Alienation

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abstract   Historically originating in Roman law, alienation has been explored extensively in philosophy and theology. In the 19th century, Marx showed that workers' alienation was a consequence of capitalism. Others conceptualized alienation as socially induced psychological states, which could be scaled and measured. 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, politics and popular culture.

keywords   alienation ◆ commodity fetishism ◆ dehumanization ◆ domination ◆ estrangement ◆ objectification ◆ rationality ◆ reification

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, diversion 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; and Adam Smith (1986), for whom 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 *(Entaüsserung)* had positive effects because through individuals' externalized conscious-

ness, 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 (throwedness) and his finitude (being unto death). Tillich describes the 'tragic universality' of Hegel's other term for alienation, *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, but 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 of 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 Adam Smith's insights to gender. She saw that even though work is essential to a satisfactory life, workers are often exploited and 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 the 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. As with all commodities, the value of labor was in constant flux. Turned into extensions of machines, workers were estranged from their selves, cut off from community support and unable to control their lives effectively. The chasm between those paid wages for production and those who accumulated profit from managing the marketing was unbridgeable. Because the structural position of workers was most vulnerable to the uncertainties of capitalism, they were unable to clarify 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. The analysis of alienation underlay his *Das Kapital*, Marx's extensive critique of capitalist political economy, although after the 1844 Manuscripts, he did not make use of the term to pinpoint specific weaknesses of production and distribution (Williamson and Cullingford, 1997).

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 production and bureaucratic administration in industry and also in politics. 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 personality within an alien and alienating system. With the rationalized 'disenchantment of the world', people were dehumanized and trapped within 'iron cages'.

Durkheim (1984), on the other hand, found that although the rational 'organic' division of labor that made industrialization possible 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, people haunted by 'anomie' find it difficult to decide on how to apply familiar rules and on what new rules of behavior to adopt (Durkheim, 1997 [1897]). Where familiar normative structures failed, anomie could even to lead to suicide.

Conceptualizing alienation in critical sociology

Lukacs (1923) explored the impact of the rational division of labor on consciousness further, 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 relied on 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 (2013) 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.[1] Fromm (1961) wrote a fine exposition of Marx's writings. For him the routinization of alienation was 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 personal 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 in 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, quickly 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 (Langman et al., 2013). 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. With high expectations and aspirations for consumption and leisure, workers 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 surround 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 one who could thus 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', as behaviors that result from the acceptance or rejection of goals and means, a nuanced description of the realization of alienation. Thus '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, which are not necessarily worthwhile. 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 was seen as 'retreatism', the pattern of cutting oneself off from the social milieu. Viewing conformity as the pattern of adaptation that ensures the survival of society, Merton saw each of the other patterns as a specific deviation. He grouped the deviant adaptive patterns under the heading of 'anomie' but did not connect them with the confusion and loss of orientation that underlay Durkheim's construct. By attributing cardinality to the crucial interplay of means and goals, Merton was in fact portraying the realization of alienation in behavior.

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 one particular type of alienation, a state of bewilderment about what norms are applicable in unforeseen situations.

A comparative reading of Merton's model and Seeman's survey of social psychological indicators, discloses parallels. 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 are outlined in the scheme 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). 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. Detailed examinations of structures lead to the discovery of lacunae in prevailing understandings of horizons of possibility. Since those doomed to alienation by the social order are not aware of all the symptoms, sociologists 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 knowingly alienated from organizations, from 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 feelings are connected with actions they undertake in each domain. Framed this way, researchers can ask respondents about their alienation; findings provide information about perceiving alienation and point individuals 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 inter-correlations of the various subscales demonstrating that rather than being independent phenomena the five dimensions (Seeman, 1959) all appertain 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 complied 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; still, it turned out that for the least skilled textile workers (with the highest levels of alienation), small town communities could provide 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), maladjustment (O'Donnell et al., 2006); depression and mental illness (Miller et al., 2006); 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).

Still today, scales measuring alienation are being used to look at children's emotional and cognitive adjustment to educational institutions (Atnafu, 2012; Elmi, 2012; Jahangiri 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 and 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; Gottlieb, 2013) and described as a central aspect 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). This study disclosed 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 an assumption of the validity of Seeman's dimensions, Mauldin (2008) drew conclusions about how alienation is variously configured in jokes. All together, the researches of alienation and social learning in hospitals, schools, prisons, politics, work and communications 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 the studies are explorations of politics (Haddad, 2013), 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 and community and ethnic relations (Cullingford and Morrison, 1996; Travis, 1993).

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 followed 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 and 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 also 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. Durkheim feared the loss of community and anomie a century ago. In our age, alienation hides under aliases such as othering, exclusion, segregation, isolation (vs belonging, integration, assimilation) and working out the specific connections between alienation and each of these is a worthy challenge.

The way forward

The body of research that is concerned with alienation as a sociostructural phenomenon and/or with its social psychological consequences has provided knowledge that contributes to solutions of problems in various domains of social relations, and to inspiring strategies of social action.

Still, there are unsolved issues for future research. In his 1985 presidential address to the American Sociological Association, Kai Erikson spelled out the 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 many of the conditions of production that still prevail, 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. In his view, 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.

Today there are several new 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'. Like other commodities, bodies have become consumables (Galli, 2013: 56–9). The entire body culture, with its concern for the 'expression' of the body's 'desires', for 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 is both a statement of alienation and a conscious means of overcoming that alienation through commitment to transgressive norms (Langman, 2012a).

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, 2012b).

Finally, 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 (Langman et al., 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 transformations of culture and society that provide for greater democracy, equality and indeed, for the self-realization thwarted by alienation. 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.

Note

1. Studies of the attractions of authoritarianism are still fascinating. Recently, John Dean (2006) wrote that the Bush regime was not comprised of conservatives, but radical authoritarians seeking domination of the world and their own citizenry.

Annotated further reading

Blauner R (1964) *Alienation and Freedom: The Factory Worker and His Industry.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
In this classic of nuanced empirical research, Blauner examines how the dimensions of alienation delineated by Seeman (1959) are evidenced among workers in industries differentiated by educational requirements (textiles, automobiles, printing shops and chemical firms) and among workers positioned differently in the hierarchies of each industry.

Geyer RF (1980) *Alienation Theories: A General Systems Approach.* London: Elsevier/Pergamon.
Felix Geyer, the first president of the ISA Committee for the Study of Alienation, understands alienation in terms of of general systems theory. In light of GST alienation is reconceptualized to enable the subsumption of several typically modern 'information overload' problems under the rubric of alienation theory.

Israel J (1971) *Alienation: From Marx to Modern Sociology: A Macro-Sociological Analysis.* Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
This is a systematic survey of the development of alienation as a concept in work by Durkheim, Weber, Simmel, Fromm, Mills, Marcuse and sociologists in the Eastern bloc, leading up to the author's own comprehensive view in the final chapter.

Langman L, Kalekin-Fishman D (eds) (2005) *The Evolution of Alienation: Trauma, Promise and the Millennium.* Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
This is a compilation of recent theoretical and empirical developments in alienation scholarship. Contributing authors show how alienation as a concept has become an important aspect of politics and culture as well as of subjectivity and desire. Chapters present understandings of how alienation is relevant to contemporary views of globalization, reactionary politics, anti-Semitism, technology, feminism, popular culture and everyday life.

Lukacs G (1971 [1920]) *History and Class Consciousness.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
One of the major foundational works of western Marxism, this is an analysis and critique of the ahistorical nature of the Kantian categories, individualism and 'orthodox Marxism'. It was an entreaty to consider the importance of social relations, culture and ideology.

Marx K (1961) *The Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844.* Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House.
The Manuscripts remain the underpinning of Marx's critique of alienation as objectification, rendering individuals as commodities, as costs of production, whose labor was resold to produce profits (surplus value) and thus created a system of private property that stood outside the worker as an alien force rendering her/him powerless, denied the very recognition that enables one to be fully human.

Mészáros I (1970) *Marx's Theory of Alienation.* London: P Merlin.
The Mészáros volume remains one of the most comprehensive critiques of Marx's theory, presenting a historical analysis of the concept leading up to Marx with considerations of the Judeo-Christian religious tradition.

Ollman B (1998 [1971]) *Alienation: Marx's Conception of Man in Capitalist Society.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
In 33 chapters, Ollman provides a thorough explication of the Marxian theory of alienation, from a 'Philosophical Introduction', through 'Marx's Conception of Human Nature' to the multifaceted meaning of alienation in terms of relationships and value.

Seeman M (1959) On the meaning of alienation. *American Sociological Review* 24: 783–91.
This seminal article presents five dimensions of alienation that Seeman found in a survey of sociological theoretical writing until the mid-20th century. The dimensions he defined have served as the basis for an entire school of quantitative studies of alienation.

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résumé   Tirant son origine de la loi romaine, l'aliénation est toujours un outil précieux pour l'analyse sociologique. Chez Marx, l'aliénation (estrangement, objectivation) des travailleurs était une conséquence structurelle du capitalisme. Durant le XX siècle, l'aliénation théorisée en tant qu'états psychologiques socialement induits était souvent mesurée au moyen de questionnaires. Les études récentes de l'aliénation continuent autant la tradition structurelle que la tradition psychosociale en sciences sociales, avec des transformations d'aliénation par example-exclusion, ségrégation, isolation et marginalisation.

mots-clés   aliénation ◆ déshumanisation ◆ domination ◆ fétichisme de la marchandise ◆ objectivation ◆ rationalité ◆ reification ◆ séparation

resumen   Originario del derecho romano, la alienación sigue siendo una herramienta útil de análisis sociológico. Según Marx, la alienación (extrañamiento, objetivación) del obrero era consecuencia estructural del capitalismo. En el siglo XX la alienación, concebida como un inducido estado psicológico se medía por sondeos. Estudios recientes de alienación en las ciencias sociales según las tradiciones tanto estructurales como psicológicas, con transformaciones ocasionales hacia formas de exclusión, segregación, aislamiento y marginalización.

palabras clave   alienación ◆ deshumanización ◆ distanciamiento ◆ dominación ◆ fetichismo de mercancía ◆ objetivación ◆ racionalidad ◆ reificación