

ALIENATION
AND
THE NEW RADICAL MOVEMENT

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SCOPE AND CONTENTS:

The discussion analyses the process of socialization of a specific population of student radicals into the New Radical Movement. The importance and the relatedness of 1) alienation in mass society and in the multiversity, 2) identity, 3) the Free Speech Movement, and 4) the New Radical Ideology are discussed.

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Introduction

The major hypothesis for the following discussion is this: the radical ideology and the radical movement associated with the New Left emerge as responses to the need for certain individuals to find identity within a general climate of alienation in modern industrial American society.

A climate of general social alienation results in creating a need within individuals to develop a social identity. Pressures to develop an identity are strongest among a population of student intellectuals who live within the climate of alienation contained in the social structure of the multiversity. A collective movement and the articulation of a radical ideology appear to be a) reactions to alienation and b) positive action in the direction of developing a social identity.

Chapter One defines modern industrial society in terms of alienation. Melvin Seeman's format of the five variants of alienation (meaninglessness, powerlessness, anomie or value confusion, loneliness, and self-estrangement) (65) are used to characterize alienation in modern industrial society. Contrasted with this picture of alienation is that of the idealized, non-alienated existence typified in medieval craftsmen's guilds and in folk societies. Seeman's alienation variants provide only the form and not necessarily the content and references for alienation in modern society.

Chapter Two discusses the concept of identity. Identity is defined in three analytical categories, which are the antithesis to the counterparts of self-estrangement described in Chapter One. The social conditions necessary for the existence of these forms of identity are outlined. Reasons are given to answer the question regarding the necessity of individuals achieving identity in order to participate in modern industrial American society.

Chapter Three attempts to utilize the discussion of general social alienation and identity to analyze and explain conditions in the multi-university setting and the population of student intellectuals, from which emerges the collective movement, known as the Free Speech Movement (FSM)

Chapter Four examines the nature and the content of the New Left ideology: explanations are offered for its emergence; an attempt is made to determine the identity of the membership; the internal structure of New Radical organizations is examined; negative and positive ideological statements are presented; the importance of action is underlined; the role of New Radicals in society is stated; hippy sub-culture is analyzed; and the political and social issues which New Radicals advocate are set forth. All the preceding are examined in terms of their relation to achieving identity for the individuals involved.

Chapter 1: Alienation as a Condition of Modern Industrial America

Alienation is the modern theme. It is the human condition, and the sociological problem typifying modern industrial societies. It is the major psychological problem affecting individuals living within these boundaries. Sociological literature from Marx to Mills fills books and journals on the subject. A variety of theoretical orientations and levels of analysis prevail. "In the literature on the theory of alienation, one finds statements of the desired state of human experience, assertions about the actual quality of personal experience, propositions which link attitudes and experience to social situations and social structures, and programs for the amelioration of the human conditions." (8, p.15)

Alienation connotes a dilemma, a problem, an undesirable disruption or fragmentation in human existence. Each major social thinker who addresses himself to alienation concentrates on what he thinks are its social sources and its predominant characteristics. These assumptions dictate the type of solutions that each suggests will straighten out what is wrong with society.

A brief review of the literature follows: With Marx the source was man's own creation, the capitalist system of production with its inherent division of labor. By forcing men to adapt to its mechanical demands, this system alienated the individual from achieving creative expressions of himself: it alienated man from the processes and the

products of his work. Marx hoped for a situation wherein the majority of people could have the opportunity to express themselves creatively. This situation would result in a victory of men over machines in a new type of society which would sanction the collective ownership of machines.

Like Marx, Weber saw the sources of this human dilemma within one of man's own creations. Instead of the machine, the bureaucracy alienated individuals. The Bureaucratic organizations limited the rationality and the power of the majority of people. Characteristically Weber remains neutral as a sociologist. He neither evaluates the morality of what he analyses, nor does he propose any solutions.

C. Wright Mills synthesizes and updates the thinking of both these writers in his analysis of the problem of alienation in American society. The conditions of modern work result in loss of control, loss of skill, loss of intrinsic job satisfaction, and the fragmentation of one's personal character. The individual sells himself as a "marketable personality", and manipulates others for his own selfish material and status interests. (49, p.224) Like Marx, and unlike Weber, Mills deplores the existing state of affairs. Although he regards the situation as part of the inevitable chain of development of the capitalist industrial society, his protests suggest his hope. Mills apparently hopes that the majority will eventually find a solution to their alienation by first becoming socially and politically aware. Mills assumes an active role in this pursuit by acting as a responsible intellectual and making the relevant information available to the public.

When Durkheim asked himself why Protestants commit suicide more often than Catholics, he conceptualized another aspect of alienation which he called anomie. Anomie is a condition in which ones ties with the community or primary group are broken. There is a break in the relationship of the individual to his primary groups. Durkheim's conception of alienation has then been related to the social-psychological states of normlessness and loneliness: the individual is cut off from close personal ties with others, and he also doesn't know what kind of behavior is expected of him. A divided or fragmented nation is reflected in feelings of anomie for individual members. Strengthening the primary group solidarity would correct the situation of anomie, according to Durkheim. More recently, R. K. Merton follows Durkheim's theoretical footsteps in attempting to construct a typology of responses to anomie. (44)

Until Melvin Seeman's article (65) the concept of alienation remained intriguing and popular, but nevertheless somewhat confused and obscure. Seeman's article identified five analytically separate dimensions of alienation. In doing so it broke through the existing stalemate in alienation literature. It directed sociologists to formulate new theories of alienation and to test the degree of strength of the various dimensions and the correlations between them. (8) Social scientists applauded Seeman's article not only for its fruitful theoretical and empirical implications; by breaking down alienation into a multidimensional phenomenon, Seeman contributed to an insightful comprehension of the traditional sociological literature on alienation from Marx to Mills. Seeman's concepts appear in this discussion.

They will be utilized in part (with rather free adaptations) to define the general structure of modern industrial society, and to explain the behavior of those acting in behalf of the New Left.

The Relationship of Alienation to the Wholistic Model

The five variants of alienation which Seeman proposes are 1) powerlessness, 2) meaninglessness, 3) normlessness, 4) social isolation, and 5) self estrangement. An elaboration follows, in which they are presented, not necessarily in this order. The five dimensions are fragmentations of different dimensions integrated in a idealized non-alienated state, which is said to have existed in different cases of pre-industrial societies. Blauner says that "these fragmentations in man's experience all seem to have resulted from basic changes in social organization brought about by the industrial revolution." (8, p.33) He also says that "Basic to each one (dimension) is the notion of fragmentation in man's existence and consciousness which impedes the wholeness of experience and activity. What distinguishes the separate dimensions is that they are based on different principles of division or fragmentation. Each dimension has its unique opposite, or non-alienated state, which implies a kind of organic wholeness in the quality of experience." (8, p.32)

Depending upon his interests and orientation, each writer consciously or not conceptualizes a referent of what he believes to be ideal state of organic wholeness. Mills and probably Marx thought the medieval craftsman typified this ideal. The craftsman found his work meaningful and satisfying. He understood and could control what he was doing.

"There is no ulterior motive in work than the product being made and the process of its creation. The details of daily work are meaningful because they are not detached in the workers mind from the product of his work. The worker is free to control his own working action. The craftsman is thus able to learn from his work; and to use and develop his capacities and skills in prosecution. There is no split of work and play, or work and culture. The craftsman's way of livelihood determines and infuses his entire mode of living." (49, p.220) In his study of workers in different industries Blauner finds printers highly integrated because of the craft nature of their work. (8)

Through his work the craftsman creatively develops an extension of himself. "...As he gives it (his work) the quality of his own mind and skill, he is also further developing his own nature; in this simple sense, he lives in and through his work, which confesses and reveals him to the world." (49, p.222)

With a view to the integrated society the anthropologist Robert Redfield finds the antithesis to the modern alienating city life in the folk society. (57) This prototype of a non-alienated existence contrasts with the city on several of the dimensions relevant to alienation. The folk society is small and largely isolated from contact with outsiders. Members live in long and intimate association with one another. They share a sense of belonging together. (57, p.300) Their behavior is personal, not impersonal. "A person may be defined as that social object which I feel to respond to situations as I do, with all the sentiments and interests which I feel to be my own; a person is myself

in another form, his qualities and values are inherent within him, and his significance for me is not merely one of utility." (57, p.301)

In the ideal folk society members share tools, ways of production, and the finished products for consumption, which they helped produce. Except for differences based on age and sex, there is little differentiation between work roles. "'Everyman is expected to be able to hunt pig, to harpoon turtle and to catch fish, and also to cut a canoe, to make bows and arrows and all the other objects that are made by men!" (57, p.297)

Folk culture is a shared, consistent, and coherent system. Everyone understands and accepts both his own ends of action and those of his fellow. The culture is integrated, "Gaining livelihood takes support from religion, and the relations of men to men are justified in the conceptions held of the supernatural world or in some other aspect of culture." (57, p.229) This type of integrated, consistent system has implications for individual members. Their behavior tends to be traditional, spontaneous, and uncritical. They feel an immediate sense of rightness or wrongness about every act they do, which is prescribed in traditional ways of activity.

The above examples of types of non-alienated existences differ in some aspects. Mills' craftsman model tends to concentrate on the specific work environment, while Redfield's example of the folk society is much more comprehensive. Nevertheless, it is desirable to understand both if one wants to grasp the full meaning of alienation. In these two models individuals tend to score positively on many of the dimensions of non-alienation. Contrasted with this non-alienated person, the totally

alienated individual "is powerless and lacks control, is specialized and a 'cog' in his work organization, is isolated from a community, or network of personal relations which would inhibit impersonal treatment."

(8, p.33) In addition he lacks the means of expressing himself creatively through his work or any activity. He is often confused by conflicting behavioral patterns expected of him within the same social setting.

The next part of the discussion attempts to characterize industrial American society in terms of the various dimensions of alienation developed by Seeman. Although the discussion follows Seeman's typological labels (ie meaninglessness, powerlessness, etc.), definitions and examples are drawn from a multitude of writers on this subject. Therefore, Seeman's typology provides the form, but not necessarily the content for the description of alienation in America.

A Definition and Description of Alienation in Modern Industrial America
Using the Five Categories of Alienation: Anomie, Meaninglessness,
Powerlessness, Loneliness, and Self-Estrangement

1. Anomie or Value Confusion

Value confusion is the existence of contradiction between a plurality of cultural values. The individual who is caught in the dilemma of value confusion feels uncertain and confused about the legitimacy and importance of his behavior, which is predicted on these values. He is not certain what is right and what is wrong. Discrepancies and contradictions mar his words and actions. The response to value confusion is a weakening of ties between the individual and the society. A Durkheimian state of anomie or normlessness results. "Because norms are predicted on values, it is inevitable that value confusion will give rise to an increase in anomie or normative confusion as well." (31, p.95)

One important source of value confusion in modern America which sociologists cite is the "other-directed: inner-directed" dilemma, first labeled by Reisman in Lonely Crowd: (58) should the individual's behavior conform to the demands of his peer group or should it conform to the demands of his individual conscience or integrity?

This problem is critical within the educational system, which is one of the chief transmitters of cultural values to future members

of society. "By examining part of one American school system, we shall see that the school staff is ideologically oriented toward developing 'individualism' in their charges (expressed verbally as well as tacitly in the curriculum) but at the same time spends considerable time teaching the importance of cooperation, fairness, and sharing that "togetherness" is dominant over individualism; the ideal of individuality is lost in favor of solving the problem of maintaining smooth running in the classroom." (53, p.421) Dorothy Lee notices the same trend in American schools. (41)

The conflict between individualism and conformity to standardized norms of behavior reappears when the individual enters an occupational role within a bureaucratic organization. Even though the person may believe otherwise, he finds that to get by he must sacrifice his rights to express his individuality by conforming to the standardized demands of the establishment. This conflict prompts another related (normative) conflict within the area of interpersonal relations: the personal-impersonal dilemma. Should one treat others as unique individuals or as part of a class of things?

• Social psychologists refer to the "other-vs-inner directed" conflict as the "identification-individuation crises." "The restive modern man suffers because his society demands individuation, imposes identification, and gives him inadequate support for developing either."* (59, p. 34)

* The inadequate support that society gives for developing either is an important theme and will be developed later in this discussion.

Value confusion appears on other cultural dimensions. "Value confusion is inevitable in a society where there are active proponents of such conflicting values as materialism, militarism, humanitarianism, racism, egalitarianism, individualism, welfarism...." (31, p.95)

Liston Pope lists a few of the areas of confusion: War and peace are both organized conflict; democracy results in intolerance for dissenters at home and support of military dictatorships abroad; and belief in the essential goodness of man is held with belief in the selfishness of man, who is capable of almost anything. (55, p.230)*

2. Meaninglessness

Although analytically distinct, value confusion and meaninglessness are both experienced as feeling a sense of not understanding. An individual feels meaningless when he can not understand how his particular activity fits into the total process of activity and events of which he is a part. Most sociologists concentrate on the meaninglessness experienced at the modern industrial or bureaucratic workplace. But meaninglessness can also be experienced on the broader socio-cultural level. The individual can feel bewildered because he doesn't understand the organic connection of work roles and processes and his own purpose within the (large scale) organization where he works: he can also feel confused because he doesn't have an over-all conception of his socio-cultural universe, and his purpose and place within that system.

"Rationalization of these discrete meanings into a coherent

*In Knowledge for What Lynd analyzes a number of different value conflicts present in the American culture. (42)

'system', asserted Weber, 'an inclusive interpretation of the world as a whole and man's place in it, is an imminent need of the intellect once the question of meaning is raised.'" (64, p.249)

a. functional rationality

Meaninglessness results from what Seeman calls the increase in functional rationality in society. (65, p.786) Functional rationality means that society is organized to produce a high degree of operational efficiency. The work process and the labor force are divided into specialized roles and institutions. Knowledge is likewise specialized. Social functions are separated into many institutions like religion, politics, education, economics, welfare, war, etc. Whether in the area of work processes or social functions, each institution is organized according to a bureaucratic system: work and workers are divided according to specialized activities; decisionmaking is centralized; authority is hierarchical; information and knowledge of the whole operation is limited (and sometimes restricted) to only a few (usually those in positions of authority). The structure of society mirrors this rational organization of operational efficiency. Political, economic, etc. institutions are separate establishments, even though individuals from the tops of authority in each may interact with each other (as Mills says they do). (47) Information and decision-making are limited and controlled largely from the top. The worker is limited to the set of rules governing his specific activity. "The bureaucratic structure goes hand in hand with the concentration of the material means of management in the hands of

the master. This concentration occurs, for instance, in a well-known and typical fashion, in the development of big capitalist enterprises, which find their essential characteristics in this process. A corresponding process occurs in public organizations." (27, p.221)

"Every bureaucracy seeks to increase the superiority of the professionally informed by keeping their knowledge and intentions secret. Bureaucratic administration always tends to be an administration of 'secret sessions': in so far as it can, it hides its knowledge and action from criticism." (27, p.233)

b. lack of individual rationality, lack of alternative choices

From his position toward the middle or lower end of society (measured in terms of position in several institutional hierarchies) the individual, who is one of a mass of individuals in modern American society, experiences meaninglessness in the sense that he is not able to act rationally. At first glance this seems a paradox: the individual exists in the most rationally organized society. At second glance it is understandable. * The rational bureaucratic social organization necessitates conditions restricting rational individual thought and action.

Max Weber was first to notice this irony. From Weber's basic tenants about the bureaucratic organization of capitalistic democratic society, one can deduce along with C. Wright Mills and other modern writers the inconsistency between rationality and bureaucracy. *

* Udy gives this proposition empirical verification. (70)

A bureaucratic organization centralizes decision making, isolates specialized roles to impersonal rules governing specific and limited ranges of official activity, and secretizes information to top levels of bureaucratic authority. The ordinary worker is separated from the total work process. He only understands his limited work role and little of the total operation. "Marx's emphasis upon the wage worker as being 'separated' from the means of production becomes, in Weber's perspective, merely one special case of a universal trend. The modern soldier is equally 'separated' from the means of violence; the scientist from the means of inquiry; and the civil servant from the means of administration." (27, p.50). "The detailed division of labor means, of course, that the individual does not carry through the whole process of work to its final product; but it also means that under many modern conditions the process itself is invisible to him. The product as the goal of his work is legally and psychologically detached from him, and this detachment cuts the nerve of meaning which work might otherwise gain from its technical processes. Even on the professional levels of white collar work, not to speak of wage-work and the lower white-collar tasks, the chance to develop and use individual rationality is often destroyed by the centralization of decision and the formal rationality that bureaucracy entails." (49, p.225-226)

The bureaucratic institution also separates official public, political, economic, and social activities from the sphere of private life. (27, p.197) These official public decisions require specialized knowledge, expertly trained personnel, and adherence to certain rules of procedure. These factors discourage the private citizen from taking

an active interest in political, moral and other public institutional decisions that affect his own private life. He feels incompetent to judge the actions of specially trained experts; it is not in his area of occupational speciality to do so; and he lacks the necessary information to evaluate and choose the appropriate decision from alternative ones. In short, the bureaucratic organization of society limits the freedom of an individual living within a democratic society to exercise the political, moral, economic and social rights required of him as a participant of that democracy. "The underlying trends are well known. Great and rational organizations - in brief, bureaucracies- have indeed increased, but the substantive reason of the individual at large has not. Caught in the limited milieu of their everyday lives, ordinary men often cannot reason about the great structures- rational and irrational- of which their milieu are subordinate part. Accordingly, they often carry out series of apparently rational actions without any ideas of the ends they serve, and there is increasing suspicion that those at the top as well- like Tolstoy's generals- only pretend they know. The growth of such organizations, within an increasing division of labor, sets up more and more spheres of life, work, and leisure in which reasoning is difficult or impossible."

(48)

c. superficial manipulated conformity

Superficial manipulated conformity also results in feelings of meaninglessness. It means that individuals conform to standards of behavior which are institutional goals but not necessarily their own,

in the sense of being integrated into their own personal belief system. An example is efficiency. An economic institution may set standards of efficiency as goals for its members. But if one attempts to transform efficiency as a purpose in his personal philosophy, he may experience a sense of meaninglessness. *

3. Powerlessness

Like meaninglessness, powerlessness has its traditional social-logical referent within the work process. Nevertheless the case for powerlessness as a general condition of modern industrial society as well as a condition of work is made here.

A person experiences powerlessness when he feels he has lost control of his action. He feels controlled or manipulated by other persons or by an impersonal system such as technology or bureaucracy. "He cannot assert himself as a subject to change or modify this domination." (8, p.32) With more psychological emphasis Seeman says "This variant of alienation can be conceived as the expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behavior cannot determine the occurrence of the outcomes or reinforcements he seeks." **

a. powerlessness, resulting from meaninglessness

Conditions which result in the loss of rationality also result

* Selznick presents a more thorough discussion of this concept, which he calls "symbolic and organizational manipulation" (66)

** Blauner lists four sources of industrial powerlessness: "1) The separation from ownership of the means of production and the finished products, 2) the inability to influence general managerial policies, 3) lack of control over the conditions of employment, and 4) lack of control over the immediate work process." (8, p.2) He says that the opposite of these is freedom and control over work.

in powerlessness or loss of control. "The expropriation which modern work organization has carried through thus goes far beyond the expropriation of ownership; rationality itself has been expropriated from work and any total view and understanding of its process. No longer free to plan his work, much less to modify the plan to which he is subordinated, the individual is to a great extent managed and manipulated in his work." (49, p.226)

b. powerlessness resulting from the political and bureaucratic structure

Certain structural features in the American bureaucratic system yield political powerlessness, which is felt as inability and helplessness to influence decision making to any significant degree. In American society the choice of leaders is limited to a few, especially in the national political arena. Weber states that this fact is a natural consequence of bureaucracy, since other citizens are occupied full time with jobs in the bureaucratic-industrial system. "This logical construction of the contrast between the 'typical' bureaucrat and the 'typical' political leader provided Weber with a framework for an analysis of political leadership in modern society. Two attributes are essential to such leadership: independent judgement and skill in the struggle for power. To these should be added 'economic availability', since bureaucratic government under the rule of law has made the work of the politician a full time occupation." (4, p.444) Only those in bureaucratically favourable positions (lawyers, journalists) have the skills, social opportunities, time and money open to them to seek public office. (4, p.442-3) These available few do not necessarily voice a represent-

ation of the people or a genuine choice of party policy.

Even though political leaders appear to be representative by the fact of their popular election, their policy decisions need not necessarily respond to the wishes of public constituents. They need not necessarily adhere to campaign promises that were calculated to win their election. Once in office most public officials in the United States have a two to six year licence to do almost anything they please without seriously trying to consult their electorate.

Kornhauser mentions a related structural source responsible for this failure of participatory democracy. He assumes the existence of a communication gap in mass society running from non-elites back to the governing elites. He credits the failure of participatory democracy and the existence of mass society to the absence of a group of sub-elites to mediate communications between the two groups. (40)

c. powerlessness in work, and in other areas of life

A similar situation exists in the area of work or employment. The ordinary individual has little opportunity to change the conditions of employment to suit his individual needs. He faces the same problem wherever he goes - a standardized, large scale, centralized bureaucratic business or union. He either conforms to their demands or faces the prospect of being permanently unemployed or "unemployable". Education is likewise standardized, especially at the elementary levels. (41) Standardization and large-scale centralized control of mass media and consumer goods create powerlessness in individuals when they consume leisure. The person has little choice but to consume the standardized tastes that mass media and mass production offer him.

Considering the effects meaninglessness and powerlessness have on individuals, one can sympathize with this predicament which Mills describes: "From the individual's standpoint, much that happens seems the result of manipulation, of management, of blind drift; authority is often not explicit; those with power feel no need to make it explicit and to justify it. This is one reason why ordinary men, when they are in trouble or when they sense they are up against issues, cannot get clear targets for thought and action; they cannot determine what it is that imperils the values they vaguely discern as theirs." (48)

4. Loneliness or Feelings of Social Isolation

Loneliness or social isolation is the opposite of what Redfield describes as involvement with other people. The individual feels empty and deprived because he does not share significant aspects of himself with others. He feels empty because others do not share themselves with him. Individuals feel the existence of gaps of shared emotions and outright articulate, sincere communication between themselves and other people. Most sources of loneliness in modern industrial America spring primarily from major cultural values.

a. efficiency, rationality, impersonality - the bureaucratic ethos

Bureaucracy's norm of efficient, rational administration results in management treating labor formally and impersonally. This can create feelings of distance between the two groups. This social isolation between workers and managers is enhanced by the principle of rational

utilization of all resources to maximize organizational goals. This "furthers the tendency to view workers as things (as factors of production), as means to the end of profit and company growth." (8, p.25)

The social isolation between colleagues begins when they come to view each other and even themselves as things, as means, to be used (rationally) to achieve certain socially accepted (institutionally manipulated) ends. Treating another person as a means makes it difficult to view him as a unique experience and an end in himself.

b. physical isolation of workers

The physical separation of workers with different work roles adds to their shared experience of social distance. The following scene describes this "physical - social" isolation as experienced by those who dwell within the "Crystal Palace: "We need few private secretaries. All we have to do is pick up a phoning device and dictate our message to a disc that whirls in a sunny room in another part of the building. Here a pool of stenographers type all day long with buttons in their ears. We don't see them and they don't see us, but they know our voices." (30)

c. competition for status

Even though some say it is no longer important as a major motivator, competition for social status still continues to influence American thinking. The status symbols that one competes for may have changed and become more subtle, sophisticated, and self-conscious than in previous generations. Popularized psychology and sociology has

made people aware of middle class behavior and status climbing that is "too" middle class and blatant. Nevertheless, American competition still exists, albeit more carefully disguised. Education, occupation, consumptive styles, tastes, social prestige and political power still provide major foci for people to evaluate and measure their individual worth against that of their fellows.

Emphasis on this value of individual achievement through competition creates conditions favorable to the development of loneliness. When one is competing with others for higher social status and prestige within most of his daily activities, he is unlikely to share any part of himself that may benefit the other person. Moreover, competition often breeds resentment and hostility between competitors. This is hardly a suitable climate where people feel like communicating with each other the frustrations, bitterness, and personal shortcomings that many probably feel in such circumstances.

Competition facilitates treating others as things, and vice-versa. One activity reinforces the other. Competition predisposes one to manipulate external objects and people to achieve an end - without much concern for what happens to the individuals after and while they are manipulated. When one regards people as things in such a competitive situation, one feels less responsibility and concern for their well-being than if he views them as humans in their own right.

d. superficial conformity

Pressures to conform to superficial standards of behavior can make communication between people artificial. When people feel they

must conform to standardized behavior that displays smoothness and happiness with the status quo, they do not feel free to express personal emotions that may run counter to these standardized behavioral patterns. They may not admit these disruptive feelings even to themselves. In such cases individuals fail to share their most intimate and personal experiences with others.

e. manipulation and hypocrisy

Social isolation reaches its peak when individuals manipulate each other while paying lip service to any number of humanitarian ideals. People no longer feel they can trust the manifest behavior of others. They read between the lines for hidden implications and behavioral slips that connote the real motives for human behavior. C. Wright Mills eloquently sums up this common American experience: "People are required by the salesman ethic and convention to pretend interest in others in order to manipulate them. In the course of time, and as this ethic spreads, it is got on to. Still, it is conformed to as part of one's job and one's style of life, but now with a winking eye, for one knows that manipulation is inherent in every human contact. Men are estranged from one another as each secretly tries to make an instrument of the other, and in time a full circle is made: one makes an instrument of himself, and is estranged from It also." (49, p.187-88)

5. Self-Estrangement

To be self estranged means to be frustrated in attempts to extend oneself through ones own activity. An individual experiences self-estrangement when attempts to express and develop his own intellect,

emotions, and creative talents are thwarted. Those who describe self-estranged men use referents which both overlap and connote subtle differences in their images of self-estrangement. Mills' referent is a marketable commodity, a package of skills to be exchanged on the market.

(49, p.184-88) Marx visualizes an incompleated human being, deprived of his natural rights to creative expression. Weber sees a robot, a mechanical ritualist, who mindlessly follows the routines of bureaucratic office. Reisman conjures a super conformist, lacking in identity and lost in the crowd. A totally self-estranged person is all of these things and perhaps more.

Self-estrangement is a modern predicament. It originates from the social-structural changes inherent in the bureaucratic and industrial organization of society, as well as from behavioral and value patterns indemic to American society. The sources of all of the aforementioned types of alienation are relevant to the case of alienation called self-estrangement.

a. Self-fragmentation

Self-fragmentation takes related but different forms, and stems from many of the conditions of alienation described. One common root for both forms of self fragmentation is the structural lack of integration among the individual's social roles. The specialization and physical separation of role activities tends to fragment individual lives into unintegrated parts. "Modern society produces a fragmentation not only of social functions, but of man himself, who, as it were, keeps his different facilities in different pigeonhole - love, labor, leisure,

culture, - that somehow held together by an externally operating mechanism that is neither comprehended nor comprehensible." (51, p.270)

4. lack of social role support

One source of self-fragmentation is the lack of social support for an individual's role activity. This occurs when society does not support (or reward) the unity and the integrity of all of the performances of the individual role player. "...In primitive society, for example, roles are relatively integrated. On a hypothetical primitive level a woman may be associated with the motives represented, say, by the words 'wife,' 'children,' 'family obligation,' and so on. But society sustains her in all these identities, and the unity of her personality is assured. In modern, commercial industrial society, on the other hand, a woman's designations may be more subtle; she becomes a possibility of 'romantic love,' 'career,' 'wealth,' 'clever children, with good heredity,' 'winter house in Key West,' 'appreciation of Bach in common,' ad infinitum. In itself this would not be confusing, but society does not sustain her in the unity and integrity of all these performances. Without this kind of support, social performance becomes mechanical, and the individual gets lost in the artificiality of roles." (2, p.115)

Conditions of meaninglessness, value confusion and social isolation can explain this type of fragmentation due to lack of social support; it occurs when most members of society 1) fail to comprehend the relatedness of the activities associated with most core social roles (like wife-woman-mother), 2) lack consensus with each other about the proper behavior inherent in those roles, and 3) lack enough involvement

with each other to satisfactorily reward or punish the role performer.

ii. segmentation of conduct

"Segmentation of conduct," conceptualized and so labeled by C. W. Mills, is another form of self-fragmentation. This results from the lack of role integration due to value or normative confusion, which affects role behavior to the extent that social members bring many contradictory perspectives to bear on a single role. This can, but does not necessarily, result in lack of role support, as was the case with the role player in the situation above. The individual can avoid the situation of lack of role support, but he does so at a cost; he breaks himself into behavioral fragments that often lack coherence and unity from his point of view. "...In simpler societies the world views of the individual actors would be somewhat more homogeneous; people would tend to share similar definitions of role performances. But in modern society many contradictory perspectives can be brought to bear on the single role, depending on who is looking at the role. Thus modern man often has to adjust his vocabulary to his interlocutor, and change it each time. He might not use the same vocabulary of motives in talking about marriage, say to his wife, as he would in talking about it to a friend - or even to his own mother. There is no consistent self-image reflected in the many perspectives, and the individual's 'real self' tends to become inextricably lost in vocabularies and sub-vocabularies. Religion, business, family-all tear in different directions." (2, p.115-6)

b. Self-Ambivalence

An individual experiences self-ambivalence when he cannot

decide on a specific course of activity; he is torn between feeling that he should act, while knowing that he lacks the ability or skills to act with rationality, with self-confidence, and with a reasonable amount of certainty concerning the outcome. Two types of ambivalence follow.

The first occurs when the individual feels that he lacks the proper vocabulary and concepts to articulate his own personal problems which demand solution. "...This dimension reflects the basic strain between self and objects. It contains the problem of moving about in a world of things which must be labelled verbally in order to be controlled. The dilemma arises when words are not available to describe and make one critically aware of problematic situations. If we do not have the words, we are unable to adequately frame the problem." (2, p.114) Often this condition reflects the strain between early training and later adult experience. (2, p.113)

The person feels inhibited to act rationally and creatively toward a solution of his problem because he lacks understanding and the means to understand (meaninglessness), and therefore is powerless to help himself. From his position he finds it difficult or impossible to acquire the knowledge, the self-confidence, and the freedom of action necessary to understand who he is and what he should do in his social environment. Depression and guilt or self blame are the unsatisfactory, but likely responses to this kind of ambivalence. (2)

Contrasting with the aforementioned type is ambivalence due to the availability of a variety of vocabularies and words combined with little or no basis for choosing among them. Problems put to the individual seem artificial or manufactured because he lacks the

behavioral links to the vocabularies in his own experience that would make them real. (2, p.114-5)

c. Self-Isolation

Loneliness or social isolation leads to self-isolation. Assuming a Meadian perspective, the individual defines and realizes himself and his potentials through the reactions of others. When the forces leading to social isolation cut off meaningful communications with others, then the individual loses faith in the reliability of others' responses. Thus the individual loses access to an important channel to his self development and self definition, i.e. self-identity. He loses his social mirror, an important method of evaluating himself. "One identifies one-self, as one is identified by others, by being located in a common world...Socialization is only possible if, as Mead put it, the individual 'takes the attitude of others,' that is, relates to himself as others have first related to him. This process of course, extends to the establishment of identity itself, so that social identification both precedes and produces self-identification." (6)

d. Non-involvement and Self-atrophy or Loss of the Skills of Self Mastry

Conditions of meaninglessness, powerlessness, and social isolation can result in self-detachment or non-involvement, which may lead to self-atrophy. Insulating and isolating an individual into separate areas and specialized activities (the totality of which he may or may not understand), loss of control over the decisions he activates, and the loss of affective personal relations can result in the individual

feeling irresponsible for the consequences of his specialized activities.

i. Self-detachment

When an individual does not feel personal responsibility for his acts, it is not likely that he will feel involved in those actions. Neither will he find the activity inherently satisfying, that is, challenging to his intellect or his creativity. External rewards such as money or social status are necessary to motivate him to act.

ii. Self-atrophy or loss of self mastery

Self-atrophy is the next logical step after self-detachment. Conditions favorable to its development reach beyond the alienation conducive to non-involvement. Besides detaching the individual from activity through situations of meaninglessness, powerlessness, and loneliness, the social environment fails to provide concrete or real challenges that provoke individual thought and stimulate activities that culminate in mastery of the problem. Without clear objects that provoke active challenges to mastery of environment, the individual falls into the habit of relating symbol objects, rather than person objects to develop his conception of himself. (2, p.124) In the process of so doing he slips into fantasy and away from external reality. The gap between fiction and fact widens. His perception of reality dulls and he fails to distinguish between what really exists and what is only imagined. With this deadening of "reality-perception" comes the loss of the ability to exercise self mastery in initiating action or asserting active control over ones external environment. The person becomes detached

from activities linked to reality. He does not navigate with any degree of certainty within his external social environment. Since he can not cope with problems in this environment because he can not control it, the environment takes charge of him, appearing to overshadow and to crowd his personality. In turn he takes refuge in his fantasy world of imaginary symbols; and the cycle continues.

Once aware of the dilemma of self atrophy, one can appreciate the protests of the man who lives in the Crystal Palace: "I sometimes have a feeling of being in limbo. More than ever one feels - unregretfully - overprotected. While on the job, I actually cannot feel hot or cold. I can not even get sick. This will sound ridiculous, but when the company obtained a supply of influenza shots, I found myself in the absurd position of refusing one. For some reason I wanted a chance to resist the flu in my own way." (30, p.143)

Reactions to Alienation - Identity

What are some behavioral reactions to alienation in America? The remaining parts of this discussion are attempts to propose one theoretical possibility to this question. Reactions can be individual or collective, constructive or destructive, positive or negative, general or specific. Much sociological and psychological literature centers about discussions proposing different reactions to alienation in society. Hoffer's True Believer, Nisbet's Community and Power, Durkheim's Suicide, Merton's concepts of ritualism, retreatism, and rebellion, Albert Cohen's Delinquent Boys are all attempts to discover social

responses to alienation in America.

Closely related to this and other recent discussions about alienation is the concept of identity. Often "lack of identity" and alienation are used interchangeably. Contemporary social psychologists* speak of lack of identity as a consequence of alienation in society. Nevertheless, the study of the individual and collective responses to lack of identity in modern society remains relatively unexplored in both psychology and sociology.

The following chapter attempts to specify the relationship between alienation and identity, more specifically between self-estrangement and identity. In the process of discussing this relationship, the concept, identity, is defined; and non-alienating social conditions which are conducive to the development of identity are proposed.

* such as Erich Fromm, Erik Erikson Hendrik, Ruitenbeck, Edgar Freindenberg, as well as free lancers like Paul Goodman.

Chapter Two: Identity

Identity links individuals to society. It is the self image that allows the individual to navigate safely in his social environment: knowing who he is means knowing what to do. Knowing who he is, relative to society, means that the person understands his social purpose; he knows how to act and what behavior to expect from others; and he can visualize his function within the totality of his social system.

In the highly integrated and cohesive folk society where values are accepted on the basis of traditional authority and where social roles are ascribed, the people grow into a social identity as naturally as they grow up, mature, and grow old. They uncritically accept their socially ascribed status, which is often little more than the sum of their integrated social roles.

In contrast with this picture of folk society, modern industrial society offers a choice of values, goals, purposes and roles to each individual. For the most part social status is achieved. Therefore, if the individual wants to actively participate in this society he must 1) select his own beliefs, purposes, social roles, 2) integrate them into a cohesive conception of a self image, and 3) identify himself (through his action) with his social community. In short he must build his own identity. *

* Acquiring an identity which is internally consistent or integrated is a social necessity for those who engage in any of the

(continued)

The process of acquiring identity in modern society demands active individual participation. It requires cognizance of alternative choices, individuation, and identification. First, the individual becomes conscious of his social-cultural universe: he is cognizant of the existing belief system, social organizational structures, and adult role choices and opportunities available to him. Second, he individuates himself: he selects and internalizes certain beliefs, roles, etc. which he integrates into a coherent self-image. Third, he identifies: he relates himself through his self-image to others and to the purposes and goals of the society. His identity of integrated roles and beliefs is the basis and justification for his social action. It is the viable link between self and society. It establishes an individual as well as a common social existence for the person.

Identity is the positive side of self-estrangement. Chart One illustrates the relationship. Instead of self-fragmentation (ie, a person who lacks support for his role activity and whose role conduct is segmented), the individual's role behavior is integrated into a coherent role system which begets support from others. Instead of feeling ambivalent, detached, and isolated the individual feels involved with his own activity and with others. He acts purposefully. He is committed and responsible for his action. He feels free to base his image of himself on the responses of others. He finds his environment challenging and stimulating; and he asserts his mastery over that environment by

* (continued) processes of socializing the young. Among other things satisfactory socialization requires that future adults be given clear pictures of adult roles from which they can choose and model their behavior. Successful socialization also requires adults to provide a social environment conducive to developing the skills of choosing between competing roles, values, etc.

utilizing his internal resources to initiate action and attempt solutions to problems.

Through the process of his successful mastery of environment, the individual asserts and re-establishes his identity. Because identity is the link between the individual and the society, its existence is dependent upon interaction between the two. Therefore the individual must continuously engage in actions which involve social support, commitment, challenge, and mastery in order to maintain, affirm, and reaffirm his social identity. *

Chart One

Self-Estrangement

1. fragmentation
 - a. lack of role support **
 - b. segmentation of conduct **
2. ambivalence,
non-involvement
atrophy
3. self-isolation

Identity

1. role integration
 - a. social support **
 - b. consistency of conduct **
2. involvement,
control,
responsibility,
commitment to purposeful
action in the external social
environment
3. ego-alter integration

* which usually changes over time

** (a) and (b) are conditions derived from value confusion, meaninglessness and powerlessness, and social isolation.

Self-estrangement is largely the result of those already mentioned general societal conditions of alienation: value confusion, meaninglessness, powerlessness, and loneliness. Chart Two illustrates the relationship. Self-fragmentation results from value confusion, meaninglessness and loneliness. Self-isolation stems from conditions of loneliness or social isolation.

Chart Two

Conditions of alienation

derived conditions; lack

Value Confusion

of role support, segmentation of conduct

Meaninglessness and Powerlessness

= self-fragmentation

a. role specialization and segregation

b. lack of understanding and knowledge of the whole

c. lack of viable alternatives of action from which to choose (and lack of clear adult role models)

d. lack of information concerning viable alternatives of action

self-ambivalence

self-detachment

e. lack of basis for evaluating and making rational choices 1) lack of opportunity for trial-and-error action and for choosing between alternatives

self-atrophy

f. centralized decision making (lack of control over decisions made)

g. lack of accessible environmental challenges to master

Loneliness

- | | | |
|---|---|----------------|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. physical isolation and insulation
into specialized roles b. people treated as objects and
manipulated c. conformity to artificial behavioral
standards d. competition for social status | } | self-isolation |
|---|---|----------------|

The general societal conditions proposed as necessary for the emergence of identity would be the opposite of those which are alienating: value integration vs value confusion, meaningfulness vs meaninglessness, powerfulness vs powerlessness, and social involvement vs social isolation. Chart Three contrasts these two conditions in greater detail.

Chart Three

Conditions for Alienation and
Self-estrangement

1. Value confusion and inconsistency
2. Meaninglessness and Powerlessness
 - a. role specialization and
gregation

Conditions for Non-alienation and
Identity

1. Value consistency and integration
2. Meaningfulness and Powerfulness
 - a. face-to-face interaction between
role players (perhaps role inter-
changeability)

- | | |
|---|--|
| b. lack of understanding and knowledge of the whole | b. information and knowledge of the whole accessible to all |
| c. lack of viable alternatives of action from which to choose (and lack of clear adult role models) | c. Viable alternatives of action (clear adult role models) |
| d. lack of information concerning viable alternatives of action | d. information listing and explaining viable action alternatives |
| e. lack of basis for evaluating and making rational choices | e. freedom to build the necessary experience (through experimentation) for making rational choices; freedom to question existing choices; freedom to create new alternatives |
| f. centralized decision-making (lack of control over decisions made) | f. decision-making decentralized to the grass roots level (individual's control decisions affecting their lives) |
| g. lack of environmental challenges | g. challenges that stimulate individuals to master their environment |
| 3. Loneliness | 3. Social Involvement |
| a. physical isolation and insulation into specialized roles | a. physical interaction between persons with different roles; |

- | | |
|--|--|
| | interchangeability of per-
sonnel between roles |
| b. persons values as means-objects
to be manipulated | b. persons valued as ends with
inherent human rights (people
are loved) |
| c. conformity to artificial, man-
ipulated behavioral standards | c. respect and appreciation of
individual differences in
beliefs, skills, talents,
behavior, etc. |
| d. competition for higher social
status | d. equality of status: sharing
sentiment, wealth, knowledge,
skills, creative talents |

Should these conditions of non-alienation be met, individuals would be able to acquire a satisfying identity for the following reasons:

1) The society would understand and respect their activities and give them social support; 2) The society would encourage individuals to find and to develop their own beliefs, creative and intellectual talents; and 3) By encouraging and supporting behavioral experimentation and making information concerning role choices accessible to all, society would encourage individuals to develop a critical and evaluative facility within their personalities which is necessary to make rational choices.

Chapter Three:

The Multiversity, The Student Population, the Collective Movement

The remaining discussion attempts to link the concepts which have been developed on alienation and identity to a certain set of external realities, namely: college students, the multiversity setting, a collective movement known as the Free Speech Movement (FSM), and the New Left ideology. The object of discussing these conceptual links with the variety of specific situations, subjects, and objects is to attempt to formulate a series of hypothesis that explain the emergence and the popular appeal of the New Left among college students.

Contained within the multiversity are structural factors conducive to producing alienation in the general social setting. These alienation factors critically affect a population of students, who for reasons to be explained, are in the process of searching for an adult identity so that they can enter society as participating adults. They find themselves self-estranged within the general society, as well as in the microism of that general society, the multiversity. These factors heighten their feelings of self-estrangement which would ordinarily be predicted for those outside this particular age group and social environment. Two factors help explain the emergence of the collective movement (the FSM): the first is exposure knowledge within the educational system, and the second is regular and frequent interaction between those who share common grievences within the closed multiversity system.

The above is a brief overview of a more detailed explanation to come. The following chapter consists of three parts: a discussion of alienation in the multiversity; a discussion of the identity crises and the exposure to the intellectual community as experienced by students within the multiversity; and, finally, a discussion of the collective movement known as the FSM which features students united in action in protest against alienation in the multiversity and in society. The description of alienation at the multiversity relies heavily on the information developed by Mr. Clark Kerr, ex-president of the University of California, and Mr. Martin Meyerson, ex-acting-Chancellor at U.C. The reasons for the heavy reliance are threefold: first, Mr. Kerr, as the architect and head administrator of the multiversity, is the most authoritative voice on the subject; second, he and Mr. Meyerson have had long and intimate experiences with college students and with university operations; and third, other documents on the multiversity system were not readily available at the time of this writing.

A. Alienation within the Multiversity

Alienation within the multiversity follows the same general pattern of variables as it does in the general social structure, which has already been discussed in detail, i.e. value confusion, meaninglessness, powerlessness, social isolation, and self-estrangement.

1. value confusion in the multiversity

Value confusion with the multiversity appears in forms similar to those characterizing value confusion within the larger social structure. The two most obvious sources of value confusion and conflict evolve about the dilemma of institutional purpose: 1) individual student

needs vs needs of other sub-groups within the institution, and 2) the appearant vacuum and choas surrounding purposes and goals distinctive to the separate institution of multiversity education.

a. student needs vs other needs

Clark Kerr, the recently ousted president of the University of California, states in The Uses of the University (38) *, that there are a variety of sub-groups with separate and often conflicting interests which the multiversity must serve. The needs of students as a group and as separate individuals constitute only one of these sub-groups. They often receive only secondary consideration when decisions are made concerning the needs and interests of faculty, administration, and the general "public". ** Students must conform to regulations, often favourable to faculty, administrative, and "public" members, but unfavorable from the point of view of students as a group and as individuals. One example of this process is contained in a Kerr quotation: "...and the professors love of specialization has become the students hate of fragmentation." (38, p.14)

Kerr admits to this tug and pull of conflicting interest groups within the multiversity. He visualizes the role of multiversity president

* in which he describes the idea of the multiversity

** It is interesting to note that Kerr obscures the meaning of the term, public. He never mentions by name, the Regents, who are an outside group of publically influential politicians, and businessmen, and who are also the governors of the University. They are responsible for many of the most important decisions regarding university regulations of students, and appointments of faculty and administrators. The implication can be made that Kerr often uses the word "public" to mean the Regents.

to be that of a mediator between the warring factions. "There is a 'kind of lawlessness' in any large university with many separate sources of initiative and power; and the task is to keep this lawlessness within reasonable bounds. The president must seek 'consensus' in a situation where there is a 'struggle for power' among groups that share it. 'The president must use power economically, and persuasion to the fullest extent.'" (38, p.35) "There are so many groups with a legitimate interest in the status quo, so many veto groups; yet the university must serve a knowledge explosion and a population explosion simultaneously. The president becomes the central mediator among the values of the past, the prospects for the future, and the realities of the present. He is the mediator among groups and institutions moving at different rates of speed and sometimes in different directions; a carrier of change - as infectious and sometimes as feared as a 'Typhoid Mary.'" (38, p.37)

One reason for the secondary consideration of the needs of undergraduate students is that, at the time of Kerr's writing, they were not recognized as a competing interest group with its own power. Hence their interests were secondary to the others who could exercise their power through legitimate channels. Kerr admits the priority of regard for faculty and administrative interests over those of students with the subsequent neglect of the latter.

"If the alumni are concerned, the undergraduate students are restless. Recent changes in the American university have done them little good - lower teaching loads for the faculty, larger classes, the use of substitute teachers for the regular faculty, the choice of faculty members based on research accomplishments rather than instructional

capacity, the fragmentation of knowledge into endless subdivisions.

There is an incipient revolt of undergraduate students against the faculty; the revolt that used to be against the faculty in loco parentis is now against the faculty in absentia. The students find themselves under a blanket of impersonal rules for admissions, for scholarships, for examinations, for degrees. It is interesting to watch how a faculty intent on few rules for itself can fashion such a plethora of them for the students. The students also want to be treated as distinct individuals." (38, p.103-104)

Here Kerr vaguely anticipates the event of the FSM:

"If federal grants for research brought a major revolution, then the resultant student sense of neglect may bring a minor counter-revolt, although the target of the revolt is a most elusive one."
(38, p. 104)

The lack of concern among official circles for the intellectual and psychic welfare of individual students is a serious source of value confusion to the mind of the ordinary undergraduate who reasons somewhat along the following lines: Since students are a necessary condition for the existence of the university, whose prime purpose is to educate them, why are students being so neglected and shortchanged educationally and individually?

b. lack of a distinct institutional purpose

The type of conflict and confusion concerning the neglect of students' interests typifies the confusion surrounding the official and unofficial purposes and goals of the multiversity system as whole.

"A university anywhere can aim no higher than to be as British as

possible for the sake of the graduates and research personnel, as American as possible for the sake of the public at large - and as confused as possible for the sake of the preservation of the whole uneasy balance." (38, p.18)

Kerr mentions these institutional contradictions as he feels them as an occupant of the institutional role of university president: "He should be firm, yet gentle; sensitive to others, insensitive to himself; look to the past and the future, yet be firmly planted in the present; both visionary and sound; affable, yet reflective; know the value of a dollar and realize that ideas cannot be bought; inspiring in his visions yet cautious in what he does; a man of principle yet able to make a deal; a man with broad perspective who will follow the details conscientiously; a good American but ready to criticize the status quo fearlessly; a seeker of truth where the truth may not hurt too much; a source of public policy pronouncements when they do not reflect his own institution. He should sound like a mouse at home and look like a lion abroad. He is one of the marginal men in a democratic society - of whom there are many others - on the margin of many groups, many ideas, many endeavors, many characteristics. He is a marginal man but at the very center of the total process." (38, p.30)

From the confusion resulting from competing interest groups, educational values and purposes contained within the multiversity institution, Kerr concludes that in fact the multiversity has no distinct purpose of its own. * Multiversity goals are dictated by the needs of

* In this sense the multiversity contains conditions conducive to the development of meaninglessness as well as purposelessness among students.

the larger society. The role of the multiversity in this modern age of industry, technology, and progress is to respond and service these societal needs, rather than formulate, articulate and direct them. "Knowledge is now central to society. It is wanted, even demanded, by more people and more institutions than ever before. The university as producer, wholesaler, and retailer of knowledge cannot escape service." (38, p.114) *

"The current problem is not so much that the university does not fully control the direction of its own development - it seldom has - but..."

"In the end the university is reduced to being a puppet, twitching to stimuli it cannot control, powerless to set its own direction." (72, p.353)

For the student this value confusion surrounding the purposes of the university educational experience is enhanced by their own idealistic expectations of what the university should offer them as individuals.

"The reality seems all the bleaker by contrast with the glowing expectations students are now bringing to the university. Young people today are conditioned from the earliest age to see "education" as the magic key to all the delectable things. They come to college in search, not merely of knowledge, but of salvation. College is the real thing, they are told, and when the real thing turns out to look a lot like the sham they left behind, they are understandably distressed." (72, p.351)

c. traditional vs academic morality

In addition to feeling the value confusion concerning multiversity purposes, the student also feels the effects of value confusion

*See also (38, p:49) and (38, p.124-5)

and conflict resulting from the contrast and inconsistencies between the morality he learned as part of a family and that which he learns as a student member of the academic community. The conflict becomes acute and obvious for the individual when he hears his teachers discredit the values and behavioral hypocracies of his middle class parents who he has heard so often sing praises for a university education. "At a time when other students are jostling him in behavior, intellect, daring, and values, and are competing with him for prominence on campus and distinction in grades, some professors regard it as a duty to shock students into questioning their beliefs and prejudices. Even those who do not aim to reveal adult hypocracies shake the students' accepted way of looking at the world. In all this turmoil, the student finds no unifying institutional symbolic rallying points, no clear adult models; and yet he is enjoined to have the best time of his life." (45, p.722)

2. meaninglessness and powerlessness in the multiversity

Certain structural features create feelings of meaninglessness and powerlessness for the student attending the multiversity. These are: 1) lack of student representedness in institutional power processes and rule making, 2) specialization and segregation of functional roles, and 3) the absence of adequate provisions to develop the mental facilities needed for students to be able to make rationally evaluated choices of individual action within their environment.

The state of unrepresentedness of students and student interests in institutional decisionmaking processes creates feelings of powerlessness among the student population. The heirarchy of power, authority,

and role specialization coincides. Ultimate authority rests with the Regents (72, p.335), followed by university administration (which consists of the tops of the different departmental bureaucracies), then the faculty, then the vast bureaucracy (which services the needs of faculty, administration, and Regents), and finally the students. As mentioned in the discussion on value confusion, students only obey orders from above and do not have an official share in the process of rule making. For the most part students are powerless as individuals to protest the control of administration and faculty.

"Most colleges are as authoritarian as high schools, and the college student is far less able to influence his relationships with teachers and administrators than he is able to retort and otherwise respond to his parents." (45, p.719)... "There is little in the formal life of the institution that the student can control, question publically, or about which he can seek redress. Whether the teacher shocks him, or ignores him, or bores him, or awakens him to new vistas, or patronizes him, or argues with him, or is friendly to him, the student is dependent on the teacher's mood and interest. He is also bound by the actions of the administrators. Much of the student's extracurricular life - for example, the conduct of student residences or student activities - is controlled by the institutional administration." (45, p.719) It follows that student "sandbox" government is regarded by most as a farce. "But it is also a rare college or university where students do more than hold discussion forums and publish a student newspaper or magazine. They may seem to run economic enterprises such as book stores, but these,

if they are large, are in the hands of a paid staff and are subject to intervention by the administration. By and large students have little involvement in student recruitment, curriculum, grading, policies for student-teacher relations including student evaluations of teachers, and campus rules and regulations. A few colleges with defined aims of student participation - Antioch is a prime example - have students take part in almost all decisions.....At Berkeley the sophisticated students have regarded student government as playful pretense - their term is "sandbox government" - for they argue that even though the student government is nominally in charge of assets worth millions of dollars and its officers have the perquisites of junior executives, including private offices, university cars, and secretaries, student government is foreclosed from any actions in areas that matter. It can only rubberstamp administration wishes." (45, p.728-9)

Functional specialization and segregation of institutional roles exist along with a centralized bureaucracy within the multiversity setting. Actors in different functional roles are segregated socially and physically from each other. Faculty, administration, and bureaucracy function independently and often anonomously from one another. Each fashions rights and restrictions affecting itself and the students from its own functional vantagepoint ^{within} the "whole uneasy balance" of the multiversity structure. Since the students cannot fashion rules for themselves, they are usually rule obeyers and seldom rule makers.

Centralized administrative control and isolation into specialized, functional roles results in an environment in which students are apt to

experience powerlessness and meaninglessness. First, knowledge obtained through course-work is fragmented; and consumption of this fragmented knowledge is mandatory. "In any event, freedom for the student to choose became freedom for the professor to invent; and the professor's love of specialization has become the students' hate of fragmentation." (38, p.14) "A kind of bizarre version of academic laissez-faire has emerged. The student, unlike Adam Smith's idealized buyer, must consume usually at the rate of fifteen hours a week." (38, p.15)

Second, the inherent logic underlying the grading system is little understood by students. Giving grades on the basis of ones performance in examinations which test fragmented bits and pieces of knowledge seems at best, a perversion of the purpose of an education. (72, p.361) This system, which may facilitate the task of instructing from the teachers point of view (45, p.733), leaves the student feeling meaninglessness. "They (students) point out that students are not uniform, and even the competitor schools and colleges are not uniform; thus, with all these unique elements of education, there cannot appropriately be a rigid, quantitative, standardized set of measures." (45, p.733)

Third, the same situation of meaninglessness exists for the student when he confronts the administrative bureaucracy: from the time students enter the multiversity until the time they leave, they are subject to obey endless rounds of bureaucratic routines, most of which are incomprehensible. (72, p.36) (38, p.103) This is largely the doing of an administrative bureaucracy which Kerr says has assumed

the dominant force and responsibility of integrating sub-systems of the multiversity. (38, p.28) Students obey these routines which they do not understand because it is their only alternative if they wish to get through this type of educational system.

A student also feels meaninglessness because his social environment does not afford him the opportunity to develop his mental faculties with which he can evaluate alternatives and rationally choose between them. This, in turn, reinforces his feelings of powerlessness because he can not exercise control in the mastery of the environment. Forces in his environment tend to dominate him, rather than vice-versa. He must accept the prescribed way of doing things or risk losing a university education.

In several respects the society as well as the academic institution inhibits the development of abilities to make rational choices. The choice of whether or not to attend college is already limited by the nature of American industrial society. In a society whose occupational requirements demand high level skills, a creative alternative to a college education is not viable unless one finds a way to make unskilled jobs like waitressing, truckdriving, machine operating, and the like fulfilling. Most middle and working class youth visualize college education as the necessary prerequisite in avoiding these tedious, unchallenging, and non-creative occupations.

Once the individual has decided to attend college, factors of imperfect knowledge on his part and the growing similarity between universities further limit his educational choice. "...But to a large extent, selections are made by accidents of propinquity, pocketbook,

and propaganda. Students rarely have clear notions about their alternatives...One reason that students do not have a clear sense of alternatives is that our colleges and universities, although diverse, tend to round the edges of difference and become more like each other, as David Reisman has astutely pointed out. Student populations are becoming more heterogeneous, especially at campuses which are growing, and at the same time, when campuses are compared, the mix at each campus increasingly resembles that at many other campuses." (45, p.716),.. "To keep up with the/academic Joneses, colleges and universities add more and more subdivisions to older fields and encourage greater and greater specialization. It is a rare college or university which, although it may disclaim vocationalism, does not provide vocational programs." (45,p.717)

"Even the most sober of colleges and universities try to suggest a collegiate image (generally compounded with other images, too) in which student life is portrayed as glamorous, relaxed, and frolicsome." (45, p.717). "Boards of trustees, administrators, and faculties at many institutions note and often emulate the developments at the pace-setting colleges and universities. Although there may be no formal system to American higher education, there is a tendency toward the mean and for extreme characteristics to atrophy, resulting in more institutional similarities." (45, p.718)

After the student (non-rationally) has made the choice of which educational institution he will attend, he has few meaningful choices left, in so far as the type of student life he wishes to live and his program of course work. If he lives in university approved housing his

student life is standardized and regulated according to administrative requirements. * "The students complained that the university was interested in equalization and standardization of living quarters, and not in meeting their diverse needs. Residence halls, they said, are built primarily for ease of maintenance and administration. If they are designed at all for the student, they are designed for one kind of student - the collegiate who likes to socialize, who does not want to be bothered about food even to the extent of choosing a restaurant to go to, who is willing to share a room, and who is not individualistic in study habits, creative abilities or anything else." (45, p.725)

His course program offers little opportunity for rational choices through trial and error experimentation. "Even where the student is following a liberal arts program, his course choices are greatly influenced by the linkage between success in college grades and entrance into graduate school or the job market. The student is thus inclined to be purposeful, to do well in conventionally prescribed terms, to avoid risks." (45, p.720) "If education is the door to job opportunities, it is hardly surprising that as higher education becomes more a majority than a minority phenomenon, it becomes more job-oriented. When a policeman is required to have at least two years' college education, as he is in some communities, all those who aspire to jobs at this level or beyond feel more than ever compelled to go on for higher education." (45, p.720) "The job focus in college, necessary as it may be, dims the light

* If he does not live in university housing, then he probably has more opportunities to make more choices concerning the type of life he will live as a student.

of intellectual pleasure which trial-and-error exploration can provide."
(45, p.721)

Choice of field of interest or specialization is often made within the framework of standardized stipulations of academic success. Rather than try an area that appears intellectually stimulating and interesting, the student is encouraged to choose one in which he is reasonably certain that he can excell. Choosing courses and subject areas one can safely pass is often a vital necessity for an undergraduate who wishes to stay in the ranks of an institution where "the casualty rate is high, and the walking wounded are many." (38, p.42)

Students often choose occupational careers on a similar non-rational basis as that on which they decide which college to attend and which courses to take. Lack of opportunities for adequate career counseling plus imperfect knowledge of career opportunities, at the multiversity itself is one responsible factor. Certain societal factors likewise are to blame. These are the great and increasing similarity between social institutions where occupational opportunities lie, and the lack of opportunity for individuals to experiment, in trial and error fashion, with a variety of career choices.

The absence of clear adult role models in academia, from which students can choose to model their own adult role behavior, is another reason for the academic meaninglessness that students feel when they attend the large multiversity institution. The window clerk at the head of a long line of students, the antique housemother, the professor in absentia except when he lectures before a crowd of five hundred -

these and other faceless persons are inadequate examples of adult role models. "At the same time that students need greater intellectual guidance, and perhaps moral guidance as well, from their teachers because the students are poorly prepared by previous family and school background, teachers are less attracted to spend time with students beyond the classroom and the office hour." (45, p.720)

3. loneliness or social isolation at the multiversity

Like many institutions within modern industrial American society, the multiversity is responsible for creating feelings of loneliness or social isolation within members of its constituency. The following factors inherent in the multiversity system are most responsible for student loneliness.

One important goal of the multiversity is efficient production of knowledge. "Knowledge has certainly never in history been so central to the conduct of an entire society. What the railroads did for the second half of the last century and the automobile for the first half of this century may be done for the second half of this century by the knowledge industry: that is, to serve as the focal point for national growth. And the university is at the center of the knowledge process." (38, p.88) As a leading industrial sector of society the multiversity assumes many of the traits characteristic of large bureaucratically organized industries.

In the multiversity functional roles are highly specialized; communication between them is often minimal; the students (the raw material from which skilled technicians are produced) are treated impersonally, as "things" which are there to be manipulated or processed

in much the same way as goods are manufactured in the industrial factories. Not only do the administrators and faculty regard individual students as impersonal objects, but the institution encourages students to regard themselves and others likewise. Through the competitive system of achieving an education, students compete, manipulate, and use other people to further their own academic successes and occupational careers.(28)

a. physical and social isolation between roles

Probably the most acute form of loneliness students feel is neglect by faculty and administration. Explanations for this phenomenon vary. Meyerson says that with the advent of mass education, teachers are less likely to find students from working and middle class backgrounds as congenial to faculty interests as those students from the elite. Therefore faculty are less likely to spend time with them, outside the classroom and the office hour. (45, p.721) Kerr says simply that faculty are too busy with their other interests to find time for teaching and for students. "There seems to be a 'point of no return' after which research, consulting graduate instruction become so absorbing that faculty efforts can no longer be concentrated on undergraduate instruction as they once were. This process has been going on for a long time; federal research funds have intensified it. As a consequence, undergraduate education in the large university is more likely to be acceptable than outstanding; educational policy from the undergraduate point of view is largely neglected. How to escape the cruel paradox that a superior faculty results in an inferior concern for

undergraduate teaching is one of our more pressing problems." (38, p.65)

"Teaching is less central than it once was for most faculty members; research has become more important. This has given rise to what has been called the 'non-teacher' - 'the higher a man's standing, the less he has to do with students' - ..."(38, p.42)

Students feel administrative neglect also. They feel it when the President and department heads prefer to devote more attention and effort to problems related to institutional money grabbing, pleasing the "public" (that counts), and increasing the prestige of their institution relative to their competitors than to student needs. Administrative concern with contracting federal research projects, research grants, research centers, with an eye to servicing the expanding need for knowledge and increasing their national prestige (38, p.106, 107, 110, 117) leaves the students feeling socially isolated and neglected.* Administrators like the President and the Chancellor make their lack of interest in students obvious when they assign a one hour office period each week to meet with them and discuss their 'student' point of view.

b. the multiversity as a knowledge industry

By treating students as "things" that can be rationally manipulated in the process of producing knowledge, the multiversity "knowledge industry" further isolates students socially. It encourages

* Kerr devotes most of the writing space in his book to these topics.

administrators and faculty to treat students impersonally. Institutional impersonality and standardization creates loneliness in those students who expect institutional responses to be as personal as they were back home. "As Edgar Friedenberg points out in Coming of Age in America, parents respond to children as persons, and institutions do not. Even though parents may believe their families are governed by rules, they are in fact governed by a process of mutual accommodation. Institutions can rarely respond sensitively to individual needs but can only apply general regulations as impartially as possible." (45, p.723)

Not only does the knowledge factory foster impersonal, standardized treatment of students, but it also encourages all parties concerned to rationally manipulate each other for their own ends. It even encourages students to view each other as objects. To the extent which they are able, students use each other, the faculty, * and the administration for their personal ends of academic success. In this sort of environment, communication between administrators, faculty and students as people and not as objects, is effectively lost; individual loneliness is created. The intense competition for symbols of academic success among students also reduces the possibilities of sincere and satisfying personal communication between them, making their feelings of loneliness even more acute. (38, p.41) This situation is especially acute for graduate students: "We have been intent on filling our

* by trying to achieve the vital faculty "contact"

department requirements, trying to establish good relationships with our professors, learning our profession and producing publishable materials, but every action has had to be one that we fought on our own, and hence one which has put us in opposition to and in competition with our fellow graduate students. We must lay aside the distrust and suspicion that has developed out of our past situation and realize that despite our differences our similarities are much greater, ..." (28)

c. conformity to superficial, institutionally manipulated standards

Adherence by students to norms that promote the official image and the functional goals of the multiversity and society contribute to loneliness among students. Students are enjoined to achieve high marks; to appear intelligent ("bright"), smooth, sophisticated, witty, articulate, sincere, earnest; to live a fun filled, carefree, frolicsome, romantic student life; to be socially popular and to run with the "in" crowd; to enjoy learning and satisfying their intellectual curiosity; to take an interest in "culture"; to get their share of scholarships and grants; to be known to their teachers; in short, to be a kind of academic showpiece/ (45, p.717). Few students can live up to this image, which often puts contradictory strains upon those who try. Communication between such "strivers" may often be hypocritical and artificial. *

* each person may avoid and cover up topics and situations likely to reveal a personal shortcoming; and furthermore, individuals whose actual performances fall short of their public facade may fail to share emotions and thoughts which center on their inadequate achievement of expected standards.

Conformity of this type may contribute to meaninglessness in the sense that it acts to inhibit individuals from developing their critical, evaluative faculties.

4. self-estrangement among students

Student self-estrangement is a product of alienation found within the multiversity. Following the logical pattern of analysis established in the course of this discussion, one would derive feelings of self-fragmentation, self-isolation, self-ambivalence, self-detachment and self-atrophy among students from conditions of multiversity living. Students would not feel actively involved in the pursuit of knowledge. The acts of learning offer them little intrinsic rewards. Students are motivated primarily by external rewards such as high marks, scholarships and grants, acceptance into graduate school, a promising career opportunity, and academic prestige. Students tend to regard themselves as objects, as packages of skills for sale to the best offer made after graduation. They tend to evaluate their total individual worth on the basis of their academic records. Nevertheless, students feel torn between conflicting behavioral expectations: between images of the traditional scholar and those of the modern technician; between images of an obedient child and those of an independent-minded adult.

Lacking official channels of expression and control in institutional decisionmaking, and also without the opportunity to develop decisionmaking faculties, students not only feel powerless to influence

the system, but helpless to make a decision even if they had the opportunity to do so. They would not feel that they could evaluate satisfactorily a problematic situation, and make a positive commitment to action, and accept the responsibility for their action. A routinized, standardized, academic environment leaves the student with little opportunity to master conditions within that setting. Except for what grades he achieves, the student finds himself in a role of passive acceptance, with little chance to exercise external control: within limited parameters he manipulates, but he has little power to change the system.

Self-estrangement among students can be predicted from value confusion, meaninglessness, powerlessness, and loneliness. Students experience a self-estrangement which closely resembles the general type described in Chapter One. Student self-isolation stems from the following conditions of social isolation: 1) intense academic competition, 2) impersonal treatment, 3) a sense of being manipulated, and 4) expected conformity to artificial symbols of academic success. Self-fragmentation derives from these conditions of loneliness as well as from conditions of value confusion and meaninglessness, which are experienced as the lack of 1) purpose specific to the multiversity institution, 2) purpose and place for students and their needs, 3) clear adult role models, and 4) consistent behavioral standards expected of students.

Feelings of self-ambivalence, self-detachment (or non-involvement), and self-atrophy among students can be anticipated from conditions of value confusion, loneliness, as well as the following

conditions of powerlessness and meaninglessness within the student environment. "Sandbox" government symbolizes lack of student representation in multiversity decisionmaking. A wide interaction gap separates the complex, often highly technical and specialized roles of administration and faculty from the less complex and less differentiated roles of students. Subsequently, students are predisposed not to understand the functioning of these roles with regard to the system. Students are more or less forced to consume knowledge which is fragmented (38, p.15), and to abide by a grading system and other equally uncomprehended bureaucratic routines. Most of their everyday lives as individuals as well as students are ritualized into a standardized system of action, planned by the administrators to facilitate the efficient flow or passage of student bodies through the educational establishment. (38, p.103-4) This results in the lack of an adequate environment for students to develop their evaluative, critical, and creative faculties. They have no clear sense of alternatives of action whereby they can master their environment. (45, p.716-25) They tend to grow detached from their immediate life situation.

Chart Four outlines the relation between student self-estrangement and factors of alienation present in the multiversity.

Chart Four

Value Confusion

- a. lack of (or conflicting) purpose(s) of the multiversity
- b. lack of purpose and place for students within the multiversity
- c. lack of clear adult role models within the multiversity

self-fragmentation
(conflict between student role expectations and behavioral standards)

Loneliness

- a. communication gulf between the administration and faculty and the students
- b. students are treated impersonally and are manipulated according to the needs of administration and faculty
- c. students feel pressure to conform to artificial symbols of academic success
- d. intense competition between students for symbols of academic success

self-isolation

Meaninglessness and Powerlessness

- a. a high degree of specialization and segregation within and between faculty and administrative roles. There is an interaction gulf between them and less specialized student roles.

self-ambivalence
self-detachment
self-atrophy

Meaninglessness and Powerlessness (con't)

- b. fragmented knowledge presented to students
- c. lack of student understanding of the grading system, bureaucratic processes, and the total institutional operation
- d. lack of basis for developing rational, critical, and evaluative faculties
 - 1. lack of viable alternatives of action in the student's social environment (and lack of clear adult role models)
 - 2. lack of opportunity for trial and error action
 - 3. lack of challenges in the student's standardized environment
 - 4. lack of student representativeness in institutional decisionmaking
 - 5. lack of opportunity to make decisions and exercise mastery of individual environment

B. Other factors critically affecting the student population: the identity crises, and intellectual exposure

The students' sense of self-estrangement is an internal experience. Although self-estrangement may sow the ferment out of which future action occurs, it does not necessarily mean that those who feel it will automatically engage in overt activity. Withdrawal is as much a possibility as overt action (29, p.145) Two other conditions affecting the student population pressure students toward positive action in external and, more or less, predictable directions: these are 1) the adolescent identity crises, and 2) exposure to intellectual modes of thought.

1. the adolescent identity crises

Sociologists and social psychologists usually define adolescence as the developmental period between childhood and adulthood. During this time the individual attempts to identify himself with society in terms of a certain adult status. In order to function satisfactorily in modern industrial society an adult must create his distinctive identity. He must 1) actively select his beliefs, purposes, and social roles, 2) integrate them into a ^{consistent} conception of a self image, 3) acquire a wholistic understanding of his social universe in which he can act according to his self conception, and 4) identify himself with other members of the social community.

Identity formation is built into the schedule of human development. The prime social task in adolescence is to achieve identity, which is the goal that gives the individual meaning during this critical period. "Adolescent development comprises a new set of identification processes, both with significant persons and with ideological forces, which give importance to individual life by relating it to a living community and to ongoing history, and by counterpointing the newly won individual identity with some communal solidarity." (17, p.23)

Although identity is an unending and continuous process for individuals, its most distinctive aspects are formulated during the adolescent period. (16, p.47, 51) The individual has achieved identity when he experiences what Erickson calls a "sense of psycho-social well being." "Its obvious concomitants are a feeling of being at home in one's body, a sense of 'knowing where one is going,' and an inner assuredness of anticipated recognition from those who count." (16, p.51)

During the physical maturation period of adolescent development the individual develops the mental processes enabling him to cope with the problem of selecting and narrowing down adult roles from those available to his experience. These 'cognitive gains' * predispose the individual toward formulating an identity. "The cognitive gifts developing during the first half of the second decade add a powerful tool to the tasks of youth. J. Piaget calls the gains in cognition made toward

*Piaget first conceptualized them in The Moral Judgement of the Child

the middle teens, the achievement of 'formal operations'. This means that the youth can now operate on hypothetical propositions, can think of possible variables and potential relations, and think of them in thought alone, independent of certain concrete checks previously necessary. As Jerome S. Bruner puts it, the child now can 'conjure up systematically the full range of alternative possibilities that could exist at any given time.' Such cognitive orientation forms not a contrast but a complement to the need of the young person to develop a sense of identity, for, from among all possible and imaginable relations, he must make a series of ever narrowing selections of personal, occupational, sexual, and ideological commitments." (17, p.12-13)

To develop a sense of identity the adolescent needs a favourable type of environment: he needs one which provides a range of clear alternative roles and beliefs from which he can test, select, and develop his own. Erickson, and other social-psychologists and social-anthropologists following his lead, calls this setting and the type of activity occurring within it a "psycho-social moratorium." (16, p.45) During this time the adolescent can test the strength of his potential capabilities in order to discover which adult roles best suit his personality needs. It is a period, as Margaret Mead says "during which they (adolescents) can experiment without being called upon to succeed; an as if period (sic.) in which the heights of aspiration and depths of despair can both be experienced without final economic, social, or personal psychological consequences." (43, p.46)

Erickson says that successful passage through adolescence and

the identity crises means that the individual finds his place in society and that he reconciles his childhood identity with that of an adult image. "This period can be viewed as a psychosocial moratorium during which the individual, through free role experimentation, may find a niche in some section of his society, a niche which is firmly defined and yet seems to be uniquely made for him. In finding it, the young adult gains an assured sense of inner continuity and social sameness which will bridge what he was as a child and what he is about to become, and will reconcile his conception of himself and his community's recognition of him." (16, p.45)

A student in the multiversity experiences the need to achieve identity. Society expects those who have passed through the educational system to "find themselves" and to take their place in society as responsible adult members. Thus the student feels pushed or pressured in the direction: he feels the need to find his social purpose embodied in adult roles, to understand his place in his social universe, and to identify with other members of the living social community.

Instead of leading the student to a satisfactory conclusion of this drive toward identity, the multiversity is responsible for creating the circumstances that result in identity frustration. Conditions of meaninglessness and powerlessness are particularly crucial in predisposing the individual to experience identity frustration: Multiversity characteristics, such as a standardized educational learning and living structure, lack of adult role models, and the singleminded

preoccupation with equipping students for technical and professional careers-leave little time and space for the inclusion of a psychosocial moratorium which is satisfactory to the student.

Joseph Kauffman laments one aspect of this situation, the preoccupation with orienting and training college students for successful future careers: "In earlier times, the college years served as a kind of 'moratorium' on the acceptance of responsibility; there was time, relaxation, reflection, and study unrelated to vocational goals. Today, from the early high school years on, every move of work, study, or pleasure remains within the context of building a record (curricular and extracurricular) directly related to future goals of college, graduate or professional school, fellowships, job opportunities, and the like. In fact, expending one's time, energies, and abilities in ways unrelated to future personal goals is, in many circles, considered irresponsible In many ways today's college experience encourages and perpetuates a kind of egocentrism which is not always a natural frame of reference for the college age group. Instead of being assisted in relating one's life to the community, to humanity, or to a whole, one is encouraged to work for oneself." (37, p.184)

2. exposure to the intellectual community

Even though the multiversity frustrates their drive to achieve identity, students still remain motivated in that general direction. They strive to understand their social environment, to find models upon which to pattern and develop their adult role behavior, to identify with

a social community, and to find purposeful beliefs upon which to act.

Exposure to the intellectual community, contained within the multi-
versity, facilitates, rather than frustrates their drive toward identity.

Furthermore it channels their activity in directions traditionally
associated with the stamp of intellectual and revolutionary pursuits:

1) It provides students with action alternatives to social suicide (ie,
the individual's withdrawal from society), and articulates student
grievances within intellectual frames of reference: 2) It provides
students with contemporary and historical heroes, a) with whom they can
identify on the basis of shared grievances, and b) upon which they can
model and shape their student and adult role behavior: 3) It exposes
students to revolutionary ideals, which underlie the basis of nationalistic
American ideology. This charismatic experience results in a stronger
student drive to identify himself with his society.

a. action alternatives to social suicide

The intellectual community exposes students to knowledge which
articulates a variety of classical dilemmas of mankind throughout
recorded history. In the process of presenting students with these
problems (and a variety of alternative explanations for them) the
intellectual community enables students to locate their own personal
problems within the reference frame of a broader intellectual perspective.
They can also attempt to explain their problems by utilizing classical
forms of intellectual logic. * Thus the intellectual setting provides

* see Morton Grodzins, the Loyal and the Disloyal, p. 189

a favourable atmosphere for students to formulate their identity: via their own problems, students are able to identify themselves with the whole or significant aspects of mankind, via its problems. Intellectual knowledge not only articulates social problems, but in many instances it proposes solutions (future social goals) to the ills of mankind.

It follows that students caught in the dilemma of self-estrangement in their drive toward identity find relevant the literature that deals with defining the problem of alienation of modern man in industrial society. Karl Marx, Henry David Thoreau, C. Wright Mills, Erick Fromm, Paul Goodman, A. S. Neil, Albert Camus and others in the same groove, become necessary reading. Students find these writers attractive for their social goals and belief systems as well as for their meaningful explanations of the human social existence.

b. intellectual role models

Whereas the multiversity fails, the intellectual community succeeds in providing students with adult role models. These models exist as outspoken individual faculty critics of the multiversity within the institution itself, as well as heroes who speak through the literature. Students identify with these individuals (who number among the living and the dead) on the basis of the grievances that students share with them. In discussing the American Intellectual Elite, Louis Feuer testifies to the alliance between student and faculty within the intellectual community at the university: "Alienated intellectuals on faculties, moreover, tend to be taken as charismatic

figures by students who are in the throes of generational revolt. Thus the Intellectual Elite is curiously open to the variety of influences which issue from the estrangement of its younger members." (19, p.23)

Alienated historical and revolutionary intellectuals are special recipients of student hero worship: high among the notables are Karl Marx, Trotsky, Lenin, Mao Tse-tung, Fidel Castro, Jesus Christ, Malcolm X, Ernesto Che Guevara, Henry D. Thoreau, and C. Wright Mills. Revolutionary figures often serve as role models and heroes because 1) they are oppressed by the existing social system and 2) they fight back by engaging in activity that sooner or later results in its overthrow. Given their perceived alienated and self-estranged position in society, and given their need to act positively to achieve identity, students easily emulate these revolutionary models. Besides sharing common grievances of social abuses with students, these revolutionists offer them a definite course of action and future hope. Revolutionists solve their problems through immediate, straightforward, courses of action that get directly to the perceived "heart" of the problem: they confront and overthrow the abusive social establishment. They stand as symbols of successful triumph over both the oppressive system and the fears that most men have of shaking it.

c. intellectual charisma

The intellectual community encourages in students the tendency to find their identity along with revolutionary ideals. Students learn

what it means to be American in terms of the ideology typical of the American and French revolutions. Internalization of this revolutionary ideology is a charismatic experience which gives students an emotional and ideological rebirth. It also serves as a strong identity force linking students to American society in terms of its most idealistic belief system. The ideology (whose key terms are liberty, equality, fraternity) is clear enough to enable most students to evaluate concrete behavior that either measures up to these ideals or fails to do so. The following statements by Mario Savio, leader of the Free Speech Movement, evidence the American idealistic ring to the thought of students exposed to the intellectual community: "The things we are asking for in our civil-rights protests have a deceptively quaint ring. We are asking for the due process of law. We are asking for our actions to be judged by committees of our peers. We are asking that regulations ought to be considered as arrived at legitimately only from the consent of the governed. These phrases are pretty old, but they are not being taken seriously in America today, nor are they being taken seriously on the Berkeley campus." (61, p.180-1)

C. The Collective Movement: The FSM

From September 30, 1964 to January 3, 1965 two to five thousand Berkeley students collectively brought the University to a functional halt. The movement is known as the Free Speech Movement (FSM) because freedom to advocate national social and political issues on campus was the immediate concern. Actually the issue of free speech was only one of a number of related moral questions involved. This series of events, later called the "Berkeley Revolution", was the first collective protest movement of American college students to attract national and international attention.*

The importance of bringing the FSM into this discussion resides in the following factors: First, The FSM is part of the action sequence resulting in a) the emergence of the New Left ideology and organization, and b) bringing a certain group into the fold of the New Left. It is the consequence of all of the factors discussed up to this point. It emerged as a reaction to: a) self-estrangement resulting from general societal alienation (discussed in Chapter One) and multiversity alienation (discussed in Chapter Three, Part A); b) the drive toward identity (discussed in Chapter Two); and c) the drive to achieve identity in intellectual and revolutionary terms (discussed in Chapter Three, Part B). Second, the FSM symbolizes collective action, which is a necessary event (or series of events) for students to experience if they are to internalize New

* The biography of the FSM is well documented in several reputable sources: see Seymore Martin Lipset, The Berkeley Student Revolt (NY, Doubleday, 1965) p. 99-200; (13); and (46).

Leftist beliefs and if they are to achieve identity. *

The following discussion of the FSM divides into three major parts: The first discusses the emergence of the FSM in terms of collective behavioral theory in relation to all of the aforementioned analytical factors up to this point; The second discusses the importance of the FSM in relation to action, as a step out of alienation (and self-estrangement) and toward identity and toward commitment to a new radical ideology; ** The third tries to answer the question: why did a collective movement occur first on the Berkeley campus?

1. an analysis of the emergence of the collective movement.

The presence of general societal alienation multiversity alienation, and student identity frustration set the stage for this much publicized collective venture by students. Conditions of societal and multiversity alienation were responsible for producing the ferment. Students felt dissatisfied with both their present social environment and with themselves. They felt neglected and helpless to alter their desperate situation. The strain to achieve identity intensified this frustration, although the potential for a way out through directive action existed

* Existing as a symbol of collective action the FSM could be interchanged with any other collective protest movement acting under similar conditions, if one were to use this analysis to explain the emergence of a radical ideology, or another group into a radical ideology.

** The discussion of the FSM does not fully utilize the "Alienation Model" to analyze and to fully document the existence of value confusion, meaninglessness, powerlessness, loneliness, and self-estrangement within the contest of the FSM itself - although the discussion might be fruitfully extended in this direction. Instead, the author preferred to thoroughly analyze and document the discussion of the ideological tenets of the New Left, which includes many statements from FSM spokesmen. Nevertheless, this discussion of the FSM does contain empirical statements by FSM participants illustrating how successful they felt their (continued)

within the strain to identify. In Theory of Collective Behavior Smelser calls these first two conditions structural conduciveness and structural strain. These terms mean that the social structure blocks appropriate channels for expression of grievances for a certain group which feels itself socially deprived, i.e. under strain (67, p. 15-16)

Exposure to the intellectual community is instrumental in creating generalized beliefs, which Smelser says is the next stage in the development of a collective movement. "Before collective action can be taken to reconstitute the situation brought on by structural strain, this situation must be made meaningful to the potential actors. This meaning is supplied in a generalized belief, which identifies the source of strain, attributes certain characteristics to the source, and specifies certain responses to the strain as possible or appropriate." (67, p.16)

The intellectual community supplied students with all the above factors necessary for the creation of a generalized belief and more:

1) Utilizing the language and logic of modern social revolutionary intellectuals, the students defined their own situation in terms which they could understand and accept. Equipped with intellectual tools, they identified the source of strain, its characteristics, its victims, and responses to it. They found the sources to be the factors associated with social injustices and alienation contained within the machinery of the bureaucratic capitalistic establishment. Students as well as the majority of uninformed Americans occupying lower rungs of power are identified as exploited victims of this system. Social revolutions (in a

* (continued) collective action to be and the meaning of their collective participation. The examples are also utilized to illustrate their degree of identity achievement.

variety of forms) are proposed as alternative action patterns of conflict resolutions. The following statements demonstrate the students' "intellectual-revolutionary" frame of mind: "The question of how to break down the machinery and build 'intellectual communities worthy of the hopes and responsibilities of our people,' is one on the minds of many participants in the Free Speech Movement.... We would like to establish the availability of a revolutionary experience in education. If we succeed, we will accomplish a feat more radical and significant than anything the Free Speech Movement has attempted. We will succeed in beginning to bring humanity back to campus." 2) The intellectual community exists as a legitimizing source, infusing revolutionary ideals of this sort with legitimate authority; 3) The intellectual community also supplied students with a means of communication. From within the context of the revolutionary-alienation frame of reference, it provided students with a vocabulary with which they could a) conceptualize and articulate their problems, b) defend their rights against the power structure, and c) communicate their grievances with each other.

Other factors resident within the university facilitated the development of the FSM. The first is the existence of an environment where a considerable amount of face-to-face interaction or "milling" can take place. Despite the largeness of the Berkeley campus, some students routinely cross each others' paths daily - in the course of attending the university and living within the Berkeley community. Within this setting students have the opportunity to know and to express and share similar grievances with one another. The greater the incidence of this type of 'milling' the more likely is the possibility of the emergence of shared frames of reference, social support, and thus the emer-

gence of a new student subculture. "The emergence of these 'group standards' of this shared frame of reference, is the emergence of a new subculture. It is cultural because each actor's participation in this system of norms is influenced by his perception of the same norms in other actors. It is subcultural because the norms are shared only among those actors who stand somehow to profit from them and who find in one another a sympathetic moral climate within which these norms may come to fruition and persist." (10, p.65)

The second factor which facilitated the emergence of the FSM was the presence and activities of experienced student political activists within the campus setting. They acted to promote and to intensify the "milling" process by: 1) alerting students to their common problems by articulating student discontents, 2) pressuring students to do something about their situation in terms of revolutionary action alternatives, and 3) symbolizing to the inexperienced a measure of successful achievement of individual identity (i.e. they embody control, self-confidence, purpose, power, moral justice, etc.)

Precipitating factors are events which initiate the collective action. The explosive potential of the precipitating factors stems from their existence within the frame of structural conduciveness, structural strain, and the generalized beliefs. "These events may confirm or justify the fears or hatreds in a generalized belief; they may initiate or exaggerate a condition of strain; or they may redefine sharply the conditions of conduciveness. In any case these precipitating factors give the generalized belief a concrete setting toward which collective action can be directed." (67, p.17)

The incident precipitating the FSM occurred on September 30, 1964 when a certain group of students defied Dean Towle's official prohibition for students to advocate certain designated "off-campus" political and social issues from the sidewalk area in front of the Bancroft-Telegraph Avenue intersection. *

The massive student rallies of support that followed these acts of public defiance can be attributed to these factors: 1) the precipitating incidents symbolized the confirmation of the generalized belief that the administrative power structure was abusing student rights; 2) the incident of student defiance gave the generalized belief a concrete setting (The Berkeley campus of the multiversity) toward which collective action could be directed; and 3) the agencies of social control (ie university deans, local police, state police,) which were mobilized after the precipitation incident, acted to antagonize the demonstrators, so that they heightened their collective response rather than silenced it: ** administrative authorities acted inconsistently, often reniging on promises and commitments that they made to students during the heights of student protest activity. This administrative doubletalk confirmed students' beliefs and suspicions that their rights were being violated by an irresponsible, lawless, deceptive, administration. "A major factor drawing student support was the repeated Administration response to the student protest: disciplining leaders. Nothing united the students more

* (46, p xxiv) Advocate means to man tables, solicit funds, recruit memberships, and make speeches.

** see (67, p.17) on Social Controls.

than the actions of the Administration suspending the eight students, ordering arrests, and then despite much faculty criticism of this drift of affairs, preferring new charges against leaders for acts allegedly committed two months earlier." (18, p.16) *

During the period immediately following the precipitating events, students began the process of mobilizing for action. Leaders emerged, mostly from the ranks of the student political activists who had a background of civil rights experience from their previous summer in the South. Together these leaders and other highly motivated individuals planned the program of action: ie, they listed student grievances, proposed solutions to grievances, attempted to meet with university officials, organized students into functional groups, planned protest rallies, established FSM headquarters, circulated pamphlets or newsletters explaining the latest events and the position of the FSM to other students and to the public.

(13) Their activity marked the beginning of the organized student revolt.**

From the student and the administrative point of view, no clear cut victories were won. Each side made major concessions to end the strike. The Regents refused to accept the five point program proposed by the Associated Students of the University of California (ASUC), which represented the student position. *** Five hundred sixty five of the 814

* For a more comprehensive review of administrative behavioral inconsistencies from the students' point of view, see (13, p.117-128)

** See Smelser on mobilization of participants for action. (67, p.17)

*** See (13, p.120-1) for enumeration of the five points.

students participating in the Sproul Hall Sit-in on December 2-3 were convicted on charges of disturbing the peace, trespassing on public property, unlawful assembly, and resisting arrest and given jail sentences. Their leaders were given the heaviest penalties. * The Regents, however, did accept a compromise four point program granting student demands to advocate "off-campus" issues on campus. (9, p.194)

The administration also suffered major upsets. Given a choice of resigning, being fired, or taking a leave of absence, Chancellor Strong settled for the latter. (60, p.40) The Regents were left badly divided, and the public image of the University of California was tarnished. The university became vulnerable to attacks from right wing California politicians. Some experts on California politics believe that the FSM incident resulted in the subsequent gubernatorial defeat of Governor Brown and the firing of Clark Kerr as University president.

2. collective action as a step toward identity and commitment to the New Left.

Even though students did not win all of what they asked for, their collective participation in making the events of the FSM brought them closer to achieving identity. In the process of acting in collective opposition to university, state and local power structures, they made progress in overcoming value confusion, meaninglessness, powerlessness, loneliness, and self-estrangement. They made gains in attaining attributes which contribute to identity; i.e. value consistency, meaningfulness, powerfulness, and social involvement. Collective action

* Mario Savio drew 120 days. (60)

begets power, control and social support. It forces those being opposed to take a definite stand, and thus it contributes to a clear understanding of the situation from the point of view of the collective actors. Action entails experience, which introduces actors to alternative patterns of behavior, explanations, etc. from which the actors can choose their own. Developing the ability to choose is dependent upon one's experience, which is a product of experimental, trial-and-error action. Sustained action becomes directive and therefore is purposeful. Through action individuals become involved with and committed to others and the issues they oppose or advocate; in short, through the process of acting collectively, students begin to identify themselves with society.

Students believe that action brings truth, especially the type of action that forces the opposition to take a stand. "They think the ivory-towered men of ideas have cheated them, lied to them, and that action and spontaneous experience will show them the truth." (36, p.7) They tend to agree with these statements of Dr. King written from a Birmingham jail: "Non-violent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and establish such creative tension that a community that has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks to dramatize the issue so that it can no longer be ignored." (39) Action encourages commitment, a necessary ingredient for identity: "These students saw direct action and civil disobedience as instruments for affirming their own moral commitment to a more just society, and as an outlet for their impatience with the seemingly glacial pace of social progress under society's orthodox procedures..." (13, p.234)

In the process of acting collectively students

participating in the FSM articulated statements which reflect their achievement (or partial achievement) of identity:

They asserted and located the importance and place of student needs at the university institution: "The University cannot be destroyed unless its core is destroyed, and our movement is not weakening the core but strengthening it. Each time the FSM planned to act, it was warned that to act was to destroy. Each time, however, the campus community responded with new vigor. Too many people underestimate the resilience of a community fighting for a principle. Internally the health of the university is improving. Communication, spirit, moral and intellectual curiosity, all have increased. The faculty has been forced to take the student body more seriously; it has begun to respect students. Furthermore, it has gained the opportunity to achieve a profound respect from the students. Those professors at California and other universities who love to teach, should be looking to Berkely as the nation's greatest reservoir of students who embody the vital balance of moral integrity and high intellectual caliber." (24, p.190-1)

FSM participants attempted to define the purpose of their revolt and that of the university by linking the educational process to broader moral principles. In the process they asserted their identity with a better American society by advocating the idealistic principles embeded in their American Constitutional heritage: "In our fight for Free Speech we said that we must put our bodies on the line, on the machinery, in the wheels and gears, and that the "knowledge factory" must be brought to a halt.....In contrast to this tendency to separate the issues, many thousands of us, the Free Speech Movement, have asserted that politics

and education are inseparable, that the political issue of the First and Fourteenth Amendments and the educational issue cannot be separate."

(24, p.191) "The questions of how to break down the machinery and build "intellectual communities worthy of the hopes and responsibilities of our people, is one on the minds of many participants in the Free Speech Movement," (24, p.196) *

Students attempted to redéfine for themselves how the multiversity and the society operate in terms which they, as revolutionary student intellectuals, could understand: "Last summer I went to Mississippi to join the struggle there for civil rights. This fall I am engaged in another phase of the same struggle at this time in Berkeley. The two battlefields may seem quite different to some observers, but this is not the case. The same rights are at stake in both places -- the right to participate as citizens in democratic society and the right to due process of law. Further it is a struggle against the same enemy. In Mississippi an autocratic and powerful minority rules, through organized violence, to suppress the vast, virtually powerless, majority. In California, the privileged minority manipulates the University bureaucracy to suppress the students' political expression. That 'respectable' bureaucracy masks the financial plutocrats; that impersonal bureaucracy is the efficient enemy in a "Brave New World" (61, p.179) **

Collective action gave each participating individual the opportunity to assert his powerfulness and mastery of the immediate social environment. "By our action, we have proved Kerr wrong in his claim that

* See also (1) (23)

** See also (24) (14) (26)

human beings can be handled like raw material without provoking revolt. We have smashed to bits his pretty little doll house. The next task will be to build in its stead a real house for real people." (22, p.225)

This collective participation promoted a sense of social involvement for the individual student. "But the Free Speech Movement has given us an extra ordinary taste of what it means to be part of something organic. Jumping off the conveyors, we have become a community of furiously talking, feeling, and thinking human beings." (24, p.192) One of the most important effects resulting from these events, for students as individuals and as part of a collectivity, is their feeling of social support and self-confidence emerging as a result of their partial victory over the opposition: "Although our issue has been Free Speech, our theme has been solidarity. When individual members of our community have acted, we joined together as a community to jointly bear the responsibility for their actions. We have been able to revitalize one of the most distorted, misused, and important words of our century: comrade. The concept of living cannot be separate from the concept of other people. In our practical, fragmented society, too many of us have been alone. By being willing to stand up for others, and by knowing that others are willing to stand up for us, we have gained more than political power, we have gained personal strength. Each of us who has acted, now knows that he is a being willing to act."(24, p.189)

By acting purposefully and collectively students participating in the FSM have successfully come part of the way in their struggle for identity and against alienation. Past successes motivate and reinforce

future attempts to achieve identity. What future action does occur in this direction is largely dependent upon the intensity of student motivation and the nature of the opportunity structure within their social environment.

3. Why did a collective movement of students, first happen at Berkeley?

An interesting and important question which emerges from this discussion is: why did a collective movement of students occur first on the Berkeley campus? Why did it not occur somewhere else, such as in one of the larger, more "factory-like" universities in the Mid-west? Answers to these questions are, at best, speculative, but nevertheless important to formulate.

Mario Savio, the leader of the Free Speech Movement, addresses himself to the question and offers some answers: "There are some things which made the Berkeley revolt peculiarly Berkeley's, but other things made it a revolt among white middle-class youth that could happen at any state university....Why did it happen in Berkeley? The important question to ask, rather is: why did it happen in Berkeley first? -- because there are several universities in the east and Mid-west where, since last semester, little home-grown revolts have flared up." (62, p.1)

Savio suggests several factors which he thinks are responsible for initiating the collecting action on the Berkeley campus:

The first is what he calls the extremely exaggerated oppressive forces that subjugate students who attend the Berkeley multiversity. "So probably the reason it could happen here first is this: while the same influences are present elsewhere, there is no university (none that I

know of, all events) where these influences are present in as extreme a form as here in Berkeley...The internal (problems) derive primarily from the style of the factory-like mass miseducation of which Clark Kerr is the leading ideologist. There are many impersonal universities in America; there is probably none more impersonal in its treatment of students than the University of California." (62, p.1-2) Although Savio does not mention this explicitly, Kerr's statements on the "Uses of the University" were probably instrumental in arousing collective student response: such statements existed as a clear symbolic rallying point for students to direct their dissatisfactions stemming from their first hand personal experiences of attending the Berkeley multiversity.

Second, Savio mentions the importance of participation of Berkeley students in extra-curricular "off-campus" political activities, especially in the area of civil rights. He says students involvement in these activities exceeded the involvement of students in other campuses. "There are students at many Northern universities deeply involved in the civil-rights movement, but there probably is no university outside the South where the effect of such involvement has been as great as it has been at Berkeley." (62, p.2) Understanding and fighting against oppression of students was an outgrowth of fighting for the rights of second-class American citizens. (62, p.1)

Third, the political character of the Bay Area is important in two ways: The first which Savio mentions regards the location of the university community: it is an island surrounded by cities of poverty or what Savio calls "the shame of the urban community." (62, p.2) This clearly demarcated position of proximity to one of America's major social problems influences the political and moral involvement of many Berkeley

citizens. "At Berkeley we are both close enough to gross injustice not to forget; but far enough away, and set well enough apart, so as neither to despair nor simply to merge into the common blight." (62, p.2) The second, which Savio mentions less specifically, is the long history of involvement of individuals living in the San Francisco Bay Area in radical political activities. This political climate tends to favor the development of collective movements of political radicals within that setting.

Finally, Savio mentions, the importance of these "indigenous to Berkeley" factors in stimulating a collective movement among Berkeley students: 1) the high rates of communication between radical students living within the Berkeley (city) community, and 2) the political nature of the university itself, as a state supported institution. (62, p.3)

Chapter Four:

The New Left Ideology

A. The FSM and the New Left

The FSM was a temporary organ designed to help students fight for their political rights against what they perceived to be organized administrative injustices within the multiversity system. "The FSM achieved a wide unity around an issue, but it did so only as ad hoc fighting force temporarily united for that issue. It never considered itself a permanent organization or movement." (13, p.160) After the issues were arbitrated, the FSM disbanded. Mario Savio voluntarily stepped down from his position as leader.

1. Importance of the FSM

Nevertheless, the FSM is important in several respects. As mentioned above, participating in the FSM brought individuals closer to identity achievement. Through collective action they found a measure of purpose, personal courage, social support, as well as a considerable degree of understanding and power in their social environment.

In addition to this, the FSM is significant because 1) it created an irreversible historical situation within the Berkeley multiversity; and 2) it also signified for students a revolutionary break with their past.

First, the FSM ushered in a new historical era for Berkeley

students. It signaled for the whole Berkeley campus that things would never settle down to pre-FSM normality. Administration, faculty, and students took a new look at the student population, their rights, and their needs, and in particular their potential collective power. Present attempts to deal with students and their interests occurs before a backdrop of the memory of events marking the "Berkeley Revolution." The "Berkeley Revolution" demonstrated to students that the multiversity which Kerr predicts is not inevitable in both the university and in society. To everyone involved it demonstrated the power of students, as individuals and as part of a collective organization, to disrupt and perhaps to change the system through their actions.

Second, the FSM signified for students a revolutionary break with their captivity within an unsatisfying political, social and personal past. Although it disbanded, the FSM gave students courage to march on with renewed vigor into other activities asserting and defending their rights and principles. It cast students in the role of revolutionaries and social reformers. Inspired with their successful achievements of shaking the foundations of the multiversity establishment, they felt motivated to change the wrongs of that society responsible for producing the multiversity and their plight within it. "The University of California is a microcosm in which all of the problems of our society are reflected. Not only did the pressure to crack down on free speech at Cal come from the outside power structure, but most of the failings of the university are either on-campus manifestations of broader American social problems or are imposed upon the university by outside pressures." "It is

their marginal social status which has allowed students to become active in the civilrights movement and which has allowed them to create the Free Speech Movement. The Students, in their idealism, are confronted with a world which is a complete mess, a world which in their eyes, preceding generations have botched up. They start as liberals, talking about society, criticizing it, going to lectures, donating money. But every year more and more students find they cannot stop there. They affirm themselves; they decide that even if they do not know how to save the world, even if they have no magic formula, they must let their voice be heard. They become activists, and a new generation, a generation of radicals, emerges." (24, 192) *

The FSM is important in still another respect; through participating in the collective activities, individuals were brought into New Leftist ideological thought and organizational boundaries. "The total experience of the FSM was a radicalizing one for many of the students. Most of the FSM leadership is now involved in the Vietnam Day Committee, the grape strike in Delano, California, and other radical activities; many, as they put it, are permanently 'turned off' the university. They have left the classrooms to work as fulltime revolutionaries with SDS, the VDC, or the Movement in the South." (36, p.63)

2. Relationship of FSM to New Left.

The New Left is more than an assortment of different political and social organizations, who call themselves "New Left" or "New Radical"

* In the process of so acting they continue to strive for and to assert their identity.

groups. The New Left is primarily a psychic community of individuals who define themselves by their commitment to distinct ways of thinking and acting. Through its styles and ideological orientation, the FSM was part of the New Left. "The clearest expression of what the Movement means to Northern students was found in the grievances of the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley and in the methods and styles it devised to redress their complaints." (36, p.59)

a. the New Left, the New Radicals, the Movement *

New radical sentiment and organized groups existed throughout the Bay Area and the entire nation previous to the "Berkeley Revolution." Most of their activities centered about civil rights, and many participants had experience in the South. ** The Students for Democratic Society (SDS), an important New Radical group has been protesting racial discrimination, American foreign policies (in Cuba, for example), and poverty in urban slums since 1954. (36) The center of New Radical organization is usually the university campus, although the issues and activities extend into the broader base of community and society.

The New Radicals are difficult to define, even though the fact of their existence upon the American scene is generally accepted. Included under the label are organized student political activists and their sympathizers; elder spokesman, such as Paul Goodman, Staughton Lynd, and Hal Draper; hippies, especially those in New York City and San Francisco

* All of these terms are used interchangeably.

** In fact, most of the FSM leadership drew from those with civil rights experience, as has been noted above.

(68) and ex-beatniks from the mid-fifties. * Often the term, "New Radical," identifies anyone who is "tuned-in" to the psychic community of New Left Movement; he need not belong to an organized group. "How many people are in the American Movement? Certainly it is possible to count those who are members of the organizations with/ ⁱⁿ The Movement, but that would be to misunderstand one of the basic facts of its nature: The Movement is organization plus supporters, who outnumber by the thousands, and perhaps even hundreds of thousands, those committed to specific groups. The Movement's basic strength rests on those unaffiliated reserves, who are just as much a part of it as the organizational youth." (36, p.4)

Jacobs and Landau testify to the psychic similarity that transcends the evasive membership of those in "The Movement." "The Movement is a melange of people, mostly young; organizations, mostly new; and ideals, mostly American. In 1960 and 1961 the Freedom Riders and Negro college students who sat-in in the South were acting in the spirit of the Movement. Most of those who protested against President Kennedy's Cuban policy in 1962 were responding to the impulse of The Movement. That same impulse took to the south for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in 1963, got them arrested in Sproul Hall at the University of California in 1964, and marched them to Washington in 1965 to demonstrate their opposition to the war. Movement youth can be found

* Although New Radicals often disown this latter group who were members of the 1950 "beat" generation. Nevertheless, many "ex-beats" are active in New Left issues, (poet Allen Ginsberg).

today in the San Joaquin Valley of California, helping striking farm workers; some will become organizers in the slum communities of Northern cities; others will try to change the university system in America."

(36, p.3)

Hal Draper also encounters an elusive quality when he tries to pinpoint New Radicals and their activities. "There have been countless articles on the 'new radicals' and the 'new left,' most of which have this in common: they do not explain whom they are talking about. It is the tale of the blind man and the elephant. The new-left is a much more shapeless phenomenon than an elephant, and the gropers come up with a wider variety of reports than the blind men." "The new-radical weaves through these organizations and movements (SDS, SNCC, FSM, etc.) like the chocolate marbling in a pound cake, intertwined irregularly with other things, sometimes mixed into shades, and forming a variable proportion of the mixture in different slices." (12, p.5)

b. organizational characteristics of the New Left.

Right and left factions usually characterize most political parties and movements. The New Left is not an exception to this general rule. Although right and left factions agree on general social goals, they often disagree on tactics. The community organizers (represented by SDS groups, often called the "old" New Left) believe that social change can be achieved by educating, organizing and mobilizing the broadly based economically and culturally poor. If the official power structure must be opposed, it should be done with non-violent "tried and tested", civil disobedience tactics. In contrast, the extreme leftist factions want to

employ more militant methods of confrontation. They often advocate violence to achieve objectives of social change. For this reason they are sometimes called "urban guerrillas."* Right and left New Left groups disagree on which groups legitimately belong in The Movement. Leftists accuse the rightist SDS of selling out to conservative liberals. (12) Rightists disown the pro-communist Progressive Laborites (PL's) and the "black power" groups like the Black Panthers. Nevertheless groups representing both left and right consistently meet and cooperate to support collective public protests, such as the April 1967 demonstration against the Vietnam war. (11)

c. FSM contributions to the Movement or the New Left

During (and after) its emergence as a New Left type of organization, the FSM made important contributions to the entire New Left Movement:

First the successful conclusion of the FSM renewed the vigor and confidence in members of older new radical groups to continue pursuing their radical activities. They saw FSM success as proof that the social revolution for which they were working was at hand. ** Some see the Negro Civil Rights Movement and the student protest movement, as the preliminary to a general social movement destined to restructure the quality of the American way of life. (36, p.301) The FSM even attracted

* See "The New Left Turns to Violence in Place of Protest" by Paul Hoffman, (33) who says that the more hopeless the prospect of success of New Left objectives, the more likely violence will replace peaceful protests as a New Left tactic. Total withdrawal into a drug culture is another possibility suggested in (68).

** See Paul Goodman, "Thoughts on Berkeley" (46, p.27-31)

older radicals, "who saw it as providing an opportunity to be where the action was," (36, p.59) Second, the FSM brought new blood into the ranks of the old "new radicals". It ushered in a new generation who were stimulated to radical action by their own personal experiences of protest. Third, the FSM became the model for student protest organizations. "The FSM succeeded in bringing the key feelings, ideas, and moods of the Movement to the attention of the entire national student body. At Berkeley the democracy that was practiced inside the FSM, the long hours of debates and discussion, the tedious decision-making procedure that involved thousands, each free to speak on issues and forms of protest, has been carried over to other areas." (36, p.63)

Fourth, the student-based FSM added a dimension of self-awareness to new radicals throughout the nation. This addition concerns the relationship between many social protest issues and new radicals as students and as individuals. It brought home to many the fact that student interest in many protest issues stems from students' own needs demonstrated by other social groups. "The revolt began in the fall of 1964 as an extension of either vicarious or actual involvement in the struggle for civil rights. It was easy to draw upon this reservoir of outrage at the wrongs done to other people; but such action usually masks the venting, by a more acceptable channel, of outrage at the wrongs done to oneself. I am far from propounding a psychoanalytic theory of politics, yet most people whom I have met who are committed to radical political innovation are people who have experienced a good deal of personal pain, who have felt strong frustration in their own lives." "Nevertheless, the focus of our

attention shifted from our deep concern with the victimization of others to outrage at the injustices done to ourselves. These injustices we came to perceive more and more clearly with each new attack upon us by the university bureaucracy as we sought to secure our own rights to political advocacy. The political consciousness of the Berkeley community has been quickened by this fight. The Berkeley students now demand what hopefully the rest of an oppressed white middle class will some day demand: freedom for all Americans, not just for Negroes!" (62, p.5,6)

This basic insight is important because it brought with it recognition by students themselves that student needs, as well as those of the ordinary middle class individual are enmeshed with those of the traditionally underprivileged groups in American society, ie ethnic minorities and the poor. By identifying themselves with these groups students can see themselves participating in (perhaps leading) the picture of major trends in American society: thus in an indirect way they are brought a step closer to social identity.

This development of self-awareness may have precipitated the events wherein students engaged in acts of formulating an ideology. The facts appear to support this proposition because the center of ideological development lies within the Berkeley community of student intellectuals, where the awareness first occurred (according to the recorded reports). *

* Witness the enormous amount of literature on the New Left coming from Berkeley intellectuals: (7) (9) (11) (12) (13) (18) (25) (26) (34) (35) (36) (46) (61) (63) (71) "Prior to the FSM the students had been involved in movements focused on civil rights, peace, anti-capital punishment, anti-HUAC, community organizing, and even long-range revolutionary activity. And nowhere were the feeling and thinking of The Movement so clearly articulated as on the Berkeley campus." (36, p.61)

As has been indicated above, the New Left is a student based radical ideology. The label, New Left, is used interchangeably with New Radical, although the former commonly refers to the ideological content and the latter to the followers. What follows is an attempt to define and describe the New Left.

B. The Ideological Content of the New Left

1. "ideological vs issue orientation" controversy.

Compared with other orthodox ideologies the New Left remains incomplete. In its present form, the negative dominates the positive: there are more statements denouncing what is wrong with society in its present form than there are outlining what would be the desirable state of affairs and how to achieve it. Policy programs are mostly directed toward eliminating the undesirable aspects of society. For this reason some critics of the New Left charge that the New Left has no distinctive ideology, that it is all action and no ideology, that it is issue rather than ideologically oriented. (12, p.7)

This discussion attempts to counter that claim by proposing the following arguments:

First, although the New Left ideology does not consist entirely of action, action is an important part of the ideological development. In the process of interacting with the opposition, New Radicals gain an understanding of the situation. This understanding is then translated into ideological statements of belief and purpose. Thus, the process of ideological development and the related course of ideological action interact with regularity.

Second, the negative precedes the positive in action as well as ideological development. Individuals first feel that something is wrong. Through acting they attempt to narrow down and to eliminate what they perceive to be the sources of distress. They support their actions with ideological statements condemning the perceived sources. After achieving some degree of unity and power, the revolutionaries attempt to develop a positive ideological program -- ie a course of action which will result in the attainment of positive ideological goals. This is the classical course of collective movements. (32) (69) (67)

Evidence suggest that the Movement and the FSM followed this same course. Students started acting because they felt that something was wrong. In the course of their activity they began to narrow down and zero in on the specific sources of discontent. These events are reflected in the development of ideological statements about what the New Left opposes: "There is a general feeling that the situation is hopeless and probably inevitable. There is no obvious handle. No one knows where to begin organizing, what to attack first, how to attack. No one feels confident that an attack is justified, or even relevant. Suddenly there is an issue; everyone recognizes it; everyone grabs at it. A feeling of solidarity develops among the students, as among the workers." (71, p.222) "There was 'something wrong' in the Multiversity. There was 'something wrong' also, they felt, about the Great Society in which the Multiversity was embeded, with its fraudulent non-war on poverty, its fraudulent cryptowar in Vietnam, and its fraudulent civil-rights laws in Washington - to mention only three strings whose plucking evoked a sympathetic tone from thousands of students who followed the FSM. Most of

these thousands did not claim to know what was wrong, let alone what to do about it: they had no 'program'. They wanted to do something about it." (13, p.155) "Emergent" is the key word in understanding both the collective action and the ideology of the New Left.

New Radicals believe in the intrinsic value of action. * "And then one fine May before the courthouse in San Francisco, we came in such numbers as to put a stop to the process and to turn it the other way." (34, p.16) "Rather than a new mode of living, it was a new voice they found on the picket line, a way of acting together, a confidence in acting together that they had not had before." "And walking thus, I was made irrepressibly proud because we were separated from those who opposed us not only by our ends, but by our way, and from this, I thought there could come only good." (34, p.17) "But we were few and so did fail; Shoved off the train, we went to jail. Yet trouble stirred is always for the good." (25, p.11)

Third, New Radical protests and the issues they advocate hang together with an underlying consistency. This fact would lead one to conclude that a coherent ideological belief system underpins and motivates their words and activities, even though perhaps this is not/obvious to the actors.

This discussion proposes and attempts to prove empirically that an ideology associated with identity underlies New Radical activities: that is, that New Radicals oppose social conditions which lead them to-

* As has been pointed out in chapter three, no. 2, action is also a necessary tool of identity and identity achievement.

ward self-estrangement. Factors producing the variable model of alienation - value confusion, meaninglessness, etc. - are systematically opposed. New Radicals advocate social conditions conducive to the development of identity -- i.e. value consistency, meaningfulness, powerfulness, and social involvement.

As stated above, the positive side of the ideology is less fully developed than the negative. Nevertheless, New Radicals have articulated positive ideological statements. By utilizing these proofs as well as the "alienation model," an attempt will be made to specify these positive contents. *

From the mass of assorted New Left ideological statements a few manuscripts emerge as representative of dominant trends within the Movement. One such document is the oft-footnoted "Port Huron Statement" (56) written by Tom Hayden at an SDS convention in Port Huron, Michigan in 1962. A more recent and more militant "manifesto" is the "Independent Socialist Club Program in Brief" from the Independent Socialist Club (ISC) in Berkeley. (35) Still another major ideological document, titled, MacBird, has been written in play form by Barbara Garson. (25) Along with both of the above, as well as many other representative pieces of literature, MacBird articulates the ideology of the New Left. **

* If the ideology continues to develop, the course of future ideological content might fruitfully be predicted from this format.

** Mrs. Garson and her husband, Marvin, are activists in the Independent Socialist Club, a New Left organization in Berkeley. Mrs. Garson conceived the idea for MacBird at a Berkeley peace rally. Besides being an important work of satire and dramatic art, the play represents important aspects of New Left ideology.

2. "The university is a microism of society"

Ideological spokesman assume a basic similarity between the university and the larger society, and between the student and the social citizen. "The university (or multiversity) is a microism of society" (71, p.187) is a well worn statement voiced by many New Radicals. Therefore attacks on society are also attacks on the university, and vice-versa. Statements describing the alienated plight of the "common man" also describe that of the "common student." "It is inadequate, as we have shown, to characterize the FSM as a purely on-campus phenomenon, as a protest stemming from a long overdue need for university reform, or as a response to a corrupt or insensitive administration. Invariably, when students become politically and socially active, one can find that at the root, they are responding to their society's most basic problems." (71, p.187)

Recognition that evil forces on campus stem from an extensive social root is revealed in the following exerpt from MacBird:

'BEATNIK WITCH: Round about the cauldron go,
 Watch the bubbles boil and grow.
 Stench of Strong and tongue of Kerr,
 Picket, sit-in, strike, and stir.
 Regents raging, Knowland hot,
 All boil up our protest pot.

ALL: Bubble and bubble, toil and trouble,
Burn baby burn, and cauldron bubble.

MUSLIM WITCH: Round the cauldron chant and sing,
 Arson, rape and rioting.

Bombed-out church and burning cross
 In the boiling cauldron toss.
 Club and gas and whip and gun,
 Niggers strung up just for fun.
 Black man beat and burnt and shot,
 Bake within our melting pot...

WORKER WITCH: Taylor's tongue and Goldberg's slime,
 MacNamara's bloody crime.
 Sizzling skin of napalmed child,
 Roasted eyeballs, sweet and mild.
 Now we add a fiery chunk
 From a burning Buddhist monk.
 Flaming field and blazing hut,
 Infant fingers cooked and cut,
 Young man's heart and old man's hut,
 Groin and gall and gore of gook
 In our cauldron churn and cook."

(25, p.56-7)

3. negative statements

New Radicals denounce the social conditions producing self-estrangement. They also reject those factors responsible for value confusion, meaninglessness, powerlessness, and loneliness.

a. value confusion

"THREE WITCHES: Fair is foul and foul is fair

Hover through stale and smoke-filled air." (25, p.9)

Rejection of value confusion appears on various fronts. On one dimension New Radicals translate it as deliberate (and sometimes undeliberate) official adult duplicity, hypocrisy, and cowardice.

"LADY MACBIRD: The only danger lies in faltering.

The boldest deed, the biggest lie wins out.

This lesson we have learned from Ken O'Dunc."

(25, p.26)

"Of course, it's 'Different'. The ruling Power Structure always legalizes the activity of its own servitors. First the administration draws the rules so that the discrimination is built into them; then it 'evenhandedly' demands observance of its Law and Order." (22, p.230)

"The FSM revolt against bureaucracy was a revolt against liberalism, against the inhumanity of actual American practices the students believed were disguised by eloquent clichés in the speeches of liberal political leaders and in the writings of noted university professors. Throughout their educational lives students had heard these ideals articulated, but had watched society carry out the very opposite of the ideals. Finally, the students in the Movement rose in revolt to make the society live up to its professed ideals." (36, p.61)

Lack of social purpose is also condemned. "At the same time, but much more dimly, each student is aware of how barren of essential meaning and direction is the activity in which he is primarily involved as a card-carrying student." (62, p.5) "The decline of utopia and hope is in fact one of the defining features of social life today. The reasons are

various: the dreams of the older left were perverted by Stalinism and never recreated; the congressional stalemate makes men narrow their view of the possible; the specialization of human activity leaves little room for sweeping thought; the horrors of the twentieth century, symbolized in the gas ovens and concentration camps and atom bombs, have blasted hopefulness.. To be idealistic is to be considered apocalyptic, deluded. To have no serious aspirations, on the contrary is to be "tough-minded."
(56, p.153)

b. meaninglessness and powerlessness

"MACBIRD: My Smooth Society has room for all;
For each, a house, a car, a family,
A private psychanalyst, a dog,
And rows of gardens, neatly trimmed and hedged.
This land will be a garden carefully pruned.
We'll lop off any branch that looks too tall,
That seems to grow too lofty or too fast.
And any weed that springs up on our soil,
To choke the plants I've neatly set in rows,
Gets plucked up root and all, by me, MacBird -
And this I do for you, my wholesome flowers.
I see a garden blooming undisturbed
Where all!the buds are even in their rows.
And ordered garden, sweet with unity,
That is my dream; my Smooth Society"

(25, p.42)

MacBird's lines signify the type of meaninglessness and powerlessness that the New Left claims to be instrumental in producing lack of involvement and apathy in the American population. Perhaps it is for this reason that New Radicals condemn it so unanimously. MacBird announces the era of manipulated conformity to values which New Radicals think are artificial. Combined with the existence of complicated institutional systems, conformity to these values preclude the clear understanding of society, a viable choice of alternatives of action, experimental opportunities for action, and positive action itself; they mask confusion with platitudes.

Ken O'Dunc reveals the absurdity of social choice when he utters this platitude:

"JOHN: Ask not how you can profit off your country
 But ask what you can give to serve the state.
 Ask not how you can make your family prosper,
 But ask how you can make your nation great."

(25, p.23)

"Beneath the reassuring tones of the politicians, beneath the common opinion that America will 'muddle through,' beneath the stagnation of those who have closed their minds to the future, is the pervading feeling that there simply are no alternatives, that our times have witnessed the exhaustion not only of Utopias, but of any new departures as well. Feeling the press of complexity upon the emptiness of life, people are fearful of the thought that at any moment things might be thrust out of control." (56, p.151)

In his criticisms of the multiversity, Savio denounces the forces that make life meaningless for the student and the citizen: "The university is well equipped to produce that sort of person, and this means that the best among the people who enter must for four years wander aimlessly much of the time questioning why they are on campus at all, doubting whether there is any point in what they are doing, and looking toward a very bleak existence afterward in a game in which all of the rules have been made up, which one can not really amend...It is a bleak scene, but it is all a lot of us have to look forward to. Society provides no challenge. American society in the standard conception it has of itself is simply no longer exciting." (61, p.182)

New Radicals oppose the segmentation of life that delegates knowledge to irrelevancy: "The fragmentation of knowledge and the vocational stress of its organization in the institutions of higher learning contribute to the student's sense of the world as fragmented, and essentially without meaning or significance. When the student emerges from his studies, society may have use for his techniques, but it will have no use for whatever knowledge he may have won for himself, for whatever he has come to understand about the relations of himself to others and to his condition, about the claims and responsibilities that are grasped only when one grasps things as connected, as the interinvolved parts of a whole." (34, p.14)

The default of liberals to provide morally responsible leadership also contributes to meaninglessness and thus evokes harsh judgements from the New Left:

"ROBERT: Oh, nation that has lost thy breed of men!
 When could we say but now of this great land
 That her far shores encompassed but one man?
 Ye Gods, there was an Egg of Head here once
 That would have dared the devil .. and yet now...

EGG OF HEAD: I know you think I'm acting like a toad
 But still I choose the middle of the road."

(25, p.36)

Likewise they condemn the Old Left for being obsolete: "For the new radicals the political sects of the old left of the thirties and forties are for the most part irrelevant. Political echoes and resonances of the past can be heard within the new radical movement; but the Communist, Trotskyist, Lovestoneite, and Socialist groups who once fought capitalism, facism, and each other with equal ferocity either have disappeared or exist more in name than strength," (36, p.42)

New Left thought protests the helplessness that the ordinary citizen feels in changing the institutions and the decisions already made from higher authority: "The very isolation of the individual - from power and community and ability to aspire - means the rise of a democracy without publics.....The vital connection between community and leadership, between the mass and the several elites, has been so wrenched and perverted that disastrous policies go unchallenged time and again." (56, p.160)

"WAYNE OF MORSE: This bloody hand that plucks our flowers here
 Is ravishing the fields in Viet Land.
 Oh, carnal, bloody and unnatural act!

The accidental bombing, casual slaughters!"

(25, p.51)

New Radicals also sense the futility of their own actions of public protest:

"WAYNE OF MORSE: I must be off. I have to make a speech in

Some college town where someone's planned a teach-in.

I'm off to fight the war."

(25, p.51)

Some New Radicals, such as the following writer, voice despair and self-criticism over the failure of public protest demonstrations in initiating a meaningful response from the local and national officialdom : "After having spent the greater part of last year deeply involved in campus politics as a member of the Steering Committee of the Free Speech Movement, I looked forward with great anticipation to the future of Berkeley. Now, however, I am both saddened and angered by the course of events on our campus and in our politics....Our creative political potential has degenerated into a short-sighted repetition of demonstrations." (36, p.64)

c. loneliness

New Radicals criticize the American social system because they feel it cuts off individuals from communicating with each other. It contains leaders who are unresponsive to the needs of the lead. They criticize people who remain members of a society without being involved with their fellow men. They denounce the impersonal, manipulative and competitive norms that govern human relations. All these factors contribute to the undesirable ends of human isolation and loneliness - of

not feeling part of a living social community. These Berkeley spokesmen attempt to articulate this situation of unresponsive leadership and the absence of human involvement and contact with others in society: "These themes have been so well received because of the general feeling among the students that the University has made them anonymous; that they have very little control over their environment, over their future; that the University society is almost completely unresponsive to their individual needs. The students decry the lack of human contact, the lack of communication, the lack of dialogue that exists at the University." (71, p.185-

6) "The truth is that man cannot live for himself alone, that sooner or later the emptiness of such life overcomes him and he seeks involvement with others. The community of men and their history has the power to complete us in a way in which we never would be otherwise completed; it involves us in a way in which we cannot escape being involved."

(34, p.17)

The following passage accuses the dominant American practices of competition, manipulation, and prejudice for undermining human relationships: "Already the parallels between the habits of the university and the habits of society are many; the parallels between our academic and financial systems of credit, between competition for grades and for chamber of commerce awards, between cheating and price rigging, and between statements of 'Attendance is a privilege, not a right,' and we reserve the right to refuse service to anyone." (24, p.195)

d. self-estrangement

In addition to protesting the above conditions that lead to self-

estrangement, evidence exists to illustrate that New Radicals perceive and protest their own perceptions of being self-estranged. At various junctures they appear estranged from the selves as they were and those which they were destined by society to become, if they conformed to the dominant social norms. "The 'futures' and 'careers' for which American students now prepare are for the most part intellectual and moral wastelands. This chrome-plated consumers' paradise would have us grow up to be well-behaved children." (61, p.182) Some felt detached or uninvolved in the affairs that spun outside them. Many felt trapped in a hopelessly corrupt society. Many of those who found themselves in this situation in the 1950's, sought refuge from this encroaching social mess in "beat" colonies.

In 1962 Horowitz discloses this self-estrangement felt by many of the so-called "beat generation:" "Politically, many of us were not naive, but our ideas were in flux. We had thought about the world, about changes it needed, but the corruption of so many causes made us wary of any new ones. We studied society, speculated about its nature, and waited. It did not occur to us then that our ideas could affect the world, because politics seemed to be divorced from truth and ideals. Our thinking, therefore, remained speculative, fluid, removed. Whereas, before, generations like us had reached into politics, we remained, for the time being, academic, detached, silent." (34, p.16)

Estrangement from one type of society and social-self appears to have led New Radicals who felt self-estranged to commit and involve themselves in the activities of the New Radical Movement. Now they are

collectively involved in erradicating what they think is socially detrimental; and, in the process, they are struggling to find a better social existence. "And their (New Radicals) repudiation of the American value system is so serious that they have forced thoughtful elements in society to re-examine their own acceptance of America, to discover what it is in American life that is so unattractive, so distasteful as to make these young people turn their backs on it and call for a revolution to replace it." (36, p.83) "...the new radicals are searching for a theory that will combine their individual, existential view of politics with the ability to carry out mass activities." (36, p.83)

The New Radicals are also searching for a better society and a better world to live in. (13, p.155) (56) Their direct revolutionary tactics illustrate how they think they can attain it. Their partially formulated ideology articulates what they think is the desirable state of societal affairs.

4. positive ideological statements

On the basis of the model of self-estrangement and identity one can anticipate that the New Left would advocate societal conditions conducive to identity development.* These include factors leading to value consistency and role support, meaningfulness, powerfulness, and social involvement.

To achieve value consistency one would anticipate New Left statements proposing social understanding and social support for individuals whose role behavior is consistent, integrated and purposeful. Each

* See the material listed on Chart Three, Chapter Two

individual would be encouraged to find his own social purpose. Meaningfulness would prompt statements proposing 1) fact-to-face interaction between role players (perhaps even role interchanging); 2) knowledge and information describing all social functional levels/ ^{that is} available to everyone; 3) viable alternative choices of action and availability of knowledge listing the choices; 4) freedom to a) make choices through trail-and-error experience, b) question existing choices, c) create new alternatives, and d) find one's own social purpose; and 5) availability of clear dynamic adult role models.

Powerfulness would demand advocating conditions for meaningfulness, because at certain critical points powerfulness and meaningfulness intersect and overlap. In addition, powerfulness statements would propose 1) participatory democracy or collective decision-making at the grass roots level, 2) challenges that stimulate mastery of one's social environment, and 3) the power to create and control one's own life. Social involvement would mean 1) communication and interaction between persons with different social roles, 2) persons valued as ends with inherent human rights, 3) equality of status, sharing of knowledge, skills, sentiments, and wealth, and 4) respect and appreciation of individual differences in beliefs, talents, interests, and behavior.

Social purpose is an important ingredient for identity achievement, especially with respect to value consensus and meaningfulness. Since achieving social identity is unique to each individual, one would expect to find ideological statements encouraging each individual to find his own social purpose.

Although it is an older document by New Left standards, the "Port Huron Statement" outlines the most comprehensive statements of the New Left ideological position. It states conditions leading to meaningfulness, social support and individual consistency, social involvement, powerfulness, and identity as major ideological objectives.

a. men should be treated as ends not means. *

"We regard men as infinitely precious and possessed of unfulfilled capacities for reason, freedom, and love. In affirming these principles we are aware of countering perhaps the dominant conception of man in the twentieth century: that he is a thing to be manipulated, and that he is inherently incapable of directing his own affairs. We oppose the depersonalization that reduces human beings to the status of things - if anything, the brutalities of the twentieth century teach that means and ends are intimately related, that vague appeals to "posterity" cannot justify the mutilations of the present."

b. meaningfulness and powerfulness - mastery of environment and participation in decisionmaking

"We oppose, too, the doctrine of human incompetence because it rests essentially in the modern fact that men have been "competently" manipulated into incompetence - we see little reason why men cannot meet with increasing skill the complexities and responsibilities of their situation, if society is organized not for minority, but for majority, participation in decisionmaking."

* Headings are imposed on the original for the purposes of this discussion.

c. identity: purposefulness, role integration, ego-alter integration, involvement in creative extension of self, control of environment

"Men have unrealized potential for self-cultivation, self-direction, self-understanding, and creativity. It is this potential that we regard as crucial and to which we appeal, not to the human potentiality for violence, unreason, and submission to authority. The goal of man and society should be human independence: a concern not with image of popularity but with finding a meaning in life that is personally authentic; a quality of mind not compulsively driven by a sense of powerlessness, nor one which unthinkingly adopts status values, nor one which represses all threats

to its habits, but one which has full, spontaneous access to present and past experiences, one which easily unites the fragmented parts of personal history, one which openly faces problems which are troubling and unresolved; one with an intuitive awareness of possibilities, an active sense of curiosity, and ability and willingness to learn."

d. the respect for the development of the unique potentialities of individuals

"This kind of independence does not mean egoistic individualism - the object is not to have one's way so much as it is to have a way that is one's own. Nor do we defy man - we merely have faith in his potential."

e. social involvement: affective ties between individuals, respect for human independence and individual differences, dominance of love, creativity, and reason in governing human interaction.

"Human relationships should involve fraternity and honesty.

Human interdependence is contemporary fact; human brotherhood must be

willed, however, as a condition of future survival and as the most appropriate form of social relations. Personal links between man and man are needed, especially to go beyond the partial and fragmentary bonds of function that bind men only as worker to worker, employer to employee, teacher to student, American to Russian.

Loneliness, estrangement, isolation describe the vast distance between man and man today. These dominant tendencies cannot be overcome by better personnel management, nor by improved gadgets, but only when a love of man overcomes the idolatrous egoism, the selflessness we affirm is not self-elimination. On the contrary, we believe in generosity of a kind that imprints one's unique individual qualities in the relation to other men, and to all human activity. Further, to dislike isolation is not to favor the abolition of privacy; the latter differs from isolation in that it occurs or is abolished according to individual will.

We would replace power rooted in possession, privilege, or circumstance by power and uniqueness rooted in love, reflectiveness, reason, and creativity. As a social system we seek the establishment of a democracy of individual participation, governed by two central aims: that the individual share in those social decisions determining the quality and direction of his life; that society be organized to encourage independence in men and provide the media for their common participation."

f. specific proposals for the political sphere: participatory democracy, social involvement, meaningfulness

"In a participatory democracy, the political life would be based in several root principles:

that decision-making of basic social consequence be carried on by public groupings;

that politics be seen positively, as the art of collectively creating an acceptable pattern of social relations;

that politics has the function of bringing people out of isolation and into community, this being a necessary, though not sufficient, means of finding meaning in personal life;

that the political order should serve to clarify problems in a way instrumental to their solution; it should provide outlets for the expression of personal grievance and aspiration; opposing views should be organized so as to illuminate choices and facilitate the attainment of goals; channels should be commonly available to relate men to knowledge and to power so that private problems - from bad recreation facilities to personal alienation - are formulated as general issues."

g. specific proposals for the economic sphere: self-involvement, control, and purposeful commitment in work; social involvement and responsibility in work; respect for human dignity in work; social participation, determination, and regulation of resources and the means of production

"The economic sphere would have as its basis the principles:

that work should involve incentives worthier than money or survival. It should be educative, not manipulated, encouraging independence, a respect for others, a sense of dignity and a willingness to accept social responsibility, since it is this experience that has crucial influence on habits, perceptions and individual ethics;

that the economic experience is so personally decisive that the individual must share in its full determination;

that the economy itself is of such social importance that its major resources and means of production should be open to democratic participation and subject to democratic social regulation.

Like the political and economic ones, major social institutions - cultural, educational, rehabilitative, and others - should be generally organized with the well-being and dignity of man as the essential measure of success."

h. reasons for advocating non-violence

"In social change or interchange, we find violence to be abhorrent because it requires generally the transformation of the target, be it a human being or a community of people, into a depersonalized object of hate. It is imperative that the means of violence be abolished and the institutions - local, national, international - that encourage nonviolence as a condition of conflict be developed.

These are our central values, in skeletal form. It remains vital to understand their denial or attainment in the context of the modern world." (56)

C. The Role of the New Radicals and the New Left

Underlying much New Radical thought is the feeling of impending doom - that American society is escalating itself into an impossible mess from which there is no turning back. There exist the suspicion that those in power are so preoccupied with their own self aggrandisement and other personality idiosyncracies that they can not or do not care

what happens to their own society or to the whole of humanity. Nuclear destruction seems eminent. The New Radicals cast themselves as possible saviors of humanity. They feel that they are one of the few social groups that clearly foresees the destructive course of human events. Although often frustrated they feel a particular urgency to act, to make their voice heard, so that Americans can do something to reverse the collision course down which they are being lead.

"Hiroshima opened the last act of a war of incredible human suffering, of man's absolute inhumanity to man. We grew up with the tales of human debasement and insensitivity, the horrors of the concentration camps and the gas chambers as our contemporary legend. The heroism of the war, unlike the heroisms of past wars, was lost for us in the sheer horror of destruction, and that horror affected, seriously, our ability to hope and to place faith in human endeavor." (34, p.8)

"Our work is guided by the sense that we may be the last generation in the experiment with living. But we are a minority - the vast majority of our people regard the temporary equilibriums of our society and world as eternally functional parts. In this is perhaps the outstanding paradox: we ourselves are imbued with urgency, yet the message of our society is that there is no viable alternative to the present." (56, p.151)

One of their major roles in the present is to expose the status-quo for what it really is and so alert other Americans to the impending human disaster.

"WORKER WITCH: But we don't wag as tail behind the mass.

Our role is to expand their consciousness.
We must expose this subtle Bob-cats claws;
He even now collects the straying sheep
And nudges them so gently toward the fold.
O sheep, awake, and flee this fenced corral.
He's just like all the rest. They're all alike."

(25, p.69)

D. The Hippy Sub-Culture

In certain respects the hippy sub-culture in the "Hashbury" district of San Francisco represents one of the few practicing utopias of the New Left - although many New Radicals reject it because they feel that the hippies have dropped out of society, social involvement, responsibility, and commitment. Hunter Thompson (68) suggests that certain recent political frustrations have lead some New Radicals to join hippy ranks. "Then Ronald Reagan was elected Governor by almost a million-vote plurality. Shortly afterward, Clark Kerr was fired as president of the University of California - a direct result of Regan's victory. In that same November, the G.O.P. gained 50 seats in Congress and served a clear warning on the Johnson Administration that despite all the headlines about Berkeley and the New Left, most of the electorate was a lot more hawkish, hard-nosed and conservative than the White House Antennae had indicated. The lesson was not lost on the hippies, many of whom still considered themselves at least part-time political activists. One of the most obvious casualties of the 1966 elections was the New Left's illusion of its own leverage. The radical-hippy alliance had been

counting on the voter to repudiate the 'right-wing, warmonger' elements in Congress, but instead it was the "liberal" Democrats who got stompedThe hippies, who had never really believed they were the wave of the future anyway, saw the election returns as brutal confirmation of the futility of fighting the establishment on its own terms." (68, p.123) It remains a distinct possibility that extensive New Left political frustrations in the future will find another wave of New Radicals seeking refuge in hippy colonies.

The public knows the hippy culture primarily as a drug culture. Politicians often dismiss hippies as the "pot left" and "flower power." The public is correct in believing hippy culture to be infused with drugs: "At the same time, marijuana is everywhere. People smoke it on the sidewalks, in doughnut shops, sitting in parked cars or lounging on the grass in Golden Gate Park. Nearly everyone on the streets between 20 and 30 is a 'head', a user, either of marijuana, LSD, or both." (68, p.29) Besides being an escape, the use of "mind expanding" drugs can also be regarded as an attempt to discover ones identity. Drug users stress these (identity oriented) assets of the drug experience: knowing onesself and feeling at one with others in society.

But the hippy culture involves more than drug taking. Hippie culture realizes some dominant New Left goals. "A hippy is somebody who 'knows' what's really happening, and who adjusts or grooves with it. Hippies despise phoniness; they want to be open, honest, loving and free.

They reject the plastic pretense of 20th-century America, preferring to go back to the 'natural life,' like Adam and Eve. They reject any kinship with the Beat Generation on the ground that 'those cats were negative, but our thing is positive.' They also reject politics, which is 'just another game.' They don't like money either, or any kind of aggressiveness." (68, p.29) Hippyland allows individuals the opportunity to experiment with drugs, as well as with different modes of living, which would bring sanctions on the outside.

Social involvement with each other appears to be the area of greatest ideological development and realization. "Love" is the theme of hippy relationships. Living together in communals, hippies share all important aspects of their lives - sentiment, drugs, wealth, creative talents, ^{mutual} aid. Some take turns supporting each other with "outside" jobs. "The Digger ethic of mass sharing goes along with the American Indian motif that is basic to the Hashbury scene. The cult of 'tribalism' is regarded by many of the older hippies as the key to survival. Poet Gary Snyder, a hippy guru, sees a 'back to the land' movement as the answer to the food and lodging problem. He urges hippies to move out of the cities, form tribes, purchase land and live communally in remote areas. He cites a hippy 'clan' calling itself the Maha-Lila as a model (though the clan still dwells in the Hasbury)." (68, p.121)

E. The Issues

Free speech and especially self-determination of peoples are dominant themes underlying New Radical issue involvement. The New Radicals hark back to the basic principles of the American constitution and the

Declaration of Independence to support their claims. "To begin with, the students would like to see a more meaningful commitment to the ideals embodied in the Constitution. They would like to see real freedom of speech, the right to be critical of American life without being subject to villification, slander, loss of job, and the exclusion from the community. They would like to see equality for all of Americans citizens, and a respect for human life as evidenced by putting an end to capital punishment. They would like the foreign policy of their country to be more in consonance with the ideals set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution." (34, p.152)

The issues which New Radicals advocate parallel their own problems of identity and identity frustration. They advocate issues which allow individuals an environment offering them the opportunity to discover and develop their own way of existence which best suits their individual needs. They oppose the forces which prevent this. "The fight that the students are putting up is just the preliminary struggle. They are young and they are growing up in a world which for them is also young. For this new world, they have new ideas and new methods for putting them into practice. They have, in short, a new politics. The fight now is the fight for the freedom to work it out." (34, p.160)

New Radicals tend to personalize their environment. The forces that motivate complex institutions assume the nature of men. Clark Kerr is the Multiversity. MacBird is the Establishment. By reducing the complexities of institutions to human motivations, New Radicals can deal with them and understand them on familiar ground; they can assign

them motives and oppose them for blocking the self-determination of peoples.

New Radicals also liken nations to individuals, with inherent rights of self-determination. "Inevitably, one country cannot understand the problems of another, and the people of one country will almost necessarily have a distorted view of the situations in other countries." (34, p.153) "What a nation does, internally, is its own responsibility. If a nation acts inhumanely towards its citizens, other nations may seek to influence it, but, not to coerce it and dictate to it. Self-determination is merely the carrying over of the rights of the individual into the national sphere."

Although somewhat more militant than the "average" New Left group, these excerpts from the "Independent Socialist Club Program in Brief" present typical New Left stands on the following issues:

a. independence of the new politics from capitalism and bureaucratic communism

"We stand for a socialist policy which is completely independent of, and opposed to, both of the reactionary systems of exploitation which divide the world, and threaten nuclear catastrophe: capitalism and bureaucratic Communism."

b. independence and economic aid for exploited peoples - the Negroes, the workers, and the poor

We stand for full support to all militant struggles to end the super-exploitation of the Negro people, for self-defense against racist terror, for the mobilization of the ghettos, for the independence of

the Negro movement from white liberalism, and its Uncle Toms, for independent black political action, a potential first step towards breaking the working class as whole out of the Democratic Party.

We applaud the new currents of militancy spreading throughout the labor movement, as manifested recently, in the nation-wide wave of strikes. We call for an uncompromising fight by rank and file caucuses against the subordination of the interests of labor to the demands of the cold war and the corporate profit margin - against speed-up, Presidential or Congressional strike-breaking, phoney wage "guidelines." A serious attack on the bureaucratization of the trade union movement would clear the way to independent working class political action.

In opposition to the fading "War on Poverty" (a War on the Poor), we demand a real campaign for full employment measures for national shorter work week, massive public works, and corporate wealth paying the bill for new jobs. We support the spread of rent strikes, tenants' councils and block clubs, and call for popular control of large-scale efforts to rebuild the slums."

c. freedom and independence for students to advocate political and social issues on campus

"On the campus, we fight for full freedom of political activity, advocacy and organization, a freedom which is incompatible with the 'Multiversity's' role in support of the cold war."

d. independence and self-determination for the Vietnamese people and all those inhabited by foreign troops

"Finally, within the anti-war movement, we push for a consistent

fight for a democratic, anti-imperialistic foreign policy, for the withdrawal of American troops from all foreign lands and massive arms reduction, both in opposition to the authoritarian puppets of the U.S. and in support of revolutionary democratic movements for self-determination and land and social reform. This fight would highlight the integral relationship between U.S. imperialism and U.S. capitalism. The ISC is for the strengthening of all tendencies toward a Third Camp of those rejecting both war blocs, and their military preparations."¹¹

e. proposal for a viable, choice in terms of a genuine political alternative

In short, we stand in solidarity with the Other America, for the development of a genuine political alternative to the capitalist power structure, and its parties, for a break with the Democratic Party of war, racism, poverty, and strikebreaking, in favor of a new party of the working class, the Negro people, the poor and the radical intellectuals-- even as we stand for support of popular movements throughout the world that fight for full political and economic democracy, and resist exploitation and the destruction of trade unionism."¹¹

f. goals of human happiness and self-determination for men

"Our view of socialism is both revolutionary and democratic, both humanist and working class: a revolutionary - democratic movement of opposition to present a third choice for the world, for a new world of freedom and of peace, a new society of abundance that will give men the power to create, and control their own lives." (35)

Many of the above statements of New Left position on issues will be echoed by the National Conference for New Politics when it meets

in Chicago in August, 1967. The chairman of the convention steering committee has revealed the contents of some of its issue oriented statements. His remarks emphasize the importance of the responsibility of public officials to respond to the needs of the public- more so than do the statements for the "Independent Socialist Club Program.":

"Whoever runs America, it is not the American people.

'We intend to build a different American future.

'We intend to end the destruction in Vietnam...

'We intend to end poverty, fear and despair at home.

'We intend to end the bribery and subversion of our private associations, unions, and churches by the secret agencies of 'our' own government.

'We intend to make our government accountable to us...

'We intend to make the election process meaningful again.

'We intend to make it available to those who have always been excluded from it...

'We will not be trapped inside the old parties; and we will not be trapped outside of them.'" *

* See Donald Janson, "The New Left Convention Next Month Will Seek to Defeat Johnson," New York Times Sunday July 9, 1967, p.38

Conclusion

a. theoretical conclusions

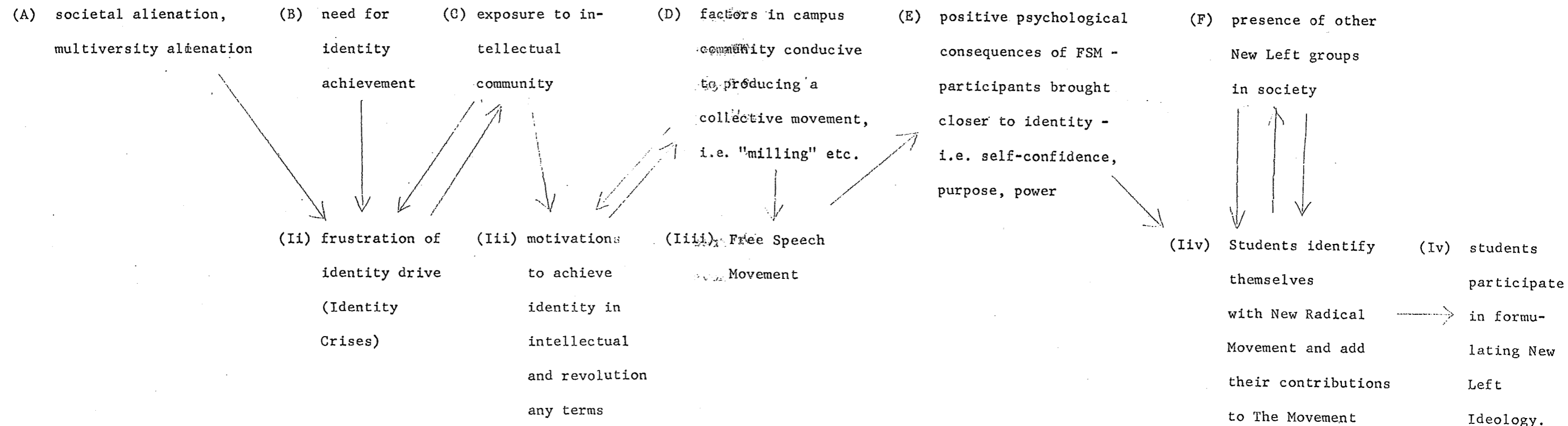
Chart Five presents the major theoretical conclusions of this investigation. General societal alienation is manifested in conditions of alienation within the university setting, (A). (A), plus social pressures initiating the need to achieve identity, (B) result in an identity crisis (Ii). (A) plus (B) plus (Ii) plus exposure of students to the intellectual community, (C), results in students being motivated to achieve identity in terms of intellectual and revolutionary definitions and ideals, (Iii). The effect of all of the forces in the "Exposure Sequence" and "Action Sequence" is cumulative and specific. As more variables are introduced, each influences the other to direct the result toward a more or less specific conclusion.

(A) plus (B) plus (C) plus conditions in the campus setting (D) combined with action variables, (Ii) plus (Iii), result in the collective movement (the FSM), (Iiii), which brought participants closer to identity achievement, (E). (E), plus the existence of New Left groups previous to FSM activities (F) lead FSM participants to identify themselves with The New Radical Movement, (Iiv), to become active within the Movement, to make contributions to the Movement, and to participate in formulating the New Left ideology, (Iv).

Chart Five: Theoretical Conclusions

Exposure Sequence: Capital Letters (A, B, C, D, E, F)

Action Sequence: (I's) (individuals moving through interaction with variables in Exposure Sequence)



b. prognosis

This investigation raises questions concerning the future course of New Radical activity. Some answers lie in the way society responds to New Radicals themselves and the issues they advocate. Complete social acceptance as well as complete rejection and suppression can eliminate the New Radical Movement, with differing psychological consequences for individuals involved. The more probable social reaction is either incomplete acceptance or rejection - in which case the Movement continues.

Some New Radicals appear to be undergoing an important change of mood, which differs from their early optimism. Although their protest activities have aroused much publicity, they feel that their cries for social and political reform have been ineffectual. They feel that the press of their own actions combined with the unresponsiveness of the public and the Administration is forcing them into a critical choice of alternatives of action: either they continue fighting for reform by employing more militant and violent techniques than those of non-violent protest, or they "tune in and drop out" like the hippies advocate. They feel it is hopeless to continue as they are. This recent statement from a "hippy-New Radical" publication, testifies to the existence of this dilemma.

"Recent strong anti-political statements by Timothy Leary, the actions & lives of the West Coast psychedelics, the patent failures of the anti-Vietnam war movement, the isolation & trend toward terrorism of the civil rights movement (I mean the Blacks, the whites have always used terror), the failure of SDS or anarchists to develop fast a new

viable ideology of revolution, the recent pylon victories of reaction: the Ginzburg decision & the very recent rash of little magazine 'obscenity' busts, the Reagan victory, the defeat of the NYC Civilian Review Board, the national terror against "narcotics", the failure to appear of any liberal of the stature even of JFK, the rise of conservative parties & their recent showing in NY State, the sadistic (ideological) attacks on welfare recipients ... all these & many other facts & factors have lead a large portion of the most naturally "rebellious" & beautiful youth out of political involvement and/or concern with " 'larger' things" towards a turning on, a tuning in (& a turning in) & (an attempt to) "drop out".

There is no single road to Nirvana & there is no single road to the revolution. But now the youth (& those older still alive) are presented not with a multiplicity of roads but with 2 seeminly different directions. It is now & will be an increasingly impt 'conflict'." (7)

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