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ALIENATION AND SOCIALISM: AN ANALYSIS
OF YUGOSLAV WORKERS' SELF-MANAGEMENT

by

Alan Whitehorn

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Carleton University,
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The undersigned recommend to the Faculty of
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"Alienation and Socialism:
An Analysis of Yugoslav Workers' Self-Management"

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January 1976

To Suzanne.

ALIENATION AND SOCIALISM: AN ANALYSIS OF YUGOSLAV WORKERS' SELF-MANAGEMENT

Workers' self-management is analyzed both in terms of a review of the literature on alienation, participation and polyarchy and of empirical data derived from surveys conducted in both capitalist factories in Canada and workers' self-managed factories in Yugoslavia.

A detailed analysis of the important political writings on alienation are presented (Hegel, Marx, Durkheim) and followed by a discussion of the term polyarchy (Dahl).

A number of key hypotheses are extrapolated from the socialist literature and operationalized within a survey questionnaire.

- 1) Is the workers' self-managed factory more democratic than the capitalist firm?
- 2) Does the employee of a workers' self-managed factory perceive his condition as having improved?
- 3) Is the workers' self-managed factory associated with lower alienation levels?
- 4) Does class membership relate to alienation levels?
- 5) Is participation in self-management associated with lower alienation levels?
- 6) Is alienation in the factory strongly associated with alienation in society?

An overall evaluation is made as to whether there is any amelioration in socialist society of the oppressed psychological condition of working man from that which exists in capitalist society.

Of the six socialist hypotheses posed, three were confirmed (#1, #2, #5), two findings were mixed but leaned in the direction of confirmation (#3, #6), and only one hypothesis was disconfirmed (#4).

The thesis concludes with an outline of two models of self-management and discusses the prospects of workers' self-management in the next decade.

Thus, the general findings from this research suggest that the central assumptions of self-management seem to be sound and that what is required to reduce alienation levels, particularly at the factory level, is increased factory pluralism and worker participation in self-management.

Alan Whitehorn

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Preface

Thus far very few studies have looked at alienation in socialist societies,¹ particularly using empirical techniques. Even fewer have tried to analyze across capitalist and socialist societies. In so doing, there are enormous difficulties, necessary assumptions and reductions, and it is not my intention to deny or belittle any of them.² Yet if we are ever to begin to try to empirically test universal concepts such as power and alienation and to test them by sampling the full range of social systems, then one must do so at the cost of certain imprecision and increased difficulty.

Socialism, some have suggested, is one of the richest and most useful of social theories³ but this does not mean that one should accept it as a closed theoretical system.⁴ Rather, one should

* My sincere thanks go to the following persons who have assisted me greatly in my project: V. Rus, B. Kavcic, A. Kavs, D. Gabriljelcic, B. Bavcar, R. Selucky, T. Rakowska-Harmstone, N. Chi, B. McFarlane, D. Whyte, and S. Whitehorn.
I would also like to thank the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation for providing me with financial backing during the years 1971-1974.

1. This is particularly so of socialist societies governed by ruling communist parties.
2. I am and always have been primarily interested in normative and ethical questions and less in those of a mathematical or scientific nature. It was, however, my impatience with the slowness of empirical researchers to delve into the nature of workers' self-management that lead me to make the momentous leap into the realm of survey research. It has been the purpose of my cross-national study of Yugoslav workers' self-managed factories and Canadian capitalist enterprises to begin to close the gap between much of the normative and the empirical literature.
3. Advocates of such a position are J. Plamenatz, Man and Society (London, 1963), p.403; J.P. Sartre, Search For a Method (N.Y., 1963) and E. Durkheim, Socialism (N.Y., 1958).
4. See K. Popper, The Poverty of Historicism (London, 1957) for a lucid discussion of the limitations of closed systems.

continually attempt to expand its parameters. It is the purpose of this study to attempt to investigate a number of socialist hypotheses and try to determine their validity. In so doing, one realizes many of the limitations and reductions required to empirically operationalize such concepts.

The key hypotheses derived from the socialist literature and thus posed in this work are: Does a more democratic and pluralistic (in the polyarchic sense) power structure exist in the workers' self-managed factory than in the capitalist one? Second, is a more democratic enterprise structure associated with lower alienation levels? Thirdly, is work alienation the central force (i.e. highly correlated) to alienation outside the factory? Ultimately, the final question posed is 'how best can a sense of community and identity be maintained, while also preserving individual and collective freedom and an acceptable level of material welfare?'. The questions, then, that underlie many of the queries are whether alienation is an ontological or a transient phenomenon and whether there is any viable means of its alleviation.

The study is based on survey questionnaires administered in Yugoslavia during 1972-1973 and in Canada during 1973.¹

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1. Please note that much of the emphasis will be on analyzing the data from communist Yugoslavia. This is done for two reasons: first, controlling variables in order to test a number of hypotheses can be done more accurately within a single polity and second, this dissertation is part of a doctoral programme in political science with a major in communist studies.

Introduction: History of the Normative and
Speculative Theorist's Use of the Term Alienation

The intellectual antecedents of the concept of alienation are substantial.¹ In many respects, the concept of alienation is deeply rooted in Western civilization. Indeed, Kenniston states "Although formal discussions of alienation itself are largely limited to the last 150 years, the theme of alienation -- of estrangement, outcastness, and loss -- is an archetypal theme in human life and history"² and S. Wolin³ argues that the concern for attempting to re-establish a sense of community (the converse of alienation)⁴ has been the main pre-occupation of Western political thought. The sociologist R. Nisbet⁵ concurs by suggesting that alienation is one of the five key concepts in sociological thought. R. Schacht⁶, focusing on philosophy, has also traced the concept of alienation over two millennia. The similarity between the concept of alienation and the theological notion of sin has been well noted by a number of authors⁷ and thus also suggests the centrality of the concept in the Western intellectual tradition.

While the important, if not essential, normative component of the concept of alienation has been noted, it remains to be seen how useful it is as a scientific concept. Clearly, the pioneering analyses of Marx and Durkheim have influenced research a great deal and the results of various research projects may begin to test the two respective pioneering theories.

-
1. The themes of the wanderer, sin, of a lost Golden Age and of a broken community or clan are examples of such.
 2. K. Kenniston, The Uncommitted (N.Y., 1960) p.389. See also p.451.
 3. S. Wolin, Politics and Vision (Boston, 1960) p.351. The lack of concern for community shown by liberals is a large part of the failure of this political philosophy.
 4. In large part one can conceptualize a continuum in which integration (or a sense of community) is on one extreme and alienation (anarchy) is on the other.
 5. R. Nisbet, The Sociological Tradition (New York, 1966).
 6. R. Schacht, Alienation (New York, 1971)..
 7. F. Johnson, "Alienation: Some Concluding Observations" in F. Johnson, ed., Alienation (New York, 1973) p.377.

Before proceeding further one should note two major controversies concerning the term alienation. The first is the substantial differences in the meaning of the term and the number of terms that have been used as synonyms or approximations.¹ The net result of such a profusion of terms around the concept has resulted in a number of authors² discounting the utility of such a concept and even some doubting its existence. Even authors³ who use the term have suggested that alternate and less used terms might be more useful.

-
1. I have been able to extract the following approximate clusters of such terms that on various occasions and by a variety of authors have been associated with the concept of alienation.
 - 1) loneliness, social isolation, separation, estrangement, atomization, exile (physical and psychic), stranger, bifurcation, wanderer
 - 2) normlessness, anomie, meaninglessness, incongruence, cynicism, disjunction, lawlessness, formlessness, other-directedness, psychic disorganization, loss of certainty, loss of faith, adrift, lost, idolotry
 - 3) powerlessness, passivity, apathy, lack of efficacy, non-participation, helplessness, paralysis, subservience, fatalism, manipulated, observer
 - 4) loss of self, fragmentization, detachment, divided self, inauthenticity, self-estrangement, schizophrenia, neurosis, ritualism, superficiality, loss of senses, numbness, dehumanization, mechanization, indifference, insensitivity, remoteness, emotionless, robotization, soul-less, empty, nakedness, deadness
 - 5) pessimism, cynicism, despair, anxiety, fearfulness, distrust, dread
 - 6) insanity, lunacy, neurosis

Please note that I do not equate the above terms but have only noted their use. Also, no single author uses all or a large number of the above terms as synonyms and quite clearly the authors use the terms in varying amounts of rigour. My clustering is only for purposes of noting the sorts of terms associated with alienation at various times.

2. See H.B. Mayo, An Introduction to Marxist Theory (New York, 1960) and T. Denise, "The Concept of Alienation: Some Critical Notes" in F. Johnson, op. cit.
3. See for example D. Regin, Sources of Cultural Estrangement (Hague, 1961). This is one of the most stimulating books of the subject of alienation.

The second major difficulty of the term is its frequent association with a substantial amount of emotional and ideological writings.¹ Thus far the term has, for the most part², been used by the political left as a concept critical of contemporary society. This raises the question of whether such a term can have any implications other than those of being critical, negative and, by implication, revolutionary.

Given the above substantial difficulties, one might seriously question why anyone would choose to use such a concept. At this point a brief definition and historical account of the usage of the term may prove useful in answering such a query. The Oxford English Dictionary offers the following linguistic roots for the term:

alienus - of or belonging to another person or place

alius - other, another

and the following meanings:³

- 1) The action of estranging, or state of estrangement in feeling and affection.
- 2) The action of transferring the ownership of anything to another.
- 3) The taking of anything from its owner.
- 4) Diversion of anything to a different purpose.
- 5) The state of being alienated or held by other than the proper owner.
- 6) Alteration, change.

1. This is in part a factor in its popularity and hence a component of its strength.

2. A number of religious writers might be examples of more rightist authors using the term. Interestingly, Hegel has been claimed by both the political left and right. See for example H. Marcuse, Reason and Revolution (New York, 1966).

3. For other definitions see some of the following:

A. Etzioni, The Active Society (New York, 1968) p.618.

E. Fromm, Beyond the Chains of Illusion (New York, 1971) p.53.

T. Parsons, The Social System (New York, 1951) p.254-55.

D. Bell, The End of Ideology (New York, 1965) pp.358-60.

The overall impression of the term is that of a change of condition from one of a former unity (e.g. ownership in the legal sense, identity in the psychic sense) to that of disunity. What often seems to be implied in such a definition is the idea that one of the units is more central than the other component or components. Thus, a core still exists as the basic unit although substantially weakened and no longer as a harmonious and regulated whole. Given such a description one may question the use of the term alienation and not of some other such as 'split' or 'division'. Perhaps an additional connotation is often implied by 'alienation' -- that of an attempt at reunion of the component parts or of a separation that should not have occurred and is, therefore, a denial of the essential nature of the 'being'.¹

One should now turn to a brief historical account of the more normative and speculative usage of the term alienation and some of its antecedents and closer equivalents before focusing on the Marxist hypotheses to be studied.

With the decline of the relative parochialism of the Greek city-states², one can observe, during both the Hellenistic age and the Roman Empire, an increasing loss of security in norms and values. In short, the more metropolitan eras generated more pluralistic and hence, more sceptical, societies. The consequence seems to have been a sense of estrangement that can be seen in the Roman Epicurean and Stoic philosophies. Both the Epicureans, in their denial of

-
1. Regin suggests an alternate meaning for the term -- mistaking the part for the whole. "A part is severed from the whole and comes to be isolated and accepted as a new autonomous whole", p.35 and "It is not the disjunction of two spheres previously united, but the realization that the old unity was an illusion". Regin, op. cit., p.32.
 2. Even Plato is preoccupied with the themes of unity, community and the absence of conflict. His was a longing for a more stable and just system, a Golden Age of rule by the philosopher kings. See The Republic. Popper's criticism of Plato's totalitarian leanings, while fascinating, seem somewhat extreme for a society in which individualism was only just beginning to emerge. See K. Popper, The Open Society and Its Enemies Vol.1, (New York, 1962). This raises the question whether alienation is possible only when the individual...

intrinsic values (i.e. normlessness), and the Stoics¹ with their emphasis upon the individual and the incapacity of the political order to fulfill man's essential nature, suggest a society in which the theme of a highly participatory and emotional sense of community have faded.

In early Christian thought one notices that Genesis is a story of separation from the unity and security of Eden. In Augustine² the theme of bifurcation is prevalent. Man's pessimistic fate is due to his sin and idolotry³. There are thus two cities -- the Heavenly City in which one finds oneness with God and the Earthly City in which anxiety and conflicting desires prevail. Basically, man's lot on earth is that of a wanderer or a pilgrim in which his essence or soul prepares for the more fundamental and important after-life beyond the body. Salvation (identity) is, therefore, largely an inward and personal journey of faith. Man is in society but not of it, although a certain type of society (i.e. Christian) can be helpful in attaining grace. The spiritual sense of separation was, of course, reinforced by the theological and hence socio-economic bifurcation of the Roman Empire into the Roman Catholic and Byzantine Orthodox parts and the prevalence of pagan societies.

The Medieval period was one in which the Church and the guild as collective entities dominated. It was a period in the most part

is capable of being separate from the group. Clearly, in a collectivist tribal society, the sense of individual alienation seems unlikely. A sense of collective powerlessness and breakdown of past collective norms, however, does seem plausible.

1. A brief reading of Marcus Aurelius, Meditations (New York, 1945) would suggest a mood of pessimism and isolation.
2. See St. Augustine, Confessions (London, 1961). The theme of God exclusively being of a full essence (power) and unity is prevalent in a number of theologians, Aquinas being a prime example.
3. "Man's alienation in European thought has its roots in religious doctrines according to which the breaking of religious precepts is made tantamount to estrangement from God and his laws." M. Djilas, "On Alienation", Encounter No.5, 1971, p.9.

characterized by a great chain of being¹, in which a coherent, albeit a hierarchical, whole prevailed. This, then, was an age of collectivism and by implication, of group identity, for those who were not exiled or burned as heretics². One pessimistic note, of course, was the memory of a once larger and grander Roman Empire now replaced by fragmented polities.

The Renaissance, which is really on the interface of traditional and modern society, marks the significant emphasis on certain values and aspects that are suggested by some authors as causes of alienation. The growing emphasis on individual freedom and autonomy seems to anticipate the social isolation and pluralism of values (norm-diffusion). The growth of science³ with its emphasis on abstraction, quantification, mechanistic models, impersonal replication, relativity, open-mindedness and the development of perspective⁴ probably encouraged a philosophy of relativism and with it, a growth in normlessness. Common themes of this period are man seeking unattainable goals (Dante) and the decline of a golden and secure age of chivalry⁵. Without doubt, Don Quixote's sense of confusion and despair at the loss of such a world is an inspiring yet tragic tale of man's total alienation. Don Quixote is powerless to stop a changing world, advocates norms in opposition to the prevalent social mood, and is isolated from all but a few friends.

The early industrial age generated certain anti-industrial orientations, one of which was the romantic tradition. This tradition influenced both socialist critiques of capitalism and much

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1. See A. Lovejoy, The Great Chain of Being (New York, 1936) for an elucidation. See also B. Murchland, The Age of Alienation (New York, 1971) for an excellent account of the theme of alienation in this period.
 2. One exception was the Tarantism -dancing mania- which periodically broke out.
 3. See for example F. Bacon, "Novum Organum" in F. Bacon, A Selection of His Works (Toronto, 1965). Bacon is interesting in his belief that man can control nature with science. Clearly, the theme of harmony of man and nature seems lost.
 4. See for example L. Alberti, On Painting (New Haven, 1966).
 5. See for example Cervantes, Don Quixote; W. Shakespeare, King Lear.

of the alienation literature and is, therefore, worthy of brief mention. In an industrial age notions of heroism and chivalry are overthrown by those of science and logic. The physical consequences of such changes were industrial workers engaged in drab and oppressive labour. Writers such as Wagner and Goethe chose to stress values associated with a former age which dealt with heroic and ennobling quests. These writers focused upon individuals engaged in the spiritual activity of nostalgic searches for a mystical and totalistic community. In such quests for spiritual purity and higher truths, there is a dramatic rejection of the petty, stifling and materialistic concerns of capitalist production. The Enlightenment's assertion of technological progress leading to intellectual development is also questioned and the danger of the diminishing of certain nobler activities of man is raised.

The seventeenth century ushers in the explicit usage of the term alienation. Grotius¹ uses the term to indicate a sovereign being transferring ownership and authority to another body (i.e. the monarch) so as to establish the order of civil society. This is a theme that Hobbes² echoes in his discussion on the alienating (i.e. transfer of rights by contract) of individuals to the sovereign. While a certain amount of alienation (transferral of rights) is necessary, Hobbes is quite emphatic in suggesting that "not all rights are alienable", thus man always has the right to defend himself. It is interesting to note that while Hobbes' explicit use of the term alienation is sparse, implicitly one can deduce it elsewhere, such as in the state of nature -- a war of all against all in which "the life of man [is] solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short". Such an environment is one of extreme alienation; the social isolation of the individual is complete and a sense of community lacking. It is

1. See Schacht, Alienation, p.16.

2. See Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan (Oxford, 1955), Part 1, chapter 14, pp.86-87.

only later that, as individuals, men band together and cede much of their rights to the single sovereign so that unity and the fruits of civilization (labour) can be enjoyed. The coercion of a sovereign then ensures a limited unalienated society: that is to say, alienating one's rights generates social peace.

Locke¹ does not use the term alienation, but as in the case of Hobbes and Grotius, writes of ceding rights to the sovereign in return for gaining social peace. His emphasis upon certain natural rights for all citizens influenced the authors of the American Declaration of Independence when they wrote "all men are created equal, [and] they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights". This theme of natural rights and natural law² can be substantially related to the concept of alienation. Within the evolution of the liberal concept of natural rights is that of their inalienability and thus, of an essential or core human nature. Such an assertion of a core human nature is often used as a criticism of current conditions. This theme, that man's present actions and life style are not an assertion of his basic or higher nature (capacities) is often implicit in many writers, Marx being an example.

Rousseau defines alienation in the following fashion. "To alienate is to give or to sell."³ His interpretation, like other social contract theorists, is one of 'utility' in that he asserts that man only cedes something for another benefit. Hence, mankind does not cede its freedom for the tyranny of a single monarch. One's alienation of one's rights for such a condition is essentially negative and undesirable. Regrettably, Rousseau sees such a condition

1. Both Descartes and Locke with their emphasis on knowledge deriving "from the individual senses", seem to sever the mystical bond to the past and the collective. They can, therefore, be seen as precursors to utilitarianism. Indeed, the entire social contract school is one of emphasizing the mechanistic utility perspective on human relations rather than the communal and mystical bond of men in society.

2. See A. d'Entreves, Natural Law (London, 1951).

3. J.J. Rousseau, The Social Contract (New York, 1967) I, 4. See also I,2, I,6, I,9, II,1, II,2, for other uses of the term.

and concludes that "Man was born free, and everywhere he is in chains".¹ For alienation to lead to a positive and lasting benefit, it must involve "the total alienation to the whole community of each associate with all his rights".² With such a condition a genuinely just and democratic community would evolve in which no individuals or specific groups would rule, but rather the 'general will'. Such a sovereign general will would ensure a society of unity, equality, participation³ and freedom. In such a system, limits on wealth are imposed since it is Rousseau's assertion that private property has fostered the need for society and generated inequality⁴. Thus, the connection between economics and alienation is established in Rousseau although in large part his solution is a political one.

Hegel's use of the term alienation has been well documented by Marcuse⁵ and Schacht⁶ and one shall only briefly focus on Hegel's usage. It is, however, my contention that Marx borrows far more from Hegel on the theme of alienation than he acknowledges. To begin, Hegel's analysis is less metaphysical⁷ and more sociological than one might gather from Marx's comments. Hegel speaks of

1. Note how the theme of negative consequences of estrangement from the state of nature anticipates the romantic protest to industrialism and utilitarianism. Rousseau stresses the human simplicity of natural man as contrasted with the greed and insensitivity of man in society. He also hints at the idea of self-alienation (i.e. a loss of one's inner and most important attributes and senses).
2. Rousseau, The Social Contract, I, 6.
3. Note the emphasis on participation as a key component for establishing a sense of community and citizenship. This is similar to the Greek city-state's emphasis.
4. See J.J. Rousseau, "Discourse on the Origin of Inequality" in The Social Contract.
5. H. Marcuse, Reason and Revolution (New York, 1966).
6. Schacht, op. cit. Schacht suggests that Hegel uses the term alienation in two distinct ways. One type of alienation involves a decline of a former unity into separation. A second usage is that of ~~wilful~~ ~~surrender~~.
7. See E. Mandel, The Marxist Theory of Alienation (N.Y., 1970), p.15 for agreement on this point. This is not to assert that Hegel is not greatly a metaphysician, but only that he is less so on some matters than is frequently postulated.

alienation with reference to work, the guild (corporation) and classes¹. Hegel's innovation is to suggest that work is of paramount importance to the theme of alienation. The alienation inherent in work is "the middle term between the subjective and the objective"²; it is the mediator between man and the world³. Work universalizes man in that it alienates, that is to say, part of his inner being (e.g. idea, will or energy) is transferred to an object. Yet work also transcends in that man goes beyond nature to produce (objectification) and create in God-like fashion. It is through such work that man becomes human and social. Indeed he says, "The will is not a will until it is this self-mediating activity, this return into itself"⁴.

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1. See T. Knox (transl.), Hegel's Philosophy of Right (N.Y., 1967) p.131-32. The three classes that Hegel speaks of are agriculture, business and universal (state employees).
 2. Ibid., p.126. I have focused on this work for the discussion although one should also note his usage of the term in the Phenomenology of Mind (N.Y., 1964). Such a position is justified in that Marx's first systematic work is a critique of the Philosophy of Right. See S. Avineri, The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx (Cambridge, 1970), p.3. See also Schacht, op. cit., p.81 for agreement on this.
 3. This could take the diagrammatic form of the following:

subjective → work → objective

This emphasis on mediation or becoming is an interesting rejection of Aristotelean logic. Hegel suggests that activity (i.e. change and contradiction) are higher levels of knowledge than being and non-being. See for example A. Basson and D. O'Connor, Introduction to Symbolic Logic (London, 1965). See also M. Foss, The Idea of Perfection in the Western World (Lincoln, 1946). Note that before becoming can take place there must come into existence both being and non-being. Note, too, that since the will is universal and objects only particular, the two can never be fully reconciled -- that is to say the former cannot be fully expressed in the latter.

4. Knox, op. cit., p.24.

To work, Hegel deduces, one must have property and thus his defence of property takes the following form: "The rationale of property is to be found not in the satisfaction of needs but in the supersession of the pure subjectivity of personality. In his property a person exists for the first time as reason"¹. That is to say property is the embodiment of the highest quality of the personality - spirit.

Hegel's notion of the self-managed guild ('Corporation') harkens back to the Medieval notion of work being both socially useful and based upon pride and enjoyment. Hegel adds to work's positive attributes that of expanded consciousness and universality. "The Corporation member is to be distinguished from a day labourer ... he will become master of his craft, is a member of the association not for casual gain on single occasions but for the whole range, the universality, of his personal livelihood"². "Unless he is a member of an authorized Corporation ... an individual is without rank or dignity, his isolation reduces his business to mere self-seeking, and his livelihood and satisfaction become insecure"³. Indeed, the corporation is essentially a communal life based on ethics and love and less on utility. Consequently, the corporation is concerned with matters such as ensuring the well-being of members, education of new members and their supervision. It is, in short, a community and reflects man's communal needs and strivings⁴.

For Hegel, work, even under ideal conditions, will of necessity generate alienation (transferral of some aspects of one's essence to material objects), but this is desirable and inevitable as the

1. Knox, op. cit., pp.235-36. See also p.42. Possession of property is justified only as long as one puts one's will into property. If one withdraws one's will, one has alienated property. Ibid., p.52.

2. Ibid., p.153. See also p.201.

3. Ibid., p. 153.

4. Ibid., p.156. Note the similarity to the Greek stress on the ethical importance of the community to the individual.

history of the 'geist' is that of de-alienation. Hegel thus paves the way for Marx in that he suggests that alienation is tied to societal (cultural) change. Indeed, it is a major force of change, it will historically end, it is tied to work, and it is only through work in the free (voluntary) collectivist basis (e.g. guild) that man universalizes himself. He anticipates Marx in the following comment about the need for free and self-labour: "By alienating the whole of my time, as crystallized in my work, and everything I produced, I would be making into another's property the substance of my being, my universal activity and actually, my personality"¹.

Hegel's description of work, however, is far less a description of the actual working conditions of the mass of humanity. His emphasis on mental labour describes conditions more characteristic of the craftsman or middle class. It is in part for this reason that Marx describes Hegel's writings as being metaphysical² rather than sociological.

Feuerbach criticized both Hegel's metaphysics and his portrayal of human civilization through the development of a de-alienated relationship between man and God. Feuerbach instead suggests that philosophy must begin with the anthropological rather than cosmic unknowns. Thus, to Feuerbach, religion reflects an alienated consciousness since the perceived ideal qualities of man are transferred into an idealized and artificial being -- i.e. a god. He says "Prayer is the self-division of man into two beings, --a dialogue of man with himself, with his heart"³ and that "Religion is the disuniting of man from himself; he sets God before him as the antithesis of himself"⁴.

1. Knox, op. cit., p.54.

2. It should not be forgotten that a great deal of Hegel's writings deal with the metaphysical. It is interesting to note that Djilas "On Alienation", op. cit., finds Hegel more useful than Marx in that the ontological aspects of alienation are stressed.

3. Ludwig Feuerbach, The Essence of Christianity (N.Y., 1957), p.123.

4. Ibid., p.33.

In short, so long as there is a belief in a god, man is alienated, for in proportion to the amount man projects into a god, he denies to himself and thus becomes increasingly dependent upon the object of his misguided creation. The solution for Feuerbach was one of rejecting all idols and creating a new secular thought based on humanism (i.e. anthropology).

This idea of secularizing or demystifying the notion of alienation and applying it to the anthropological concrete was expanded beyond religion and religious thought by Marx and early socialists. They asserted that "the human essence is no abstraction inherent in each single individual. In its reality, it is the ensemble of the social relations"¹. Hence, they concluded that if man's full powers and creativity are denied within the work process (i.e. the concrete and essential social relationship in capitalist society, so they argued) then 'generic man' (i.e. total man) must of necessity be alienated.

Marx, in his personal life, is a classic example of the alienated man. He was at different times an exile, an immigrant, unemployed, and rejected the belief system of his youth. He thus fits well into the literature on marginal man's estrangement. Until the late 1950's, with the exception of Lukacs, few Marxist scholars focused upon the theme of alienation in any substantial detail. With the English publication of the 1844 Paris Manuscripts², however, Marxism underwent a substantial re-evaluation with attention focused upon the debate about the existence of a young humanist Marx and an old sociological Marx³. Indeed, Novack says "the younger Marx ... analyzed

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1. K. Marx, "Theses on Feuerbach" in L. Feuer, ed., Marx and Engels: Basic Writings on Politics and Philosophy (N.Y., 1959), p.244.
 2. See E. Fromm, Marx's Concept of Man (N.Y., 1961).
 3. Those arguing that there was no fundamental change in Marx are Fromm, Rubel, Calvez and McLellan. For a fascinating discussion of this issue and the question of whether or not there are "neo-Marxist revisionists" see L. Feuer, Marx and the Intellectuals (N.Y., 1969).

capitalist relations by counterposing what is dehumanized to what is truly human. The later Marx viewed them in terms of class oppositions¹, and "If alienation was the general historical condition for original Marxism, division of labour is the general condition for mature Marxism"². The English language publication of the Grundrisse³ has sharpened such a focus with a number of authors arguing that alienation is a persistent and pivotal concept in Marx's writings.⁴ Certainly, for a man whose favourite maxim was "Nihil humani a me alienum puto" (Nothing human is alien to me) such a position seems viable.⁵

Marx's use of the term and its linguistic meaning can most succinctly be shown by the following passage: "Everything is therefore alienable, or [sic] indifferent for the individual, external to him"⁶. From this use of the connective 'or' one can deduce the equivalency to the term alienation -- "indifferent for the individual, external to him". One should note the difference between alienation which involves consciousness and objectification which

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1. E. Mandel and G. Novack, The Marxist Theory of Alienation (N.Y., 1970), p.65.
 2. R. Tucker, Philosophy and Myth in Karl Marx (Cambridge, 1965), p.186.
 3. See K. Marx, The Grundrisse (N.Y., 1971), D. McLellan (trans.) and K. Marx, The Grundrisse (Middlesex, 1973), M. Nicolaus (trans.).
 4. See for example I. Meszaros, Marx's Theory of Alienation (London, 1970), p.241; B. Ollman, Alienation (Cambridge, 1971); H. Aptheker, (ed.), Marxism and Alienation (N.Y., 1965); D. McLellan, Marx Before Marxism (Middlesex, 1970), p.278; V. Zitta, Georg Lukacs' Marxism: Alienation, Dialectics, Revolution. A Study in Utopia and Ideology (Hague, 1964); G. Petrovic, Marx in the Mid-Twentieth Century (N.Y., 1967), p.32; S. Avineri, op. cit., p.123. I also argue in favour of this position. My own reading of Capital (Vols. 1-3) suggests the continued usage of the term contrary to many accounts (e.g. Roberts). For example, volume three has at least 23 references to the terms 'alienation', 'alienating', and 'alienated' (based on a partial count only). One should note, however, that Marx uses the term in two senses - economic and psychological with the former prevailing.
 5. K. Marx, "Confession" found in Fromm, Marx's Concept of Man, p.257.
 6. Marx, The Grundrisse (1973), p.838. See also the passages on pp.452-455.
 7. Marx uses the term objectification in both a negative and a positive sense. For the former see Marx, "Alienated Labour", p.95 and for the latter see ibid., p.102.

is the material result of labour. Thus, labour is objectified into an object while the labourer is alienated.¹

The symptoms of alienation that Marx notes in contemporary society are numerous and involve a total alienation. In particular, the proletariat possesses all the symptoms of alienation to its most marked degree. First, self-estrangement² ("working man alienates himself") is reflected by the fact that the worker does not perceive work as desirable or as an expression of his personality.³ Work in its present stifling form of wage labour has man estranged from his own body such that conditions are sub-human and man is brutalized to the point that he has lost all sense except that of the alienated one of "having".⁴ Implicit in such a framework is the Hegelian notion that work ought to be a creative activity (i.e. expression of a will's individuality imprinted on Nature and should be self-raising and social rather than egoistic, acquisitive and debasing)⁵. Work, then, should not be a mere utilitarian means but an important end in itself.

Alienation is also seen in the realm of thought in that religion⁶ and ideologies are both forms of false consciousness and products of

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1. Note that even alienated labour goes through the process of objectification and hence, the use of such phrases as "objectified alien labour". Marx, The Grundrisse (1973), p.456.
 2. See Marx, The Grundrisse (1973), pp.462, 541 and Marx, Capital Vol.1, p.645, and K. Marx, The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844 (N.Y., 1964), p.98. He frequently uses the term "self-loss". See "Excerpt Notes of 1844" in L. Easton and K. Guddat (eds.), Writings of the Young Marx on Philosophy and Society (N.Y., 1967), p.282.
 3. Note that this is inductively derived. Note also that Marx suggests, in Maslow-like fashion, that as needs are satisfied, new needs arise. K. Marx, The German Ideology (N.Y., 1966), pp.16-17. See also Marx, "Alienated Labour", p.98.
 4. Marx, "Alienated Labour", p.98 and Marx, "Private Property and Communism" in Fromm, Marx's Concept of Man, p.132.
 5. See Marx, Capital Vol.1, p.265; Marx, The Grundrisse (1971), p.133.
 6. See J. Plamenatz, Man and Society (London, 1969), Vol.2, pp.333-340. Note the Platonist nature of this theme. One question that comes to mind is whether the decline of religion (alienated thought) is an objective indicator of the decline of alienation in modern society.

class society. These improper modes of inquiry reject materialism and, therefore, such norms are incorrect. Implicitly, such a position conveys the impression of incorrect norm identification. For example, modern bourgeois economy sees commercial exchange as the only community activity remaining. Also, the social relations required and essential to economic production are falsely attributed to the power of capital and thus are mystified¹.

A third symptom of alienation in capitalist society is the existence of private property. Private property, and thus, surplus product are derived from alienated labour and the net result is to increase the "powerlessness"² of the majority of men, particularly those who are denied free access to a means of livelihood. The labourer must now be engaged in the alienated activity of selling his labour-power in order to live. Physical property and dead labour (capital) thus dominate over living labour. The object of labour (i.e. property) now prevails over its subjective creator — man. Thus a reversal of the proper human order has occurred. The decline in wages and profits and the increase in unemployment also suggest the theme of man's economic powerlessness. The market, once created by man, now overwhelms him. The fetishism of money³ which Marx deals with at substantial length in Capital is a further example, albeit less general, of Marx's

1. See Marx, Capital Vol.3, p.830.

2. "Excerpt Notes from 1844", Easton, op. cit., p.282. See also Marx's Concept of Man, pp.105-6; Meszaros, op. cit., p.140. Note particularly the following: "Division of labour and private property are, moreover, identical expressions...", German Ideology, p.22. One also wonders if the amount of private property in any advanced industrial society would be an objective indicator of alienation.

3. Both A. Schaff, Marxism and the Human Individual (N.Y., 1970), p.122, p.124, and Regin, Sources of Cultural Estrangement, p.56 suggest that the themes of commodity fetishism and alienation are largely synonymous. Note also how the Jew, in Marx's view, epitomizes the base emphasis on money and selfish individualism.

reference to the theme of alienation¹. Capital, an extension of alienated labour, is mystified money. Life and power is attributed to capital rather than labour, which in Marx's view is the sole source of wealth. Exchange value dominates over use value and money-making over consumption.

In pre-capitalist societies, the theme of economic powerlessness can also be seen in the incapacity of such societies to harness Nature so as to provide an affluent life for all. Thus, scarcity is a symptom of alienation in these societies. The loss of a sense of community, the fragmenting of 'generic man' and the emergence of class conflict indicate the theme of group alienation in general and social isolation specifically. Instead of the presence of generic man as a universal and harmonious being, capitalist society generates an irrevocable class conflict² between the owners (private property) and the non-owners (wage labour). Thus, class society is an alienated society. The social isolation of man is also seen in man's increasing contact with machinery rather than other men. Social isolation is both at the subjective and the objective level.

For Marx, the causes of alienation are located in the process of production and property relations. This conclusion is derived because the labourer experiences a great portion of his life in the factory and because the labour process is a significant sphere of human activity.³

A prime source of alienation in the past, the inadequacy of

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1. G. Lichteim, Marxism: An Historical and Critical Study (N.Y., 1961), p.197.
 2. Note that for Marx conflict is within segments of society (i.e. between the proletariat and capitalist) and not between the individual and society as suggested by much of the psychological literature. Tucker asserts that Marx over-generalized when he confused the search for unity of the divided self with that of the divided society R. Tucker, op. cit., p.219. Note also in Capital Vol.3, references to landowners as a third class, pp.618, 885. There is also competition within classes of course.
 3. Capital, Vol.3, p.86. See also German Ideology, p.16.

the technical level of production to provide sufficient goods,¹ ends with capitalism. The technical conditions for an orderly distribution of food and shelter is possible in the capitalist stage of development. It is prevented, of course, by a number of other forces: the continued presence of private property and a ruling class which owns such private property. This ruling class has no wish to eliminate the surplus product which is derived by having labour work partially without reimbursement. Nor has the ruling class any interest in reducing the length of the work day.²

As long as the means of production are held in the private sphere, the majority of persons will be denied free access to a means of livelihood. Therefore, exploitative class rule, with man's (both the worker's and the owner's) estrangement from his fellow man will remain in such a system.³ Indeed, he states, "A direct consequence of the alienation of man from the product of his labour ... is that man is alienated from other men".⁴ Thus Schacht succinctly suggests: "In Marx, Hegel's two senses of 'alienation' come together, and a single general sense emerges, which may be characterized as separation through surrender ... In Marx the separation is the result of the surrender; whereas in Hegel's discussion of the relation of the individual to the social substance the separation (alienation₁) is overcome through the surrender (alienation₂)".⁵

This repression and exploitation of forceably separating the worker from a portion of his product suggests an important linkage between these terms and that of alienation. Indeed, Marx strongly links them in the following passage: "So much does the appropriation of the object appear as alienation that the more objects the worker produces the fewer he can possess and the more he falls under the

1. See also Mandel, The Marxist Theory of Alienation, pp.34-35.

2. Marx, Capital Vol.1, p.265. See also Marx, "Alienated Labour", p.105 in which he suggests that self-alienation can only be expressed in the form of alienation of man from his fellow man. Note also that the ideal worker, as far as the capitalist is concerned, is one who makes minimal demands while producing the maximum possible.

3. Marx, "Alienated Labour", p.101.

4. Ibid., p.103.

5. Schacht, Alienation, pp.91-92.

domination of his product, of capital".¹

Such exploitation is also aided and accentuated by the continued predominance of the state. Marx notes that the state is used by the ruling class to maintain class societies and class order.² Thus, the state as an instrument of coercion has its origin and parasitical

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1. Marx, "Alienated Labour", p.95. One should note that Marx uses the term 'appropriation' at times in two different senses. On some occasions it has a negative connotation as is the case in the above quotation. Marx, "Alienated Labour", pp.95-96, 108. Marx, Capital Vol.1, pp.570-571. At other times it has a positive connotation. See for example Marx, "Private Property and Communism", in Fromm, Marx's Concept of Man, p.125 and Marx, The Grundrisse (1971), p.142.
 2. One should note that in his earlier writings such as "Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of State", "On the Jewish Question", "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" and The German Ideology, Marx does seem to suggest that the bureaucratic state can act not only as an agent of class rule but also it is possible that "... the state has become a separate entity, beside and outside civil society; ...", (Marx, German Ideology, p.59. See also Marx, "Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of State" in Easton, Writings of the Young Marx, p.189, for a similar statement.), and the "state seem s to have made itself completely independent." K. Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" in K. Marx and F. Engels, Selected Works in One Volume (N.Y., 1969). Even private property can seem to have become subservient as there can arise an "anti-thesis between private property and the state". Marx, "Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of State", p.188. This can occur for two possible reasons: first, the bureaucracy can acquire private interests of its own. For Marx notes that "Bureaucracy considers itself the ultimate finite purpose of the state.... The purposes of the state are changed into purposes of bureaus and vice versa ... For the individual bureaucrat the state's purpose becomes his private purpose of hunting for higher positions and making a career for himself". Marx, "Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of State", p. 185-186. See also ibid., p.184. See also H. Lefebvre, The Sociology of Marx (N.Y., 1968), pp.124, 144. Note how this theme can be applied to the bureaucratic structures in both Stalinist and social-democratic societies. Secondly, Marx also suggests another possible reason when he states: "The independence of the State is only found nowadays in those countries where the estates have not yet completely developed into classes, ... that is to say in which no section of the population can achieve dominance over the others". Marx, German Ideology, p.59.

purpose in the continued expropriation and alienation of the labourer.¹

Another factor in the rise of alienation is the lack of social or societal planning of the economy. This has meant there is little order in the market economy of private enterprise.² Thus, the egoism and greed of private enterprise generates business cycles and periodic crises. Such a society is 'scientifically' backward in that it lacks a social science (i.e. scientific socialism) for orderly and humane social relations.

"Money is the alienated essence of man's labour and life ..."³ in that the money economy shatters previous personal bonds and replaces them with an alienated and impersonal commercial nexus. The value of objects now has a "double existence"⁴ (i.e. alienated existence) in that in addition to the humanistic satisfaction of wants indicated by "use value" (commodity — money → commodity), there now exists

1. Note for example Marx's following comment: "... France, where the executive power commands an army of officials numbering more than half a million individuals ... where the state enmeshes, controls, regulates, superintends and tutors civil society ... where through the most extraordinary centralization this parasitic body acquires a ubiquity, an omniscience, a capacity for accelerated mobility and and elasticity which finds a counterpart only in the helpless dependence, in the loose shapelessness of the actual body politic — it is obvious that in such a country the National Assembly forfeits all real influence when it loses command of the ministerial posts, if it does not at the same time simplify the administration of the state, reduce the army of officials as far as possible and, finally, let civil society and public opinion create organs of their own, independent of the governmental power." Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte", p.129. See also ibid., p.170, for a similar comment.
2. Please note that I differentiate between a private market economy and a social market economy. See my "Alienation and Workers' Self-Management", Canadian Slavonic Papers No.2, 1974, for an elucidation of how they might differ.
3. K. Marx, "On the Jewish Question", in Easton, Writings of the Young Marx on Philosophy and Society, p.246.
4. Marx, The Grundrisse (1971), p.59.

independently "exchange value" (money $\rightarrow$ commodity $\rightarrow$ money)¹. In the latter, the goal of the process is to make money, whereas the former process seeks to satisfy wants through exchanging commodities. In capitalist society then, money is transferred into capital and seeks to increase itself through obtaining surplus labour.² Thus, capital, in its monistic pursuit to expand is "independent and indifferent towards living labour capacity ..." ³ and since the proletariat has only its work for hire, even labour-power⁴ becomes a commodity. The labourer, like all other objects, becomes dependent upon the precarious business cycle. He is powerless vis-a-vis the impersonal forces of a capital dominated socio-economic process. Capital, then, is a major cause for a "whole system of alienation".⁵

The division of labour is the major cause of alienation suggested by Marx in the 1844 Manuscripts.⁶ In proportion to man's ceasing to combine mental and physical labour, the ability of each individual to labour in full alone is diminished and the division of the generic or whole man into separate components begins. Indeed, says Marx, the division of labour in the workshop implies the domination

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1. Capital Vol.1, p.149. Note that labour is the real cost, commodities and money are only its nominal cost. While I largely agree with Marx on this point of "use value", what puzzles me is what sort of objective or reliable measures can one derive for use value if there is no market mechanism? Referenda or bureaucratic decrees seem unsuitable.
 2. Marx, Capital Vol.3, p.819.
 3. Marx, The Grundrisse (1973), p.452. Also Marx, Capital Vol.3, p.264..
 4. Note that "selling of labour" is the expression used in Marx's 1844 Manuscripts but which later is reformulated into the expression "selling of labour power" in Capital.
 5. Marx, "Alienated Labour", p.94.
 6. Ibid., pp.105-106. See also "The German Ideology" in L. Easton, op. cit., p.424 and P. Kropotkin, The Conquest of Bread (N.Y., 1973). p.197.

of a capitalist and the emergence of private property. He states: "Private property is therefore the product, the necessary result of alienated labour ...".¹

Turning briefly to technological causes of alienation, Marx points out that increased mechanization causes the worker to lose control over job conditions such as the pace of work. Indeed, he states: "In machinery, objectified labour materially confronts living labour as a ruling power ..."², and these machines are "moving and working independently of the workman"³. Thus, the machine's requirements lengthens and intensifies work. Man also increasingly becomes scattered around these large machines⁴ and thereby becomes isolated from his fellow workers. Increasingly man seems to become a mere extension of the machine⁵.

"What Marx opposes as alienation is not mediation in general but a set of second order mediations (private property - exchange - division of labour), a 'mediation of mediation', i.e. a historically specific mediation of the ontologically fundamental self-mediation of man with nature."⁶

Marx's solutions to historical alienation⁷ are largely inter-dependent. Alienated thought must cease and the scientific materialistic

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1. Marx, "Alienated Labour", pp.105-106. See also Marx, Capital Vol.1, p.356.
 2. Marx, The Grundrisse, (1973), p.693.
 3. Marx, Capital Vol.1, p.403.
 4. Marx, The Grundrisse (1973), p.693.
 5. Note how this position differs from McLuhan who basically argues that machines (technology) become extensions of man. See for example Understanding Media (Toronto, 1964) and The Gutenberg Galaxy (N.Y., 1962).
 6. Messzaros, op. cit., p.79. Note how this can be seen in Marcuse's notion of surplus repression.
 7. Note that since alienation occurs in historical time with the advent of private property and division of labour then removal must also be an historical process.

outline of history, as analyzed by Marx, must be recognized.¹ The acknowledgement by the proletariat of their progressive role, as the most alienated segment of capitalist society,² will be the commencement of active labour co-operation leading to the final historical revolution -- the overthrow of the bourgeois state. In such an act of revolution the workers will gain in self-awareness and thus begin the process of de-alienation.³ Marx is clear on the

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1. There can be little doubt that Marx's explanations are fundamentally in terms of social phenomena. However, in asserting this point, one does not deny the importance of an implicit psychological framework and set of assumptions in Marx. Indeed, such an implicit aspect is made explicit by Marxist members of the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research such as Marcuse, Adorno, Fromm, and Reik. While Marx asserts that the causal forces or real prime movers are objective sociological forces and not subjective forces, he does not deny that these sociological forces have important psychological aspects. For example, alienated labour is both an objective condition of a class and a psychological perception of each individual in the class. Indeed, it is of paramount importance in Marx's theory that such alienation and repression be felt by all the workers over time, since it is this sense of deprivation that induces the proletariat to revolution. Without a realization of such a condition, a class revolution in Marx's sense is inconceivable (Lenin notwithstanding). Secondly, one cannot posit that the psychological perspective of most survey questionnaires is necessarily inconsistent with either Marx's or a contemporary Marxian framework. Even Marx conducted survey research. See "Enquete Ouvrière" in Bottomore and Rubel eds., Karl Marx: Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy (Middlesex, 1965), p.210. One leading Yugoslav sociologist admitted knowledge of this and noted that he offered it as a means of legitimizing survey research in Yugoslavia (private interview).
 2. Clearly this personal and collective feeling of alienation is the propelling force in uniting the proletariat into revolutionary action.
 3. What specific form such a revolution would take is not of central concern to this study, yet should be briefly mentioned. Is the revolution to be violent? Certainly Marx writes in militaristic terms such as "warring classes", "the dictatorship of the proletariat" and that "not criticism but revolution is the driving force of history" (Ideology, p.29). Clearly, forceful action seems necessary. He suggests the contradictions within capitalism are growing in intensity. Still, one must balance this with his comment in 1872 that peaceful means were possible. See Marx's Address to the First International for an elucidation.

need for revolution as the solution to historical alienation for he states: "An enforced increase in wages ... would be nothing more than a better remuneration of slaves, and would not restore, either to the worker or to the work, their human significance and worth"¹.

The proletariat, Marx prophesies, will establish a proletarian socialist interim state and proceed to abolish the private ownership of the means of production.² In such a system, capital is socialized and placed under the control of collective labour. Instead of the alienated capitalist goal of maximization of profit on capital, labour, while still existing, is directed towards a higher purpose -- self-fulfillment.³ This occurs because all of mankind, for the first time since the pre-history of class societies, will gain unrestricted and free access to both production and the creative potential of work.⁴ In such a way Marx believes labour, while necessary in all societies⁵, can be humanized.⁶ Such humanized, creative and voluntary working conditions⁷ are for Marx the goal of communism. In this sense one can understand his following comments: "Communism is the necessary

1. Marx, "Alienated Labour", p.107.

2. Note Marx's comments as to possible interim forms: "The co-operative factories of the labourers themselves represent within the old form the first sprouts of the new ... The capitalist stock companies, as much as co-operative factories, should be considered transitional forms...". Capital Vol.3, p.440.

3. Marx, The German Ideology, p.66.

4. Marx, The Grundrisse (1973), p.307. B. Ollman, Alienation, p.104 suggests that "there is no clear distinction in Marx's writings between 'activity', 'work' and 'creativity'". Clearly Marx warns that in selling labour the creativity of work is lost.

5. Marx, Capital Vol.1, p.42.

6. Note also that in labour both spirit and object are combined in praxis. One can distinguish between voluntary labour as being a process of objectification whereas involuntary labour is a process of alienation. See also Marx's notion of universal labour. Marx, Capital Vol.3, p.104.

7. Marx, The German Ideology, p.66.

form and the dynamic principle of the immediate future, but Communism is not itself the goal of human development — the form of human society"¹.

Communism is the positive abolition of private property, of human self-alienation Communism...is the definitive resolution of the antagonism between man and Nature, and between man and man ... and thus the return of man ... to his human (i.e. social life)" [and in such a society] "when labour is no longer merely a means of life but has become life's principal need; when the productive forces have also increased ... only then will it be possible completely to transcend the narrow outlook of the bourgeois right, and only then will society be able to inscribe on its banners: From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs!"²

In capitalist society the chaos of individual egos conflicting to seek private gain resulted in periodic economic crises and thus general powerlessness vis-a-vis the socio-economic environment. In the new collectivist society, social labour prevails and with it orderly social ownership of the means of production, democratic social planning,³ and ultimately socialized distribution. These, then, are the political solutions for alienation and class oppression posited by Marx.

Alienation is also engendered by such technological developments as the intensification of labour by machinery and the fragmentation of labour into physical and mental toil. Their amelioration is to be achieved by the shortening of the working day.⁴ Freedom occurs only when man is granted sufficient leisure time so that labour ceases

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1. Marx, "Needs, Production and Division of Labour" in Fromm, Marx's Concept of Man, p.140.
2. Bottomore and Rubel, eds., Karl Marx: Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy, pp.249, 263.
3. On the issue of democratic socialist planning, one must question how much debate occurs and how much ordering? Is it to be entirely a consensual decision-making process? See for example L. Sargent, New Left Thought (Homewood, 1972). Also, is a centralized plan compatible with free labour?
4. Marx, Capital Vol.3, p.820 and also his Communist Manifesto.

to be overwhelmingly a necessity and instead increasingly becomes a voluntary and goal-orientated (i.e. rational) process.¹

A second and more insightful means of overcoming the inegalitarian and fragmentary nature of the division of labour is that of job rotation. Engels and Marx note that in communism a person will no longer be engaged in only one limited sphere of activity.² In this eradication of specialization a common interest of mankind is restored in that society is no longer bifurcated into a stilted wage-manual-labourer and a parasitic capitalist. Instead, enhanced and more effective social communication is fostered by egalitarian role reversal.

In conclusion, one can see that Marx perceives that economic alienation in a socialist society will disappear.³ Such an hypothesis one shall attempt to test with reference to the efforts at introducing a fully communist Yugoslav society. Before doing so, one shall note other author's uses and findings with reference to the subject of alienation.

Durkheim's analysis of the cause of and the solution to anomie⁴ can perhaps most succinctly be understood by the following passage:

A society composed of an infinite number of unorganized individuals ... constitutes a veritable sociological monstrosity. For collective activity is always too complex to be able to be expanded through the single and unique organ of the State. Moreover, the State is too remote from individuals; its relations with them too external and intermittent to penetrate deeply into individual consciences and socialize them within. Where the State is the only environment in which men can live communal lives, they inevitably lose contact, become detached, and ...

1. Marx, Capital (Volksausgabe, 1932) Vol.3, part 2, pp.873-874 cited in Bottomore, Karl Marx: Selected Writings, p.260.

2. Marx, German Ideology, p.22.

3. Since the purpose of this dissertation is to a considerable degree an attempt to test certain Marxian propositions, a critical analysis of Marx's ideas on alienation shall be deferred until later chapters.

4. Anomie can be defined as normlessness, loss of civic order or discipline.

thus society disintegrates. A nation can be maintained only if, between the State and the individual, there is intercalated a whole series of secondary groups near enough to the individuals to attract them strongly in their sphere of action and drag them, in this way, into the general torrent of social life ... occupational groups are suited to fill this role.¹

Durkheim bemoans the collapse of societal, and hence, individual norms.² It is only in collectives (i.e. societal life) that man acquires restraints and morality³ and thus happiness. In contemporary society Durkheim points out that societal forces are too inactive since traditional collective agents such as the Medieval corporation, family and religion are in decline. The consequence of their decline in influence is that egoistic wants and desires cease to be restrained and anarchy and unhappiness prevail. The state is too remote, inaccurate, overburdened and impersonal to be a single and effective controlling force in society.⁴

What is required then, and hence the appeal of socialism and sociology, is a new moral code.⁵ Such a new enlightened moral code must be compatible with the inevitable industrial order and must be transmitted by re-invigorated collective agents midway between the state and the individual. A collective entity compatible with

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1. E. Durkheim, The Division of Labour in Society (N.Y., 1933), p.28. See also E. Durkheim, Suicide (New York, 1951), pp.380, 389.
 2. Note the theme of societal control over the individual is analogous to Freud's. In this sense Horton's comments are incisive. "Anomie concentrates on barriers to the orderly functioning of society; alienation on barriers to the productive growth of individuals." P.284. "Anomie is basically a utopian concept of the political right Alienation is a utopian concept of the radical left." P.289. "Durkheim proposed to humanize Hobbesian man through the extension of social control." p.290. J. Horton, "The Dehumanization of Anomie and Alienation" British Journal of Sociology Vol.15, No.4., pp.283-299.
 3. Note the theme approximating the Athenian notion of the need for civilized man to follow the 'Golden Mean'. Infinite wants, says Durkheim, are incapable of satisfaction. Excessive egoism due to the lack of societal restraint is the major cause of anomie.
 4. Durkheim, Suicide, p.389.
 5. See the concluding chapter of Division of Labour. See also his Socialism (N.Y.1962). Note the theme of contemporary societies' obsession with individualism as a major malady of Western society.

industrialism and likely to encourage moderation is the corporation.³ Not the corporation as exhibited in capitalist society but a new form of co-operative corporation. The goal is "to make each corporation become a moral individuality"² and so act to restrain and guide conflicting individual egos. Durkheim warns that as the factories become larger, so their influence increases. It is, therefore, necessary that they become suitable as continuous agents of social integration.³ Indeed, he states "occupational activity is the richest source of material for the common life".⁴

Thus the corporation has everything needed to give the individual a setting, to draw him out of his state of moral isolation; and faced by the actual inadequacy of the other groups, it alone can fulfil this indispensable office. But for it to have this influence it must be organized on wholly different bases from those of today ... the important thing is for it to be so constituted as to play a social role instead of expressing only various combinations of particular interests.⁵

In short, the corporation must become public and socialist. It must also be much more decentralized than at present to ensure the close identification by the individual with the company.⁶ It is, in large part, a proposal for a system of workers' self-management.

Freud does not use the term alienation but is a pivotal figure, particularly in his influence on Fromm and Marcuse and, therefore, Freud will be briefly discussed. As the title of one of Freud's last writings suggests, there is in civilization a certain degree of

1. See Durkheim, Division of Labour II, preface, and Suicide III, 3, p.378.

2. Durkheim, Suicide, p.391.

3. Ibid., p.379. Interestingly, Durkheim defines socialism as a system in which there is a close connection between economics and politics without either dominating the other. See Socialism, pp.39-63.

4. Durkheim, Suicide, p.378.

5. Ibid., p.379.

6. Ibid., p.390.

inevitable "discontent"¹. Indeed, he states "... an appallingly large number of people are dissatisfied with civilization and unhappy in it, and feel that it is a yoke that must be shaken off"². His view of mankind is substantially Hobbesian in that men strive to dominate and act in an uncivil manner. Freud suggests that "aggressiveness was not created by property"³ but is inherent in sexual and other biological drives. Thus, at a certain point, civilization and its structures arise in order to control and repress the individual's activity. Thus, conflict between the individual and society inevitably emerges.⁴

One such element in the conflict is the important realm of work. Freud, like Marx, notes the significance of work and suggests that "every civilization rests on a compulsion to work ..." ⁵. Libidinal forces (pleasure principle) must be deflected into socially useful functions (reality principle). A certain amount of discontent and guilt is the cost for the security of delayed gratification made possible in civilized society.

As to possible solutions to such a "malaise", Freud suggests that while the primary conflict between the individual and society is irresolvable, there is a utility in certain illusions such as religion to diminish life's emptiness and harshness.⁶ One path which he pioneered as being "beyond illusion" is the use of psychoanalysis. He

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1. See Sigmund Freud, Civilization and Its Discontents (New York, 1961).
 2. S. Freud, The Future of an Illusion (New York, 1961).
 3. Freud, Civilization, p.60. Also Freud, Future of an Illusion, p.5. Note the apparent ahistoricism of Freud's position.
 4. The Oedipal conflict is symbolic at the family level of this societal conflict. An interesting and perhaps prophetic point is his assertion that civilization must be defended against the individual.
 5. Freud, The Future of an Illusion, p.11. By implication Freud suggests that work is inherently repressive.
 6. Ibid., p.56.

suggests that while a certain amount of individual/societal tension is necessary, anxieties and phobias derived from childhood can be minimized by therapy. Therapy is, of course, at the individualistic level of client/therapist and thus is largely an expensive and lengthy solution¹, hence of little remedy to the poor and large masses of people.

Weber is important not as a theorist of alienation but of bureaucracy and given the importance of the latter to alienation Weber is thereby included in this section. Is the growth of bureaucracy and with it hierarchy and rationalism related to alienation? Certainly the demystification of life with the growth of allegedly rationalistic structures suggests a possible relationship and Weber cites such "disenchantment of the world"². Yet is such rationalism and its related disenchantment as prevalent as Weber suggests? One criticism of this position is that a formal organization structure that is based on rationality at the intra-subsystem level may seek irrational goals in the outside system. Factories organized on rational lines but producing excessive war machines may be such an example. A second criticism is the continued presence of small informal and less achievement oriented sub-groups within any bureaucratic order.³

What perhaps is the most important theme in Weber for this present study is his recognition that the early socialists' emphasis on ownership patterns had minimal effect upon the bureaucratic mode of operation and had no effect at all upon the continued presence of bureaucratic structures. The competition of the market has been replaced by the scholastic hierarchy of an employee society. In such an analysis is the recognition that both systems are highly centralized. Indeed, Weber states: "the bureaucratic structure is only the counter-image

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1. His individualism can also be seen in his rather solipsistic suggestion that "Happiness, however, is something essentially subjective". Freud, Civilization and Its Discontents, p.36
 2. H. Gerth and C. Mills, From Max Weber (New York, 1958).
 3. A possible third aspect of irrationalism in bureaucracies is the excessive attempts to classify exceptional events by standardized procedures.

of patriarchalism transposed into rationality".¹ Contrary to general impressions Weber did suggest alternatives to such bureaucratic excesses. He writes: "Democracy reacts precisely against the unavoidable 'status' character of bureaucracy. Democracy seeks to put the election of officials for short terms in the place of appointed officials ..."², and that: "it is possible for an association of workers to be in fact in a position to play an effective part in management or in the selection of managing personnel"³. He does note, however, that the emergence of a non-capitalist system will likely come only when there is willingness to work and consume without cost calculation -- that is, when non-economic attitudes begin to prevail.⁴ He adds that, "Communitistic systems for the communal or associational organization of work are unfavourable to calculation and to the consideration of means for obtaining optimum production; they tend, rather, to be based on the direct feeling of mutual solidarity"⁵. That is to say, communist systems are based on less utilitarian achievement orientations and more on ascription. There are important critical implications of such a position regarding the viability of a market orientated and collectivist workers' self-managed society.

The socialist Toennies is listed in this section largely for his famous *gemeinschaft/gesellschaft* dichotomy. He notes with dismay the transition from a formerly small and homogeneous holistic community (*gemeinschaft*) into a larger and heterogeneous association (*gesellschaft*) in which detachment and fragmentation prevail. Gone

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1. Max Weber, "The Sociology of Charismatic Authority" in Gerth and Mills, From Max Weber, p.245.
 2. Weber, "Bureaucracy" in Gerth and Mills, op. cit., p.242.
 3. Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization (N.Y., 1964), p.246.
 4. Ibid., p.266. He notes that this often takes place in more theological environments. Ibid., p.286.
 5. Ibid., p.265.

is the former integration of a communal system and "In contrast to Gemeinschaft, Gesellschaft is transitory and superficial"¹. His solution is the establishment of socialism and co-operatives².

Even though Simmel does not use the term alienation he is briefly included because of his usage of the term estrangement and his representativeness of the anti-urban mass society critiques. Simmel writes of the problem of the individual outsider being "estranged"³ and of the overwhelming "intensification of nervous stimuli" in metropolitan life.⁴ He concludes that this will culminate in growing impersonalization and social detachment in the cities.

An important stream of thought in social analysis is the mass society tradition. Such a group includes de Tocqueville, Mills, Bell, and Kornhauser. Their basic position is that there has been in recent years a dramatic decline in the sense of community and that an unstable mass society has emerged in its place. The features of such a system are a loss of quality in life, a decline in medium-sized autonomous groups, standardization, and thus a growth in the number of insecure and powerless individuals.

Perhaps representatively de Tocqueville asserts "... an innumerable multitude of men, all equal and alike, incessantly endeavouring to procure the petty and paltry pleasures with which they glut their lives. Each of them, living apart, is a stranger to the fate of all the rest..."⁵. Thus, in an age of equality, men stand alone.⁶

1. F. Toennies, Community and Society (N.Y., 1952), p.35.

2. See F. Pappenheim, Alienation of Modern Man (N.Y., 1959), passim.

3. The Sociology of George Simmel (N.Y., 1964), p.406.

4. Ibid., pp.409-410.

5. A. de Tocqueville, Democracy in America (N.Y., 1956), p.303.

6. Ibid., p.308.

More recent writers such as Mills, Bell, Kornhauser and Riesman have pursued this theme of the social isolation and powerlessness in mass society. C.W. Mills, for example, warns of the decline of the self-sufficient middle class and the rise of a new dependent clerical worker who has less skill, less status, less job security, lower income, is less unionized and is larger in number. He warns of the decline of the active public society. In its place will rise the passive mass society which will lead to social disequilibrium due to an absence of mediating structures between the central state and the individual. In a mass society, he suggests, the majority of persons at the bottom are fragmented and atomized while those at the top have a substantial monopoly of power, and thus become a power elite. Indeed he states: "The effective units of power are now the huge corporation, the inaccessible government, the grim military establishment"¹. The power elite, to continue to rule, needs an unorganized and mass populace.² The remedy for such conditions is a decentralization of power and a restoration of voluntary organizations mediating between the individual and the state.³

Kornhauser also notes the problems of a mass society and the need for mediating structures. Such a theme can also be found in Almond and Verba's classic work of comparative politics The Civic Culture. "The organizational member, compared with the non-member is likely to consider himself more competent as a citizen, to be a more active participant in politics and to know and care more about politics. He is, therefore, more likely to be close to the model of the democratic citizen".⁴

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1. C.W. Mills, The Power Elite (N.Y., 1956), pp.308, 302.
 2. Note that Mills differs from Regin, op. cit., p.80, in that the latter suggests that class society is not related to mass society. Instead, he sees mass society as a function of culture.
 3. Mills, The Power Elite, pp.306, 315. Seymour Lipset in Union Democracy (N.Y., 1956) suggests that both the mass society theorists and the pluralist sovereignty writers argue the need for extensive and influential groups in society to counter-balance the state.
 4. G. Almond and S. Verba, Civic Culture (Boston, 1963), p.265.

Riesman also speaks of the "lonely crowd" and the insecure "radar personality" of mass society.¹

While Bell offers one of the soundest critiques of the mass society argument² he nevertheless stresses certain similar points of the mass society theorists. He notes, for example, the growing army of surplus intellectual workers, that mental fatigue is increasingly displacing muscular fatigue and that a new working class is emerging. Echoing Marx, Bell suggests two major causes of alienation -- private property and the division of labour. He differs, however, in his suggestion that only the former cause -- private property -- is capable of rectification³.

The key criticism of the mass society theorists is their lack of focus upon the role of organizations channeling discontent into radical or revolutionary behaviour. Thus, mediating structures with certain pluralist sovereignty can actually increase the amount of conflict and alienation in society. The Hobbesian fear of divided sovereignty, generating anarchy is thus germane and inadequately dealt with by these writers.

An important group of writers on alienation are religious authors. This is logical since the term has a number of analogous religious approximations and since a number of broader political concerns are not, nor likely to be, completely amenable to scientific study. Kierkegaard is representative of the religious, and a precursor to, the existential writers on alienation.⁴ Kierkegaard notes man's estrangement from God. Unlike Hegel's objectivist orientation, Kierkegaard writes of a deeply personal feeling of estrangement that

1. See D. Riesman, The Lonely Crowd (New Haven, 1961), pp.24-25. See also W. Gerson, "Alienation in Mass Society: Some Causes and Responses" Sociology and Social Research Vol.49, No.2.

2. See for example D. Bell, The End of Ideology (N.Y., 1962), pp.21-38.

3. Ibid., pp.360-361.

4. Please note the categories need not be mutually exclusive.

he describes as "sickness unto death" and "fear and trembling". Buber, as a more contemporary theorist of religious alienation, notes that we are all children of God and that a person's relationship to God is central with all other relationships being peripheral. Thus, while relationships (communal nexus) dominate all social reality¹, the relationship of man-God (I-Thou) ought to be foremost. Buber observes with concern the materialism of our alienated world² and its emphasis upon the realm of "it". The "I-it" relation is one of separation and lacks the fulfillment that is possible in the universal union of "I-Thou". Man, Buber suggests, needs the realm of "it" but if he lives exclusively in such a realm he ceases to be a man, for man without religion is not fully human.³

While not religious in the formal sense, Laing is concerned with transcendentalism. Laing, as a deviant psychologist,⁴ echoes the religious authors in his assertion that not enough time and thought is devoted to man's inner space and the fostering of transcendental consciousness. He warns that in our alienated society and attitudes to life we have lost our capability to experience the spiritual realm. In this sense the psychotics, in their greater preoccupation with and experiencing of the inner mind, are more advanced and healthier.⁵ Psychologists and the general public, he suggests, have much to learn from such psychotics and should develop much greater empathy (sharing) rather than treating neurotics as "manipulated objects" to be cured in a standardized format. Patients need less impersonal

1. Niebuhr also focuses on man's non-discreetness in that relationships dominate his existence.

2. Martin Buber, I and Thou, (N.Y., 1958), p.58.

3. A. Watts also notes the lack of unfragmented religious thought. His emphasis, however, is upon the interdependence and unity of the world as revealed in Zen Buddhist writings. See for example The Supreme Identity (N.Y., 1972) and Psychotherapy East and West (Toronto, 1961).

4. Both in the theoretical and clinical sense.

5. R.D. Laing, The Politics of Experience (Harmondsworth, 1967) p.91. Colin Wilson, The Outsider (London, 1963) substantially differs in that he suggests the alienated seek unfruitful extremist and intense quests.

formal explanation and more personal experiences. Increased sensitivity of the psychic realm, then is Laing's solution for contemporary ills.

Sartre, as a representative of the existential left, is important for two reasons. One is his mediating link for North Americans to Marxism via existentialism.¹ The other is his influence upon East European Marxists in the direction of existentialism. For Sartre, there exists a primordial division of the world into a self (subject) and other (object).² This fundamental dualism of subject and object can never be fully overcome and thus, the ontological nature of alienation.³ A limited degree of human interaction is possible; indeed, the other is necessary for the self to understand a significant portion of itself. Sartre suggests that part of the image of oneself is derived only through the mediation of the other, "The Other holds a secret -- the secret of what I am".⁴

A second cause of alienation in Sartre's writings is the existential dilemma of existence versus non-existence. Citing Heidegger he asks, "How does it happen that there is something rather than nothing?"⁵ While the self may be free to choose the way of life, it is not free to choose to be or not to be free. Man begins his conscious life with no explanation (meaninglessness) and must in his actions infuse a meaning and define a purpose.⁶

A third cause of alienation posited by Sartre in his later writings is the division of labour.⁷ This suggested cause is completely in the Marxian usage and has been discussed previously.

1. How successful the synthesis of Marxism and existentialism is in his later writings is open to question.

2. Note the influence of Hegel.

3. J.P. Sartre, Being and Nothingness (N.Y., 1966), p.380. See also p.367. Note that in Sartre's writings one observes the language of alienation with terms such as: nausea, nothingness, anguish, fear, void, shame, stranger, other.

4. Ibid., p.475.

5. Ibid., p.51.

6. J.P. Sartre, Search For a Method (N.Y., 1963), p.150.

7. Ibid., p.133.

Fromm describes the symptoms of alienation in extensive detail. He uses the term so widely and frequently that Schacht suggests "Fromm seems to refer to almost everything of which he disapproves as an instance of 'alienation'. He disapproves of a great deal ..." ¹. The most famous symptom of alienation is the frantic fleeing from the anxieties of choice described in Escape From Freedom. The rise in authoritarian mass movements such as Fascism which are based on symbiosis is a major indicator of alienation. Such masochistic attempts to submerge the self are a denial of human needs and potential and the result is an alienated society. Another symptom of an alienated or sick society is the excessive emphasis on the wasteful consumption of consumer goods ² that typifies contemporary capitalism.

Fromm suggests certain psychological symptoms of alienation. He lists four different alienated types of personality — receptive, hoarding, exploitative and marketing — that occur in the various sub-stages of capitalism. He also notes the lack of spontaneity, emotional commitment and honesty as indicators of personal alienation. He, like Bay ³, suggests that those who over-adjust to an inhuman society are in fact more neurotic and alienated (automata) than those who experience anxieties and trauma under such oppressive conditions. ⁴ Indeed, his concern over the prevalence of such desensitized individuals is so great that he cries out: "In the nineteenth century, the problem was that God is dead; in the twentieth century the problem is that man is dead" ⁵.

Active and mature man has been displaced by the receptive man that is incapable of mature and confident self-assertion. ⁶ Such a man is, however, capable of acts of destruction and violence.

1. Schacht, Alienation, p.147.

2. E. Fromm, The Sane Society (N.Y., 1955), p.120.

3. C. Bay, The Structure of Freedom (Stanford, 1958), p.187.

4. E. Fromm, Psychoanalysis and Religion (N.Y., 1950), p.80.

5. Fromm, The Sane Society.

6. Fromm, Psychoanalysis and Religion, p.67.

The lack of positive activity and commitment in society, Fromm suggests, is most apparent in the work sphere. He states: "the vast majority of the population work as employees with little skill required, and with almost no chance to develop any particular talents... Disatisfaction, apathy, boredom, lack of joy and happiness, a sense of futility and a vague feeling that life is meaningless, are the unavoidable results of the situation"¹.

The causes of alienation suggested by Fromm are numerous and more diverse than in Marx's writings. Fromm sees the causes of alienation in two main sources. The first of these is ontological. Man is a "freak in the universe" in that he has lost his sense of unity with Nature. Possessing the power of reason and hence imagination, man can foresee his own fate -- death. Against this constantly marching foe man feels powerless and alone. Man, since the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, has gained independence², but in so doing has increased his sense of isolation. Liberalism and Protestantism have placed the onus of blame for any economic and moral failure upon the individual³ yet man cannot bear impotence alone nor can he live without hope. Man needs relatedness and transcendence and, therefore, seeks to align himself with a greater entity, hoping that perhaps in this way he will gain meaning and security in life. Fromm asserts that this "dread of isolation" is man's strongest drive.⁴ Not only is it the most powerful force affecting man's actions, but it is also all pervasive. "There is no one without a religious need, a need to have a frame of orientation and an object of devotion."⁵ Man, in his frantic search for relatedness will at times yield his freedom. Such a submission Fromm calls symbiotic and it is the wish for such blind

1. Fromm, The Sane Society, p.258.

2. By this he means "freedom from" the formal restraints of feudal times such as the restrictions to labour mobility and intellectual freedom.

3. E. Fromm, Escape From Freedom (N.Y., 1941), p.35.

4. See Fromm, The Sane Society, p.34 and Fromm, Escape From Freedom, p.241. See also C. Bay, The Structure of Freedom, p.65.

5. Fromm, Psychoanalysis and Religion, p.25. This is why Fromm, unlike Marx, has devoted such extensive research to the topic of religion.

submission and freedom from one's self and responsibility that results in the mass appeal of totalitarianism. They are, in a sense, "slaves by consent". Fromm warns, however, that "... by remaining a child, man not only avoids the fundamental anxiety necessarily connected with the full awareness of one's self as a separate entity, he also enjoys the satisfactions of protection, warmth and of unquestioning belonging which he once enjoyed as a child, but he pays a high price"¹. At some point, the individual's wishes will vary from those of authorities and man will discover too late that he has forfeited his powers and independence. He is no longer free to seek what he wishes. Symbiotic relationships, rather than being loving and mutually responsive interactions between individuals, are superordination/subordination relationships.² Thus, alienation in such a relationship re-emerges and is accentuated.

The second major factor in the presence of alienation for Fromm is that of the work process. Economic activity in present day society is characterized by bureaucratic standardization and impersonalization. Work relations are not intimate and personal but rather are based on abstraction and manipulation.³ In such a system, human happiness and self-growth (actualization) are subordinated to the economic goal of productivity. As long as work is fragmented, repetitious and not self-directed, the labourer will remain physically and mentally impoverished.

One must, asserts Fromm, be able to subjectively experience life's major activity -- work. The labourer must feel mastery in his work; he must find identity and purpose in such activity. In short, he must perceive work as a rational process based on the application of his will into transforming parts of Nature into useful objects. Fromm suggests such a rational and humanized work process

1. Fromm, Psychoanalysis and Religion, p.71.

2. See also K. Wolff (ed.), The Sociology of Georg Simmel (N.Y., 1967).

3. E. Fromm, The Art of Loving (N.Y., 1956), p.13.

is not possible in the class society of monopoly capitalism. He cites as an example the change from a small business economy to a large corporate one. Such a transformation led to a mass displacement of formerly self-employed persons from meaningful work. The cement of the old society had become the 'dynamite' of the new.¹ These newly lost and displaced persons sought an illusory purpose in life in the symbiosis of totalitarianism.

A third feature of class society is the development of mass production and mass consumption and its inherently excessive materialism.² In such a materialistic society where all, particularly those less affluent, are incapable of attaining the suggested life style of advertisements, neuroses and self-alienation are often the costs of such unrealistic and dehumanized goals.

Fromm's solutions to alienation are important for they have been closely read in Yugoslavia. Indeed, Fromm's influence on Yugoslav academics is both dramatic and extensive.³ Fromm takes a great deal from Marx's idea of exploited labour in the capitalist system as the cause of alienation. He states: "Political liberty by itself is, in fact, always illusory. A man who lives in economic subjection six days ... does not become free merely by making a cross on a ballot-paper once in five years".⁴ "Progress for democracy lies in enhancing the actual freedom, initiative, and spontaneity of the individual ... above all in the activity fundamental to every man's existence, his work".⁵ Thus, the solution to alienation, he suggests, is in the radical transformation of the work process and thereby also of society. Mere centralized nationalization is, however, no cure in that the problem of a central coercive and often militaristic state capitalism

1. Fromm, Escape From Freedom, p.311.

2. Fromm, The Sane Society, p.298. Note that such materialism is accentuated by the continued presence of the market mechanism.

3. Note for example his membership on the editorial board of Praxis and his highly influential works such as Socialist Humanism (N.Y., 1965), Marx's Concept of Man, and The Sane Society.

4. Fromm, The Sane Society, p.249. One should note also, however, that political freedom cannot be simply reduced to economic freedom. Thus job security and control over work conditions without broader civil rights are insufficient.

5. Ibid., p.299.

remains. Creating other giant counter-organizations such as bureaucratic unions to check the powers of the state is also insufficient. He suggests the unions are frequently as dehumanized as management in their concern for material criteria and rewards.

The solution to which Fromm ascribes is that of "humanistic communitarian socialism"¹ in which societal regulation comes from initiative and control from below by means of mass participation.² Fromm proposes that decentralized workers' self-management in industry is a prerequisite for extensive political liberty and for re-establishing a sense of community.³ This is to be accomplished, not by revolution, but rather by unions or co-operatives buying sufficient enterprise stock (shares) so as to control management.⁴ Here one observes the denial of the necessity of class conflict and the suggestion that the gradualism of encroaching of public control over private property is viable. Also implied is the notion that a certain degree of compromise between the labourer and limited private ownership is possible, particularly in the short run. The qualification that Fromm introduces is that "inequalities must not transcend the point where differences in income lead to differences in the experience of life"⁵. Whether such a reconciliation is possible seems unlikely, particularly from a Marxist perspective.

Active responsible public participation, Fromm suggests, necessitates the enhancement of general education and the improved accessibility for all in the decision-making process. To accomplish this, communities must be smaller with greater sharing amongst community members. Rotation of office should be a regular feature as should the integration of the worker into the total work situation.⁶ The worker must above all understand and master his work and in this

1. Fromm, The Sane Society, p.315.

2. See also C. Bay, The Structure of Freedom, p.353.

3. Fromm, The Sane Society, p.249.

4. Ibid., pp.281-283

5. Ibid., pp.334-335.

6. Ibid., p.265.

way work should enhance its most important product -- man himself. Without a doubt, "in the process of work ... man moulds and changes himself"¹. Economic preoccupation with market materialism will be supplanted by a humanistic primacy upon democratic planning and self-actualization. Man, by growing and learning through creative and productive work, will find meaningful labour and life.² This is the realm of positive liberty ("freedom for").

Fromm also posits a radical critique of Freudian psychology in that "all men are 'idealists' and are striving for something beyond the attainment of physical satisfaction... the need for a system of orientation and devotion is an intrinsic part of human existence... there is no other more powerful source of energy in man. Man is not free to choose between having and not having 'ideals', but he is free to choose between different kinds of 'ideals'."³ Fromm suggests that solutions based on other than religion or humanitarian love lead to the debasement of the individual and alienation from his real needs and self. Only in love, with its simultaneous union and separate integrity, can one develop an orientation and devotion without sacrificing one's independence.⁴ Unique to a loving relationship, one achieves psychic security and relatedness without the negative consequence of symbiotic dependence. Such love, Fromm hopes, will also emerge in the form of a resurgence of a humanistic or religious value system. The theme of a renewed ethical orientation supplanting utilitarianism is, then, Fromm's final suggestion for a solution to societal alienation.⁵

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1. Fromm, The Sane Society, p.159.
 2. E. Fromm, Man For Himself. (N.Y., 1947), p.53.
 3. Fromm, Psychoanalysis and Religion, pp.24-25.
 4. Fromm, The Sane Society, p.41.
 5. In this sense, Fromm echoes theologians such as Buber.

Marcuse, like Fromm, uses the term alienation a great deal. For Marcuse, the symptoms of alienation are: the erosion of the individual, with full instinctual and intellectual freedom¹ and powers, into a "One Dimensional Man". The idolization and mass delusions of a statist and class society are examples of the presence of surplus repression and hence alienation. A major cause of alienation is the shift from play to work.² Such "...work that created and enlarged the material basis of civilization was chiefly labour, alienated labour, painful and miserable -- and still is"³. This is because "...work is conditional upon delay and diversion of instinctual gratification ..."⁴. What this means is that there is a localization and contraction of the libido. The libido becomes less "polymorphous" and there occurs a general desexualization of the body so as to redirect it for labour. Such labour is alienated labour because of the absence of gratification.⁵ Implicit in such a framework is the notion that a resexualization of the body is necessary before certain de-alienation can be introduced.

Another important cause of alienation is the presence of class society and exploitation. Because all persons (i.e. all classes) are not able to enter the production process equally and freely,⁶ surplus repression is possible. The class that controls the means of production can extract greater work from the wage labourer. Thus, the wage-labourer is unable to express himself in work in class society.⁷ Such alienation is accentuated by the irrational goals of false needs and wasteful consumption engendered by the media in such a class society.⁸

1. H. Marcuse, Eros and Civilization (N.Y., 1955), p.202.

2. Ibid., p.12.

3. Ibid., p.77-78.

4. Ibid., p.200.

5. Ibid., p.41.

6. H. Marcuse, Reason and Revolution (Boston, 1960), p.282.

7. Marcuse, Eros and Civilization, p.95.

8. H. Marcuse, One Dimensional Man (Boston, 1964), p.49.

The solutions to surplus repression and alienation are largely class orientated, for Marcuse suggests that each is free as much as his class is free. He further notes that happiness in society "... depends on the real solidarity of the species 'man', which a society divided into antagonistic classes and nations cannot achieve.² Thus, a classless society is required for a resolution of historically unnecessary alienation. Such a classless society is reinforced by the abolition of wasteful advertisements as part of a non-repressive culture. He suggests that the non-functioning of the mass media might begin to achieve what the inherent contradictions of capitalism did not achieve -- the disintegration of capitalism.³

There is, however, a note of pessimism and fatalism in Marcuse's Freudianism in that total de-alienation (i.e. free libidinal activity) is not possible. Non-libidinal labour, he suggests, is needed for social development and, therefore, such unpleasant and painful sense experiences in labour will continue to exist.⁴ The partial solution to this sort of alienation is to increase the amount of time and activity (recreation) outside the sphere of labour.⁵ Marcuse strongly rejects the notion that labour can ever become play.⁶ Indeed, he

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1. Marcuse, Reason and Revolution, p.289.
 2. H. Marcuse, An Essay on Liberation (Boston, 1969), p.14.
 3. Marcuse, One Dimensional Man, pp.245-46. It is rather paradoxical that Marcuse also suggests such a society should be one of material abundance. See Marcuse, Eros and Civilization, p.177.
 4. Ibid., pp.74-75.
 5. Ibid., p.142.
 6. Marcuse, One Dimensional Man, p.240. Reich, like Marcuse, also links work and sexuality. However, he suggests a rather novel solution to the problem of work when he writes: "... the safeguarding of a completely satisfying sexual life for the working masses is the most important precondition of pleasurable work". The Mass Psychology of Fascism (N.Y., 1970), p.295. On occasion he suggests the reverse causality. See p.270.

criticizes "neo-Freudian revisionists" such as Fromm for their attempts at major innovations of Freud's theory of basic conflict between the individual and society. He states: "Repression and unhappiness must be if civilization is to prevail. The 'goal' of the pleasure principle -- namely to be happy -- is not attainable, although the effort to attain it shall not and cannot be abandoned"¹. In this emphasis on necessary but unfulfilled aspirations one can note an implication of open-endedness and lack of finality in Marcuse's Marxist framework. It is a radical theory but one which takes into account the rise of a new working class and the increasingly progressive role of students.²

The Praxis Group cannot be completely classified as a single coherent political and philosophical group. There are, however, a number of recurring themes in this journal's approach to alienation.

The journal Praxis was published under the auspices of the Philosophy Faculty at the University of Zagreb. It was, however, representative of Marxist theoreticians across Yugoslavia in their search for new answers to both old and new social problems. Their orientation of questioning and criticism reflected their skepticism of monistic orientations and the possibility of final answers. Such Socratic questioning of government policies led to the journal's demise from publication in Yugoslavia in January 1975.

The first key feature of the Praxis group was their strong emphasis upon the significance and utility of the term alienation. They were strongly influenced by the renaissance of Marxism, which was augmented both by the publicity given by such persons as Fromm to the 1844 Manuscripts and by the influence of existentialism. Thus, Stojanovic asserted "Alienation and de-alienation are the most general synthetic-critical categories in Marx's humanistic theory"³. Vranicki

1. Marcuse, Eros and Civilization, p.225.

2. Marcuse's open-mindedness extends to the point that he can seem to approximate Dahl and his concept of polyarchy in the following passage: "Still, for the administered individual, pluralistic administration is far better than total administration. One institution might protect him against the other; ...". Marcuse, One Dimensional Man, p.50.

3. S. Stojanovic, "The Dialectics of Alienation and the Utopia of Dealienation", Praxis 3/4, 1969, p.389.

could also suggest that "the problem of alienation is the central problem of socialism"¹. Clearly, the suggestion that alienation is even a concern in socialism implies the former's possible existence in socialist society. For such to occur, new forms of alienation, many unexpected by socialists, must be possible and it was these such forms of alienation that the Praxis group devoted its attention.

The first cause is the continued presence and even growth of bureaucracy in socialist society. Such a structure is inherently hierarchical and inegalitarian and as Rus suggests no amount of fictitious optimism of bureaucratic activism will change these essential alienating features.²

Closely allied to the notion of a bureaucratic structure remaining is the continued presence of the coercive state. The Praxis group questions the need for a Leninist "democratic-centralist" one-Party system after the revolution. They warn of the dangers of revolutionary collectivism and asceticism degenerating into state particularism and materialism.³ Supek succinctly suggests the former egoistic "I's" become a communal "We" during the heroic revolutionary period but later are in danger of becoming the alienated "They" of a remote bureaucracy.⁴ Authors such as Rus and Supek note the sometimes erratic and disruptive state intervention in the operation of the voluntary self-management sub-systems. Such state intervention can

1. P. Vranicki, "Socialism and the Problem of Alienation" in Fromm, Socialist Humanism, p.304. Such a conclusion should not be surprising since in theory both class conflict and nationality conflict should largely disappear in later stages of socialism.
2. V. Rus, "Institutionalization of the Revolutionary Movement", Praxis No.2, 1967, p.206.
3. Materialism in the sense of preoccupation with material goods. Note the quasi new class orientation of such a position. Common to both is the warning of the elitist abuses by officials.
4. R. Supek, "Some Contradictions and Insufficiencies of Yugoslav Self-Managing Socialism", Praxis No.3/4, 1971. See also M. Markovic "Comments", Praxis No.1, 1973, p.53, in which he notes the possible alienation of the revolutionary avant-garde from the populace.

take the form of atomizing the self-managed units as suggested by Stojanovic. In this way the emergence of a mass society and its problems of alienation are similar to that of "non-self-managed" systems.¹ Perhaps a uniquely mid-twentieth century variant of alienation in state society is suggested by Stojanovic when he notes the "super-alienation" generated with the birth of the nuclear age and the warfare states.²

A third cause of the continued presence of alienation in socialist society is the materialistic orientation. Anarcho-liberalist features such as the market mechanism with commodity production, business cycles, mass advertising, exist despite the socialized ownership of the means of production. The Praxis group warns that there seems to be no decline in such a materialistic and commercial orientation nor any likely future agents for such a decline.³ They suggest that perhaps only more collective and egalitarian distribution will alleviate such negative phenomena.⁴

Stojanovic notes that "In Yugoslavia alienation in socialism is treated exclusively as a consequence of statism. Yet alienation can appear in self-government as well..."⁵ Indeed, there is a tendency to look at self-management uncritically and regard it as an end in itself.⁶ One example of a major problem in self-management is the lack of integration in society in general.⁷ The question

1. See also V. Rus, "Institutionalization ...", pp.201-213.

2. Stojanovic, "The Dialectics of Alienation", p.398.

3. M. Coldarovic, "Dissolutionary Processes in the System of Self-Management", Praxis No.4, 1965.

4. See also Mandel, The Marxist Theory of Alienation, p.38.

5. S. Stojanovic, Between Ideals and Reality (London, 1973), p.175.

6. Ibid., p.128.

7. V. Rus, "Institutionalization ...", passim. See also V. Rus, "Self-Management Egalitarianism and Social Differentiation", Praxis 1/2, 1970. Note that previously one established that alienation and integration were polar opposites.

increasingly pursued is whether self-management increases atomization and particularism.¹ If not, what are the trans-factory forces of integration?²

As Rus and others have pointed out there is also a lack of integration within enterprises. The lack of structures for and the acceptance of legitimate conflict and pluralism within factories, Rus suggests, has led to the dominance of certain elements over others. The increasing number of strikes is a possible symptom of such lack of representativeness and consensus.³

The Praxis group, influenced by scepticism, approaches Marxism as open-ended and thus posits: "Today, however, we can no longer believe in the possibility of complete and definite dealienation, which Marx linked with the communist future. There is always going to be the possibility that man's activity and creation be alienated from him"⁴ and "There is no guarantee that self-management will always, in itself, make people happier, more rational, less alienated"⁵. Implicit in such a framework is the notion that the tension between ideals and possible implementation may always lead to alienation. As long as there is critical theory there will be some sense of alienation from the ideal and what might be attainable.

The second aspect of open-endedness of the Praxis group is their attitude to workers' self-management theory. While advocating self-management as a way of alleviating alienation, authors such as Stojanovic suggest that a theory of workers' self-management is yet to be fully developed. Such a theory will need to utilize and synthesize concepts such as the market, planning, self-management,

1. Coldarovic, "Dissolutionary Processes", p.552.

2. Rus, "Self-Management ...", p.267.

3. See V. Rus, "Self-Management ...", p.263 and R. Supek, "Some Contradictions", pp.384, 386. What they are saying is that a framework for socialist conflict-resolution or politics is not yet available. See also R. Milliband, The State in Capitalist Society (London, 1969).

4. Stojanovic, "The Dialectics of Alienation...", p.397.

5. M. Markovic, "Basic Issues of Self-Management", Praxis 1/2, 1974, p.98.

pluralism and egalitarianism.

Finally, Praxis authors such as Stojanovic suggest the need for the construction of a worthy ethics of Marxism.¹ They have noted with concern the lack of individual responsibility (i.e. alienated attitudes) frequently found in socialist systems. A viable, human and progressive ethical system, they suggest, might resolve certain problems of alienation in contemporary socialist systems.

A final group to be discussed is the increasing number of authors who might be labelled neo-Marxist or new left writers on alienation. Many echo the ideas of either Fromm, the Praxis group or Marcuse and thus they will be only briefly discussed here. These neo-Marxist writers argue that a technological managerial class dominates post-capitalist society and that in a system of state nationalized property the use and control of property is always by officials, not by the rank and file workers.² These authors suggest that, in addition to an equalization of property relations, there must also be an equalization of authority relations.³ Indeed, authors such as Faure suggest that "bureaucratic alienation" is the major form of alienation

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1. Note the similarity with such authors as J.P. Sartre, Search for a Method (N.Y., 1963) and L. Kolakowski, Toward a Marxist Humanism (N.Y., 1968).
 2. Note the influence of J. Burnham's The Managerial Revolution (Harmondsworth, 1942) and M. Djilas's The New Class (London, 1957).
 3. Note that R. Dahrendorf in his Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society (Stanford, 1959) argues that authority differentiation and thus classes are inevitable (pp.168, 219). He does, however, suggest that class conflict need not intensify for "both capital and labour underwent a process of decomposition in the course of the last hundred years. The unified capitalist class of the time of Marx dissolved into various elements, such as managers, the mere owners, the finance capitalists: the homogeneous working class ... evolved within itself new lines of differentiation according to skill, income, prestige; both classes were extended and complicated by the emergence of a 'new middle stratum' of bureaucrats and white collar workers". Ibid., pp.276-77.

in contemporary society. They therefore propose that a system of workers' self-management in the factory be implemented as a means of reducing conflict, hierarchy and alienation.¹

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1. L. Faure, The Heart of Battle (N.Y., 1972), pp.196, 198. Novack states: "An autocratic political structure and a bureaucratic management of the economy are the twin pillars of the alienation inflicted on the working masses under the post-capitalist regimes. The prescription for curing these evils can be nothing less than complete democratic control of the government and the economy by the workers through their freely elected councils". Novack in Mandel, The Marxist Theory of Alienation, pp.10-11.

Review of the Sociological and Empirical
Theorists on Alienation

A less politically speculative and more sociological and empirical tradition of the alienation literature might be labelled the "socio-empirical tradition"¹. This tradition has been substantially North American in origin and orientation. In general one can note a number of sub-streams in the more sociological and empirical literature on alienation. One such stream is in the Durkheimian tradition of noting the lack of stable regulating norms in society. This alienated condition is one of normlessness and one shall focus upon the authors who stress such a theme.²

While comparatively little was written on alienation in the first half of the twentieth century, a major transitional article was Merton's 1958 paper entitled "Social Structure and Anomie".³ In this and his other writings, Merton attempts to fuse both Marxian and Durkheimian notions. The Marxian influence can be seen in Merton's preoccupation with the labourer and his problems in contemporary society. For the worker, the goals and rewards of society for the most part cannot be legally achieved. This is because there is a system of unequal reward distribution in which the worker receives the least yet labours the most.

Merton applies this socialist framework to the Durkheimian notion of a collapse in society's normative controls and restraints

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1. The terminology is approximate as some authors are difficult to place in either category. For the most detailed summaries of the extremely extensive empirical literature on alienation see M. Lystad, Alienation: An Annotated Bibliography (Washington, 1969), M. Clinard, (ed.), Anomie and Deviant Behaviour (N.Y., 1964), A. Finifter, (ed.), Alienation and the Social System (N.Y., 1972), and F. Johnson (ed.), Alienation: Concept, Term and Meanings (N.Y., 1973) and R. Schacht, Alienation (London, 1971). See also F. Geyer, Bibliography Alienation 2 volumes (Amsterdam, 1972 and 1974).
 2. By this I do not mean that these authors do not use other terms but rather only that they have stressed this particular orientation.
 3. Reprinted in R. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (N.Y., 1968) See also M. Clinard, (ed.), Anomie and Deviant Behaviour (N.Y., 1964).

upon individuals. Merton, however, extends Durkheim's notion of the de-regulation of norms so as to include the de-regulation of means. Society is anomic, Merton suggests, if it establishes goals that a large number of persons cannot achieve by legal or legitimate means. If illegal means (i.e. deviant behaviour) are the only method by which the less privileged strata (workers) of society can achieve certain ascribed "societal success goals", then, Merton postulates, such a strata will, because of these structural causes, exhibit a higher rate of deviant adaptation (anomic behaviour). This can be seen in the following chart:

Modes of Adaptation	Cultural Goals	Institutionalized Means	My Examples
Conformity (full identity)	+	+	bourgeoisie
Innovation ("deviant conformity")	+	-	proletariat
Other possible patterns are:			
Ritualism (loss of content)	-	+	organization man
Retreatism (withdrawal)	-	-	drunks
Rebellion (substitution of new values)	+ -	+ -	rebels

There are three criticisms one can raise concerning Merton's framework. First, do workers innovate more than non-workers, even in a limited sense? Second, is class a sufficient predictor of anomic and deviant behaviour? Is it so in all societies, even socialist ones?

Another early author in the normlessness tradition of alienation is Nettler.¹ Nettler focuses on cultural alienation and the individual's

1. Gwynn Nettler, "A Measure of Alienation", ASR Vol.22, No.6, pp.670-677.

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rejection of mass values. Nettler states: "An 'alienated person' is one who has been estranged from, 'made unfriendly toward, his society and the culture it carries'"¹. Nettler has found that such alienated persons tend to be more solitary, negativistic and irreligious and suggests a major cause may be the presence of the mass media.

Zurcher² and associates found that alienation correlated with particularism in that people with particularistic values working in a universalistic structure were more alienated than those who had a universalistic value system. Such a finding corroborates the need for congruence of the personality and the social system.³

Erikson's writings stress the inevitability of certain feelings of powerlessness and anxiety in all persons. He states, "Every adult, whether he is a follower or a leader, a member of a mass or of an elite, was once a child. He was once small. A sense of smallness forms a substratum in his mind, ineradicably".⁴ Erikson thus studies the stages of identity formation from childhood to adulthood.⁵ He particularly emphasizes the transitional period of adolescence in which the adult identity (i.e. the adult's sense of self-continuity) is acquired. Indeed, the main characteristic of this period, he suggests, is the identity crisis.⁶ One important component of the adolescent identity crisis is that of one's work. Erikson argues that "Probably

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1. Nettler, "A Measure of Alienation", p.671-672.
 2. L. Zurcher, A. Meadow and S. Zurcher, "Value Orientation, Role Conflict and Alienation from Work: A Cross Cultural Study", American Sociological Review Vol.30, no.4, pp.539-548.
 3. He also found that the less alienated generally held higher job levels, had higher job satisfaction and exhibited greater company work tenure.
 4. E. Erikson, Childhood and Society (N.Y., 1963), p.404.
 5. The importance of play in learning adult roles is strongly recognized. Ibid., p.213.
 6. See E. Erikson, Challenge of Youth (N.Y., 1965) and E. Erikson, Identity: Youth and Crisis (N.Y., 1968).

the most neglected problem in psychoanalysis is the problem of work"¹ and that this realm of choosing one's future vocation is crucial to the formation of an adult identity. He notes with dismay that "Democracy, therefore, must present its adolescents with ideals which can be shared by young people of many backgrounds, and which emphasize autonomy in the form of independence and initiative in the form of constructive work. These promises, however, are not easy to fulfill in increasingly complex and centralized systems of industrial, economic and political organization..."². It is partially for this reason that Erikson concludes that identity confusion is the prevalent problem of the contemporary era and suggests that "The study of identity, then, becomes as strategic in our time as the study of sexuality was in Freud's time"³. As to how such identity confusion can be resolved, Erikson is less detailed but he does suggest that the development of a system of universal ethics is a possible beginning to a solution.⁴

Kenniston's work is rather important for two reasons. First, he is one of only a few authors who attempt to develop a useful typology of the vast alienation literature.⁵ The second significance of his work is that his research has been based on detailed case histories over a long period of time. While Kenniston's writings focus upon alienation as being a confusion regarding societal norms, he studies alienation both at the individual and societal level.⁶

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1. E. Erikson, Young Man Luther (N.Y., 1962), p.17.
 2. Erikson, Identity: Youth and Crisis, p.133..
 3. Erikson, Childhood and Society, p.282. Also his Challenge of Youth, p.13.
 4. Erikson, The Challenge of Youth, p.27. Note the similarity to Fromm on this point.
 5. One such classification is his acknowledgement that the American tradition largely focuses upon alienation as a problem of individual adjustment while the European literature stresses the theme of alienation being a social problem. K. Kenniston, The Uncommitted (N.Y., 1960), p.6. Rather paradoxically, Kenniston seems to straddle both traditions.
 6. Kenneth Kenniston, Young Radicals (N.Y., 1968), p.340.

He suggests that the alienated individual's way of life is characterized by the following key symptoms:¹ First, his general life orientation is one of pessimism. Secondly, he is a critic and mistrustful of society in a general sense. Thirdly, he is marked by a sense of loneliness. The alienated individual also tends to be an observer rather than a participant and this is augmented by his dislike of group or institutional responsibility. Fourthly, his life is one which is excessively self-examined and in which he is repeatedly seeking assurances as to his uniqueness. Fifthly, his pursuits are characterized by an obsessive quality and take the semblance of an aesthetic quest for a deeper union with reality. It is, in short, an attempt at fusion and the merger of the individual with the environment.

Other characteristic features of alienated individuals noted by Kenniston are: greater identification with both the mother and the childhood past, being an only child, having a neurotic and over-possessive mother, being an academically superior student who nevertheless found adolescence generally painful and having an unsatisfactory sex life.

Kenniston's analysis is not exclusively with the alienated individual; indeed, he suggests that this is an alienated age and society. He notes that "...alienation is a response to major collective estrangements, social strains, and historical losses in our society... [i.e. societal causes]"². One such loss is the historical relatedness to the forgotten past that a technologically vanguard and changing society foregoes.³ As a result of commitment to an eclectic scientific orientation, the totalistic identifications of the past are only partially substituted by incomplete and fragmentary identifications. A second cause of alienation in contemporary society is

1. Much of Kenniston's findings corroborate S. Halleck, "Psychiatric Treatment for the Alienated College Student", American Journal of Psychiatry Vol.124, No.5, 1967, pp.642-650.

2. Kenniston, The Uncommitted, p.179.

3. Ibid., p.211. See also Kenniston, Young Radicals, p.340.

the decline in the number of intellectually and emotionally satisfying jobs.¹ A third cause is excessive individualism with the resulting separation of the individual from the public and collectivist realm. Finally, Kenniston suggests that prolonged adolescence accentuates the period of role uncertainty.²

Kenniston's solutions to alienation are less detailed than his description of its characteristics amongst college students. Still, he suggests that there is an urgent need to "reappraise our current concepts and interpretations of man and society"³. In so doing, less emphasis should be placed upon technology and more stress placed on utopian convictions to seek dramatic alternatives to contemporary society and its ills.

Parsons, a leading exponent of systems analysis (structural functionalism), has dwelt upon the conformity — alienation dimension in his analysis of integration.⁴ Perhaps what is most useful in Parson's framework is his application of the active-passive personality dimension to alienation. The following typology⁵ emerges from such a position:

	Active	Passive
Conformity	compulsive performance (e.g. politician)	compulsive acquiescence (e.g. citizen voter)
Alienation	rebellion (e.g. revolutionary)	withdrawal (e.g. non-voter)

An interesting implication from such a classification is that alienation

1. See also P. Goodman, Growing Up Absurd (N.Y., 1960).

2. One might also add that this period of life is characterized by a sense of powerlessness.

3. Kenniston, The Uncommitted, p.384.

4. See Parsons, The Social System. See also I. Horowitz, "On Alienation and the Social Order", Philosophy and Phenomenological Research Vol.27, No.2, p.231. Both authors suggest that conformity or integration are opposite to alienation (used in the separation sense).

4. Chart derived from Parsons, The Social System, p.257. The examples provided are mine.

can be associated with both rebellious and acquiescent behaviour. Thus, the apparent dilemma of alienation paradoxically explaining both revolutionary and non-revolutionary behaviour is partially alleviated by the control variable of activist versus non-activist orientation. The framework is, however, disappointing in that it largely shifts the question (why activity or not?) from the sociological to the psychological. The question for the most part remains unresolved, albeit at a different level.

F. Geyer, in a rather provocative study,¹ has also applied general systems theory to alienation. He suggests that alienation occurs whenever there is a breakdown in any communication system. He explains social isolation in terms of the severing of inputs and outputs between the individual and his environment. Normlessness is the collapse of a governing or steering function and, perhaps most interestingly, "self-estrangement denotes a lack of internal communication".² Geyer is thus one of the few authors who has provided a largely non-reified explanation of the term self-alienation. More important is his useful attempt to link two key political concepts -- systems theory and alienation.³

A second sub-stream in the "socio-empirical" literature on alienation is the more Marxian tradition of normlessness in which the individual does not feel that he is master of events.

A classic empirically-based comparative political study that dealt with alienation is Almond and Verba's The Civic Culture. In this work the "balanced civic culture" (e.g. Britain and the United States) was contrasted to the more "authoritarian and alienated regimes" of Mexico and Italy. Almond and Verba's uses of the term alienation, as reflecting authority indifference and parochial subject-like passivity, have influenced contemporary American usage of the term as shown in

1. F. Geyer, "Alienation and General Systems Theory", Sociologia Neerlandica Vol.X, No.1, 1974, pp.18-41.

2. Ibid., p.32.

3. Geyer is also important for providing the most comprehensive bibliography on alienation -- 1500 items. See R. Geyer, "Bibliography Alienation", two volumes, Amsterdam, 1972 and 1974.

the following passages: "Political alienation includes both an efficacy (or input) dimension and a trust (or output) dimension.... The efficacy.. dimension of political alienation refers to people's perception of their ability to influence; the trust dimension refers to their perception of the necessity for influence".¹ "Political alienation ... is the tendency to think of the government and politics of the nation as run by others for others according to an unfair set of rules. It is more than a traditionalists's sense that these things are part of the natural order over which he has no control, for the traditionalist has no belief that it could or should be otherwise".² Their study is sometimes criticized for being ethnocentric, but the attempt to compare participation levels, stratification levels and alienation levels seems a necessary task if social science generalizations are to be tested in a comprehensive fashion.

The notion of alienation being associated with the presence of authoritarianism has also been researched by Rhodes.³ His conclusions are most noteworthy in that he suggests a relationship between the alienation and authoritarian scales which is caused in large part by their sharing of a common underlying factor of pessimism.⁴ An implication of this finding is that a sense of despair and alienation might be an important factor in the rise of authoritarianism rather than being a simple by-product. This theme echoes that of Erich Fromm's thesis in Escape From Freedom and suggests a feedback link between hierarchy and alienation that is capable of generating a vicious cycle. Such a cycle might take the following form: growing uncertainty leads to greater coercion and alienation which in turn result in greater helplessness and uncertainty.

1. W. Gamson, Power and Discontent (Homewood, 1968), p.42.

2. R. Lane, Political Ideology (N.Y., 1962), p.177.

3. A. Rhodes, "Authoritarianism and Alienation", Sociological Quarterly No.3, July 1961, pp.193-202.

4. Ibid., p.195. Indeed, he suggests that often items of the two scales are the same.

A specific focus in the powerlessness dimension of the alienation literature is the mass society tradition. A number of political writers have empirically studied the mass society hypothesis: — the lack of organizational mediating groups which might protect the individual will generate a greater sense of powerlessness.

Finifter¹, re-analyzing by factor analysis the Almond and Verba data sets, focuses upon two dimensions of alienation: 1) powerlessness or lack of efficacy and 2) meaninglessness or randomness of life. The two dimensions correlate positively at .25 level.² Most important of all, she found that organizational membership has a strong negative association with powerlessness ($r = -.38$)³. Normlessness was found to be most strongly correlated, albeit negatively, with faith in people⁴.

A. Miller⁵ has also focused on the problems of the mass society and whether increasing alienation poses any threat to political stability. He has suggested from detailed longitudinal United States election surveys that uprooted categories such as the unemployed, non-religious and divorced exhibit greater alienation levels. How cumulative the effects of such categories are has not been adequately researched. What is most important, however, is the finding that despite high formal organizational memberships in the United States, there is a growing alienation and lack of trust. This is particularly so amongst the blacks.⁶ This suggests that organizational memberships alone are insufficient for an unalienated society and that continuing inequality which generates class and racial mistrust may be a more significant factor. The implication of the need for a more egalitarian social system seems strong indeed.

1. A. Finifter, "Dimensions of Political Alienation" in A. Finifter, (ed.), Alienation and the Social System (N.Y., 1972).

2. Ibid., p.197.

3. Ibid., p.201.

4. Ibid., p.205.

5. A. Miller, "Political Issues and Trust in Government: 1964-1970", APSR No.3, 1974, pp.951-972. Please note that portions of this section are based on discussions with Art Miller.

6. See also R. Gilmour and R. Lamb, Political Alienation in Contemporary America (N.Y., 1975).

Neal also tested the mass society hypothesis and found that there existed "some support for the notion that powerlessness is a function of the lack of mediating organizational ties"¹. Such a conclusion was based on the finding that unorganized labour was more powerless than organized labour. Other alienation dimensions and anomie, however, did not indicate any statistical difference. Neal and Rettig² in another study found that certain attitudes of alienation such as normlessness and powerlessness were not related to job mobility. Such a lack of linkage between alienated attitudes and certain behaviour manifestations is a key problem that much of the alienation literature has not resolved.

Etzioni also stresses the powerlessness dimension when he suggests the following definitions of alienation. "Alienation ... means a social situation which is beyond the control of the actor, and hence unresponsive to his basic needs."³ "... alienation is defined as incapacity to share in control ..."⁴. "The unresponsiveness of the world to the actor, which subjects him to forces he neither comprehends nor guides".⁵ One can discern from these definitions an emphasis upon the connection between being dominated and alienation. Indeed, Etzioni succinctly asserts that alienation is generated by the use of force⁶ in that to use power is to generate resistance to it. The dilemma of power⁷ is that social patterns are distorted by its use. In short, there is a social cost for compliance. The amount of alienation is such a social cost and is a function of the type of power prevalent.

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1. A. Neal and M. Seeman, "Organizations and Powerlessness: a Test of the Mediation Hypothesis", ASR April 1964, p.226.
 2. A. Neal and S. Rettig, "On the Multi-dimensionality of Alienation", ASR No.1, 1967, pp.54-64.
 3. A. Etzioni, "Basic Human Needs, Alienation and Inauthenticity", ASR No.6, 1968, p.881.
 4. Ibid., p.881.
 5. A. Etzioni, The Active Society (N.Y., 1968), p.618.
 6. Ibid., p.363.
 7. W. Breed, The Self-Guiding Society (N.Y., 1971).

Etzioni suggests the following three types of compliance systems:

- 1) 'coercive' in which there is an absence of legitimacy
- 2) 'utilitarian' in which benefits are stressed as a means for acquiescence of the membership
- 3) 'persuasive' or 'normative' in which legitimacy abounds¹

As the amount of coercive power is increased so is the level of alienation. Thus, totalitarian regimes are highest in alienation, followed by utilitarian regimes and finally the least alienating are normative systems. It should be noted that in all societies, even in collectivist and normative Hutterite colonies, elements of alienation will be generated.

Similar to de Tocqueville and others, Etzioni bemoans the transition of societies from normative organizations resting on persuasion and shared beliefs to ones based on utilitarian attitudes. Clearly, the levels of alienation increase as persons are treated manipulatively by others² and Etzioni suggests the costs of such impersonalization and detachment in modernization are high.³

Etzioni postulates that beyond the biological needs there are other basic and universal human needs such as the need for affection, recognition, context, repeated gratification and reward stability. He points out, however, that today a great many people feel powerless, excluded from meaningful social participation and generally feel uninformed. Such unfulfillment or alienation from individual needs⁴, Etzioni suggests, is a criterion for a deviant society. He postulates that the notion of an alienated society is the key concept in the

1. Note how this parallels Gamson's trilogy of confident, neutral and alienated groups that vary in the amount of power they use — persuasions, inducements and constraints. W. Gamson, op. cit., passim.

2. Etzioni, The Active Society, p.641.

3. Ibid., p.630. One should perhaps observe that one can interpret the socialist attempts to introduce workers' self-management in industry as a transformation from a utilitarian system into a normative one.

4. Etzioni, The Active Society, p.622.

alienation tradition.¹

Turning to the more normative systems, he notes that "It is only in egalitarian social relationships that alienation is reduced to its lowest level and man is treated as a social goal unto himself".² He warns that the capacity for directed collective action for goal realization is lower in such a system and thus outlines a possible reason for collectivist cultures increasingly allowing greater individualism.³ Despite the possible erosion of the collectivist and normative structure, Etzioni nevertheless proposes the need for an active self-regulating society and thus states: "It may well be impossible to return to the fusion of a production unit with a family or a community ... but the work arrangements may be re-organized quite fundamentally to increase the responsiveness of the organization of work to the workers and the family and community".⁴

Aiken and Hage⁵ in an important study of alienation both at the work and societal levels confirm Etzioni's hypotheses in finding that "There is a correlation of .49 between the degree of hierarchy and alienation from work Organizations that rely heavily on hierarchical arrangements are likely to be characterized by both work alienation and alienation from expressive relations".⁶ They also found that participation in decision-making was negatively associated with work alienation (-.59).⁷ Thus Aiken and Hage suggest that

1. Etzioni, The Active Society, p.623.

2. Ibid., p.368.

3. Etzioni, "Basic Human Needs...", p.74.

4. Etzioni, The Active Society, p.654.

5. M. Aiken and J. Hage, "Organizational Alienation: A Comparative Analysis", ASR No.4, 1966, pp.497-507.

6. Ibid., p.503.

7. J. Clark, "Measuring Alienation within a Social System", ASR No.6, 1959, pp.849-852, also found that "Lower relationships exist between alienation and participation ($r = -.37$), and alienation and knowledge ($r = -.30$)". P. 851.

inegalitarian systems are more alienating.¹ A possible reason is that in such a system of centralized rules, communication may be less effective. The findings seem to be most favourable to the socialist hypothesis that a more pluralist and egalitarian self-managing factory might reduce alienation levels.

Self-estrangement or self-alienation, while not a sub-component of alienation which is used in this study, has been utilized by a number of authors such as Fromm, Seeman² and Horney. Horney is another leading Freudian revisionist who focuses upon sociological structure and culture as causes of alienation. Her focus is on the individual's alienation which is affected by social conditions. Her main theme is the existence of a real or core self and that any suppression of a key part of this personality will result in alienation from one's self.³

Horney is perhaps most famous for her extensive listing of the symptoms of a neurotic or alienated personality. The major overarching characteristic is the existence of compulsive and insatiable drives which result in the individual's loss of self-determination. Such neurotically repeating and rigid preoccupations⁴ are opposite to the dynamic growth that Horney believes to be essential to a healthy personality.⁵ Horney notes that there are in general four response

1. See also L. Pearlin, "Alienation From Work", ASR No.3, 1962, pp.314-326, for a similar conclusion.

2. Both Fromm and Seeman are discussed more appropriately in other sections.

3. K. Horney, Our Inner Conflicts (N.Y., 1966), p.111. See also K. Horney, New Ways in Psychoanalysis (N.Y., 1966), pp. 18, 189. Clearly such self-alienation is possible if there are several layers of consciousness or personality. See also The American Journal of Psychoanalysis November 1961 for a special issue devoted to Horney.

4. See I. Goffman, Stigma (Englewood Cliffs, 1963) for an elucidation.

5. Note the similarity to Maslow's notion of a hierarchy of human needs in which one level emerges as the lower level is satiated. The five levels are physiological, safety and security, companionship and affection, self-esteem and finally self-actualization. The latter stage is characterized by an emphasis upon the creative, the spontaneous, the spiritual and a sense of fullness. See also Jean Piaget and Erikson on the notion of growth in identities.

patterns to anxiety and the preponderance of any single one is an indication of neurosis and alienation from one's self.¹

The first symptom is revealed when anxiety overwhelms the ability of the individual to humanistically relate to others. Such egocentric and narcissistic behaviour is extremely unstable and results in periodic despair and feelings of isolation. There is as a result a powerful drive to seek a pure and totalistic (maternalistic) affection. When such union is achieved, it is often marked by the individual's clinging and wish to possess (i.e. preserve) the security-providing relationship.

The second symptom, withdrawal, is due to the unpleasantness of societal life driving the alienated individual into an inner and seemingly secure realm of the mind. Such withdrawal takes the form of excessive daydreams dominating over social intercourse. In this imaginary world, self-deception is rampant in that an idealized self is conjured. Increasingly, such a response augments the individual's conflict with his environment for the individual continues to drift in a dream-like rambling fashion and avoids responding to the changing environment.

Two other symptoms are those of submission and dominance. In the latter there is the desire to gain power to ensure one's total possession over one's sought benefits. In submission, there is an attempt to identify with a greater whole as part of one's search for identity.

The causes of such neurotic response patterns and self-alienation are largely in the environment and are situation induced.² Indeed, Horney states: "Man has become to so great a degree merely a cog in an intricate social system that alienation from self is almost universal, and human values themselves have declined. As a result of innumerable outstanding contradictions in our civilization a general numbness of moral perception has developed".³ One such specific societal cause

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1. K. Horney, The Neurotic Personality of Our Time (N.Y., 1937), p.100.
 2. Horney, Our Inner Conflicts, p.161 and Horney, New Paths in Psycho-analysis, p.92, VIII.
 3. Horney, Our Inner Conflicts, p.134.

is the excessive emphasis upon competition rather than cooperation and love.¹

Three key problems in Horney's framework are: first, the over-emphasis on the utility of psychoanalysis as a solution to self-alienation; secondly, her heavy stress on societal causes of anxiety ignores the findings of T. Leary and others that anxiety can be partially drug induced; and finally, her emphasis upon an unproven "real self". Questions such as 'Is there a real self?' and 'How can such a self be known?' are insufficiently resolved in Horney's writings.

A number of authors have suggested that alienation is composed of a number of more specific dimensions. Such a multi-dimensional approach to alienation can be seen in certain American sociologists' work.

Srole² in a 1956 study focused upon five components of anomie.

- 1) sense of community leader's indifference
- 2) social order perceived as being unpredictable
- 3) quality of life declining
- 4) declining in norm stability
- 5) lack of reliability of other persons

Weaknesses in his framework were his use of only five items, thus reducing the reliability of the scale³ and his very broad usage of the term anomie to include a number of items that normally would be scaled under different dimensions.⁴

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1. Horney, The Neurotic Personality ..., p.83.
 2. L. Srole, "Social Integration and Certain Corollaries: An Exploratory Study", ASR No.6, 1956, pp.709-716.
 3. See also G. Lenski et al., "Caste, Class and Deference in the Research Interview", American Journal of Sociology March 1960, pp.463-467, for a similar comment.
 4. For example items 1, 2, and 5 have sometimes been included in powerlessness scales. Despite this weakness, Neal found that Srole's anomie scale emerged as a separate dimension from powerlessness. A. Neal and S. Rettig, "Dimensions of Alienation among manual and non-manual Workers", ASR No.4, 1963, pp.599-608. See also A. Neal and M. Seeman, "Organizations and powerlessness: A Test of the Mediation Hypothesis", ASR No.2, 1964, pp.216-226.

M. Seeman is most important for the following reasons: he has engaged in research on the topic of alienation probably longer than any other sociologist; his studies are the most numerous; he, atypical to American sociology on the subject, has attempted to apply his surveys and scales to a more comprehensive comparative context that has included France and Scandinavia; and lastly, in his most recent writings he has suggested the largest number of dimensions of alienation at six. They are reflected in the following polar terms:

"competence is the obverse of powerlessness; understanding versus meaninglessness; cultural commitment versus value isolation; trust and social regulation versus normlessness; intrinsic work orientation versus self-estrangement; and colleagueship versus social isolation"¹.

He suggests that powerlessness involves lack of control over one's environment (internal versus external control) and is related to one's level of information. Meaninglessness is the absence of an understanding of the totality and relevance of a situation or task. Normlessness, following Merton's usage, is the notion of value conflict between means and ends. Cultural estrangement is the lack of identification with general societal values. Self-estrangement is the alienation from an ideal self. Social isolation is being separated from society and others.²

Seeman proposes these six dimensions³ because, while they are mutually interrelated, they are nevertheless distinct. Thus, he

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1. M. Seeman, "Alienation and Engagement" in A. Campbell and P. Converse, The Human Meaning of Social Change (N.Y., 1972), p.768.
 2. Note the similarity to Hobart's description: "Normlessness is an objective term, descriptive of culture; meaninglessness is subjective. Powerlessness may be interpreted in Kornhauser's sense of the absence of independent voluntary organizations mediating between elites and non-elites. Thus it is a structural term. Self-estrangement refers subjectively to personality, implying an absence of integration. Isolation may be either subjective (to 'feel estranged') or objective ('isolant'). C. Hobart, "Types of Alienation: Etiology and Interrelationships", Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, No.2, 1965, p.93.
 3. In early works he proposed only five dimensions. See M. Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation", ASR Vol.24, No.6, 1959, pp.783-791.

concludes that there is not, as Marx and others have proposed, a tight bundle of alienations that are cumulative.¹ This may in part explain why the working class has not been driven by such overwhelming alienation into rebellion.

Another significant finding of Seeman relates to the alleged relationship between work alienation and societal alienation. Seeman hypothesized that "If alienated labour is crucial, this measure ought to correlate with other indices of alienation"². His findings, however, suggest a disconfirmation of such an hypothesis for he concludes: "how little work alienation explains in comparison with another brand of alienation -- namely powerlessness".³ "The sum of the matter is that alienation in work simply does not seem to make the difference it is supposed to".⁴ He suggests that workers have adapted more than theory would imply.

Seeman also tests a key assumption of the mass society theorists -- the role of the ameliorating affect of mediating organizations. Confirming the mass society hypothesis he concludes, "The unorganized manual workers are higher in alienation than their organized counterparts ... [and] membership in a work-based organization is associated with a relatively strong sense of control over events"⁵

In his study with Evans, Seeman has found that a general sense of powerlessness leads to a low searching orientation and thus low levels of knowledge (powerlessness is negatively correlated to knowledge -.31).⁶ When, however, focus is directed towards work alienation

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1. M. Seeman, "The Urban Alienations: Some Dubious Theses from Marx to Marcuse", Journal of Personality and Social Psychology Vol.19, No.2, 1971, pp.135-143.
 2. Seeman, "Urban Alienations...", p.136.
 3. Ibid., p. 137. In another study he also posits that "powerlessness measure ... is unrelated to work alienation". "On the Personal Consequences of Alienation in Work", ASR No.2, April 1967, pp.273-285.
 4. Seeman, "Urban Alienations...", p.138.
 5. Neal and Seeman, "Organizations and Powerlessness...", p.220, 225. See also Seeman, "Alienation and Engagement", p.476.
 6. M. Seeman and J. Evans, "Alienation and Learning in a Hospital Setting", ASR No.6, 1962, pp.772-782. Seeman also suggests alienation is correlated to prejudice.

and knowledge levels a rather dramatic finding emerges. "It [work alienation] is not associated, as one might expect it to be, with low political knowledge, ... with retreat from political responsibility, or ... with simple job satisfaction..."¹, but rather "the more alienated workers are the more active in seeking out the work-related information".² Is this the working class seeking information for structural change? As a partial answer one can note Seeman's recent work on alienation in which he suggests that there may be a post-industrial class struggle in which new alienated groups rather than exploited groups emerge. The teachers, students, professionals and young workers may be a new working class which is seeking more control over conditions in the work place.

In briefly evaluating Seeman one can offer the following comments. The utility of surveys can be partially seen in his 1967 analysis of French society which provided signals of alienation and unrest in French society a year prior to the 1968 confrontations.³ A major problem of his framework is his use of the term self-estrangement. Is there a real self from which one can be alienated? Seeman partially acknowledges the element of mystification and reification in the term self-estrangement. This mystification is the major reason this term and Seeman's framework have not been used in this study.⁴

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1. M. Seeman, "Alienation and Knowledge Seeking: A Note on Attitude and Action", Social Problems No.1, 1972, pp.9, 10.
 2. Ibid., p.8.
 3. M. Seeman, "The Signals of '68: Alienation in Pre-Crisis France", ASR No.4, August 1972, pp.385-402. See also A. Touraine, The May Movement (N.Y., 1971).
 4. One should note, however, that this author's findings have led to a slight modification in position for my future research. While I still would not adopt the term self-estrangement, I would use the terms "ego-strength" and "self-esteem". I am also grateful to Professor N. Chi for his comments on this matter.

Blauner¹ in a study largely utilizing data from previous research in 1947 (three thousand respondents) and 1959 (two hundred and thirty respondents) uses four dimensions of alienation that are related to the work sphere -- powerlessness, meaninglessness, social alienation and self-estrangement. Questioning Marx's assumption of a standardized capitalism, Blauner tests the hypothesis that different levels of technology influence alienation levels (particularly powerlessness). He thus classifies industrial technology into three levels:

- 1) craft or pre-industrial level such as the printing industry
- 2) assembly a) early industrialism such as the textile industry
b) middle industrialism such as the auto industry
- 3) continuous process or late industrial such as the chemical industry

Blauner found that the craft industry's environment was characterized by job security, a high level of skill, work autonomy and egalitarianism.

In contrast, the assembly production system epitomized the alienated mass society. A large number of the workers were unskilled, received low wages and worked under poor conditions. Indeed, job availability for the entire year approached only 57% of the automobile labour force.²

Blauner noted that the continuous process industry was likely to be indicative of future technological production. It was characterized by high capital investment in machinery which highly skilled workers monitored (i.e. they controlled the production process). There were, however, fewer workers and the plants were much more decentralized, giving rise to some increase in social isolation.

Blauner's general findings, albeit based on dated material, were that technology did alter alienation levels and had the greatest impact upon the powerlessness dimension.³ He specifically found an

1. R. Blauner, Alienation and Freedom (Chicago, 1964).

2. Ibid., p.93.

3. Ibid., p.169.

inverted U relationship in alienation levels in that alienation was lowest in the craft industry, highest in the assembly industry and moderate in the automated industry.¹ Such a finding is also reflected in the attitudes to jobs. Blauner reports that "The majority of all factory workers consider their jobs interesting As we advance up the scale of industrial development, the proportion of workers who find their jobs dull increases from a scant 4% in the printing industry to 18% in the textile industry, and up to 34% in the automobile industry But in the chemical industry, only 11% complain of monotony"².

While Blauner's general findings suggest the optimism of declining alienation levels, a contrasting and more pessimistic finding is that 59% of workers and 10-20% of the professional employees said they would choose different occupations if they could.³ This suggests that career alienation may be higher than specific dissatisfaction with job conditions.

Also of significance to this study is Blauner's finding that higher education is associated with stronger wishes for work autonomy and job creativity.⁴ Given the emergence of a more educated working class, such a finding might suggest the need for new, more humanized structures to accomodate such aspirations.

D. Dean⁵ has also outlined and tested in substantial detail a three dimensional classification of alienation. In addition, his

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1. Ibid., p.182. Such a finding also seems to confirm J. Kautsky's notion that communism has its greatest appeal, not in advanced capitalism, but in early modernization. See J. Kautsky, Communism and the Politics of Development (N.Y., 1968) particularly chapters nine and ten.
 2. Blauner also notes Roper's finding that one third of the workers suggested they were bored in their work. Ibid., p.117.
 3. Ibid., p.30.
 4. Ibid., p.29.
 5. D. Dean, "Alienation: Its Meaning and Measurement", ASR No.5, 1961, pp.753-758. The details of the scale are also available in D. Miller, Handbook of Research Design and Social Measurement (second edition only) (N.Y., 1970).

scale and typology have been used in a number of other studies.¹

The first dimension is powerlessness and is based on the sense of separation from effective control over one's fate and environment. Normlessness, based largely on Durkheim's anomie, is the absence or conflict of values that result in a sense of purposelessness. Social isolation is the sense of separation from other individuals and groups.²

Dean found that all three dimensions were empirically distinct and thus his classification seems justified. He found, similar to authors such as Seeman, that the powerlessness scale had the highest correlation to the alienation scale and has been the most readily studied.³ He found social isolation to be the least correlated to alienation.⁴

Since Dean's framework lacks the dubious dimension of self-estrangement, and since his scales at the time of the commencement of this comparative study seemed the most likely to generate useful research, one has utilized Dean's framework in general.

One has, however, for technical and conceptual reasons altered the framework slightly. First, a shortened version of the scale was utilized since a number of concessions had to be made due to the problems of questionnaire length and political acceptability of the study.⁵ Also, a few items were clearly too ethnocentric for ready equivalence in Yugoslavia.

1. C. Bonjean, "Mass, Class and the Industrial Community: A Comparative Analysis of Managers, Businessmen and Workers", AJS Sept. 1966, pp.149-62; W. Erbe, "Social Involvement and Political Activity: A Replication and Elaboration", ASR April 1964, pp.198-215.

2. There is obviously a relationship to participation levels in this dimension.

3. This in large part explains why alienation correlates .26 with authoritarianism. In part it is largely because the powerlessness sub-scale correlates so highly (.37) with authoritarianism. Dean, "Alienation...", p.756.

4. This corroborates my findings in which social isolation was not scalable in some cases.

5. Indeed, at one point in the project certain Yugoslav officials suggested that all alienation items be dropped.

Unlike Dean one has provided a supplemental scale of work alienation items. One has therefore suggested that his scale be considered as a general measure of societal alienation.¹

While a number of Marxists such as Israel have suggested that a multi-dimensional classification, a survey questionnaire and a personality orientated framework are incompatible with Marxism,² it is my contention that such afore-mentioned dimensions can be perceived in Marx's writings. For example, note the following passage by Marx:

Alienation is apparent not only in the fact that my means of life belong to someone else [self-estrangement], that my desires are the unattainable possession of someone else, but that everything is something different from itself [normlessness or incorrect norms] and that my activity is something else, and finally (and this is also the case for the capitalist) that an inhuman power rules over everything [powerlessness].³

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1. One should note, however, that one item in Dean's scale does include a work related item and this qualification should be kept in mind. Note also how this breakdown which I have proposed begins to parallel Schacht's conceptual framework of alienation: interpersonal (alienation from others), socio-economic (alienation from culture and society), politico-economic (alienation from events and structures) and finally, work alienation. See R. Schacht, Alienation. My classification is, however, more detailed in that work alienation is also broken down into three sub-components.
 2. J. Israel, Alienation: From Marx to Modern Sociology (Boston, 1971), p.208.
 3. K. Marx, "Third Manuscript", Marx's Concept of Man (E. Fromm, ed.), (N.Y., 1967), p.151. Emphasis in original; my comments in brackets. See also his use of terms such as "self-loss" and "powerless" in "Excerpt Notes of 1844", Easton, Writings of the Young Marx..., p.282. There is little doubt that in Marx's writings and the literature on alienation the focus has been extensively on powerlessness. Indeed, symptoms of such powerlessness posed by Marx are:
 - 1) means of production and the product are controlled and owned by the capitalist, thus worker is denied free access to labour
 - 2) the worker has no control over the pace of work since production is geared to maximizing the return on machinery
 - 3) the worker has no control over factory conditions
 - 4) the worker has no control over his salary since it is dependent on business cycles and exchange value created by bourgeois economy.

As suggested earlier, the use of survey questionnaires and self-evaluative techniques of one's life conditions has been used by Marx in his "Enquête Ouvrière" and thus is quite in harmony with a Marxian orientation.¹

Before extrapolating certain key themes of the alienation literature it might be useful to develop some sort of typology of the rather substantial literature on the subject. In so doing, one shall analyze both the politico-normative and the socio-empirical writings.

1. See particularly the instructions by Marx to the Enquête and item number one hundred. See T. Bottomore and M. Rubel, Karl Marx: Selected Writings..., pp. 210 and 218.

Towards a Typology of the Alienation Literature

That the literature on alienation is substantial is confirmed by the fifteen hundred item-long "Bibliography Alienation" compiled by R. Geyer.¹ It is perhaps not surprising, therefore, that in recent years there have been attempts to develop typologies. The most detailed typology thus far has been that of Kenniston in his book The Uncommitted. Kenniston posits that there are four key dimensions to understanding alienation and theories of alienation. They are: object or focus, replacement features, mode of change (autoplastic versus alloplastic) and agent.² Another provocative work by R. Geyer, "Alienation and General Systems Theory", has attempted to explain much of the alienation literature in terms of the broader theory of communications systems and their breakdown.

Besag,³ offering a number of propositions derived from such leading authors as Durkheim, Merton and Seeman, attempts to empirically test such propositions.

J. Israel, in his book Alienation From Marx to Modern Sociology offers a brief classification of alienation theories that differentiates between the more politico-philosophical and the more psycho-sociological on one dimension and between a societal orientation and an individual orientation on another dimension. (See Table A.) Since Israel deals only with grand theorists, his typology is less comprehensively applied and omits much of the alienation literature. Nevertheless, it is a useful start.

1. See also M. Lysted, op. cit., for an excellent, albeit slightly dated, annotated bibliography.

2. Kenniston, The Uncommitted, p.392.

3. F. Besag, Alienation and Education: An Empirical Approach (Buffalo, 1966).

TABLE A

Classification of Theories of Alienation

Theories about the cause
of alienation

Theory about human nature

Sociological-
psychological

Philosophical-
anthropological

- I. Society-oriented
(conflict: man-society)
- IIa. Individual-oriented
(conflict: man-society)
- IIb. (conflict: within society)

Weber Durkheim	Rousseau
Simmel Fromm	Rousseau Marx's first theory Marcuse
Marx's second theory Mills	

Source: Israel, Alienation, p.15.

I. Svitak, in his book Man and His World, provides perhaps the most stimulating and useful basis for beginning a typology.

1) method of analysis:

- theological e.g. Tillich, Barth, Brunner, Buber, etc.
- philosophical e.g. existentialism, Marx
- scientific e.g. empirically based sociology
- artistic e.g. Joyce, Kafka

2) results:

- eternal condition
- historical aspect of civilization
- technological society

3) referent:

- man and God
- man and society
- man and self

4) sources of alienation:

- essence of man
- individual psychology
- loss of god
- technology
- totalitarianism
- industrialism
- commodity fetishism¹

1. I. Svitak, Man and His World (N.Y., 1970), pp.123-141.

While Svitak's framework is sound and stimulating, it is not sufficiently detailed for a comprehensive typology of the alienation literature. At a time when thousands of articles on alienation have been written, such a framework becomes more difficult but necessary. One shall now propose such a typology,¹ bearing in mind the typologies previously propounded.

The first feature of the alienation literature to focus upon is the status of the term. Does it refer to something that is largely a verb (to alienate) or a noun (alienation)? If the former, then alienation is stressed as an ongoing and unfolding process that is a change from one condition to another.² As a noun, the term suggests instead a more passive and final condition of being. It is largely an accomplished fact rather than the transitional nature of the more verb-like notion of process.

The second distinguishing feature of the alienation literature is that of the nature of the expression of alienation. Is the condition essentially marked by the individual's being aware of the alienation conditions? Depending on the answer, the literature bifurcates into an emphasis upon the subject's sense of alienation (the psychological stream) or an emphasis upon the structure and objective conditions of alienation (the sociological stream). In the former there is stress upon personality, perceptions and feelings. Focus is on inner conflict of the individual (self-to-self) and the sense of estrangement or separation from the rest of society. Leading exponents of this stress are various psychologists. The more sociological emphasis on objective (trans-individual) structural features focuses not on perceptions of alienation but on societal behaviour. Structural changes and difficulties are stressed as are

1. Please note, however, that in offering such a typology I do not suggest that every category is indicated by an exponent. Where such gaps occur in practice, I have sketched out what the general position might resemble.

2. Etzioni, The Active Society, p.619.

self-to-other conflict. Implicit in such a framework perhaps is the notion of objective societal measures such as developed by Durkheim.

A third key way of studying the alienation literature is to focus upon the method of analysis. Svitak has already offered a rather useful framework for such a comparison and I offer a slightly modified variant. First, there is the deductive and philosophical approach. This can be subdivided into the secular and religious writers. The religious writers such as Buber emphasize the eternal nature of alienation and the need for a more theocratic orientation as a remedy. The more secular writers such as Marx and Hegel stress historical change. A second major method of analysis is the inductive or scientific tradition. Here there is an accentuation on the quantifiable and the testing of hypotheses. This group utilizes such techniques as case studies (Kenniston), mass survey questionnaires (Seeman) and demographic data manipulation (Durkheim, Marx).¹ The third method of presentation is that of the symbolic mode of the poet and artist. Examples of such persons are Kafka, Sartre and T.S. Elliot.

A fourth major feature for classifying the alienation literature is that of the prospect of the alienation remaining. The two basic sub-components of this category are those suggesting that alienation is inevitable and ontological and those suggesting that alienation is changeable and historical. Examples of the ontological group would be Freud, Hegel, certain existentialists such as Kierkegaard, and certain religious authors such as Buber.

Those suggesting the changeable or historical condition of alienation can be sub-divided into those seeing history as a linear process and those perceiving it to be a cyclical process. Clearly the Augustinian and Marxian traditions would be compatible with the former while Montesquieu ("decline of a nation's founding spirit") and the circulation of elites traditions might be compatible with

1. Please note that I suggest Marx in some respects straddles both the philosophical and scientific traditions.

the latter.¹

Kenniston has also suggested a second sub-category of the historical framework. He contrasts those writers who suggest the presence of a "past golden age" in which unity and integration prevailed and those who do not suggest such a past millenium but instead look only to the future as being capable of achieving such a condition.

Closely connected to the writer's perception of the prospects of alienation remaining is that of a fifth aspect -- the various author's evaluation of alienation. Basically, the question is 'Do the authors see any utility, and if so how much, in the sociological condition of alienation?'. Examples of those who see alienation as leading to some final positive good are Hobbes, Rousseau, Marx and Bohemians. Other writers might suggest that the former were just attempting to rationalize an unpleasant situation. Authors of theories of societal decline and pessimistic eras would write of alienation as a historically undesirable condition for which there was little remedy. Certain conservative authors might be indicative of such a stream.

The sixth major feature for comparison is that of the segment exhibiting alienation. One posits five such categories: 1) ~~extra~~ intra-individual, 2) dyad, 3) small group, 4) large group, 5) global (universally applicable). The intra-individual level of alienation focuses upon conflicts and mal-integration within the individual. Leading exponents of such a group are K. Horney, E. Erikson, R.D. Laing and E. Fromm. Frequently associated with such writers is the notion of part of the self being alienated from the more fundamental and deeper core and that the core is less full or complete than it ought to be.² The difficult objectivist issue of whether or not

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1. Please note that I do not suggest that Pareto, Mosca or others use the term alienation but rather if one accepts Etzioni's argument that the amount of alienation is a function of the amount of coercion, then the rise of new and more effective ruling classes might suggest cycles of alienation corresponding with cycles of ruling classes. For an elucidation of the latter see G. Mosca, The Ruling Class (N.Y., 1939) and V. Pareto, Selections from his Treatise (ed., J. Lopreato), (N.Y., 1965).
 2. The mind/body dualism might be an example of such an alienated relationship.

there is a core human nature thus emerges for such writers. Indeed, one might posit in a sceptical manner whether one can ascertain the existence of a fixed "self". Maslow has suggested in his hierarchy of needs the notion of a changing self.

The problem of the dyad, alienation between one and another, has been most extensively covered by Buber (I-Thou) and Sartre (en-soi and pour-soi). At the root of the question of alienation between two individuals is the solipsist question of whether two human beings can fully share and communicate.

The small group level of alienation could range from small sub-systemic cultures and groups that are alienated from the societal mainstream to specific yet small socio-economic groups. For example, students, intellectuals and Bohemians might exhibit such alienation due to their status and roles. Problems of alienation might also occur in the small peer group and in the family. Certainly the decline of the extended family and existence of peer outcasts might be examples of the above.

At the systemic or large group level of alienation, one can find such economic and sociological categories as classes, exemplified by the proletariat (Marx) and entire societies (Rousseau, Hegel, Marx, Durkheim).

The final level is global or universal, in which all persons are alienated in some way. Thus, theologians can suggest that man is alienated from the ways of God and the existentialists can suggest that the cosmos is devoid of meaning and thus man's initial condition is one of alienation.

The seventh means of classifying the alienation literature is that of the suggested symptoms or indicators of alienation. Here Kenniston's notion of the need for a referent for alienation is significant. Must there always be something from which to be alienated? Must the referent be single and specific (so as to satisfy the stimulus-response model) or can the referent be vague? In what way is alienation manifest? Is there a clear association between alienation and certain types of behaviour?

The suggested symptoms of alienation are extensive and one shall only attempt to list them.

Suggested symptoms of alienation:

- a) alienated thought, perceptions
 - low trust (A. Miller, Kenniston)
 - lying, ideology, false consciousness (Feuerbach, Marx)
 - lack of norms (Durkheim)
 - psychic emigration (Horney)
 - low self-esteem (Kenniston)
 - growth in literature on topic (Whitehorn)
 - nostalgia (Kenniston)
- b) alienated behaviour
 - apathy, lack of participation, lack of voting (A. Miller, Kenniston)
 - alcoholism (Snyder), drugs
 - riots, protests (Seeman)
 - conformity (Fromm)
 - sympiosis, extremist movements (Fromm)
 - commodity fetishism (Marx, Fromm), conspicuous consumption (Veblen), prostitution
- c) alienated society
 - private property (Marx)
 - state (Marx)
 - collapse of family, divorce

The eighth method of analyzing the alienation literature is to focus upon the alleged cause of alienation. One can differentiate two broad approaches. One deals with the nature of social relations, the other with human nature or the human situation. Of the latter group one can note that some such as Freud suggest that inner conflict in an individual is inevitable. Others suggest alienation is a necessary by-product of certain developmental processes. Thus, Laing and Reik suggest the trauma and alienation of birth and other forms of separation. Goffman suggests alienation associated with certain stigmas. Still others such as Erikson suggest the notion of alienation at certain periods such as adolescence.

Finally, persons such as Fromm suggest the notion of alienation as a necessary consequence of man's final fate -- death. The tension of the dualism of "is" and "ought", of man's striving to become more than he is, is a major cause of his alienation. Such a theme is also pursued by a number of existentialists.

Among the extensive social causes of alienation, one has attempted to group them into four general clusters: 1) advance of civilization, 2) industrialism, 3) class society, 4) mass society. First is the notion of the shift from simple and primitive communities to more complex

ones as a cause of alienation. The growth of heterogeneity and pluralism of course generates the birth of the "individual-I" from the "communal-We". Such a process some argue, was accentuated by the emphasis upon individual private worship over tribal or state religions (Durkheim). Alienation is also caused by the growing secularization and rejection of a godly orientation that Buber describes. Still others suggest the rise of the competitive or achievement method of social interaction over ascription (Feuer) as a cause. Clearly, the latter is compatible with Weber's notion of the rise of the impersonal rule of bureaucratic society.

Closely akin to these ideas is that of the rise of rationalism as a cause of increased alienation (Marcuse). The loss of spontaneity and sense of secure faith have been hastened by the rise of historical thought, logic and scientific measurement. Thus, mystics, conservatives and romantics alike damn the growing mechanization and the loss of a living organic unity in contemporary social relations. They note with dismay the current emphasis upon quantity over quality.

Perhaps the most extensive alienation caused by the advance of civilization is suggested by writers such as Freud. They stress the irreconcilability of the tension between the individual's wants and the demands of society and thus the permanent alienation of man.

A second component of the social causes of alienation is the "anti-industrialists". Such writings range from the damnation of commercialism and usury in general (Medieval religious writers, Marx) to those who attack seemingly uncontrollable and wasteful consumerism (Fromm, Goodman). This anti-industrial orientation is often associated with a hostility to the growth and influence of large cities. Thus, agrarian populists, anarchists and some sociologists such as Simmel are indicative of this position. Associated with the rise of cities is, of course, the rise of large factories and the subsequent decline of the cottage craft industries (Polanyi). The intimacy of work at home could not be replicated in the sweat-shops of early industrialism. Thus, the separation of work from the family can be seen as a major cause of alienation. The increase in uncontrolled and massive machinery as noted by the Luddites and Veblen and the growth of such modern technology as nuclear bombs and computers (Kenniston, Stojanovic, Toffler, Beatniks, pacifists and students) suggest that machinery

and technology may also be causes of certain forms of alienation. Finally, Goodman's warning of the decline of useful and identifiably adult jobs and the subsequent increase in alienation should also be noted as possible causes.

The third major stream of suggested inter-personal causes is that of class society. Here one can note the strong influence of Marx who has suggested that not only is the division of labour an initial cause of alienation, but this is also accentuated by private property, market induced business cycles, commodity fetishism and ruling class control over the coercive state. The theme of coercion, albeit devoid of a class orientation, as a cause of alienation is pursued by Etzioni and Gamson. Fromm, greatly influenced by Marx, also focuses upon the psychological secondary causes of alienation in class society -- symbiotic inter-personal relations and the growth of false wants.

The final cluster of social causes are those associated with the mass society. This can range from such items as the growth of centralized, impersonal mass media (Mills, Nettler) to sheer over-communication (Geyer, Durkheim). The loss of mediating units such as the family between the individual and the state (Durkheim, Confucius) is a key factor in the rise of alienation and instability. The notion of the dramatic increase in population size transforming previously more personal and intimate social relations into mere psychic remnants of the former condition is also suggested.

In the literature on suggested solutions, if any, to alienation one can broadly list items under two headings. These two groups differ on such questions as: Is the resolution of alienation to be a total collective act or a number of separate and independent individual acts? Are the causes of alienation related systematically to each other¹ or not?² Those who write of large scale alienation usually

1. Svitak, Man and His World, p.132.

2. Feuer, Marx and the Intellectuals, p.86.

suggest grand-scale restructuring of society. Such normative theories suggest the existence of past and present fragmented societies and the need to re-align social relations. Examples of such writers are Marx, Fromm, Riesman, Goodman, Buber, Tillich, Erikson and May. Those writers who suggest more individually oriented solutions are frequently associated with more empirical techniques. Examples of these are Merton and Miller.

Focusing on the latter category, one notes the emphasis is on raising higher consciousness through individual action. Means of such individual re-integration or fusion can take the form of art (Bohemians), religion (mysticism), creative work (Veblen), hobbies, play, leisure and innovation (Merton).

Focusing on societal rectitude and re-integration one notes the former group suggests the need for societal change since the condition is one of a shared collective fate. Solutions range from new re-invigorated humanistic values (Fromm, Buber) to social revolution (Marx). Marx suggests that classes must be abolished through socialization of the means of production. Others suggest the importance of job rotation and role reversal as a means to greater communication and thus understanding (Volvo management).

The tenth and final means of classifying the literature on alienation is by analyzing the term "alienation". Is it essentially a critical term or can it be used in a neutral manner? Those who suggest that it can be largely a value-free scientific term coincide for the most part with those who suggest that alienation describes only individual deviancy. Certain social scientists who attempt to devise scales to measure individual alienation are examples.

Others who suggest the term is largely critical and polemical tend to be more societally orientated in their explanations (Fromm). There can be little doubt that if one focuses upon small numbers of individuals as being alienated one arrives at less critical conclusions than when one surmises that large segments or all of society is alienated. Thus, the term, depending upon the size of the group to which one applies the term, can be either highly critical or less so.

The only certain aspect of the alienation literature is its

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vastness (Geyer) and its apparent popularity in usage to the point that some such as Schacht¹ suggest the term is now a fetish word. What is also evident, however, is that there is no single theory of alienation but rather a number of theories. It seems likely that this fact will change little in the immediate future. Thus, the likelihood of an objective usage and measurement for the term alienation is also small since "All theories of alienation have a hidden ideological character, because they argue in favour of their conception of man".² The continued prevalence of diversity and highly normative positions are therefore the only certainties in the alienation literature.

1. Schacht, Alienation, p.245.

2. Svitak, Man and His World, p.135.

A Brief Summary of the Review of the Alienation Literature

In summary, one can note a number of significant findings and assertions in the alienation literature that are most germane to this study. For example, three key authors -- Hegel, Marx and Durkheim -- write at length on alienation and in so doing allude to either syndicalist-like corporate collectivist systems or workers' self-management. The linkage between alienation and workers' self-management is an important one which more recently a number of both Marxist (e.g. E. Mandel, E. Fromm, V. Rus and S. Stojanovic) and non-Marxist writers (e.g. A. Tannenbaum) have also recognized.

In addition, the mass society theorists (e.g. Kornhauser) and the findings of Neal and Seeman, confirming the need for mediating structures between the individual and the state, can be applied from the general societal reference to the more specific. One can thus infer the possible utility of workers' self-management structures fulfilling such an ameliorating linkage within the factory sub-system.

It has also been suggested that there is a strong need for congruent democratic and self-regulating conditions in sub-systems if the systemic level is to be a stable democracy (Kornhauser, Zurcher). Some such as Etzioni, Gamson and Rhodes have suggested that power is a major cause of alienation and that only more democratic, more egalitarian and more norm-orientated structures will reduce alienation to its lowest possible level.

A number of authors have suggested that the problem of work is central to alienation (e.g. Marx, Freud, Marcuse, Reich, Fromm and Erikson) while others have suggested that work alienation may be less generally significant than previously thought (Seeman, Dubin).

Persons such as Blauner and Marx have suggested that technical factors in the division of labour may affect the types of organizational forms and hence alienation. Some such as Durkheim and Nettler have suggested that cultural changes rather than the structure of work might be the major cause of alienation. Still others such as Hegel, Sartre and Fromm more pessimistically suggest that aspects of alienation are ontological and rooted in the human situation.

What can be derived from these hypotheses is that the theme of

alienation focuses upon important questions about society and the individual's life within such a society. In dealing with the topic of alienation, questions are raised concerning dehumanization, exploitation, irrationality and purposelessness in contemporary society. A considerable number of socialists have extensively utilized the concept of alienation as a way of expressing their misgivings about contemporary capitalist society and through such a term have proposed their views of an improved future society.¹ One shall shortly turn to a number of specific socialist hypotheses concerning alienation and workers' self-managing socialism but before doing so one should briefly review certain other key concepts and the literature on the sociology of work.

1. See K. Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia (N.Y., 1936) for a discussion of the socialist's view of a new society.

"Work is the basis of man's social existence".¹

"Play and work are man's most essential and authentic activity in which he directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously, expresses his inner being. This expressing is nothing but the transfer of subjectivity to the world of objects. In both play and labour the individual loses a part of his subjective self in the other, the world of things. What the tool is to the labourer the toy is to the playing child."²

"Industrialization divorces the family from society. The place of business moves away from the place of residence."³

"There is a very close link between socialist and nationalist agitation in that both aim in different ways at the political integration of the mass previously excluded from participation in pre-industrial societies".⁴

"Organization is the form of mediation between theory and practice".⁵

"... the modern large industrial corporation is the representative institution of our society ...".⁶

"An industrial society is beyond both Capitalism and Socialism. It is a new society transcending both".⁷

"The structure of authority at the work place is probably the most significant -- and salient -- structure of that kind with which the average man finds himself in daily contact".⁸

"... bureaucracy is one specific instance of the general process of alienation".⁹

1. W. Reich, The Mass Psychology of Fascism, p.285.

2. D. Regin, Sources of Cultural Estrangement, p.66.

3. P. Drucker, The New Society (N.Y., 1949), p.13.

4. R. Bendix, Nation-Building and Citizenship (N.Y., 1964), p.87.

5. G. Lukacs, History and Class Consciousness (Cambridge, 1968), p.299.

6. P. Drucker, Concept of the Corporation (Boston, 1946), p.208.

7. P. Drucker, The New Society, p.351.

8. G. Almond and S. Verba, The Civic Culture (Boston, 1965), p.294.

9. N. Mouzellis, Organization and Bureaucracy (Chicago, 1967), p.9.

Review of the Sociology of Work Literature

In focusing upon writings in the realm of sociology of work that are relevant for this study one can note three broad sub-categories. First, there is the theorization about the aspects of work that transcend different societies. General works on anthropology, sociology of work, play and leisure, and psychology are representative of this perspective. A second framework focuses upon the organizational forms of work¹ and work distribution. This emphasis reflects the significant contribution of Weber² to the field of public administration, yet also includes the growing scepticism of certain assumptions of the bureaucratic model.³ A third framework is that of hypothesis testing through the use of case studies and empirical techniques such as survey questionnaires. This approach until recently had sampled largely only the United States and Western Europe.⁴

The question of work has had varied attitudes over the years, but few have denied its significance or impact.⁵ Indeed, the centrality

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1. See D. Silverman, The Theory of Organizations (London, 1974).
 2. Please note that Weber has been previously discussed in some detail and thus will not be covered in this chapter. See instead the chapter reviewing the philosophical literature on alienation.
 3. Some questions raised are: 'Is bureaucratic rule usually impersonal and detached?', 'Is division of labour always clear?', 'How free are leaders to choose?', 'Are both the amount of authority and the amount of power that a leader possesses the same irrespective of the social system?'. 'How necessary and functional is centralized and unified decision-making?'.
 4. This is a problem which this study has attempted to begin to reduce.
 5. Even Dubin qualifies his initial scepticism about the centrality of work to the individual.

of work to life has been suggested in that when most men are asked 'Who are you?' they often respond with reference to their job. Is work then key to a person's identity as Goodman and Kenniston have suggested? The question of the possible benefits of labour, possibly even all labour, have been raised by authors. Some have even suggested that physical labour and mild fatigue are necessary to maintain muscle tone and provide therapeutic cycles of tension and relaxation. Indeed, one notes the use of labour amongst the mentally ill as therapy, the recognition of the stabilizing effect of labour by both Christian and Zen monastic orders, and the use of labour in closed social systems such as prisons. All of the above, then, suggest the possible utility of labour in binding humans closer to reality (Freud), providing institutionalized outlets for aggression and frustration, and generally stabilizing the individual¹. Certainly the findings that loss of a job is frequently more psychologically upsetting than the death of a spouse², the unusually high mortality rate within a year of retirement³, and that unemployed persons are often emotionally unstable⁴ suggest the importance of work to man's health and well being.⁵ Whether work ought to be totally abolished is thus questioned by such findings.

If work is such a central activity then one must also pose the question 'How important is a good work environment for human

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1. D. Riesman and W. Bloomberg, "Work and Leisure: Fusion or Polarity" in S. Nosow and W. Form, Man, Work and Society (N.Y., 1962).
 2. R. Hamilton, Affluence and the French Worker in the Fourth Republic (Princeton, 1967), p.3.
 3. G. Friedmann, The Anatomy of Work (N.Y., 1961), p.131.
 4. Ibid., p.128.
 5. A second indication of this is that neurotics are often found to be less satisfied with their work. Jahoda provides the following description of mental health: a rich and varied self-concept, acceptance of one's own shortcomings, growth motivation, the presence of a unifying philosophy of life, a sense of self control and self respect, independence, positive social relations and an investment in living. Derived from M. Jahoda, Positive Mental Health (N.Y., 1958) cited in C. Argyris, Integrating the Individual and the Organization (N.Y., 1964), pp.300-307.

satisfaction and growth?¹ Does the fact that most persons spend

1. Indeed, some have questioned whether alienation may be just a pre-occupation of intellectuals. While much of the North American labour movement has shown a proclivity to seek economic goals rather than improved psychological and political conditions, this argument suffers from a number of weaknesses. First, in a number of industrialized nations such as Italy and France, the working class appears to be dissatisfied, alienated and radical. In addition, the activities of labourers in North America in the past were more radical and indicative of alienation than current perceptions frequently suggest. Nevertheless such more radical responses to harsh work conditions were usually violently crushed. See for example K. McNaught and D. Bercuson, The Winnipeg Strike: 1919 (Don Mills, 1974), N. Penner, ed., Winnipeg 1919: The Strikers' Own History of the Winnipeg General Strike (Toronto, 1975) or the Sacco and Vanzetti case in the United States. Secondly, the increased number of labour stoppages suggests any possible past acquiescence may be unlikely to continue. Frequently these stoppages relate to perceived work intensification (i.e. powerlessness over the job rate) caused by mechanization. Thirdly, the growth of radical and critical collectivist political ideas will likely act as a catalyzing force arousing former fragmented unrest and discontent into more organized forms of expression. If the working class becomes increasingly aware that deprivation is a widespread phenomenon, then continued acquiescence may cease. In addition, if trends towards increased growth in the number of professionals and their unionization in advanced industrial societies continue, it is also likely that the demands by such professionals for greater intrinsic rewards such as work autonomy, interesting work and respect will lead to certain transformations in the currently authoritarian corporate structures. Fourthly, certain behaviour of workers in factories is incapable of explanation from the purely economic model of man. Only a social psychological perspective that takes into account alienation can explain acts of industrial sabotage and absenteeism. Fifthly, there is the rather substantial indication that mental health of the workers may be unacceptably low in many cases. Friedmann reports that 17.7% of American draftees in World War Two were rejected for psychological reasons. More recent evidence suggests that heart disease - the cause of one-half of all deaths in the United States - highly correlates to work related factors such as job dissatisfaction, low self-esteem, occupational stress, rapid change in employment, and status incongruity in work and life. Special Task Force to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Work in America (Boston, 1973), pp.79-80. Lastly, it is likely that a major economic recession may radicalize previously alienated but resigned individuals into demanding change. One should note, however, that under such conditions as widespread unemployment, first consideration might be towards only gaining employment rather than improved psychological conditions as well. Thus, under such conditions alienated work may be perceived as undesirable but necessary for employment.

such a predominant number of hours at work affect other aspects of one's life? Or is significance a qualitative factor rather than a merely quantitative feature of the number of hours involved? More importantly, is job dissatisfaction related in any way to societal alienation?¹

Anthropologists in the past have defined man as a tool-maker and by implication one who works with tools. Thus, in offering such a definition, anthropologists seem to suggest the centrality of the concept of work to human existence. In tribal society, work is largely fused with religious and family rituals and thus it is collectivist and largely an habitual and pre-thought activity. In Greek philosophy, work was seen as a curse fit only for slaves, while to the Jews the need to work was seen as being caused by sin and was still, therefore, fundamentally undesirable.² While the early Christian theologians continued to tie work to sin, St. Augustine asserted that monks ought to work and that work could be ennobling as part of the service to God. A key feature of the Medieval period was the continued fusion of work to other activities. To a great degree one's status determined one's work rather than the opposite.³

One can extrapolate from past societies that the masses have not been concerned about the meaning of work but have been doomed to labour. In Protestantism and specifically Calvinism one sees a democratizing of both religion and attitudes to work. All are to share the fate of work and more importantly, work need no longer be a fatalistic and hopeless pursuit for the multitude. In work one

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1. Kornhauser has suggested that those engaged in the most deprived jobs are also the most deprived outside of work. A. Kornhauser, Mental Health in the Industrial Worker: A Detroit Study (N.Y., 1965).
 2. See J. Brown, The Social Psychology of Industry (Harmondsworth, 1954).
 3. No doubt a number of writers would argue that this is so in all class societies. Indeed, one is inclined to agree on this point. Nevertheless, during periods of revolutionary upheaval, when established status patterns are disrupted, this phenomenon of status determining one's work may be mitigated somewhat.

can find salvation through fulfilling God's "holy calling". Such meaningful and desirable labour is, of course, for the select few who choose the correct path to serve God and likewise are chosen by God to serve. Thus, for the most part, Calvinism retains an elitist character and for the majority work will continue to be a mechanical, non-spiritual and non-creative realm.

Having briefly discussed past attitudes on the nature of work, one shall now turn to some leading theories of work organization.¹ A key, albeit dated, approach to the problem of work and factory organization are the pioneering studies by Taylor. Utilizing psychological and physiological techniques he studied the problem of fatigue and its effects upon work efficiency. In his framework he assumed that man in the factory was primarily an economic being who, not naturally inclined to work, works only for the monetary gain. He implicitly assumed that the masses alone were incapable of efficient task resolution, but with the supervision of management, which was guided by scientists, work tasks could be broken down into simplified components. Such fragmentation or horizontal specialization meant that the worker, treated in a child-like fashion, was perceived to be incapable of job definition, work responsibility, and of a growth in personality, knowledge and needs. Order was imposed from above and was based on the planning of science and management. It was to be largely a Hobbesian realm of an authoritarian and centralized rule over standardized and largely powerless atoms. In a typically technological orientation, Taylor asserted that technology would resolve conflict between labour and capital by generating greater wealth through more productive labour. It was inherently, in Taylor's view, a co-operative plus-sum game, but one directed by scientists.

There were clearly a number of difficulties with the exclusively rationalistic orientation of Taylor's prescription. In perceiving in the

1. Silverman has outlined five general approaches to work organization theory: human relations, organizational psychology, socio-technical systems, structural functionalism, and decision-making theory. D. Silverman, The Theory of Organizations (London, 1974), p.217. I will focus primarily upon the first three and the scientific management school.

liberal mode that the individual in isolation was the basic unit of analysis, he omitted from analysis important group interaction.¹ His economic orientation also ignored important informal and social aspects of labour. Perhaps most unacceptable was Taylor's attitude that the worker is largely a living - yet standardized and interchangeable - tool. Humans were seen as a mechanical means of producing physical objects. As such, they were not seen as varied, unique and changeable beings capable of self-sought goals. Such monotonous and stifling conditions meant that the worker would not be challenged by intellectually and emotionally demanding jobs. As a result, alienated behaviour such as withdrawal in the form of excessive daydreaming, absenteeism and employee turn-over² and rebellion in the form of stealing, waste, slowdowns and sabotage were present.³

Equally important, Taylor's recommendation led to an increased dependency and thus powerlessness of the workers. By minimizing the skills necessary for most factory jobs, fewer opportunities for more skilled jobs were available and thus upward social mobility was severely restricted. As a result, the number of skilled employees in society was less than would emerge through alternate forms of work organization. Thus, the growth of an unorganized unskilled mass public was encouraged by Taylor's proposals. His emphasis upon rigid centralized technical control not surprisingly led to the continued growth of an equally centralized counter organization -- the union.

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1. Note the similarity to D. Defoe's Robinson Crusoe. For a fascinating and detailed account of the economic and political assumptions of liberalism in Robinson Crusoe see S. Hymen, "Robinson Crusoe and The Secret of Primitive Accumulation", Monthly Review Sept. 1971, pp.11-36.
 2. Note that "In an impressive fifteen-year study of aging, the strongest predictor of longevity was work satisfaction. The second best indicator was overall 'happiness'". Work in America, p.77.
 3. It is likely that given today's youths' change in attitude towards authority such a technique is increasingly unsatisfactory.

A final criticism of Taylor's technique is his misunderstanding of the role of science in human behaviour and his failure to recognize that science alone is an insufficient organizational principle to determine social relations even in the factory.

The experiments in 1929-1932 by Mayo and associates largely founded the human relations approach to industrial organization. Strongly influenced by developments in psychology, Mayo focused upon the informal aspects of the factory social interaction.

In Aristotelean fashion he argued that man did not exist alone but was a social being in which emotional group "sentiments" prevail over strict rational calculation.¹ Indeed, the key unit for social analysis is not the atomized individual but rather the extended social group of the work team. The type and amount of interaction within this group and between the groups and management dramatically affects production output. In Mayo's assumption that the relationship between management and the work team need contain little conflict, one can observe his belief that factory social harmony is possible and that factory interaction can be largely a plus sum game. Mayo's empirical findings that production consistently rose² and that the factory "work women" became more active, confident and knowledgeable as they were consulted by management provide a solid rationale for such a co-operative framework and suggest that the notion of co-determination may be a useful and viable organizational form of production.

In some ways similar to Taylor, Mayo stressed that enlightened management was both the most humane and the most productive managerial style. In a more democratic and soft style of leadership the excessive centralization and coercion of earlier managerial techniques such as Taylor's, however, are rejected. In their place is an emphasis on

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1. Note the similarity to Selznick's notion of communal values in the factory.
 2. E. Mayo, The Human Problem of an Industrial Civilization (N.Y., 1935), p.63.

consultation and greater communication by management with the workers so as to explain the reasons for and to induce worker acceptance of and support for policies. The stress, then, is less on detailed supervision and more upon the worker's internalizing of managerial goals and self-control. The belief in the possibility of social peace through a greater amount of communication at all levels suggests the notion of an active communication-system that allows for greater individual variation and autonomy.

The problems and criticisms directed towards Mayo's framework are relevant to most of the human relations school. The first is their psychological preoccupation with communication patterns and their de-emphasis of the political issues of power and coercion. Their conclusions are largely reformist pro-management since they simply offer a new style of management that at best appears as humane co-optation and at worst as enlightened despotism. Above all they largely ignore the issue of larger societal conflict that may be both fundamentally irresolvable and which may greatly intrude into the factory sub-system.¹ Thus, a coercive state structure and an inequalitarian property ownership pattern are for the most part ignored while the informal associations within the factory are stressed. Their focus, then, is on a realm in which power seems to be insignificant.²

A neo-human relations theme advocating participatory management can be seen in the writings of authors such as R. Likert, W. Bennis, D. McGregor and C. Argyris. In part influenced by the psychological

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1. In fairness one should point out that Mayo does recognize aspects of the outside social values and factors influencing factory relations. Indeed, in noting the problem of anomie in contemporary cities he states: "It is probable that the work a man does represents his most important function in the society; but unless there is some sort of integral social background to his life, he cannot even assign a value to his work". E. Mayo, Human Problems, p.131. The sociologist Warner also focuses on the societal input upon the factory sub-system.
 2. One could entitle the contrasting perspectives on coercive power and the inevitability of conflict as the "Mayoist" versus the "Marxist" viewpoint.

writings of Maslow, they have stressed the notion that activities ought to lead to continued growth in self-initiative and an adult-like orientation.¹ Their criticism of much of business organization is aptly summarized by Blumberg's comment that "The main thrust of the autocratic organization is to drive the mature adult back into childhood".² Instead of centralized paternalism, authors such as Likert stress an altered style of supervision -- the participatory³ -- which is both more humane and efficient.⁴ In the participatory system new forms of social relationships are possible without the abolition of private property. In place of coercion, conflict and extreme hierarchical supervision, Likert and others suggest the need for persuasion, recognition of mutual interdependence⁵ and the need to allow for self-control. The result is that the sense of effective and non-conflictual communication will increase as will the sense of responsibility⁶ and influence by all persons.⁷ In short it is a proposal for the gradual unfolding of an integrated system based

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1. C. Argyris, "The Individual and Organization: An Empirical Test", Administrative Science Quarterly Sept. 1959, p.147. As is the case of self-estrangement, a weakness of this orientation is the difficulty of validating the notion of self-actualization, let alone similar personality needs across polities. See C. MacLelland, The Achieving Society (N.Y., 1968) for a discussion of varying achievement needs.
 2. P. Blumberg, Industrial Democracy: The Sociology of Participation (London, 1968), p.131.
 3. Likert outlines the following types of supervision: directive (hierarchical); laissez-faire (little supervision at all), participatory (joint direction of communication and mutual respect). R. Likert, New Patterns of Management (N.Y., 1961).
 4. It is more efficient in part because individuals cease to learn the maximum possible if overly threatened. See B.F. Skinner for an elucidation.
 5. D. McGregor, The Human Side of Enterprise (N.Y., 1960), p.159.
 6. Ibid., pp.157-58.
 7. For example Rosner reports that "Communication between superiors and subordinates tends to be high where participation of workers in decision making is high". Rosner, "Self-Management in Kibbutz Industry: Organizational Patterns and Psychological Effects", Participation Vol.4, p.97.

on mutual trust and responsiveness and which is essentially a co-operative plus-sum game. Professionals are less autocratic rulers and more resource personnel. In such a system the job will take on greater value to the worker since he will, perhaps even for the first time, identify to a greater degree with the goals of the enterprise community.¹

The criticisms of this approach, as with the human relations school of Mayo, is that as long as private ownership prevails it will substantially limit the possible range in participation and sense of community. As Mann suggests, the management/owners will cede money but seem unlikely to abdicate their basic coercive power.² Participatory management, therefore, is open to the charge that it is less democratic management and more public relations management which underneath the friendly exterior is still inherently authoritarian. It is, these critics suggest, a system of pseudo-participation, mobilization, manipulation and coercive persuasion. Indeed, as one junior Canadian executive stated to me privately, 'How can there be an honest use of T-groups when your boss is present? How can you complain and express doubts about him and the factory and not realize that he will remember it in the day-to-day factory operations?' In short, the talk of the "company team", of "selling workers on new progressive ideas", will frequently indicate that a new form of alienated capitalist factory relations have emerged. It is a more subtle use of subliminal psychological techniques but the underlying goals of factory production remain unchanged. Amidst the rhetoric of self-actualization, the company continues to vigorously and relentlessly pursue its primary goal of production for profit

1. See G. Friedmann, Anatomy of Work, p.90, for a similar point.

2. M. Mann, Consciousness and Action Among the Western Working Class (London, 1973), p.32. One does note, however, that some continental European countries such as Sweden, Denmark and West Germany, where social-democratic parties are influential, might be able to limit certain aspects of managerial power. See "Soon everyone will be boss in Swedish factories", The Citizen, October 18, 1975, Ottawa.

maximization.¹ As Whyte and others have noted, the major effect of participatory management may not be "new human relations" in the factory, but rather the dulling of subjective class consciousness.

A number of writers such as Woodward and Blauner² have focused upon factory social systems and the variation caused by changes in the level of technology. These writers reject the notion that small group interaction levels are sufficient for analysis and that a single best organizational framework is possible. Indeed, Woodward suggests that since the problems and needs of each level of technology vary there are three characteristic social structures that seem suited to a corresponding level of technology. The three levels are unit production, mass production and process production. The unit production system is oriented to the production of a few unique items or batches (e.g. modern power turbine) and thus innovation in production is necessary. Such a system will be marked by extensive feedback between planners and producers with the social system characterized as an organic and flexible structure geared to a specific contract sale. The mass production system (e.g. making of bolts) is one in which a large number of relatively simple products are produced over a long period of time. Thus, roles and jobs are able to stabilize and become clear. Such a stable system, therefore, permits a highly bureaucratized mechanical structure to unfold. Continuous process production (e.g. oil processing) in some ways resembles unit production in that flexibility to highly unique situations is crucial and thus necessitates a different social system than exists in mass production. In continuous process organization, jobs are less

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1. Indeed, it should be little surprise that one reason for managerial interest in the human relations technique is that "Studies by Coch and French (1948), French (1950), Lawrence and Smith (1955), Morse and Reimer (1956), Vroom (1960), and many others have found that participation leads to greater output". T. Mitchell, "Motivation and Participation: An Integration", Participation Vol.4, p.158. That is to say, limited participation is good for business!
 2. For a discussion of Blauner see the chapter reviewing the empirical literature on alienation.

routinized and require greater level of skill.

A criticism of this approach is that technological determinism ought not to be overly stressed. If there is a willingness to redesign jobs and alter factory social relations then these can occur. A second qualification of technological determinism is that the workers to a considerable degree can define their environment by the interpretation that they place on events.¹

An interesting off-shoot of the socio-technical framework is the numerous authors such as Touraine and Denitch who suggest that current technological changes are generating a new social system in which a new, more skilled working class is emerging. Such a growth in the number of professionals results in new aspirations, higher consciousness and greater efficacy to transform traditional authoritarian structures into more pluralistic systems that are compatible with the professional employees' desires for greater job autonomy and self-determination.² There is then a call to overcome the meaninglessness, social isolation and powerlessness in factory affairs. It is a desire to occupy the factories and to displace the director's dictatorship with assembly rule.³

Simon and other authors, influenced by cybernetics, have in Weberian fashion focused upon the rational decision-making aspect of organizations. While recognizing the problems of miscommunication, misperception, lack of information, resource shortages and personal idiosyncracies, they have nevertheless emphasized the logical components of factory relations — purposive goals, problem solving,

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1. One acknowledges the difficulty such self-defining of the environment can create for social scientists seeking to establish objective measures of phenomenon.
 2. Etzioni's comments seems an appropriate affirmation of this position: "White-collar industries reveal an elite structure closer to that of normative organizations, whereas the elite structure of blue-collar industries more closely resembles that of coercive organizations". A. Etzioni, A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations (N.Y., 1971), p.113.
 3. Note that the universities can represent the preliminary battle ground in such a power confrontation. See H. Marcuse, An Essay on Liberation (Boston, 1969), passim. Increasingly, the unionization and militancy of the government employees suggests another group which could fit into this scenario.

chain of command and stability in roles.

While a plurality of possible perspectives for analysis are useful, the problems of this approach to factory organization relations are rather substantial and have been previously discussed with reference to other rationalistic orientations. Briefly, they are the following: the important non-rational elements in human behaviour, the over-emphasis upon the leaders in the factory social system, the treatment of the majority of rank and file employees as simply elements and units in the grand design of the factory planners, and lastly, the focus upon high level communication patterns while largely ignoring the problems of power and superordination/subordination that confront the average worker in rather stark terms.

With this overview of certain organization theories in mind, one can now turn to the authors who focus upon hypothesis testing through case studies and survey questionnaires. The hypotheses largely tested and relevant to this study are: 'How extensive are job dissatisfaction and work alienation?' and 'Are classes and class conflict vanishing in advanced industrial societies?'

A major study conducted by Goldthorpe and associates attempted to study in detail the social attitudes and relations of the affluent British workers in the new industrial towns. They were particularly interested in testing the embourgeoisement hypothesis that affluent workers would increasingly aspire to a middle class life style and in so doing would become de-radicalized and thus would end the class polarization in advanced technological society.¹

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1. Goldthorpe summarizes the two class frameworks in the following way:
 - a) the traditional working class perspective is one in which society is seen in dichotomous and unbridgeable terms, the goal is largely one of defensively attempting to maintain a certain living standard, an emphasis upon immediate gratification, a sense of fatalism concerning the future, a collectivist orientation as the best means for protection and improvement in one's condition and an aspiration to own material possessions such as a house and a car
 - b) the traditional middle class perspective is one of a hierarchical society which is open and involves a number of rungs in an accessible social ladder, optimism about the prospects for social advancement, a futuristic and individualistic orientation. J. Goldthorpe et al., The Affluent Worker in the Class Structure (Cambridge, 1969), pp.118-120.

Despite the decline in voting for the Labour Party and in union commitment¹ in recent years, Goldthorpe largely rejects the embourgeoisement thesis² in that he found that affluence did not transform the workers' world view and life style into a new class pattern.³ While income improved, the status (i.e. class) was unaffected. Indeed, he reports that when compared to the white collar and middle class individuals the affluent workers were less financially secure, worked longer and more irregular hours but did achieve wage parity, had a lower belief in the prospects of promotion⁴ and had exaggerated and unrealistic hopes for their children's success. Perhaps most

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1. J. Goldthorpe, Class Structure, p.165. Note that the study took place in the mid-sixties. This finding may not still be valid.
 2. Ibid., pp.157, 66, 84.
 3. Ibid., pp.74, 96, 61. One major qualification to this is the affluent workers' propensity to see class as largely the more open quantitative amount of money rather than in qualitative and closed terms. Ibid., pp.147, 153.
 4. Ibid., p.73. Argyris notes that the number of promotions into management is small. C. Argyris, Integrating the Individual, p.73. See also E. Chinoy, Automobile Workers and the American Dream (Boston, 1965), p.44, E. Friedmann, The Anatomy of Work, p.6. Indeed, one can note that there seem to be two ladders of advancement: one for white collar employees and one for blue collar workers. In the case of the former, they enter the social hierarchy fairly high in the social pyramid. The blue collar worker, in contrast, beginning near the bottom, often can rise no higher than a foreman. A diagrammatic expression of these phenomena might resemble the following:

See J. Porter, The Vertical Mosaic (Toronto, 1966) and W. Clements, The Canadian Corporate Elite (Toronto, 1975) for an elucidation of this problem but at an even higher level in the social structure.

importantly, the social segregation of the two classes and cultures continued unabated¹, for intra-class contact proved to be more extensive than inter-class interaction. Indeed, the blue collar worker was more oriented to the family, home and consumption than the more active and mobile white collar employees.²

Turning to the specific realm of factory social relations, Goldthorpe observed that participation levels were low in union affairs³, in factory organized leisure activities⁴, and in close personal friendships within the enterprise.⁵ The non-involvement in factory relations can be seen not only in the workers' preference for home centered activities but in his preference in 54% of cases for infrequent interaction with his foreman.⁶

On the question of job satisfaction and work alienation, Goldthorpe recognizes that it may be difficult to admit a dislike

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1. J. Goldthorpe, Class Structure, pp.162-63, 109, 114, 88.
 2. Ibid., pp.90, 92. In this sense the working class is the bulwark of traditional family life.
 3. Ibid., p.99.
 4. J. Goldthorpe, The Affluent Worker: Industrial Attitudes and Behaviour (Cambridge, 1968), p.92. The necessity of shift work clearly lowers the possibility for participation for many workers. J. Goldthorpe, Class Structure, p.63.
 5. J. Goldthorpe, Industrial Attitudes and Behaviour, p.59. Indeed, only 11% reported having their fellow work mates to their home once a month and only between one-third to one-half reported having close friendships with nearby workers.
 6. Ibid., p.66. C. Argyris, Integrating the Individual, p.77, notes that this low level of participation is also reflected outside the factory in the low participation in the organized life of the community.

of one's job without threatening one's self-respect.¹ Certainly the worker can vary the significance of his or her interpretation of the work situation and thus how he or she responds, if at all, to such conditions. While technology may set broad parameters as Woodward has suggested, one should also note that the worker defines the environment through his attitude. Goldthorpe's suggestion that wants are considerably culturally defined and not a psychological constant² seems therefore sound.

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1. J. Goldthorpe, Industrial Attitudes and Behaviour, p.11. Indeed, if work is central to one's life and identity, one might argue that accurate self-recognition of an unpleasant and unsatisfactory working condition may be unlikely. If work is less central to the workers' lives as Dubin and Goldthorpe both report then this problem may be less significant than originally thought by some. If so, then research on the subject correspondingly becomes less significant as well. In either case, one must acknowledge the difficulty of the linkage between attitudes and behaviour. In this sense, complaining about a job may be part of the worker's identity and perhaps have less negative implications than one might otherwise expect. Indeed, one worker's reply seems appropriate: "It wouldn't be a job if I liked it". How much complaining about work is due to intrinsic dissatisfaction and how much is due to peer group pressure is perhaps difficult to discern. On the other hand, peer group pressure to complain can generate a sensation of deprivation. See the extensive literature on the mirror-image self for an elucidation. Perhaps a more indirect and thus possibly a more reliable measure of job satisfaction would be whether one would choose one's job over again. Indeed, it has been recently reported that a substantial number of workers indicate job satisfaction while wanting to change jobs. Work in America, p.14.
 2. J. Goldthorpe, Industrial Attitudes and Behaviour, p.178. Mann echoes this point when he suggests that reformers, unlike revolutionaries, to some degree become reconciled to deprivation. M. Mann, Consciousness and Action p.37. One can add that if participation is not seen as a desirable goal for labour, attempts at workers' self-management are unlikely to succeed.

The fact that 67% of the manual workers reported that they felt teamwork was possible and that a low degree of conflict between management and labour was both desirable and achievable¹ suggests that the notion of class conflict does not seem to pervade factory social relations and thus does not radicalize or mobilize workers' feelings of frustration towards seeking revolutionary change. This is important because 41% of the workers found their jobs monotonous² and 53% preferred some previous job.³ Work dissatisfaction seems substantial but is not channeled in any politicized form; however, it is a reservoir of discontent that could become crucial, as in the case of a strike at one of the factories shortly after the survey was administered.⁴ The lack of intrinsic satisfaction and the substitution of wages has meant that an instrumental orientation prevails in work attitudes and that, therefore, work cannot be perceived as central to their lives except as a means of income.⁵ Pay is then the

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1. J. Goldthorpe, Industrial Attitudes and Behaviour, p.73. Hamilton, in contrast, found that 46% of French workers were more likely to perceive labour-management relations as hostile. R. Hamilton, Affluence and the French Worker, p.77. See also H. Mann, Consciousness and Action, pp.35-36 for a similar comment.
 2. J. Goldthorpe, Industrial Attitudes and Behaviour, p.18.
 3. Ibid., p.34. Only 18% of the workers in a steel mill said that they would choose their job again. E. Friedmann and R. Havighurst, "Work and Retirement", in S. Nosow and W. Form, Man, Work and Society, p.42. Friedmann lists the following reasons for workers preferring other jobs: more variety in work, able to determine the pace of work, less physically tiring. G. Friedmann, The Anatomy of Work, p.27. That is to say largely intrinsic reasons are cited. See also J. Goldthorpe, Industrial Attitudes and Behaviour, p.14.
 4. Indeed, the fact that 48% felt that the unions and workers should have greater say in management might be interpreted as a reservoir of discontent. Ibid., p.109.
 5. Note how this differs from Morse's and Weiss's finding that 80% of the workers sampled said that they would continue working even if they won enough money that it was no longer necessary. N. Morse and R. Weiss, "The Function and Meaning of Work and the Job" in S. Nosow and W. Form, Man, Work and Society, p.30. They also report that 80% of employees indicated that they were satisfied or very satisfied with their job. Ibid., p.32.

major commitment to the job¹ and life is sharply dichotomized between work and non-work.

The low interaction with fellow workers (i.e. recognition of the social aspects of labour)² and the stress on an economic attitude to work is, Goldthorpe suggests in Marx-like fashion, an indicator of the workers' alienation.³ Indeed, Goldthorpe characterizes the situation as the following, "... the experience of work ... devoid of 'intrinsic reward, the privatization of out-of-work life, and the prevalence of 'commodity' consciousness may all be taken as indicative of a condition of profound alienation and unfreedom within the 'consumer society' ..."⁴. Technology and affluence have not led to the integration of the affluent worker into middle class mores. Instead, hierarchical class society remains and utilitarian attitudes rather than self-fulfilling attitudes to work prevail amongst the affluent workers.

As is frequently the case when an attempt is made to test an hypothesis in a different environment, Hamilton's study of the French working class reveals substantially more radical conclusions⁵ than Goldthorpe's study of the British worker. Hamilton emphatically

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1. J. Goldthorpe, Industrial Attitudes and Behaviour, pp.144, 38. Indeed, for one-quarter of the respondents it is the only reason for staying at the job. Ibid., p.81. Note how this contrasts with a more recent study conducted in the United States (Work in America, p.13) in which it was found that the most important feature of one's job was interesting work. Morse and Weiss also noted the important social aspect of work in alleviating loneliness.
 2. Ibid., p.62.
 3. Ibid., p.155. Also J. Goldthorpe, Class Structure, p.182.
 4. J. Goldthorpe, Class Structure, p.165. Note the contrast of this position with the conclusion in the earlier work. See J. Goldthorpe, Industrial Attitudes and Behaviour, p.84.
 5. R. Hamilton, Affluence and the French Worker, *passim*.

rejects the embourgeoisement thesis. He notes that,

Claims about workers becoming middle class have been based on a very special selection of the evidence, indicating primarily worker-middle-class equalities found away from the job. The stress has been on identity in consumption standards ... there is no consideration of the work life, that is, of the most important hours in a typical weekday. In this respect there are major inequalities. The working-class jobs are characterized by dirt, burdensome labour, and by authoritarian, hierarchical and punitive social relationships. Middle-class jobs have cleanliness, ease and flexibility of tasks and procedures, and relative democracy in decision-making¹

More specifically he found the following additional negative features of blue collar labour: low and insecure wages, low chances for mobility, isolation from the rest of society, less opportunity and likelihood to travel, low inter-class interaction² and low status.

In terms of the merging consumption levels hypothesis Hamilton states: "Workers are sometimes said to make more 'unrealistic' wage demands than do the presumably more moderate and 'adjusted' middle class. This study provides little support for that thesis".³ He asserts that the real push for greater benefits and rising expectations

1. Ibid., pp.289-290. See also pp.124, 86.

2. This can particularly be seen in that 78% of male worker's wives labour in working class jobs. Ibid., p.91.

3. Ibid., p.152. Indeed, he also criticizes another stereotype in his comment that "The middle-class image that indolent workers pose a special problem of work motivation is, according to these data, a false one The aims of most workers appear to lie in the direction of more work and possibly enhanced consumption rather than in an escape from work and its discontents". Ibid., p.52. In addition, Friedmann notes that there exists a strong tendency to finish interrupted jobs. G. Friedmann, The Anatomy of Work, p.57. Roberts also dismisses another common misperception about labourers -- the paramount number of days of lost production due to workers on strike. When the data for other causes of lost production in Britain (1970) are analyzed, this argument seems to be rather weak for it ranked fourth after sickness (300 million days), unemployment (200 million days), accidents (24 million days) and finally strikes (10 million days). E. Roberts, Workers' Control (London, 1973), p.81. See also A. Gater et al. (A FEP Report), Attitudes in British Management (Harmondsworth, 1965), p.66.

is from the white collar employees¹ and that therefore "... the gap between the two classes increased continuously over the course of a lifetime".²

Turning to job dissatisfaction and work alienation, Hamilton notes that only a small proportion of workers dislike their work.³ Such job dissatisfaction increases slightly with plant size (12% in the smallest to 21% on the largest)⁴. Correspondingly, sense of injustice and radicalism increase with plant size⁵ suggesting that the linkage between specific dissatisfaction and larger dissatisfaction seem to be valid.

Analyzing for class Hamilton notes that the unskilled had the highest sense of unhappiness,⁶ job dislike,⁷ and sense of

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1. R. Hamilton, Affluence and the French Worker, pp.66, 52.
 2. Ibid., p.154. See also pp.74, 83.
 3. Ibid., p.219. Turner reports that 50% of the workers liked their job well but only 6% liked the company to the same degree. Clearly, specific and general satisfaction in work relations need not vary closely. A. Turner, "Foremen. Jobs and Company", Human Relations No.10, 1957, pp.99-103, cited in A. Etzioni, Complex Organizations, p.304.
 4. Ibid., p.219.
 5. Ibid., pp.206, 207. Mann notes that class consciousness increases with size of factory. M. Mann, Consciousness and Action, p.23.
 6. Ibid., p.101. Specifically he found that the percentage of workers unhappy at 19% versus only 12% for white collar workers and 11% for professionals.
 7. Ibid., p.77. Sixty-four percent of the workers disliked their jobs versus 52% of the white collar employees and 29% of the staff reported that they liked their work somewhat, little or not at all. This is mitigated to some degree by the lowered expectations of the worker as he ages. Ibid., p.80. See also Friedmann, The Anatomy of Work, p.111, Morse and Weiss, "The Function and Meaning of Work", p.35, Argyris, Integrating the Individual, p.74, Chinoy, Automobile Workers, p.49, and Work in America, p.45, for similar findings concerning the workers' lowering aspirations as time passes. When one looks at desire to change jobs as a possible indicator of alienation a more recent study has also found that class differences emerge in that 57% of other employees would choose to change jobs while 76% of blue collar workers would choose to do so. Work in America, p.16. See also Morse and Weiss, "The Function and Meaning of Work", p.34.

injustice.¹ Hamilton thus summarizes that "... these indicators of alienation show the workers as the most dissatisfied class".²

On the question of worker radicalism Hamilton tests and rejects affluence as a factor in conservatism. While 89% of the working class own a house or would like to, actual ownership does not cause a shift to conservatism.³ He also adds that "Degrees of affluence ...

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1. Ibid., p.115. He notes that hostility also increases with length of tenure in the firm. Ibid., p.217.
 2. Ibid., p.61. Such a finding is consistent with the comment by Bonjean that "workers and independent businessmen were more likely than managers to possess those socio-personality characteristics often identified with the concept 'mass', social isolation, normlessness, anomia, low self-esteem, and general alienation". G. Bonjean, "Mass, Class and the Industrial Community: A Comparative Analysis of Managers, Businessmen and Workers", American Journal of Sociology (Sept., 1966), p.155. Lipsitz, in a similar vein, observed that fatalism is higher amongst the less skilled. L. Lipsitz, "Mass Production and Political Attitudes", (preliminary draft of Ph.D. dissertation, Yale 1963) cited by C. Argyris, Integrating the Individual, p.90. Given this fatalism it is thus not surprising that blue collar workers are less career orientated and less regulated by internalized professional norms. See also E. Chinoy, Automobile Workers, p.83; H. Wilensky, "Varieties of Work Experience" in H. Borow, ed., Man in a World of Work (Boston, 1964); and J. Robinson et al., Measures of Occupational Attitudes and Occupational Characteristics (Ann Arbor, 1969). It is a different conclusion than Etzioni provides despite similarity of data. He states, "White collar employees are less alienated than blue collar workers, though not much less so. Most measures show differences of less than twenty percentage points between the two groups". A. Etzioni, Complex Organizations, p.38. See also p.53. W. Whyte has argued, of course, that the shallowness and Babbitry of white collar careerists is indicative of status-anxiety of middle management and of a fundamental alienation that may not emerge in survey questionnaires. See W. Whyte, The Organizational Man (N.Y., 1956).
 3. R. Hamilton, Affluence and the French Worker, pp.170, 172. Clearly, the sense of physical security, financial security, privacy, freedom, status and financial saving are reasons for such a goal. Note the parallel in some ways to the assembly-line workers who, Chinoy notes, have a dream to own a small independent business. This dream of the unskilled for private ownership (ibid., p.84) as a means for freedom and self-assertion, far from being a conservative force, may be indicative of a radicalizing search for a sense of affluence and security in an unstable and impersonal world.

show little consistent relationship with moderate politics".¹

"Moreover, it is possible that a period of affluence actually accentuates some grievances"² in that previously oppressed groups can become systematically aware of past grievances and alternate possibilities through an alternate ideology³ and improved opportunities for awareness. Radicalism, nevertheless, is associated with lower skills⁴. It is also correlated to class in that 41% of the electorate voted communist in 1952.⁵ One can likely infer that this partially correlates to income, even if only indirectly.

Size of city (degree of urbanization and crowding) is correlated to radical leftist voting.⁶ Unemployment seems to be associated with long term radicalism,⁷ and is closely connected to class lines in

1. Ibid., p.281. See also pp.184, 275. He does qualify this position later (p.143). He also adds that "Except among the very poor, income has little affect on the level of sensed injustice". Ibid., p.137.

2. Ibid., p.283.

3. M. Mann, Consciousness and Action, p.36.

4. R. Hamilton, Affluence and the French Worker, pp.9, 134. He also quotes the following comment: "In Germany, Norway and Sweden support for the political left is greater among the skilled than among the semiskilled or the unskilled. On the other hand, the hypothesis has found support in Great Britain, Australia, and the United States". Ibid., p.121 citing S. Lipset and J. Linz, The Social Basis of Diversity in Western Democracy (Stanford, 1956, mimeograph), p.298.

5. Ibid., p.42. He also suggests that second generation workers may be the most radical of all workers (p.287). He also notes that "The 'authoritarianism' imputed to workers ordinarily implies some kind of fixed character structure. Among workers, however, this trait may well be due more to social structure than to character". Indeed, this position is confirmed by the following finding as to who would forbid certain parties:

workers	white collar	civil servants	business	artisans,	farm
				farmers	labour
41%	39%	43%	53%	65%	53%

Ibid., pp.64,65.

6. Ibid., p.264. See also R. Lane, Political Life (N.Y., 1966), p.323.

7. Ibid., p.201.

that "Only a small portion of the white-collar workers have ever been out of work".¹ Radicalism is also strongly related to work dissatisfaction² and thus possibly suggests a confirmation of a key socialist hypothesis that oppressive working conditions will galvanize the working class into revolutionary action. Indeed, Hamilton asserts: "The working class in all countries has been a dispossessed class, not fully a part of the society, citizens with only limited rights. Consequently, workers have tended to be suspicious and hostile to both the formal institutions of government and the persons holding positions in that government".³ Thus, twenty-five percent of the workers reported that they felt all persons in government were dishonest and 39% that they believed that the majority of government officials were hostile to the respondent's own interests.⁴ Hamilton thus concludes that a distinct class society is both perceived and largely exists.

Dubin, in an important but dated study (1952-53), raises a number of questions concerning common assumptions about work. He asks 'is the social significance of work small despite the long hours involved in work?'⁵ and 'do informal primary groups exist in all organizations including the factory as the human relations school suggests?'⁶ Dubin interprets his findings as being rather negative for certain assumptions of the human relations group. He states: "Our research shows that for almost three out of every four industrial workers studied, work and the work place are not central life interests".⁷

1. Ibid., p.198.

2. Ibid., pp.220-221.

3. Ibid., p.56.

4. Ibid., p.59. Note the similarity to political alienation measures developed by persons such as A. Miller in the United States.

5. R. Dubin, "Industrial Workers' Worlds: A Study of the 'Central Life Interests' of Industrial Workers", Social Problems No.3, 1956, p.134.

6. Ibid., p.146.

7. Ibid., p.131. See also p.133.

Indeed, he found that "... only about 10% of the industrial workers perceived their important primary social relationships as taking place at work".¹ He thus concludes that "... primary human relations are much more likely to be located at some place out in the community"² and that "The work place is not the breeding ground of preferred informal human relationships; deliberate efforts to make it so may be relatively ineffectual".³ Dubin thus infers that "... primary human relations take place only in situations where social experience is valued by the individual"⁴ and that the factory does not provide such a social experience.⁵

Apart from the dated aspect of the study which was conducted amidst the "end of ideology era" in the United States, one can suggest that alienated workers, as Marx noted earlier, are unlikely to see work as a central activity.⁶ When, however, one focuses on white collar workers and professionals -- the likely "new working class" -- authors such as Goldthorpe and Argyris have noted that the orientation

1. Ibid., p.132.

2. Ibid., p.140. One important qualification in his findings is that in the workers' technological aspects of life, the factory's impact is central to 63% of the workers. Ibid., pp.138, 140.

3. Ibid., p.136.

4. Ibid., p.137.

5. Ibid., p.135.

6. Indeed, it is unlikely that many people, when free to choose between work related activities and non-work activities, will choose the work items. Dubin found only 15% did so (p.136). What seems important, however, is the recognition by most that there is little actual freedom to choose between work and non-work. Thus, the dichotomy is largely artificially induced by the social scientist.

to work and the factory is much more central in life¹. Whether the latter orientation will be more indicative of future and/or even current attitudes is unknown.

Dubin also seems to modify his stand on the lack of significance of work in the following two passages: "... industrial work may be functional for the society because it sharply etches for the individual some awareness of the division of labour and its resultant interdependence"² and "... the most significant formal organization when judged in terms of standard and typical organizational ties and bonds is the employing one, the industrial company"³. His position begins to resemble in some ways the socialist notion of the factory being the dominant structure in industrial society and the growing interdependence of workers. Both features seem to suggest the insufficiency of private ownership and liberal individualism as responses to such conditions. Indeed, his last proposal hints at a possible socialist-like solution when he states; "Company involvement in a constructive way in community affairs, in the non-work activities of its own employees as well as in a general sense, might be a more significant way to enhance attachment of employees to their company".⁴

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1. Indeed Argyris found that "Eighteen percent of the employees in [department] B but 60% in A [the more skilled department] report they have made very close friendships while working in the plant". C. Argyris, "The Individual and Organization", p.157. G. Miller also found that work was more important to professional personnel than non-professional. G. Miller, "Professionals in Bureaucracy: Alienation Among Industrial Scientists and Engineers" in A. Finifter, Alienation and the Social System, p.169. See also W. Westley, "An Evaluative Model for Worker Participation in Management", Participation Vol.2, p.207. On the other hand many of the new white collar workers are increasingly like clerks — ununionized, not independent and low in skill.
 2. R. Dubin, "Industrial Workers Worlds", p.139.
 3. Ibid., p.137.
 4. Ibid., p.141.

Having reviewed a number of empirical studies concerning the levels of job dissatisfaction and worker alienation in contemporary society, one can now briefly turn to a number of proposals for change. Proposals have been diverse from those who believe in the possibility and desirability of resolving job dissatisfaction.¹ The first response is that of the pre-industrial and post-industrial romantic anti-industrialists who blame the loss of ecological balance and work harmony upon industrialization. Authors such as Lawrence and Ruskin advocate a limited return to traditional craft industries and a more collectivist, albeit conservative, orientation.

A second mode of response to the centralization and dehumanization of capitalist society was the development of unions as the workers' collectivist counter-organization to exploitation² and the insecurity of the market. While unions initially were highly involved in providing a number of social activities for its members, increasingly more complex task differentiation emerged and frequently the union's emphasis largely became one of Gomperism — an emphasis upon financial increments and job security rather than a fundamental transformation of the social setting.³ Perhaps most importantly, the problems of bureaucratic formation were unresolved by such a response.

A number of technological panaceas were also proposed. For example Taylor's scientific management was to establish realistic jobs and thus increase the probability of task completion. Perhaps equally technological in orientation is the emphasis on the growth

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1. See H. Wilson, Democracy in the Work Place (Montreal, 1974) for an evaluation of some of the more important proposals.
 2. Drucker notes the parallel between the union's right to strike and the political theme of the right to rebellion.
 3. Within the unionized factory the ascriptive feature of seniority prevailed over achievement features. The union, however, has been to some degree a buffer and provided some sense of security from the ruthless application of the business cycles and periodic unemployment.

of pleasureable substitute activities in leisure that are generated by technological progress and affluence. Clearly, the notion of the shortened work week, regular and lengthy vacations are suggested by-products of advanced society.

The emphasis upon the compensatory or subliminal benefits of leisure and hobbies assumes that there is little linkage between type of work and type of play and that alienated work will not lead to alienated leisure. Yet the frantic emphasis upon the amusement industry, "mad consumption"¹ and other aspects of wild and destructive weekend behaviour² seem to suggest that work frustration will lead to aggressive and alienated patterns of leisure seeking. High pay may be insufficient to overcome the social consequences of unrewarding work. Nevertheless, the status deprivation that exists within the factory for the worker can to some degree be altered in non-factory related social activities where different skills prevail.

A third technological orientation is the assumption that automation³ will reduce a number of the more fragmented and unpleasant jobs. In the more integrated automated industry the assumption is that the workers, albeit skilled workers, will be in command of the production process and will apply their individual 'wills' to matter in a craftsman-like fashion. In practice, problems of such industries with their small size, sense of social isolation, extensive shift work and periodic crisis orientation also occur.

A number of strategies to resolve job dissatisfaction seem to be attempts at co-opting the workers into capitalist mores and thus into an acceptance of the status quo. In the emphasis upon profit sharing, one can discern the argument that while work may be inherently unpleasant, the residual benefits may vary. Thus, these plans

1. G. Friedmann, The Anatomy of Work, p.113.

2. Ibid., p.105.

3. W. Francois, Automation: Industrialization Comes of Age (N.Y., 1964).

attempt to infuse a sense of profit mindedness, responsibility and identity for the firm on the part of the worker and in return the worker will share any consequent enterprise benefits. It is a limited element of financial participation in that the rewards of cost-reductions are shared by all classes within the factory, at least in the short-run.¹ Despite the dubious long-term benefits of such a system, there have been reports that this innovation has been quite successful.²

A second mode of attempted co-optation of the worker into identification with the capitalist firm is that of participatory management.³ Utilizing the findings of social psychologists that acceptance in decisions is higher once one is involved in the decision-making process, this school of management has stressed the need for greater communication and social learning within the factory as a means to lowering job dissatisfaction and labour-management conflict.⁴ The problem of this approach has largely been previously discussed but is worth re-noting briefly. Applying Gouldner's terms to a different context one can suggest that by rejecting a more "coercive bureaucracy" in favour of a more "representative bureaucracy" there is the danger that a "mock bureaucracy" will unfold. That is to say, 'will the capitalist owners and managers fundamentally cede their power?' Indeed, what would be their motivation to do so?

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1. Note that in the long-run this is not so as new and more demanding work norms are frequently established for the old wage rate.
 2. Work in America, p.107. Its success thus far may be due to the individualism, non-radicalism and non-unionization that characterize many workers in North America.
 3. See an earlier section of this chapter for greater detail on this approach.
 4. P. Blumberg, Industrial Democracy, p.123, states: "satisfaction in work is enhanced or that other generally acknowledged beneficial consequences accrue from a genuine increase in workers' decision-making power".

Other more systemic and political solutions proposed to end job alienation are first the emphasis upon an orderly humanized social plan prevailing over the materialism and chaos of the market. The problems of office fetishism, excessive impersonalization, hierarchical stratification and lack of individual responsibility¹ involved in this alleged solution shall be discussed at length in the following chapter.

A second systemic proposal is co-determination. While institutionalizing elements of labour-capital co-ordination and while apparently successful in some branches of industry in West Germany, this system falters on the problem of lack of full labour control. It gives the appearance of management co-opting labour leaders² and of such labour leaders becoming estranged from rank and file members.

The third systemic attempt to reduce work dissatisfaction is, of course, the introduction of full workers' self-management.³ The emphasis upon collective self-rule as a means of attaining an individual sense of self-mastery and better general work conditions has been tested in this study. How viable the self-management system's assumptions concerning the working class's homogeneity, collective abilities and capacity for intra-class co-operation remain to be analyzed in depth in the forthcoming chapters.

Sub-systemic attempts at alleviating work conditions and improving morale can be seen in the attempt to overcome excessive fragmentation and meaninglessness in labour. Friedmann has argued that over

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1. Note Friedmann's comment that "State Socialism ... does not seem to satisfy his complex desires for participation". The Anatomy of Work, p.157.
 2. Drucker, while ostensibly rejecting comanagement, nevertheless suggests that workers ought to run social functions in the enterprise. P. Drucker, The New Society (N.Y., 1949), pp.282-83. Also the worker ought to participate in certain management tasks so as to learn responsibility and enhance industrial peace. P. Drucker, Concept of the Corporation (Boston, 1946), p.198.
 3. Please note that producer co-operatives seem most analogous to workers' self-management even though, as in the case of the Israeli kibbutzim, they often include elements of collective consumer cooperation.

specialization has resulted in mass society features within the factory social system. By management's excessive simplification of workers' tasks, each worker has become an unskilled, and thus interchangeable, unit characterized by anonymity and insecurity.¹ One proposed method of improvement is job rotation or job enlargement. In introducing variety into the job by changing the worker's location on the assembly line, by the teaching of new skills in varying tasks, by increasing contact with different workers, it is assumed that the atomization of the worker will cease and factory integration will be greater. While there have been indications of certain success with this technique², whether such a technique can overcome fundamental conflicts and alienation in the factory seems unclear.³ Indeed, one can even ask how much support there is for such a technique, for one Yugoslav director stated in a private interview with me that the workers don't like job rotation.

A more recent but increasingly popular method of reducing industrial malaise is the introduction of the decentralized democratic decision-making of the work team. In such a set-up the work team is given a general task and then the team collectively decides the best means of task resolution. The group then shares the planning, the actual labour, the setting of the work rate⁴ and the responsibility for the quality of production output. Through such a process it is hoped that the excessive division of labour will be mitigated, the powerlessness in the lack of control over the work pace will be

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1. G. Friedmann, The Anatomy of Work, pp.75, 2.
 2. Friedmann posits that "Job enlargement has been accompanied by a decrease in the absentee rate and a rise in productivity", Ibid., p.53.
 3. Despite the shuffling of tasks, the official still directs the workers. In this sense, integration is limited by the continued differentiation between the leadership and the rank and file. The cadre, in contrast, leads the workers by moral and political persuasion from below and not by utilitarian, technical and coercive commands from above. For a discussion of the red versus expert approaches to organization see F. Schurmann, Ideology and Organization in Communist China (Berkeley, 1968), pp.67, 234, 236.
 4. Note the emphasis on flexible self-defined work hours as a partial move in this direction.

abolished, the social isolation of the individual workers will be lessened and the size and scope of the parasitic and estranged bureaucracy will be reduced.¹ Indications have been that plants operating under such conditions, as in Topeka, Kansas and Gotenburg, Sweden, have developed greater work morale, higher production levels and improved quality in production. Perhaps most importantly, an element of equality and participation have been re-introduced into a rapidly expanding bureaucratic society.²

The criticism of this technique operating without any other changes is similar to that regarding the participatory management school. Clearly, there are obvious limits to control over decision-making for the workers in the team when they lack formal control over the means of production and long-term enterprise goals. One might plausibly consider, however, that such democratic control at the sub-systemic level may have a gradual spill-over effect into the larger factory system. Indeed, it is Friedmann's assertion, with which I concur, that "Teamwork must be increased at all levels".³ That is to say, at the team or work unit level and at the factory level -- i.e. a fully decentralized workers' self-managing system. Such a variant of communitarian socialism is the only viable long-term solution to alienation and hierarchy in the work place. For centralized workers' self-management or democratic team decision-making by themselves are insufficient. What does seem likely to be of greater probable success is a decentralized and collectivist team at the sub-systemic level operating within a democratic and

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1. Presumably foremen and lower white collar employees will increasingly be engaged in actual direct production as is befitting their dual class status.
 2. Work in America, p.21. For example, less than ten percent of the American labour force is self-employed and independent.
 3. G. Friedmann, The Anatomy of Work, p.157. That is to say, the job and factory social structure need to be redesigned.

collectivist decentralized self-managed factory which in turn operates in a pluralist and collectivist socio-political system. It is, as Dahl once suggested, a system of "Chinese boxes"¹ -- each democratic collective within another.

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1. R. Dahl, After the Revolution (New Haven, 1970), passim. The theme of pluralism and federalism both within the factory and between the factory and the state is also stressed by Drucker. See The New Society, pp.27, 37, 12. Indeed, he states: "The modern welfare state in particular must become both bankrupt and tyrannical unless local self-government is strong" (p.337) for "It satisfies the members needs for citizenship, recognition and opportunities; it alone can solve the problems of the 'split allegiance' between enterprise and union ..." (p.288).

Workers' Self-Management:A Socialist Blueprint for the 'Un-alienated' Person

Background Theories (Decentralist Socialists):

Within the socialist movement there have been two relatively distinct traditions.¹ One stressed the need for nationalized industries to be run by centralized planning and thus, by co-ordinating the chaos of capitalist society, to begin to humanize the social order. Lenin is an example of an exponent of such a theme. A second stream of socialists focused more particularly upon a decentralized, 'mass-participatory' and pluralist self-managing socialism. Such a group largely rejected the continued significance of a centralist state in a socialist society and warned of the potential dangers of the more centralist vision which would denigrate the worthiness of each individual person by minimizing his personality development.² Guild socialists such as G.D.H. Cole, H. Laski, B. Russell³ and a number

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1. See M. Buber, Paths in Utopia (Boston, 1958) for a fascinating discussion of such a theme. Buber argues that Marx represents the centralist emphasis and Proudhon the decentralist. Lenin seems to fit more closely into the former category and Marx seems less obvious in such a classification. Marx, for the most part, is a decentralist politically but economically is largely a centralist. There is, of course, a tension between the two trends but using Marx's materialist methodology one could suggest that the latter implies the former. Cole also stresses such a dichotomy but adds that a consumer orientation leads to centralism while a producer orientation leads to decentralism. G.D.H. Cole, Self-Government in Industry (Freeport, 1971, reprint of 1918), p.113.
 2. In this emphasis such radical socialists began to approach the anarchist position. What is important also is that the stress is not simply upon power equality and economic well-being but the idea of trying to restore a sense of community. This then seems to be the key, but often forgotten, element of socialism. See E. Durkheim, Socialism (N.Y., 1962) and D. Garson, "On the Political Theory of Decentralized Socialism", Participation and Self-Management Vol.II, (Zagreb, 1972).
 3. See for example G.D.H. Cole, Guild Socialism Restated (London, 1920) and B. Russell, Roads to Freedom (London, 1918). One might also note such a trend in the following writers: R. Luxemburg, The Russian Revolution (Ann Arbor, 1970), A. Gramsci, Selections From the Prison Notebooks (N.Y., 1971) and R. Dunayevskaya, Philosophy and Revolution (N.Y., 1973) and F. Manuel (ed.), Design for Utopia: Selected Writings of Charles Fourier (N.Y., 1971).

of anarchists and syndicalists advocated such a position. As long as the Soviet Union remained the sole society ruled by a Communist Party, the Leninist centralist emphasis predominated, but as the disenchantment with the abuses of Stalinism and as the number of Communist Party-run states increased, the second stream once again has come to generate great discussion.¹

One error that seems to dominate much of North American perceptions of Yugoslavia, particularly in the last two decades, is to see Yugoslav developments as unique and atypical of both the socialist, and more specifically, the Marxist stream of thought. Such an orientation implies that the concept of workers' self-management is relatively novel and is to ignore the linkage that the Yugoslavs quite freely make between their system and past decentralist socialist writings. For example, A. Deleon, a leading Yugoslav trade union official states:

This idea, and this aspiration of the working class to determine directly their own destiny, have been kept alive since the time of the Utopian socialists: during the German Revolution of 1848, in Marx' and Engels' vision and scientific elaboration of a socialist and communist society; during the preparation for the constituent assembly of the First International; in the ephemeral but very rich experience of the Paris Commune, in the gropings of anarchist organizations everywhere in Europe, towards the end of the last century; through the almost timid aspirations of the new-born European trade union movement; in the eclectic and inconsequent essays of Kautsky, Bauer and Adler; in the first miners' committees in Germany, in certain joint bodies born of the necessities of the first world war in many industrial countries; in the Whitley Councils, the Shop Steward Committees, the undertaking and works councils, the factory committees, the "workers' Soviets" and workers' supervisory committees during the early years of Soviet rule; in the organs set up during the German uprising and inspired by the October Revolution; in the workers' committees of Bela Kun's Soviet Hungary; in the first Austrian Undertaking Councils Act immediately after the first world war; in numerous speeches...

1. See for example R. Dahl, "Workers' Control of Industry and the British Labour Party", APSR Vol. 148, 1947, pp. 875-900 in which Dahl outlines the continuing debate amongst British socialists and Labourites over whether a socialist Britain should take a centralist representative form or a decentralist participatory form. See also S. Glass, The Responsible Society (London, 1966) for a fascinating analysis of the latter of these two British socialist streams.

by Lenin in which he foretold the need for workers to take a part in direct decisions and to be prepared for workers' management; during the occupation of the factories by Italian workers in the twenties of this century; in the revolutionary experience acquired during the Spanish Civil war in factory management¹

One such group of decentralist socialists — the guild socialists — emerged at the turn of the century in Great Britain.² Indeed, of all writers on the topic of self-management, the guild socialists alone proceeded to construct their proposals in the most detailed and systematic fashion.³ Under the intellectual leadership of G.D.H. Cole, S. Hobson, Orage and to a lesser degree R. Tawney, H. Laski, E. Barker

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1. A. Deleon, "Workers' Management", Annals of Collective Economy Vol.30, No.2/3, 1959, pp.144-145. It is interesting to note that often such emphasis on decentralist self-management gained acceptance in countries where distrust of the state was higher (e.g. Spain, Italy, France, Russia and now Yugoslavia).
 2. One reason for outlining the guild socialist theoretical model is that rather than being an ad hoc justification for a system, as the Yugoslav theorizing on self-management is, the guild socialist platform was arrived at deductively and is, therefore, likely to be more logically consistent and could for that reason be utilized as an ideal type in evaluating the operation of the Yugoslav system. C. Fourier, op. cit., can be seen as a precursor to a number of guild socialist ideas with his emphasis upon the need for "intermediary bodies" limiting central power (p.95), the emphasis on participation and collective ownership improving production (p.165). Where he differs, of course, is his suggestion that the phalanstery of associative labour be based on three factors: capital, labour and talent (pp.164, 137). Clearly, neither the guild socialists nor the Yugoslavs accept such a multi-class orientation. It remains to be seen which of the positions is more viable. In continental Europe, the most analogous movement, but decidedly more radical, was the syndicalist movement.
 3. See the following books as the dominant sources: G.D.H. Cole, Self-Government in Industry (London, 1918); G.D.H. Cole, Guild Socialism Restated (London, 1920); S. Hobson, National Guilds ed. A Orage, (London, 1914), Hobson, National Guilds and the State (London, 1920), Hobson, Functional Socialism (1936); A.J. Penty, The Restoration of the Gild System (London, 1906); B. Russell, Roads to Freedom (London, 1918); R.H. Tawney, The Acquisitive Society (London, 1921). See W. Leeman, "Syndicalism in Yugoslavia", Economic Development and Cultural Change Vol.18, No.2, Jan. 1970, for an attempt to analyze Yugoslav developments through the syndicalist perspective.

and B. Russell, this group indicated a great deal of foresight.¹ They anticipated much of the twentieth century debate² in seeking a more humanist Marxism and indicating greater interest in psycho-philosophical matters over previously stressed economic issues. This is a debate that can be characterized by three general positions on the subject of alienation. First, there is a right-wing version which argues that "Alienation exists only in the capitalist society. It ceases with the abolition of private property and of economic exploitation [e.g. Stalinist or orthodox Marxist position]"; a moderate version which advocates that "Alienation may exist in non-capitalist societies. There are certain processes in the socialist societies which lead to alienation [e.g. present day Yugoslav attitude]"; and a left-wing version which states that "Alienation has nothing peculiarly ideological about it. It is the domination of man by his products which estrange him from his own essence [e.g. the position of radical scholars, particularly certain existential and religious thinkers]".³ Common to all three groupings, alienation in the work place has been a theme particularly stressed and it is regarding this concern that the guild socialists are significant.

There were three central tenets of guild socialism. The first was that mere nationalization (socialization of private property) and the introduction of a form of state capitalism (i.e. property theoretically owned and operated by all the people) was no solution to the problem of exploitation and social alienation. Instead of a number of capitalists with limited powers and restrained to some degree by competition with one another, a single bureaucratic owner would emerge. Such a system would represent no qualitative amelioration

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1. The Yugoslavs have incorporated much of the guild socialist position into their ideology.
 2. Some such individuals are E. Fromm, L. Kolakowski, G. Petrovic and R. Selucky.
 3. H. Skolimowski, "Open Marxism and Its Consequences", Studies in Comparative Communism Jan. 1971, p.26. My comments in brackets.

of the workers' position; indeed, the guild socialists argued, such a system was likely to be more impersonal and exploitative. The guild socialists foretold of the dangers to individual freedom of over-centralization of economic power. Cole states, "only by dividing the vast power now wielded by industrial capitalism can the individual hope to be free".¹ They, therefore, stressed the need to impose limits upon state economic power by means of decentralization and a return to the more personal and participatory structures of self-regulating guilds.²

Closely linked to the rejection of centralized nationalization of corporations is the guild socialist orientation towards a pluralist federation. In so doing they reject the monism of a single sovereign state body. Indeed, they suggest "the fact that the State claims to be the community, and in fact exercises the greatest part of the community's power, does nothing to prove that the State is rightfully the community ... or that it has an absolute claim upon the individual's loyalty and service".³ Cole suggests "Within each community ... there are innumerable forms of association which are no part of the State. The sum total of organized corporate action in the community is far greater than the action undertaken by the State." and that "... these forms of association are no less sovereign in their sphere than the State in its sphere. There is no universal Sovereign in the community".⁴ Society is largely seen as a complex of communal

1. G.D.H. Cole, Self-Government in Industry, p.91.

2. Ibid., p.242. Note that E. Bernstein, Evolutionary Socialism (N.Y., 1963), p.155, stresses such a theme and at one point suggests that total planning requires god-like powers. Ibid., p.100.

3. Cole, Self-Government in Industry, p.73.

4. Ibid., pp.72, 82. Note the similarity to Aristotle's position that certain associations are prior to and thus independent of the state. See also H. Laski, Studies in the Problems of Sovereignty (London, 1968). This pluralism can also be seen in their advocacy of a balance of power between producers and consumers. Cole, Self-Government in Industry, pp.84-85, 108.

associations in which sovereignty unfolds only in the interaction of self-regulating units.¹

The third major position of the guild socialists was based on the orthodox Marxian premise that alienation and dehumanization begins in one of the major centres of life activity — the work place. The conclusions drawn from this premise were, however, substantially different from the Leninist position² in that the guild socialists stressed the paramount necessity of democratizing the work place immediately. Cole and others articulated that hierarchy and exploitation are not simply rooted in formal ownership patterns but are also inherently related to power distribution.³ Consequently, if workers are to transform their status they must not be merely formal owners of production but be active in collectively deciding major positions in the operation of the enterprise. In such participation, political learning occurs and is a major precondition for a democratic society. An important by-product of such increased interest and knowledge in guild affairs is that the quality of goods produced will improve.⁴

Another group in the decentralist socialist tradition that the Yugoslavs note is the anarchists. The following definition of anarchism can be offered: a world view which advocates the destruction of the state and the ending of exploitation. This will be achieved by substituting a system of free associations based on mutual aid and in which reason is the sole linking force between free individuals.⁵

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1. Note the similarity to the Yugoslav theory of social self-management.
 2. They were similar, however, to those of A. Gramsci, A. Labriola and R. Luxemburg on this point. Indeed, my numerous conversations with Yugoslavs confirm their familiarity with the writings of the aforementioned theorists.
 3. See J. Burnham, op. cit., and M. Djilas, The New Class.
 4. Indeed, Cole suggests idealism or art will prevail over mere physical output. Cole, Self-Government in Industry, p.280.
 5. For a detailed elucidation see G. Woodcock, Anarchism (Cleveland, 1962).

Proudhon¹ can be seen as a precursor to anarchism with his emphasis on a decentralized communal and federal way of life which was based on voluntary and cooperative labour. He also notes the need for multiple self-regulating associations as opposed to a single all-powerful and oppressive state.²

Bakunin³, in noting that the "civilization" of the minority is based on the forced barbarism of the majority, warned of the dangers of most centralist socialist's proposals. He suggested that the prescriptions of these socialists would produce new forms of regimentation, coercion and a new bureaucratic ruling caste.⁴ Bakunin's solution was that of decentralization based on a federation of freely associated communes that would involve integration from below.⁵ In so doing, Bakunin stressed that a free association of labour (i.e. self-managing unit) could be the only basis for a humane and civilized society.⁶ Such a society, Bakunin concluded, would be essentially non-coercive since social solidarity would become the first human law in such a system.⁷

1. S. Edwards, (ed.), Selected Writings of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (N.Y., 1969).

2. One should particularly note the impact of Proudhon's writings on Yugoslav theorists such as R. Supek, a leading member of the Praxis group.

3. G. Maximoff, (ed.), The Political Philosophy of Bakunin (N.Y., 1953).

4. Indeed, he asserts that ex-workers will soon be transformed into administrators. Ibid., pp.278, 286-87. Note the similarity to Gramsci's statement that "every form of society and State has required a new type of functionary ...". Gramsci, Selections From Prison Notebooks, p.187.

5. Maximoff, The Political Philosophy of Bakunin, p.298. Note the similarity to the Yugoslav emphasis upon the theoretical importance of the commune. Such a degree of decentralism has been hampered in Yugoslavia by the presence of the League of Communists and the nationality cleavages.

6. Ibid., p.341.

7. Ibid., p.339.

Kropotkin stresses the theme of cooperative mutual aid in history.¹ Indeed, Kropotkin suggests that the most progressive aspects of man's humanity and civilization are based on voluntary and collective labour (i.e. mutual aid). He focuses on the need for both collective responsibility and identity in the modern variant of the clan — the guild.² While the state is "formal", the guild, he suggests, is "humane, a brotherly element"³ and thus preferable to the monistic state. The guild is based on a decentralized collective and community orientation.⁴ It is a fully collective way of life that includes both collective production and consumption.⁵ Society, then, is based upon a pluralism of decentralized sovereigns, non-coercive structures and broader integration is achieved by periodic confederal labour congresses. Only in such a society of non-violence and collectivism is agreeable work possible.⁶

Tolstoy's Christian anarchism rejected the city orientation in favour of the naturalness of the countryside and the simple life of the peasantry.

Ghandi's anarchism, based on the primacy of ethics and religion, stressed a decentralized, non-industrialized village orientation. He rejected excessive mechanization and suggested the craft level of production as the basis for a cooperative society based on mass non-violence.

Briefly, then, one can extrapolate the following two themes in

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1. P. Kropotkin, Mutual Aid (ed.), P. Avrich, (N.Y., 1972), p.141.
 2. Ibid., p.269.
 3. Ibid., p.158.
 4. The similarity to the Yugoslav theory of workers' self-management should be noted.
 5. Kropotkin, Mutual Aid, p.157. The implication for a satisfactory communal orientation in Yugoslavia seems low indeed if such collective consumption is absent. That is to say, collective production may be a necessary precondition for a socialist society but is not alone sufficient enough a force to generate such a communal way of life. See also W. Reich, The Mass Psychology of Fascism, p.312.
 6. P. Kropotkin, Conquest of Bread (ed.), P. Avrich, (N.Y., 1972), p.137.

leading anarchist thought: the cooperative and communal aspect of labour is based solely on spontaneous individual free choice and secondly, friendly collective self-regulation generates greater justice than the impersonal and coercive rule of state bureaucrats and functionaries.

The syndicalist¹ movement reflects the third group of decentralist socialists that should be noted. While primarily known for their advocacy of the general strike as the most effective proletarian weapon for restructuring society, the syndicalists are also important for their emphasis on the workers directly running production at both the decentralized and immediate factory level. G.D.H. Cole's comments seem the most apt: "Syndicalism ... remains still a vitalizing force, capable of transforming Socialism into something better than a bureaucratic Collectivism".²

Yugoslav Theory of Workers' Self-Management:

The Yugoslav general theory of the workers' self-managed society is less deductive than that of the guild socialists and other decentralist socialist writers since the Yugoslav theory has evolved in an eclectic, although not entirely a pragmatic, fashion. Thus, no single source and few Yugoslav sources suffice to outline the theory and framework.³ Nevertheless, what does emerge when one attempts to synthesize briefly the prevailing Yugoslav general theoretical propositions is the replication of ideas also found in the guild socialist writings and to a lesser degree ideas from other groups in the decentralist socialist tradition. The following are the key propositions:

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1. See G. Sorel, Reflections on Violence (N.Y., 1950).
 2. Cole, Self-Government in Industry, p.321.
 3. Of the better sources for such an analysis of the Yugoslav theory of self-management see A. DeLeon, "Workers' Management", B. Horvat, An Essay on Yugoslav Society (N.Y., 1969), J. Gorican, "Workers' Self-Management: Ideal Type - Social Reality", Participation, Vol.I, and R. Supek, "Two Types of Self-Managing Organizations and Technological Progress", Participation, Vol.I.

proletarian doctrine

- 1) Mass participation is seen as a necessary and educative function and the continued necessity of a remote central representative state is rejected.¹
- 2) The labour theory of value is stressed and since labour alone produces wealth, labour should be the legitimate controlling agent of the means of production.
- 3) The work place is the central factor in determining one's life orientation and any social amelioration must begin directly in the factory.

ownership and management patterns

- 4) Formal ownership of the means of production rests with the community as a whole but is held in trust by the workers of the enterprise.²
- 5) To change society in any fundamental fashion, the basis of the means of production must be altered.
- 6) Since classes are based not only on property and income differences but also on differing amounts of power, both ownership and management must be socialized (i.e. democratized).
- 7) A self-management system in which the economic structure will be elected and self-regulating will remove the enormous inequality of man and mitigate the superordination/subordination bifurcation of society.
- 8) The results of such a self-management system shall be better quality and quantity of goods, predominance of social services and less concern with profit making.

pluralist concept of society

- 9) In any socialist society the state should begin to wither away immediately. Therefore, the importance of the central bureaucratic state is limited to co-ordination and integration while that of the local commune is expanding.³

1. Cole, Self-Government in Industry, p.321.

2. Ibid., p.109.

3. Ibid., p.242.

- 10) Since man has a plurality of roles he should be represented in the full range of his interests. Hence, representation along functional lines (e.g. as consumer and as producer) is emphasized.¹
- 11) Given a diversity of modes of representation, different structures are seen to perform different functions and thus, a system of separation of powers unfolds.

evolutionary theory

- 12) The Yugoslav workers' self-management theory is seen as open-ended in that no structures are necessarily in their final form and that knowledge in the social sciences and social theory is not complete nor is it likely to be.²

Turning to the factory or sub-systemic level which is the core basis of the workers' self-management system, one notes the definitions of workers' self-management are less frequent and less detailed than one might suppose from the growing literature on the subject. For example, Markovic offers the following definitions: "Self-management is the dialectical negation of so-called state socialism with its inherent tendencies towards bureaucratization" and "The development of self-management is nothing but another name for the withering away of the state".³ Basically, the notion of workers' self-management

1. Ibid., p.82.

2. See K. Popper, The Poverty of Historicism (London, 1957) for an analysis of the implications of such a position. Note the similarity to E. Bernstein's position, op. cit., p.218, and M. Markovic, "Socialism and Self-Management", Praxis No.2/3, 1965, *passim*.

3. M. Markovic, "Socialism and Self-Management", pp. 185, 191. On this subject see K. Coates and T. Topham, Workers' Control (London, 1970); G. Hunnius, D. Garson and J. Case, Workers' Control (N.Y., 1973); A. Sturmfels, Workers' Councils (Cambridge, 1964); E. Pusic, ed., First International Conference on Participation and Self-Management six volumes (Zagreb, 1972); P. Blumberg, Industrial Democracy (London, 1968); International Labour Organization, Workers' Self-Management in Yugoslavia (Geneva, 1962); and M. Broekmeyer, Yugoslav Workers' Self-Management (Dordrecht, 1970).

is that of the extension of decision-making from a small elite or group to all members of a particular social system. Thus, in the case of the factory, all employees would have substantial influence upon key and long-term policy questions. The amount of influence in the day to day operation varies with writers. The further one approaches the anarchist position, the more the necessity of the individual actively participating in day to day decisions is stressed.

What is important to realize is that such group control and de facto ownership is neither simply economic or technical decentralization nor passive participation.¹ It is self-determination that is based upon such features as elections, referenda and open records. It is thus the extension of democracy in its broadest meaning to the work place. Indeed, Stojanovic asserts that "Only self-management type of socialism really exceeds the greatest degree of democracy and freedom found in bourgeois society".²

Other benefits suggested as ensuing from workers' self-management are: a decline in alienation, a withering away of classes and class conflict, greater productiveness and better quality of goods, and a more active and aware citizenry.

Before such benefits emerge, certain preconditions seem necessary for workers' self-management to be able to operate in any meaningful way. One is that the working class be skilled and literate enough to be able to judge and participate in enterprise decision-making. Indeed, Markovic asserts that "Real self-management presupposes the existence

1. Indeed, confusion should not be made between partial labour participation in decision-making and complete labour control. In this sense, co-determination should not be equated with workers' self-management. Co-determination is a system of joint control over factory affairs by both capital and labour. Its most famous application is in the German coal and steel industries and reflects an intermediary structure between capitalist autocracy and workers' self-managed democracy. For a more detailed discussion, see Sturmthal, *op. cit.*, pp.53-85 and H. Schauer "Critique of Codetermination", in D. Garson et al., *op. cit.*

2. S. Stojanovic, "Freedom and Democracy in Socialism", *Praxis* No.2/3, 1965, p.205. This notion of expanded freedom is also suggested by Markovic, "Socialism and Self-Management", p.194.

of a reasonable number of rational, socialized and humane persons who understand the major aim of the social process ...".¹ The rise of a new more educated working class increases the viability of this pre-supposition. A substantial amount of free time that can be devoted to self-management matters is another requirement. The decline in the length of the work week in Yugoslavia suggests that this precondition is increasingly met.

The most important precondition is some degree of legitimized formal self-management structures that have generated factory pluralism and openness. Certainly the formal structures exist in Yugoslavia and the latter features are to be tested in this study.

Turning to the formal Yugoslav self-management structure one notes the following key features: all employees elect a workers' council that is formally responsible for all long-term policies and the director is chosen by the workers' council and he is, therefore, an elected 'public' official of the enterprise collective. A more formal outline of the Yugoslav workers' self-managed factory now follows:

Formal Structure of Yugoslav Workers' Self-Management:
(legally in effect until 1969, but highly influential
and utilized format in 1972 when this study was conducted).

Workers' Councils:

- supreme management authority
- wide range of authority; makes fundamental policy decisions for firm (long range goals and plans); powers to decide on wages, hiring, firing, financial statement, discipline and internal plant organization
- composed of all workers if enterprise less than thirty workers; otherwise size from fifteen to one hundred twenty members
- members elected from active work collective (except director) for term of two years by universal vote; half elected each year; no one elected for two consecutive terms; members cannot be dismissed during term
- in some cases, each work unit elects proportion of councillors as proportion unit is to entire collective (hence each unit represented)

1. Markovic, "Socialism and Self-Management", p.178.

- meetings open with right of participation to all members of enterprise; director no vote, but presents ideas and proposals, non-enterprise persons are not allowed to attend unless for official reasons
- usually meets once a month (called by chairman only)
- supervises and directs the managing board
- members not paid other than compensation for lost wages
- gives report of state of enterprise two weeks before election
- submits list of candidates five days prior to new workers' council election
- suspension of member of workers' council initiated by union or a given percentage of workers (in enterprise of 30-54 persons, required number is three persons; in enterprise of 55-500 persons, required number is one twentieth of collective; in enterprise of over 500 persons, required number is one half number of members of workers' council) and put to vote by entire collective

Management Board:

- elected directly through workers' council for one year term; chosen from within enterprise; three to ten members; only one third eligible for direct re-election; none for more than two consecutive years
- initially three quarters required to be engaged directly in production but this provision is now abolished¹
- runs the enterprise on a day to day basis in accordance with policy laid down by workers' council; decisions subject to reversal by council
- meetings open only to members of council and director
- director is member 'ex officio' and has vote
- meets weekly
- minority positions possible; are able to appeal to council
- members not paid other than compensation for lost wages
- members cannot be dismissed during term of office
- appoints high enterprise officials on basis of open competition

Collegium:

- heads of departments, directors 'ex officio'
- function is to co-ordinate the technical management of 'things' not persons
- large informal power

Director:

- four year term; no limit to times re-elected
- runs the technical aspect of organization on a daily basis and is assisted by technical, financial and accounting department directors in the large enterprises
- represents the enterprise in the community (i.e. legally responsible)

1. D. Gorupic and I. Paj, Workers' Self-Management in Yugoslav Undertakings (Zagreb, 1970, reprinted 1973), p.118.

- member 'ex officio' of board with vote; attends council and gives reports but has no vote
- appointed by open competition. "Director of a work organization is formally elected by the workers' council at the proposal of the commission for competitions and appointments of directors of the municipal assembly. This commission usually includes two representatives of the commune, and two representatives of the work organization which needs a new director".¹
- the council's preference is strongly influential
- veto power if policies of workers' council illegal
- dismissal proposed by either workers' council or commune (joint committee decides in case of election)

Committees of the Workers' Council:

- committees are permanent and perform specific research functions
- chairman must be member of workers' council
- elected by the workers' council and not the workers directly
- right to investigate and receive information from enterprise personnel

Other Structures Within the Factory:

League of Communists:

- educational and general functions
- members tend to be more active and senior in factory social system
- democratic centralist organizational format
 - decisions of the majority binding on the minority
 - decisions of senior League officials or organs are binding on lower organs and general membership
 - all executive positions are elective
 - periodic accountability of senior League officials through reports, etc.

Sindikat (trade union):

- once ran council elections; general influence; wage control; financially dependent on workers' council; education and 'watch dog' functions

Youth Organization:

- financially dependent on workers' council
- educational and social functions

Factory Newspaper Editor:

- in larger factories only
- important impact on communications in the factory

1. J. Jerovsek, "Structure of Influence in Commune", Sociologija: Selected Articles 1959-1969 (Beograd, 1970), p.134.

Economic Units (Departmental Councils):

- decides local wage scales, hiring and firing
- direct participation in management by workers - meets once a month
- accounting unit in intra-enterprise market (attempt to reduce waste and relate reward to effort)
- chairman of department council attends central workers' council but no right to vote
- elect foremen of unit (undermines director)

Basic Organization of Associated Labour (BOAL Constitutional Amendment XXI):

- a unit of a corporation that is capable of being both technologically and economically distinct from other units - 65,000 in number
- BOAL is intended to reduce remoteness between central workers' council representatives and rank and file workers¹

Collective:²

- discuss plan or mergers, etc.
- establish candidates for election (any one can be nominated for council election as long as three seconders and assembly votes that candidate be added to list, e.g. under 500, one tenth of all workers required to ascertain candidacy, over 500, number of approving votes to ascertain candidacy is equal to the size of the council)

Referendum:

- all major issues (e.g. mergers, widespread firings)
- organized by workers' council, called by union or percentage of workers
- decision is binding
- need one half voters of enterprise to participate for quorum
- majority decision
- often on matters dealing with income distribution
- infrequent use thus far

Except for the presence of workers' councils which is mandatory, formal structures in 1972 were no longer centrally fixed by law.

"Working people in work organizations shall determine the organs of management of their work organizations, specify their province of work and tenure, and shall lay down conditions for and the mode of their election and removal."²

1. This survey was concluded in late 1972 and therefore did not sample any factories with the system of BOAL.

2. Yugoslav Constitution Amendment XV, December 1969.

Structures Outside of Factory:

Economic Associations and Chambers:

- quasi-governmental
- no independent financial resources and not permitted to own property
- no direct power over enterprise
- purposes of furthering technical co-operation, wage scales, standards
- must be approved by Council of Economy in municipality (prevent monopolies)
- compulsory affiliation

Commune:

- help settle disputes between director and workers' council
- primary unit of self-government
- formerly unitary chamber but as of 1952 two chambers, a communal chamber (elected by all voters) and council of producers (elected by workers)¹ -1974 constitution introduces tricameral communal chamber (chamber of associated labour, of local communities, and socio-political)
- right to inspect operations of enterprise by auditors
- taxing and financing powers
- wage control through economic council of commune (people's committee) in conjunction with trade union and council - veto power
- subsidizes workers at 60% of salary for two months if enterprise insolvent
- council of producers checks workers' council balance sheets

Bank:

- right to audit factory if providing loans to enterprise

1. Gorupic, Workers' Self-Management, p.11.

CHART I

Formal circulation of authority in workers' self-management:

1 director

2 management board

3 workers' council

4 supervisory staff

5 specialized committees of board

6 specialized committees of council

7 workers

indicates direction of control

CHART II

Organizational Modes of Capitalism, Etatism and Socialism:

Source: B. Horvat, "On the Political Economy of Socialism", in Participation Vol.VI, p.108.

Polyarchy:

A key concept used in this study to analyze pluralism and participation in a decentralized socialist self-managing system is the term polyarchy. The term polyarchy has been closely associated with one man, Robert Dahl.¹ Dahl, in his earliest writings, suggests that there is no single democratic theory. There is considerable confusion between actual operating systems that are called democratic and the ideals of the democratic system. He suggests that it is important to be able to differentiate between the ideal and the imperfect approximation of the ideal.² Dahl suggests that in general "democratic theory is concerned with processes by which ordinary citizens exert a relatively high degree of control over leaders".³ His term "polyarchy", which he contrasts with Madisonian and Populist theories, is an empirically based theory. Thus, he defines a polyarchic system as being "a function of the political activity of the system's members"⁴ and as "a function of the fraction of the total membership who indicate preferences".⁵ In short, democratization as indicated in polyarchies is "made up of at least two dimensions: public contestation and the right to participate".⁶ This can be

1. See for example R. Dahl, A Preface to Democratic Theory (Chicago, 1965), R. Dahl, Polyarchy (New Haven, 1971) and R. Dahl, After the Revolution (New Haven, 1970).

2. Dahl, Polyarchy, p.9.

3. Dahl, Democratic Theory, p.3. All democratic theories must try to resolve the questions of representing all affected and legitimate interests, generating a competent and relatively efficient decision-making process.

4. Ibid., p.81.

5. Ibid., p.85.

6. Dahl, Polyarchy, p.5.

seen in the following chart:

CHART III¹

Typology of Influence Systems

public contestation	high	competitive oligarchies	polyarchies
	low	closed hegemonies	inclusive hegemonies
		low	high
		participation	

The polyarchic system in which there is a relatively high degree of both public contestation and participation is not a system of direct mass self-rule but rather that of open and competing minorities who are responsive to the different aspirations of the mass public. It is a system of checks and balances with numerous groups and officials in competition with one another.² Such a system is not a narrow Madisonian-like institutional checks and balances but one of pluralism in the entire social system.³ Polyarchy is a system more suited for the larger representative polities of today than is the ideal of committee, primary or referendum democracy.⁴ Advocacy of such a representative and more remote system is not an outright rejection of such a primary democratic ethos, for Dahl bemoans, "Who has never felt a longing for a happy, harmonious, small solidary political community?"⁵ It is rather a recognition of the physical limitations

1. Adapted from Dahl, Polyarchy, p.7.

2. Dahl, Democratic Theory, p.137. Note how authority is uniformly distributed among all hierarchical groups but at a relatively high level when compared to direct democracy.

3. Dahl, Democratic Theory, p.82, Dahl, Polyarchy, p.60. Dahl suggests egalitarian land distribution as an example of reinforcing social features. Note his similarity to Harrington. See C. Blitzered, The Political Writings of Harrington (N.Y., 1955) and C.B. MacPherson, The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism (Oxford, 1962).

4. Dahl, After the Revolution, p.140.

5. Ibid., p.81.

of primary democracy to small group relations while at the same time wishing to maximize as many of its features as is possible to larger social systems.

Dahl points out that "while polyarchies may be competitive at the national level a great many substantial organizations, particularly private associations, are hegemonic or oligarchic".¹ He particularly castigates "the pseudo-private corporation in the United States and the pseudo-public enterprise in the U.S.S.R.". ² In so doing he suggests that the government of an enterprise can take many forms,³ one of which is that of a polyarchy.

Dahl's emphasis upon extending pluralism beyond the formal, central government sphere to that of the entire social system leads him to present a four-fold classification of all social systems.⁴ From such a framework one can suggest the following chart:

CHART IV

Public Contestation at Systemic and Sub-Systemic Levels

		<u>systemic level</u>	
		high	low
		pluralist, socialist (self-managing) society	Yugoslavia
	high		
<u>sub-systemic level</u>			
	low	Canada	Soviet Union

It is a classification to which one shall return at a later point.

It is my contention, as that of Dahl, that the polyarchic framework, with its emphasis upon representative democracy, broad electorates, extensive opportunities to approve leaders and contest them in elections, competitive political parties, and peaceful displacement

1. Dahl, Polyarchy, p.13.

2. Dahl, After the Revolution, p.131.

3. Ibid., p.117.

4. Dahl, Polyarchy, p.13.

of officials¹ can be used to analyze the present Yugoslav workers' self-management system.² The Yugoslav factory is a social system which is far less than fully participatory but certainly not a "corporate Leviathan".³ It is for this reason that the intermediary term polyarchy has been chosen as being of possibly greater utility in analyzing the actual operation of Yugoslavia's workers' self-managed factories. Indeed, if one substitutes the idea of two non-antagonistic but distinct strata⁴ for political parties then the polyarchic model seems to be most applicable.

1. Dahl, After the Revolution, p.78.

2. It seems rather fitting that the term be used in such a way since Dahl wrote about workers' control in the late 1940's, "Workers' Control of Industry and The British Labour Party", op. cit., and has recently returned to the topic a quarter of a century later in After the Revolution.

3. Dahl, After the Revolution, pp.115-139.

4. Such a position seems justified by the research of Gorican who found the following: ["that while] skilled and highly skilled workers ... identify themselves with self-management and, thereby, participate actively in self-management bodies.... the majority of semi-skilled and unskilled workers think and behave generally as wage labourers". "Workers' Self-Management: The Ideal Type - Social Reality", p.24. Zupanov has found a similar remnant of class thinking in the attitude towards risk and investment. See "The Producer and Risk", Ekonomist No.3, 1967, in Eastern European Economics Vol.VII, No.3.

A Statement of the Central Hypotheses

While the guild socialist movement in Britain faded in the nineteen-twenties¹ and the anarchist and syndicalist movements receded with the advent of the Second World War, from 1949 onwards in Yugoslavia a system of workers' self-management was established which shares numerous tenets with the decentralized stream of socialism. One can thus, through the Yugoslav experience, posit and test a number of key premises of this socialist tradition.

The key questions that are posed are the following propositions suggested and derived from much of the socialist literature dealing with alienation.

- 1) The primary question is: 'Is the workers' self-managed factory more polyarchic² or democratic than the capitalist firm?'

-
1. One should note that in recent years there has been a resurgence of the ideas in Great Britain through the Institute of Workers' Control.
 2. That is to say, 'Does labour's influence approximate that of management?' One potential danger of a polyarchic system is that of it degenerating into an anarchic system. In such a system, no one would have great influence, no one would be adequately rewarded, supervision would be lacking as would incentives (reinforcement). In short, a Hobbesian world might result. See G. Sartori, Democratic Theory (N.Y., 1962) for an elucidation.
- Hypothesis number one can be formulated in the following tables.

TABLE D

Typology of Possible Factory Social Systems

	workers' self-management yes	no
power distribution	+	-
polyarchic	pluralist with workers' management 1	pluralist but no workers' management 3
monocratic/ hierarchical	workers' management dominant* 2	director dominant 4

(*It is possible that the director could also be dominant in this category.)

- 2) Does the employee of a workers' self-managed factory perceive his condition as having improved?
- 3) Is the workers' self-managed factory associated with lower alienation levels?¹
- 4) Does class membership relate to alienation levels?²

In addition one should note that the following situations are also possible.

TABLE D-1

Types of Influence Systems

		power distribution (how distributed)	
		high distribution (pluralist)	low distribution (monocratic)
amount of total partici- pation	high	'participatory democracy'	'mobilized or totalitarian system'
	low	'anarchic'	'elitist'

1. This hypothesis reflects two key socialist assumptions: that greater factory hierarchy or authoritarianism generates greater work alienation on the part of the workers and that non-representative structures (i.e. management orientated executive) will create a sense of alienation amongst the employees. Thus, the hypothesized alienation levels of the various categories in TABLE D in the previous footnote are as follows:

highest	category 4
moderate	category 2, 3
lowest	category 1.

2. Please note that wherever possible one has tested the hypothesis within a single social system to maximize control of intervening variables. Thus, in questions that do not primarily relate to a comparison between capitalist and socialist systems, differences within the Yugoslav system have been analyzed.

- 5) Is participation¹ in self-management associated with lower alienation levels?²
- 6) Is alienation in the factory strongly associated with alienation in society?

-
1. Disman, in taking into account both interest and participation levels, suggests the following schema:

Level of Interest	Level of Participation	Role
high	high	authentic participation full participant
low	low	apolitical non-participant
high	low	quasi-participant frustrated participant
low	high	pseudo participant reluctant participant

M. Disman, "The Values and Participation: A Comparison", Participation Vol.II, p.46. I am also grateful to Professor Chi of Carleton University for pointing out the importance of this framework. A second comment which comes to mind is whether or not participation and social isolation (one of the alienation indices) might not in fact be the same phenomenon. There is no doubt that in some individuals this is possible, but the argument posed is that 'participation of a number of workers acting as representatives for the other workers will reduce the likelihood of alienation amongst the majority (or all) workers'. Thus, the argument regarding social isolation, I believe, is not tautological.

2. M. Aiken and J. Hage, "Organizational Alienation: A Comparative Analysis", ASR Vol.31, No.4, 1966, pp.497-507. They found that lack of participation in decision-making was strongly related to work alienation. One is also keenly aware of the mass society hypothesis of scholars such as Fromm and Kornhauser. They stress that alienation leads to an urgent desire for the individual to participate in group activity and in so doing, escape the fears and insecurity of individuality. There clearly is an interaction between the two variables and one will attempt to indicate when the data might also fit the mass society hypothesis.

Some Methodological Notes

Cross-national and cross-cultural studies:

One might pose the question 'given the difficulties of research within a single political system, why try to do so across polities?' Certainly no one would deny that the problems of such research are great. If political science, however, is to strive for universal concepts then clearly the discipline must sample the full variance (range) of societies to determine the reliability of such concepts. Cross-cultural concepts require cross-cultural research to determine their validity. Equally, cross-cultural research requires cross-cultural concepts. To assert one without the other seems unsound indeed. See F. Frey, "Cross-Cultural Survey Research in Political Science" in R. Holt (ed.), The Methodology of Comparative Research (N.Y., 1970).

The second question is that of the difficulty of determining linguistic equivalents. This, however, is a problem in all populations but is sometimes less blatant and hence unjustifiably ignored in many intra-societal studies. Certainly there must exist the problem of class or strata cultural differences within any society. Indeed, B. Disraeli's description of England as two nations in Sybil: Two Nations (London, n.d.) seems an apt comment on the cultural gulf within societies. In a country such as Canada, with a large number of immigrants, the linguistic difficulties and possible interpretations of survey items seem to be problem approaching that of cross-polity research.

Survey questionnaire validity in Yugoslavia:

Anonymous survey questionnaires were utilized and the general attitude amongst leading Yugoslav and Western social scientists is that questionnaires utilized since the early sixties are indeed generally valid. Questionnaire validity is more likely in the more economically developed areas such as Slovenia. Indeed, a pluralism of attitudes is accentuated by the availability of Western books, journals and newspapers. The survey was exclusively conducted in

Slovenia and no major or unusual problems emerged during the course of administering the survey. One did note a somewhat more reserved and sceptical attitude on the part of a few older and less educated respondents. This proved generally not to be a widespread problem, however.

Other surveys have been conducted in Yugoslavia by the following people: A. Tannenbaum, Hierarchy in Organizations (forthcoming), A. Barton, B. Denitch and C. Kadushin, Opinion-Making Elites in Yugoslavia (New York, 1973), and G. Zaninovich, "Party and Non-Party Attitudes on Social Change" in B. Farrell, ed., Political Leadership in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union (Chicago, 1970).

Societal variance of how the enterprises were chosen:

One's goal is, of course, to ensure that within one's sample one can obtain as much variance as possible to ensure the likelihood of a statistically significant representation of society. Such a procedure would involve selecting enterprises at random with the likely result that the factories chosen would be from a number of differing industries.

The procedure of randomness was utilized but within one fixed strata of industry: the steel fabrication branch. This was done for a number of reasons, most important of which being the author's own extensive familiarity and past work experience in this branch. This was felt to be of substantial importance in assisting analysis. Secondly, it seemed easier to try to study one branch of industry at a time. Also, in having four factories from a single branch one increased the likelihood of representativeness for that branch. One realizes, however, that some societal representativeness was lost by such a procedure. This study does not exist, however, in isolation from other studies and with the goal of replication in the social sciences it is hoped that further studies will be conducted in other branches and in so doing increase the number of independent studies on the subject. Certainly, the problem in Yugoslavia is that relatively few studies on alienation in the factory have been conducted and thus definitive statements about this societal phenomena must be premature. One should note, however, that while the assertion in this research is that this study is only statistically representative of the steel industry in the single republic of Slovenia, one does for

stylistic reasons note that the general term "Yugoslav workers' self-management system" is used. The reader should keep in mind that such references are statistically meant only in the narrow sense outlined above. However, one cannot be simply limited by statistical reliability and, therefore, one has speculated beyond the narrow statistical representativeness of the study.

Strata methodology:

A stratified random sample was the format used in drawing the sample. This procedure ensured the likelihood that all groups would be adequately surveyed. Such a probability is, of course, far less with a simple random sample. However, there is a loss of randomness and this is particularly so when one considers that while the total number of members responding for each strata is held constant, the variance in the total number of persons from each strata employed in the enterprise varies from company to company (i.e. there may be more white collar workers in factory A than B but the number of white collar workers in the sample is held constant). The ideal would perhaps be to compare across strata as well as enterprises. However, the sub-sample size for most strata is too small to pursue such a strategy.

Within the two countries, a second mode of stratification occurred in that the most developed regions only were sampled. Thus, the representativeness of both sub-samples within the two countries is reduced. The rationale for such a procedure was time and financial restraints and most important of all, attempting to evaluate both models in their most favourable situations. Since the models were to be evaluated for future developments, the most affluent areas seemed most appropriate. Such a procedure is also suggested by Horvat in his major work, An Essay On Yugoslav Society¹ where he states:

1. B. Horvat, An Essay on Yugoslav Society, p.201.

"...we may take it that Slovenia, which today is approximately twice as developed as the average of Yugoslavia, represents the entire country in the near future..." and "... the councils in the industrially more developed areas (Slovenia and Croatia for example) are more effective and deal with wider issues than councils in Macedonia and Montenegro ...".¹

Translation:

The questionnaire was designed in English and was then translated into Slovene by a translator. It was next checked by a bilingual specialist in survey analysis. The Slovene questionnaire was then given to a linguistic specialist who proceeded to translate the Slovene questionnaire into English. By this method of "back-translation" a relatively reliable questionnaire was devised.

Ideal sample size for each factory:

	number
director or deputy director	1
president of workers' council (Yugoslavia only) or trade union head (in Canada)	1
chairman of management board	1
*department heads	2
trade union officials	1
League of Communists official (Yugoslavia only)	1
*members of management board	2
*members of workers' council (union executive in Canada)	8
*middle management	5
*white collar workers	5
*skilled blue collar workers	10
*unskilled workers	<u>15</u>
total	52**

*indicates random selection

**this number is frequently less due to overlapping membership by certain individuals

1. Sturmthal, Workers' Councils, p.109.

Scaling techniques:

In a scale one should try to obtain as much variance (range) in the items as possible. Therefore, a high correlation between items may be undesirable in that it would mean one was measuring only a narrow range of items. A considerable portion of the American literature on political alienation seems to suffer from such a weakness.

Guttman scaling is a technique used to determine the 'distance' on a scale for each item used. That is to say, it is a device for determining the degree of commitment on a dimension required to answer an individual item. The problem with the overwhelming majority of Guttman scaling-based research is that they are based on response to items that are dichotomized into a simple yes/no. While simple dichotomization is not usually the case for such a Guttman-based final scale, such a scale is derived by summing such dichotomized scores. It is my contention that such a procedure loses much of the accuracy and depth of potential data. Social situations in stable societies are infrequently polarized in the manner implied by such a technique. Another weakness of using dichotomous items is their low re-test reliability. Clearly any change in response is a dramatic one, that is to say, from total disagreement to total agreement or vice versa. Thus, any slight change in the respondent's attitude can produce a dramatic shift from a positive correlation of +1.0 to a negative correlation of -1.0 when compared to a previous response. While a scale with a large number of items covering the full range of intensity of the dimension would be less distorted by such fluctuations in attitude or responses, it still seems an important handicap to the technique. In addition, it has been my observation of such dichotomized questions that they frequently antagonize respondents to both the items and the study as a whole.

Therefore, while scaling techniques have been used, they have been of a polychotomous type rather than dichotomous. This has, of course, resulted in the more accurate measure of intensity for any single item but has made any possible Guttman scaling a most arduous and potentially biased technique and therefore Guttman scaling has not been applied. Instead, factor analysis has been used to determine dimensionality.

The reliability of a scale increases as the number of items also increases. Regrettably some of the scales used are not as large as they ideally could have been, yet given the limitations of questionnaire length, time, money and most importantly, gaining political approval of the entire questionnaire, one has tried to work with the most useful items, but perhaps smaller than the ideal number of items.

Life alienation:

Dean's alienation scale¹ in a shortened version was utilized for the life alienation scale. Political and technical limitations were key motives for such a shortened version. Unlike Dean, one also utilized a scale for measuring alienation in the factory, thus minimizing somewhat the disadvantage of a shorter life alienation scale.

Work alienation:

The work alienation items were in large part taken from individual items used in a number of studies of factories. Correlation scores were calculated and those items scoring over .30 were included in final factor analysis to determine dimensionality of scaling. Once the suitable items were determined, a simple Likert summated scale was utilized. Both orthogonal and oblique factor techniques were used with little or no difference in items chosen. For an elucidation of the techniques see H. Harman, Modern Factor Analysis (Chicago, 1967) and R. Rummel, Applied Factor Analysis (Evanston, 1970).

t-test:

T-test is a device used to determine whether the differences in scores between two strata are statistically significant. For an elucidation see H. Blalock, Social Statistics (N.Y., 1960).

1. D. Dean, "Alienation: Its Meaning and Measurement", ASR October 1961, pp.753-758.

Factor analysis:

This is a technique used to determine if a number of variables cluster together and thus might be considered part of a more complex but single variable or factor. In this study, the single factor is to be a scale composed of a number of related but not identical items. It should be noted that through this technique of developing reliable scales, a number of items appearing in the questionnaire were not used in determining scaled alienation levels. See H. Harman, Modern Factor Analysis (Chicago, 1967) and R. Rummel, Applied Factor Analysis (Evanston, 1970).

Interval versus ordinal data:

There is a substantial gulf between the statistical recommendations of many mathematicians and the implementation of certain techniques by social scientists. This is augmented by the general lack of substantial interval data for much of political science. The question posed then is whether it is suitable for interval measures of association to be used on ordinal data. A second question is to what degree are summated scales of the Likert type justified in certain interval procedures (e.g. summing of individual items to form a scale). Likert and others such as A. Edwards, Techniques of Attitude Scale Construction (N.Y., 1957) argue that in fact such summated scales do approximate interval measures to a considerable degree and that since Likert scales are interval measures, interval measures of association can be used. Most of the sociologists and political scientists in their behaviour have taken this position and I do so also. One does not deny, however, that amongst some statisticians and social scientists such Likert scales are seen as ordinal measures only. See, for example, J. Galtung, Theory and Methods of Social Research (Oslo, 1967).

Some Demographic Notes

The following brief comparisons of Yugoslav and Canadian societal features, enterprise differences and survey administration techniques should be noted before commencing a detailed analysis of the data.¹

1. For a detailed outline of recent socio-political events in Yugoslavia see the appendix.

TABLE G

Societal Demographic Features

	Canada	Yugoslavia
population	21,089,000	20,209,000
unemployment	382,000	289,700
suicides	2,291 (.011%)	2,801 (.014%)
divorces	26,079 (.124%)	20,178 (.099%)
convicted criminal offences	49,963 (1968)	121,647
inflation rate	4.2%	11%
permanent emigration rate	13,804 (to U.S. only)	6,665

U.S. data available only

(1969 data unless otherwise indicated)

	Ontario - O	Quebec - Q	Slovenia
population	7,703,106 O(1971)	6,027,764 Q(1971)	1,725,088
unemployment	134,000 O(1970)	183,000 Q(1970)	not given for republics [sic]
suicides	821 O(1968)(.011%)	433 Q(1968)(.007%)	507 (.029%)
divorces	11,845 O (.154%)	2,947 Q (.038%)	2,008 (.116%)

Sources: Canada Yearbook 1972 (Ottawa) and Statisticki godisnjak jugoslavije 1971 (Beograd).

Observations of enterprises sampled:

TABLE G-1

Demographic Aspects of Yugoslav and Canadian Factories Sampled

factories	Yugoslavia				Canada		
	A	B	C	D	X	Y	Z
factory size	1352	780	566	1096	361	177	2085
location	town	town	mode- rate size city	mode- rate size city	large city	mode- rate size city	mode- rate size city
product (steel processing branch)	1	2	3	4	1	2	3
features to note	---	2 manage- ment boards, functional separation 1) sales, finance 2) personnel problems	---	no manage- ment board, only specia- lized commit- tees, but collegium	shop asso- cia- tion multi lingui- stic environ- ment	union new with- in year	strong union, plant part of larger complex

Four of five Yugoslav enterprises chosen randomly agreed to participate in the study which was conducted in the winter of 1972/73. Two of six Canadian enterprises chose to do so during the winter of 1973/74. A third and much larger Canadian factory (product no.3) is presently being studied. It is not included in the present analysis due to delays caused by seasonal shut-downs and a market slump.

One should note that attempts to gain entry into larger plants in Canada have thus far proven more difficult than in Yugoslavia. In part, it seems to be a product of larger units to generate a more insecure management which fears a recurrence of actual past union problems or potential problems due to any such study. In addition, one should note that often refusal was suggested as being due to the lack of utility of such studies to management. On this one must agree that many social science studies seem rarely to report back findings directly to the respondents and do seem remote from day to day economic matters. It is my contention, however, that while one can sympathize

with the position of management on this issue, the danger is that legislation may be passed in the future based on very little social research. This certainly has been the case in Yugoslavia and in most other countries' attempts to socialize the economy.

An important difference should also be noted in the manner of questionnaire distribution in the two countries. In Yugoslavia, free time was provided by each factory for employees to fill out the questionnaire in a suitable room. The result was that all those who chose to attend filled out a questionnaire. Thus, the actual and chosen sample largely coincided. In Canada, regrettably, one was unable to gain permission to stop production or to administer the questionnaire during a suitable break. Thus, the employees were given the questionnaire and asked to return it as soon as was convenient. The response rate varied from about 45% to 55%. Clearly, this was less satisfactory than one would want compared to the Yugoslav method and response rate. Nevertheless, Neal and Rettig's findings offer an important argument that there need not be bias regarding alienation levels. They state: "Fifty non-respondents were interviewed to compare -- in terms of alienation -- those who returned the mailed questionnaire with those who did not. No significant differences were found in either powerlessness or normlessness".¹ Socio-economic status is of course related to return rates and may generate some bias.²

1. Neal and Rettig, "Dimensions of Alienation ...", p.602. See also Neal and Seeman, "Organizations and Powerlessness ...", for a similar finding regarding powerlessness.

2. D. Miller, Handbook of Research Design and Social Measurement (N.Y., 1970), pp.81-83.

TABLE G-2

Factory Vocation Breakdown in Yugoslavia and Canada¹

	<u>Yugoslavia</u>			
	A	B	C	D
managerial- all levels	42 = 3.1%	27 = 3.4%	31 = 5.4%	35 = 3.2%
white collar	250 = 18.5%	140 = 17.9%	64 = 11.3%	136 = 12.4%
skilled and highly skilled	401 = 29.7%	274 = 35.1%	334 = 59.0%	240 = 21.9%
unskilled	659 = 48.7%	339 = 43.5%	137 = 24.2%	685 = 62.5%
N	<u>1,352</u>	<u>780</u>	<u>566</u>	<u>1,096</u>

	<u>Canada</u>		
	X	Y	Z*
managerial personnel- all levels	26 = 7.2%	28 = 15.6%	155 = 7.4%
white collar	30 = 8.3%	75 = 41.9%	112 = 5.4%
skilled and highly skilled	5 = 1.4%	51 = 28.5%	60 = 2.9%
unskilled	^Δ 300 = 83.1%	25 = 14.0%	1758 = 84.3%
N	<u>361</u>	<u>179</u>	<u>2085</u>

* not presently used in study

Δ no differentiation available between skilled and unskilled blue collar workers

1. Examples of jobs for each category are the following:
 managerial personnel, all levels - director, managers, department heads, foremen
 white collar employees - lower level office employees, clerks
 skilled and highly skilled workers - technicians, machinists, welders
 unskilled blue collar workers - cleaning staff, production line workers

Development of Scales

As Seeman has suggested "The indicators of alienation have not been well developed; they have largely been approximated and 'ad hoc'ed"¹ with most of the work being done on powerlessness. My own work found, similar to Finifter, that powerlessness and normlessness sub-dimensions scale more readily than does social isolation. (See TABLES H and H-1.)² This was found for both work and societal alienation. The "societal alienation" scale is Dean's general alienation scale in a shortened form.³ Examples of such items used are:

normlessness

Everything is relative and there just aren't any rules to live by.

powerlessness

Sometimes I have the feeling that other people are using me.

social isolation

Sometimes I feel all alone in the world.

Dean's items were chosen by seven judges who selected them from a group of one hundred and thirty-nine statements considered to measure alienation. As a means of confirmation, through factor analysis, those items that correlated highly together were found to form two major dimensions -- powerlessness and normlessness (see TABLES H and H-1). The actual alienation levels were measured by the use of the scaleable statements and the degree of agreement or disagreement with each statement by the respondent. The response to each item was thus scored from a range of one to five corresponding to the five possible responses (strongly agree, agree, uncertain, disagree,

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1. M. Seeman, "Alienation and Engagement", p.516.
 2. It should be noted that only one item is used to give an approximation of the societal 'social isolation' sub-scale since all other items did not scale.
 3. D. Dean, "Alienation: Its Meaning and Measurement". Only items in Dean's scale considered to be most suitable to adapt for a Yugoslav sample were used. Later dimensionality results confirmed such a decision. For an elucidation of Dean's framework see the socio-empirical chapter.
 4. Later studies and tests also used these items and scales. It has also been my experience that Dean's scale, both the longer and shorter variant, have been able to differentiate successfully between those highly alienated and those not.

strongly disagree).

Items were also taken from a number of studies dealing with factory social relations¹ and were used to develop an alienation scale within the factory. Examples of items used are:

powerlessness

I can influence decisions made in the company.

normlessness

The company is managed in a just manner.

social isolation

no item scaleable

These psychological indicators were not the only ones utilized. Other such indicators relating to alienation such as job satisfaction, sense of ownership, sense of control, were also used. As an external validation of the scales more sociological measures of alienation were also used, such as suicide rates, strikes and policy outputs.

Given the early nature of surveys on alienation, particularly cross cultural studies, a significant finding in this study is the comparable dimensionality of the scales both in capitalist Canada and communist Yugoslavia. (See TABLES H and H-1.) It suggests that concepts and scales developed and largely tested in the United States may be suitable for comparative research.²

Participation indices are based on membership in various structures such as the trade union, workers' council, management board, specialized committees. It also includes the number of verbal

1. See for example L. Pearlin, "Alienation From Work: A Study of Nursing Personnel", *ASR* Vol.27, No.3, 1962, pp.314-326, M. Aiken and J. Hage, "Organizational Alienation", and "Science Research Associates Employee Inventory", in D. Miller, *op. cit.*, pp.253-259 for similar items.

2. It is likely, as in Dean's case, that some items had to be dropped but this was less so than with a number of alienation scales, particularly political ones, which are so culture-bound and geared to American referants that it is unlikely they could be adapted for comparative research. One should note, however, that the reliability is lower for the societal-level normlessness scale. For while all items used in the scale load relatively high in both countries, two items not used in the normlessness scale also load relatively high in Canada. This suggests that the Canadian factor structure may contain some dissimilar elements.

and written suggestions submitted to various structures, the attendance at management and labour meetings and finally, the degree of knowledge and ease of access to information.

Influence indices are based on perceptions of power distribution (also status) by various strata,¹ the amount and type of communication and supervision,² and the degree to which aspirations of individuals and groups exist and are fulfilled.³

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1. Previous Yugoslav studies have found that rank and file perceptions of power distribution corresponds quite closely to actual power distribution. See for example M. Disman, op. cit., p.48.
 2. See R. Likert, New Patterns of Management (N.Y., 1961) for an elucidation.
 3. Power is described by Dahl, Modern Political Analysis (Englewood Cliffs, 1963), p.18, as the capacity of A to make B do C. Thus, in determining what C is and the degree to which A has achieved these aspirations, one may generalize as to his influence.

TABLE HDimensionality of scales: work alienation items.

	Yugoslavia		Canada	
	powerlessness	normlessness	powerlessness	normlessness
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2
1	.55*	.19	.31*	.10
2	.43*	.31	.89*	.19
3	.72*	.11	.53*	.21
4	.66*	.02	.29*	.05
5	.39	.54*	.24	.51*
6	.00	.97*	.02	.81*

TABLE H-1Dimensionality of scales: societal alienation items.

	Yugoslavia		Canada	
	powerlessness	normlessness	powerlessness	normlessness
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2
11	.21	.59*	.24	.34*
12	.32	.45*	.06	.21*
13	.23	.70*	.21	.75*
14	.40*	.28	.34*	.21
15	.80*	.19	.60*	.42
16	.67*	.27	.85*	.08
17	.51*	.33	.59*	.43

* starred items are ones used for particular scale

TABLE H-2

Alienation Items Suitable for Scaling in Yugoslavia and Canada

Item number		mean score	
		Yugoslavia	Canada
1	I can influence decisions made in the company.	2.49	3.20*
2	My supervisors indicate respect when speaking to me.	2.26*	2.13
3	I can convey complaints and suggestions freely to supervisors.	2.19*	2.09
4	I have opportunities to use my own judgement on the job.	2.06	2.12*
5	The company is managed in a just manner.	2.34	2.68*
6	Company operations are sufficiently explained.	2.60	3.00*
11	Sometimes I feel all alone in the world.	2.60*	2.39
12	Everything is relative and there just aren't any rules to live by.	2.85*	2.77
13	I often wonder what the meaning of life really is.	3.07	3.18*
14	Sometimes I have the feeling that people are using me.	2.98	2.99*
15	There are few dependable ties between people any more.	3.14*	2.91
16	There is little chance for promotion on the job unless a man gets a break.	3.05*	3.03
17	The future looks very dismal.	2.45	2.47*

* indicates higher alienation level

** 5-point scales: all coded such that high score indicates high alienation

"All our previous empirical research has shown that the structure of influence in work organizations and in those of the Socialist Alliance is autocratic."¹

Self-management "has been unsuccessful so far. It turned out to be only a different form of the feud between the bureaustructure and the technostucture ...".²

"The research on power distribution in Yugoslav companies ... showed unquestionably that the power distribution is autocratic ...".³

"Our individual organization of work is still essentially a hierarchical one ...".⁴

"... the Yugoslav system is far more democratic than is admitted in North American political science".⁵

"For the Yugoslav organizations it is characteristic that they are changing from closed hierarchical organizations to open and responsive systems".⁶

"The power distance in comparison with other enterprises from other countries is relatively small, the personal income range is also small and the cultural distance is even smaller as a result of the new mass culture".⁷

"In its pure form the self-managing relation is a polyarchic relation ... the real self-managing relationship will in practice be a combination of polyarchic and democratic relations ...".⁸

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1. J. Jerovsek, "Structure of Influence in Commune", Sociologija (Beograd, 1970), p.117.
 2. F. Bucar, "The Participation of the State and Political Organizations in the Decisions of the Working Organizations", Participation Vol.I, p.47.
 3. J. Obradovic, "Distribution of Participation in the Process of Decision Making on Problems Related to the Economic Activity of the Company", Participation Vol.II, p.161.
 4. B. Kavcic, "Some Trends in the Development of the Self-Management", Participation Vol.VI, p.166.
 5. M. Disman, "The Values and Participation: A Comparison", Participation Vol.II, p.57.
 6. V. Rus, "The Limits of Organized Participation", Participation Vol.II, p.184. See also pp.179-180 for use of the term polyarchy. See also Gorupic, "Enterprise ...", pp.85-86.
 7. Ibid., p.185.
 8. D. Gorupic, Workers' Self-Management ..., p.88 and Gorupic, Enterprise, p. 129.

Is the Yugoslav Workers' Self-Managed Factory Polyarchic?

The Yugoslav social system has undergone enormous structural changes over recent decades. These reforms were based to a large degree on ideological considerations. As empirical social science research in Yugoslavia began to develop for the first time in the sixties¹ some Yugoslav social theorists began to speculate that "Some suppositions, on which self-management were based, were illusions, and all of them were insufficiently empirically tested".² An attempt at such empirical testing will now be made.

The question as to whether the workers' self-managed factory is more polyarchic or pluralistic than the capitalist enterprise is crucial and has been the centre of divergent opinions. It is, therefore, worthy of lengthy treatment. The socialist assertion is quite clear that the socialist factory will be more democratic and thus will follow enlightened conditions and policies. There can be little doubt, however, that present nationalized factories both in the Soviet Union and Great Britain are not marked by highly participatory and pluralistic intra-factory social relations. The question posed, then, is 'Does a more radical socialist proposal, that of the establishment of a functioning factory workers' council, increase the diffusion of power?'.

Power is a difficult variable to attempt to measure but perhaps a start can be made by looking at the public's perceptions of power holders within the factory in general.³ In each factory, all respondents

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1. R. Supek, "Problems and Perspectives of Workers' Self-Management in Yugoslavia", in M. Broekmeyer, op. cit., p.230. See also B. Horvat, An Essay on Yugoslav Society, p.163.
 2. J. Jerovsek, "Self-Management System in Yugoslav Enterprises", Participation Vol.I, p.114.
 3. Such a reputational model has been the prevalent technique for attempting to determine influence levels in Yugoslav factories. A rationale for a reputational technique is R. Lippitt's finding, "The Dynamics of Power", Human Relations No.1, 1952, pp.37-64, that perception of power closely resembles the power attributed by other groups. Cited by M. Seeman, "Alienation and Estrangement", p.507. See also M. Disman, "The Values and Participation". One is aware, however, of Neal and Rettig's finding that manual workers overestimate the power of leading executives. Such overestimation, if valid, is nevertheless counter-balanced by the full range of respondents surveyed.

chosen were asked to rate all the leading structures in the enterprise as to their degree of influence. (See CHARTS I-J and II-J and TABLES J, J-1, J-2 and J-3.) Analysis of perceived amounts of influence of the various factory groups indicates influence being the greatest for the director, then the workers' council, management board, League, technical staff, supervisors and least for the union, skilled workers and unskilled workers.¹ Thus, while the director is still influential, his power has declined² as economic decentralization has occurred and his responsibility is now to that of his collective subordinates.

Rus and others have suggested that while the directors' powers have been eroded "... decentralization stopped somewhere half way. The top management in Yugoslav enterprises has much less influence than in enterprises in other countries, but the middle management has an equal ... amount of power as the top management".³ What this means

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1. J. Kolaja, in his pioneering study, found the following configuration of influence: workers' council with the most, then the director, the union and lastly, the League. Workers' Councils: The Yugoslav Experience (N.Y., 1965), p.34. J. Zupanov found the following order of influence: director, other leading personnel, workers' council, experts, political functionaries, and workers. "Is Management Becoming a Profession?", Moderna Organizacija No.10, 1968 cited in M. Broekmeyer, op. cit., p.98. See also R. Supek's ranking of director, collegium, foremen, workers' council. "Problems and Perspectives", p.233-34. D. Gorupic, Workers' Self-Management, pp.41-42, 124, also notes the dominant power of the director. An alternate mode of inferring influence levels, although less reliable, is Rus's tabulation of replies to the question "If you suffered an injustice, to whom would you turn?" the replies were: 30.2% to one's direct superior, 17.5% to the workers' council, 9.2% to the director, 9.1% to meeting of work unit, and only 8.2% to the grievance committee. Note the ranking of the council over the director for this matter. "Responsibility and Power in the Work Organizations", Moderna Organizacija 1972, p.164, cited by V. Arzenek, "Industrial Conflict in Yugoslavia", Some Yugoslav Papers Presented to the Eighth World Congress of I.S.A. (Ljubljana, 1974).
 2. I. Adizes, Industrial Democracy: Yugoslav Style (N.Y., 1971), p.203. J. Zupanov, "Is Management Becoming a Profession?", reports that 82% of the directors and 67% of professionals and leading factory officials felt that the director had too little authority. P.99.
 3. V. Rus, "The Limits of Organized Participation", p.172.

TABLE J

Mean Perceived Influence Distribution in Yugoslav Factories*

	enterprise number			
	#1	#2	#3	#4
"managerial groups"				
director	1.531	1.487	1.857	1.600
technical staff	2.304	2.333	2.146	2.182
supervisors	2.833	2.579	2.571	2.406
management board	1.867	2.189	2.130	n.a.
managerial average	2.133	2.147	2.176	2.062 A_1
"workers' groups"				
workers' council	1.958	1.641	2.042	1.657
union	2.918	2.487	2.740	2.314
skilled workers	3.104	2.919	3.000	2.882
unskilled workers	3.543	3.410	3.383	3.394
workers' average	2.880	2.616	2.791	2.561 A_2
ratio of A_2/A_1^{**}	1.350	1.218	1.283	1.242

N = 180

TABLE J-1

Mean Perceived Influence Distribution in Yugoslav Factories*

management board classified as "labour" structure				
managerial average	2.223	2.133	2.191	2.067 A_1
workers' average	2.658	2.529	2.659	2.563 A_2
ratio of A_2/A_1^{**}	1.196	1.186	1.213	1.239

* low score indicates high influence

** low score indicates greater pluralism

is that the introduction of workers' self-management, in limiting the director, has served as a means for transferring power in the factory to senior technocrats and legitimizing their technocratic orientation.¹ This has resulted in some Yugoslav sociologists suggesting that the power of professionals is too great.²

Technological and economic forces have been observed as also affecting the power diffusion in the factories³ and Supek's research found that "... at the handicraft and the mechanized levels of production the director comes first, whereas at the automated level the engineers come first. One might say that the sociocratic structure of power is changing into a technocratic structure of power".⁴ He thus concludes that technological developments have a partial democratizing effect upon factory social relations.⁵ Jerovsek has also found that solvency affects power distribution for "In the highly efficient organizations, the total amount of influence is greater than in the less efficient organizations".⁶

Apart from the formal accountability of the director and all staff to the workers' council, there are other formal structural mechanisms designed to generate polyarchic tendencies. For example,

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1. I. Adizes, Industrial Democracy: Yugoslav Style, p.222. Note the contrast to the West where workers' self-management is suggested as a means of reducing the power of the technocrats.
 2. D. Gorupic, Workers' Self-Management, p.63.
 3. Note the compatibility of this framework to that of Woodward and Blauner.
 4. R. Supek, "Problems and Perspectives", p.234. See also R. Supek, "Two Types of Self-Managing Organizations", p.169.
 5. Ibid., p.168. V. Rus, "Influence Structure in Yugoslav Enterprises", Industrial Relations Vol.9, No.2, does not confirm Supek for Rus found that "contrary to expectations, influence distribution does not seem to be affected by technology; enterprises in different industries and with different levels of mechanization have almost the same distribution of influence". P.154.
 6. J. Jerovsek, "Self-Management System in Yugoslav Enterprises", p.118.

Adizes notes that,

In addition to rotation, in council and board memberships pluralism makes the development of an elite even more difficult.... The Director cannot be the President of the Council or of the Board; the President of the Council cannot be a member of the Board. Thus, the three top positions - those of the Director, the Presidents of the Council and of the Board - are held by three different people. Furthermore, the Secretaries General of the company's Communist Party, the Trade Union and the Youth Brigade normally are three additional people.

From a different perspective, the Yugoslav system, as sampled in Slovenia, seems to have polyarchic elements, particularly when one compares structures traditionally associated with 'labour' (e.g. workers' council, union, skilled and unskilled workers) and those associated with management (e.g. director, management board, supervisors, and technical staff).² Thus, respondents' perceptions of group influence suggest that the system is fairly polyarchic.³ The ratio of managerial bodies' influence to labours', for example, is 1.278/1.000 (i.e. management bodies are approximately 28% more influential). (See TABLE J-4.) Indeed, if one looks at CHART II-J one notes that only the director is perceived as being more influential than the workers' council.

When Canadian factories were rated by the same method one found the influence ratio of managerial to labour structures as 1.345/1.000 (i.e. a 35% difference). (See TABLE J-4.) Power equalization is

1. I. Adizes, Industrial Democracy: Yugoslav Style, p.49.
2. One classifies these structures while recognizing the difficulty of such a task. For example, how should the management board be classified? Clearly a plausible theoretical argument can be made for either category and one has, therefore, calculated the relevant findings twice - once with the management board as a management structure and once as a workers' structure. The League is even more difficult to classify and since in none of the factories did it rank higher than either the director or the workers' council in influence, it has been omitted from these particular calculations. Such a position is also partially supported by Kolaja's observation that the League is less a specific initiator in the factory and more a general observer and censor. Kolaja, Workers' Councils, p.63.
3. A similar conclusion is reached by J. Rawlin, "Social Values and the Managerial Structure: The Case of Yugoslavia and Poland", Journal of Comparative Administration No.2, 1970, pp.131-159.

TABLE J-2

Comparison of Mean Perceived Influence Distribution
in Yugoslavia and Canada*

	Yugoslavia		Canada	
	average ideal	average actual	average ideal	average actual
"managerial groups"				
director	1.702	1.628	1.747	1.876
technical staff	1.928	2.241	2.768	3.371
supervisors	2.345	2.617	2.358	2.763
board of directors	-----	-----	2.330	2.422
department heads	-----	-----	2.160	2.656
management board	1.603	2.055	-----	-----
managerial average	1.895	2.135	2.273	2.618
				A ₁
"workers' groups"				
workers' council	1.380	1.847	-----	-----
union	1.824	2.647	2.326	2.979
skilled workers	2.357	2.988	2.742	3.408
unskilled workers	2.675	3.436	3.242	4.177
workers' average	2.059	2.729	2.770	3.521
				A ₂
ratio of A ₂ /A ₁ **	1.087	1.278	1.219	1.345

TABLE J-3

Comparison of Mean Perceived Influence Distribution in Yugoslavia and Canada*

management board classified as a labour structure				
managerial average	1.992	2.162	n.a.	n.a.
workers' average	1.968	2.595		
ratio of A ₂ /A ₁ **	.988	1.200		

* low scores indicate greater influence

** low scores indicate greater pluralism

CHART II-J Average Perceived Influence of various groups - Yugoslavia

h influence

CHART III -J Perceived influence of various groups - Canada.

perceived as being more developed in Yugoslavia than in Canada.¹ In both systems, however, respondents indicated a wish for a more widespread diffusion of power. Yugoslav democratic aspirations, despite a shorter history of democratic experience, were nevertheless stronger than Canadian. Indeed, the Yugoslavs seemed to seek a unit veto system in which each set of 'management' structures and 'labour' structures were almost equal in power (i.e. approaching a ratio of 1:1) and thus capable of counter-balancing each other. Perceptions both of the actual and desired influence levels are more polyarchic or democratic in Yugoslavia than in Canada.²

TABLE J-4

Comparison of Managerial Influence in Canada and Yugoslavia

	Canada	Yugoslavia	
ideal	1.219	1.087	
actual	1.345	1.278	
	N = 101	N = 180	total N = 281

derived from TABLES J-2 and J-3.

no significance test available, lower score indicates greater pluralism

Such evidence is also partially confirmed by responses as to one's sense of personal influence in the enterprise. For the question 'How much influence do persons such as yourself have upon the way

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1. Such a finding corroborates Tannenbaum and his associates' tentative suggestion that Yugoslav enterprises are the least hierarchical of those analyzed in five countries. Tannenbaum et al., Hierarchy in Organizations (pre-publication draft). Indeed, this is a partial reflection of Zupanov's finding that equality is the most highly stressed value of workers. S. Bolcic, "The Value System of a Participatory Economy", Participation Vol.I, p.111.
 2. These data confirm B. Kavcic's proposition that "the more democratic is the distribution of real influence, the more democratic is the desired distribution of the ideal influence ...". B. Kavcic, "Some Trends in the Development of the Self-Management", Participation Vol.6, p.170.

the company is run?' the following results were tabulated:

TABLE J-5

Comparison of Labour's Sense of Influence in Yugoslavia and Canada*¹

	Yugoslavia	Canada
	3.382	3.950
SD	.945	1.146
	N = 123	N = 80

t-test significant at .01² 3.66 > 2.2326 df 201

lower score indicates greater influence

*'labour' - production and clerical workers

Individual Yugoslav labourers indicate a greater sense of self-influence than Canadian labourers. Perhaps paradoxically management replies to the same question provided the following results:

TABLE J-6

Comparison of Management's Sense of Influence in Yugoslavia and Canada*

	Yugoslavia	Canada
	2.745	3.200
SD	.627	1.240
	N = 51	N = 20

t-test not significant at .05₃ 1.527 < 1.671 df 69
significant at .10₃

*'management' - junior, middle and senior management, professionals

Clearly, Yugoslav managers perceive that they have greater influence within the factories than do the Canadian counterparts. The question

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1. I am using the term not in the Marxian sense of ownership but in terms of power. See R. Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society (Stanford, 1959). See also M. Djilas, The New Class (London, 1957) and J. Burnham, The Managerial Revolution (London, 1942).
 2. See methodology chapter for an explanation of the meaning of t-test.
 3. While the data are statistically valid only at the .10 level, I have chosen in this instance only to note the findings as likely to be valid.

thus arises 'are the workers merely being duped and do the managers still run everything?'. Certainly these are important questions and should not be dismissed too lightly. However, a plausible explanation of these apparently contradictory phenomena of both Yugoslav labourers and managers feeling a greater sense of influence is that communication and hence influence patterns might be more effective in the Yugoslav system. In other words, rather than the labour-management system being perceived as a conflict orientated zero-sum game¹ in which one must lose for the other to gain, it may be perceived as a co-operative plus-sum game.² In such a social setting all may feel that their sense of influence has increased. Such an hypothesis is also suggested by the work of R. Likert³ in which he found that among the more democratic American factories total influence by all groups was greater than among less democratic ones. Thus, if one looks at CHART IV-J one finds that a similar phenomenon is suggested by a comparison of Yugoslav and Canadian influence levels.⁴

Different conclusions as to the polyarchic nature are derived when one compares labour versus management on self-influence within

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1. See M. Kaplan, System and Process in International Politics (N.Y., 1957) particularly chapters nine and ten.
 2. That is to say the two variables are the total amount of influence and the percentage breakdown in distribution. If the former can be increased then cooperation is possible. See V. Rus, "Power Relationships Between Territorial and Work Organizations", Some Yugoslav Papers. See also TABLE D-1 in the chapter on statement of central hypotheses.
 3. R. Likert, New Patterns of Management (N.Y., 1961), p.98. See also M. Rosner, "Self-Management in Kibbutz Industry", Participation Vol.4, p.111. J. Jerovsek, "Structure of Influence in Commune", Sociologija pp.118-119, 135, found that total influence also correlated positively to economic efficiency.
 4. An alternative explanation might be that Yugoslav respondents simply rate influence levels higher than Canadian respondents. Disman, op. cit., p.48, suggests, and my observations agree, that in general Slovenes are reserved and skeptical and therefore this hypothesis is unlikely.

CHART IV-J Perceptions of Actual Power in Canada and Yugoslavia.

high influence

Yugoslav factories:

TABLE J-7

Comparison of Sense of Self-Influence by Class on Yugoslavia

	labour	management	
	3.382	2.745	
SD	.945	.627	
	N = 123	N = 51	
t-test significant at .01	5.221	2.576	df 172
low score indicates greater influence			

and within Canadian factories:

TABLE J-8

Comparison of Sense of Self-Influence by Class in Canada

	labour	management	
	3.950	3.200	
SD	1.146	1.240	
	N = 80	N = 20	
t-test significant at .02	2.396	2.390	df 98

In both systems, regarding individual influence, one notes that there is still a marked dissimilarity between labour and management influence. In this sense, little differs between the two systems.

Contrary to what one might expect from self-management theorists, more Canadian workers sampled reported making suggestions about the enterprise operation than did Yugoslavs (see TABLE J-9). The difference seems rather pronounced¹ and suggests a rather critical finding for the self-management system. Some persons have suggested that given a workers' council system, many workers may feel they have collective

1. It is difficult, however, to discern what effect the larger non-response rate in Canada and smaller Canadian factories might have on this comparison.

representatives and influence and, therefore, there is little need to make personal suggestions. I think such an argument suffers from the criticism that those who personally know and can identify with their representatives ought to be more inclined to convey opinions on certain issues since there would be few barriers and inhibitions to such communication.

TABLE J-9

Comparison of Suggestions Made Concerning Operation of the Company by Class in Yugoslavia and Canada

Yugoslavia			
	yes	no	total
labour	37.1%	62.9%	100%
management	82.4%	17.6%	100%
N = 177 phi -.40 tau-c -.38			
χ^2 .01 significant			
Canada			
	yes	no	total
labour	51.9%	48.1%	100%
management	89.5%	10.5%	100%
N = 98 phi -.27 tau-c -.23			
χ^2 .01 significant			

Another indicator of the extent of egalitarianism in the Yugoslav factory system is to analyze the distribution of economic benefits such as wages. Here one finds that the ratio of average wage scales of the director to unskilled labour ranges from 4.8/1 to 3.4/1. (See TABLE J-10).¹

1. J. Kolaja, Workers' Councils, p.32, found the ratio to be 4:1. R. Supsek in Broekmeyer, op. cit., reports a 5:1 ratio and A. Sturmthal, Workers' Councils, p.106, suggests 3:1. It is important to note that a high percentage of managers feel their salaries are too low. See Broekmeyer, op. cit., p.103.

TABLE J-10

Comparison of Monthly Wage Scales (New Dinars) in Yugoslav Factories

	1	2	3	4
director	6700	5400	5150	5000
senior supervisor	5000	4000	4402	3800-4800
middle management	4000	3500	3350	3500
foremen	3000	2600	2535	3500
skilled workers	2200	1300-2000	1934	1800-2500
unskilled workers	1400	1000-1500	1423	1350-1550
ratio of director's salary to unskilled	4.786	4.320	3.619	3.448
difference between director's salary and unskilled	5300	4150	3727	3550

This seems quite sizeable for a socialist system although not as extreme as often occurs in large capitalist corporations.¹ Thus, one's evaluation of this aspect of the Yugoslav self-managed factory is muted optimism. One should, however, be careful not to infer that such low wage differentials are necessarily a result of self-management, for some authors have noted that this is a continuation of a policy begun in the more centralist socialist period.² Despite certain levels of inequality, one's overall evaluation

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1. M. Argyle, The Social Psychology of Work (Harmondsworth, 1972) cites the differentials in capitalist countries such as the United States and Western Europe as 10:1, p.254. Japanese wage differentials are, however, lower than the United States also. Ibid., p.219. Note that hidden fringe benefits have not been calculated.
 2. Indeed, Horvat et al. suggest that "... in 1952 the trade unions fixed the salaries of the directors on the basis of the wages of unskilled workers multiplied by three in small enterprises and by five in the largest enterprises ...". B. Horvat and V. Rascovic, "Workers' Management in Yugoslavia: A Comment", Journal of Political Economy April 1959 cited in A. Sturmthal, Workers' Councils, p.115.

of general influence levels in the Yugoslav self-managing factories, as operating in the most industrialized region, is one of limited but significant gains in the direction of factory polyarchy (i.e. substantial influence by both working class and professional groups).

The matters of influence levels and polyarchy can also be seen by analyzing knowledge, interest and participation levels. Without a doubt, the latter are key prerequisites for the former. Turning first to information dispersion, Tanic¹ notes that there is a low level of accurate, factual knowledge about the self-management system (see TABLE J-11). Such low knowledge levels are confirmed by my own research in which the overwhelming majority of persons did not know the answer to the question 'What were the enterprise's profits and income last year?'.² Knowledge of the answer to such a question seems essential to any effectively functioning workers' self-management.

TABLE J-11

Level of Factual Knowledge in Yugoslavia about Workers' Self-Management

topic	don't know	partial	well	very well	excellent
1) self-management structure in enterprise	20%	19%	13%	18%	30%
2) competence of self-management organs in the enterprise	20%	24%	21%	21%	14%

1. Z. Tanic, "Dimensions and Factors of the Aperception of Self-Management", Participation Vol.1, pp.141-142. Certainly, the rapid migration after the War from the rural areas to the cities meant that a substantial portion of the new industrial workers were illiterate or had very low levels of education.
2. This general lack of economic knowledge is corroborated by a report that only 2.7% of employees knew their factory's earnings. Bilten Gradske Konferencije SKH i Gradske Konferencije SSRNH (Zagreb, 1969), cited in Broekmeyer, op. cit., p.93. One must cede that more approximate knowledge of relative profits and income as compared to previous years might suffice on occasion.

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TABLE J-12

Comparison of Yugoslav Workers' Councils in Operation

factory	1	2	3	4
size	40	35	34	35
frequency of meetings	monthly	monthly	monthly or every 6 weeks	monthly
meeting length	2 hours			
attendance rate of members	75%	70%	70%	90%
attendance rate of non-members	10 persons	10 persons, director always		
time of meeting	working hours			
president of workers' council	1-2 days preparation before each meeting		8 hours per week, <u>not</u> member of any committees	
committees of workers' council	6 apartment loans, apartments, salaries, work norms, personnel problems, education	7	14	7
average committee size	5	5	6	
frequency of meetings	2-4 times a year			
attendance rate	100%			
committee composition	<u>not</u> usually members of council	<u>not</u> usually members of council	<u>not</u> usually members of council 9 of 82	
president of committee	usually mem- ber of coun- cil or board	<u>not</u> usually member of council	<u>not</u> usually member of council only 1 of 14 committees also research for board	
committee				

TABLE J-13

Comparison of Yugoslav Management Boards in Operation*

factory	1	2	3	4
size	9	7 no overlap 7	9 full 4 alternates	collegium only 5
frequency of meetings	monthly	1-2 monthly	monthly	twice a month
meeting length	4½ hours			
attendance rate of members		90%	90%	
time of meeting	working hours		working hours	
overlap of board members on council	4/8 on council, <u>most</u> members of committees	3/8, committees in-formal links	6/9, 6 on committees also	
non-members attendance	10, (e.g. League, union, middle management	8 managers attend personnel board		
comments		'too many committees hence little overlap'		meeting of union, League and council officials 7 committees

*Data for these charts were based on oral elite interviews in the same factories in which the mass survey questionnaire was distributed. Given the time constraints, the less structured nature of the interviews and the repetition of certain phenomena, data on all questions were not collected from each factory.

TABLE J-14

Comparison of Yugoslav Workers' Council Composition by Skill

factory	1	2	3	4
skill				
semi-skilled	12	14	2	20
skilled	-	8	19	-
technical school	7	4	5	6
high school	16	6	4	6
2 year college	2	-	3	3
university	3	-	1	3
total	40	32	34	35
male	34	29	33	30
female	6	3	1	5

TABLE J-15

Comparison of Yugoslav Management Board Composition by Skill

factory	1	2	3	4
		commer- cial board	per- sonnel board	
skill				
semi-skilled	1		1	n.a.
skilled	-		1	
technical school	-		2	
high school	4		5	
2 year college	2	3	1	
university	2	4	2	
unknown			1	
total	9	7	9	
male	8	7	9	
female	1	-	1	

TABLE J-16

Comparison of Yugoslav League of Communists Activity

	1	2	3	4
number of members	30	56	55	56
percentage of work-force members	2.3%	7.8%	6.6%	5.0%
size executive	5	7	8	
frequency of executive meetings	weekly during work	2-3 per month	monthly	twice monthly
frequency membership meets	monthly	monthly	every 3 months	monthly
when membership meets	working hours	outside working hours		
number of women		4	3	

TABLE J-17

Comparison of Yugoslav Union Activity

	1	2	3	4
frequency of meetings		1-2 monthly	monthly	
size of executive			15 5 supervisors	
union official function	2 hours a day, deals with education and recreation	5 hours weekly, election lists		

A possible major cause of low knowledge levels is the substantial number of committee and executive meetings during working hours (see TABLES J-12, J-13, J-16 and J-17). This certainly limits the number of persons who can attend and increases the likelihood that council information for most persons is derived second hand. Indeed, such speculation is confirmed by my findings that over 50.6% of the respondents replied that they never attend council meetings, 65.5% never attend management board meetings and 49.8% never attend union meetings.¹ The dilemma here is that to have meetings outside working hours, while fitting in with the ideal of democratically active and committed factory citizens, would in actual experience mean substantial sacrifices of time by participants and observers and discourage many from seeking candidacy. To hold meetings during working hours with financial remuneration encourages labourers to be candidates, but since few non-members will be in attendance it increases the element of secrecy, low knowledge about meetings, and consequently fosters a sense of estrangement between workers and their representatives.² Such

1. Two of these percentages are likely to be conservative indicators of non-attendance since many unskilled persons, who in all likelihood did not attend board and union meetings, did not fill out this particular question (e.g. 8 out of 180 on council, 49 out of 180 on management board, 21 out of 180 on union). Attendance is even lower when one contrasts labour's responses to management's for general attendance at meetings.

	low to moderately low	average	moderately high to high
labour	79.1%*	11.0%	9.9%
management	28.9%	21.1%	50.0%*

J. Brekic reports that attendance rates are higher at meetings of the work units than at the factory level. This may in part explain the motivation for introducing the works units and later the system of delegates, since the effect of both has been to increase worker contact with elected representatives. See J. Brekic, "Inquiry - Direct Producers in Zagreb Industry" (Zagreb, 1969) cited in Gorupic, Workers' Self-Management, p.69. Note the similarity to Goldthorpe's finding in England that 60% never attend union meetings. Class Structure, p.99, 52% never vote in union elections, ibid., p.102 and that participation is much higher at the work unit level, ibid., p.169

2. D. Gorupic reports that such low factual information has its counterpart in that one quarter of the workers felt that issues were ...

gaps can only partially be overcome by an effective reporting of meetings.¹

Since knowledge largely correlates with interest levels, one notes that interest in enterprise affairs varies according to the nature of the topic. Thus, one finds that the majority of employees are interested in active participation on social problems such as income levels, hiring and firing, and work discipline but are less interested in more technical matters such as marketing and investments. For example, Arzenšek² found the following variation:

TABLE J-18

Percent of Employed People Wishing to Participate
in Decision-Making by Topic

marketing	17%
public relations	21%
investments	28%
hiring and firing in organizational units	40%
distribution of personal income	48%
conditions of working place	50%
discipline and labour relations	59%

insufficiently explained to them. Gorupic, Workers' Self-Management, p.132. See also F. Geyer, "Alienation" for a theoretical discussion of this problem.

1. Gorupic notes that there are only 578 information newspapers in Yugoslav factories, Workers' Self-Management, p.130. When one considers that there are over 11,817 factories in Yugoslavia this seems low indeed. Of the four factories that I studied in detail, one had a very effective enterprise newspaper.
2. V. Arzenšek, "Participacija in avtokratsko vodenje", Moderna Organizacija No.7, 1968 cited by V. Rus, "Influence Structure in Yugoslav Enterprises", Industrial Relations Vol.9, No. 2, p.159. See also S. Mozina, "The Interest of the Members of Self-Management Institutions in Decision-Making", (unpublished paper) and S. Bolcic, "Value System ...", p.103. One positive sign, however, is that the variety of topics covered in council meetings is increasing. Z. Tanic, "Neke tendencije u dosadasnjem radu radnickih saveta", Sociologija Vol.3, No.2, cited by Kolaja, Workers' Councils, p.23.

One thus must conclude from the study of general interest and knowledge levels that while formal structures to enhance information access have been created, there is still a considerable lack of active use of such a format by the majority of the employees.¹ Without sustained interest and detailed knowledge on the part of the workers, one must question how authentic is participation² and how viable is power diffusion?

Turning to general activeness of the various bodies in the self-managed factory, one notes that the data in TABLES J-12 to J-17 indicate that there are a large number of monthly meetings by different organizations (e.g. management board, workers' council, League, union) and that it seems to be then in this respect an active social system.³ It is not known how closely the meetings cluster together, but certainly the problems of overlapping membership and time restraints seem likely. Indeed, one leading official (a member of the management board) suggested to me that "there are too many committees and meetings for a single individual to participate in". This large number of meetings certainly begins to suggest a reason for such a low overlap of membership (one in nine) on the actual workers' council and its committees.

One positive feature of the low overlap of membership on committees and council is that from a mass participatory point of view far more persons are active than mere workers' council membership statistics suggest.⁴ This bodes well that a polyarchic system is present.

1. See also J. Kolaja, Workers' Councils, p.58.

2. See J. Townsend, Political Participation in Communist China (Berkeley, 1969) for a comprehensive discussion of mobilized versus democratic participation.

3. See A. Etzioni, The Active Society, passim.

4. Gorupic notes that more persons are members of the council's committees (22%) than are actual council members (19%). Statisticki Bilten #564 cited by D. Gorupic, Workers' Self-Management, p.206. Hunnius, in an interview with a leading Yugoslav official, was told that 700,000 persons a year are active in all self-management structures. G. Hunnius, "Workers' Self-Management in Yugoslavia", in Hunnius et al., Workers' Control, p.320.

Since the workers' council is the most important group structure in the factory¹ some authors have suggested that it is the major forum for debate and conflict between various interests (particularly management and labour) within the factory.² Thus, to determine the level of polyarchy within the firm one should also focus upon the manner of decision-making and the amount of pluralism possible in the council. Certain authors such as Gorupic³, echoing J.S. Mill,⁴ have warned of the danger of the tyranny of the majority over the minority. Some have even gone so far as to suggest that a system of greater pluralism and coalition decision-making is required so that "... the management of an organization should express its coalition character ... The Symbol of the modern production, of modern life, is comanagement, comanagement of all participants at all levels".⁵ Thus, the debate focuses upon whether the workers' council and its committees should have undivided sovereignty within the enterprise or whether a business board composed 'ex officio' of senior management should take on certain tasks.⁶ The problem of the former is the lack of expertise of rank and file employees while the latter's problem is that co-determination rather than workers' self-management emerges. With these theoretical questions in mind, one should now turn to an analysis of the operation of the council and the question of how polyarchic the council is in practice.

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1. J. Kolaja, Workers' Councils, p.63. Certainly this body has the most legitimacy from a socialist perspective and thus its approval is imperative in any key enterprise matters.
 2. Note Rus's comment that "... the work organization is not homogeneous either in respect to functions or interests". V. Rus, "Problems of Responsibility in Selfmanagerial Industrial Organizations", Sociologija, pp.112-113.
 3. D. Gorupic, Workers' Self-Management, p.94.
 4. J.S. Mill, On Liberty (N.Y., 1947).
 5. F. Bucar, "Participation of State and Political Organizations", p.60.
 6. D. Gorupic, Workers' Self-Management, pp.64-65. See T. Hobbes, J. Bodin and J. Locke for theoretical discussions of the problem of sovereignty.

In terms of actual participation in elective self-management structures, a considerable accomplishment has been achieved in that over 179,754 persons are members of factory self-management bodies in any one year.¹

A high total participation in self-management, while a strong positive sign, is not a guarantee that all persons have equal likelihood of participating. In recent years there are indications that the egalitarian element in participation is receding when one analyzes council membership data. Indeed, Goricar observes the "The number of managing personnel experts, and administrative personnel in the Workers' Council has increased by 9.6% in the last decade (from 1960 to 1970) and by 23.0% in the Management Boards".² This is corroborated by Rus's assertion that there has been a decline in the ratio of blue collar workers on the council from 3:4 in 1960 to 2:3 in 1970.³ Another inequalitarian feature is that the majority of working class members of council are skilled and have higher education levels.⁴

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1. Statisticki Godisnjak Jugoslavije 1971 (herein cited SYI-1971), p.65. Indeed, A. Tannenbaum and his associates, Hierarchy in Organizations, found that Yugoslavia has one of the most formal participatory enterprise systems of the five countries studied. As early as 1957, Sturmtal, Workers' Councils, p.109, noted that more than a third of all workers had served as council members and in 1956 an average of 88% of the workers voted in council elections (p.110). He also noted the high electability of those nominees on the trade union lists (i.e. 121,648 of 124,204). Barbic found the following citizen participation levels in Yugoslavia: general voting 80%, member of the Socialist Alliance 51%, member of workers' council or one of its specialized committees 20%, League member 14%. A. Barbic, "Citizen Participation in Four Yugoslav Republics", Participation Vol.6, p.24. She concludes that participation at the sub-systemic local level is higher in Yugoslavia than in the United States. Ibid., p.26.
 2. Goricar, "Workers' Self-Management: Ideal Type - Social Reality", p.26.
 3. V. Rus, "Limits of Organized Participation", p.171 and SYI-1971, p.65.
 4. See SYI-1971, p.65 and Yugoslav Survey Vol.6, 1965, p.916.

While it seems quite acceptable for any self-management system to encourage the election of the most capable personnel, one must recognize that the educative function of general mass participation is lessened in that those most needing such educative experience are not participating and thus are not learning to any extensive degree. When one looks at council membership, controlling for other executive positions, the following results are found:

TABLE J-19

Functions Held in Socio-Political Organizations of the Undertakings by Members of Central and Departmental Workers' Councils and Boards of Management, in 1968.¹

Kind of function	Number of members	Percentage composition
Members of workers' council - total	82,592	100%
Of which:		
A) No other function		84.2%
B) Holding only functions in:	11,665	14.1%
Trade Union	6,859	58.9
League of Communists	3,800	32.5
Youth organization	1,006	8.6
C) Holding simultaneous functions in:	1,415	1.7%
Trade union and League of Communists	1,156	81.7
Trade union and youth organization	177	12.5
League of Communists and youth organization	22	1.5
Trade union, youth organization and League of Communists	60	4.3

1. Statisticki Bilten #564, Tables 2-8, cited by D. Gorupic, Workers' Self-Management, p.208. Regrettably I was unable to evaluate such findings in my own study since the cluster of three questions relating to League membership and executive positions held were the only items deleted by Yugoslav officials.

It is difficult to estimate at what percentage an overlap might begin to suggest a power elite in the Yugoslav factory. Even the findings that 53.6% of members of council and management board are newly elected (39.8% have been elected two to four times)¹ and that there is a substantial turnover in membership cannot resolve the question, 'Is the substantial but segmented participation by many a democratic facade covering over the predominance of a few senior executives who mobilize the masses?'².

An analysis of the committees of the workers' councils serves to heighten the concern that managerial and skilled personnel (the technocracy in the words of Bucar and others) may in fact prevail over elected representatives. While there is little data in general on the role of the specialized committees of the workers' council and regrettably my own study scarcely reduces this neglect,³ one thing is clear, however. The analogy of the parliamentary system with its specialized committees composed entirely of assembly members breaks down in that very few council members are also on committees.⁴ In some factories council influence is greater in that the chairman of such committees must be either a member of the council or board. It is my estimate that since the key function of these committees is to draft proposals, and since no Yugoslav data is available on their composition, it is likely that the percentage of skilled and professional staff is high. Thus, the committees seem to be providing a "civil service" function to the factory parliament and with the

1. Statisticki Bilten #564 cited by Gorupic, Workers' Self-Management, p.207. See also I.L.O., Workers' Management in Yugoslavia, p.80, that only 40% were re-elected.

2. See V. Rus, "Limits of Organized Participation", pp.171, 175, in which he asks, 'is it participative management or managed participation?' He answers with the Marxist conclusion that management must be more democratized or there must be greater direct worker participation.

3. J. Kolaja, Workers' Councils, p.27, found that these committees were composed of union, youth and management officials.

4. I. Adizes, Industrial Democracy, p.36, corroborates my finding.

same danger of potentially overwhelming the factory parliamentarians. Indeed, when one notes that ten non-members often attend council meetings and that council attendance by members is on average seventy-six percent (see TABLE J-12) one can discern that for matters of discussion the ratio is on average ten non-members to twenty-eight members. Only members have the right to vote, of course, and in the final analysis the council is formally supreme. However, if the matters are of a complex technical nature, it is likely that these committees will be the source of much actual decision-making with the council merely serving to ratify.¹

While participation as members in self-managed bodies such as the workers' council and its committees is more extensive (i.e. more people are participating) than one might have initially thought, participation is less intensive than expected. For example, attendance by council members averages only seventy percent (see TABLE J-20). Another potential problem with the attendance levels is that attendance is taken and absentees are noted.² This in itself is reasonable, but in two factories there was clear evidence that the coding for non-attendance was dichotomized into excusable and non-excusable. How such a judgment was arrived at and by whom becomes a crucial factor.³ Clearly attendance rates are a useful device for the rank and file to evaluate their elected representatives, but it can also indicate an aspect of possible management mobilization⁴ of employees when non-attendance is evaluated in such a way.

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1. See J. Obradovic, "Distribution of Participation in the Process of Decision-Making on Problems Related to the Economic Activity of the Company", Participation Vol.2, passim. Golcic also suggests that many decisions are made prior to the council meeting and are merely passed without changes in the council. Golcic, "Struktura utjecaja u radnickom savjetu u nekim poduzecima u Jugoslaviji; analiza strukture utjecaja u samoupravnom odlucivanju u brodogradilistu", (Zagreb, 1970) cited by W. Dunn, "Economics of Organizational Ideology", Participation Vol.6, p.204. See also I. Adises, op. cit., for a similar position.
 2. See also I. Adises, Industrial Democracy, p.116 for confirmation.
 3. One can also ask a similar and unresolved question as to who determined in the past who were to meet the quota of production workers on the management board. See I.L.O., Workers' Management in Yugoslavia, p.86-87. The quota has since been abandoned.
 4. See V. Stanovcic, "Comment" in Teorija in Praksa (Ljubljana, 1969) p.246. For a detailed outline of totalitarian participation . . .

TABLE J-20

Workers' Council Attendance Rates in Two Yugoslav Factories

	number of members	present	excusable	non- excusable	attendance rate
factory #3					
	35	27	4	4	77.1
	35	22	6	7	62.9
	35	25	6	4	71.5
	35	27	4	4	77.1
	35	19	7	9	54.3
	35	24	6	5	68.6
	35	29	3	3	82.9
	33	24	2	7	72.1
	33	19	7	7	57.6
	33	22	2	9	66.7
	33	21	9	3	63.6
	32	21	6	5	65.6
	31	21	9	1	67.7
	31	21	7	3	67.7
	31	25	5	1	80.7
average	34	23	6	5	69.1
factory #2					
	34	28	6	-	82.4
	34	29	5	-	85.3
	35	14	18	3	40.0
	32	20	9	3	62.5
	32	24	8	-	75.0
	32	21	9	2	65.6
average	33	23	9	1	68.5

number of meetings attended in factory #2 by non-members of council:
 director, all six; union president, four; other top management, 2.6
 (averaged)

The phenomena of uneven participation and strong managerial and professional influence within the workers' council¹ can be particularly discerned when one observes the following frequency of discussion at council meetings by various groups.² (TABLE J-21.)

TABLE J-21

Frequency of Discussion in Council by Various Groups

	chairman	members	non-members	issue topic
frequency of discussion ³	27.6%	26.2%	46.2%*	market matters
	22.9%	35.9%	41.1%*	co-operation with other companies
	19.5%	41.1%*	39.4%	wage distribution

In two out of the three categories non-members dominated the discussion and in the third category of wage distributions, non-member participation was quite substantial. Who, then, are these non-members who so actively partake in council discussions? From previous studies and confirmed by my own observations, the non-council members attending and actively participating at council meetings are the director, top management personnel and other leading officials such as the president of the trade union, president of the management board and secretary of the factory League of Communists cell.⁴ The impact of the non-

see also Townsend, op. cit., and Z. Brzezinski, Ideology and Power in Soviet Politics (N.Y., 1962).

1. Arzenek notes that the "... two most influential groups within the workers' council are the management of the enterprise and the professionals...". V. Arzenek, "Industrial Conflict in Yugoslavia", Some Yugoslav Papers, p.16.
2. One should note that Kolaja, Workers' Councils, p.23, reports that the director's impact upon the council meeting is high even before it is convened since he is consulted by the president of the workers' council as to the councils' agenda.
3. Data derived from pp.144-162 of J. Obradovic, "Distribution of Participation ...". Note that council members are only 1.3% of the total enterprise personnel.
4. I. Adizes, Industrial Democracy, p.127, reports that the director speaks for an average of one hour before the workers' council. . . .

councillors is even higher in all three topic categories when one analyzes proposals passed by council. (TABLE J-22.)

TABLE J-22
Frequency of Proposals by Selected Groups Passed by Council¹

	chairman	members	non-members	topic
proposals	30.2%	14.1%	55.6%*	market matters
accepted	37.8%	14.3%	47.9%*	enterprise co-operation
	43.8%*	14.8%	41.4%	wage dis- tribution

Controlling for League membership, one observes that three-quarters of the participants, duration of discussion and accepted proposals were by League members. (TABLE J-23.)

TABLE J-23
Percentage of League Members Involved in Council Activities²

	market	enterprise co-operation	wages
frequency of discussion	73.0%	77.6%	76.0%
duration of discussion	72.3%	77.0%	74.4%
accepted proposals	69.7%	76.5%	80.9%
League members as percentage of employed	12.9%		

As in the case of membership on council, a greater proportion of skilled persons prevail in council discussions.

Kolaja, Workers' Councils, p.45, notes that the director, also being a senior League official, dominated council sessions. Obradovic, "Distribution of Participation", suggests that executives dominate 75% of the meeting.

1. Data derived from J. Obradovic, "Distribution of Participation", pp.144-162.

2. Ibid., pp.144-162.

TABLE J-24

Percentage with College Education in Council Discussions¹

	market	enterprise co-operation	wages
frequency of discussion	50.2%	52.2%	48.0%
duration (time)	73.6%	59.1%	60.1%
accepted proposals	50.7%	52.9%	42.0%

The findings on council meetings suggest that to a considerable degree technocrats and other officials are quite influential. Nevertheless on some issues, particularly wages, worker and council activity is somewhat greater, suggesting that the council cannot be dismissed as simply a management structure. It is clearly a forum for ensuring that workers have access to rewards, can question leading professionals and executives and one should, therefore, expect, particularly at the outset, such personnel will speak out.² Nevertheless, such professional predominance, coupled with the remoteness of some elected representatives, sometimes gives rise to the feeling that the council does not reflect the majority will.³

A reason for this attitude emerging on occasion is the dual nature of Yugoslav factory structure. It is both a technical hierarchy and a social democracy.⁴ Such a system of dual structures and compliance frequently has led to confusion. As one leading Yugoslav

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1. Ibid., pp.144-162. One should note that college graduates compose 6.4% of the employed.
 2. Indeed, one can note that in the question period in the House of Commons, the government ministers usually speak longer than the questioners, but this does not in any way diminish the fact that this is the opposition's hour.
 3. I. Kristan, "Comment" in S. Kranjc, Teorija in Praksa (Ljubljana, 1969).
 4. J. Zupanov, "Grafikon utjecaja kao analiticko orudje za izucavanje strukturalne promjene socijalne organizacije poduzeca" Ph.D. dissertation, Zagreb, 1974, pp.117-118 cited by Gorupic, The Enterprise and The Development of Yugoslav Economic System (Zagreb, 1974), p.89. It is important to note that both Zupanov and Gorupic use the term "polyarchy". See, for example, Gorupic, The Enterprise ..., pp.80, 81, 89.

sociologist stated: "decentralization did not bring about a democratic distribution of power but rather a fragmented one"¹ since "Top management and staff have power without responsibility, and the council has the responsibility without the power".² What these Yugoslav scholars seem to suggest is that self-management, when overlaid upon a technological hierarchy, rather than increasing responsibility, may have paradoxically lessened it. This may be a result of a pre-occupation with having groups supervising other groups, much like a checks and balances system. Such a preoccupation might hamper the successful establishment of clear authority patterns and thus might begin to undermine some of the goals of establishing the system, such as reducing normlessness, re-establishing a clarity of roles and being active in social matters. Rus asserts, "Where there exist differences or contradictions of interests in the organization, collective responsibility is not possible".³ Certainly the emergence of strikes of mostly less skilled workers in a self-managed system suggests that the interests of a substantial number of persons are not altogether satisfied and that on occasions polyarchy breaks down or is insufficient. As Goricar succinctly suggested, what seems to have emerged is that while the "skilled and highly skilled workers ... identify themselves with self-management and, thereby, participate actively in self-management bodies ... the majority of semi-skilled and unskilled workers think and behave generally as wage labourers".⁴

1. V. Rus, "Limits of Organized Participation", p.172.

2. V. Rus, "Influence Structure in Yugoslav Enterprises", p.151.

3. V. Rus, "Problems of Responsibility in Selfmanagerial Industrial Organizations", p.107.

4. J. Goricar, "Workers' Self-Management: Ideal Type - Social Reality", p.24. V. Rus, "Problems of Responsibility ...", p.113, also concludes that "... workers feel more responsibility towards superiors, the work collective, and other workers in the group than to self-managing organs". This can also be seen in the workers unwillingness to accept any collective economic risk. See J. Zupanov, "The Producer and Risk", Economist No.3, 1967 translated in Eastern European Economics Vol.VII, No.3.

Factory pluralism can also be evaluated by studying the relations between the factory and the general environment.¹ In the authoritarian and centralized variant of socialism, all important decisions such as wages, profits and production levels are made outside the enterprise. In contrast, a democratic factory operating as a sub-system of a larger social system needs simultaneously autonomy and non-coercive integration. Indeed, Gorupic suggests that, "The undertaking can no longer be an isolated, self-enclosed, autarchic and independent organizational entity; it must instead be an open organization maintaining links of varied intensity with other undertakings and social structures ...".²

Rus, in a recent and important study, has found that there is in fact a balance of power between the enterprise and the environment³ and thus one can infer that there is an element of polyarchy present. He did, however, discover that the "representativeness of the self-managing bodies and those of political organizations contact the environment much less frequently and much more segmentally than the members of the top management".⁴ This has led some Yugoslavs to conclude that the factory democratic structures and the workers are squeezed between a technostucture in the factory and bureaucrats outside it.⁵

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1. Indeed, one Yugoslav sociologist in a private interview suggested that this relationship is the most important for understanding the changes in Yugoslav workers' self-management.
 2. D. Gorupic, Workers' Self-Management, p.56. See also p.61 and Gorupic, The Enterprise..., p.107. Also J. Elden, "Organizational Self-Management", Participation Vol.5, p.85.
 3. V. Rus, "The External and Internal Influences Affecting Industrial Enterprises", Some Yugoslav Papers, p.63.
 4. Ibid., p.57.
 5. F. Bucar, "Participation of the State and Political Organizations", p.46. The bureaucrats are largely senior state and Party officials. One should note that given the democratic centralist operation of the Party and the teleological orientation of the one Party society, League influence at the general systemic level of setting broad goals is still quite significant.

At the communal level one notes the important linkage between the commune and the factory. Indeed, I found that over seventy percent of the knowledgeable respondents perceived a close relationship between the two structures. In this localized communal environment perceptions of influence were ranked in the following order: communal assembly, mayor, factories and lastly, the League of Communists.¹ Thus, the factory was not rated as influential, and therefore as independent, as one might have expected. Examples of socio-political restraints upon the enterprise take the form of enterprise economic plans being submitted to the appropriate chamber of producers and of the Chamber being a mediator in any sustained conflict between the enterprise director and the workers' council.²

The banks are an important source of influence upon such an economically orientated organization as the factory. Banks in recent years have increasingly become the prime source of economic investment (see TABLE J-25) and thus reduce somewhat enterprise autonomy.³ The growing input of the banks has been partially to encourage greater efficiency in enterprise production and sensitivity to market demands. Such increased bank influence may also be a by-product of a state decentralizing its power, for some other form of integration capable of communicating economic decisions swiftly is required. The market and bank system may be such an integrating system. Gorupic concludes

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1. J. Jerovsek, "The Structure of Influence in the Yugoslav Commune", The New Atlantis No.2, 1970 cited in G. Hunnius, "Workers' Self-Management in Yugoslavia", p.312. In an important study of municipal elections Jerovsek notes that 71.8% of the candidates were unopposed, thus minimizing the amount of pluralism at the electoral level. "Structure of Influence in Commune", p.133. See also L. Cohen for detailed studies of elections at the republic and federal levels. L. Cohen, "Conflict Management and Political Institutionalization in Yugoslavia: A Case Study of the Parliamentary System" in A. Eldridge, Legislatures in Plural Societies: The Search for Cohesion in National Development (Durham, 1975), prepublication draft.
 2. D. Milenkovitch, Plan and Market in Yugoslav Economic Thought (New Haven, 1971), pp.114-115 and J. Kolaja, Workers' Councils, p.6.
 3. This means indirect state pressure upon the factory through the state's influence on the banks since the state holds a minority position on bank boards.

TABLE J-25

Percentage Composition of Investment by Source of Finance¹

	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1970*
Federation	36.9*		26.7	6.8*	3.2	5.9			9.0
Republics	6.9*		10.0	8.2	3.7	2.6			3.0
Communes	17.9*		19.7	21.4	19.7	6.7			4.0
Subtotal of socio-political communities	61.7	59.7	56.4	36.5	26.6	15.2	17.7	15.7	16.0
Banks	0.9	2.9	9.0	31.4	36.6	38.9	44.9	47.1	51.0
Undertakings	29.5	29.7	27.9	25.9	28.9	39.3	32.7	31.2	27.0
Other work organizations	7.9	7.7	6.7	6.2	7.9	6.6	4.7	6.0	6.0

1. M. Novak, Privredna organizacija u novim uvjetima privredjivanja (Economic Organization Under the New Conditions of Business), in Poduzece u reformi, Ekonomski institut, Zagreb, p.50. R. Lang et al., Problemi provodjenja drustveno-ekonomske reforme (Problems Concerning the Implementation of the Socio-Economic Reform), Ekonomski institut, Zagreb, 1969, p.23, for 1961, 1962, 1967 and 1968.

* Source: Statisticki Bilten SDK, October 1971, cited by R. Flaes, "Yugoslavian Experience of Workers' Self-Management", Participation Vol.6, p.120. There has been a corresponding decline in the number of banks from 232 in 1963 to 55 in 1970 to 15 in 1972.

TABLE J-26

Percentage Composition of Investment in Fixed Assets by Source of Investment (Economic and Non-Economic)

	1949-1952	1953-1956	1957-1960
Federation	72.8	46.6	38.1
Republics	19.5	11.1	7.5
Communes	5.9	14.8	18.5
Undertakings	1.8	27.5	30.7
Others	-	-	5.2

Source: D. Gorupic, Problemi sistema kreditiranja investicija (Problems Relating to the System of Investment Credits) in Ekonomski Pregled No.10-11, 1962, p.783.

that "A given decentralization in the economy presupposes ... some definite economic automatism"¹ and Roberts echoes such a position when he states, " It was realized, consciously or tacitly, that workers could operate factories free from central direction only if the factories were related to a market system (commodity production). Workers' control without a market system is not a viable or possible organizational system. Once an economy is characterized by complexity, democratic discussion among large numbers of workers is not sufficient to integrate the economy".² It has been noted by a number of authors that there is a certain tension between the planning of state administrators and the market influence of banks and exchange relations.³ Authors such as Gorupic have noted that a destabilizing element in the Yugoslav self-management system has been the lack of synchronization between plan and market.⁴ Whether such instability and incongruence in the general environment enhances the possibility of enterprise autonomy is unclear but it certainly reduces the likelihood of maintaining economic efficiency and viable but necessary long-term planning. This can only result in undermining the stability of factory self-management in the long run.

One can conclude that the environmental conditions in which the self-managed factory operates are most important and that while there seems to be a balance between plan and market, enterprise and commune, enterprise and banks, such systemic equilibria may not be inherently

1. D. Gorupic, The Enterprise..., p.26.

2. C. Roberts, Alienation and the Soviet Economy (Albuquerque, 1971), p.60.

3. See D. Milenkovich, Plan and Market, passim.

4. D. Gorupic, The Enterprise, p.31. Indeed, he notes that even in the state planning there has been a lack of co-ordination due to the federal structure. He points out that the republican plans total 25% higher than the federal plan allows. Ibid., p.37.

stable over a long period. What effect any systemic change will have is unknown.

One's conclusion concerning polyarchy in the self-managed factory is that while there are substantial elements of inegalitarian influence and participation, when contrasted to Canadian capitalist factories, the Yugoslav self-managed factory compares most favourably. More importantly, the long-term prospects for the system's success seem strong for it has already been noted that all levels of participation increase with advance in education levels and the acceptance of self-management increases with more advanced levels of technology.¹ The negative phenomena also discussed are likely to recede in the future as experience is gained and both the educational level of the Yugoslav work force and the technical level of Yugoslav enterprises increase. Thus, one's conclusions on the topic of polyarchy are on the whole positive and optimistic.

1. Indeed, as skill and professional qualifications increase, so does the demand for job autonomy and self-regulation.

Workers' Self-management and Alienation

One should now turn to analyze the relationship between alienation and workers' self-management. As posited previously, there are a number of socialist assumptions about the effect of the presence of a workers' self-managed structure upon alienation levels. It is these hypotheses which shall now be tested.

First, is the presence of workers' self-management associated with a sense of improved conditions and lower levels of alienation?¹

The long term success and acceptance of workers' self-management in Yugoslavia is difficult to discern since twenty-five years is a relatively short span to judge any social system, particularly one that really only developed an operating workers' self-management in the late fifties. Perhaps the best general evaluation might be that of the employees themselves. When Yugoslav respondents were asked 'What do you think is the attitude of the workers in general to self-management?' the overwhelming majority (79.8%) replied that the workers accepted self-management. More importantly, an even larger majority (81.8%) believed the self-management system to be a success in their enterprise. Clearly, these particular findings indicate rather positive attitudes on the part of workers to Yugoslavia's self-management system in general.²

When Yugoslav respondents were asked 'to what degree had the introduction of workers' self-management affected their position', the following results were obtained:

TABLE K

Sense of Personal Effect of Workers' Self-Management on Yugoslav Respondents

very much improved	improved	uncertain	not improved	not improved at all
8%	44.8%	44.8%	1.1%	1.1%

N = 174

1. In this question the more generic question 'is alienation related to social structure?' is also raised.
2. Such a finding is corroborated by Supek's research that suggests that support of self-management increases with technology. R. Supek, "Two Types of Self-Managing Organization", p.171, and D. Gorupic, Workers' Self-Management, p.73, found that 61.1% were satisfied with the workers' council's operation.

This suggests that while a majority feel that their position has improved, almost half are uncertain as to the amelioration of their position. This may imply that changes have not occurred swiftly enough for a sizeable number of persons and seems to substantiate the claim that certain aspirations for self-management may not yet be achieved.¹ This also suggests that Yugoslavia does not yet have a fully mass-participatory self-management system. Indeed, this is confirmed when one notes that only 30.3% responded that they 'felt a sense of ownership of the company'. Such a finding corroborates Zupanov's² study in which he asserts that the average Yugoslav worker does not yet behave as a co-manager but largely as a salaried employee.³ One optimistic note, however, is that the sense of ownership by workers in Yugoslav factories is higher although not statistically so than that in Canadian factories. (TABLE K-1.)

TABLE K-1

Sense of Factory Ownership Indicated by Canadian and Yugoslav Labourers

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
Canada	3.474	1.238	76
Yugoslavia	3.237	1.294	114
t-test not significant at .20	1.267 < 1.282		df 198
lower score indicates greater sense of ownership			

An additional problem related to the sense of ownership for the collectively-run self-managed firm is the goals and aspirations that the employees perceive as underlying the system. Economic efficiency

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1. See D. Gorupic, The Enterprise, p.130 for a similar conclusion. See also M. Kamusic, "Economic Efficiency and Workers' Self-Management", in M. Broekmeyer, op. cit., p.85.
 2. See J. Zupanov, "The Producer and Risk".
 3. B. Horvat, An Essay on Yugoslav Society (N.Y., 1969), p.21, has suggested that a sense of control rather than ownership is and should be unfolding in such a collectivist system.

was rated first, then better work and wage conditions, then state decentralization and finally, job openings. Clearly, profitability rated above work conditions and job security and suggests that the attitudes of socialist co-operation and humanism in factory social relations do not yet prevail. Indeed, one's own living experiences in Yugoslavia suggest that crass commercialism seems to be spreading rather than diminishing.¹

Job satisfaction for all strata of employees was found to be considerably higher in the more formally participatory Yugoslav system than in the Canadian. This can be seen in the responses to the item "I like the work I am doing".

TABLE K-2

Comparison of Attitudes to Work in Yugoslavia and Canada

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
Yugoslavia	1.693	.837	176
Canada	1.947	.932	94
t-test significant at .05	2.23 > 1.960		df 268
lower score indicates greater work enjoyment			

Such results may be due less to the presence of workers' self-management and more to the traditional cultural values about work in Yugoslavia.

The work and life alienation scales, as suggested previously, proved to be acceptable both in Yugoslavia and Canada. Thus, one can suggest that certain measures developed in North America can be used successfully for survey research elsewhere. Turning to both work and life alienation measures, one notes certain qualified positive findings for the self-management system. Contrary to socialist theory, one has found that life alienation levels are higher in Yugoslavia

1. Such a criticism has also been raised by a number of the Praxis group.

than Canada.¹ This was the case both for labourers and management. (See TABLES K-5 and K-6.) The rapid urbanization and societal² change in Yugoslavia probably account largely for these results. Work alienation levels, in contrast, indicate lower alienation levels in Yugoslavia than Canada.³ (See TABLES K-3 and K-4.) The fact that different levels exist at the work level than the societal level suggests an important finding in that the self-managed factory does seem to limit sub-systemic alienation (factory level) amidst conditions of systemic (national) alienation. It does, however, in contrast to socialist theory, suggest that work and life alienation levels need not co-vary.

Turning to the question of whether class is associated with alienation levels, one finds the following results. TABLES K-7 and K-8 suggest that both work and life alienation are inversely related to one's higher social status in the Yugoslav factory. In all the sub-scales (TABLES K-9 to K-13) the findings were the same, although one should note that only three of the five sub-scale tables were statistically significant.⁴ From these results one must conclude that workers' self-management does not seem to have drastically altered the alienation levels of blue collar workers when compared

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1. This is confirmed by Tannenbaum and his associates finding that the more participatory Yugoslav self-management system is characterized by high levels of work satisfaction, but contrary to socialist hypotheses, also high levels of alienation. Thus, they conclude that "Many of the daily events for workers, including the frustrating aspects of technology and bureaucratic administration, are not very much changed by the fact that some members of the organization participate in monthly council meetings". B. Kavcic, V. Rus and A. Tannenbaum, "Control, Participation and Effectiveness in Four Yugoslav Industrial Organizations", Administrative Science Quarterly (pre-publication copy of article). Obradovic reports a similar finding. J. Obradovic, "Distribution of Participation", p.137.
 2. The presence of a one party system is also a possible factor.
 3. Interestingly, this difference between countries occurs for both labour and management.
 4. The sub-scales were not used to compare across countries since the number of items in each sub-scale is rather small.

to managerial persons.¹ In terms of psychic gratification as measured by alienation scales, the workers' self-managed factory is still an inequalitarian social system.²

TABLE K-3

Comparison of Labour Work Alienation in Canada and Yugoslavia

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
Canada	2.760	1.137	75
Yugoslavia	2.452	1.140	104
t-test not significant at .05	1.780 < 1.960		df 177
significant at .10			
low score indicates low alienation			

TABLE K-4

Comparison of Management Work Alienation in Canada and Yugoslavia

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
Canada	2.263	1.098	19
Yugoslavia	1.961	1.095	51
t-test significant at .05	2.311 > 2.000		df 68

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1. One important exception is that the three directors sampled scored higher on work alienation (2.666) than the average score (2.288). In life alienation, however, they scored below the norm (2.333 versus 2.788). What one must question then is whether this may be as indication of leadership frustration and alienation in attempting to act in a less hierarchical factory system. See I. Adizes, Industrial Democracy, p.248, for a similar comment.
 2. B. Horvat, "On the Political Economy of Socialism", Participation Vol.6, p.107, suggests that alienation is characteristic of a class system.

TABLE K-5

Comparison of Labourer Life Alienation in Yugoslavia and Canada

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
Yugoslavia	2.900	.845	110
Canada	2.800	.838	75
t-test not significant at .05	.794 < 1.960		df 183

TABLE K-6

Comparison of Management Life Alienation in Yugoslavia and Canada

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
Yugoslavia	2.531	.938	49
Canada	2.053	.524	19
t-test significant at .025	2.63 > 2.39		df 66

TABLE K-7

Comparison of Work Alienation in Yugoslavia by Class

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
labour	2.452	1.140	104
management	1.961	1.095	51
t-test significant at .02	2.557 > 2.326		df 153

TABLE K-8

Comparison of Life Alienation in Yugoslavia by Class

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
labour	2.900	.845	110
management	2.531	.938	49
t-test significant at .02	2.335 > 2.326		df 157

TABLE K-9

Comparison of Work Powerlessness in Yugoslavia by Class

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
labour	2.0286	.790	105
management	1.6275	.599	51
t-test significant at .02 level	3.20	> 2.326	df 154

TABLE K-10

Comparison of Work Normlessness in Yugoslavia by Class

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
labour	2.3475	.810	118
management	2.1765	.932	51
t-test not significant at .05 level	1.20	< 1.960	df 167

TABLE K-11

Comparison of Life Isolation in Yugoslavia by Class

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
labour	2.7083	1.170	120
management	2.3333	.973	51
t-test significant at .05 level	2.01	> 1.960	df 169

TABLE K-12

Comparison of Life Normlessness in Yugoslavia by Class

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
labour	2.9204	.867	113
management	2.7000	1.035	50
t-test not significant at .05 level	1.41	< 1.960	df 161

TABLE K-13

Comparison of Life Powerlessness in Yugoslavia by Class

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
labour	3.0442	1.089	113
management	2.5000	.953	50
t-test significant at .01 level	3.05	> 2.576	df 161

More objective sociological rather than psychological measures of alienation suggest substantially similar results to those found in the survey. When one analyzes the social concerns and contacts (i.e. integration¹) of the self-managed factories to the local community, one finds social responsibility and integration widespread.² First, both Adizes and Tornquist³ note that Yugoslav factories (i.e. workers' councils) are reluctant to dismiss redundant workers. Indeed, only 17.1% of the workers believed that superfluous labour should be dismissed,⁴ even after substantial efforts are made to retrain or direct such workers to new and acceptable employment. Only 19,983 persons were reported as terminating employment in 1969⁵ and of these 7,142 were due to contract termination, 4,084 were due to job absenteeism, 3,626 were due to the worker's own request, and only 1,719 were fired by the factory.⁶

In three of the factories studied some apartment buildings were built and owned by the enterprise for the use of the employees.⁷ (TABLE K-14.)

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1. Please note that earlier one suggested that social integration and a sense of community were polar opposites to alienation. For a solid review of the literature on integration in international affairs see R. Cobb and C. Elder, International Community (N.Y., 1970).
 2. D. Gorupic, The Enterprise, p.137, notes that integration unfortunately has occurred largely within the republics but not between republics.
 3. D. Tornquist, Look East Look West: A Socialist Adventure in Yugoslavia (N.Y., 1966). Also I. Adizes, Industrial Democracy, passim.
 4. D. Rihtman, "Vrijednosni aspekti organizacionih uloga" in J. Bredic, Organizacija reda u samoupravinim odnosima (Zagreb, 1970) cited by D. Gorupic, Workers' Self-Management, p.75.
 5. SYI-1971, p.97. See also D. Gorupic, Workers' Self-Management, p.220.
 6. This seems a very low rate when compared to most capitalist societies.
 7. One should note that this sort of community integration can also occur in a paternalistic and traditional system such as Japan.

TABLE K-14

Comparison of Number of Apartment Units and Vacation Hotels
Owned by Different Yugoslav Factories

factory	
1	140 apartment units
2	77 apartment units
3	3 vacation hotels
4	65 apartment units ¹

In an age of spiraling housing costs, such benefits seem significant indeed. In addition, in each of the enterprises low-cost loans were available to the employees for the purpose of private home construction. For example, in factory number one, six percent of the total enterprise income was directed to apartment construction with half going to the employees directly as loans and half to the local municipal government. Other common features to all enterprises were the universal presence of enterprise subsidization of work commuting expenses, holiday expenses and lunch costs.

When respondents were asked to describe the relationship between the enterprise and the local community, one observes that over seventy percent of the knowledgeable respondents stressed the close contact between the two bodies. This reinforces other evidence suggesting that the Yugoslav self-managed enterprises have acquired important positive social roles in the local community and thus indicates a degree of collective integration.

While strikes exist in both the Yugoslav and Canadian systems, they are far less numerous and are far shorter in duration in

1. See also V. Rus, "Power Relationships", p.52, for a similar conclusion. Unfortunately many of the ties such as factory owned apartments seem to have been established in an earlier era of administrative socialism. One of the current dangers that Tito has stressed in recent years is that of ethics and humanism being replaced by materialism and profit-mindedness. One must concur that this seems to be the basic pitfall for regimes attempting to introduce a co-operative society.

Yugoslavia than Canada.¹ Given the legality of strikes in both systems, this may indicate less need for production-stopping conflict and non-co-operative forms of communication in Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav model, based on a plus-sum game, provides strong incentives for strikes to occur sparingly and only when the self-managing structure ceases to be representative in the eyes of the rank and file workers do such strikes occur. Thus, as long as a centralized and more remote workers' council system prevails, some sociological manifestations of alienation such as strikes are likely to remain.²

Mlinar³ has also found that both administrative and economic disputes have increased in recent years (see CHART I-K) thus suggesting that the self-managing system is not as absent of conflict as one might expect. Indeed, when one focuses upon conflicts within individual enterprises, one notes Arzenšek's finding that three percent of all employees were involved in some form of individual conflict.⁴ Perhaps more significantly, in 60% of the incidents of conflict, neither the self-managing structure nor the trade union intervened.

1. From 1964 to 1969 there were only five hundred and thirteen strikes of which 34.2% were less than three hours in duration and 77.0% were less than a day. Also, there was a decline in the number of strikes from the mid sixties to the late sixties. See N. Papov, "Strajkovi u savrenom jugoslavenskom društvu", Sociologija No.4, 1969, cited by D. Makofsky, "Strikes and Conflict Resolution in the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia: The Advantages of Self-Management", (paper presented to Second Conference of People for Self-Management, Ithica, N.Y., June 1974). See also V. Arzenšek, "Industrial Conflict in Yugoslavia" in Some Yugoslav Papers (Ljubljana, 1974).
2. R. Supek, "Discussion" in Broekmeyer, op. cit., p.251. See also I. Kristan, "Socialism and Direct Democracy", Teorija un Praksa, pp.143-147.
3. Z. Mlinar, "Social Values, Development, and Conflicts", International Journal of Sociology No.4, 1972, pp.384-418.
4. V. Arzenšek, "Industrial Conflict in Yugoslavia", pp.12-14.

Source of data: Savezni zavod za statistiku, Statisticki godisnjak SP RJ
(Statistical Yearbook of Yugoslavia) Belgrade, derived by Z. Mlinar,
op. cit., p.386.

CHART I-K Industrial and Commercial Conflict

The result was that one half of those involved still felt the system of conflict resolution to be unfair. Arzenšek therefore concludes that a formally democratic enterprise structure does not necessarily bring about a more democratic solving of conflicts.¹ This is a rather disturbing observation, for without a democratic solving of conflicts, it seems unlikely that alienation levels will be as low as is possible.²

Finally, one should note certain other general sociological measures that can be indicative of alienation. A most important one is the number of working days lost through illness or accidents. A previous International Labour Organization report notes that these rates are rather high in Yugoslavia³ and my own personal observations confirm the rather high rate of industrial accidents. This again may be largely due to recent industrialization of large regions of the country.⁴ Recent industrialization and urbanization may also explain why Yugoslavia has a higher suicide⁵ rate than Canada (2,801 versus 2,291) and why Yugoslavia has one of the highest alcoholism rates in Europe. Nevertheless, such high rates raise some doubt as to the effectiveness and likelihood of workers' self-management reducing alienation levels completely.

One can, therefore, summarize that the presence of workers' self-management is associated with both positive and negative features regarding alienation. The more numerous positive features are the

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1. Ibid., p.18. One key issue reportedly resolved is the abolition of time clocks in the self-managed factory.
 2. See A. Etzioni, The Active Society for an elucidation of the reasons for this position.
 3. It was reported that four million working days were lost in 1958. I.L.O., Workers' Management in Yugoslavia, p.262. Recent rates of total industrial accidents are 253,725 for 1966 and 276,193 for 1970. SYI-1971, p.275.
 4. Indeed, Argyle, The Social Psychology of Work, p.27, suggests that converting peasants into industrial workers is not easy.
 5. See E. Durkheim for an elucidation of suicides as a possible indicator of alienation.

greater sense of improved work relations, sense of ownership, job satisfaction, lower work alienation, greater job security, and substantial housing, vacation, travel and lunch benefits. On the negative side are higher societal alienation, inegalitarian alienation rates, high levels of accidents, alcoholism and suicides, and a growing number of economic disputes and conflict. These are mixed findings, but positive features, particularly at the factory level, outnumber the negative features. Such findings may, however, be clarified by focusing upon the two remaining key hypotheses.

On the question 'Is participation in self-management associated with lower alienation levels?', a study by a leading Yugoslav sociologist has found that participants in self-management are more alienated than non-participants.¹ (See TABLE K-15).

TABLE K-15

Comparison of Work Alienation Levels Amongst Non-Participants and Participant

	non-participants	participants
handicraft level	4.15	3.92
mechanized level	4.06	4.03
automated level	4.10	3.95

lower score indicates higher alienation

Source: J. Obradovic, "Participation and Work Attitudes in Yugoslavia", p.163.

If such a finding proves widespread and is caused by actual participation rather than some other hidden variable such as education such a phenomenon could be a serious hindrance to the likelihood of workers' self-management's success. When participation was correlated to work alienation and life alienation, the following results were obtained.

1. J. Obradovic, "Participation and Work Attitudes in Yugoslavia", Industrial Relations Vol.9, No.2, p.163.

In contrast to Obradovic, one found that participation in self-management was negatively correlated to both work (-.24) and life alienation (-.17). (See TABLE K-21) The same negative associations were found when one analyzed past council membership with the alienation sub-scales.¹ (See TABLES K-16 to K-20.)

TABLE K-16

Comparison of Work Normlessness by Past Council Membership

past membership on council	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
yes	2.2051	.843	78
no	2.3889*	.844	90
t-test not significant at .05 level 1.41 < 1.960 df 166			

TABLE K-17

Comparison of Work Powerlessness by Past Council Membership

past membership on council	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
yes	1.7027	.613	74
no	2.0732*	.828	82
t-test significant at .01 level 3.15 > 2.576 df 154			

-
1. Despite the lack of statistical significance, four out of five tables correlating present membership on the council and alienation levels also indicate a negative relationship. Perhaps also relevant was Supek's finding that members of council consistently indicated greater opposition than "simple workers" to a questionnaire's proposed abolition of workers' self-management. From this one can infer that commitment to workers' self-management, and thus conformity to and integration with societal goals, are higher amongst such participants. R. Supek, "Two Types of Self-Managing Organizations", p.171.

TABLE K-18

Comparison of Life Isolation by Past Council Membership

past membership on council	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
yes	2.3165	1.032	79
no	2.8556*	1.137	90
t-test significant at .01 level $3.21 > 2.576$ df 167			

TABLE K-19

Comparison of Life Normlessness by Past Council Membership

past membership on council	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
yes	2.7403	1.005	77
no	2.9767*	.811	86
t-test not significant at .05 level $1.66 < 1.960$ df 161			

TABLE K-20

Comparison of Life Powerlessness by Past Council Membership

past membership on council	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
yes	2.5526	1.124	76
no	3.1609*	.951	87
t-test significant at .01 level $3.74 > 2.576$ df 161			

When one controlled for education, the negative correlation between participation and work alienation increased slightly to $-.29$ thus suggesting that participants do not seem to indicate greater work alienation than non-participants. Such a finding is reinforced by a number of other general sociological studies.¹

1. Such a development is supported by a Yugoslav study by Rus in which he found that "in industrial enterprises the correlation . . .

In contrast, the relationship between participation and life alienation is substantially affected by education, for the relationship drops from $-.17$ to $-.07$ when there is control for education. Nevertheless, the relationship is still negative.

TABLE K-21

Relationship between Participation and Work and Life Alienation - Yugoslavia

	zero order correlation	partial order correlation (controlling for)
participation to work alienation	$-.24$	$-.29$ (education)
participation to life alienation	$-.17$	$-.07$ (education)

My findings thus suggest optimism for the viability of self-management in that participation in 'workers' self-management does not seem to be associated with higher alienation levels.¹ One might consequently begin to infer that no substantial amount of frustration from participation in self-management bodies seems to be present.

The last question to be empirically tested is whether work alienation is associated with societal alienation. The general evidence on the association between work and life alienation in Yugoslavia is contradictory. The most reliable and significant measure suggests only a $.155$ correlation between work alienation and life alienation.

... between participation and alienation is sometimes negative and sometimes insignificant". V. Rus, "The Limits of Organized Participation", Participation Vol.II, P.174. See also Aiken and Hage, "Organizational Alienation", pp.497-507, and J. Clark, "Measuring Alienation Within a Social System", ASR December 1959, pp.849-852.

1. This optimism is particularly so for work alienation. The lower correlation of participation in self-management with life alienation may also suggest that life alienation is a complex phenomenon that cannot simply be resolved by factory restructuring. One should also note that Erbe, in studying alienation as an influence on participation, has suggested that alienation, when controlling for socioeconomic status, does not seem to affect participation. W. Erbe, "Social Involvement and Political Activity", ASR April 1964 cited by M. Seepan, "Alienation and Engagement", p.482.

(See TABLE K-22).¹ Only the powerless dimension at both the factory and societal level correlate well with each other (.289). Such evidence suggests that the socialist assertion that job alienation in the factory is the predominant cause of alienation is unwarranted.

Less reliable but perhaps more optimistic results emerge when each Yugoslav factory is analyzed separately. On the basis of rank-order correlation (see TABLES K-23 and K-24) one observes that there is a strong relationship (approximately .8) between factories with a high number of respondents scoring high in work alienation and those scoring high in life alienation. Indeed, factory size, lack of polyarchy,² work alienation, life alienation co-vary while being negatively associated with enterprise profitability and percentage of skilled in the work force.

One thus concludes from such tentative findings that while work alienation is positively associated with societal alienation, given the low association, any assumption that such societal alienation might simply be a dependent variable of work alienation seems premature. Clearly, attempts to reduce alienation in the factory are justified and worthy but to expect widespread and general societal 'de-alienation' seems overly optimistic. Slight gains in lowering societal alienation, however, seem plausible.

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1. This relationship largely remained, changing only from .153 to .136 when controlling for education.

2. This is perhaps a significant finding in that it suggests that as intra-factory polyarchy increases (i.e. self-management develops to its fullest) then both work alienation (.8) and life alienation (.4) decline. An interesting and possible intervening variable, which given the number of factories (4), one was unable to control for is organizational efficiency. For an elucidation see Jerovsek who has found that "work organizations operating on the basis of a participative social system are highly efficient: Those working on . . .

TABLE K-22

Correlation table of alienation scales: Yugoslavia

	work				life			
	127 is	128 n	129 p	130 al	131 is	132 n	133 p	134 al
work isolation 127	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
work normlessness 128			.32*	.81*	.13 ^x	.03	.20*	.10
work powerlessness 129				.78*	.10	.03	.29*	.14 ^x
work alienation 130					.15 ^x	.07	.30*	.16 ^x
life isolation 131						.72*	.36*	.82*
life normlessness 132							.43*	.83*
life powerlessness 133								.69*
life alienation 134								

level of significance * .05
x .01

N = 155 on average

... the basis of an autocratic social system are less efficient".
J. Jerovsek, "Self-Management in Yugoslav Enterprises", p.121.
See also J. Jerovsek, "Efficiency of Participational Social System
in Working Organizations", Teorija in Praksa, pp.134-138.

TABLE K-23

Comparative Factory Scores of Selected Indices* - Yugoslavia

	1	2	3	4
size (a)	1352 (1)	780 (3)	566 (4)	1096 (2)
work alienation (b)	2.476 (1)	2.000 (4)	2.227 (3)	2.455 (2)
life alienation Likert scaling (c)	2.822 (1)	2.432 (4)	2.605 (3)	2.667 (2)
life alienation factor scaling (d)	2.889 (2)	2.526 (4)	2.795 (3)	2.939 (1)
lack of polyarchy (e)	1.350 (1)	1.218 (4)	1.283 (2)	1.242 (3)
% of highly skilled and skilled employees (f)	29.7 (3)	35.1 (2)	59.0 (1)	21.9 (4)
profit per employee (g)	5,178 (3)	7,179 (2)	9,604** (1)	loss (4)

* rank order in brackets

** divided by 833 since income data given included another nearby branch

TABLE K-24

Rank Order Correlation¹ Matrix of Factory Indices - Yugoslavia

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g
size (a)		.8	.8	.6	.4	-.8	-.8
work alienation (b)			1.0	.8	.8	-.6	-.6
life alienation Likert scaling (c)				.8	.8	-.6	-.6
life alienation factor scaling (d)					.4	-.8	-.8
lack of polyarchy (e)						0	0
percent of highly skilled (f)							1.0
profit (g)							

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1. It should be noted that Spearman rank-order correlation ought to be used in samples of ten or more. It is used here only to give the reader an approximation of the association of the various indices.

"Yugoslav social thought has not yet elaborated a universal theory of self-management. The question is of course, if such a theory is possible at all".¹

"Socialism is, essentially, the tendency inherent in an industrial civilization to transcend the self-regulating market by consciously subordinating it to a democratic society".²

"In essence, what characterizes socialism is not the existence or the absence of commodities and money, but the existence or the absence of the free producer, the liberation of human individuality".³

"A strong tendency toward centralization is inherent in the Social Democratic movement. This tendency springs from the economic makeup of capitalism which is essentially a centralizing factor".⁴

"Nationalization of the means of production is still not socialism; ..." Typical of the political structure of statist socialism "is a closed and highly integrated political organization of power. ...it is much closer to a 'militaristic' than to an 'industrial' society, ...".⁵

"Such emancipation was clearly impossible under the socialism of scarcity. Decisions affecting the division of labour and the manner of working could no more be left to 'the freely associated producers' than could decisions affecting production policy. This became impossible once the Soviet leadership had given top priority to industrialization and forced accumulation,...".⁶

"... socialism is the cult of the personality ...".⁷

"A class can rule, but not govern, for a class is a formless mass, while only an organization can govern".⁸

"Centralization as a system is inconsistent with a non-violent structure of society".⁹

1. B. Kavcic, "Some Trends in the Development of Self-Management", Participation, Vol.6, p.159.

2. K. Polanyi, The Great Transformation, p.234.

3. B. Horvat, An Essay on Yugoslav Society, p.89.

4. R. Luxemburg, The Russian Revolution, p.85.

5. R. Supek, "The Statist and Self-Managing Models of Socialism" in A. Barton et al., Opinion-Making Elites in Yugoslavia, pp.295, 301.

6. A. Gorz, Socialism and Revolution, p.203.

7. G. Petrovic, Marx in the Mid-Twentieth Century, p.131.

8. K. Kautsky, The Dictatorship of the Proletariat, p.31.

9. M. Gandhi, All Men Are Brothers, p.124.

Two Models of Workers' Self-Management

Having tested in detail a number of hypotheses relating to the operation of the actual Yugoslav workers' self-management system, one can now begin to provide a more systematic evaluation of the Yugoslav system. In so doing, one will attempt to provide a more comprehensive framework for future analyses on the subject of alienation in the self-managing system.¹

An Interim Representative Workers' Self-Management Model — Halfway to Utopia

In the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Marx recognized the need for an interim system that existed before full communism. Similarly, one also proposes an interim or transitional system.² The most important reason for outlining such a system is that it is evident from a number of studies of the operation of workers' self-management in Yugoslavia that there is a considerable divergence between the rhetoric of an egalitarian and mass-participatory social system and the actual system in operation. Indeed, Zupanov has stated: "... the Yugoslav work organization is markedly characterized by a sharp discrepancy between the real structure on the one hand, and the normative ideological structure on the other hand".³ A second rationale for developing different models of self-management is suggested by

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1. Portions of this chapter have been taken from my article "Alienation and Workers' Self-Management" Canadian Slavonic Papers No.2, 1974, pp.160-186. I would also like to thank David Walden of Carleton University for his assistance in co-authoring with me a number of papers on this subject. His comments and advice are gratefully acknowledged.
 2. Note also Gorupic's comment "... we are still in the initial stage of transition from administrative to self-management socialism". D. Gorupic, The Enterprise, p.124.
 3. J. Zupanov, "Enterprise and Association — Real and Illusory Dilemma", Sociologija, p.89. J. Obradovic, "Distribution of Participation", p.161 makes a similar suggestion when he asserts that there is a "total discrepancy between the prescribed and actualized participation".

CHART M-I

Typology of Possible Societal Power Diffusion

two types of limited
representative pluralism

traditional
authoritarian
polity and
society

constitutional
democracy

representative
self-management

fully self-managing
pluralist democracy
(e.g. guild socialist system)

national
level

local
level

degree of power diffusion
↑

-two or more political
parties but little
democracy (self-
management) at the
enterprise level

-considerable local
decentralization but
incomplete pre-
conditions (e.g. one
party national system)

-ideal self-managed
decentralist sub-system
reinforced by pluralist
culture and other conditions
(e.g. multi-party democracy
at the national level)

Dunn that "Self-managed socialism, when evaluated in terms of original goals of individual creativity and emancipation, has experienced considerable goal-displacement".¹ A similar, but less pessimistic, suggestion about goal consistency has been made by Veljko Rus, a leading Yugoslav scholar, who has stated that the Yugoslav system of workers' councils oscillates between a desire to simply control managers and for actual direct self-management of the enterprise.² In the latter statement there emerges the suggestion that perhaps there are two stages or two models of self-management that exist. Each has its separate goals and characteristics. Between the non-self-managed model and the fully participatory self-managed system, there exists the representative self-management system (see CHART M-I). It is an open and pluralist system but also based on representatives rather than direct participation. This system, using Dahl's terminology, could be called polyarchic. Thus, similar to Dahl's attempt to devise a model of politics more closely approximating the operating 'democracies', so an interim model of self-management might also be useful as a practical guide to an analysis of the Yugoslav system.³ This is not to suggest that the ideal and goals of full workers' self-management should be abandoned, but to recognize that perhaps a more tempered model might have greater probability of immediate success and thus provide the experience and basis for further democratization in the

1. W. Dunn, "The Economics of Organizational Ideology: The Problem of Compliance Structures in Workers' Management", Participation Vol.6, p.196.

2. V. Rus, "The Limits of Organized Participation", Participation Vol.2, p.178.

3. While I have concluded that a representative democracy in the work place exists in Yugoslavia, please note that I do not suggest that Yugoslavia totally fits such an "ideal type" as the interim representative model. Indeed, Radovanovic also comments that socialism is not a pure socio-economic system. "Contemporary Yugoslav Society in Conflict With Itself", International Journal of Sociology (Winter 1972-73), p.429.

work place.¹

What then is this interim representative model? The formal structure² and legal conditions of workers' self-management have been introduced in that limits to private property have been established. Construction of collectivized ownership and management of the means of production which is increasingly free from detailed state control is also developing. Nevertheless, the presence of full self-managing democracy is hampered by the absence of certain necessary pre-conditions.³ In such a system educational levels are still low to moderate with the consequence that ethnocentrism is evident and local group orientations dominate over broader social perspectives. For example, narrow ownership attitudes toward property remain with the result that property is perceived as belonging to the group for its benefit alone rather than being held in public trust. Alternately, in the larger factories, the lack of sense of responsibility can be such that property is seen as belonging to no one and thus inefficiency and waste can be frequent behaviour patterns.⁴

With a less egalitarian and less extensive diffusion of high

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1. There is, of course, some danger, as Rus has warned, that "... self-management has become obsolete before maturing into a dominant system of social activity". V. Rus, "Self-Management Egalitarianism and Social Differentiation", Praxis 1/2, 1970, p.251. That is to say, other forces and pressing issues such as nationality conflicts, unemployment, emigration and student unrest may halt the growth from limited self-management into full self-management.
 2. Indeed, I. Adizes, Industrial Democracy: Yugoslav Style (N.Y., 1971), p.35, reports that each Yugoslav company has a "statut" or constitution.
 3. See S.M. Lipset, Political Man (N.Y., 1963) for an attempt to outline certain preconditions for liberal democracy.
 4. See M. Djilas, The New Class (London, 1958), p.120. See also Aristotle's Politics for an elucidation of this theme.

levels of education, there continues to exist a scarcity of skills.¹ A likely result of this is the persistence of the market mechanism, inequalitarian wage scales and wage labour even though there is collectivized ownership of the means of production. The latter is in part accentuated by the fact that a workers' council can become remote from the rank and file. Thus, it is possible that the technostucture, together with a bureaucratic workers' council, can extract surplus value from labour.²

The market mechanism which emerges in such a system is nevertheless a modified and qualitatively different market.³ The influence of autocratic monopolies diminishes⁴ and with this the mass public's influence upon such a modified market correspondingly increases.

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1. This is particularly so for a region such as much of south-east Yugoslavia that has only recently, and not completely, shifted from a peasant way of life. Indeed, Halpern notes that "The close relationship to the countryside is a very real thing. About half of Yugoslavia's industrial workers live in rural areas and commute, often long distances. As of 1960, approximately forty-eight percent of rural income was derived from non-agricultural work". J. Halpern, "Yugoslavia: Modernization in an Ethnically Diverse State" in W. Vucinich, Contemporary Yugoslavia (Berkeley, 1969), p.319. One should note, however, that urbanization in Yugoslavia is not necessarily typical of some industrialized systems. For example, the population of Ljubljana - the largest city in the most developed republic, Slovenia - is only 200,000. See J. Fisher, Yugoslavia: A Multi-National State (San Francisco, 1966) for a discussion of urbanization in Yugoslavia.
 2. Using Dahrendorf's framework, classes can exist irrespective of ownership patterns if substantial stratification exists.
 3. One should note that in Yugoslavia the system has shifted from a market dominated by a scarcity of goods in the immediate post-war era to one in which choice is increasingly viable.
 4. In the case of Yugoslavia, near monopolies do at times continue to exist, but they are at least democratically run and thus open to mass social influence from within the enterprise. The impact of opening the Yugoslav economy to the world division of labour and productiveness and the presence of societal controls over prices allowed for certain key goods have diminished the possible negative impact of such monopolistic conditions

This modified socialist market mechanism is increasingly an expression of sustained mass influence articulated through the production decisions of the workers' councils and through the repeated purchasing choice of the consumer. Both are based to a growing degree on use value (Marx) rather than simply on profit maximization. The latter, however, will still continue to exist to some degree. Thus, the socialist market system, while not fully ideal, nevertheless is to be preferred over a Stalinist despotism of command planned economy based upon the fiat of a handful of bureaucrats. The need will remain, however, for a tutelary or democratic plan¹, based on mass social participation, which will set out broad social goals. One such societal goal will be to ensure that the socialist market remains democratic. For this reason there is a legal ban on centralized and monopolistic advertising, particularly of the sort inducing excesses such as "commodity fetishism" (Marx), conspicuous consumption (Veblen), commercialization of human interaction, and unnecessary waste (e.g. throw-away products). Also banned are the damaging, false and negative psychological images suggested in much of contemporary capitalist advertising. No longer will there be advertisements excessively based upon and accentuating human anxieties, fears, and negative stereotypes (e.g. sexist, racial and other).²

In this interim system, there remain significant elements of disagreement over basic norms and thus, conflict rather than co-operation, particularly between certain groups,³ is still a dominant

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1. E. Mandel, The Marxist Theory of Alienation, p.41. Horvat suggests that a "Socialist economy uses the market because this is the most efficient available means for achieving the target of producers' and consumers' equality. But this is neither a laissez-faire nor a universal market. It is a market strictly regulated by social planning. And it is supplemented by an important segment of non-market activities" B. Horvat, "On the Political Economy of Socialism", Participation Vol.6, p.111.
 2. While Yugoslavia initially has fared well on most of these matters there are rather disturbing indications that the worst abuses of advertising seem to be increasing.
 3. See for example, B. Kavcic, "Some Trends in the Development of the Self-Management", Participation Vol.6, p.163. See also W. Dunn, "The Economics of Organizational Ideology". Horvat notes that four key groups continue to exist in Yugoslav society — peasants, . . .

feature.¹ Given such conditions, structures are needed that are based less on predominantly supra-class frameworks and more on the capacity to handle conflict resolution.² There also continues to remain in this transitional and hence more pluralistic system, groups and individuals unsupportive of the structure in either a passive or active way.³

The basic weakness of the representative model is the absence of a fully supportive, democratic and participatory culture at both the national⁴ and the local level.⁵ Indeed, Eckstein, Almond and Verba, and Dahl have all suggested the need for reinforcing and supportive sub-systems for democracy to survive.⁶ Such a lack of

market producers, non-market producers and the state apparatus. B. Horvat, An Essay on Yugoslav Society, p.157. F. Bucar notes the conflict between the technocrats and the bureaucrats. "The Participation of the State and Political Organizations in the Decisions of the Working Organization", Participation Vol.1, p.47.

1. D. Gorupic, The Enterprise, pp.115, 127, 137.
2. V. Rus, "Self-Management Egalitarianism and Social Differentiation", p.261. Indeed, elsewhere Rus noted that "We constructed the self-management model on so-called conflictless participation". V. Rus, Covek delo in struktura (Maribor, 1970) cited by Z. Mlinar, "Social Values, Development, and Conflicts", International Journal of Sociology (Winter 1972-73), p.399. Dahl, in a recent book, has proposed a possible solution in his idea of "interest-group management" for the factory. R. Dahl, After the Revolution, p.138.
3. In the case of Yugoslavia, Croat separatists, liberal democrats, conservatives and religious activists would be examples of such non-supportive elements.
4. M. Markovic, "Socialism and Self-Management", Praxis 2/3, 1965, p.189.
5. Certainly in the case of Yugoslavia the traditional hierarchical family, the structured educational system, continued limited access to information and the tutelary nature of the League suggest that the supportive culture is not yet present. The relatively late urbanization has also meant that a tradition of industrial work and labour organization is lacking in a number of areas.
6. See H. Eckstein, "A Theory of Stable Democracy" in F. Lindenfield, Reader in Political Sociology (N.Y., 1968) and R. Dahl, Preface to Democratic Theory (Boston, 1965), p.265. The argument is rather an interesting one in that at times it suggests that for democracy to survive there must be more democracy. That is to say, the solution to any problems, such as instability and conflict, that emerge in democracy is to expand the scope of democracy. Indeed, not only ought the social sub-systems be more democratic but also the personality structures of the individual members. See C. Argyris, Integrating the Individual and the Organization, *passim*.

supportive culture is greatly augmented by the continued and often extensive external social influences.¹ For example, the central state has not yet "withered away" or ceded much of its substantial coercive power.² It has, however, increasingly evolved away from executive socialism and fusion of powers to legislative socialism³ in which there will be extensive rotation of offices.⁴

The great impact of foreign states, particularly super-powers, alliances, and features of economic neo-imperialism challenge the autonomy of smaller self-managing units. The continued presence of multi-national corporations, the international market, foreign capital, foreign aid and world division of labour also inhibit the opportunities for a fully autonomous workers' self-managing system. Such symbiotic dependence of the transitional self-managing system seems inevitable in the interdependent industrial world. Whether an automated or post-industrial production process could mitigate such dependency remains unknown.

Turning to the input process of the representative self-management system one notes, as suggested previously, that there is the formal

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1. See for example J. Jerovsek, "Self-Management Systems in Yugoslav Enterprises", Participation Vol.1, p.114, V. Rus, "The Limits of Organized Participation", p.181, and A. Sturmthal, Workers' Councils, p.100. One should note that if the formally self-managed factory is substantially dominated by the external social environment (i.e. forces uncontrolled by the group), then responsibility cannot fully rest with the members. Here one can see a major reason for the necessity of the decentralization of state power.
 2. D. Gorupic, The Enterprise, pp.73-74. He suggests that the environment, while still substantially influential, is also unstable and one might add, is at times erratic. Ibid., p.36. See also V. Rus, "The Limits of Organized Participation", p.181. Clearly, the withering away of the state is not a continually uni-directional process if Yugoslav or Chinese experiences are indicative.
 3. R. Supek, "The Statist and Self-Managing Models of Socialism" in A. Barton et al., Opinion-Making Elites in Yugoslavia (N.Y., 1973), p.303.
 4. B. Horvat, An Essay On Yugoslav Society, p.87. Rotation of offices can of course be amongst members of the elite and thus need not be overly democratic.

presence of all self-management structures necessary for a more participatory system.¹ Thus, the legality and legitimacy of such a system have been established to a degree. Participation levels, however, are high only for certain leading segments of the membership.² While workers as a group control the election of the enterprise leader and must approve all long range financial statements, the average worker alone has little influence. Nevertheless, even such limited increases in participation are associated with positive experiences.³

In terms of outputs, the dominant feature of the representative system is the presence of an elective managerial elite.⁴ While distinct from the majority of the membership in terms of power, knowledge, lifestyle and stability,⁵ this elite is nevertheless receptive to the demands and aspirations of the public electors within the factory.⁶

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1. In the case of Yugoslavia this has meant that previously centralized ministries have begun to decentralize and cede some of their detailed daily planning power to the factories on matters involving production, investments and wages. Note, however, Schurmann's incisive comment that "decentralization can take two different paths: either decision-making powers are put in the hands of the producing units themselves (decentralization I) or they are put into the hands of lower-echelon administrative units (decentralization II)". Clearly, while self-management presupposes decentralization, all decentralization does not necessarily lead to self-management. F. Schurmann, Ideology and Organization in Communist China, p.196.
 2. See for example my findings for Yugoslavia in the chapter on polyarchy. See also Z. Mlinar, "Conflicting Interests and Participation" Teorija in Praksa, p.161.
 3. See for example my findings in the chapter on alienation and workers' self-management.
 4. Bucar calls this group the "technostructure". F. Bucar, "The Participation of the State", p.47. I. Adizes uses the term "collegium", Industrial Democracy, p.46.
 5. This inequality can also be accentuated if the company records are not readily open to the members. Horvat suggests the existence of three strata within Yugoslav factories: 1) managers and experts, 2) foremen, skilled workers and employees, 3) semi-skilled workers and unskilled workers. An Essay on Yugoslav Society, p.163.
 6. For an elucidation of the "democratic elitist" theories of democracy in which the mass public is seen as having only a limited choice between competitive elites and thus as having little sustained . . .

That is to say, power differentiation and stratification have certain restraints. What exists is a truncated social pyramid in which hired administrators tend to daily affairs but long term governing is formally held by the collective. This is possible because the working masses have negative power over the leadership in the form of veto rights, referendum and recall. These negative rights over the leaders mean that the total amount of communication and influence within the factory is greater than under capitalism.¹ It is increasingly a plus-sum game, but one in which some actors are still more dominant than others. Thus, while the physical provision of diffuse benefits for the membership may be provided, the psychic and educative benefits of active participation for the vast majority remain considerably unachieved. Nevertheless, coercion, and hence alienation, in such a system will be lower than under capitalism.²

Perhaps most importantly the representative model is recognized as being a transitional system and thus as an open, learning and increasingly self-guiding and self-adjusting environment.³ It is a society which features a growth of democratic, collectivist and reasoned behaviour and attitudes. Work and work organizations are seen less as autocratic bastions and more as realms of transforming society into a co-operative non-violent orientation. In short, in such a representative self-managing system, the public consciousness or "collective geist" continues to unfold.

influence upon these elites. See for example J. Schumpeter, Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy (N.Y., 1942), A. Downs, An Economic Theory of Democracy (N.Y., 1957), and P. Bachrach, The Theory of Democratic Elitism (Boston, 1967).

1. See the previous chapter on polyarchy in Yugoslavia.
2. See the chapter on alienation in Yugoslavia for an elucidation. See also A. Etzioni, The Active Society, passim.
3. W. Breed, The Self-Guiding Society, passim.

Given that the representative system is transitional, it is likely at such a point in historical development that certain important questions and problems will be raised. These will include questions about the more immediate and functioning interim representative self-management system and about the nature and means of implementation of the fully participatory system.

A number of primary socio-political questions are likely to be posed. For example: what sort of workers' self-managing system, if any, can exist in isolation? Is there any danger of such units having to alter their goals in order to survive in a non-socialist environment? Clearly at issue here is whether workers' self-management can develop gradually first in a few experimental factories, then into isolated polities and regions, or whether such self-managing socialism can be introduced only with simultaneous and global revolutionary change.¹ Perhaps the most difficult question to answer is, 'Within a self-managing polity, what sort of relations between the self-managing factories emerge?' Are they to be based on a precarious balance of autonomy and integration?²

What is the role of the state, if any? Is it to wither away? What is the role of administration? Does the latter grow? Supek³ suggests that the state has a dual character in that it can act as a mediator of conflicting interests⁴ and as an exploitative structure. He suggests, therefore, that the latter role might be abolished in a socialist society but the former is unlikely to be. The implication

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1. Note how portions of this debate are analogous to that between Trotsky and Stalin.
 2. V. Rus, "Power Relationships Between Territorial and Work Organizations", Some Yugoslav Papers, pp.49-70.
See also D. Gorupic, The Enterprise, p.107.
 3. R. Supek, "Problems and Perspectives of Workers' Self-Management in Yugoslavia" in Broekmeyer, Yugoslav Workers' Self-Management, p.219.
See also the writings of F. Bucar on this matter. "The Participation of The State", pp.41-61.
 4. This sounds perhaps a little like Marx's notion of the "administration of things".

is that the state in its positive role will remain. In contrast, Markovic asserts that the state and self-management are incompatible.¹

If the state continues to exist as some have suggested, will the autonomy of self-managing units be enhanced if the state is based upon a confederal structure?² That is to say, how much state centralism is compatible with a participatory and egalitarian socialist system? Indeed, Gorupic has suggested that authoritarianism is alien to self-managing socialism.³ This raises a much neglected question in socialist theory — how do some seemingly socialist systems become despotic? A more immediate question is, can there be a "Stalinist" variant of workers' self-management?⁴ Is it possible, as Jerovsek suggests, that "a formally 'self-management' organization can remain 'sic' essentially bureaucratic or autocratic"?⁵ Indeed, is a formal workers' self-management structure enough to stop state

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1. M. Markovic, "Socialism and Self-Management", p.185. Bibic also suggests that the contradiction in socialism is between state and society. A. Bibic, "Dialectics Between 'Society and State' in a Socialist Political System", Teorija in Praksa, p.128.
 2. See A. Bibic, "Comment", Teorija in Praksa, p.265. Indeed, B. Horvat, An Essay on Yugoslav Society, uses the term "associationalism" and thus suggest the notion of pluralist sovereignty, pp.21-26.
 3. D. Gorupic, Workers' Self-Management, p.17. See also M. Markovic's writings on this matter, particularly From Affluence to Praxis (Ann Arbor, 1974).
 4. One of the great problems of socialist theorizing has been its inability to deal with the enormous predominance of great leaders in the movement. Perhaps more than most other movements, the socialist movement has been led by charismatic figures: Lenin, Mao, Tito, Castro and of course the one figure the movement would most like to forget as a leader, Stalin. Why is it that such powerful figures should arise in such a mass-based movement? Perhaps a factor in the rise of such charismatic figures is the movement's strong commitment to establishing a more ethical socio-political system. Nevertheless, it is almost as though the leaders' power has emerged in inverse proportion to that of the masses. Is the power and authority of the leader another indicator of alienation in socialism? If so, is it only when such omnipotent leaders wither away that the state-like features will also wither away?
 5. J. Jerovsek, "Efficiency of Participational Social System in Working Organizations", Teorija in Praksa, p.136.

dogmatism and bureaucratic arbitrariness? Djilas, one of the original ideological founders of the Yugoslav workers' self-management system, thinks not.¹

If the state is to wither away, how is this to occur? What forces or aspects accentuate this withering away?² For example, what roles do the following non-state trans-enterprise units have: unions, professional associations (guilds), interest groups, banks³, and political parties? Indeed, how many political parties are acceptable in a self-managing system? Or are political parties an impediment to self-management and therefore, must such a society evolve into a non-party system as Horvat and others have suggested?⁴ If a political party (or parties) is to remain, will it essentially be an administrative structure or an educational structure?⁵ By implication this raises the important question of whether such a party should be a guardian or vanguard group even after a successful revolution or change in regime. Authors such as Horvat suggest that under such optimum conditions there is no longer a need for a conspiratorially designed Leninist-type party.⁶ Nevertheless, some have suggested that in such a transitional society a party capable of integrating diverse demands and acting as a trans-societal agent may be necessary in linking and

1. M. Djilas, The Unperfect Society (N.Y., 1969), p.227.
2. Some suggested means of this withering away are a reduction in the size of such coercive aspects of the state as the standing army, police and security services. A decline in the size of the state bureaucracy is another means of such withering away. Nevertheless, some aspects of leadership seem likely to persist in any social system. See G. Sartori, Democratic Theory, passim, for an elucidation.
3. See M. Kamusic, "Economic Efficiency and Workers' Self-Management", in Broekmeyer, Yugoslav Workers' Self-Management, p.83.
4. B. Horvat, An Essay on Yugoslav Society, p.192. See also F. Bucar, on this subject.
5. Indeed, it was the alleged shift from the former to the latter that was the prime rationale for the Communist Party of Yugoslavia to change its name to the League of Communists.
6. B. Horvat, An Essay on Yugoslav Society, pp.220, 209.

reducing the fragmentation of autonomous self-managing units.¹

Given such a transitional society, one might also question whether a generic person with a high social consciousness has emerged. If not, is there any conflict between persons in their segmented activities as producers, consumers and general citizens?² Indeed, to ensure that no preponderance by any one segment occurs, Horvat proposes that there ought to be a balance between the market and the plan³, and thus between producer and consumer. A more probable question is whether or not there is any conflict between the perspective and interests of the local self-managing units and the more global outlooks and needs of the larger community?⁴ Indeed, a number of authors have suggested that the decentralized self-management system has accentuated localist and nationalist tendencies and thus increased

1. Certainly in the case of Yugoslavia this seems a comment worthy of consideration. See for example G. Zaninovich's "Party and Non-Party Attitudes on Social Change" in R.B. Farrell, Political Leadership in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union (Chicago, 1970) for an elucidation of how the League acts as one of only two integrating structures in Yugoslavia today. The armed forces, he suggests, is the other. Some authors believe that the Party has replaced the market mechanism as the "hidden regulator". Rus, in Aristotelean fashion, has also suggested that the middle class is the underlying stabilizer. V. Rus, "Introduction: Conflicts in Contemporary Yugoslav Society", International Journal of Sociology (Winter 1972-73), p.328.
2. R. Selucky, "Self-Management as a Macro-System: Some Provocative Questions", paper presented to the Second People for Self-Management Conference, Ithica, June 1975. See also B. Horvat, "On the Political Economy of Socialism", Participation Vol.6, p.110.
3. B. Horvat. "On the Political Economy of Socialism", p.111.
D. Milenkovich, Plan and Market in Yugoslav Economic Thought, p.127.
4. On this issue one might note Rousseau's writings on the subject of the 'general will' and Hegel's on the 'collective geist'.

societal conflict.¹ It is perhaps for this reason that authors such as Bucar have argued against full factory autonomy. Other authors such as Milenkovitch, however, have proposed a reverse causal link in that they have suggested that localism (i.e. the nationality question) has led to investment decentralization (a prime prerequisite for autonomous self-management).²

Turning to the more local level; what is the relationship between the commune and the city on the one hand and the self-managing work organization on the other?³ Is there an optimum size community for factory and town-hall participatory democracy?⁴

Perhaps most important is the question raised by Rus as to whether conflict is possible within a self-managing unit. If so, is such conflict an indication of residual class conflict or is conflict universally present in all societies as Pareto and Mosca have argued? Indeed, one might ask, "Is a perfectly co-operative society possible"? Djilas clearly suggests that one is not and instead indicates his

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1. W. Vucinich, "Nationalism and Communism" in W. Vucinich, Contemporary Yugoslavia, p.282. Indeed, as in the 1920's the issue of centralism versus decentralism is fused with the political issue of nationalism. See F. Hondius, The Yugoslav Community of Nations (Hague, 1968).
 2. D. Milenkovitch, Plan and Market in Yugoslav Thought, p.299.
 3. Please note that this was one of the questions posed in the Yugoslav questionnaire. See the chapter on polyarchy for a discussion of the responses.
 4. That is to say, will increasing urbanization and factory size reduce the ability for self-management to function. Interestingly, V. Rus has suggested that the most centralized Yugoslav factories are the most economically successful. V. Rus, "The Limits of Organized Participation", p.184. Jerovsek's findings, however, suggest a negative relationship between autocracy and efficiency. J. Jerovsek, "Selfmanagement System in Yugoslav Enterprises", Participation Vol.1, p.121. My very tentative finding on this matter is that there seems to be no relationship at all. (See the correlation matrix in the chapter on alienation findings.

preference for "unperfect societies" over communist utopias. He believes that the former in power, unlike the latter, are not dogmatic.¹

A more technical issue is the time required for democratic decision-making. Stanovcic suggests that time pressures alone do not permit a democratic discussion of all matters.² Indeed, if conflicts exist, as seems to be the case, what means of conflict resolution are compatible with an emerging participatory democracy within the factory? Adizes has noted the negative phenomenon that fatigue frequently forces either a last minute consensus decision or else a decision to merely postpone a final resolution of any issue.³ It certainly seems likely that in any collectively self-managed system a factor essential for any swift yet effective decision is an open information system where knowledge levels are diffuse and interest is long-term.⁴

A key question relating to a supportive culture is, 'do any values or ideals underly the belief in the desirability of workers' self-management?'. Some such probable values are communalism, co-operation, participation, non-violence, pluralism, and self-actualization. More specifically, this poses the dilemma as to what type of educational philosophy and structure are compatible with a self-managing system.⁵ Certainly a philosophy such as A.S. Neill's

1. M. Djilas, The Unperfect Society, p.69.

2. V. Stanovcic, "Comment" in Teorija un Praksa, p.244.

3. My limited experience with some New Left organizations operated along the lines of participatory democracy confirms Adizes comment.

4. Novosel also raises this issue in that he argues the need for a full time self-management communications officer to ensure effective and extensive communication flow in the self-management system. P. Novosel, "Self-Management Participation and the Great China Wall of Communication", Participation Vol.6, p.180.

5. This is particularly a relevant question in Yugoslavia where the students confronted with aspects of a bureaucratic school system have been vocal in their demands for greater self-management both in the schools and in the society. It is of course also germane to many contemporary societies in that students have sought the transformation of universities into more participatory self-managing structures as a first step towards societal change. See for example H. Marcuse, An Essay on Liberation, J. Califano Jr., The Student Revolution: A Global Confrontation (N.Y., 1970), and G. McGuigan, Student Protest (Toronto, 1968).

with an emphasis on continued self-growth, individuality, self-control, and co-operation would seem appropriate.¹ In terms of structure the educational system should be decentralized enough to allow for school self-management as a component of the educational process.

While it seems unlikely that a dramatic and disruptive cultural revolution is necessary, it does seem essential that a strong socialization of egalitarian values is crucial if a new class mentality and thus structure is not to unfold. Indeed, some authors have raised the perplexing problem of whether bureaucratic restoration is possible even in a self-managing system.² Horvat seems to think so in his documentation that the League is ceasing to be composed largely of working class members.³

Turning to more economic questions one observes that one issue has prevailed above all others. That debate is whether a market mechanism with its orientation to material goods and the private sector⁴ is compatible with the strong ethical and collectivist emphasis

1. A.S. Neill, Summerhill: A Radical Approach to Child Rearing (N.Y., 1960).
2. That is to say, is a shift to a vertical compliance system from a horizontal system possible? Indeed, one might ask, 'how reconcilable are elements of both types of compliance in a single self-managed factory? For example, is rotation of office compatible with long range planning? Can such democratic techniques as referenda be used to maintain a hegemonic leader in power? Most important perhaps, does the enterprise director possess large informal power that counter-balances the formal democratic structure in the factory?
3. B. Horvat, An Essay on Yugoslav Society, p.202. For a more ideologically oriented discussion of this theme of office fetishism see M. Djilas, The New Class and N. Popovic, Yugoslavia: The New Class in Crisis (Syracuse, 1968). Some have suggested that dual power exists between two bureaucratic structures in conflict. The one is the political bureaucracy ruling through the primacy of party ideology. The other is the technocratic elite which prevails as the market mechanism is allowed to expand. See F. Bucar, "The Participation of the State", pp.45, 52. M. Djilas, The Unperfect Society, pp.212-213. J. Jerovsek also dwells on this subject of technostucture versus social system. See "Efficiency of Participational Social System in Working Organizations", p.134.
4. While a growth in the private sector has occurred in Yugoslavia, it is theoretically plausible that small co-operatives could have developed instead.

in self-management theory.¹ Can the notions of communalism and sharing co-exist with an emphasis upon economic utility and individualism? While the Chinese communists, like the Yugoslavs, reject the Soviet model, they have nevertheless been critical of the Yugoslav system for its alleged "neo-capitalist" features. It is a complex matter whether a semi-laissez-faire socialism can exist without degenerating into group capitalism.² Certainly producer co-operatives frequently degenerate in less co-operatively-oriented environments.³

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1. Praxis writers such as Rus, Stojanovic and Markovic have repeatedly raised this particular question. Note for example the following: "Economization and particularization of interests of the employed is the result of the domination of the competitive system and the result of the domination of the ideology of development and consumption". V. Rus, "The Limits of Organized Participation", p.185. B. Horvat believes that if owners of private production are primarily workers and property levels are limited then such individual ownership is acceptable. In any case, he notes that non-market economic activity such as health and education is growing fastest in the Yugoslav economy. B. Horvat, An Essay on Yugoslav Society, pp.139, 172.
 2. See for example R. Lukic, "Influence of the Workers' Self-Management on the Class System in the Yugoslav Society", Sociologija, p.31. Some authors suggest that self-management is based on an entrepreneurial ideology. B. Horvat, An Essay on Yugoslav Society, p.99. Some have even asserted that workers' self-management has been a managerial technique to socialize the uprooted peasantry into accepting a new industrial orientation. Indeed, Adizes states: "Self-management as a system breaks one of the most disturbing bottlenecks of developing nations. It encourages group entrepreneurship and management when both entrepreneurship and managerial know-how are scarce". I. Adizes, "On Conflict Resolution and An Organizational Definition of Self-Management", Participation Vol.5, p.33. See also I. Adizes, Industrial Democracy: Yugoslav Style, p.233, A. Meister, Socialisme et Autogestion -- L'experience yougoslave (Paris, 1964) and A. Meister, Ou va L'autogestion yougoslave? (Paris, 1970), passim, for other exponents of such a position.
 3. This is in part due to the profit orientation amongst workers increasing. There is also a tendency to unfairly exploit any advantages over the outside public if the collective production unit has a monopoly or near monopoly situation. In addition, membership becomes less open to outsiders. This is because the more privileged labour-collective, owners of their means of production and thus collectively self-employed, have a tendency to hire labour without offering the extensive benefits of the co-operative. In Yugoslavia, for example, those who have jobs are indeed a large but semi-privileged group when compared to the unemployed. See P. Blumberg, "On the Relevance and Future of Workers' Management" in G. Hunnius et al., Workers' Councils, p.153, for a general discussion of these matters.

Maksimovic and Horvat both warn that "... it does not follow that maximum profitability of the individual enterprise is at the same time maximum social profitability".¹

If group profitability and other efficiency criteria are to be less significant than consideration as to general social benefits, one must pose whether the market mechanism will correspondingly recede in importance also. If so, what, in the long run, will replace the integrating aspect of the market? What forces in a socialist society might foster such a decline? If the market mechanism will not "wither away", will business cycles continue to exist?² and are such cycles acceptable in a worker self-managed market system? If such cycles are possible in a "socialist market" system, is a market crash possible? It seems doubtful, for social controls in the self-managed economy in the form of greater public input and government regulations are likely to minimize such a prospect.

On the issue of planning, one has already questioned the compatibility of self-management and command economy. Nevertheless, the matter has been raised anew under the impact of technological changes. The advent of more powerful, high speed and lower priced computers has meant that central programming can be done using much more complex calculations than previously was the case. This has led some authors to argue that widespread use of computers has made central planning much more viable and humane a proposition than was the case a few decades ago. Indeed, they argue that the human control in planning can now be combined with the swiftness of the computer's calculations to overcome previous paperwork bottlenecks and frustrations. Plan

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1. B. Horvat, An Essay on Yugoslav Society, p.102. I. Maksimovic, "The Economic System and Workers' Self-Management in Yugoslavia" in Broekmeyer, Yugoslav Workers' Self-Management, p.132, suggests that maximizing profit for the collective factory is not identical with maximizing production for the society. In part for this reason, Djilas concludes that Yugoslav workers' self-management reflects the collapse of communism. M. Djilas, The Unperfect Society, p.187.
 2. See B. Horvat, An Essay on Yugoslav Society, p.240. For a more detailed analysis of business cycles in the Yugoslav economy see B. Horvat, Business Cycles in Yugoslavia (N.Y., 1972). Some authors have noted that cycles of growth occur in command economies. See J. Goldmann and K. Kouba, Economic Growth in Czechoslovakia (White Plains, 1969), pp.45, 55, 111.

adjustment and revisions have become much more manageable and thus central planning is now a far more sensitive device than was previously the case. Whether a single and centralized computer system could convey economic communication of inputs and outputs more quickly, more extensively and more humanely than a fluctuating and sometimes erratic socialist market mechanism is unknown.¹

What is apparent, however, is the enormous danger of centralizing such vast amounts of information. Information clearly can be transferred into power and such a centralized communication system is likely to increase the likelihood of a centralized power structure emerging. Such a centralizing technique seems an undesirable means for attempting to create as a goal an autonomous self-managing system. Thus, one must once again reject the notion of any new or old basis for detailed centralized planning as being compatible with a workers' self-managed system. Thus, it is more probable that a tutelary or democratic plan will exist instead. Yet a still unresolved problem is 'who are the best social agents and interpreters of such a community plan?'. Is it to be state ministries, vocationally organized syndicalist chambers, marketing boards, communal assemblies, trade union leaders, or factory officials? As yet the Yugoslavs have been unable to provide a consistently satisfactory answer.

Irrespective of the existence of either a market or a planned system (or some variant of the two extremes), it is likely that prices will continue to be present.² Yet what meaning and what

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1. For an analysis of Soviet attempts to apply Easton's systems analysis to a socialist planning system, see Donald Schwartz, "Information and Administration in the Soviet Union: Some Theoretical Considerations", Canadian Journal of Political Science (June 1974), pp.228-247. See also V.G. Afanasyev, The Scientific Management of Society (Moscow, 1971).
 2. For example, pricing exists in such diverse economic systems as China, the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Sweden and the United States. Indeed, it seems that only when full collectivist production, distribution and consumption are present that prices might become redundant. Attempts at such a system were made in China during the Great Leap Forward but do not seem to be likely of replication elsewhere in more industrialized settings.

criteria are to be used in determining prices in a self-managed system?¹ There seems little doubt that pricing mechanisms are required to regulate the use of scarce resources. The amount of social intervention and adjustment of such an equation can vary substantially however.

Some authors have suggested that a critical weakness in workers' self-management economic theory is that a labour controlled economy will be inflationary and unstable. They suggest that there will be few formal restraints upon wage demands and as a result prices will escalate.² If prices and the problem of allocation of scarce economic resources exists, then one must also ask what significance, if any, do profits have? Is there any attempt to ensure that socialist deficits and bankruptcies do not occur, either at the factory and/or at the national level?³

Related to such questions is 'what role is there for economic investment?'. This is particularly important if the profit-seeking

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1. This has been a particularly key debate in Yugoslavia over the years.
 2. P. Wiles, "Discussion" in Broekmeyer, Yugoslav Workers' Self-Management, p.73. Rus, in contrast, suggests that such inflation is likely to be caused by a contradictory commitment to simultaneously high levels of investment and consumption. V. Rus, "Introduction: Conflicts in Contemporary Yugoslav Society", p.326. Whatever the explanation offered, inflation currently at the very high level of twenty-four percent is a major problem confronting the Yugoslav economy.
 3. In Yugoslavia decisions have been made over the years to subsidize certain enterprises for socio-political reasons such as guaranteeing jobs. Interestingly, in my survey, I found the "guaranteeing of jobs" was perceived to be the least important reason for introducing self-management. In addition, Kamusic offers the following comment about the lack of solvency of many Yugoslav enterprises: "nowadays enterprises invest more out of borrowed means than of their own". Kamusic, "Economic Efficiency and Workers' Self-Management", p.108. See also "Industry, 1962-1968", Yugoslav Survey (August 1969), p.41 and N. Popovic, Yugoslavia: The New Class in Crisis, pp.160, 165.

motive is denied for both individuals and groups.¹ What stimulus is there for new investment and what groups are to be the sources of such new investment?² Is such investment possible?³ For example, are the "labourer-managers" willing to risk investments on innovations? Zupanov reports a substantial unwillingness of workers to risk collective enterprise income in such a manner or to share such losses equally.⁴ In addition, some authors such as Bolcic doubt how mobile labour-controlled capital is.⁵ For example, how are new factories to be established and from what sources are funds for these factories

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1. In fact, in Yugoslavia wages are designed so as to stimulate cost-reductions and to reflect productivity.
 2. Indeed Adizes comments: "exclusive prerogatives given to labour in Yugoslavia and to capital in the USA are of historical origin. Both exclude other inputs and are experiencing difficulties (capitalism is experiencing labour unrest while Yugoslavia is having difficulties harnessing capital)". I. Adizes, "On Conflict Resolution and the Organizational Definition of Self-Management", Participation Vol.5, p.31. Some have even gone so far as to suggest the need for a socialist stock exchange and to provide higher investment returns on private investment (both foreign and domestic).
 3. Gorupic, The Enterprise, p.25, thinks that this has not yet been the case, although clearly as overall skill and education increase in the society this problem may subside. One way of enhancing the likelihood of responsible investment and other enterprise economic policies might be to provide managerial schools for the training of competent democratic managers as both I. Adizes "On Conflict Resolution", p.31 and V. Rus, The Limits of Organized Participation, p.178, propose.
 4. J. Zupanov, "The Producer and Risk", pp.12-28. For additional comments on the nature of risk taking see I. Adizes, Industrial Democracy: Yugoslav Style, p.245.
 5. S. Bolcic, "The Value System of Participatory Economy", p.109. Again increased education and skill usually enhance lateral mobility and broaden social contacts. (See the chapter on the sociology of work). Whether these can be translated into greater investment mobility, however, is unclear. Indeed, the problem of some forms of labour controlled capital being essentially static and territorially based was raised by Marx. See Marx, Grundrisse, p.505 and Capital Vol.1, p.715, where he speaks of the "fetters of the guilds". How a socialist system can reconcile investment and labour mobility without an undesirable level of centralization seems a major dilemma.

to come?¹

Without investment for new industries, it is doubtful that economic expansion will be sound. Yet economic theorists such as Vanek² argue that such a labour-managed economy will have a very high growth rate. Certainly Yugoslavia's economic growth rate at times has been as dynamic as suggested. It has, however, not been rapid enough to provide the necessary jobs for the surplus agricultural population that has migrated to the cities. Thus, too few jobs have been created in Yugoslavia's contemporary labour-managed economy let alone enough satisfying jobs that Goodman says are necessary for a well-balanced society.³

A final set of economic questions to consider relate to economic conflict. For example, are strikes and work stoppages possible in a self-managed economy? Certainly the Yugoslav experience suggests that they are. Whether such causes as bureaucratic indifference will decline or whether one can classify such conflict simply as non-antagonistic contradictions are not at all evident. Indeed, there are indications reported by sociologists such as Lukic and Mlinar⁴ that economic conflict is increasing. Such trends might well be symptoms of continued and new alienation in the socialist society.

Turning briefly to questions of the self-managing polity and its relations with the rest of the world economy and affairs, a number of pressing problems arise. First, should a self-managing system strive for economic self-sufficiency or attempt to integrate and be part of the international division of labour? Yugoslavia, a medium sized

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1. There has clearly been a lack of trans-republic investment in Yugoslavia apart from that provided by federal agencies (i.e. political sources). Whether enterprise mergers will reduce this phenomenon is as yet unknown.
 2. J. Vanek, The Participatory Economy (Ithaca, 1971), p.38.
 3. P. Goodman, Growing Up Absurd (N.Y., 1960).
 4. R. Lukic, "Social Stratification as a Cause of Social Conflicts in Yugoslavia", International Journal of Sociology (Winter 1972-73), p.335. Z. Mlinar, "Social Values, Development and Conflicts", International Journal of Sociology (Winter 1972-73), pp.400-401.

state, has moved increasingly since the late 1950's towards the latter alternative.¹ Given that most of the world is not operating on self-management principles, the question arises as to whether self-managing units can co-operate in investment and technology with non-self-management factories. Indeed, are the increasing number of joint capitalist and Yugoslav workers' self-managed ventures in Yugoslavia viable or must the latter system's values be sacrificed in any such co-operation? Certainly foreign capital is unlikely to be invested without retaining some elements of control over the investment.² Is this then the beginning of international ventures in co-determination? If so, it would make a major transformation in the goals and the likely success of workers' self-management.

Perhaps most relevant of all questions for medium sized states is whether democracy at the nation-state level is obsolete in the face of autocratic trans-national actors. As long as multi-national corporations remain "undemocratized" along workers' self-management principles is there much likelihood that countries such as Canada and Yugoslavia will develop fully democratic societies? This raises a rather intriguing question as to whether the introduction of worker self-managed international corporations would be an important aspect in world integration along functional lines.³

Perhaps a more distant but not unimportant question to consider is 'can affluent self-managed societies engage in neo-colonialist behaviour?'. Regrettably, there seem to be no guarantees that a more democratic decision-making procedure will necessarily generate the most humane and egalitarian policies. It does, however, seem more

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1. It is likely that of all the communist states only China and the Soviet Union are large enough that they can realistically attempt to base their economies on self-sufficiency.
 2. Some authors such as N. Popovic argue that extensive reliance upon foreign aid as Yugoslavia has done from the U.S. has resulted in serious erosion of the communist self-managing system. N. Popovic, Yugoslavia: The New Class in Crisis
 3. See E. Haas, Beyond the Nation State (Stanford, 1964).

probable on most occasions than would be the case for an autocratic structure.

Finally, in an age of monopoly labour and monopoly capital, is the self-managing system with its emphasis upon decentralization, participation, and intimacy similar to the classical Greek city states in being parochial and 'quixotic'?

Having raised a number of key questions concerning possible directions for a fully participatory workers' self-managed system one can now propose a number of probable background prerequisites for such a system. The background prerequisites for the participatory self-managing system seem to be an egalitarian, highly educated and aware public.¹ If substantial educational disparities exist, they will increase the difficulty of communication and understanding in a social system and encourage the likelihood of symbiotic superordination/subordination social relations. The educational levels² should not only be high but also reflect a particular emphasis upon ethical and social relations if expanded social consciousness (i.e. concern for others) is to emerge over narrow ethnocentric perceptions.

In addition, it seems necessary that a relatively advanced level of technology exist to enable the evolution of a post scarcity social system in which human concerns would not be predominantly for material consumption.³ In this system, long and tedious work should be reduced substantially and could be partially achieved by such techniques of technological innovation as automation and "robotization" (use of robots). Certainly it seems likely that some form of guided rate of

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1. See B. Horvat, An Essay on Yugoslav Society, pp.238-239, for agreement on this point. Indeed, even Lenin once spoke of self-management being possible in the U.S.S.R. only after fifty per-cent of the labour force had become urbanized (i.e. more modern and industrialized in orientation).
 2. I do not suggest that such necessarily occurs by means of formalized bureaucratic educational processes.
 3. See P. Goodman, Communitas (N.Y., 1947) and B.F. Skinner, Walden Two (N.Y., 1948) for an example of attempts to outline such a system.

technological innovation exists, and thus less social disruption will be present. It will be, in the words of Toffler, a society in which "laissez-faire technology" will be abandoned. In this changing but more balanced technological society, there is a greater likelihood for maintaining general consensus upon basic societal norms.¹ This is important because it is possible that a highly participatory system might also be a highly volatile and unstable polity unless agreements upon a minimum number of key principles are present.

The most crucial prerequisite for an effectively functioning self-management structure would be, as mentioned previously, a supportive participatory and egalitarian culture and sub-systems.² Such supportive spheres might be a collective system of distribution of goods³ and a communal set of shared beliefs which would combine to reinforce such other collectivist structures as societal-level public ownership, factory-level socialization of management and shop-floor level collectivization of tasks.⁴ Indeed, perhaps it is only as the smaller sphere operates effectively and spills over to the next higher level and as the means reflect the ends that progress towards a fully socialist society can be achieved.

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1. Some critics might suggest that such a system of affluence and consensus is really post-political or apolitical in that the basic political issues are resolved. While this is a fascinating comment, I cannot conceive that such would be the case. As I perceive it, all that would recede would be the urgency of decision-making, not the need for decision-making itself. Conflict is not suggested as being absent but only that there be agreement on basic means of conflict resolution.
 2. Goricar, "Workers' Self-Management: Ideal Type - Social Reality", p.18. Clearly, a strong tradition of free dissent is essential.
 3. See A. Gorz, Socialism and Revolution, p.198. See also D. Gorupic, The Enterprise, p.126, for a similar theme.
 4. Note also Vucinich's comment that in Yugoslavia socialism has developed as a simultaneous process of decentralization, de-statization and democratization. W. Vucinich, "Nationalism and Communism" in W. Vucinich, Contemporary Yugoslavia, p.267.

The last but equally important precondition for this system to be fully self-regulating is that the units must be free and autonomous within the larger social environment. Any integration and co-ordination between these plural units will be based solely on the non-coercive horizontal links¹ of free and voluntary union based on discussion and negotiation.²

Fully Participatory Workers' Self-Management System

Perhaps for reasons similar to Marx's notion of full communism being sparsely dealt with, the outline of the fully participatory self-managing system is the more brief. What are the features of this radical future society?³ Observing the inputs of the participatory self-management system, one notes that there is likely to be a high degree of participation⁴ and sensitivity to others⁵ shown by all segments of the system. More importantly, the worker's role as a single individual actor rather than a group actor becomes dominant. There is less preoccupation with control over enterprise leaders as every worker has become a "manager of the collective"⁶ and there is more concern with self-activity and fulfillment.⁷ Indeed, Gorupic

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1. B. Horvat, An Essay on Yugoslav Society, pp.92, 146, 238-239.
 2. D. Gorupic, The Enterprise, pp.129-130, 127. Note how such a system begins to resemble most anarchists' visions of the ideal society.
 3. Z. Mlinar, "Social Values, Development and Conflicts", p.391.
 4. V. Rus, "The Limits of Organized Participation", p.169.
 5. For an approximation of such a position see D. Gorupic, The Enterprise, pp.113, 136.
 6. Managers as a distinct stratum have withered away in such a system, of course.
 7. See A. Maslow, Motivation and Personality (N.Y., 1954). For an example of Yugoslav use of the terms see V. Rus, "The Limits of Organized Participation", p.168.

asserts: "A free, active, enterprising, responsible, humane, civilly courageous, creative individual — this is what the self-government political system requires in its realization".¹ In short, there is emphasis upon positive freedom and positive rights (freedom for) rather than negative rights (freedom from).

The outputs of such an active system² will be that rather than remote occasional decrees by a central bureaucratic workers' council, daily or frequent decision-making by all or the majority will occur, often at the shop-floor or team unit level.³ This direct decision-making will affect the full range of social and technical activities involving all members. Rather than fixed elites, there will also be extensive role rotation and status diffusion, with the result that spontaneous ad hoc leadership will emerge. It will be the commencement of the "deprofessionalization of political functions"⁴ and the "public-ization" of responsibility in society. Perhaps both more importantly and effectively, ethical considerations and restraints will dominate⁵ over institutional devices and coercive power. In short, rather than a power structure, a community based on sharing and empathy unfolds. It is a system of self-management and self-actualization.

With these proposed two models of self-management in mind, one can now turn to a summary of the findings and implications of this study on workers' self-management and alienation.

1. D. Gorupic, Workers' Self-Management, p.19.

2. V. Rus, "The Limits of Organized Participation", p.183.

3. The recent introduction of the BOAL in Yugoslavia can be interpreted as an attempt to develop such a system. See also D. Gorupic, Workers' Self-Management, p.56, for an analysis of the need to decentralize and diffuse leadership.

4. M. Markovic, "Socialism and Self-Management", p.192.

5. A. Gorz, Socialism and Revolution, p.79. V. Rus, "Problems of Responsibility in Selfmanagerial Industrial Organizations", Sociologija, p.99.

"... the alleged commodity 'labour power' cannot be shoved about, used indiscriminately, or even left unused, without affecting also the human individual who happens to be the bearer of this peculiar commodity".¹

"Industrial society will open the way to a new civilization only by restoring to the worker the dignity of a creator ...".²

"As long as there exist three kinds of property -- private, co-operative, and state -- there will be three class groupings".³

"... there is no more dreadful punishment than futile and hopeless labour".⁴

"Since cultural alienations ... basically represent a shift from a subjective to an objective awareness (from spontaneity to self-consciousness) it must be assumed that this means from the quality of play to that of labour".⁵

1. K. Polanyi, The Great Transformation (Boston, 1971), p.73.

2. A. Camus, The Rebel (N.Y., 1956), p.273.

3. B. Horvat, An Essay on Yugoslav Society, p.157.

4. A. Camus, The Myth of Sisyphus and Other Essays (N.Y., 1955), p.88.

5. D. Regin, Sources of Cultural Estrangement, p.71.

"... the 'fused group' is the paradigm of all egalitarian concepts of what a liberated fraternal community should be".¹

"Marxism has become the ideology of Alienated Intellectuals".²

"Marxism is a means of therapy to anomic people ...".³

"The feeling of exploitation was replaced by the feelings of repression and alienation".⁴

"Civilization, in the real sense of the term, consists not in the multiplication but in the deliberate and voluntary restriction of wants. This alone promotes real happiness and contentment, and increases the capacity for service".⁵

"Poverty is the passive bond which leads man to experience a need for the greatest wealth, the other person".⁶

"Even in an unfree society an individual may be free".⁷

"Happiness is desired by all men; and moments of it are probably attained by most men. Only moments of it can be attained because happiness is the inner concomitant of neat harmonies of body, spirit and society; and these neat harmonies are bound to be infrequent".⁸

1. A. Gorz, Socialism and Revolution, p.259.

2. L. Feuer, Marx and the Intellectuals, p.216.

3. V. Zitta, Georg Lukacs' Marxism: Alienation, Dialectics, Revolution, p.249.

4. A. Touraine, The May Movement: Revolt and Reform, p.55.

5. M. Gandhi, All Men Are Brothers, p.108.

6. K. Marx, "Private Property and Communism", p.138.

7. G. Petrovic, Marx in the Mid-Twentieth Century, p.129.

8. R. Niebuhr, The Irony of American History (N.Y., 1962), p.61.

Conclusion

This study has analyzed the rather extensive literature on alienation and workers' self-management and in so doing has attempted to test a number of key hypotheses that have been proposed by socialists about capitalist and socialist societies. Of the six key hypotheses posed one can offer the following conclusions.

First, is the worker self-managed factory more polyarchic or democratic than the capitalist firm? The conclusion concerning polyarchy in the self-managed factory is that while there are substantial elements of inegalitarian influence and participation, the Yugoslav self-managed factory, when contrasted to Canadian capitalist factories, compares more favourably.¹ Thus, one can suggest limited but significant gains in the direction of factory polyarchy (i.e. substantial influence by both the working class and the professionals). More importantly, the long term prospects for the system's success towards pluralism seem strong for it has already been observed that all levels of participation and the wish to participate increase with advances in education levels² and that the commitment to self-management increases with more advanced levels of technology. The negative phenomena discussed are also likely to recede in the future as experience in operating self-management structures is gained and both the educational level of the Yugoslav work force and the technical level of Yugoslav enterprises increase. Thus, one's conclusions on the topic of polyarchy in self-management are on the whole positive and optimistic.

The next questions posed were 'Does the employee of a workers'

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1. Indeed, organizational memberships and participation in North American capitalist society is less than suggested by American myth. Presthus, for example, reports that 53% of the urban proletariat do not belong to a single organization. Robert Presthus, The Organizational Society (N.Y., 1965), p.223.
 2. In Maslow's schema of a hierarchy of needs and the empirical findings that professionals stress a greater need for autonomy and self-guidance, one can see reasons for such correlations.

self-managed factory perceive his condition as having improved?' and 'Is the workers' self-managed factory associated with lower alienation levels?'. One can conclude from this study that the presence of workers' self-management is associated with both positive and negative features regarding alienation. The more numerous positive features are the greater sense of improved work relations, sense of factory ownership, job satisfaction, lower work alienation, greater job security and substantial housing, vacation, travel and lunch-meal benefits. On the negative side are higher societal alienation, a growing number of economic disputes and high levels of industrial accidents, alcoholism and suicides. These are mixed findings but positive features outnumber the negative features, particularly at the factory level where expected. Thus, while muted by the observation of some societal-level alienation, one can conclude on a note of optimism regarding self-management's effect on improving intra-factory relations and a sense of community in the enterprise.

The fourth question posed was 'Does class membership relate to alienation levels?'. One found that despite lower alienation levels in total, different strata or classes within Yugoslavia exhibited different levels of alienation. Psychic gratification in socialist Yugoslavia is unequally distributed in that blue collar workers, as in capitalist societies, still have a higher level of alienation than white collar and professional employees. This finding in general is a negative one for theorists of self-management.

Fifth, is participation in self-management associated with lower alienation levels? Unlike a previous Yugoslav study, one has found that participants in workers' self-management were not associated with exhibiting greater alienation levels. One can therefore posit that both the mediation hypothesis of mass society theorists and the hypothesis of socialists regarding participation in self-management are confirmed.¹

1. Note how this meets the first requirement suggested by Pateman in the following passage: "The theory of participatory democracy stands or falls on two hypotheses: the educative function of participation, and the crucial role of industry". C. Pateman, Participation and Democratic Theory, p.44.

The sixth and final question discussed was 'Is alienation in the factory strongly associated with alienation in society?'. One concludes from the findings of this study that work alienation is positively associated with societal alienation. This is confirmation of the direction of association suggested by socialist writings. Nevertheless, given the low correlation, any assumption that societal alienation might be a simple dependent variable of work alienation seems unwarranted. This is an important and critical finding which suggests that dated and monistic explanations of societal alienation may be overly simplistic in today's age.

Of the six socialist hypotheses posed, three were confirmed (#1, #2, #5), two findings were mixed but leaned in the direction of confirmation (#3, #6), and only one hypothesis was disconfirmed (#4). Thus, the general findings from this research suggest that the central assumptions of self-management seem to be sound and that what is required to reduce alienation levels, particularly at the factory level, is increased factory pluralism and worker participation in self-management. In any case, so few studies have been completed on the subject of alienation in the self-managed factory that it would be rash to offer any final statements.¹ Certainly anyone who poses the doom of self-management is at the very least premature in his pronouncements.

Indeed, developments in other countries suggest a proliferation of interest in and attempts to implement workers' self-management. As early as 1956 some Chinese communist leaders such as Ch'en Yun and Hsueh Mu-ch'iao offered favourable comments on the Yugoslav self-management system.² More recently, the former Prime Minister of Denmark, A. Jorgensen, proposed a bill before the legislature that would introduce full workers' control of all industry within ten years.³

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1. Indeed, one should be careful not to over-generalize from this study. Even though this work has sought to provide certain empirical measures of key but rarely tested socialist assumptions, one should keep in mind the following scientific limitations of the study: 1) the sample in both countries was limited to a particular region, industry and relatively few factories, 2) samples varied in response rate and were stratified, 3) interval measures were at times applied to ordinal data.
 2. F. Schurmann, Ideology and Organization in Communist China, pp.86, 197.
 3. Forbes, November 1, 1972, p.49.

In Norway some worker-directors were introduced in January 1973 and in Sweden as of April 1973. Paradoxically, in England both the Liberal and the Conservative parties have advocated a system of co-determination in which factories employing over one hundred persons would have some worker-directors.¹ In the Netherlands, factories employing more than one hundred workers must by law have a workers' council.² Co-determination in the German coal and steel industries³ has been operating successfully for over two decades and even developing countries such as Algeria, and more recently Chile, under the communist Allende, introduced self-managing factories. Even in Canada, senior elected government officials in the labour ministries have expressed some positive interest in full workers' self-management.⁴

The question that arises is why is there such an interest in workers' self-management⁵ and other aspects of workers' participation in management? Some obvious initial replies by many non-socialists are that self-management is seen as an attempt to reduce costly and spiralling work stoppages and thereby to increase labour productivity.

1. Economist March 24, 1973.

2. "Workers on the Board", TIME May 19, 1975.

3. A. Sturmhthal, Workers' Councils (Cambridge, 1964). There are suggestions by a government commission that such "co-surveillance" ought to be introduced in France. TIME, ibid.

4. In the province of British Columbia, the New Democratic Party's Minister of Labour, Alan King, expressed a commitment in 1974 to attempt to establish an experimental workers' self-managed corporation for B.C. Rail. See "Worker Democracy is Creeping into the Board Room", Toronto Star August 24, 1974. The federal Liberal Party's Minister of Labour, John Munro and Post Master General, Bryce Mackasey have also expressed some interest. The latter has even suggested the possibility of a worker self-managed postal station.

5. B. Kavcic outlines the following key topics that have characterized much of the foreign interest in Yugoslavia's self-managing system — neo-human relations, socialist market, socialist efficiency, classless society and the withering away of the state. "Some Trends in the Development of the Self-Management", Participation, Vol.6, pp.160-161.

Both British Columbia's and particularly Canadian labour officials' attitudes were impelled by the recognition of the diminishing utility of traditional collective bargaining in certain sectors of industrial relations.¹ Perceptions of economic efficiency alone, however, miss the central aspirations² of self-management. It is more significantly an attempt to overcome the bifurcation of society into segmented labour and capital³, to provide more than wages in the work place⁴, to democratize the factory, to reduce impersonalization and alienation in the factory, and thereby to restore a sense of humanism, participation and self-mastery within the factory. It is thus an attempt to re-establish a sense of community in a basic unit of society - the factory - and in so doing provide a basis for a more stable and just society.

There is of course no certain guarantee that legal equality and an inalienable right to participate in factory self-management⁵ will generate a viable and egalitarian community. As a social invention,⁶

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1. Indeed, at times rather than a zero-sum game, such relations seem to approach the level of a minus-sum game.
 2. The limited utility of the economic model of man is validated by Coates' report that between 1940 and 1960 non-wage causes for strikes in England increased from one-third to three-quarters. K. Coates, "The Quality of Life and Workers' Control", Participation Vol.3, p.14.
 3. One might also add, echoing Horvat, it is an attempt to avoid bureaucratic labour and capital and their manifestations of bureaucratic conflict. One additional note of importance is that given the low level of unionization that persists in many industrial societies, workers' self-management may in some cases be a way of organizing workers who would otherwise be unorganized and unrepresented in the factory.
 4. See Karl Marx, The Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844 and K. Marx, The Grundrisse, passim.
 5. D. Gorupic, Workers' Self-Management, pp.18, 125.
 6. Whereas the introduction of the mass-production factory was foremost a technical revolution, the implementation of workers' self-management is for the most part a social revolution. See also D. Gorupic who states: "The enterprise is an institutionalized technoeconomic organization but is also a social organization". D. Gorupic, The Enterprise, p.78.

self-management, in increasing opportunities for access to participate in factory decision-making, does increase the likelihood of establishing and maintaining a sense of involvement and identity with decisions, and thus of establishing a sense of shared fate and mutual concern necessary in any functioning community.¹

It should be kept foremost in mind, however, that "workers' self-management"-based attempts at decentralization of power and at more widespread participation, rather than being goals in themselves as some in the New Left seem to suggest, are rather simply a means for recreating a sense of community with its corresponding values of trust, group identity and collective concern. It is for this reason that I have focused on the term alienation. Alienation is one of the major societal problems that workers' self-management seeks to eradicate in order to establish a "society of friends".² The attempt to overcome alienation and classes, then, is the key rationale and source of legitimacy for the introduction of a workers' self-management system. Indeed, it is in the words of Durkheim, the current "collective malaise"³ that socialism in general and self-management in particular are attempting to alleviate. The attempts in the past have not all proved successful, nor has the present Yugoslav operation of self-management.

1. See Karl Deutsch, Nationalism and Social Communication (Cambridge, 1953).

2. See for example D. Garson, "On the Political Theory of Decentralized Socialism", Participation Vol.2, p.85, and J. Wilson, "Towards a Society of Friends: Some Reflections on the Meaning of Democratic Socialism", C.J.P.S. No.3, 1970, pp.628-654.

3. Indeed, Durkheim states: "Socialism is not a science, ... it is a cry of grief, sometimes of anger, uttered by men who feel most keenly our collective malaise". Socialism, p.41. Such malaise and alienation could be partially indicated by the levels of alcoholism, drug addiction, suicides, divorces, unemployment, delinquency, crime, ritualism, escapism, indifference, insecurity and mistrust that seem to be increasingly prevalent in large urban centres. Indeed, the salesman, producing no material goods, selling a largely inflated and fictitious image of a product, accentuating an endless demand for . . .

Indeed, if one observes the history of socialism and industrial democracy, one is struck by the number of highly participatory systems ushered in by revolutionary change, only to recede to more hierarchical and alienating structures shortly thereafter.¹ The Israeli Kibbutzim remain a solitary lasting success.² The Yugoslav system, however, seems likely to be able to provide a major sustained breakthrough in the establishment of a participatory system within an entire nation-state. If such proves to be the case, part of the success will be rooted in the experience derived from the more tutelary representative system that has in large part thus far prevailed in Yugoslavia.

Attempts at the implementation of a millenium soon discern that shibboleths alone are insufficient. It is then that innovative attempts

goods, and perceiving a largely materialistic and utilitarian view of human relations is perhaps, as Arthur Miller has suggested in Death of a Salesman, the most representative symbol of alienation in contemporary society.

1. Indeed, using the framework suggested in Chart N-1 in the chapter on two models of workers' self-management, one can observe that the Soviet Union in the few brief years after the 1917 Revolution attempted to leap from a pre- or proto-constitutional society (A-B) to a fully self-managing system (D) only to fail and to rapidly return to a pre-"constitutional democratic" system in the following years. Such an attempt at social change by fiat seems unlikely to endure. Yugoslavia, in contrast, seems to have pursued a more cautious and optimal strategy and despite ambitious aspirations has moved carefully first into a representative self-management system (C). Thus, the Yugoslavs have possibly prepared the way for a more viable base for a system of self-management and thus created the opportunities for an attempt to implement a more fully and lasting participatory self-management system once the necessary pre-conditions have been achieved. Such a multidimensional self-managing system, as suggested previously, is likely to be based on a collectivist system of distribution of goods and a communal set of beliefs which would combine to reinforce such other collectivist structures as societal-level public ownership, factory-level socialization of management and shop-floor level collectivisation of tasks.
2. The kibbutzim as a sub-system involve approximately 90,000 members in two hundred and forty communes.

are made to generate the same desired results with different methods. So it seems with workers' self-management. As a Yugoslav scholar once concluded: "The truth about Yugoslav workers' self-management cannot shatter the belief in workers' self-management, but can only raise questions about the modes of its realization".¹ This decade, like the last, will probably be characterized by innovative attempts to achieve the illusive 'corporate demos'. In an age of spiralling unemployment, inflation, strikes, multi-national corporate monopolies and an undercurrent of anomie and alienation,² an increasing number of individuals and governments in other political systems look on with substantial interest at the success or failure of the Yugoslav system of self-management.³

However, how total or final a method even full workers' self-

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1. Rudi Supek, "Two Types of Self-Management Organizations and Technological Progress", Participation Vol.1, p.152.
 2. It is worthwhile to note that the feeling of alienation has induced many university students to seek a sense of identity in Eastern religions. For recent books on the subject see Alan Watts, The Spirit of Zen (N.Y., 1958); A. Watts, Psychotherapy East and West (Toronto, 1961); A. Watts, The Book (N.Y., 1966) and A. Watts, The Supreme Identity (N.Y., 1972).
 3. Note for example that in France two of the 1974 presidential candidates, the Gaullist J. Chaban-Delmas and the socialist F. Mitterand, were in favour of forms of workers' participation in management. "Working Sharing to Continue?", Globe and Mail, April 30, 1974. Some management consultants such as Ichak Adizes in the United States and labour consultants such as Harold Wilson in Canada have attempted to implement gradual changes in factories as a step towards full workers' self-management.

management¹ is for the resolution of alienation remains in doubt.² Indeed, given that there is a large diversity of writers, disciplines and frameworks used for analyzing alienation and that my findings which indicate that work and societal alienation, while being positively correlated, are not highly associated,³ one suggests that

1. Given that one can classify a factory in terms of a number of dimensions such as reciprocity to environment (e.g. open versus closed social system), structure of power (e.g. polyarchic versus oligarchic), communication patterns (e.g. leadership versus rulership), and goals (e.g. profit versus non-profit orientation), one has suggested that a number of criteria must be met for a fully multi-dimensional communal workers' self-management. Skill and knowledge levels should be high and evenly distributed, wages and other rewards should be equitably shared and authority should be 'diffused and pluralist. (See also W. Evans, "Hierarchy, Alienation and Organizational Effectiveness: An Experimental Perspective on Industrial Democracy", Participation Vol.4, p.77.) Thus, a fully egalitarian workers' self-management system would, as previously suggested, require both the system and the sub-system to be egalitarian on a number of dimensions simultaneously. If there exists incomplete equality on any dimension unnecessary social-based alienation will continue to exist.
2. Indeed, much of contemporary social-political literature dwells on the debate as to whether the "end of alienation" is possible. As such, aspects of the debate are analogous to the end of ideology debate of the fifties. See particularly D. Bell, The End of Ideology, passim.
3. Thus, the case of a hippie craftsman on a farm may be a useful example of work alienation being low while alienation from society is high. This also suggests that alienation can be in the form of a rejection by society (e.g. the exile or outcast) or rejection of society (e.g. Bohemian). Both, of course, can occur simultaneously. See also E. Struening and A. Richardson, "A Factor Analytic Explanation of the Alienation, Anomia and Authoritarian Domain", ASR October 1965, p.768, for a similar comment.

alienation is a complex phenomenon. Indeed, some even suggest that it is a series of complex phenomena given the presence of sub-dimensions of alienation.¹ In any case, the problem of alienation is likely to persist in that a portion of it is caused by factors other than lack of factory democracy. Some causes are socio-political while others are ontological.

Turning first to the socio-political factors, one notes that aspects of alienation are likely to remain as long as certain conditions exist. Division of labour is likely to continue a sense of powerlessness in that less skill is required for work, workers are easily substituted on the production line and can also be displaced from their jobs² by other workers from the ranks of the large, unskilled and sometimes unemployed labour force.

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1. Thus my findings and those of others that the sub-dimensions of powerlessness, normlessness and social isolation need not be highly correlated. M. Seeman, "The Urban Alienations", p.139 and to a lesser degree L. Feuer, Marx and the Intellectuals, pp.88, 90, both suggest that alienation is not a tight bundle of phenomena but may vary somewhat.
 2. See also A. Gramsci, Selections From the Prison Notebooks, p.202, on this point. An interesting aspect of the division of labour causing alienation is the historic division of labour between the sexes. Indeed, when one considers the plight of the contemporary housewife, particularly the working class housewife, one notes that she has been active in labour both in the home and in the factory to supplement family income. A recent study has noted that nine out of ten American women work outside the home at some point. Work in America, p.57. While few empirical studies are available on the specific subject of the alienation of women, one can note the frequent alienation themes such as social isolation from other adults while working in the household, economic powerlessness in the absence of wages and increasing lack of long-term financial security in the case of divorce, and lastly, self-estrangement in the low self-esteem and little self-actualization that women forgoing professional careers frequently experience. Those who continue to pursue careers often find prejudicial attitudes to women persisting and for the most part have until recently found that upward mobility has been hindered.

Related to the division of labour is the persistence of limitations on the development of fully social property. As long as all property is not owned by all and managed by all equally, some groups will predominate over others in property benefits and usage. Such aspects of "privatization" of social property as occurs in small co-operatives, group factory self-management or bureaucratic state capitalism will mean that exchange relationships shall persist¹ as will group inequalities and hence, alienation.

Continued usage of machines, even automated systems and robots, will likely reduce the level of social contact and thus augment the sense of isolation. Self-monitoring devices such as computers in their complexity and quickness of processing have a capacity to overwhelm operators and programmers and thus may increase the sense of powerlessness at times. Certainly the frustration of the consumers, who have to deal with computerized systems, is frequently revealed in behaviour ranging from the destruction of computer bills to the burning of computers. Such neo-Luddite responses to impersonalization and socio-economic dislocation may be typical of an interim age or they might be indicative of an as yet unarticulated revolutionary discontent.

A final socio-economic aspect of alienation likely to remain irrespective of the presence of workers' self-management is the multi-national corporation. The sense of vast size, remoteness of certain decision-making centres, the complexity of large scale production, all seem to suggest that the individual's sense of powerlessness vis-a-vis such "corporate Leviathans" will persist.² Indeed, as suggested earlier, the Yugoslavs have found that larger self-managed corporations do on occasion exhibit such features of remoteness.

1. J. Israel, Alienation: From Marx to Modern Sociology, p.289.

2. Indeed, we may be a society of "white collar helots"!

Turning to the ontological aspects of alienation, one notes that man's perception of his fate — death, his quest for meaning of finite life in a seemingly infinite universe, his ability to conceive¹ of and frequently to seek more than he is capable of achieving — all suggest that alienation will persist independent of the political and sociological causes such as continued exploitation and structured inequality which one has analyzed in this study.²

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1. Man is a rather unique being which exists within the interface between dream and reality.
 2. One should note, of course, that such social causes as patterns of economic ownership are not all-encompassing. Cultural causes such as a change from a spontaneous and non-reflective culture to an administrative and more planned one will likely result in a feeling that society is not heavenly and eternal in essence but is man-made and subject to utilitarian evaluation. Such an attitude of critical judgement may also generate a sense of detachment and alienation from certain social structures. See also D. Regin, Sources of Cultural Estrangement, p.148. Another aspect of cultural causes is the shift from play to work, that is to say, the shift from immediate gratification to delayed gratification. Can the sensation of play ever be introduced on a sustained basis into the work situation? Can the problem of unpleasant work be eradicated by restructuring society? Marcuse thinks that as long as civilization exists, such a totalistic goal is impossible to achieve. A final aspect of cultural causes of alienation is the shift from a stable socialization pattern imposed by all-encompassing monistic structures to a system in which fragmentary agents of socialization exist. Durkheim, in his explanation of anomic suicides, indicated that anomie does not occur only in periods of economic decline. Thus Durkheim, himself a socialist, casts doubt upon the hypothesis that class deprivation is a simple explanation of alienation. Suicide, p.243. Other statements by persons such as R.D. Laing that some anxiety may be pre-natal also suggest that socio-economic factors may have very little impact upon certain aspects of alienation. See also C. Bay, The Structure of Freedom, p.180.

Given the ontological aspects of alienation, the quest within parties to resolve alienation by political means alone seems destined to failure in the long term and thus to generate new forms of societal alienation. New quests to seek the resolution of societal-based alienation will continue until it is recognized that the causes of alienation are both "of this" world and "beyond it". The question posed by Sartre of why there is something rather than nothing¹ cannot be adequately dealt with by proposing socio-political replies capable of embracing only a few centuries of an infinite universe. Rather the problem of first cause and other apparently "timeless" questions must be dealt with. It is such dimensions of alienation that Sartre and other existentialists have discussed and which is perhaps most concisely raised in the following epigram:

I, a stranger and afraid,
In a world I never made.²

From such a statement one can see a reiteration of the three core sub-component dimensions of alienation stresses in this study. The term "stranger" implies both isolation and rootlessness, "afraid" suggests both pessimism and anxiety, and "never made" indicates powerlessness and helplessness. In sum, there are ontological factors leading to a sense of unfulfilled potentiality, a sense of estrangement from oneself, and hence, a feeling of premature death. It is this sense of unnecessary "spiritual death" preceding physical annihilation

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1. J.P. Sartre, Being and Nothingness, p.51.
 2. From a poem by A.E. Housman, "A Shropshire Lad" cited in H. Ruitenbeck, The Individual and the Crowd (Toronto, 1964), p.23. In the above passage's emphasis on "I" as the means of sense experience, one observes the raising of the question of whether alienation is largely a personal experience. Some, in suggesting that alienation is a personal phenomenon, argue that harmony and oneness is to be achieved largely by the individual himself. Others, who suggest that it is a more collectively shared phenomenon, in contrast assert that the overcoming of alienation will occur in the collective esprit of revolutionary change.

that also propels socio-political movements beyond the impetus generated by demands for social change. In the words of Kolakowski, "Historiosophy draws its strength not from itself but from the faith people have in it; ..."¹ It is a fusion of a theological quest with the political. In part it is because "philosophy has never freed itself from its theological heritage, ..."² More significantly, it is because theology cannot be fully removed from the socio-political realm.³

Some questions are unresolvable by either simple political ideologies or by seemingly complex scientific techniques. People are thus alienated in part because of their wish to question the unknown beyond the here and now of this world which neither of the forgoing frameworks can resolve adequately.⁴

1. L. Kolakowski, Toward a Marxist Humanism, p.126.

2. Ibid., p.9.

3. Gandhi, in stating "those who say that religion has nothing to do with politics do not know what religion means", seems to suggest that the two ought not to be separated. M. Gandhi, All Men Are Brothers, p.58.

4. Indeed, Marxism has no adequate suggestion as to what man is free for. Science, both natural science and social science, cannot explain why one should do something. In the final analysis scientific "truths" are only scientifically valid and meaningful. For example, in the scientific description of water as H₂O one has only a rigorous definition and explanation of water in one sense. Scientific explanations in acquiring such specificity also lose a certain degree of comprehensiveness. Theology, in its most progressive and uplifting sense, seeks to attain such a comprehensiveness.

Alienation also occurs because people are incapable of continuously questioning all aspects of their lives. They become alienated as they act only on faith, for "... theology begins with the belief that truth has already been given to us, ..." ¹. That is, men become alienated in proportion as their patterns of thought become closed and dogmatic, ² (i.e. as alienated thought predominates).

Clearly, there is an alienating tension between the questioning of unknowns and the lack of questioning knowables. Thus, amidst the alienation of choice and the dialectic between "is" and "ought", between the present and the future, between moral obligation and private wants, between the individual and the collective, between the conscious and the unconscious, between the finite and the infinite, between being and non-being, there exists man -- a unique, perplexed, and at times, a questioning being. He is alive yet alienated. He is on the interface of the unknown, but he is not totally unknowing. He is a creature in search of an orderly cosmos and of communion with a more infinite entity, be it God or some other form of higher consciousness (such as civilization). ³ Man is in this sense a theological being.

One thus concurs with Hegel's and Feuer's premise that alienation to a considerable degree is also a concept of political theology. ⁴

1. L. Kolakowski, Toward a Marxist Humanism, p.21.

2. Here one is using a narrower and more scholastic meaning of theological than suggested previously.

3. This quest is in part a frantic desire to rebel against man's perceived fate -- death.

4. Note however that Feuer in his negative evaluation that "'Alienation' remains too much a concept of political theology that bewilders rather than clarifies the direction for political action", suggests a different conclusion than I do. Marx and the Intellectuals, p.99. Please note I say this as one who has been an atheist for a great many years and as one who remains an atheist. Such a position possibly may be one of the more perplexing forms of alienation -- an atheist advocating a quasi-theological position amidst a society of allegedly religious persons advocating irreligious notions.

As such, alienation will be in some forms an eternal human fate.¹ Perhaps like sin and salvation, both predominant terms of an earlier age, man is cast uneasily amidst two polar experiences -- alienation and community. He must, as was the case with his forefathers, choose a path that is not altogether based on rational grounds and that somehow reconciles both.

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1. I still maintain that alienation-reducing and inequality-reducing measures in society should continue to be sought. I suggest that attempts such as introducing first an interim representative and then a fully participatory workers' self-management system are worthy and useful goals. While such measures, particularly the latter, may at the present time remain an unfulfilled and perhaps an unclear and distant vision, they do suggest the approximate direction in which to usher a more humanized social setting.

Under Socialism

a hurt finger does not hurt!

They hurt their fingers.

They felt the pain.

They began to doubt.

A. Wazyk, "Poem for Adults" cited by Paul Blumberg, Industrial Democracy, p.184.

APPENDIX

Chronology of Important Dates in Yugoslavia

- 1919 - founding of the Communist Party in Yugoslavia
- 1929 - Ustashi founded (Croat separatist organization)
- 1937 - Tito appointed head of Communist Party in Yugoslavia
- 1942 - December - Anti Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) formed

Administrative Socialism:

- 1945 - November - Constituent Assembly founds Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia
 - command economy
 - old partisan leaders as managers
 - 50 acre limit to private holdings
- 1946 - New Constitution based on the Soviet model
- 1947 - first Five Year Plan (followed Soviet economic strategy)
- 1948 - Cominform expulsion
 - Soviet-Yugoslav Dispute
 - Fifth Party Congress, July 1948
 - British and American economic aid
- 1949 - first experimental councils (214) established as consultative bodies only
 - collectivization of agriculture
- 1950 - June 26 - fundamental law establishing working collectives (enterprise is public property but managed by firm's employees)
 - director responsible to board but still appointed by state
 - industrial associations established
- 1952 - detailed administrative planning abandoned, market principle being introduced
 - control over wage planning acquired by council
 - industrial associations abolished
 - devaluation of dinar (from 50 to 300 per dollar)
 - Sixth Party Congress - November

Transitional Socialism:

- 1953 - January, New Constitution - council of producers as second chamber with delegates elected according to G.N.P. of various economic spheres
 - self-management in social services established
 - director no longer state appointed but open competition with selection by joint committee of commune and enterprise (4:2 ratio respectively)
 - voting by candidate rather than trade union list
 - competitive bids for investment fund
 - passage of anti-trust law
 - decollectivization of agriculture
 - Djilas' 'new class' articles
 - establishment of General Investment Fund

- 1954 - management board acquires right to appoint all executives based on open competition
 - introduction of interest rate (1-6 percent) on capital assets
 - introduction of price controls
 - Djilas resigns from Party
 - renewed trade with Comecon
- 1955 - department councils introduced
 - enterprises set pay scales instead of by law
 - re-introduction of labour norms (had been dropped by most councils but re-introduced by union)
 - communes established (1,479)
- 1956 - second Five Year Plan
 - agriculture more emphasized
 - manufacturing emphasized over industry
 - observer status in Comecon
- 1957 - councils have parity on director selection committee
 - appointed by joint session of two chambers of commune on the proposal of selection committee
 - Labour Relations Law
 - giving council power over hiring and firing
 - no councillors can be transferred or dismissed without their consent
 - mandatory for enterprise to belong to respective chamber
 - First Congress of Councils, June
 - demand for greater powers
 - right to dispose of income freely once commitments completed
 - term of councils extended two years
 - criticism of excessive power of people's committees (attempting to maximize taxes)
 - Seventh Party Congress, April
- 1958 - coal miners strike in Slovenia, January (first official strike)
- 1959 - Yugoslavia associate member of G.A.T.T.
- 1960 - Yugoslav consultations with I.N.F.
 - taxed income from multi-communal enterprises no longer acquired by Commune with central office; instead income received by communes related to proportion of workers in area
- 1961 - reform - commune financially responsible if enterprise insolvent
 - right of people's committee to inspect enterprise
 - departmental incentives - "remuneration according to work" slogan stressed as surplus profit no longer distributed equally within enterprise but in proportion to profitability of economic units
 - devaluation - 300 dinars to 750 per dollar
 - roll back of wages and prices by central controls
 - decline in importance of Central Investment Fund
 - workers' council permitted to delegate 1) income distribution power, 2) hiring and firing power to economic units
 - workers' councils control over net earnings increased from 22% to 55%
 - reduction in taxes on enterprise income
 - progressive income tax replaced by flat tax

- 1962 - economic units importance increased
- 1963 - New Constitution
 - decentralisation
 - work units described as basic cells of self-management
 - government investment funds transferred to banking system (abolition of General Investment Fund)
 - director appointed solely by factory
- 1964 - law in which trade union is now by-passed altogether in nomination procedure for election to workers' council. Now there is a general meeting in which the candidate is posted if there are three nominees and if workers then vote in favour of person being a candidate.
 - Eighth Party Congress, December
 - council members term of office set at two years with one half replaced each year
 - no member can serve two consecutive terms
 - competitive bids for loans dropped (introduced in 1954)

Self-Managing Socialism:

- 1965 - economic reform
 - reduced taxes on enterprise (keep 71% of net profit versus earlier 51%)
 - exposure to world trade and prices
 - import duties reduced, dinar more easily convertible
 - emphasis on efficiency
 - wage inequalities increased
 - subsidies reduced (wages therefore increased)
 - personal consumption increased
 - tertiary sector received more priority
 - commune limited to non-economic investments (e.g. schools, housing) - attempt to separate state and economy at local level
 - all prices 'temporarily' frozen
- 1966 - full member of G.A.T.T.
 - ouster of Rankovic
 - demise of annual plan
- 1967 - private retail shops permitted (with restrictions)
 - enterprises permitted to independently seek and contact foreign investors (up to 49% foreign capital allowed)
 - Yugoslav Foreign Investment Law
 - Constitutional Amendments (1-6)
 - Chamber of Nationalities increased in autonomy and significance
- 1968 - Sixth Trade Union Congress
 - December Constitutional Amendments (7-9)
 - Federal Assembly to be bicameral
 - increase in power of Chamber of Nationalities
 - election responsibility shifted from commune to Socialist Alliance
 - republican assemblies elect delegates to the Council of Nationalities - 20 from each republic, 10 from each autonomous province

- communal assemblies and delegates from working organizations elect members to three corporate chambers: economic, educational-cultural, and health-social welfare
 - Amendment 15 - removes previous standardized regulations concerning self-management organs
- 1969 - Ninth Party Congress, March
- critical of Stalin
 - executive Bureau of Party Presidium established
 - 15 members, 2 from each republic, 1 each autonomous province and Tito
 - proposals for territorial defence units for defensive guerrilla war if needed
 - Army generals purged (mostly Serbs)
 - 57% of factories unable to fulfill financial obligations, leads to wage delays and cuts
 - consequences such as strike at Rijeka in June
 - Tito announces Party purge
 - warns of Western petty bourgeois influences
 - Albania supports Yugoslav and Romanian autonomy from the Soviet Union
- 1970 - Mihajlov freed
- October, Belgrade student strike
 - thaw in Yugoslav-Albanian relations
- 1971 - devaluation of dinar, January - 15 to one dollar U.S. from previous 12.5
- Constitutional Amendments (20-42), June
 - collective presidency
 - 14 members proposed, finally 22: 2 from each republic, one from each autonomous province chosen by assemblies; 8 presidents of republics and autonomous provinces
 - five year term, Tito member
 - Federal Executive Council declined in importance to presidency
 - Second Congress of Yugoslav Self-Managers
 - November to December, eleven day student strike at University of Zagreb
 - 30,000 participants
 - opposed constitutional change requiring republic to cede foreign exchange earnings
 - Tito speaks criticizing Croat Party leadership
 - November 26, price freeze to remain in effect until February 1972
 - 170 students arrested in Croatia after protesting resignations of Croat Party leaders such as Ms. Dabcevic-Kucar, P. Pirker, M. Koprtla, and General Bobetko
 - M. Tripalo resigned
 - Tito warns of possible danger of civil war
 - Croat prime minister, D. Haramija, resigns
 - compromise reached in amount of foreign earnings to go to federal government
 - only 60% of tourist earnings
 - Tito visits Canada, November
 - agreement on scientific and technical exchanges signed

- 1972 - arrests of members of Croat journal Hrvatska Tiednik
 - Party Executive Bureau reduced from 15 to 8
 - May, expulsions of Croat leaders
 - July, temporary suspension of Praxis
 - Croat student trials
 - October, cabinet permits price increases in sugar, margarine and cooking oil
 - October, S. Kavcic removed as prime minister of Slovenia
 - November, \$540 million Soviet loan in barter arranged
 - fifty plants to be built
- 1973 - antiliberal policy
 - purge of communists from Party (approximately 32,000)
 - first communist country to have a foreign currency exchange
 - Tito visits U.S.S.R.
 - unemployment 20.3% (400,000) at beginning of year
 - limit on labour emigration
 - need for approval from labour agencies
 - inflation rate approximately 24%
- 1974 - debate concerning proposed Praxis ouster
 - decline by 10% in size of Party membership (1,076,000 approx.)
 - New Constitution, February
 - deputies to retain full time jobs
 - represented from factories; goal is to reduce power of technocrats
 - collective presidency
 - Kardelj re-emerging in influence
 - two chambers: all directly elected, one third to be workers
 - Tenth Party Congress, May
 - Tito to be leader for life
 - "political centralization while economic decentralization"
 - greater worker management of banks and insurance organizations
 - Trieste Zone B incidents with Italy
 - dinar devalued by 7%, October
 - return of 100,000 migrant workers from Western Europe due to economic recession
- 1975 - dismissal of Praxis professors and closing down of journal, January

For a more detailed review of events see Facts on File and Keesings Contemporary Archives.

Yugoslav Enterprise Questionnaire:

The following questionnaire is part of an important university study. You have been selected from amongst a large number of persons and thus your co-operation is important. All answers are strictly confidential; therefore, do not write your name anywhere. Since all the questions are significant, it is important that you try to answer all the questions. Please answer as quickly as possible. Thank you for your time and assistance.

Instructions:

For every question, check the box beside the single answer that corresponds most closely to your opinion.

Example:

1) How much do you like to read?

a great deal____; some____; uncertain____; little____; not at all____.

If you like to read a great deal, you would place an 'X' beside "a great deal".

If you like to read, but only some of the time, you would place an 'X' beside "some".

If you do not like to read at all, you would place an 'X' beside "not at all".

If you are undecided as to your answer, you would place an 'X' beside "uncertain".

1. What is your sex? Male ____: Female ____.
2. What is your marital status? Single ____: Married ____.
 Divorced ____: Widowed ____.
3. What year were you born?
 prior to 1920 ____; 1921-1925 ____; 1926-1930 ____;
 1931-1935 ____; 1936-1940 ____; 1941-1945 ____;
 1946-1950 ____; 1951-1955 ____; 1956 and after ____.
4. What is your nationality?
 Serbian ____; Croatian ____; Slovene ____;
 Macedonian ____; Montenegrin ____; Moslem ____;
 Yugoslav ____; Albanian (Shiptar) ____; Hungarian ____;
 other (please specify) ____.
5. How many years of schooling have you completed?
 0-4 ____; 5-8 ____; 9-12 ____;
 13-16 ____; 17 or more ____.
6. In what institution was your last year of schooling completed?
 elementary school ____; high school ____;
 vocational school ____; (2 year) junior college ____;
 university ____; other (please specify) ____.
7. How many years have you been employed with this enterprise?
 less than 1 year ____; 1-2 years ____; 3-5 ____;
 6-8 ____; 9-11 ____; 12 years or more ____.
8. What is your present occupation?
 production worker ____; office worker (desk) ____;
 foreman ____; technician ____; engineer ____;
 director ____; senior supervisory staff ____.
9. What was your approximate total income last month? ____ N dinars

4

4

OF/DE

10. Are you presently a member of the workers' council?

yes ____; no ____.

a) Have you ever been in the past a member of the workers' council?

yes ____; no ____;

b) If you have ever served, how many years have you served on the workers' council?

1-2 years ____; 3-5 ____; 6-8 ____; 9 years or more ____.

c) If you have never served, please indicate the major reason why you have not served?

no interest in being active ____;

not enough time ____;

lacked opportunities ____;

other (please specify) ____

11. Are you presently a member of the management board?

yes ____; no ____.

a) Have you been in the past a member of the management board?

yes ____; no ____.

b) If you have ever served, how many years in total have you served on the management board?

1-2 years ____; 3-5 ____; 6-8 ____; 9 years or more ____.

12. Outside of the enterprise, are you an elected representative of any self-government bodies?

yes ____; no ____.

If you answered 'yes', how many structures are you a representative in?

one ____; 2-3 ____; 4-5 ____; 6-7 ____; 8 or more ____.

13. How important do you see each of the following as goals of self-management?

	very important	important	uncertain	little importance	no importance
a) economic efficiency and productivity	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
b) provide better wages and working conditions	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
c) decentralization of the state (country)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
d) create jobs even if salaries and enterprise income is low	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

14. What do you think is the attitude of the workers in general to self-management? (Choose one only.)

_____ does not matter to the worker if there is self-management or not
(If you chose this answer, do part 'A' only.)

_____ workers are opposed to self-management
(If you chose this answer, do part 'B' only.)

_____ workers accept self-management
(If you chose this answer, do part 'C' only.)

_____ don't know

A. If your answer was "does not matter", indicate the most important reason why you believe this.

_____ no changes result in the workers' status and position

_____ workers are not interested in self-management

_____ other (please specify) _____

_____ don't know

B. If your answer was "workers are opposed", indicate the most important reason why you believe this.

_____ workers are afraid more will be demanded of them

_____ workers believe self-management wastes time and lessens enterprise profits

_____ workers do not want to share the responsibilities and risks of management

_____ other (please specify) _____

_____ don't know

C. If your answer was "workers accept self-management", indicate the most important reason why you believe this.

- ☐ workers want to be responsible for the management of the enterprise
- ☐ workers think self-management brings better salaries and working conditions
- ☐ will give workers greater power and sense of autonomy
- ☐ other (please specify) _____
- ☐ don't know

15. What do you think is the attitude of enterprise leaders and supervisory staff to workers' self-management?

- ☐ does not matter to leaders whether there is self-management or not
(answer section 'A' only)
- ☐ enterprise leaders and supervisory staff are in favour of self-management
(answer section 'B' only)
- ☐ enterprise leaders and supervisory staff are opposed to self-management
(answer section 'C' only)

A. If you answered "does not matter", please explain why.

B. If you answered "are in favour", indicate the most important reason why.

- ☐ because it leads to higher productivity
- ☐ because it leads to a more humanized relationship between workers and enterprise leaders
- ☐ because it reduces disputes and conflicts between workers and enterprise leaders
- ☐ other (please specify) _____
- ☐ don't know

C. If you answered "enterprise leaders are opposed", indicate the most important reason why.

- ☐ because they do not want to give workers more power
- ☐ because it leads to lower efficiency
- ☐ because it increases conflict between enterprise leaders and workers
- ☐ other (please specify) _____
- ☐ don't know

16. Do you think that the system of workers' self-management in Yugoslavia has generally been a success?

___ very successful; ___ fairly successful; ___ uncertain;
___ little success; ___ not successful at all.

17. Do you think that the system of workers' self-management in your enterprise has generally been a success?

very successful ___; fairly successful ___; uncertain ___;
little success ___; not successful at all ___.

18. How do you feel the introduction of workers' self-management has affected your personal position in the enterprise?

position very much improved ___; position improved ___;
uncertain ___; position worsened ___; position very much worsened ___

- A. If your answer was "improved or greatly improved", please indicate the most important reason.

___ receive more consideration and respect from superiors
___ income and work conditions improved
___ feel that have greater influence within the enterprise
___ greater employment stability
___ other (please specify) _____
___ don't know

- B. If your answer was "worsened or very much worsened", please indicate the most important reason.

___ am less able to object to leadership decisions
___ leads to greater conflicts with leaders
___ income and profits have not increased successfully
___ workers are not good at self-management
___ other (please specify) _____
___ don't know

19. Within your enterprise, do you think that all persons generally have interests and goals that are compatible?

very much compatible ___; some degree of compatibility ___;
little compatibility ___; no compatibility ___.

20. In your opinion, how much influence do persons such as yourself have upon the way the enterprise is run?

very great influence ____; great influence ____; some influence ____;
little influence ____; no influence ____.

21. Indicate the amount of influence within the enterprise for each of the following:

	very great influence	great influence	some influence	little influence	no influence
a) director	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
b) trade union	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
c) League of Communists	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
d) workers' council	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
e) management board	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
f) supervisors	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
g) technical staff	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
h) workers - skilled	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
- unskilled	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

22. Indicate the amount of influence within the enterprise that you would wish to see for each of the following groups:

	very great influence	great influence	some influence	little influence	no influence
a) director	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
b) trade union	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
c) League of Communists	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
d) workers' council	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
e) management board	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
f) supervisors	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
g) technical staff	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
h) workers - skilled	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
- unskilled	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

23. Have you made any suggestions in any form regarding some aspect of the operation of the enterprise within the past year?

yes ____; no ____.

- a) If yes, to whom did you convey these suggestions? (You may check more than one category if applicable.)

enterprise leaders or supervisory staff ____; workers' council ____;
management board ____; trade union ____;
other (please specify) _____

24. Have you submitted in writing within the past year any suggestions or motions regarding some aspect of the enterprise's operation?

yes ____; no ____.

- a) If yes, how many?

1-2 ____; 3-5 ____; 6 or more ____.

- b) How many were accepted?

0 ____; 1-2 ____; 3-5 ____; 6 or more ____.

- c) If you submitted any written proposals, please indicate the topics with which these suggestions dealt.

housing ____; distribution of income ____; frequency or
date of next workers' council (or management board) meeting ____;
enterprise plan ____; work quotas ____;
other (please specify) _____.

25. Please indicate the frequency that you attend the following organizations:

	almost always attend	frequently attend	occasionally attend	rarely attend	never attend
a) workers' council	____	____	____	____	____
b) management board	____	____	____	____	____
c) trade union	____	____	____	____	____

26. In your opinion, is there a close relationship between the enterprise and the local community?

yes ____; no ____; don't know ____.

- a) If yes, what is the main role of the local community?

_____.

27. Please indicate how important and desirable each of the following categories is for your present job.

	very important	important	uncertain	little importance	no importance
a) interesting and enjoyable work	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
b) good working conditions	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
c) high wages	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
d) good chance for promotion	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
e) secure job	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
f) work with pleasant people	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
g) participation in self-management	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
h) do socially useful work	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
i) other (please specify)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

28. Please indicate how important and desirable each of the following categories is for your ideal job.

	very important	important	uncertain	little importance	no importance
a) interesting and enjoyable work	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
b) good work conditions	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
c) high wages	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
d) good chance for promotion	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
e) secure job	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
f) work with pleasant people	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

	very important	important	uncertain	little importance	no importance
g) participation in self- management	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
h) do socially useful work	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
i) other (please specify)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

29. How important do you think it is for most employees to participate actively in making important enterprise decisions?

very important ____; important ____; uncertain ____;
little importance ____; not important ____.

30. Do you think that the average person has the capacity to actively participate in making important enterprise decisions?

yes ____; no ____; no opinion ____.

31. Below are some statements with which some people agree and others disagree. Please indicate your opinion on each of these statements.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree
A B C D E

a) I do <u>not</u> have a <u>sense</u> of <u>ownership</u> of the enterprise.	A	B	C	D	E
b) I can <u>influence decisions</u> made in the enterprise.	A	B	C	D	E
c) My supervisors indicate <u>respect</u> when speaking to me.	A	B	C	D	E
d) I can <u>convey complaints</u> and suggestions <u>freely</u> to supervisors.	A	B	C	D	E
e) The enterprise is guided in a proper manner.	A	B	C	D	E
f) Enterprise operations are sufficiently <u>explained</u> .	A	B	C	D	E
g) I like the work I am doing.	A	B	C	D	E
h) I <u>get along</u> well with my fellow workers.	A	B	C	D	E
i) My present job is <u>not interesting</u> .	A	B	C	D	E
j) I have opportunities to use my <u>own judgment</u> on the job.	A	B	C	D	E
k) I am <u>not satisfied</u> with my present income.	A	B	C	D	E
l) The enterprise does <u>not</u> offer enough <u>opportunities</u> for further education and study.	A	B	C	D	E
m) There are enough <u>opportunities</u> for job advancement.	A	B	C	D	E

32. Below are some statements with which some people agree and others disagree. Please indicate your own opinion on each of these items.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly disagree
	A	B	C	D	E
a) Sometimes I feel all alone in the world.	A	B	C	D	E
b) The end often justifies the means.	A	B	C	D	E
c) Everything is relative and there aren't any definite parts to live by.	A	B	C	D	E
d) Sometimes I have the feeling that other people are using me.	A	B	C	D	E
e) Each can always find friends if he shows himself friendly.	A	B	C	D	E
f) I often wonder what the meaning of life really is.	A	B	C	D	E
g) There remain few reliable relationships between people.	A	B	C	D	E
h) There is little chance for promotion on the job unless a man has some good luck.	A	B	C	D	E
i) People are just naturally friendly	A	B	C	D	E
j) The future looks very hopeless.	A	B	C	D	E
k) Obedience and respect for authority are the most important things children should learn.	A	B	C	D	E
l) If people would talk less and work more, everybody would be better off.	A	B	C	D	E
m) Life would be pretty empty without some kind of people to approach, be with, belong to, feel part of.	A	B	C	D	E
n) One must not be too dependent upon persons or things -- the centre of life should be found within oneself.	A	B	C	D	E

* This item not used because of inadequacy of translation.

Canadian Enterprise Questionnaire:

The following questionnaire is part of an important university study. You have been selected from amongst a large number of persons and thus your co-operation is important. All answers are strictly confidential; therefore, do not write your name anywhere. This is not a test — there are no right or wrong answers. We want only your true opinions. Since all questions are significant, it is important that you answer all the questions to the best of your ability. Please answer as quickly as possible. Thank-you for your time and assistance.

Instructions:

For every question, check the box beside the single answer that corresponds most closely to your opinion.

For example,

1) How much do you like to read?

a great deal____; some____; uncertain____; little____; not at all____;

If you like to read a great deal, you would place an 'X' beside a "great deal".

If you like to read but only some of the time, you would place an 'X' beside "some".

If you do not like to read at all, you would place an 'X' beside "not at all".

If you are undecided as to your answer, you would place an 'X' beside "uncertain".

When you have completed the questionnaire, please place it in the special collection box at the company Main Gate.

1. What is your sex? Male____: Female____:
2. What is your marital status?
Single____: Married____: Divorced____: Widowed____:
3. When were you born?
prior to 1920____: 1921-1925____: 1926-1930____:
1931-1935____: 1936-1940____: 1941-1945____:
1945-1950____: 1951-1955____: 1956 and after____:
4. What is your citizenship? Canadian____: other (please specify)_____
5. How many years of schooling have you completed?
0-4____: 5-8____: 9-12____:
13-16____: 17 or more____:
6. In what type of institution was your last year of schooling completed?
primary (grade) school____: high school____:
vocational school____: junior college____:
university____: other (please specify)_____
7. How many years have you been employed with this company?
less than 1 year____: 1-2 years____: 3-5____:
6-8____: 9-11____: 12 years or more____:
8. What is your present occupation?
hourly paid worker____: office worker____:
foreman____: technician or technologist____:
professional engineer____: manager or director____:
senior supervisory staff____:
9. What was your approximate total income last month? _____ dollars.

(2)

10. Are you presently an elected representative of a trade union?

yes____: no____:

(a) Have you ever in the past been an elected trade union representative?

yes____: no____:

(b) If you have been a representative, how many years have you served?

1-2years____: 3-5____: 6-8____: 9 years or more____:

(c) If you have never been a representative, please indicate the single major reason why.

no interest in being active____:

not enough time____:

lacked opportunities____:

other (please specify)_____

11. How often do you discuss union affairs with your fellow workers?

almost always____: frequently____: occasionally____:

rarely____: never____:

12. How often do you vote in union elections?

almost always____: frequently____: occasionally____:

rarely____: never____:

13. Outside of the company, are you a full-time member of any organizations?

(For example, a political party, professional organization, interest group, Church or other formal associations.)

yes____: no____:

(a) If you answered "yes", how many such organizations are you a member?

one____: 2-3____: 4-5____: 6-7____: 8 or more____:

14. Outside of the company, are you an elected representative of any organization?

yes____: no____:

(a) If you answered "yes", how many such organizations are you a representative?

one____: 2-3____: 4-5____: 6-7____: 8 or more____:

15. Have you ever heard the term "workers' self-management"?

yes ____: no ____:

(a) If your answer was "yes", what do you think the term means?

16. In general, do you think that workers should participate in company decision-making?

yes ____: no ____: no opinion ____:

17. In which country were you born? Canada ____: other (please specify) ____

(a) If you answered "other", how old were you when you came to Canada?

____ years.

18. What is your mother-tongue? (The language you feel most comfortable speaking.)

English ____: French ____: other (please specify) ____

19. How many years has it been since you have been promoted?

less than 1 year ____: 1-2 years ____: 3-5 ____:

6-8 ____: 9-11 ____: 12 years or more ____:

20. Do you think that the workers' interests in general conflict with the interests of management?

yes ____: no ____: uncertain ____:

21. Within your company, do you think that all persons generally have interests and goals that are compatible?

very much compatible ____: some degree of compatibility ____:

little compatible ____: no compatibility ____:

22. In your opinion, how much influence do persons such as yourself have upon the way the company is run?

very great influence ____: great influence ____:

some influence ____: little influence ____:

no influence ____: don't know ____:

(4)

In the following two sets of questions, please circle the appropriate number for each item (i.e. every set of five numbers). For example, you should have a number circled for manager, one for trade union, one for political parties and so on.

23. Indicate the amount of influence within the company for each of the following:

	very great influence	great influence	some influence	little influence	no influence
(a) manager (director)	1	2	3	4	5
(b) trade union	1	2	3	4	5
(c) political parties	1	2	3	4	5
(d) board of directors	1	2	3	4	5
(e) heads of departments	1	2	3	4	5
(f) supervisors	1	2	3	4	5
(g) technical staff	1	2	3	4	5
(h) skilled workers	1	2	3	4	5
(i) unskilled workers	1	2	3	4	5

24. Indicate the amount of influence within the company that you would wish to see for each of the following groups:

	very great influence	great influence	some influence	little influence	no influence
(a) manager (director)	1	2	3	4	5
(b) trade union	1	2	3	4	5
(c) political parties	1	2	3	4	5
(d) board of directors	1	2	3	4	5
(e) heads of departments	1	2	3	4	5
(f) supervisors	1	2	3	4	5
(g) technical staff	1	2	3	4	5
(h) skilled workers	1	2	3	4	5
(i) unskilled workers	1	2	3	4	5

25. Have you made any suggestions in any form regarding some aspect of the operation of the company within the past year?

yes____: no____:

(a) If yes, to whom did you convey these suggestions? (You may check more than one category if applicable).

managers or supervisory staff____: board of directors____:

trade union____: suggestion box____:

other (please specify)_____

26. Have you submitted in writing within the past year any suggestions or motions regarding some aspect of the company's operation?

yes____: no____:

(a) If yes, how many?

1-2____: 3-5____: 6 or more____:

(b) How many were accepted?

0____: 1-2____: 3-5____: 6 or more____:

(c) If you submitted any written proposals, please indicate the topics with which these suggestions dealt. (More than 1 item may be indicated).

distribution of income____: budget or enterprise plan____:

work quotas____: technical improvements in production____:

other (please specify)_____

27. Please indicate the frequency that you attend trade union meetings.

almost always attend____: frequently attend____:

occasionally attend____: rarely attend____:

never attend____:

For the next two sets of questions, please circle a number for each of the items.

28. To what degree do each of the following exist in your present job?

	great degree	some degree	uncertain	little degree	no degree
(a) interesting and enjoyable work	1	2	3	4	5
(b) good work conditions	1	2	3	4	5
(c) high wages	1	2	3	4	5
(d) good chance for promotion	1	2	3	4	5
(e) secure job	1	2	3	4	5
(f) work with pleasant people	1	2	3	4	5
(g) participation in self-management	1	2	3	4	5
(h) do socially useful work	1	2	3	4	5
(i) <u>other (please specify)</u>	1	2	3	4	5

29. To what degree would each of the following exist in your ideal job?

	great degree	some degree	uncertain	little degree	no degree
(a) interesting and enjoyable work	1	2	3	4	5
(b) good work conditions	1	2	3	4	5
(c) high wages	1	2	3	4	5
(d) good chances for promotion	1	2	3	4	5
(e) secure job	1	2	3	4	5
(f) work with pleasant people	1	2	3	4	5
(g) participation in self-management	1	2	3	4	5
(h) do socially useful work	1	2	3	4	5
(i) <u>other (please specify)</u>	1	2	3	4	5

30. How important do you think it is for most employees to participate actively in making important company decisions?

very important____: important____: uncertain____:
little importance____: not important____:

31. Do you think that the average person has the capacity to actively participate in making important company decisions?

yes____: no____: no opinion____:

Circle the appropriate number for each of the following items. These are statements with which some people agree and some disagree. Please indicate your own personal opinion. There are no right or wrong answers.

32.	strongly agree	agree	uncertain	disagree	strongly disagree
(a) I do <u>not</u> feel a <u>sense</u> of <u>ownership</u> of the company	1	2	3	4	5
(b) I can <u>influence</u> <u>decisions</u> made in the company.	1	2	3	4	5
(c) My supervisors indicate <u>respect</u> when speaking to me.	1	2	3	4	5
(d) I can <u>convey</u> <u>complaints</u> and suggestions freely to supervisors.	1	2	3	4	5
(e) The company is managed in a <u>just</u> manner.	1	2	3	4	5
(f) Company operations are sufficiently <u>explained</u> .	1	2	3	4	5
(g) I <u>like</u> the work I am doing.	1	2	3	4	5
(h) I <u>get along</u> well with my fellow workers.	1	2	3	4	5
(i) My present job is <u>not</u> <u>interesting</u> .	1	2	3	4	5
(j) I have opportunities to use my <u>own</u> <u>judgment</u> on the job.	1	2	3	4	5
(k) I am <u>not</u> <u>satisfied</u> with my present income.	1	2	3	4	5
(l) The company does <u>not</u> offer enough <u>opportunities</u> for further education and study.	1	2	3	4	5
(m) There are enough opportunities for <u>job</u> <u>advancement</u> .	1	2	3	4	5

33.

strongly
agree agree uncertain disagree strongly
disagree

(a) Sometimes I feel all <u>alone</u> in the world.	1	2	3	4	5
(b) The <u>end</u> often <u>justifies</u> the <u>means</u> .	1	2	3	4	5
(c) Everything is relative, and there just <u>aren't</u> any definite <u>rules</u> to live by.	1	2	3	4	5
(d) Sometimes I have the feeling that people are <u>using</u> me.	1	2	3	4	5
(e) One can always <u>find</u> friends if he shows himself <u>friendly</u> .	1	2	3	4	5
(f) I often wonder what the meaning of life really is.	1	2	3	4	5
(g) There are <u>few</u> dependable <u>ties</u> between people any more.	1	2	3	4	5
(h) There is <u>little</u> chance for <u>promotion</u> on the job unless a man gets a break.	1	2	3	4	5
(i) People are just naturally <u>friendly</u> and helpful.	1	2	3	4	5
(j) The future looks very <u>dismal</u> .	1	2	3	4	5
(k) <u>Obedience</u> and <u>respect</u> for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.	1	2	3	4	5
(l) If people would <u>talk less</u> and <u>work more</u> , everybody would be better off.	1	2	3	4	5
(m) Life would be pretty empty without some kind of <u>group</u> to identify with and belong to.	1	2	3	4	5
(n) One must avoid dependence upon persons or things-- the centre of life should be found <u>within oneself</u> .	1	2	3	4	5
(o) I have close <u>friends</u> in the company.	1	2	3	4	5
(p) Other people nearby in the company clearly <u>understand</u> what work I do.	1	2	3	4	5
(q) What I am supposed to do at my job is clear to me.	1	2	3	4	5

Please be certain that you have answered every question on every page.
Thank-you for your time and assistance.

Listing of Canadian and Yugoslav Variables

If variables are on the same line then equivalency is suggested.

Variable name	Yugoslav variable number	Canadian variable number	Comments
enterprise number	001	001	
sex	002	002	
status	003	003	
age	004	004	
nationality	005	005	
years education	006	006	
type of education	007	007	
enterprise tenure	008	008	
skill	009	009	
wages	010	010	
workers' council present (union)	011	011	
workers' council past (union)	012	012	
workers' council duration (union)	013	013	
workers' council rejection (union)	014	014	
management board present	015		
discuss union		015	
management board past	016		
vote union		016	
management board duration	017		
organization member		017	
membership extent		018	
self-management bodies (elected representatives)	018	019	
self-management bodies extent (representative)	019	020	
efficiency	020		
conditions	021		
term self-management decentralization	022	021	
meaning term self- management		022	
jobs	023		
workers' participation		023	
workers' attitude	024		
country born		024	
workers not care	025		
age immigrated		025	
workers opposed A	026		
native language		026	
workers opposed B	027		

Variable name	Yugoslav variable number	Canadian variable number	Comments
vertical mobility		027	
workers favour A	028		
labour-management conflict		028	
workers favour B	029		
managers' attitude	030		
managers not care	031		
managers favour A	032		
managers favour B	033		
managers opposed A	034		
managers opposed B	035		
self-management success	036		
in Yugoslavia			
self-management success	037		
in enterprise			
affect position	038		
position improved A	039		
position improved B	040		
position worsened A	041		
position worsened B	042		
compatible	043	029	
influence self	044	030	
director	045	031	
union	046	032	
League (parties)	047	033	
workers' council	048	034	
(board directors)			
management board	049	035	
(department heads)			
supervisors	050	036	
technicians	051	037	
skilled workers	052	038	
unskilled workers	053	039	
director ideal	054	040	
union ideal	055	041	
League ideal (parties)	056	042	
workers' council ideal	057	043	
(board directors)			
management board ideal	058	044	
(department heads)			
supervisors ideal	059	045	
technicians ideal	060	046	
skilled workers ideal	061	047	
unskilled workers ideal	062	048	
all suggestions	063	049	
input access A	064	050	
input access B	065	051	
written proposals	066	052	
number proposals	067	053	
accepted proposals	068	054	

Variable name	Yugoslav variable number	Canadian variable number	Comments
topic proposal A	069	055	
topic proposal B	070	056	
workers' council attendance	071	057	
management board attendance	072		
League attendance	073		
commune contact	074		
nature relationship	075		
interesting work	076	058	
work conditions	077	059	
high wages	078	060	
chance promotion	079	061	
job security	080	062	
co-workers	081	063	
participation	082	064	
social utility	083	065	
other	084	066	
interesting work ideal	085	067	
work conditions ideal	086	068	
high wages ideal	087	069	
chance of promotion ideal	088	070	
job security ideal	089	071	
co-workers ideal	090	072	
participation ideal	091	073	
social utility ideal	092	074	
other ideal	093	075	
***** new card per respondent *****			
employee participation	094	076	
importance			
average capacity	095	077	
sense of ownership	096	078	
influence	097	079	work powerless factor
respect	098	080	work powerless factor
convey complaints	099	081	work powerless factor
just	100	082	work normless factor
explained	101	083	work normless factor
like work	102	084	
get along	103	085	
not interesting	104	086	
own judgment	105	087	work powerless factor
income dissatisfaction	106	088	
educational opportunity	107	089	
job advancement	108	090	
alone	109	091	life normless factor
end means	110	092	
relative	111	093	life normless factor
being used	112	094	life powerless factor
friends	113	095	
meaning	114	096	life normless factor
ties	115	097	life powerless factor
luck	116	098	life powerless factor

Variable name	Yugoslav variable number	Canadian variable number	Comments
friendliness	117	099	
future	118	100	life powerless factor
obedience	119	101	
talk less	120	102	
group	121	103	
egocentric	122	104	
factory friends		105	
understand work		106	
job clear		107	
life isolation Likert	123	108 (1-5) 3-15	alone, friends, friendliness
life normless Likert	124	109 (1-5) 3-15	relative, meaning, ties
life powerless Likert	125	110 (1-5) 3-15	being used, luck, fortune
life alienation Likert	126	111 (1-5) 3-15	isolation Likert, normless Likert, powerless Likert none developed
work isolation factor	127	112	just, explained
work normless factor	128	113 (1-4) 2-10	influence, respect, convey complaints, own judgment
work powerless factor	129	114 (1-4) 4-20	work normless factor, work powerless factor, alone
work alienation factor	130	115 (1-5) 2-8	relative, meaning, alone
life isolation factor	131	116 1-5	being used, ties, luck, fortune
life normless factor	132	117 (1-5) 3-15	life isolation factor, life normless factor, life powerless factor
life powerless factor	133	118 (1-5) 4-20	skill (1, 2, 4 = 1) (3, 5, 6, 7 = 2)
life alienation factor	134	119 (1-5) 3-15	workers' council attendance, management board attendance, League attendance
class	135	120 1-2	workers' council duration, management board duration
interested onlooker	136	121 (5-1) 3-15	
decision maker	137	122 (1-5) 1-8	
total power	138	123	

recode original
range range

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