



International Sociological Association

Research Committee on Alienation Theory and Research
RC 36
Newsletter 31, January 2016

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MESSAGE FROM THE EDITORS
(2014-2018)

David G. Embrick, Luis Berruecos

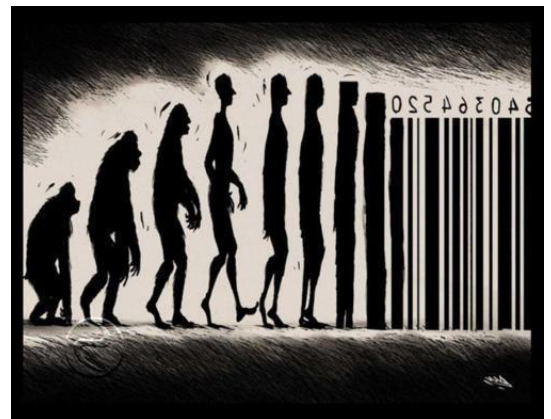


Dear RC36 Colleagues,

Welcome to our latest newsletter and apologies for the massive delays in putting this together. That said, and erratic transitions notwithstanding, we are back on track and excited for the upcoming ISA Meetings in Vienna, and in particular, RC36's record ten sessions. RC36 is poised to grow in the near future and as many of you are witnessing before your very eyes, our brand of research is very much in need in today's society(ies).

Moving forward, we are asking RC36 members to please send us any and all of your research, teaching, and service accomplishments. We ask those of you who frequently take photos during ISA/RC36 and ISA/RC36 sponsored conferences to please send us some of your favorites to be included in future newsletters.

We hope to see as many of you as possible in Vienna this summer, or in Toronto in 2018. With much respect, David and Luis.





MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT
(2014-2018)

Vessela Misheva



Dear RC36 Members,

I hope you had a pleasant holiday season and that my letter finds you well. First of all, I would like to thank all of you for your work during 2015 to realize the goals of our RC, especially those of you who helped prepare and participated in our two conferences that were organized in conjunction with the ISA annual meeting in Chicago last year. These conferences contained all the elements of what a “very successful scholarly event” normally involves – an attractive venue, good attendance, a robust program, interesting presentations, lively discussions, hospitality, a friendly atmosphere, and good organization. All of these taken together, coupled with our traditional common dinner and other social events, stimulated the creation of new and the strengthening of existing friendships, professional contacts, and plans for collaboration. You will find more information about these events in the Newsletter below.

Something that also made 2015 very special for us was planning our participation in the 2016 ISA Forum in Vienna this coming summer. I want to apologize to those of you whose session abstracts were not accepted because we had more than 80 proposals for the 8 sessions allotted to us. Although receiving such a large number of proposals was good news, it made life rather difficult for the program coordinators since it was not easy to prepare a program that included and did justice to all of the quality abstracts submitted to us. We requested an additional session from the ISA, which we were granted, and this helped us to come up with an imaginative solution to the problem as best we could given the number of available sessions. We will also have for the first time two roundtable sessions running in parallel. However, we are not totally pleased with the fact that each of our 90 minute sessions contains no less than 6 papers, which means that you, our members, will have limited opportunities to present your work at the Forum. We were fortunate previously to be able to run our sessions consecutively, which made it possible to attend all of our sessions and gain a good overall impression about the new developments in our research fields. The arrangements for this year comprise the best that could be done in the circumstances. Nevertheless, we have succeeded in preparing an attractive program that is representative of the variety of topics with which our members work.

As you know, the number of sessions allotted to us at ISA World Congresses depends on the number of RC36 members in good standing, that is, those who are both RC36 and ISA members. Now is perhaps a good occasion to remind you to renew your ISA/RC36 membership if it has expired, not only in order to increase the possibility of having a number of sessions in the future that is sufficient for meeting our needs, but also to guarantee that your name will appear in ISA conference programs.

I also wish to thank you for sending us information for publication in the Newsletter concerning events in our areas of interest and your most recent work. Our next Newsletter will appear after the Vienna Forum, and I hope that you will continue providing our editors with up to date news about your activities for circulation within our group. I am looking forward to seeing you this summer in Vienna, one of the most attractive conference venues in Europe!

Vessela Misheva
President RC36



MESSAGE FROM THE TREASURER
(2014-2018)

Andrew Blasko



Dear RC 36 Members,

I would like to draw your attention to a question that was discussed at our business meeting at the 2014 ISA World Congress in Yokohama, and afterwards by the board through e-mail, for which no formal decision has yet been taken. This concerns the issue of membership fees, which are specified in our organizational statutes in the section "Membership in RC 36".

There was general agreement at our business meeting in Yokohama that our membership dues need to be increased, and that any changes would be implemented no later than at our business meeting at the 2016 ISA Forum in Vienna. The primary reason for any such increase would be to improve the financial situation of RC 36 in light of the fact that we would like very much to continue the tradition of our annual membership dinner, which has always been much appreciated by all our members. It would also support the intention of the current board to promote other possible committee activities, such as travel assistance to worthy students to attend RC 36 scholarly events. It should also be noted in this regard that our membership dues for a 4-year period are near the low end of what the current 55 research committees charge. Dues range from \$10 for a 4-year period, which is uncharacteristically low, to a high of approximately \$325, with many research committees having dues between \$30 and \$50.

Consequently, I ask you to give your consideration to a proposal to increase RC 36 membership dues for a 4-year period to \$50, with a discounted rate of \$25. This amount would both reflect today's economic realities, and also better support the activities and further development of our research committee.

Please contact me with your views on this question so that we can prepare to implement the decisions that we be taken at our next business meeting in Vienna.

In addition, please let me know what your opinions are concerning our statutes in light of the current review process. We are particularly interested in your suggestions regarding any points that you feel may need updating. You may access the statues at <http://www.isa-sociology.org/rcs/rc36_st.htm> .

With best regards,
Andrew Blasko
Secretary-Treasurer RC 36
abvm-con@blasko.se



In July 2014 the Research Committee RC 36 Alienation Theory and Research organized 12 very interesting and highly appreciated sessions at the International Sociological Association Congress in Yokohama, Japan.

Our business meeting, where we elected our new 10-member board, was both well attended and inspiring in light of the many plans and ideas for our activities during the next 4 years that we discussed. Our Committee has never before had such a large board, and our expectations are that we will be able to organize our work even better than we did before to promote and invigorate research in the field of alienation theory and its application.

Our long-term goal during the upcoming period will be to prepare RC36 participation in the XIX ISA World Congress of Sociology in Toronto, Canada, in July 2018. A more short-term goal will be to prepare our next interim conference, which will be held during the mid-term meeting of Research Committees at the next ISA Forum of Sociology in Vienna, Austria, from 10 to 14 July 2016. This will be held in conjunction with the Business Meeting of the ISA Research Council.

BLAST FROM THIS PAST SUMMER: ISA RC36 Mid-term Session coinciding with the 110th ASA Meetings in Chicago, IL, USA. Session was held at Loyola University Chicago, Corboy Law Center CLC 305, August 20-21, 2015

August 20th

PERSPECTIVES ON ALIENATION, 1:00-2:45 PM

Chair: Vessela Micheva

Dr. Robyn Goldstein, Independent Scholar, Marx's Alienation

Dan Krier, Iowa State University Mark Worrell, "Forms of Alienation and Forms of Negation"

Louis Berruecos, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Xochimilco, Ciudad de Mexico, "From Letter A to Letter T". From Letter A to Letter T.

Andrew Blasko, European Polytechnical University, Pernik, Bulgaria. "Self-Manipulation and Self-Enslavement: The Pathology of Power and Control."



ALIENATION AND NEOLIBERALISM, 3:00-4:45 PM

Panel 1: Alienation in Neoliberal Politics and Culture

Chair: Michael Thompson

Michael McCabe (Graduate Center, CUNY): "The Decline of Mediating Institutions: Neoliberalism, Structural Alienation and the Atomization of the Political"

Brian Sullivan, SUNY Stony Brook): "The Rise of the Politically Alienated: Levels of Political Alienation and non-institutionalized political participation in the US"

(C) Gregory Lyon (Rutgers University): "Technological Fanaticism and the Rise of Volitional Alienation"

Tyler Peckio (Graduate Center, CUNY): "Twenty-First Century Rousseau: A Critique of Modern Technology and Alienation"

5:00-6:30 Plenary Joint with

"Self Society" Symposium

George Steinmetz, On Socio-Analysis and Critical Realism:

Bourdieu/Freud/Bhaskar





BLAST FROM THIS PAST SUMMER: ISA RC36 Mid-term Session coinciding with the 110th ASA Meetings in Chicago, IL, USA. Session was held at Loyola University Chicago, Corboy Law Center CLC 305, August 20-21, 2015

August 21st

ALIENATION AND NEOLIBERALISM, 2:00 – 3:45 PM

Panel 2: Rethinking Alienation in the Neoliberal Context

Chair: Gerhard Schutte,

Riad Azar (London School of Economics): "Brain Waste: Alienation as De-Skilling"

Harry Dahms (University of Tennessee, Knoxville): "How 'New' is Neoliberalism? The Compounding of Alienation, the Denial of Reality, and the Lasting Contribution of Max Horkheimer"

Michael J. Thompson (William Paterson University): "A Cognitivist Theory of Alienation"

Alex Stoner (Salisbury University) Capital, History, and Environmental Politics: Alienation as Self-Generated Domination."



ALIENATION AND NEOLIBERALISM, 4:00 – 5:45

Panel 3: Rethinking Alienation in the Neoliberal Context

Vessela Misheva (University of Sweden, Uppsala) Jane Addams's idea of Sociology and the Liberal Socialist Public Sphere

Bob Antonio TBD

Ekaterina Lytkina (National Research University Higher School of Economics, Moscow) Anomie, strain and alienation

Dirk Michel-Schertges (Aarhus University) The Paralysis of Cultural Diversity - Towards a Critical Cultural Political Economy of Education".

Dinner 6:30 pm

Lao Sze Chuan* 520 North Michigan Ave, a few blocks South

Note: There is an elevator since it is on 4d floor.

8 Courses, Appetizers, Beijing Duck, Chicken, Beef, Fish, Shrimp,
2 Vegetables \$40 per person, including tax, tip.

Get tix at conference. cash bar.



MEMBER

Accomplishments

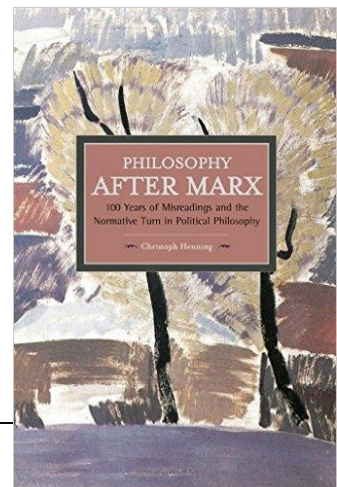
Christopher Henning, Junior Fellow at the Max Weber Center for Advanced Social and Cultural Studies at the University of Erfurt (Germany) published 3 books in 2015: one of which is an introduction to Alienation Theory (in German), the other two are about the counterpart to alienation (self-development or "perfection") and Marx, a "father" of alienation theory.

Christoph Henning: *Freiheit, Gleichheit, Entfaltung: Zur politischen Philosophie des Perfektionismus*, Frankfurt: Campus 2015

Christoph Henning: *Philosophy after Marx. 100 Years of Misreadings and the Normative Turn in Political Philosophy*, Chicago: Haymarket 2015 (paperback)

Christoph Henning: *Theorien der Entfremdung zur Einführung*, Junius: Hamburg 2015. Description is available at: <http://www.junius-verlag.de/buecher/theorien-der-entfremdung>

In the book, the author addresses roots of the alienation theory, such as Rousseau, Hegel, Feuerbach and Hess, as well as Marx's theory of alienation, works of neomarxists, and also works of those who criticized alienation. Of great interest are also new works in alienation, including works of Alain Ehrenberg and Hartmut Rosa, which, however are based upon the classical alienation theories. The book is of interest either to those who want to get introduction in what alienation is as well as those who are interested in the new trends in alienation research and in revival of the critical theory.



MEMBER



Stefan Gandler had a great year in 2015, publishing numerous books and articles (In English and Spanish), to include:

A) In English

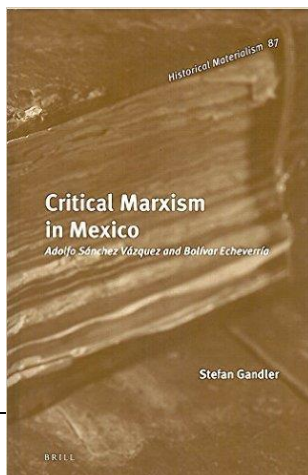
Stefan Gandler, *Critical Marxism in Mexico*. Adolfo Sánchez Vázquez and Bolívar Echeverría. Translated by George Ciccariello-Maher and Stefan Gandler. Pref. by Michael Löwy. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2015, 467 pp. ISBN 978-90-04-22428-5.

Stefan Gandler, The quadruple modern Ethos: Critical Theory in the Americas. In: APA Newsletter on Hispanic/Lantino Issues in Philosophy, Newark, DE: American Philosophical Association/University of Delaware, vol. 14, núm. 1, fall 2014, pp. 2-4. ISSN 2155-9708.

Stefan Gandler, **Subject and identity in today's Latin American philosophy**. Bolívar Echeverría: cultural studies and linguistics. In: *Interculture philosophy. Journal for Philosophy and its Cultural Context*. no. 1, 2015, ISSN 2363-6815, pp. 25-53.

B) In Spanish

Stefan Gandler and Oliva Solís Hernández (eds.), *Miradas desde lo social en urbanismo, cultura, género e historia. Una perspectiva de jóvenes investigadores*. Querétaro, Editorial Universitaria. Universidad Autónoma de Querétaro. Col. Academia. 2015. pp. 5-11. ISBN 978-607-513-163-4.



MEMBER



Stefan Gandler, “**La** Teoría crítica de Bolívar Echeverría. Una reinterpretación del paradigma de la comunicación desde América **Latina.**” **In:** Opción. Revista de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales. Universidad del Zulia, Maracaibo, Venezuela, vol. 31, no. 76, Abril 2015, pp. 63-91. ISSN 1012-1587.

Stefan Gandler, “Releer a Marx en el siglo XXI. Fetichismo, cosificación y apariencia objetiva.” **In:** Aldhea. Alternativas Latinoamericanas de Desarrollo Humano y Estudios Antropológicas, Quito, Ecuador, May 9, 2015.

Stefan Gandler, “**Bolívar** Echeverría: Heidegger, Marx y el Che.” **In:** Raquel Serur Smeke (comp.), Bolívar Echeverría. Modernidad y resistencias. México, D.F., Ediciones Era/Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Unidad Xochimilco. División de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades, 2015, pp. 19-26. ISBN 978-607-445-392-8.

Stefan Gandler, “Marxismo occidental desde las Américas: Bolívar Echeverría y su interpretación de György Lukács.” **In:** Luis Arizmendi, Julio Peña y Lillo E., and Eleder Piñeiro, (eds.), Bolívar Echeverría: trascendencia e impacto para América Latina en el siglo XXI, Querétaro, Universidad Autónoma de Querétaro y Sindicato Único de Personal Académico de la Universidad Autónoma de Querétaro, 2015, pp. 223-241.

Stefan Gandler, “Acerca de Reporte **Especial.**” Proceso. Semanario de información y análisis, México, D.F., year 38, no. 2015, June 14, 2015, p. 96. ISSN 1665-9309.

Stefan Gandler, “**Bolívar** Echeverría y Georg Lukács. Teoría crítica entre América y **Europa.**” **In:** Constelaciones. Revista de Teoría Crítica, Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales - Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid, vol. 6, 2014 [published in 2015]. pp. 289-307. ISSN 2172-9506.

Stefan Gandler, “Proyección bajo control y proyección falsa en la Dialéctica de la Ilustración. Aportaciones a una Teoría crítica en la época **del ‘fin de la historia’.**” **In:** Teoría y Crítica de la Psicología, no. 7, Morelia, Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo, Facultad de Psicología, 2016, pp. 150-157.

MEMBER

Accomplishments

Richard Miskolci, Professor Associado de Sociologia - UFSCar
Coordenador Adjunto da Área de Sociologia – CAPES, had a number of achievements in 2015:

1. Appointed the vice-coordinator of the field Sociology in Brazil at CAPES, the Coordination for Improvement of Higher Education, the Brazilian Foundation within the Ministry of Education that evaluates all Graduate Programs and manage most of the fellowships for Scholars here.
 2. Appointed to the editorial board of Sociologies in Dialogue, the international journal of Brazilian Sociological Society. The first issue is already online on: <http://www.sociologiesindialogue.com/>
 3. Organized a dossier (available in English and Portuguese) entitled "Digital Paths" on "cadernos pagu", the most important journal on gender studies in Brazil. Available online: http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci_issuetoc&pid=0104-833320150001&lng=en&nrm=iso
 4. Coordinated, with Miriam Adelman (our colleague at RC36), the workgroup "New Sociologies" at the biannual congress of Brazilian Sociological Society (Porto Alegre, July, 2015)
 5. Published a paper in English: "Discreet and out of the gay scene: notes on contemporary sexual visibility": http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0104-83332015000100061&lng=en&nrm=iso&tlng=en
-



Accomplishments

Lauren Langman, Loyola University Chicago Recent and Current Publications

“Capitalism, Crises, and “Great Refusals”: Critical Theory, Social Movements, and Utopian Visions,” *Radical Philosophy Review* Volume 16 number 1 (2013): 349–374

“Alienation: The Critique that That Refuses to Disappear, with Devorah Kalekin, *Current Sociology* October 2015 vol. 63 no. 6, pp. 916-933

“Bringing the Critical Back in: Toward the Resurrection of the Frankfurt School, in Harry F. Dahms (ed.) *Mediations of Social Life in the 21st Century (Current Perspectives in Social Theory, Volume 32)* Emerald Group, 2014

“Why Is Assent Willing? Culture, Character and Consciousness,” *Critical Sociology*, October 2014,

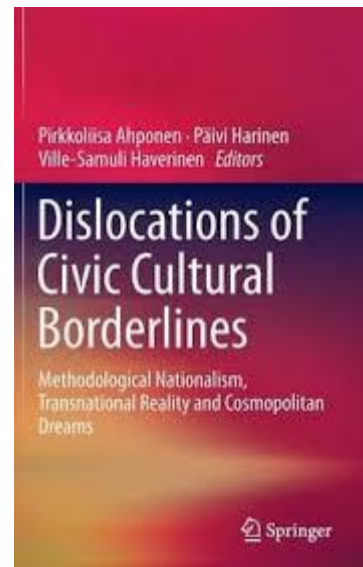
“From Domination to Liberation: Marcuse, Gramsci and Social Mobilization”, in, Andrew Lamas, ED, *Great Refusals of the 21st Century*. Philadelphia, PA.: Temple University Press, (in press)

“Violence and the Subaltern: Frantz Fanon, The Precariate And the New Wretched of the Earth,” *Critical Sociology*, (in Press)

God, Guns, Gold and Glory: American Character and Its Discontents, with George Lundskow, Lieden: Brill Publishers. (In press)



Pirkkoliisa Ahponen recently published "Dislocations of Civic Cultural Borderlines. Methodological Nationalism, Transnational TReality **and** **Cosmopolitan Dreams**" (Springer). See the link: <http://www.springer.com/us/book/9783319218038> for more information on the book.





**The Futures We Want: Global Sociology
and the Struggles for a Better World**



**3rd ISA Forum of
SOCIOLOGY**



**July 10-14, 2016
Vienna, Austria**

RC36 Alienation Theory and Research

Program Coordinators:

Vessela MISHEVA, Uppsala University, Sweden, vessela.misheva@soc.uu.se

David EMBRICK, Loyola University-Chicago, USA, dembric@luc.edu

Sessions:

Alienation in a Mediated World

Alienated Bodies, Selves, and Social Interaction

Alienation and the Intersection of Science and Fiction: Imagining Dis/Utopias

Alienation in a Neo-Liberal Age

Anomie and Alienation Theories Revisited

Emotions and Social Movements

From Alienation to Critical Theory, Past, Present and Future.

Populist Movements and the Media

RC36 Roundtable Session

The Impact of the Use of Digital Media in Social Life



[The **World Social Forum \(Montreal\)** - fsm2016.org](http://www.fsm2016.org)
www.fsm2016.org/en

One of the major expressions of the global justice movements throughout the world has been the World Social Forum that began in Brazil 15 years ago. This year it will be in Montréal Canada, mid August, and many social movement scholars may wish to attend, for example Geoffrey Players (RC 47) and myself (RC 36/48), Jackie Smyth, Thomas Ponniah, etc are often there, If any RC 36, 47 or 48 scholars who are not members of activist organization wish to attend, the Global Studies Association, www.net4dem.org/may global, will have delegation, please contact me if you wish to join. Lauren, llang944@aol.com



The World Association for Public Opinion Research (WAPOR) and the Laboratory for Comparative Social Research (National Research University Higher School of Economics) announce a conference "Survey Research and the Study of Social and Cultural Change". The conference will be held on September 15-17 in Moscow, Russia, at the National Research University Higher School of Economics. We welcome, first of all, empirically-based papers encompassing cross-cultural research. More information will be soon announced at the web page <http://lcsr.hse.ru/en/conf>.



Call for Papers: Sociologies in Dialogue
By RC36
20 November, 2015

Dear colleagues

The Brazilian Sociological Society invites you to read its now available new journal, Sociologies in Dialogue. Aimed at promoting transnational dialogues in the field of social theory and research, Sociologies in Dialogue is published semiannually and offers innovative contributions by leading scholars on cutting-edge empirical and theoretical research addressing social processes.

Sociologies in Dialogue is open to new submissions, which can be made online at: <http://www.sociologiesindialogue.com/>. Please follow the instructions for creating an account. In the link Online Submissions you will find the Guidelines for Authors. The system will guide you through a step-by-step procedure for the manuscript submission.

Sociologies in Dialogue is an Open Access publication, offering immediate free access to its content, according to the principle that making scientific knowledge freely available provides a greater global exchange of knowledge.

A blind peer review process of evaluation assures impartiality and improved quality to published articles. Evaluation process takes into account the originality as well as the theoretical and/or methodological rigor of the approach, the consistency of the analysis, and its contribution to the international debate in the field of Sociology.

Take part in these dialogues!

Editorial Team
Soraya Vargas Cortes
André Salata,
Celi Scalon,
Richard Miskolci,

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Alienation: The Critique that Refuses to Disappear

Devorah Kalekin-Fishman University of Haifa, Israel
Lauren Langman Loyola University of Chicago, USA

Abstract Although it is often condemned as an imprecise concept, alienation continues to flourish as critique in contemporary philosophy, theology, and psychology, as well as in sociology. Historically originating in Roman law, where it referred to the transfer of land ownership, alienation has since been applied extensively to analyses of labor relations, politics and culture. In the nineteenth century, Marx showed that workers' alienation, their dehumanization and estrangement, was a consequence of the structure of exploitation in capitalist industry. The concern was echoed in Weber's metaphor of the 'iron cage' as an outcome of rationalized structures, as well as in Durkheim's conceptualization of *anomie* as a variant of alienation causing socially induced psychological states. Today, while research in the structural tradition, does not assume that people necessarily are aware of their condition, researchers who assume that alienation is a conscious experience have invented scales to measure its intensity. Continuing both the structural and the psychosocial traditions, researchers now study alienation in relation to uses of digital technologies and new forms of exploitation in work, as well as in politics and popular culture. Alienation is also studied in families, especially in investigations of parenthood.

keywords alienation * anomie * capitalism * commodity fetishism * dehumanization * estrangement * exploitation * objectification * popular culture * psycho-social consequences of alienation * rationalization * structure

Alienation: a brief history

In Roman law, alienation referred to the voluntary transfer of property to another owner (Buckland, 2007 [1921]: 228ff.). Philosophers and theologians have used the term alienation to indicate separation from God, from correct doctrine (Ladner, 1983: 969), from self and mind, from property or affection, from truth, from political or social power (Evans, 1978; Faris, 1934; Russell, 1991; Sommer and Hall, 1958).



Contrasting interpretations of alienation can be seen in the writings of Rousseau (Cranston, 1991) for whom the 'noble savage', the exemplar of the unalienated individual, can unite with others to form a social whole. But this ended when one man put a fence around his land, found people naïve enough to believe, and were henceforth dominated and alienated. For Adam Smith (1986), the uncultivated person is alienated for he [*sic*] is unable to enjoy the pleasures of community and appreciate the fruits of urban culture (West, 2004 [1975]). Smith recognized, however, that alienation loomed for urban factory workers, who, in performing simple repetitious tasks, according to the division of labor, were isolated from their fellows, estranged from their humanity and powerless to negotiate contracts (Lamb, 2004 [1973]). Although he also saw the negative implications of alienation, Hegel (2007) posited that alienation (*Entäußerung*) had positive effects because through individuals' externalized consciousness, the spirit built *a shared culture in civil society* (Ice, n.d.). In the last two centuries, alienation became important in existentialist philosophy. For Kierkegaard, the average person, living a life of banal conformity, was alienated from his/her self realization and transcendence. Heidegger echoed this view in his description of *das Mann*, who embraced an inauthentic life of conformity and conventionality, because he was alienated from his contingency ('thrownness') and his finitude (being unto death). Tillich describes the 'tragic universality' of *Entfremdung*, a sense of unbelief (rather than faith), a desire for concupiscence (not love) and a drive for *hubris* and self-elevation rather than surrender to the omnipotent immortal (Williamson and Cullingford, 1997).

Like Hegel, Sartre (1956, 1960) also argued that alienation is universal, and inevitable, involving the recognition of an 'alien Me', namely the recognition that part of one's existence is beyond subjective experience. But this objectification of self and others ultimately reveals a fundamental truth and thus alienation is not negative. In philosophical anthropology, alienation is described as a social condition that thwarts human possibilities for community and the self-realization that can enable a fulfilling life (Schacht, 1992; Wexler, 1996). Debates center on whether these limitations are due to capitalism, modernity or the human condition. Major critiques of alienation, its meanings, causes, and strategies for amelioration have had an enduring impact (see, for example, Israel, 1971; Mészáros, 1970; Ollman, 1976; Walliman, 1977). Lamentably, there has not been a major critique in recent years.



Alienation in sociological theory

Classical theories

Although she did not develop her ideas in universalistic terms, Martineau (1837) theorized Smith's insights, pointing out that even though work is essential to a satisfactory life, workers are often exploited. She saw that through domestic work women are deprived of the human yearning for (high) culture and for autonomy.

Marx (1977 [1844]) moved the Hegelian dialectic from the realm of ideas to its material foundations in political economy, formalizing and contextualizing observations of the alienating effects of the division of labor in industrial society. With land scarce, workers migrated to cities where they sold their labor power to factory owners who determined what to produce and how and 'owned the products of the workers made for their 'exchange value on the market'. As with all commodities, the value of labor was in constant flux. Turned into extensions of machines, workers were estranged from their works, their products and from their very selves. They were cut off from community support and unable to effectively control their lives. The chasm between those who were paid wages for production and those who accumulated the profits from that production, the surplus value created by labor, those who owned, managed and marketed products, was unbridgeable. Insofar as the structural position of workers was most vulnerable to the uncertainties of capitalism, as well as to understanding the world through the ideologies created by the upper classes, they were unable to apprehend their own interests. With a dialectical concept of alienation as the process of oppression and the name of a distressed psychological state, Marx applied 'alienation' to the sociopolitical milieu. Even though after the 1844 Manuscripts, he did not make use of the term to pinpoint specific weaknesses of production and distribution (Williamson and Cullingford, 1997), the analysis of alienation underlay Marx's *Das Kapital*, his extensive critique of capitalist political economy. Lukacs (1920) however was able to reconstruct Marx's ideas of alienation as 'reification' a concept closely tied to 'commodity fetishism' (social relations appearing as 'things' for Marx. The clearest exposition of Marx's writings on alienation remains Fromm's treatise (1961).

Weber and Durkheim also noted the adverse consequences of working conditions in modern society. For Weber (1958 [1946]), rationality, the dominant value of modernity, shaped modern production and administration in industry as well as in politics which is now dominated by rational, bureaucratic organizations. Rational principles of calculability were applied to every domain of modern life including the work of all the 'free professions'. Through strict observance of clock time, calculation also structured human relations and infiltrated subjectivity, incorporating every aspect of one's personality within an alien and alienating administered system. With the rationalized 'disenchantment of the world', people were dehumanized and entrapped within 'iron cages'.



Durkheim (1984), on the other hand, found that although the rational 'organic' division of labor that made industrialization possible tended to weaken social ties, it also provided a renewed basis for social solidarity. He pointed out however, that the dynamics of industrial change could lead to a fragmentation of consciousness. Exposed to varieties of unforeseen situations, especially when 'older values' could no longer guide people, while new values had not yet emerged, people faced 'anomie,' a normlessness that made it difficult to decide on what new rules of behavior to adopt and how to apply them (Durkheim, 1997 [1897]). Where familiar normative structures failed, anomie was likely to lead people to take desperate measures, even suicide.

Conceptualizing alienation in critical sociology

Lukacs (1923) explored the impact of the rational division of labor on consciousness, and analyzed reification, the process by which social relationships were perceived as 'things'. He showed that with alienation 'the structure of commodity relations interacts with ideology to distort one's understanding of the system'. Lukacs recommended 'a non-positivist, dialectical conception of the totality of social relations within the historical process' for understanding contradictions inherent in a system of alienation (cited in Twining, 1980: 419).

Members of the Frankfurt School, who were inspired by Lukacs' analyses of alienation for a cultural reading of Marx, and on Marx's 1844 Manuscripts (lost until the 1920s), disclosed the prevalence of reification as a means of domination and as a source of individual distortion in the dictatorial family (Horkheimer and Adorno, 1972). More recently, Thompson (2012) has built on Lukacs' writings to show how a central aspect of alienation is restricted cognition. With the rise of fascism in the 1920s and 1930s, Erich Fromm used psychoanalytical concepts to show that people who felt powerless in the face of their newly emergent freedom and their precarious position in a fragile economy were driven by unconscious needs to assuage their alienation by embracing authoritarian leadership. Fromm (1955: 131) saw the routinization of alienation as an outcome of repression 'in the context of industrial society where instrumentalism and separation become the substance of social relations'. Using the term 'alienation' interchangeably with other concepts, Fromm summarily describes frustration and unhappiness as *alienation* from self, nature and others (Williams and Cullingford, 1997).



Following the Second World War, critiques of mass media and consumerism expanded applications of the concept of alienation to the worlds of consumption. Marcuse (1969) argued that late capitalism seemingly liberated erotic desire, but this 'liberation' was calculated to incorporate the individual into the 'administered society' where the person is alienated from his 'real needs' and therefore chooses hedonism, consumerism, or sexuality over liberation. Thus, capitalism has colonized sexuality, and offers only 'repressive desublimation'. Conditions of alienated labor lead people to embrace standardized escapist entertainment that keeps them deceived, distracted and powerless either to understand their lives or to mobilize for progressive change. For Marcuse (1969) alienation that could lead to a total revolution was only likely to emerge among those outside the systems of production, e.g. students, artists and writers, the long-term unemployed and ethnic minorities. Indeed, such groups are now the core of global justice movements (Langman, 2005). In his most recent work, Langman (2013) and his colleagues, looking at the eruptions of mass protests across the Middle East, the 'Arab Spring', followed by mobilizations in Southern Europe and then the Occupy Wall Street movements, argue that they were not simply protests over wages, benefits, inflation and often unemployment, but they were equally rooted in the alienation of being ignored, marginalized, devoid of recognition as human beings-facing indifference from authorities. *The common, and central element has been the quest for dignity, for recognition as a worthy human being-this was a central concern for Marx.*

Archibald (2009), who examined how objective and subjective insecurity affect powerlessness and alienation, found that with the increasing significance of leisure and consumption, paid labor is becoming much less subjectively important for workers. In his interpretation, workers who have high expectations and aspirations for consumption and leisure, no longer care enough about work to feel deprived by its alienating effects. But because consumption has become commercialized, mass produced and less subject to individuals' control, aspirations can easily be frustrated and alienation enhanced.

Additional conceptualizations of alienation

In various guises, the topic of alienation appeared in the work of most sociologists in the 20th century. Alienation can be recognized in Simmel's stranger, who comes from one location and stays, sometimes for a lifetime, in another to which he will never fully belong.



This ambiguous position enables the stranger to assess the immediate surrounds from 'outside' and to contribute fresh perspectives to the collective in the 'strange' location (Simmel, 1950). Park (1928) extended Simmel's insight specifically to an analysis of the advantages of migration. He described 'marginal man' as a person shaped by the experience of living in two worlds, and thus could make unique contributions to the 'new' society. Moreover, 'it is in the mind of the marginal man – where the changes and fusions of culture are going on – that we can best study the processes of civilization and of progress' (Park, 1928: 893). While acknowledging the 'moral turmoil', the anomie that Durkheim identified as the root of discontent, Park sees the marginality that is consequent on mobility – social or geographical – as a key to advancement and growth.

A significant 20th-century development in the theorization of alienation is Merton's (1938) model of anomie, derived from an assumption that action is a type of accommodation/adaptation to society and culture. Seeing continuities between culturally approved goals and institutionally available legitimate means for achieving those goals as a structural necessity, Merton (1938: 673) conceptualized deviance as behavior induced by discontinuities. From this definition he developed a typology of 'modes of adaptation', to which he attributed behaviors that result from the acceptance or rejection of goals and means, a nuanced description of the realization of alienation. In this scheme, 'conformity' was defined as a pattern of behavior in which culturally approved goals are taken for granted *and* institutionally available means are adopted. Accepting culturally approved goals while rejecting normatively available means leads to 'innovation', new types of relationships. In Merton's model adherence to legitimate means when one no longer accepts culturally approved goals is termed 'ritualism'. Rejection of both goals and means were seen as 'retreatism', the pattern of cutting oneself off from the social milieu. Merton views conformity as the pattern of adaptation that ensures the survival of society, while the other patterns are each a specific form of deviation. Merton called the deviant adaptive patterns 'anomie' but did not connect them with the confusion and loss of orientation that underlay Durkheim's construct.

Seeman's (1959) landmark article presented a literature review which drew upon the ideas of Marx, Mannheim, Weber and Durkheim to highlight social psychological consequences of alienation. In his view, the effects of alienation had been interpreted in five different ways: *powerlessness*, the feeling that one is incapable of dealing with problems that arise; *meaninglessness*, the feeling that one cannot know the outcome of one's actions; *social isolation*, the feeling of not being a part of any social group; *self-estrangement*, an inability to identify where one's true interests lie. Among these, anomie, *normlessness*, is identified as a particular type of alienation, a state of bewilderment about what norms are applicable in successive situations.



A comparative reading of Merton's model and Seeman's survey of social psychological indicators, discloses parallels and paradoxes. The 'conformity' that Merton praises can be interpreted as a way of ignoring one's best interests, a form of 'self-estrangement', while 'retreatism' parallels 'social isolation', which can be read as a structural freezing out of a group. 'Ritualism', which Merton saw as adherence to institutionalized means when there is no identification with cultural goals, can be seen as the other side of the coin of the Durkheimian concept of 'anomie', namely 'normfulness' or the excessive observance of conventions (see also Kalekin-Fishman, 1992). The other two types of behavior that he outlined can each, however, be seen as a way of countering alienation. While Merton apparently saw 'innovation' as a possibly creative approach, a way of overcoming 'powerlessness' by finding new means to accomplish consensual cultural goals without endangering the status quo; he had a completely negative view of the negation of both means and goals, 'rebellion'. Yet this pattern can be read as a way of seeking – and finding – new meaningfulness in life.

Following the Frankfurt School view that alienation is inevitable under capitalist production and that the class system shapes every domain of social life, a recent compilation of writing on alienation (Langman and Kalekin-Fishman, 2005) includes theoretical contributions by Dahms (2005), David (2005), Langman (2005) and Smith (2005), which detail how structures of late capitalist society insinuate themselves into the realms of culture causing (mis)understandings of the world and of one's self. Nor can any liberation from alienation be found in family life, for here too, people are implicated in the capitalist mode of production as consumers (Mészáros, 1970). This is also considered as a problem that is worth the attention of humanist psychologists (Burston, 2014). We might also note that there has been a growing appreciation of Lukacs and Marcuse of late. Among some Marxist theoreticians, however, there is a perception that there are strategies which can help collectives overcome structural constraints on transitional states (Fromm, 1941, 1955; Gimenez, 2005; Oldenquist and Rosner, 1991). By the middle of the 20th century, there were, then, several mutually exclusive theoretical approaches to alienation. The various approaches cited imply different kinds of research.

Alienation research

After the close of the Second World War, when 'the quest for community' seemed hopeless (Nisbet, 1953), many researchers sought ways to understand living in an 'alienated society'. Two distinct types of research in alienation were inspired by different educational and political goals. Research in the Marxist tradition views alienation as a general human condition shaped by material relations. Hence, given descriptions of the relations of production, the researcher can trace consequences for different levels of 'human relations' in the world of work, but also in politics, in the family and in the world of symbolic activity.



Although such research must consider what people say and how people act, statements and actions are considered outcomes of comprehensive structures (Braverman, 1974). Without structural specifications, attempts to mend human relations can only lead to new types of symptoms of alienation, but not to its elimination. Some encouragement can be derived from detailed examinations of structures, for they can lead to the discovery of lacunae in prevailing understandings of horizons of possibility. Since those doomed by the social order to alienation are not aware of all the symptoms, findings from sociological analysis can enlighten them. Thus, practical outcomes of research based on these assumptions are indicators for collective action in the realm of politics or of economics.

The second type of research into alienation assumes that alienation is an issue in human relations where people can be alienated from organizations where they work, from family, friends, and from their 'selves'. Such relationships are (re)constructed daily, so central questions for study are the degree of alienation that each individual or group feels, in what areas of life, and how the awareness is connected with actions they undertake in each domain. Framed this way, researchers can ask respondents about their alienation directly; findings provide new ways of perceiving alienation and point to appropriate strategies for overcoming it. Research derived from the point of view that alienation is inherent in capitalist structures is conducted holistically, and is contextualized historically. Research which assumes that alienation can be discovered through its affective consequences is based on structured questionnaires designed to reflect how one or several of the dimensions of alienation – usually those delineated by Seeman (1959) – are experienced.

In the 1950s and the 1960s, efforts were made to produce reliable and valid instruments to measure components of alienation and their correlations with constructs of liberalism, tolerance, acceptance of democracy and life satisfaction among different groups. Factor analyses suggested significant intercorrelations of the various subscales potentially inferring that rather than being independent phenomena, the five dimensions all pertain to the construct of alienation. Some scales were based on completely different variables, such as Davids' (1955) measure for egocentricity, distrust, pessimism, anxiety and resentment. Another scale included vegetativeness, nihilism and adventurousness alongside Seeman's powerlessness, and found significant correlations among all subscales (Maddi et al., 1979). In exploring the relationships between school success and alienation as well as correlations between alienation and success in marriage, Dean (1961, 1968) refined statistical relationships and found that Seeman's dimensions could be reduced to three: social isolation, powerlessness and meaninglessness. He also compiled measures appropriate to additional conceptualizations of alienation such as: apathy, authoritarianism, conformity, cynicism, hoboism, political apathy, political hyperactivity, personalization in politics, prejudice, privatization, psychosis, regression, and suicide.



Srole (1956) elaborated a measure of 'powerlessness' and examined its correlation with a readiness to countenance messages about inter-ethnic tolerance. Nettler's (1957) 'measure of alienation' tested the degree to which people felt alienated from their own society and its culture. In 1964, Blauner studied workers who held different kinds of jobs in four industries that varied by level of skill (assessed according to the type of plant [automobile and textile industries, a print shop and a chemical plant] and the specific work done in each plant). Seeking correlations between skills and solidarity, as an indicator of 'non-alienation', Blauner found negative correlations between levels of skill and levels of alienation, confirmation of his hypotheses. Still, there are ambiguities. For the least skilled textile workers (those with the highest levels of alienation), small town communities provided sources of healing solidarity.

Scales based on the familiar dimensions of alienation were implemented to find levels of alienation among radical 1960s youth. Keniston (1971), a social psychologist, attributed rebellion to a calculable 'alienation syndrome' that could be explained by socialization in families with a leftist orientation and by an innate 'protest-prone personality'. Such scales have been included in research on childhood (Bronfenbrenner, 1986), in organizational research (Anderson et al., 2008); in research on race (Walton and Cohen, 2007) and class (Pettigrew et al., 2008); and in educational research of different kinds (Case, 2008; Rovai and Wighting, 2005).

Nevertheless, scales measuring alienation are still being used to look at children's emotional and cognitive adjustment to educational institutions (Atnafu, 2012; Elmi, 2012; Janangiri et al., 2013; Kalia and Sahu, 2013; Ozdemir and Rahimi, 2013). They are also prominent in studies of life in corporations (Abbas et al., 2013); in both private and government sectors (Belhassan & Shani, 2013; Hirschfield and Field, 2000; Tummers, 2012). In psychological studies as well, alienation scales are used to measure maladjustment (O'Donnell et al., 2006); depression and mental illness (Miller et al., 2006) as well as what is increasingly diagnosed as 'parental alienation syndrome' (Bernet et al., 2010) and described as central aspects of personality (Nayak, 2013; Tellegen and Waller, 2008).

Indeed, many new research projects are oriented to refining the categories Seeman proposed. One example is the use of dimensions of alienation in the content analysis of extended interviews with teachers. Brooks et al. (2008) found that the dimensions were interrelated in the teachers' conceptualizations and that, under changing circumstances introduced by school reforms, the salience of different dimensions of alienation shifted. In another experiment in content analysis based on Seeman's dimensions, Mauldin (2008) drew conclusions about how alienation is configured variously in jokes. All together, the researches of alienation and social learning in hospitals, prisons, politics and work continue to fulfill Seeman's (1982) vision that empirical studies can and will be derived from his 1959 paper.

A modified structural approach to alienation has also been developed in research. Among these are studies of voter alienation as a challenge to governance and ultimately to the sustainability of democracy (Converse, 1972; Denters and Geurts, 1993; Finifter, 1970; Haddad, 2013; Hayes and Bean, 1993). There are also explorations of work and organizational behavior (e.g. Clark et al., 1994; Coser, 1991), education (e.g. Burns, 1994; Gibson, 2005; West and Palsson, 1988), everyday life (Kalekin-Fishman, 2005, 2010) as well as gender, community and ethnic relations (Cullingford and Morrison, 1996; Travis, 1993). Sennett (1998) has argued that the demands of the contemporary capitalist culture demand flexibility, erosion of the capacity for loyalty and commitment and community ties. Although he doesn't specifically discuss alienation, he provides important insights into the nature of contemporary work that has led to what he calls the 'corrosion of character.'

Both quantitative and qualitative analyses have been applied to the new digital technologies. Pietilä (1970: 248) concludes a quantitative study by pointing out that there is 'no correlation between alienation and the type of material [that readers follow] in newspapers, radio or television' but that alienated individuals seem 'more inclined to use the media for vicarious reasons and non-alienated individuals for informational purposes'. Kellner (2005) has argued that understood dialectically, digital technologies, which arouse responses ranging from 'technophobia' to 'technophilia', foster new forms of alienation, but can also provide new realms of agency and meaning. Entering debates as to whether computers, cellphones (iPods, videogames) foster withdrawal from social life or greater social connections, Hassan (2003) raises questions as to whether the growing use of internet-based news and information leads to a degradation of political literacy with people likely to agree with what they have read or heard most recently and lose the capacity for independent, critical thought (see, too: Coeckelbergh, 2012; Reveley, 2013; Zhu and Zhou, 2013). If one-dimensional thought (Marcuse, 1964) is developing, it undoubtedly leads to voter inertia with people sharing few common values and/or social ties based on religion, community or work, as Durkheim feared a century ago. A worthy project for students of alienation will be to work out the connections between biases such as othering, exclusion, segregation, isolation (vs belonging, integration, assimilation) in order to extend the applicability of alienation theory to the conditions of our age.

The way forward

In the realm of theory, the first major work on alienation since the 1970s is Jaeggi's (2014) recent book defending the importance of the concept. Offering an excellent overview of alienation as a concept, she also cites a number of important critiques and debates. Her work is part of a 'tradition' that began with Habermas who, when he moved from a materialist theory of history and society to a discursive- communicative theory, began to distance himself from concerns with political economy in order to focus on problems of distorted communication and mis-understanding as the crucial emancipatory critique in the late 20th century.



His move was continued by Alex Honneth, who deserted the Marxist critique of political economy and the Freudian theories of psychodynamics, focusing largely on the problems of recognition or should we say its denial, instead. Moreover he incorporated a symbolic interactionist theory of subjectivity that is generally bereft of the capacity for critical thought and in turn resistance to oppressive social conditions. As his student, Rahel Jaeggi, in her attempt to revitalize the concern with alienation, continues the move from a sociological analysis of political economy to an ethical philosophical critique. But while she is quite critical of the political economic basis of alienation, e.g. wage labor and private property that were central for Marx, she is also critical of essentialist notions of selfhood and equally critical of the post structural elimination of the subject as a basis for its possible alienation. For the most part, she focuses on alienation as a disturbed social relationship and on the experiences of such relationships. Resting her analysis on Heidegger's phenomenology of 'being in the world' that world being modernity, conformity and inauthenticity, she argues that 'alienation is a deficient relation to world ... a disturbed relation of appropriation' (Jaeggi, 2014: 151). Of course, Heidegger did not specifically write about alienation, but embraced a Romantic expression of anti-modernity whilst living in a mountain hut much like a peasant.

Jaeggi therefore chooses to ignore considerations of the socio-economic causes of alienation that are more central for social sciences, which as we have noted include capitalism/wage labor, reification, the dehumanization of factory production, rationality, the demystification of the world, consumerism, and so on. Despite her claim of indebtedness to both Rousseau and Marx, her analysis tends toward a philosophical, ethical critique and theory of subjectivity. She makes a case for considering alienation as 'the relation of relationlessness', 'living one's life as an alien life' and 'alienation as disturbed appropriation' which, as the realization of subjectivity, seeks the willful determination of life. Accordingly, one of the book's primary concepts is appropriation, 'a way of establishing relations to oneself and to the world, a way of dealing with oneself and the world and of having oneself and the world at one's command' (Jaeggi, 2014:36). But the disruptions of appropriation lead to an alienated subjectivity since 'being accessible rather than alien to oneself or being able to understand oneself as the author of one's own action presupposes certain features of personhood' (p. 49). Perhaps this prepared him to embrace the Nazis' reactionary anti-modernism vision of the restoration of the pre-modern 'Volk' community whose warrior gods fought endlessly in Valhalla while using modern technologies of war to achieve that goal.



Thus while rejecting Marx as essentialist she nevertheless brings in her own essentialism. For Jaeggi (2014: 12), 'in her labor, the alienated worker is not the master of what she does. Standing under foreign command and being powerless, the worker can neither comprehend nor control the process as a whole of which she is part but that remains un-transparent to her'. Indeed, Jaeggi has very little to say about actual workers and much to say about the alienation and ennui of the privileged.

While Jaeggi (2014: 12) sees 'alienation from something the self has made', alienated labor for Marx produces a system of domination that stands outside the worker that she did not make but nevertheless thwarts her freedom. When we become alien to ourselves and our lives are bereft of 'willful determination'-as is the condition of most people working in factories especially sweatshops or among the closely monitored lower echelon services - from making or serving fast food to customer service, for example. Moreover as we previously noted, increasingly workers today, even at higher levels including the professions have become more and more subject to surveillance and regimentation, while careers increasingly consist of short term commitments working largely in teams with limited duration. Most such work is as alienating as was textile production for Marx or the manufacture of pins for Adam Smith. Given her arguments, the book should be read by those interested in alienation, however it may well be that her move away from Marx, from early critical theory and the wealth of empirical social research on the topic may quite well, in a truly dialectical fashion foster reconsiderations of these classical texts.

It cannot be denied that the research literature concerned with alienation as a socio-structural phenomenon and/or with its social psychological consequences has contributed to solutions of problems in various domains of social relations, and to inspiring strategies of social action.

Nevertheless, there are unsolved issues for future research. One such challenge was formulated in his 1985 presidential address to the American Sociological Association. Kai Erikson spelled out the still knotty problem of how to combine structural understandings of alienation with objective measures of their impact(s). Accepting Marx's description of the inevitability of alienation under still prevailing conditions of production, Erikson pointed out that many workers who are objectively powerless and lead fragmented lives are unaware of being alienated and even declare themselves satisfied with their lot at work. This is a sign of self-deception, not a sign that there is no alienation. Structural alienation undoubtedly leaves marks on the alienated and those marks can in principle be tracked and measured, but in practice this has still not been achieved.



Still, there are several striking directions for elaborating alienation as a critique of domination. The work of Hochschild (1983), focusing on flight attendants, noted how service work led to a 'commodification of feelings' and alienation as bitter as that of 19th-century factory workers. A similar plight is found among other workers from those in the fast food industries to strait-laced salespersons (cf. Leidner, 2003; Mills, 1951). Many people have been concerned with the alienation of and from the body. Prosono (2008: 635) demonstrates that 'alienation of the body and the mind reworks the individual into a commodity and a function'. Thus, bodies, like other commodities have become consumables (Galli, 2013: 56-59). The entire body culture, with its concern for the 'expression' of the stereophonics of desire, is a culture of irredeemable monstrosity and obscenity (Baudrillard, 1990: 33) which has yet to be explored in all its complexity. For example, the popularity of body adornment, tattoos and piercing among many young people are both a statement of alienation and a conscious means of overcoming that alienation through commitment to transgressive norms. (Langman, 2011)

With contemporary alienation due to large-scale migrations, economic stagnation and an implosion of the global economy, many of the reactions and social mobilizations attract the attention of alienation researchers. These include various religious fundamentalisms, nationalisms, terrorism, global justice movements and a popular culture of carnivalesque transgressions ranging from heavy metal and rap music to 'porn chic' and bacchanalian vacations. Langman and Kalekin-Fishman (2013) have argued that alienation plays a considerable role in prompting a variety of social mobilizations - but the dominant paradigms of social movement theory, Resource Mobilization and/or New Social Movement theory give little attention to political economy, nor to emotions, and even less to the fact that for Marx, alienation engendered an imaginary of another kind of society. On the one hand, social change now fosters more democratic inclusive relations, more tolerance of social and moral diversity and liberal social values. Thus, identities alienated from 'mainstream' cultural values often embrace progressive agendas that valorize heretofore marginalized, activism for feminism, gay rights, as well as antiwar movements. But such social trends and movements often offend many of the more conservative people who then join and/or embrace more conservative, or even reactionary movements that would stop, if not reverse social change and secure traditional political, religious or nationalistic values. This is seen in many of the Islamicist movements, as well as in the National Front or the American Tea Party (Langman, 2012). Moreover, for many, the transgressive realms of popular culture provide commodified ways of overcoming alienation, entrapment, social fragmentation and the inauthenticity of our age by providing people with momentary experiences of 'the joys of transgression' e.g. the gratifications of agency and community, free of alienation, entrapment and inauthenticity (Langman 2013).



At first glance these diverse reactions might seem to have very little in common. But closer examination reveals that when some alienated people seek agency, reactionary social or political movements, themselves alienated, can provide illusory moments of power and voice that would attempt to stop if not reverse social change. Similarly, progressive movements seek actual social transformations that would alleviate alienation through transformations of culture and society that provide for greater democracy, equality and indeed, the self realization thwarted by alienation. If we begin with Marx's critique of alienation, one could argue that overcoming alienated labor and overcoming the hegemonic ideologies sustained by the dominant political control of capitalists, can perhaps be accomplished with the realization of dignity. It is possible to see in dignity, the core of the 'good life' that is attained when people have recognition of their fundamental humanity, self-determination, incorporation into life-affirming communities, and the capacity to reclaim their 'species being.' But dignity is not simply self-esteem; it is rather a web of circumstances which enable self-esteem, pride and self-realization for everyone (Langman and Albanese, 2014).

Given the realities of globalization, new technologies, growing economic stagnation if not decline, and the enduring nature of alienation in both traditional and contemporary articulations, the 21st century is a time of tantalizing challenge for alienation researchers studying the myriad forms that alienation now takes, and the many ways people attempt to overcome that alienation

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