. Subsequently, the question arose why this exists. For an answer, we looked at our independent variables, the proposed sources of alienation.

The means of the School-Success Discrepancy source measure between schools indicated a lack of difference amongst them. Also, we found that males are higher than females on this measure. This then explains why boys are higher on the alienation proper stage, irregardless of school. But what of the Is-Ought discrepancy source? This other source did indicate a school difference, following the Westdale-Westmount-Elgin pattern, since it really is a source that reflects the school structure. This aspect of the school structure however seems to be mainly affecting girls, girls being more aware of greater Is-Ought discrepancies. This was shown by the fact that girls are higher on the Is-Ought discrepancy scale than the boys. Thus, these two different sources affect the sexes differently, and this is why both situational variables affect alienation proper. Girls are more affected by the Is-Ought discrepancy source, thus reflecting the school structure, and boys are being affected by the school-success discrepancy perception which is unaffected by school structure. Finally, if we assume that girls are thinking that their future success lies in marriage and not in a career, then the school structure source will of course influence them more.

So far we have seen that males are more alienated than females in the alienation proper attitudes of dissatisfaction and despair. Regarding the manifestations, this relationship does not totally hold.

Table 19: Moral Emptiness Between Sexes

Sex	Moral Emptiness			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Males	25.6%	47.8%	26.7%	180 (47.9%)
Females	29.1%	49.0%	21.9%	196 (52.1%)
Column Total	(103)	(182)	(91)	376 (100%)
chi square=1.3 level of significance=.7 Cramer's V=.06				

Table 20: Despair Between Sexes

Sex	Despair			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Males	20.0%	47.8%	32.2%	180 (47.9%)
Females	25.5%	56.1%	18.4%	196 (52.1%)
Column Total	(86)	(196)	(94)	376 (100%)
chi square=9.7 level of significance=.01 Cramer's V=.16				

Table 21: Anxiety Between Sexes

Sex	Anxiety			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Males	33.3%	35.6%	31.1%	180 (47.9%)
Females	19.4%	43.4%	37.2%	196 (52.1%)
Column Total	(98)	(149)	(129)	376 (100%)
chi square=9.5 level of significance=.01 Cramer's V=.16				

We expected that males would be higher on each manifestation. In table 19 we can see that this relationship pattern exists for moral emptiness but it is very weak and insignificant. Thus there is no difference between males and females on this theoretical variable. There is on the other hand a sex difference with regard to the other two manifestations. Table 20 demonstrates that males are higher on the despair manifestation. But then, females appear to be higher on the anxiety one. These sex differences remained when further controls

such as grade were added.

Table 22: Despair Between Sexes By Grade

Sex by Grade	Despair			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
GRADE 9				
Males	14.0%	38.0%	48.0%	50 (52.1%)
Females	21.7%	58.7%	19.6%	46 (47.9%)
	(17)	(46)	(33)	96 (100%)
GRADE 10				
Males	17.5%	57.5%	25.0%	40 (46.0%)
Females	23.4%	53.2%	23.4%	47 (54.0%)
	(18)	(48)	(21)	87 (100%)
GRADE 12				
Males	24.4%	48.9%	26.7%	90 (46.6%)
Females	28.2%	56.3%	15.5%	103 (53.4%)
	(51)	(102)	(40)	193 (100%)
grade 9 chi square=8.6 level of significance=.02 Cramer's V=.30				
grade 10 chi square=.5 level of significance=.9 Cramer's V=.07				
grade 12 chi square=3.6 level of significance=.5 Cramer's V=.14				

Thus we can see that the pattern remained throughout the three different grades: males being higher than females. However, this relationship is most strong with the grade nines and weakens in the older grades, especially the grade tens. Controls were also placed on the sex-anxiety crosstabulation. The next table demonstrates that grade for example does not eliminate the pattern of girls being more anxious.

Table 23: Anxiety Between Sexes By Grade

Sex By Grade	Anxiety			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Grade 10				
Males	35.0%	25.0%	40.0%	40 (46.0%)
Females	17.0%	42.6%	40.4%	47 (54.0%)
	(22)	(30)	(35)	87 (100%)
chi square=4.6 level of significance=.10 Cramer's V=.23				

Table 23: Anxiety Between Sexes By Grade

	Anxiety			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Sex By Grade				
Grade 12				
Males	36.7%	41.1%	22.2%	90 (46.6%)
Females	18.4%	45.6%	35.9%	103 (53.4%)
Column Total	(52)	(84)	(57)	193 (100%)
chi square=9.1 level of significance=.01 Cramer's V=.22				

As the grade tens and twelves maintained the relationship, the grade nines did not significantly. Oddly enough then, the grade nines have the strongest relationship with regard despair and the weakest with anxiety.

The consequences stage of the alienation process also seems to be influenced by the sex variable, especially conformity, rebellion and the amount of television hours watched per week.

Table 24: Rebellion Between Sexes

	Rebellion			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Sex				
Males	26.7%	21.1%	52.2%	180 (47.9%)
Females	30.1%	38.8%	31.1%	196 (52.1%)
Column Total	(107)	(114)	(155)	376 (100%)
chi square=20.2 level of significance=.001 Cramer's V=.23				

Thus the males are more rebellious than the females, and this relationship was maintained all through the control crosstabulations.

Table 25: Conformity Between Sexes

	Conformity			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Males	32.2%	42.8%	25.0%	180 (47.9%)
Females	15.3%	48.5%	36.1%	196 (52.1%)
Column Total	(108)	(172)	(96)	376 (100%)
chi square=12.9 level of significance=.05 Cramer's V=.20				

Thus as table 25 demonstrates, not only are girls less rebellious than boys, they are also more conforming—doing more homework and getting better grades. Earlier we mentioned that school structure also affects conformity. We found high conformity in the Elgin school and low conformity in the traditional Westdale school. Table 26 examines this crosstabulation with sex now controlled.

Table 26: Conformity Between Schools By Sex

School By Sex	Conformity			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
FEMALES				
Westdale	29.0%	40.6%	27.5%	69 (35.2%)
Westmount	8.1%	45.9%	37.8%	37 (18.9%)
Elgin	7.8%	55.6%	33.3%	74 (45.9%)
	(45)	(77)	(58)	(180)
MALES				
Westdale.	26.8%	41.1%	19.6%	56 (31.1%)
Westmount	15.6%	46.9%	25.0%	32 (17.8%)
Elgin	19.6%	42.4%	28.3%	92 (51.1%)
	(63)	(95)	(38)	(196)
male level of significance=.5 Cramer's V=.19				
female level of significance=.01 Cramer's V=.25				

With this added sex control, both sexes exhibit the pattern of Westdale having low conformists, Elgin having high. But this relationship weakens for the males. Thus, school structure seems once again to mainly affect the females.

The sex variable also appears to have an influence on the retreatist consequence—the amount of hours spent watching television.

Table 27: Television Hours Between Sexes

Sex	Hours Watched			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Males	18.9%	25.6%	55.6%	180 (47.9%)
Females	38.8%	24.0%	37.2%	196 (52.1%)
	(110)	(93)	(173)	376 (100%)
chi square=19.6 level of significance=.001 Cramer's V=.23				

Table 27 indicates that males tend to watch more television than females. Now let us examine what happens to this relationship when we control other situational variables.

Table 27A: Television Hours Between Sexes By Grade

	Television Hours			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Sexes By Grade				
Grade 12				
Males	26.7%	24.4%	48.9%	90 (46.6%)
Females	46.6%	21.4%	32.0%	103 (53.4%)
	(72)	(44)	(77)	(193)
Grade 10				
Males	12.5%	25.0%	62.5%	40 (46.0%)
Females	38.3%	36.2%	25.5%	47 (54.0%)
	(23)	(27)	(37)	(87)
Grade 9				
Males	10.0%	28.0%	62.0%	50 (52.1%)
Females	21.7%	17.4%	60.9%	46 (47.9%)
	(15)	(22)	(59)	(96)
grade 12 chi square=8.7 level of significance=.02 Cramer's V=.21				
grade 10 chi square=13.3 level of significance=.01 Cramer's V=.39				
grade 9 chi square=3.3 level of significance=.20 Cramer's V=.20				

Thus the pattern remains, males in every grade watch more television than girls. The relationship is particularly strong in the older grades. The following two tables will examine if this relationship is maintained when school and SES are added as controls.

Table 27B: Television Hours Between Sexes By School

	Television Hours			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
WESTDALE				
Males	16.1%	19.6%	64.3%	56 (44.8%)
Females	30.4%	34.8%	34.8%	69 (55.2%)
	(30)	(35)	(60)	(125)
WESTMOUNT				
Males	12.5%	37.5%	50.0%	32 (46.4%)
Females	45.9%	18.9%	35.1%	37 (53.6%)
	(21)	(19)	(29)	(69)
ELGIN				
Males	22.8%	25.0%	52.2%	92 (50.5%)
Females	42.2%	17.8%	40.0%	90 (49.5%)
	(59)	(39)	(84)	(182)

Westdale chi square=10.8 level of significance=.01 Cramer's V=.30
 Westmount chi square=9.4 level of significance=.01 Cramer's V=.37
 Lord Elgin chi square=7.9 level of significance=.02 Cramer's V=.21

Thus, the sex relationship maintained itself significantly and strongly in every school.

Table 27C: Television Hours Between Sexes By SES

	Television Hours			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Sexes By SES				
LOW SES				
Males	19.6%	13.0%	67.4%	46 (46.9%)
Females	23.1% (21)	28.8% (21)	48.1% (56)	52 (53.1%) (98)
MEDIUM SES				
Males	10.7%	28.6%	60.7%	56 (42.7%)
Females	42.7% (38)	22.7% (33)	34.7% (60)	75 (57.3%) (131)
HIGH SES				
Males	23.5%	29.8%	46.8%	47 (48.5%)
Females	50.0% (36)	24.0% (26)	26.0% (35)	50 (51.5%) (97)
low ses chi square=4.6 level of significance=.10 Cramer's V=.22				
medium ses chi square=16.5 level of significance=.001 Cramer's V=.36				
high ses chi square=7.8 level of significance=.02 Cramer's V=.20				

As we can see, throughout all the socioeconomic status categories, males are higher watchers of television than females. In conclusion then, sex is a situational variable that influences the amount of hours spent watching television.

As the males are more nonconformist, as measured by our conformity measure, they are also more rebellious as measured by our rebellion measure.

Table 28: Rebellion Between Sexes

	Rebellion			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Males	26.7%	21.1%	52.2%	180 (47.9%)
Females	30.1% (107)	38.8% (114)	31.1% (155)	196 (52.1%) (376 (100%))
chi square=20.2 level of significance=.001 Cramer's V=.23				

With respect to social isolation, no relationship appeared.

Summary

In this analysis we found females to have lower school-success discrepancies which confirmed our hypothesis. Also, we found females to have higher Is-Ought discrepancies. But this source was not as strong since boys, who had lower Is-Ought discrepancies, were still more dissatisfied than girls. We further discovered that because girls are more influenced by the Is-Ought Discrepancy, they are affected by the school structure and follow a Westdale-Westmount-Elgin rank pattern with regard to alienation proper and conformity.

Our second sex proposition, stemming from the previous one, stated that boys should be more alienated than girls. Our findings had to qualify this hypothesis. Once again we found that we can not speak of alienation in a total general sense, i.e. including all the components of every stage together. For example, a crosstab between the sex variable and our alienation index was insignificant and weak.

Table 28: Alienation Index Between Sexes

	Alienation Index			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Sex				
Males	36.1%	47.2%	16.7%	180 (47.9%)
Females	41.3	45.4%	13.3%	196 (52.1%)
Column Total	(146)	(174)	(56)	376 (100%)
chi square=1.5 level of significance=.5 Cramer's V=.06				

The lack of any strong relationship is due to the fact that we included in this measure the manifestations with rejection and dissatisfaction. However, the manifestations were not all influenced the same way by the sex variable. There was no effect on the moral emptiness measure, and in fact there even was an opposite effect on

the despair and anxiety manifestations- boys higher on despair, girls higher on anxiety.

We did find that boys were higher on the alienation proper attitudes of rejection and dissatisfaction, which partly confirms our hypothesis for in this respect they are more alienated, although not with respect to the manifestations. Hence, once again we found, like with the school situational variable, that we have to specify the exact components of the alienation process that are affected by the sex variable, and not speak of alienation in meaning all the stages together.

With regard to the final stage, we also found the males to be high non-conformists, rebellious and television watchers. This finding indirectly supports the correlational finding that found television watching and rebellion to be positively associated and not mutually exclusive. The sex difference found with regard to hours spent watching the television set indirectly confirmed another hypothesis. We proposed that Gemeinschaft systems may be intervening variables that buffer the need to watch a lot of television. In this analysis we found that boys watch more television. To examine the mediation hypothesis, i.e. that peers buffer a need to watch television, we examined the leisure activity preferences of the two sexes. We then found that the majority of the girls (33.7%) picked visiting friends as their first choice. The majority of the boys on the other hand, (34.4%) picked sports as their first choice. To them, visiting friends was chosen only by 15% and was tied with going to the pub. Girls then seem to have a more important peer structure, and this then perhaps reduces their need to watch a lot of television. Sports activities do not, for the boys, fulfill a buffer function, and in

fact, may even attract them to watch more because of sport shows.

The Situational Variable of Grade

In our research design chapter, we stated that grade may be an independent variable affecting the norms that regulate television behaviour. We offered two general hypotheses, both of which predicted that the earlier grades would utilize this medium more. This proposition was based, first, on the fact that younger students have a limited opportunity to do anything else in their leisure time. If television watching is primarily related to limited opportunities, then for the younger grades we would expect no relationship between escapist reasons for watching. The second plausible hypothesis was that older students have found out that television does not relieve alienation, while the younger students may not have learnt this. From this we would expect for younger students a stronger relationship with escapist reasons for watching television.

The crosstabulation analysis between all the theoretical variables and grade in school showed that the grade variable affected only the two television measures-escapist reasons and the amount.

Table 29: Amount of Television Between Grades

	Amount Watched			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Grades				
Nine	15.6%	22.9%	61.5%	96 (25.5%)
Ten	26.4%	31.0%	42.5%	87 (23.1%)
Twelve	37.3%	22.8%	39.9%	193 (51.3%)
Column Total	(110)	(93)	(173)	376 (100%)
chi square=19.2 level of significance=.001 Cramer's V=.16				

Table 19 confirms our hypothesis. There is a positive linear relationship between grade and amount watched. The grade nines are high watchers, the grade tens are medium watchers and the grade twelves are low. This

relationship held when controls were added.

Table 29A: Television Hours Between Grades By Sex

Grade By Sex	Amount Watched			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
MALES				
Grade 9	10.0%	28.0%	62.0%	50 (27.8%)
Grade 10	12.5%	25.0%	62.5%	40 (22.2%)
Grade 12	26.7%	24.4%	48.9%	90 (50.0%)
	(34)	(46)	(100)	180 (100%)
FEMALES				
Grade 9	21.7%	17.4%	60.9%	46 (23.4%)
Grade 10	38.3%	36.2%	25.5%	47 (24.0%)
Grade 12	46.6%	21.4%	32.0%	103 (52.6%)
	(76)	(47)	(73)	196 (100%)
male chi square=9.4 level of significance=.10 Cramer's V=.14				
female chi square=18.5 level of significance=.001 Cramer's V=.22				

Both sexes exhibit the grade pattern, earlier grades watching more television hours. However, this relationship is more pronounced amongst the females as the Cramer's V indicates in the above table.

Table 29B: Television Hours Between Grades By SES

Grade By SES	Amount Watched			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
LOW SES				
Grade 9	0.0%	12.0%	88.0%	25 (25.5%)
Grade 10	15.4%	30.8%	53.8%	26 (26.5%)
Grade 12	36.2%	21.3%	42.6%	49 (48.0%)
	(38)	(33)	(60)	131
MEDIUM SES				
Grade 9	14.3%	22.9%	62.9%	35 (26.7%)
Grade 10	23.8%	33.3%	42.9%	21 (16.0%)
Grade 12	37.3%	24.0%	38.7%	75 (57.3%)
	(38)	(33)	(60)	131
HIGH SES				
Grade 9	26.1%	30.4%	43.5%	23 (23.7%)
Grade 10	34.5%	24.1%	41.4%	29 (29.9%)
Grade 12	44.4%	26.7%	28.9%	45 (46.4%)
	(36)	(26)	(35)	97
low ses chi square=18.6 level of significance=.001 Cramer's V=.31				
medium ses chi square=8.4 level of significance=.10 Cramer's V=.12				
high ses chi square=8.3 level of significance=.10 Cramer's V=.12				

In every SES category, the grade nines were higher watchers of television than the older grade twelves. The relationship was most pronounced in the low SES category. Further proof that grade is influencing television amount can be seen if we examine the grades within Lord Elgin.

Table 30: Television Hours Between Grades at Lord Elgin

Grade	Amount Watched			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Grade 9	15.6%	22.9%	61.5%	96 (52.7%)
Grade 12	52.5%	17.5%	30.0%	80 (44.0%)
chi square=31.7 level of significance=.001 Cramer's V=.30				

As we can see, at Lord Elgin, the grade nines watch more television than the grade twelves. Hence, from all these crosstabulations, we can safely conclude the younger students, especially the grade nines, spend much more hours watching the television set than the older grade twelves. This then confirms our grade situational hypothesis. The question as to why earlier grades watch more will now be discussed.

In our analysis we found that the earlier grades tend to watch more for escapist reasons. In fact, we found that the only situational variable that does influence why respondents watch television was grade. Thus, the hypothesis stating that earlier grades watch more because of limited opportunities was rejected.

Table 31: Escapist Television Watching Between Grades

Grade	Escapist Watching			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Grade 9	27.1%	18.7%	54.2%	96 (25.5%)
Grade 10	39.1%	19.5%	41.4%	87 (23.1%)
Grade 12	42.0%	30.1%	28.0%	193 (51.3%)
	(141)	(93)	(142)	376 (100%)
chi square=20.4 level of significance=.001 Cramer's V=.17				

If we combine the grade nines and tens together to match the sample size of the grade twelves and speak of a young-old dichotomy, we see that the young are more escapist television watchers. And this relationship remained when other controls were introduced. Thus, the younger grades do not watch more television because of limited leisure activities, but more for escapist reasons.

The Situational Variable of SES

We stated two hypotheses regarding the SES situational variable. First, we expected an inverse relationship between socioeconomic status, as measured by Pineo's operationalization, and alienation, as measured by our alienation index. That is, we expected persons of lower status to be more alienated than persons with higher status. SES was based upon father's/mother's occupation. Our second hypothesis was with regard television. We expected the lower the SES, the more television is watched. Our findings had to reject the first hypothesis. The only variable that was affected in the first two stages was the Is-Ought discrepancy source measure. Low SES had the highest discrepancies. But the three SES categories all were similar on the Ought scale, thus agreeing with what an ideal school ought to be. It was on the perception of what Is, in which they differed. The lower SES respondents perceived their school as having less ideal traits. However, no other differences were found. This indicated that SES, as measured by parent's occupation, is not related with alienation in this high school sample.

With regard to hours spent watching television, (our second SES hypothesis) the results were supportive of our hypothesis. The higher SES respondents did watch less amounts of television.

Table 32: Television Hours Between SES

	Amount Watched			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
SES				
Low	21.4%	21.4%	57.1%	98 (30.1%)
Medium	29.0%	25.2%	45.8%	131 (40.2%)
High	37.1%	26.8%	31.1%	97 (29.8%)
Column Total	(95)	(80)	(151)	326
chi square=9.4 level of significance=.05 Cramer's V=.12				

All further controls showed that the lower the SES watch more television than the high SES, thus confirming our hypothesis.

Summary of Situational Analysis

For a summary, we will list the situational variables, and underneath mention the theoretical ones that they affect:

School	Grade	SES	Sex
Rejection	TV-Escape	TV-Hours	Rejection
Dissatisfaction	TV-Hours		Dissatisfaction
APC			Despair
Emptiness			Anxiety
Conformity			Rebellion
Isolation			Conformity
			TV-Hours
			APC

Having found these control relationships and having related them to our hypotheses, our next step will be to once again examine the theoretical variables and their relationships. We accomplished this earlier by the correlation method, but now, with the crosstab analysis, we can control for the effects of the situational variables and see if the results of this will change the correlational findings. In examining our theoretical variables for the expected relationships by the crossbreak method, we encountered an unfortunate problem. Since some of the variables had to have three to four situational variables controlled for, the result of this was that the sample size in these

instances became very small, sometimes less than ten. However, let us now strongly emphasize that every crosstabulation that we will show, even though the sample size of that particular one is small, is then representative of the overall pattern found in the rest of the controlled crosstabs.

Relationships of Theoretical Variables

Relationships Within Stage II

Our first proposition regarding the alienation proper stage was an expected positive relationship between dissatisfaction and general rejection. In our correlational analysis, this expectancy was confirmed. However, we also noted that the strength of the relationship was not very strong. When we did the crossbreak with these two variables, we had to control for the situational variables of school and sex. This created six crosstab tables, and this is why the sample size of each is not that large.

Although not one of the crosstabs met our critical level of significance, we can still examine them for their relationship patterns. All six exhibit the same general pattern of relationship: Low Rejection-Low Dissatisfaction/High Rejection-High Dissatisfaction. In other words, there exists a positive linear relationship, although it is not very strong. A probable reason for this is that these two variables are measuring two different social systems- dissatisfaction being specific to school while rejection applied more to the larger social system of cultural values and norms. We now realize that we would have gotten a much stronger positive relationship had we made our rejection scale specific to the school structure and its norms. However, we wanted to see if dissatisfaction in a specific social system

Table 33: Rejection By Dissatisfaction, Control School and Sex

	Dissatisfaction												
	MALES Westdale				Westmount				Elgin				
	Lo.	Med.	Hi.	#	LO.	Med.	Hi.	#	Lo.	Med.	Hi.	#	
Rejection													
Low	18.2%	45.5%	36.4%	19.6%	57.1%	28.6%	14.3%	21.9%	41.7%	25.0%	33.3%	26.1%	
Medium	48.0%	36.0%	16.0%	44.6%	40.0%	13.3%	46.7%	46.9%	39.0%	36.6%	24.4%	44.6%	
High	25.0%	45.0%	30.0%	35.7%	20.0%	20.0%	60.0%	31.3%	29.6%	29.6%	40.7%	29.3%	
chi square=4.2	level of significance=.3				chi=4.6 sig.=.3				chi=2.7 sig.=.7				Cramer=.12
	Cramer=.26				Cramer=.20								

FEMALES													
Rejection													
Low	52.6%	10.5%	36.8%	27.5%	27.3%	45.5%	27.3%	29.7%	69.4%	22.2%	8.3%	40.0%	
Medium	38.9%	22.2%	38.9%	26.1%	30.0%	45.0%	25.0%	54.1%	59.0%	223.1%	17.9%	43.3%	
High	31.3%	15.6%	53.1%	46.4%	66.7%	16.7%	16.7%	16.2%	53.3%	13.3%	33.3%	16.7%	
chi=3.1	sig.=.7				Cramer=.15				chi=3.2 sig.=.7				Cramer=.21
									chi=5.2 sig=.30				Cramer=.2

would lead to a rejection of the overall social system in which the specific is located. The direction of this could run the other way as well- from general rejection to system dissatisfaction. This sample of 376 high school students indicated a slight overlap of these two social systems.

Our second proposition regarding this stage was an expected positive relationship between the alienation proper attitudes and anxiety. However, in our correlational analysis we had to qualify this hypothesis since we found only the general rejection component related with the manifestations. Dissatisfaction was not. Our crosstabulations also safely concluded that dissatisfaction and the manifestations are not related. But, our contingency table analysis did indicate, and thus confirming the correlations, that general rejection was associated with the manifestations, especially with moral emptiness and despair.

Table 34A: Rejection By Moral Emptiness
(Westmount male grade 12's)

	Moral Emptiness			Total Row
	Low	Medium	High	
Rejection				
Low	75.0%	25.0%	0.0%	4 (16.7%)
Medium	36.4%	63.6%	0.0%	11 (45.8%)
High	11.1 (8)	44.4%	44.4% (4)	9 (37.5%) (24) 100%
chi square=11.1 level of significance=.05 Cramer's V=.48				

(Westdale female grade 12's)

	Low	Medium	High	Total Row
Low	60.0%	40.0%	0.0%	10 (27.8%)
Medium	18.2%	72.7%	9.1%	11 (30.6%)
High	6.7% (9)	46.7% (19)	46.7% (8)	15 (41.7%) (36)
chi square=15.5% level of significance=.01 Cramer's V=.46				

The above crosstabulations are representative of the pattern that was found with every control. ² As we can see, the relationship between

rejection and the moral emptiness manifestation was a strong linear one. If we examine the general rejection scale, we can see an existentialist attitude in its content, i.e. that there are no laws in the universe, that we can not be certain of future events. This attitude was expected to manifest feelings of moral emptiness, and both the correlational and crosstabulation analyses show that in our sample it does.

Table 34B: Rejection By Despair (Controlling School, Sex)

	Despair			Total Row
	Low	Medium	High	
Rejection (Elgin males)				
Low	33.3%	37.5%	29.2%	24 (26.1%)
Medium	17.1%	51.2%	31.7%	41 (44.6%)
High	7.4%	33.3%	59.3%	27 (29.3%)
	(17)	(39)	(36)	(92)
chi square=10.1 level of significance=.02 Cramer's V=.24				

Rejection (Westdale females)				
Low	63.2%	21.1%	15.8%	19 (27.5%)
Medium	50.0%	27.8%	22.2%	18 (26.1%)
High	6.3%	53.1%	40.6%	32 (46.4%)
	(23)	(26)	(20)	(69)
chi square=20.4 level of significance=.001 Cramer's V=.39				

These crosstabulations confirm that despair and general rejection are also positively related. The relationship with the anxiety manifestation was not as definite. Not one of the control crosstabs met our critical level of significance and Cramer's V averaged a weak .15. A pattern of high rejection-high anxiety/low rejection-low anxiety did however emerge. We must remember that statistically insignificant patterns of relationship are still theoretically significant. We can only conclude that there is only a faint relationship between rejection and anxiety. But then this was also evident in our correlational analysis since the rejection variable had the lowest correlation .16 with

anxiety of all the manifestations.

Our third hypothesis regarding relationships within this stage was an expected positive relationship between the three manifestations of despair, moral emptiness and anxiety. In our correlations we found that the manifestations did correlated with each other bu not equally well. We found anxiety to be not very strongly related with the other two manifestations. The manifestations were all found to be associated with each other in the contingency table analysis as well.

-- Table 35: Moral Emptiness By Despair,Controlling School,Sex Grade
(Elgin male grade 9's)

	Despair			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Emptiness				
Low	57.1%	28.6%	14.3%	7 (14.0%)
Medium	9.1%	54.5%	36.4%	22 (44.0%)
High	4.8%	23.8%	71.4%	21 (42.0%)
	(7)	(19)	(24)	(50)
chi square=18.5 level of significance=.001 Cramer's V=.43				

Table 35A: Moral Emptiness By Anxiety,Controlling School,Sex,
Grade,(Westdale female 12's)

	Anxiety			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Emptiness				
Low	22.2%	66.7%	11.1%	9 (25.0%)
Medium	26.3%	47.4%	26.3%	19 (52.8%)
High	0.0%	12.5%	87.5%	8 (22.2%)
	(7)	(16)	(13)	(36)
chi square=12.8 level of significance=.02 Cramer's V=.42				

(Elgin male 9's)

Low	45.5%	45.5%	9.1%	11 (23.9%)
Medium	13.6%	45.5%	40.9%	22 (47.8%)
High	23.1%	23.1%	53.8%	13 (28.3%)
	(11)	(18)	(17)	(46)
chi square=8.8 level of significance=.10 Cramer's V=.30				

The above crosstabs indicate a very strong, significant positive relationship between moral emptiness and the other two manifestations

of despair and anxiety. The next table shows the relationship between the despair manifestation and anxiety.

Table 36: Despair By Anxiety, Controlling Sex (Females)

	Anxiety			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Despair				
Low	28.0%	44.0%	28.0%	50 (25.5%)
Medium	15.5%	45.5%	39.1%	110 (56.1%)
High	19.4%	36.1%	44.4%	36 (18.4%)
	(38)	(85)	(73)	(196)
chi square=6.1 level of significance=.2 Cramer's V=.11				

The relationship between despair and anxiety is in the expected direction but it is very weak. Thus although moral emptiness and despair are strongly related, and although moral emptiness and anxiety are related, the two manifestations of despair and anxiety are not that strongly related. But this weakness of anxiety appeared in our correlations, for in that analysis we got a correlation between despair and anxiety to be a mere .12.

Relationships Between Stage II and Consequences Stage III

Let us now examine the expected relationships between the alienation proper stage and the final consequences stage. Our first proposition regarding between stage relationships was an expected positive relationship between social isolation and alienation. Our correlational findings partly confirmed this ordinary proposition, and forced us to qualify it. The results showed that we can not speak of the feelings of alienation in a total sense, for we found only general rejection and the manifestations to be associated with the social isolation retreatist consequence.

Our crosstabs also indicated a total lack of relationship between dissatisfaction and social isolation. However, the following tables

reveal the relationships of isolation with rejection and the manifestations.

Table 37: Rejection By Isolation, Controlling School and Sex (Elgin males)

	Social Isolation			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
<u>Rejection</u>				
Low	54.2%	37.5%	8.3%	24 (26.1%)
Medium	26.8%	58.5%	14.6%	41 (44.6%)
High	14.8%	40.7%	44.4%	27 (29.3%)
	(28)	(44)	(20)	(92)
<u>chi square=17.9 level of significance=.01 Cramer's V=.31</u>				

This table shows a perfect positive linear relationship between rejection and social isolation. As we mentioned earlier, this positive relationship was expected since the general rejection attitude entails a distrust of human nature and emotional ties.

Table 38: Isolation By Manifestations Index, Controlling School, (Westdale)

	Manifestations Index			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
<u>Isolation</u>				
Low	60.0%	32.0%	8.0%	25 (20.0%)
Medium	40.7%	27.8%	31.5%	54 (43.2%)
High	19.6%	13.0%	67.4%	46 (36.8%)
	(46)	(29)	(50)	(125)
<u>chi square=27.0 level of significance=.001 Cramer's V=.33</u>				

Individually, we found each manifestation to be positively related with the social isolation consequence. Hence, to save time, we merely included their total relationship, as expressed by the manifestations index, with social isolation. And as table 38 demonstrates, there is a perfect linear positive relationship between them. Interestingly enough the strength of each manifestation with isolation was the same as we mentioned in our correlational findings. Moral emptiness had the strongest relationship with social isolation, as expressed by Cramer's V, and anxiety had the weakest, although still significant and in the

right direction.

With respect to the other retreatist consequence, escapist television viewing, we expected a positive relationship between it and alienation. Our correlations partly confirmed this. We only found the manifestations to have the expected relationship, neither the attitudes of rejection nor dissatisfaction exhibited an association.

Table 39: Manifestations Index By Television, Controlling School, Sex
(Elgin Males)

	Manifestation Index			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Escapist TV.				
Low	55.6%	22.2%	22.2%	36 (45.0%)
Medium	25.0%	45.8%	29.2%	24 (30.0%)
High	15.0%	25.0%	60.0%	20 (25.0%)
	(29)	(24)	(27)	(80)

chi square=15.6 level of significance=.01 Cramer's V=.32

Individually, our crosstabs indicated that each manifestation has a

positive relationship with escapist reasons for watching television. The above table with the manifestations index demonstrates the association.

We also ran crosstabs between rejection and escapist television watching.

Although we found no relationship via the correlations, we assumed

that perhaps now with controls, a relationship might appear. And,

an unexpected relationship did turn up throughout all the separate

controls on the situational variables of school, sex and grade. The

general relationship found can be seen in the following five

controlled crosstabs.

Table 40: Escapist TV. By Rejection, Controlling School, Sex, Grade

WESTDALE MALE GRADE TENS:

	Escapist Television			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Rejection				
Low	20.0%	40.0%	40.0%	5 (17.9%)
Medium	15.4%	23.1%	61.5%	13 (46.4%)
High	60.0%	20.0%	20.0%	10 (35.7%)
	(9)	(7)	(12)	(28)

chi square=7.6 level of significance=.10 Cramer's V=.34

ELGIN FEMALE GRADE 12's

	Escapist Television			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Rejection				
Low	70.6%	29.4%	0.0%	17 (40.5%)
Medium	41.2%	23.5%	35.3%	17 (40.5%)
High	50.0%	37.5%	12.5%	8 (19.0%)
	(23)	(12)	(7)	(42)

chi square=8.2 level of significance=.05 Cramer's V=.31

WESTDALE FEMALE GRADE 10's

Low	55.6%	22.2%	22.2%	9 (27.3%)
Medium	14.3%	14.3%	71.4%	7 (21.2%)
High	41.2%	11.8%	47.1%	17 (51.5%)
	(13)	(5)	(15)	(33)

chi square=4.2 level of significance=.2 Cramer's V=.26

WESTMOUNT MALE GRADE 10's

Low	33.3%	33.3%	33.3%	3 (37.5%)
Medium	0.0%	25.0%	75.0%	5 (50.0%)
High	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1 (12.5%)
	(2)	(2)	(4)	(8)

chi square=6.2 level of significance=.10 Cramer's V=.55

WESTMOUNT FEMALE GRADE 10's

Low	75.0%	0.0%	25.0%	4 (33.3%)
Medium	50.0%	16.7%	33.3%	6 (50.0%)
High	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2 (16.7%)
	(8)	(1)	(3)	(12)

chi square=8.2 level of significance=.05 Cramer's V=.31

Although these samples are small individually, together they still bring out the total picture. As we can see, we have just found a parabolic relationship once the situational variables were controlled for. Thus, those low on the general rejection had low escapist reasons for watching television, and also, those high on the general rejection had low escapist reasons as well. Those medium on general rejection had the highest escapist reasons for watching. This then is an additional finding to our correlational ones.

A parabolic relationship also appeared between the dissatisfaction

attitude and escapist reasons for watching.

Table 41: Escapist Television By Dissatisfaction, School, Sex, Grade Control
(Westdale male 12's)

Dissatisfaction	Escapist Television			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Low	62.5%	25.0%	12.5%	8 (28.6%)
Medium	40.0%	20.0%	40.0%	10 (35.7%)
High	30.0%	40.0%	30.0%	10 (35.7%)
	(12)	(8)	(8)	(28)
chi square=8.2 level of significance=.05 Cramer's V=.33				

(Westmount male 12's)

Low	33.3%	33.3%	33.3%	9 (37.5%)
Medium	20.0%	0.0%	80.0%	5 (20.8%)
High	50.0%	30.0%	20.0%	10 (41.7%)
	(9)	(6)	(9)	(24)
chi square=8.2 level of significance=.05 Cramer's V=.35				

With these two parabolic relationship findings of alienation proper attitudes, we can not be as conclusive as we are with the positive linear relationships that we found between the manifestations and escapist television. Thus, future studies using the same model must have a very large sample so that even three to four controls would not reduce it to the small levels that we got. We then are merely implying a general pattern with regard to the alienation components of rejection, dissatisfaction and escapist reasons for watching television.

We also have another television measure besides the escapist reasons for watching, which is the amount of hours watched per week. We were unable to use correlations on this measure because it is not a scale, merely categories of hours spent watching, i.e. a question of fact rather than a scale of attitudes. But now with the cross-tabulation method we can investigate this measure's relationships. The hypothesis we had regarding this measure was an expected positive

relationship between alienation and amounts of hours watched. Generally, we found a positive relationship between hours watched and the manifestations and a negative relationship with the attitudes of rejection and dissatisfaction.

Despair with television amount, controlling for grade, sex, and SES did result in a positive relationship.

Table 42: Television Amount By Despair, Controlling School, Sex, Grade, SES
(low SES female grade 12's)

	Television Amount			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
<u>Despair</u>				
Low	54.5%	18.2%	27.3%	11 (23.4%)
Medium	62.1%	13.8%	24.1%	29 (61.7%)
High	14.3%	28.6%	57.1%	7 (14.9%)
	(25)	(8)	(14)	(47)

chi square=7.2 level of significance=.10 Cramer's V=.24

With regards to hours watched and moral emptiness, we can say nothing at all as the controls for school, sex, grade and Ses reduced the sample size so low and increased the number of tabulations done, that no overall pattern could be found, let alone a significant one. The next table is representative of the overall pattern that was found to exist between anxiety and television hours watched per week.

Table 43: Television Hours By Anxiety, Controlling School, Sex, Grade, SES
(low SES male grade 12's)

	Television Amount			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
<u>Anxiety</u>				
Low	12.5%	75.0%	12.5%	8 (28.6%)
Medium	22.2%	22.2%	55.6%	9 (32.1%)
High	0.0%	18.2%	81.8%	11 (39.3%)
	(3)	(10)	(15)	(28)

chi square=11.3 level of significance=.01 Cramer's V=.45

Throughout all the control tabulations we found this positive relationship, i.e. the higher anxiety respondents watched more hours per week than

the lower anxiety respondents. To make this finding more conclusive, we also ran the manifestations index with the television hours measure. Since the manifestations were all associated, we decided that the manifestations index, which encompasses them all together, should work. Thus we were able to examine the total effect of the manifestations via this index with the television amount consequence. This time however, we also controlled for the alternative consequences as well, since they are assumed to be mutually exclusive.

Table 44: Television Amount By Index, Controlling Conformity, Rebellion
(low conformity & rebellion)

Index	Television Amount			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Low	44.4%	27.8%	27.8%	18 (32.7%)
Medium	46.2%	15.4%	38.5%	13 (23.6%)
High	25.0%	12.5%	62.5%	24 (43.6%)
	(20)	(10)	(25)	(55)
<u>chi square=5.8 level of significance=.3 Cramer's V=.23</u>				

There are two plausible reasons why this crosstabulation gave such weak results. First, as we could not determine how moral emptiness related with television hours, it may be working in such a way as to cancel a strong manifestation index relationship. Secondly, perhaps the amount of hours a respondent watches is more influenced by the situational variables than the theoretical ones, and thus when these are not controlled for, as above, the relationship weakens. On the other hand, the same crosstabulation but now with escapist reasons for watching television, resulted in a much more pronounced relationship. It might be that the reasons why a person watches (i.e. escapist measure) is more influenced by the theoretical variables (MI for example) and thus a lack of controls on the situational ones result in that the relationship still strongly exists. That it

does can be seen in the following table.

Table 44A: Escapist Television By Manifestation Index, Control Rebel, Conform.
(high conformity & rebellion)

Index	Escapist Television			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Low	40.0%	36.0%	24.0%	25 (39.7%)
Medium	33.3%	22.2%	44.4%	9 (14.3%)
High	10.3%	13.8%	75.9%	29 (46.0%)
	(16)	(15)	(32)	(63)
chi square=14.9 level of significance=.01 Cramer's V=.35				

In concluding this analysis between the manifestations and television hours, let us say that tentatively we found a positive relationship. However, future studies should use a larger sample. This also applies to the crosstabulations done between television hours and the attitudes of rejection and dissatisfaction. To do these, we first of all had to control for the four situational variables of school, sex, grade and socioeconomic status. As a result, our crossbreak samples were reduced to a very low sample size, as small as three respondents in some instances. However, we decided then to look at the strongest associations via the Cramer's V and try to establish an overall pattern. It would be ludicrous to try to document the overall pattern found by a representative table of nine people. Thus, all we can now say is that generally we found an inverse relationship between rejection and the amount of television watched. It appeared as though the high rejectionists, rejecting the middle class norms of our society, also reject the norm of watching lots of television. With regard to dissatisfaction, once again, because we controlled for all the situational variables, about forty crosstabulations came out between this attitude and hours spent at the television set. Generally, and tentatively of course, we found that an inverse

relation appeared to predominate. Thus, the consequence of retreatism via watching a lot of television is negatively related with both components of the alienation proper stage in our process model.

Our third hypothesis between stage two and the consequences was an expected relationship between alienation and rebellion. However in our correlational analysis we had to qualify this, since we discovered only the dissatisfaction variable to be positively associated with rebellion. Crosstabulations confirmed the positive relationship found between dissatisfaction and rebellion.

Table 45: Rebellion By Dissatisfaction, Controlling School, Sex, Grade
(Elgin male grade 9's)

	Rebellion			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Dissatisfaction				
Low	56.5%	8.7%	34.8%	23 (46.0%)
Medium	30.0%	30.0%	40.0%	10 (20.0%)
High	5.9%	41.2%	52.9%	17 (34.0%)
	(17)	(12)	(21)	(50)
chi square=12.7 level of significance=.02 Cramer's V=.36				

From our correlations we found the dissatisfaction variable to be also associated with the conformity consequence. This relationship was further confirmed by crosstabulations.

Table 46: Conformity By Dissatisfaction, Controlling School and Sex
(Elgin males)

	Conformity			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Dissatisfaction				
Low	2.9%	41.2%	44.1%	34 (37.0%)
Medium	17.2%	48.3%	27.6%	29 (31.5%)
High	41.4%	37.9%	10.3%	29 (31.5%)
	(26)	(39)	(27)	(92)
chi square=10.9 level of significance=.05 Cramer's V=.35				

Thus from the above table, we can see the negative relationship found to exist between dissatisfaction and conformity.

Previously we did not find any relationships between the manifestations and the consequences of rebellion and conformity. But then we did not control for the alternate consequences, but only the situational variables. And of course in our correlational analysis there were no controls whatsoever. Now however, when we did control for the alternate consequences, we did find a relationship between the manifestations and the conformity-rebellion consequences.

Table 47: Conformity By MI, Controlling Rebellion, Isolation
(high rebellion, low isolation)

	Conformity			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
MI				
Low	48.0%	32.0%	20.0%	25 (61.0%)
Medium	9.1%	72.7%	18.2%	11 (26.8%)
High	0.0%	20.0%	12.5%	5 (12.2%)
	(8)	(20)	(13)	(41)
chi square=9.2 level of significance=.10 Cramer's V=.34				

Table 48: Rebellion By MI, Controlling Conformity, Isolation
(medium conformity & isolation)

	Rebellion			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
MI				
Low	34.5%	44.8%	20.7%	29 (34.1%)
Medium	6.5%	48.4%	45.2%	31 (36.5%)
High	12.0%	40.0%	48.0%	29 (29.4%)
	(15)	(38)	(32)	(85)
chi square=10.9 level of significance=.05 Cramer's V=.25				

Hence, when we controlled for the other possible consequences, we found a positive relationship between the manifestations and the consequences of conformity and rebellion. In other words, those high on the manifestations scale were high conformists and rebellious when the other alternative consequences were simultaneously controlled for.

This same method was then done between the alienation proper index, APC, and the two consequences of rebellion and conformity.

Table 49: Rebellion By APC, Controlling Conformity, Isolation
(high conformity, low isolation)

	Rebellion			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
APC				
Low	36.4%	9.1%	54.5%	11 (23.4%)
Medium	0.0%	28.6%	71.4%	14 (29.8%)
High	4.5%	9.1%	86.4%	22 (46.8%)
	(5)	(7)	(35)	(47)
chi square=12.6 level of significance=.02 Cramer's V=.37				

Thus we can see that with the alternative consequences controlled for, there still remains a positive relationship between rebellion and the alienation proper composite index. To be even more specific, the component of the APC that is associating this way is the dissatisfaction variable. For if we remember, general rejection did not associate with these consequences, only with the retreatist ones.

Table 50: Conformity By APC, Controlling Rebellion and Isolation
(High rebellion, high isolation)

	Conformity			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
APC				
Low	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	7 (17.5%)
Medium	11.1%	55.6%	11.1%	9 (22.5%)
High	12.5%	29.2%	58.3%	24 (60.0%)
	(6)	(19)	(15)	(40)
chi square=16.1 level of significance=.01 Cramer's V=.45				

As there was a strong positive relation between APC and rebellion, there is a strong negative relation between APC and conformity when alternative consequences are controlled. But then we already found a negative association between dissatisfaction and conformity, so this was expected. But, what is very interesting is that in the case of these conformity crosstabulations with the two indexes, the results are opposite relationships. With the manifestations index, MI, the relationship was positive, but with the alienation proper index, APC,

the relationship was negative, those high on the APC were low conformists. From this we can conclude that conformity then seems to be a method of coping with the manifestations and not the feelings generated by the dissatisfaction attitude.

Relationships Within Stage III Consequences

Since isolation and escapist television viewing are both hypothesized retreatist consequences, then they should be positively related. Thus in proposition 8b. we expected a positive relationship between social isolation and escapist reasons for watching television. This relationship was confirmed by the correlations, and now by the crosstabulations.

Table 51: Escapist Television By Isolation, Controlling School, Sex
(Elgin females)

	Escapist Television			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Isolation				
Low	53.6%	14.3%	32.1%	28 (31.1%)
Medium	35.7%	33.3%	31.0%	42 (46.7%)
High	20.0%	25.0%	55.0%	20 (22.2%)
	(34)	(23)	(33)	(90)
<u>chi square=8.3 level of significance=.10 Cramer's V=.22</u>				

From the above table we can see that the two retreatist consequences of isolation and escapist reasons for watching television are positively associated. The highly socially isolated tend to watch more for escapist reasons. This confirms our general hypothesis which assumed that television is a vicarious way of relating, having social intercourse, and also escaping from feelings of loneliness. In fact many old people consider their television set as a friend. Unfortunately we did not find a relationship between the amount of television watched and isolation. Thus we can neither confirm nor reject the expected

positive relationship between the amount of television watched and social isolation.

Another proposition within the retreatist consequence stated an expected positive relationship between the two television measures. Again, because we had to control four situational variables, the number of tabulations increased, and the sample sizes decreased. Thus, tentatively, we now say that we did find an overall general relationship. There appeared to be a positive relationship between the two television measures-amount and escapist reasons. Thus our findings merely indicate that those who watch a lot of television do so more for escapist reasons than those who watch little.

We also mentioned in our research design three hypotheses expecting negative relationships with the alternative consequences. We found, via correlations, a negative relationship between conformity and rebellion. No relationship was found between rebellion and isolation. However, with our crosstabs and the controls, a relationship did appear.

Table 52: Rebellion By Isolation, Controlling Sex, Grade (Male grade 9's)

	Rebellion			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Isolation				
Low	8.7%	34.8%	56.5%	17 (34.0%)
Medium	30.0%	40.0%	30.0%	12 (24.0%)
High	58.3%	42.9%	5.9%	21 (42.0%)
	(12)	(10)	(28)	(50)
<u>chi square=9.6 level of significance=.05 Cramer's V=.32</u>				

Thus the hypothesized negative relationship between isolation and rebellion did turn up when controls were added in the crosstab method. In other words, it is the lowly isolated who are highly rebellious.

In our correlations, we found an unexpected positive relationship

between escapist television viewing and rebellion. This led us to the conclusion that television and rebellion are not mutually exclusive consequences.

Table 53: Escapist TV By Rebellion, Controlling School, Grade (Elgin 9's)

	Escapist Television			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Rebellion				
Low	57.1%	21.4%	21.4%	26 (27.1%)
Medium	28.6%	32.1%	39.3%	18 (18.7%)
High	20.7%	20.7%	58.6%	52 (54.2%)
	(37)	(45)	(14)	(96)

chi square=9.1 level of significance=.10 Cramer's V=.22

From this positive relationship, it appears as though not only the socially isolated watch television for escapist reasons, but also this relation exists amongst the highly rebellious. Hence these two consequences are not mutually exclusive as we found social isolation and rebellion to be.

Summary of Crosstabulation Analysis

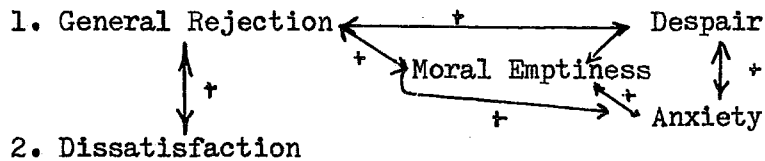
The results of the crosstabulation endeavors are summarized in the accompanying diagram. We found that general rejection is related positively with dissatisfaction, the manifestations and social isolation. It is negatively related with the amount of hours watched and we also found a parabolic relationship with escapist reasons for watching.

Dissatisfaction is unrelated with the manifestations. It is directly related with rebellion positively, and negatively with conformity. It is also negatively related with the amount of television hours watched. Like rejection, it too has a parabolic relationship with escapist reasons for watching.

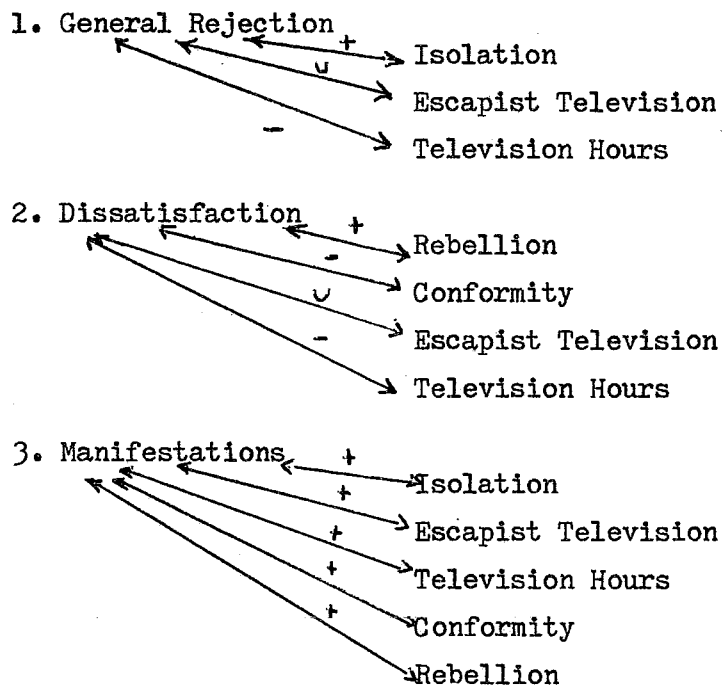
The manifestations are all related to one another and to the isolation and the television consequences. We also found the manifestations

Diagram 2: Relationships Found Via Crosstabulations

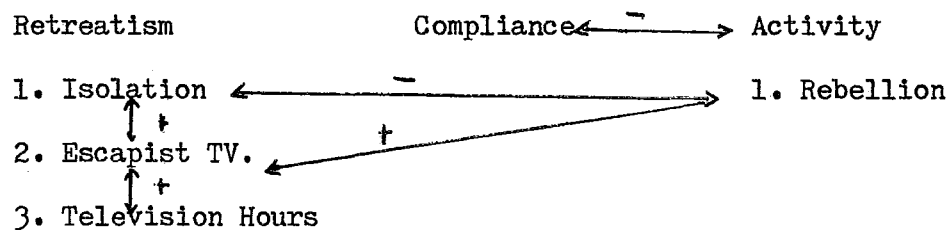
I. Within Stage II. Relationships:



II. Between Stage II. and Stage III Relationships



III. Within Stage III. Relationships



* and - indicate a positive and negative relationship respectively.
 indicates a parabolic relationship.

in total, MI, to be positively related with conformity and rebellion when alternative consequences were controlled.

There is an inverse relationship between isolation and rebellion. There is a positive relationship between the two television measures, between isolation and escapist television and between rebellion and escapist television.

In conclusion, the diagram of the relationships acquired through the crosstabulation analysis resembles generally the diagram gotten through our correlational analysis. However, it has become even more complex as certain controls brought to the surface even more associations. The parabolic relation between alienation proper and escapist television, the positive relationship between the manifestations and rebellion are just a few of the added relationships. And of course we discovered another general finding, that is, that we can not speak of alienation in a total sense including all the components together. For, once again we found only specific variables of the process relating with specific others. This general finding led us to partly confirm our hypotheses and also led us to qualify the earlier general "alienation" hypotheses to specific relationships.

Further Hypotheses Examinations

We already mentioned in our situational variable analysis of how we believed that girls watch less television because of their greater important peer structure. Their gemeinschat system then seems to be a buffer against television watching. Let us now examine a crosstabulation between television and first choice on leisure activities.

Table 54: TV Hours By Leisure Activities

	Leisure Activities							Row Total	Total
	Friends	Sport	Pub	Hobby	Activity	Media	Escape		
TV									
Low	33.6%	19.6%	16.8%	11.2%	9.3%	5.6%	2.8%	106	(30.4%)
Medium	25.3%	26.4%	16.1%	8.2%	9.0%	5.7%	4.6%	83	(24.7%)
High	22.2%	36.1%	10.8%	7.0%	8.9%	8.2%	2.5%	151	(44.9%)
	(93)	(101)	(49)	(30)	(32)	(24)	(11)	(340)	

From this table of frequencies, we can see that the majority of the low television watchers, 33.6%, picked visiting friends as their first choice of preference in their leisure activities. This seem to confirm the mediation hypothesis, i.e. friends serving as buffers against the need to watch excessive amounts of television.

We now only have one more hypothesis to examine- the lower the SES, the more non-print is the most important of the mediums used.

Table 55: Most Important Media By SES

Media	SES			Row Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Newspapers	54.2%	53.4%	57.3%	177 (54.8%)
Magazines	17.7%	17.6%	24.0%	63 (19.5%)
Radio	6.3%	.8%	2.1%	9 (2.8%)
Television	20.8%	26.7%	13.6%	70 (21.7%)
None	1.0%	1.5%	1.0%	4 (1.2%)
	(96)	(131)	(96)	(323)

This table demonstrates that we can not confirm this hypothesis for all three SES think newspapers important, also the middle SES think TV is more important than the low SES.

We have now completed the analysis of our data and related the findings to the specific hypotheses generated in our research design. Our analysis of the control relationships, our correlational analysis, and our crosstabulation analysis of our model all were methods used to

relate the data to the hypotheses regarding the model model theoretical relationships and the specific television problem relationships that we wished to examine. The next chapter will be our final chapter, in which we will state our final conclusions and the implications that came out from our research trials and findings.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER VII

1. Before we began to analyze the relationships and test our hypotheses, we had to do some preliminary tests on our questionnaire, similar to the ones done to our pretest. First, we examined our items by the frequency distributions to see if they discriminated respondents. No item was found to have a greater than seventy percent response on the same category.

We next tested reliability, using once again the split-half technique. The results were not encouraging:

Scale:	Split-half Correlations
Rejection	.32
Dissatisfaction	.79
Despair	.29
Anxiety	.40
Isolation	.34
TV-Escape	.51
Emptiness	.44
Ought	.39
Is	.71

We were sure however that we could, through certain manipulations increase these correlations. Just why did we get such poor results when other sociologists, using the same scales, had gotten much higher split-halves? Dean for example, reported for his social isolation scale a split half greater than .80. Why then did we only obtain a low .34? The reason for this poor showing is that we did not arrange the items of the scale in the same order that Dean did, and since the scale is not unidimensional, certain items correlate well with a few others, not to all. Thus in our split half correlations, we were testing one half of the items with the other half composed of unrelated items. Had we first seen what items intercorrelated well and then set up our split-half test we would have gotten much better results. This probably applies to the other scales as well. Srole's despair scale also had the disadvantage of being composed of five items and thus the correlation compared the sum of three items with the sum of two.

Following this test of reliability, we next used the Guttman scalogram analysis as a test of validity. We fared much better on this analysis than with the reliability tests. And once again, certain manipulations could have improved the coefficient of reproducibilities since we chose our division point to be three, the value above Uncertain, but had we used the division point of two, the value including Uncertains and above, our CR's would have been even much higher. Almost all the item-to-item scale correlations were positive and the few that were negative were insignificant and less than .1

Scale	Coefficient of Reproducibility
Ought	.83
Is	.76
School-Success	.86

Scale	Coefficient of Reproducibility
Despair	.74
Emptiness	.70
Anxiety	.78
Isolation	.75
TV-Escape	.73
Rebellion	.84

(CS=.6 showing that the scale is unidimensional and cumulative)

Of course, when we will later test for the expected relationships of the variables in our new model, we will then be offering another test of validity.

2. We have only included two of the crossbreak tables as examples of the relationship found to exist in all of them. Over thirty tables could not be feasibly shown for every relationship that had the situational variables controlled. However, they are available on the request of the reader.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

At the start of this thesis, we began with several theoretical problems regarding alienation theory. To illuminate these evident problems in the alienation literature came to be a major purpose of our subsequent chapters. However, we wished to accomplish much more than just bringing to the surface the many problems surrounding the concept. For by introducing Barakat's new model, we also tried to reconcile the dilemmas in chapter four. In Chapter I we tackled the many supposed sources of alienation that mass society critics claimed to exist. Technique, rationality, blocked creativity and consumption were mentioned as examples of causes. From this list alone, we can see how diffuse these notions are. Hence, to improve the clarity of the concept, we fitted these diverse causal definitions into our new model, the first stage of the process. This model had two general categories into which we synthesized the previous writings: states of overcontrol and states of undercontrol in the social and normative structures. Indeed, by using this new perspective, we incorporated all the writings of Simmel, Toffler, Ellul, and Lefebvre. Their varied notions can now be seen to merely exemplify the common framework developed in Barakat's model. Therefore, the problem of causes came to be solved.

In addition, the first chapter also introduced another definitional problem that came to light in our theoretical survey. This added problem was with regard to the several contradictory theories referring to what alienation is alleged to occur from. In

other words, when alienation is said to exist, from what is one alienated? This question was found to have diverse answers as different writers supposed that alienation occurs from nature, self, work, man's essence, subjectivity and human needs. Using once again our new theoretical framework, we were able to reduce this confusing list to a concise, yet all encompassing definition. As soon as we extracted the common theme amongst the varied notions, this reduction was accomplished. The commonality between all the varied conceptions regarding from what one is alienated, is the fact that each separate notion is really the theorist's own conception of an ideal state, utopia. Thus, as different sociologists had different ideas regarding utopian visions of what ought to be, they then subsequently gave different ideas regarding from what one is alienated. These however, are merely variations on the same theme. Once we realized this, we synthesized the many theoretical works into the common theme.

Why a synthesis? Because, this method seemed to solve yet another problem of alienation theory. For not only does this clear the confusing variety of definitions by attaining one specific meaning, but also relieves the problem of validity. Why this problem exists was examined in Chapter II, where we mentioned that each of the theories of alienation rested on certain underlying assumptions that were metaphysical and thus unprovable. Add to this the presence of ideological and value elements in the theories, we could not eliminate the definitional problem by choosing one writer's specific usage as being what alienation really and truthfully is, thus terming all others wrong. Since we could not choose one theory, we then decided that a combination of all would be the best solution, i.e. a

synthesis. Therefore, we tried to see common elements in the social theories in an attempt to develop a definition of alienation that encompasses all of them. In fact, we were able to achieve a synthesis after we noticed that each theory of alienation was specifically focusing on a separation from the ideal. For example, Marx believed that work should be spontaneous and free. This was his underlying conception of ideal labor, based upon his human nature assumptions. Thus, when he spoke of alienation, he spoke of forced labor, which we see is quite at odds with his ideal notions. Alienation could now however be defined as a separation from the ideal.

As we also argued for the necessity of not only having a structural analysis of alienation, but also a subjective one, the above synthesis definition was subsequently subjectivized. As a result, alienation came to be now defined as a perception of a discrepancy (separation) between reality (Is) and utopia (Ought). By stating this definition to include individual perceptions, a synthesis of subjectivity and objectivity was achieved. Therefore, not only must there be a separation from the ideal in the objective sense, but there must also be an individual perception of this discrepancy, before alienation is said to exist. This new definition resolved three theoretical problems:

1. The problem of diverse meanings, as now all the varied meanings are synthesized to mean one specific definition.
2. The problem of validity, as this definition is a synthesis of all others.
3. The problem of objectivity versus subjectivity, as this definition combines both.

Our critical appraisal of the career of the alienation concept finally led us to empirical research designs and the definitions and operationalizations of modern sociologists. These sociologists

unfortunately added to the confusion, since their definitions were found to diversify the meaning of alienation even more than previous social theorists. Their conceptualizations ranged from feelings of powerlessness, pessimism, loneliness, egocentricity to the neologisms of anomy and anomia. The resulting confusion was further heightened as several of their definitions overlapped in meaning, and thus, different conceptualizations meant the same. For example, Dean's purposelessness subtype was found to overlap into Seeman's meaninglessness variant. Furthermore, we found our dilemma to increase after we found some cases where the same definitions meant different things or were operationalized differently. Hence, we concluded that the alienation concept in modern sociology has a total lack of clarity, a lack which reduces its usefulness by limiting its usage to specific and separate meanings.

To solve this burning issue, we offered another aspect of our new theoretical model. In its new perspective, alienation is not regarded as being various states of variants, which is Seeman's view, but as a process. Thus we deemed that the empirical definitions were not to be regarded as definitions of alienation per se but of the different stages of the alienation process. With this view we were able to fit the diverse empirical definitions into the three stages of the alienation process. This solution resolved the the problems encompassing the alienation concept in modern times. As each problem came to be cleared, we concluded that theoretically, our new framework was a success. This new model crystallized alienation into a specific concept by synthesizing previous notions and writings. The process model synthesized the empirical definitions, subjectivity and objectivity, and the historical ones as well. So, if the model is theoretically

successful, then it should also be useful in practice. Thus, we next decided to test its practicality in research. For this purpose, we operationalized the model and developed a research instrument. The latter half of the thesis dwelt upon these research endeavors.

In practice, the model was useful from the very beginning, as we were able to generate several general hypotheses from it. For example, a state of overcontrol was suggested to be a source of the alienation process. From this we hypothesized that the greater the state of overcontrol, the greater the feelings of alienation. As we had three variants in states of overcontrol via three high school structures, we proposed an ordinary proposition that stated that the least overcontrol school structure should have the least amount of alienation. This was in fact confirmed, as we found Lord Elgin, the most progressive school, to have the lowest alienation in the sense of feelings of rejection and dissatisfaction. However, this effect by the school structure seemed to operate only for girls. Generally, the girls followed a school pattern: Westdale-Westmount-Loerd Elgin, with regard to these feelings of rejection and dissatisfaction, from high to low. Boys on the other hand, did not exhibit this overall pattern. Hence their feelings had to have another source. In examining our two source measures, we found girls to be more affected by the Is-Ought discrepancy, therefore by the school structure. Boys however were found to be more affected by the School-Success Discrepancy, and therefore be not affected by the school structure.

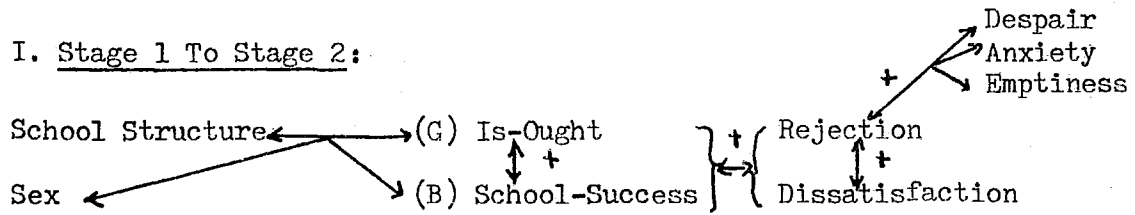
From our previous data analysis chapter, we can see that in general, the hypotheses and propositions generated from the new model were not rejected. In fact, the data led us to improve the model,

by qualifying earlier general statements of expected general relationships into more specific ones. As a result, the new model became more complex, for we found certain variable components of the model relating with only certain others, not all. For example, we expected the alienation proper stage to be generally related with the manifestations of despair, moral emptiness and anxiety. However, we found that only the general rejection component of alienation proper associated with the three manifestations, dissatisfaction being unrelated with these theoretical variables. Thus, a general finding was the impossibility of regarding alienation feelings to be composed in total of all its components. Let us give another example of this. From our new theoretical perspective, we derived a general hypothesis stating the necessity of a perception of a discrepancy between reality and utopia before the process can move from the first to the second stage. Derived from this general hypothesis was the proposition which stated that the greater the Is-Ought Discrepancy, the greater the alienation. But, we found only the alienation proper components associated with the Is-Ought discrepancy, the manifestations were not. Again, certain variables were found to be related with specific others.

In conclusion, the model was not rejected since the predicted variable relationships were confirmed totally or in part. A detailed account of the confirmations will be found in the previous chapter, but for now, the end result of our analysis can be seen in diagram three. This diagram is of course a simplification of the data upon which it is based. "The object of science is to complicate the theory just enough to reduce the complication of the data."¹ Thus, we executed our research project and collected data

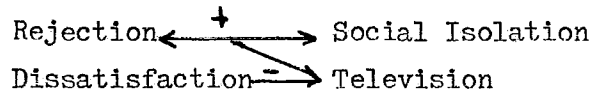
Diagram 3: Summary of General Findings

I. Stage 1 To Stage 2:

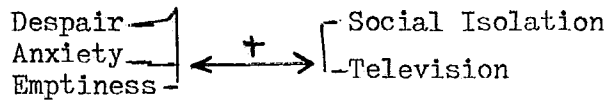


II. Stage 2 To Stage 3 (Retreatism)

Alienation Proper

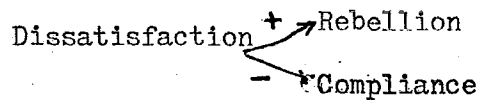


Manifestations



III. Stage 2 To Stage 3 (Activism and Compliance)

Alienation Proper



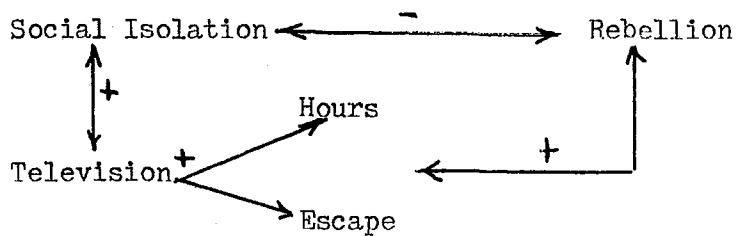
Manifestations



IV. Stage 3

Retreatism

Activism



for the purpose of verifying the new model of alienation that we earlier proposed. We think they have been verified for the data shows that the theoretical concept of alienation (as it is now expressed by Barakat's model) predicts the variables that will be related. And, "this is, of course, the function of a theory, to predict the relations among naturally occurring phenomena, not to predict the phenomena themselves." ²

Limitations Of Research

Our conclusions and findings are limited because of several shortcomings in our research design. We will now state these limitations and imply to future methods and studies.

Our first limitation is with regard to our sample. For any research conclusions to be of use, they must be able to be generalized to a larger population. Because of our lack of representativeness, we are unable to accomplish this. Thus future studies should have a random sample representative of the whole school population. Also to increase generalization possibilities, several schools with similar structures should also be included. Another sample problem was because it was too small for controlled crosstabulations. As a result many findings are tentative because of the patterns are exhibited only in small samples. ⁴ Thus future studies should have a much larger sample to eliminate this problem.

A second limitation is due to the fact that our method of study, the questionnaire, was inappropriate in studying the structural features of the school. To classify our three structures we merely relied on notes given to us by the principals to describe their schools. Thus although Lord Elgin appeared to lack overcontrol by being progressive, it may have states of undercontrol, something which

we did not plan for. We now believe that to increase the analysis of structural, objective features, the questionnaire method must be supplemented with participant observation.

The research instrument also has the problem of reliability. Students for example may have lied with regard to questions asking the amount of television watched, amount of homework done, their final grade and the rebellious measures. This lack of reliability became increasingly evident when several grade nine students mentioned pubbing as their favorite leisure activity. These factual questions about their behaviours are very important since we want to associate them with stated attitudes. If respondents are lying, then the conclusions are void. As a solution, we believe that future researchers should visit parents of the respondents to match responses on these facts.

Another limitation lies in the source measure. All the statements regarding what an ideal school ought to be were taken from intellectuals. However, these may be quite far from what students themselves feel what utopia should be. Perhaps, for example, they may believe in a de-schooled society while our ideal statements referred within a structured institution. Thus we believe that notions of utopia should come not from above but from below, from the respondents themselves. Future studies should collect their views, and use them as their utopian measures.

Implications For Further Research

Much more empirical work and research must still be done if this model is to become a sophisticated tool. We have merely begun, for many areas remain to be studied. One major area that needs

more research is the manifestations component of the process, investigating other manifestations. In our research, we only included three: despair, moral emptiness, and anxiety. But Barakat mentions many more, listing loss of identity, purposelessness, disgust, sadness, resentment, loneliness as other manifestations of alienation. Future research must first of all find out if these truly are manifestations, and eliminate the ones that are not, since this model should not be all too inclusive. Secondly, how these manifestations associate, or how they cluster should also be investigated. By this we not only mean how they are related with each other, but also with what alienation proper attitudes. Thirdly, there should also be an analysis of which social system discrepancy, between the Is and the Ought, is associated with these manifestations. This latter point leads us now to a second major area needed to be studied in the future.

Future research should focus on other Is-Ought discrepancies, inclusive of other systems. For example, a discrepancy between the ideal and real Self might be of use for study as another source of the process, as might a political system discrepancy. Researchers ought also to try to determine just which Is-Ought discrepancy is most important in initiating the second stage of the process. In our study, we have already found that the discrepancy between the ideal-actual school is less important than the school-success discrepancy. Why? Well, students may have a high perception of a discrepancy and therefore disagree with what ought to be. But, the student in school still can generally do what he like and therefore be satisfied while still disagreeing. However, with regard to the school-success discrepancy, the student can not really do what he likes for he must finally attain a job. This might be why this discrepancy

is more effective in exhibiting feelings of rejection and dissatisfaction. There may be other discrepancies which are even more important in giving rise to these alienation proper feelings.

For a complete process analysis, not only should the Is-Ought discrepancies be studied with regard to the alienation proper stage, but also with regard to the third or final behavioural stage. Watergate could be a prime target of such a study. There exists now in the minds of many Americans, a discrepancy between the Is ("White House Horrors") and the Ought (democracy). With this discrepancy are the associated manifestations of distrust, cynicism, pessimism, disgust, sadness, etc., According to the Gallop polls, a majority disbelieve their President. What then is the behavioural consequence of these two stages of alienation-activity? rebellion? revolution? No! Interestingly enough the people do not wish their beloved President to resign or be impeached. Thus, the behavioural outcome category into which we could place the majority of Americans in our model is the Compliance alternative. While the majority is in this category, it would be useful to compare them with those who retreat and also those who become active. We still do not know why an individual picks a specific means of adaptation, consequence behaviour, over another one. The model can be further applied to study a whole range of other consequence behaviours such as suicide, drug addiction, political apathy and delinquency. What made Rene Davis turn from the political activist to the religious retreatist is a fine example of the type of questions this model could study.

Further research could, by using our new model, investigate different institutions, work places, environments and their structural differences. What changes in the social structure would lessen the

feelings of alienation could be a major topic for this model. To answer this, environments that have states of overcontrol in which individuals feel powerless (specialists in hospitals for example), may be compared with another structure that is less rigid, (general practitioners).

Finally, we hope that eventually, research may get to the point of doing cross cultural comparisons of national levels of alienation. But before this can ever be done, much more empirical work and research will have to be accomplished. We have just scratched the surface, and are merely pointing towards a direction of further useful study.

Specific Research Problem Conclusions

The second major problem that we focused on in this thesis was the general hypothesis we found that linked alienation and mass media usage. Polemically, many writers have previously connected alienation with the use of television as an escape mechanism from it. Hence, we decided to empirically test this general interconnection. Of course, the theoretical problems regarding alienation theory had to be solved first of all. Thus, when the new model seemed to do this appropriately, we included in our research instrument specific questions about television watching. We viewed television as another possible retreatist consequence. In fact, Barakat even mentioned it in his "shallow living" retreatist description.

An alternate hypothesis was also formulated, stating that television watching is merely a conformity to cultural mass values and is not done for the purpose of escape. Then, if rejection of all American values is a component of alienation proper, the alienated should also reject the values of mass culture, and therefore not watch excessive amounts.

Our data seemed to support this, for we found an inverse relationship between our television measure and the attitudes of alienation proper. This finding is also supportive of Gwyn Nettler's operationalization of alienation in that the alienated reject mass culture objects like Reader's Digest and television.

But, we also postulated that if there results in this rejection, strong manifestations of despair and anxiety, then the alienated would sublimate these via escaping through television. This too was confirmed as we found a positive relationship between the manifestations and our two television measures, watching excessive amounts and for escapist reasons. In other words, those having high feelings of despair, anxiety and moral emptiness, watch more hours and more for escapist reasons. To these individuals it does not matter for example what they watch since just the act itself is sufficient to serve their needs of escape. To further reinforce that television is escapist, we also found the socially isolated to be positively associated with escapist television watching, showing that both behaviours are retreatist consequences. We believe that this general finding has grave implications.

Implications And Further Television Research Proposals

Television thus gives what alienated man in everyday life pushes him to: absolute distraction, total obliviousness of himself and his problems, loss of consciousness. Unfortunately, others believe that the use of this technical means of escape is also destructive of personality and human relations. Ellul, in The Technological Society for example, emphasized that television merely widens the isolation between man, shutting him in a universe in which he is even more alone.

Man already knew little enough about his neighbors, now the separation between them is even widened. Matson and Montagu continue this warning and they maintain that because of television, true communication is lost:

Turning to each other and striving for the common. It is the emblem of the open heart; the open mind, the very opposite of the prejudice and stereotype that are forever present in mass communication and their precipitations on modern man and his life style of borrowed experience. 3

There then appears to be a paradoxical relationship between television and society. Television is used as a means of escape from the manifestations of alienation. But, then these feelings, instead of being eliminated, are reinforced. Thus, those who retreat via the television set to escape feelings of loneliness, are as a result of this activity even more isolated. Others have mentioned this dialectical relationship. While television is used to escape from the boredom of life, many writers feel that television also reinforces this feeling. Will reality match up to the television fantasies that children have been nursed on, they ask? The answer is no, for they believe that experience is exhausted in advance, and when the experience itself does come in reality, it is watered down, for it has been half lived but never truly felt. Television's blunting of sensibility is said to increase the blaseness of life (hence alienation).

We have, in our study, established that television is used for the purpose of escaping from the alienation manifestations. Future steps of investigation should then try to determine whether the above proposed dialectical relationship also exists. By this we mean that the effects of television watching ought to be studied, especially on the people who use it primarily as an escape mechanism from certain feelings. For no harmful effects should be found amongst those who use

the medium for entertainment and information. Their feelings of anxiety probably would not be heightened. But, what of those who watch to escape from anxiety? Do certain programs reinforce this feeling? Does false advertising for example, reinforce feelings of cynicism? Does television also reinforce passivity and thus prevent the escapee from solving his manifestations in a practical way? All of these important questions need to be studied.

The findings of future studies should help in the setting up of new broadcasting policies. If long range studies show a detrimental effect on certain viewers, then perhaps the reinforcement of the alienation manifestations may be broken by a change in the content of the television programmes. Perhaps, television might even permanently remove some of these manifestations, for example, community cable television solidifying the isolated. But this is merely a vision into the future. As things stand now, there is a very large discrepancy between the Is and the Ought. Hopefully, further research in the above mentioned directions might serve as a stimulus to reduce this discrepancy.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER VIII

1. Stinchcombe. School Stinks (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1964), p. 178.
2. Ibid., p. 173.
3. Matson and Montagu. The Human Dialogue (New York: Free Press, 1967), p. 339.
4. **This however does not invalidate the thesis as an exploratory study. We hold Zetterberg's position that representativeness is not essential for studying the relationships of variables. And this was in fact the purpose of this thesis. Although our study was not very useful in that we couldn't generalize to a larger population we did achieve many useful insights (both methodological and theoretical) by doing this empirical study.**

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