The University of Southern Mississippi

The Aquila Digital Community

5-2022

Left Out and Left Behind: Exploring the Well-Being Costs of Leftist Ideology

Liam Luckett
The University of Southern Mississippi

Left Out and Left Behind: Exploring the Well-Being Costs of Leftist Ideology

by
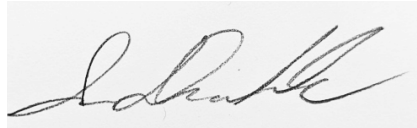
Liam Hunter Luckett

A Thesis
Submitted to the Honors College of
The University of Southern Mississippi
in Partial Fulfillment
of Honors Requirements

2022

Approved by:

Signature

Ian D. Dunkle, Ph.D., Thesis Advisor,
School of Humanities

Matthew Casey, Ph.D., Director,
School of Humanities

Signature

Lucas A. Keefer, Ph.D., Thesis Co-Advisor,
School of Psychology

Signature

Sara Jordan, Ph.D., Director,
School of Psychology

Sabine Heinhorst, Ph.D., Dean
Honors College

ABSTRACT

Many studies have empirically explored the relationship between political ideology and psychological well-being. Less look a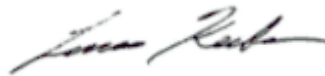t political ideologies which fall outside of the categories of liberalism and conservativism, such as the case in question for this study, leftism. In the present paper, I carry out a cross-sectional study of candidate risk factors on well-being associated with espoused leftist ideological views, including locus of control and experiences of workplace alienation. I drew from both psychological theory on political ideology and well-being and elements of Marxist theory to generate predictions and explain the interaction of variables and potential personal costs to leftism. My results suggest that people espousing far-left attitudes were more likely to experience workplace alienation and alienating work factors, more likely to have external locus of control positions, and more likely to have lower satisfaction with life. I also contribute to the literature on how socioeconomic status and social class relate to political ideology and well-being. I found that individuals from lower-class backgrounds were more likely to feel alienated from the workplace, more likely to have external locus of control positions, and more likely to have lower psychological well-being, but were not more or less likely to be leftists. Further analysis estimated whether locus of control and alienation factors served as mediating variables in explaining the relationship between political ideology and well-being and between social class and socioeconomic status and well-being.

Keywords: Political Ideology, Marxism, Alienation, Locus of Control, Well-being, Social Class, Socioeconomic Status

DEDICATION

To my parents, for their support over the years, their encouragement, and their unconditional love.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my deepest thanks to Dr. Ian Dunkle for accepting to become my mentor on relatively short notice and for bringing a fresh perspective to my project. I am also extremely grateful to Dr. Lucas Keefer, who was my mentor before Dr. Dunkle, and who has been a key figure in my psychological research training. I appreciate the work they put into mentoring this project for me and I admire them both as scholars and individuals.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

x

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

LOC   Locus of Control

SES   Socioeconomic Status

FLA   Far-Left Attitudes

SWL(S)   Satisfaction with Life (Scale)

USM   The University of Southern Mississippi

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

Since the 1970s, the United States has seen a large increase in income and wealth inequality (e.g., Kuhn et al., 2020). From 1973 to 2013, the top percentile by annual family income have seen an increase from 8.9% to 21.2% of the total share of U.S income (Ritzen & Zimmerman, 2016). Additionally, while the lowest four quintiles by mean family income have remained largely stagnant, the top quintile has seen an increase by nearly 10%. As a result, socio-economic tensions have been mounting in the United States as many are beginning to lose hope of seeing a rise in income within their lifetime (Shierholz & Poydock, 2020).

At the same time, leftist thought has also seen a resurgence in the United States. Pew Research Center reports that as of 2019, 41% of Americans viewed socialism positively and one-third viewed capitalism negatively. Among Democrats, 26% thought both positively of socialism and negatively of capitalism, with 38% feeling positively about both and with only 18% feeling positive about capitalism and negative about socialism (Hartig, 2019). Among their Republican counterparts, 64% felt negatively about socialism and positively about capitalism with only 10% feeling positive about both and 4% feeling positive about socialism and negative about capitalism.

Recently, leftist political parties such as the Democratic Socialists of America have seen large increases in membership by about 18% in the past year alone accompanied by increased media attention (Godfrey, 2020). Union membership has seen an increase of 0.5% from 2019 to 2020 according to the US Bureau of Labor Statistics (2021) despite broader downward trends over the past few decades (Bivens et al., 2017). Public approval of unionization has likewise seen recent increases (Rosenkrantz, 2021).

In order to be responsive to this growing labor movement and shifting public opinion, political ideology research needs to refine its focus beyond the bivalent categories of conservative and liberal. While much research exists considering the well-being costs and benefits of conservatism and liberalism, comparatively less research has sought to study further leftist ideologies which are presently taking a firmer hold on American political life.

The current project begins to address this gap. Specifically, I proposed that espoused leftist views would correlate with important psychological outcomes including external loci of control and experiences of workplace alienation which are indicative of lower psychological well-being. To test this, I carried out a cross-sectional study exploring how the extent to which participants espoused a leftist worldview correlated with these psychological variables central to well-being. I also assessed demographic criteria pertaining to personal financial wealth, social status, and social class. To measure political attitudes, I developed a Far-Left Attitudes Scale designed to gauge participants' agreement with ideological statements and political preferences which are indicative of a Marxist or an otherwise far-left worldview. I begin by discussing Marxism as a worldview before discussing psychological research on alienation, locus of control, political ideology, and well-being, supplemented with relevant aspects of Marxist theory.

Marxism as a Worldview

In order to better understand the psychological implications of endorsing far-left ideology, it will be helpful to first survey Marxist theory. In *The German Ideology*, Marx and Engels (1832/1970) espouse their theory of Dialectical and Historical Materialism. According to this theory, social and material forces largely account for

changes throughout history. Dialectical Materialism interprets societal progression as a series of antagonisms between social groups in relation to each's material needs (e.g., serf vs. lord, worker vs. owner). When trying to interpret societal change, Marxists would look to sociological and economic forces to understand how history progresses. Marx's (1932/2007) view is distinct from agent-oriented approaches in that it argues that an individual's power in society is a direct product of the money or commodities they possess and less so determined by their individuality or their psychological states. In brief, Marxian analysis is far less interested in individual subjectivity than the social relationships people share with one another, and the material needs and wants of those people.

Although Marx specifically downplays a focus on the individual, we may wonder how this worldview might influence someone at a psychological level, such as in the context of risk factors to well-being. Additionally, following the implications of Marxism, it is also worth pursuing how a person's material position in society, or at least their perceived position, relate to their perceived control over their lives, to how they perceive the conditions of their workplace, to their psychological well-being, and to their political views. I first turn to one candidate risk factor on well-being underlying a Marxist worldview, experiences of alienation from the workplace.

Alienation

Alienation is a nebulous concept that is bogged down by its many common uses and disagreement among people who have theorized on the subject (Johnson, 1973; Nair & Vohra, 2010). Contemporary psychological research has taken the import of Marx's theory to conceive of workplace alienation as an experience rather than a social and

3

material relationship. Psychologists have operationalized alienation in terms of a sense of powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, and social isolation (e.g., Seeman, 1959, 1975) and different approaches have conceived of alienation as either unidimensional or multidimensional (Nair & Vohra, 2010). On top of this, psychologists have identified important work factors that could contribute to experiences of alienation from the workplace.

In Nair and Vohra's (2010) scale, workplace alienation is measured by assessing feelings of workplace connectedness, disillusionment with work, and how enjoyable/painful working at their present workplace is. Nair and Vohra (2010) also identify three important work-factors which may contribute to alienation experiences: perceived meaningfulness of work, opportunities for self-expression, and quality of work-relationships. Sawyer and Gampa (2020) suggest additional important work-factors to alienation: opportunities for self-actualization through work, perceived autonomy at work, intrinsic motivation for work, and perceived exploitation at work.

Experiencing alienation is associated with negative emotional and cognitive attitudes toward work (Nair & Vohra, 2012). Many of the alienating work factors have also been shown to be associated with negative emotional experiences individually. For example, one study on construction workers and medical residents found that perceived exploitation at work predicted both outward displays of hostility and outrage towards employers and inward feelings of guilt, shame, and lack of self-esteem when continuing to work under such conditions (Livne-Ofer et al., 2019).

This psychological approach contrasts sharply with Marx's view that alienation is an objective state of a person's position in an economic relationship, not something that

must necessarily be experienced or recognized by workers themselves. Due to the ways in which capitalism functions, the main driver of alienation respective to the working class is a lack of ownership over their workplaces and their labor (i.e., they are paid in wages and their time at work and products are owned by the company) (Marx, 1844/1978; Marx & Engels, 1867/1990). In Marxist theory, when a product is produced and sold, the difference between the value acquired on the market and the amount invested in the instruments and raw materials needed to produce it is value produced by labor. In capitalist enterprises, the company owns the necessary instruments, the raw materials, and the products of the business, while workers are paid a wage (Felluga, 2011). For example, if a worker produces a good in one hour that sells for $10 and that costs $1 in raw materials, the value of their labor would be $9; however, for the business owner to profit, the laborer must receive a wage *less* than $9 since profit must be extracted from the value produced by the laborer. Wages allow the value paid to workers to be separated from the value of the products which they produced, alienating the workers' productivity from the results or products.

In Marx's view, individuals become alienated from the products they produce socially and materially under capitalism, even if they are not cognizant of this relationship. While Marx's view contrasts to the narrowly experiential analysis of alienation, both approaches are useful. While alienation in the sense of objective social relations is not a psychological phenomenon itself, it could have implications for psychological outcomes (e.g., material alienation could cause the experience of alienation, lower well-being, adoption of certain political attitudes, etc.). Henceforth, I

will be speaking from the psychological perspective of alienation as an experience exclusively but note this contrast against classic Marxism.

One aspect of alienation that is important to both psychologists and Marxian philosophy is autonomy. Because workers lack ownership over their workplaces and labor, workers have limited autonomy: they face potentially excessive working hours, tightly controlled wages, poor and unsafe working conditions, increased specialization, centralization, formalization, and competition, lack of a competitive job market, or can even be stymied from unionizing (Marx & Engels 1867/1990; Nair & Vohra, 2010). Most people who work for wages lack the capital necessary to start business ventures of their own which limits the ability of wage-earners to pursue ownership positions that would afford them more autonomy (Marx & Engels, 1867/1990). Because many wage-earners tend to only have the option of working at wage-paying jobs, finding work which is less alienating is not always an option. Contemporary philosophy has also conceived of alienation as a lack of autonomy which contributes to feelings of helplessness and pessimism toward the prospect of future societal change (Jaeggi, 2014).

Despite the general focus on material relationships, in the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844 (Paris Manuscripts),* Marx takes a more humanistic approach. In his discussion on species-being, Marx argues that in order for people to flourish, it is important that they have free control over their productivity. Despite some common misconceptions, Marx believed in the "liberation *of* labor" (i.e., a society where laborers are free) as opposed to a "liberation *from* labor" (i.e., a society without human laborers at all) (Roberts, 2019). To Marx, labor constitutes an important vector for self-

realization even if it is often an oppositional force under capitalism (Pratten, 1993).

While I focus on the psychological approach to workplace alienation rather than Marx's, his view of autonomy as a central need of humans is aligned with the many psychological perspectives that have also emphasized the importance of autonomy (e.g., Self-Determination Theory, Maslow, Rogers, etc.), and I turn to one thread of this literature next.

Locus of Control Beliefs

Decades of research have explored the importance of perceived autonomy. Notably, the concept of Locus of Control (LOC) (Rotter, 1966; Rotter et al., 1972) describes personality variation in an individual's perceived sense of agency and autonomy. Specifically, Rotter distinguishes between an internal LOC which describes the belief that rewards are contingent upon an individuals' behavior and an external LOC which is characterized by the view that rewards are determined by uncontrollable factors such as fate, luck, or powerful others. The key predicate of an external locus of control is a generalized sense of powerlessness or a perceived lack of self-efficacy.

Since its development, Locus of Control has been applied in a variety of contexts including economic attitudes as well as political, religious, educational, and personal health attitudes (Furnham, 1986). Furnham's Economic Locus of Control Scale is more specific than general LOC scales (e.g., Rotter's I-E Scale) and its focus on economic affairs centers around the types of attributions relevant to Marxist ideology. Using Furnham's scale, Spector and colleagues (2002) found that control attributions were predictive of workplace well-being. Heaven (1989) found that more externally focused individuals were more likely to attribute poverty to societal factors as opposed to

personal financial aptitude. Additionally, Heaven (1990) found that an external LOC was associated with support for government spending on social safety nets to reduce unemployment while internality was associated with less support of these measures. When discussing alienation, I mentioned that feelings of economic powerlessness are an important aspect of alienation identified by multiple theorists, including Marx. A meta-analysis has also shown that externality of general LOC has been increasing over time, and researchers suggest that one of the reasons may be alienation from political and community life (Twenge et al., 2004).

Externality of locus of control has also been associated with lower well-being (e.g., Benassi et al., 1988) and lower socioeconomic status (discussed later). Externality can contribute to stress and anxiety, increased cortisol production (Bollini et al., 2004), and can result in neglectful or dismissive attitudes toward the possibility of improving life conditions. While the connection between LOC and well-being may imply that individuals high in externality may have more trouble adjusting in life, Rotter (1966) suggests that in situations where behavioral consequences really are controlled by outside forces, internals can experience disappointment, frustration, and depression.

Well-Being

Psychologists who study well-being have proposed that human flourishing is represented by many variables (e.g., Diener & Biswas-Diener, 2008; Ryff & Keyes, 1995). Classically, researchers have assessed subjective well-being (SWB) which involves participants' self-evaluations of feelings of life satisfaction, optimism, belonging, self-esteem, purpose, and other positive emotions (Diener, 2009; Freund, 1985). At the most general level, theories of well-being can be either hedonic, concerned

with more isolated feelings or experiences of happiness, or eudaimonic, which conceive of well-being as lasting happiness alongside good health and prosperity.

Eudaimonic theories of well-being are often multidimensional and garnered through a combination of multiple key factors such as perceived meaning, purpose, and satisfaction with life. One eudaimonic approach is satisfaction with life which is contentment with life holistically (Diener, 2009). Another is psychological flourishing, which includes strong social relationships, self-respect, engaging daily activities, and optimism for the future, as well as meaning and purpose as components of well-being (Schotanus-Dijkstra et al., 2015; Diener et al., 2010).

Political Ideology

To Marx, an ideology is any abstract system of beliefs or meaning which is internally consistent and logically formulated (Jost et al., 2008). People tend to have reasoning, justification, and a sense of identity attached to their ideological systems. Psychology has studied ideology almost entirely within the mainstream currents of conservatism and liberalism, thereby neglecting the relevance of Marxism and other left perspectives (Lott, 2016).

Political belief systems are multifaceted and difficult to generalize, however Jost and colleagues (2009) suggest that the left and the right differ in two core dimensions: advocating versus resisting social change and rejecting versus accepting the existence of inequality. One explanation for why conservatives have higher psychological well-being is that their ideological views about inequality serve as a buffer against well-being costs of acknowledging income inequality (e.g., feeling powerless about one's lower status; Napier & Jost, 2008). Although the far left and liberals are likely to agree in

the dimensions suggested by Jost and others, the far left is distinct from liberals both ideologically and as a matter of identity (e.g., Alto et al., 2022). The most salient and over-arching ideological differences between leftists and liberals are that leftists are more anti-capitalist and endorse more radical social change than their liberal counterparts. Another difference noted by Elster (1986) is that leftists tend to acknowledge that their choices and desires are to a significant extent constrained and propagated by the individual's social and economic environment and that satisfying these desires also involves a significant degree of reliance on external social systems. This means that leftists tend to believe that you cannot disentangle autonomous choice from the causal process of external social systems, whereas liberals tend to conceive of autonomy more narrowly, placing less emphasis on the systemic element.

The left is often characterized by egalitarian politics and a focus on opposing unjust hierarchy and challenging of the status quo (Bobbio & Cameron, 1997), although a Marxist analysis of class relations has only limited overlap with liberalism in Jost's sense because they diverge on the causes and subjects of inequality. In other words, while liberals and those further left agree on combatting inequality, class consciousness implies structural causes that differ from the atomism of neoliberal beliefs (Grzanka et al., 2020). Marx's theory is unique in that class consciousness only entails a social class working in its own self-interest, regardless of whether that social class knows about class relations (Keefer et al., 2015). However, class consciousness has also come to mean subjective recognition of these social relations. In this study, class consciousness refers to the extent to which individuals acknowledge and situate their lives in class relations (Keefer et al., 2015) or their support for the political struggle of the working class (Wright, 1997;

Sawyer & Gampa, 2020). Class consciousness has been found to be positively associated with both activism and experiences of alienation (Sawyer & Gampa, 2020).

From this overlap, I can make informed assumptions about the relationships between leftist ideology and well-being by turning back to research on liberals and conservatives. One of the leading theories explaining the psychological motivation underlying conservative views is system-justification theory. System justification theory attempts to explain why conservatives engage in comparatively less advocacy for social change and greater rejection of the prevalence of inequality. These views stem from the belief that the system is fair, legitimate, and necessary (Jost, 2004). Some studies suggest that conservative views are sustained by the need for order and security, seeing changes to the status quo as a potential threat to present stability (e.g., Adorno et al., 1950; Jost et al., 2008).

Studies have shown that conservatives (e.g., Republicans in America) tend to have a more internal LOC (e.g., Sweetser, 2014) and are more likely to believe that they live within a meritocracy (e.g., Son Hing et al., 2011). In other words, conservatives tend to believe that outcomes, particularly economic outcomes, are due primarily to personal responsibility and effort. By this view, everyone has a chance at success and failure reflects personal shortcomings. This is starkly different from the sociological and systematic Marxist perspective which considers social forces as determinants of success.

Many studies have shown that conservativism and system justifying beliefs are associated with higher well-being (e.g., Vargas-Salfate et al., 2018; Napier & Jost, 2008). One robust study sampling from 18 different countries found that individuals who espoused system justifying views experienced enhanced well-being, regardless of cultural

identity or demographics (Vargas-Salfate et al., 2018). These results suggest that system challenging beliefs present a potential pitfall to well-being. Some studies have found no relationship however (e.g., Onraet et al., 2013), suggesting that there is need to identify additional possible risk factors which could better explain the variance in the effects observed between ideology and well-being. The present study will look at locus of control and experiences of alienation as possible candidates in helping to explain why participants who hold system challenging beliefs may experience diminished well-being.

Although studies demonstrate associations between conservatism, internal LOC, and well-being, I am unaware of any research which seeks to estimate whether LOC is a mediating factor that could explain the relationship between political ideology and well-being. Similarly, Sawyer and Gampa (2020) found that liberals were more likely to experience workplace alienation, and experiences of alienation are known to diminish well-being. The present study will consider alienation experiences and alienating work factors as additional candidate mediators in explaining the relationship between political ideology and well-being.

Social Class and Socioeconomic Status

In dealing with material wealth and human capital in an empirical way, there are a variety of useful constructs including objective socioeconomic status (SES) and perceived (or subjective) socioeconomic status. Objective SES measures criteria such as income, employment status, and educational background. Perceived SES measures subjective assessments of personal wealth, education, and how respected their job is relative to other Americans.

Another approach is Marx's theory of classes as objective social and material relationships (Sawyer & Gampa, 2020). SES differs from Marx's relational conception of classes because SES is gradational (Wright, 2015; Sawyer & Gampa, 2020). For this reason, the present study will assess class from the Marxist perspective in addition to SES to increase the number of measures assessing social status and wealth. Sawyer and Gampa's (2020) scale on objective class includes outcomes that focus on the individual's relationship to means of production in their workplace (worker vs. owner) and their relative position of power at work (worker, middle management, upper management) (Sawyer & Gampa, 2020). In addition, Sawyer and Gampa (2020) used perceived class which asks participants which social class they feel they belong to.

Social class and socioeconomic status are important demographic variables in many studies. In Sawyer and Gampa's (2020) study, they found that objective Marxist class and perceived SES were associated with alienation such that low-class (moderate effect) and perceived low-SES (weak effect) individuals were more likely to experience alienation. Studies have also shown that low subjective SES (e.g., Kraus et al., 2009) and low objective SES (e.g., Caesar, 1994; Benham, 1995; McLaughlin & Saccuzzo, 1997) are predictive of external LOC positioning.

Psychologists have also studied the relationship between financial wealth or social status and well-being. While there are other relevant variables that impact this relationship the consensus is that, in general, greater financial wealth predicts improved well-being (Diener & Biswas-Diener, 2008). In terms of general well-being, poverty is tightly tied to poorer health outcomes and lower well-being. The World Health Organization says that "Poverty…[undermines] a range of key human attributes,

including health. The poor are exposed to greater personal and environmental risks, are less well-nourished, have less information and are less able to access healthcare; they thus have a greater risk of illness and disability."

Past research has also shown a link between low SES and low well-being and depression (e.g., Eaton et al., 2001). Different veins in the literature look at more specific outcomes related to well-being. For example, some research has found that money can help to soothe existential anxieties (Zaleskiewicz et al., 2013). Other studies have identified situations in which greater wealth does not predict improved well-being, such as in the case of people who are highly materialistic or unsatisfied with their financial achievements (Diener & Biswas-Diener, 2008).

Marx specifically stresses the power of money as the mediator between humans and what they need and desire, calling money "the pimp between mans' need and the object" (1932/2007). In this view, under capitalism, a person's money represents the extent of their power over satisfying their physical and psychological needs. Marx goes even further to say that ugliness, stupidity, dishonesty, unscrupulousness, and "badness" can be negated by money, saying "money is honored, and therefore so is its possessor" (1932/2007). Here, Marx notes that social alongside material rewards can be gained through or gatekept by money. Thus, money limits our freedoms, but it is important to note that money also presents the possibility of bringing people social acceptance via their status even if met with other disadvantageous circumstances. For this reason, by extending Marx's analysis, money could theoretically even buy happiness in the form of social status and by having basic needs met.

In Marx's view, the accumulation of capital is at the same time what creates a working class in the first place, effectively manufacturing poverty and unhappiness. Addressing accumulation, Marx notes "this is the absolute general law of capitalist accumulation…It establishes an accumulation of misery, corresponding with the accumulation of capital" (1990/1867). In his view, by depriving some of capital, they are limited in their means to find happiness and satisfaction. While there are merits to Marx's approach, the relationship between wealth, consumption, and personal well-being is complicated, as I have noted prior, and positive psychology points to many other important domains to human happiness (e.g., Aknin et al., 2018; Diener & Biswas-Diener, 2008).

Additionally, Marx's theory that alienating economic conditions and poverty would lead to class revolution also suggests that leftist ideology should be more prevalent among the working classes; however, research and history have shown otherwise. The Frankfurt school and others observed that many among the working class, despite alienating economic conditions, sided with ideologies that ignored or explained away class struggle (e.g., Marcuse, 1972; Scheff & Retzinger, 2003). Political ideology research has in some cases found that individuals with low SES are more likely to be conservative (e.g., Jost et al., 2004; Stacey & Green, 1971). However, other studies have connected conservatism with higher SES (e.g., Jetten et al., 2013). The conflicting theory and evidence suggests that the relationship between political views and personal wealth is highly complex.

Current Study

The current study seeks to explore the relationships between these constructs to understand how social class, political ideology, and well-being relate to one another, particularly by considering how experiences of alienation and locus of control positions may explain these indirect relationships. Similar research focused on alienation has been conducted by Sawyer and Gampa (2020), however their approach to measuring political ideology had two limitations. First, the item used did not allow for clear distinction between identification with liberalism and farther left positions. In a scalar model ranging from "very liberal" to "very conservative," the limited outcomes make it difficult to distinguish between liberals and people farther to the left since both participants are likely to report "very liberal" (the left-most option). A more central aspect of their study, class-consciousness, does hint at aspects of leftist ideology, and I include it as an element of my approach to conceptualizing leftist views. Second, political ideology was only measured using one item which asks participants to identify their own position on the scale, rather than testing their agreement with multiple items related to political ideology. This approach could assess ideological positions as a multiplicity rather than just identity (i.e., identifying as one category or another).

In the present study, I expand upon past methods by developing an independent attitudes scale catered to gauge political ideology by asking participants to agree or disagree with statements that are indicative of leftist thought. While such scales exist to measure liberal and conservative attitudes (e.g., Everett, 2013; Grzanka et al., 2020; Mehrabian, 1996; Ray, 1983), I did not find an equivalent for leftist attitudes. I generate my own in part by drawing from the literature on class-consciousness and leftism. This

scale is provided alongside measures of well-being, measures representing candidate moderators (alienation and economic LOC), and measures of socioeconomic status and social class.

Summary

Bertrand Russell (1946/1991) wrote "There is...a reciprocal causation; the circumstances of men's lives do much to determine their philosophy, but, conversely, their philosophy does much to determine their circumstances." Marx (1932/2007), in a similar vein, notes "…that circumstances make men just as much as men make circumstances." Similarly, psychologists know that individual's attitudes, attributions, dispositions, and other psychological states are in constant flux with social and physical features of their environment, including their class and work situation (e.g., Vygotsky, 1930/1994). Working from this perspective, I will consider the cross-sectional relationship between psychological constructs (economic LOC beliefs, alienation, political ideology, well-being) and material circumstances (social class, SES) from a correlational and multi-regression approach, considering political ideology and social class as competing determinants of well-being.

My hypotheses are as follows:

1. I predict that alienation and externality of economic locus of control will be associated with lower well-being, replicating past work.

2. I anticipate that the American left will experience higher degrees of alienation and have comparatively more external economic loci of control than their conservative or liberal counterparts. Because Marxist ideology is more sociological and systemic in its grievances, I anticipate that participants with a

farther-left political outlook will be more likely to have an external economic LOC. Specifically, belief in the existence of perceived powerful others (the bourgeoisie) and a perceived socially deterministic system that limits upward mobility (capitalism) could serve as external loci of economic power. For alienation, Sawyer and Gampa (2020) in their study on class consciousness and alienation found a near-moderate positive correlation between alienation and class consciousness at .29. Additionally, Sawyer and Gampa (2020) considered political orientation as a covariate and found that alienation was more prominent among liberals. On one hand, one may expect the experience of alienation to cause individuals to adopt a leftist political orientation, while on the other, one may expect those who identify with the political left be more aware of alienation's causes and the antagonisms endemic to the capitalist mode of production (i.e. worker vs owner, employer vs employee) and to thus experience alienation more often and with greater intensity. Regardless of either causal role, I expect experiences of alienation to correlate to identification with the political left. While some, such as Marcuse (1972), have suggested that alienation can limit class-consciousness by pushing workers toward consumerism in order to fill the voids created by an alienated workplace, I predict along with Sawyer and Gampa (2020) that alienation will associate with class-consciousness, a key element of my Far-Left Attitudes Scale.

3. I anticipate that higher leftist thought will correlate with lower well-being following studies which suggest that conservative viewpoints are tied to higher well-being.

4. I anticipate that low SES and low-class individuals will have greater experiences of alienation and more external LOC positions.

5. I anticipate that low SES and working-class participants in general may have lower well-being.

6. I expect no significant effects between political ideology and socioeconomic status or social class due to conflicting perspectives. While Marx's views suggest that lower class backgrounds may drive people toward adopting leftist viewpoints, I have discussed how more recent study has found otherwise (i.e., low SES associated with conservative viewpoints) (e.g., Jost et al., 2004; Stacey & Green, 1971). Due to this conflict, I do not expect any significant effects between these variables.

7. Using multiple regression, I expect that I will find LOC and alienation factors that can serve as mediators to improve my models and better explain the relationship between far-left attitudes on well-being and social class and status on well-being. I expect that, overall, higher far-left thinking and lower SES or class may predict lower well-being due to a greater risk of alienation and having external loci of control.

CHAPTER II METHOD

Participants

A total sample of 228 participants (41 men, 162 women, 5 non-binary, 1 demiboy, 1 gender-fluid; 147 White, 51 Black, 4 Asian, 4 Hispanic/Latino, 4 Mixed; M_{age} = 21.1 and SD_{age} = 7.05) was collected at The University of Southern Mississippi (USM). Students were awarded extra credit for a psychology course in compensation for their participation. The total sample represents a pooled analysis of participants recruited both online (n = 191) and in-lab (n = 37) from September to December of 2021. In light of COVID-19 and participants' potential unease in participating in in-person research, I chose to conduct the study in both formats with the aim of maximizing statistical power. All students were fluent in English.

Social Class and Socioeconomic Status

The first scale presented was the MacArthur Scale of Subjective Social Status (M = 3.77, SD = 0.87; e.g., Adler et al., 2000; Sawyer & Gampa, 2020) which asked participants how they perceive their personal socioeconomic status. The single item asked them to imagine their economic position in society as a ten-runged latter where the wealthiest are at the top (10) and the least affluent were at the bottom (1) (all items are listed in the first appendix). Respondents are asked to rank their position on the ladder based on money, educational achievement, and how well respected their career is.

The second item assessed subjective social class (M = 5.67, SD =1.61; Sawyer & Gampa, 2020) and asks participants which of six class categories they *felt* they belonged to. These are poor, working poor, working class, middle class, upper middle class, and rich. This item is scored out of six (1 = poor; 6 = rich).

Then, respondents were tasked with providing information about their personal and their family's objective socioeconomic status. These items were adapted to better assess socioeconomic status within a sample of college students. The first two items focused on personal status and asked about personal income and employment status. The employment status item is modified to ask firstly whether they are not employed, employed part-time, or employed full-time, and then provides a textbox where they can name their position at work. The next three center around household income and the educational achievement of the parents of the participants. Although I assessed this variable, I excluded objective SES from my final analysis due to challenges in scoring this scale with my alterations.

Finally, I provided Sawyer and Gampa's objective Marxist class item ($M = 1.31$, $SD = 0.87$) which asked for participants position at work, providing the options: worker, freelancer, self-employed professional, middle management, upper management, small business owner, or large business owner. Because the sample is comprised of college students, the item is repeated twice to ask the same of the participants' parents' or guardians' positions at work. The item is scored by designating a numerical value to the rank order of the answer choices (i.e., worker = 1, freelancer = 2, …large business = 7) and the average score among the participant's guardians was used ($\alpha = .35$).

Well-Being

Next, I provided the Flourishing Scale (FS; M = 5.72, SD = 0.9; Diener et al., 2010) and the Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS; M = 4.58, SD = 1.38; Diener et al., 1985). SWLS assesses well-being in terms of participant's perceived personal success in dimensions such as optimism, self-esteem, purpose, and relationships. The scale includes

21

six items each rated with a seven-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree; 7 = strongly agree). The scale was scored by summing the responses for the six items and averaging (α = .89). High scores represent people with more life satisfaction and psychological resources, while lower scores represent less. Flourishing assesses the strength of social relationships, degree of self-respect, how engaging everyday activity is, optimism about the future, and feelings of meaning and purpose in life. This scale comprises eight items each asking participants to rate their agreement (1 = strongly disagree; 7 = strongly agree) with various statements. I compiled this into a scale by averaging the eight items (α = .90).

Political Ideology

In their paper, Sawyer and Gampa (2020) use Wright's measure of class consciousness alongside Keefer's and observe that Wright's is more "overtly political" than Keefer's. Wright's Class-consciousness Scale (CCS) measures alignment with the struggles of the working class and approval of worker-run enterprises. The present method combined this five-item scale (CCS; Wright, 1997) with an ad hoc questionnaire compiled by the investigator to create the Far-Left Attitudes Scale (M = 4.66, SD = 0.8) used for this study with a total of fifteen items. Following the five items drawn from Wright's CCS, the remaining ten items address a variety of other relevant components of leftist ideology, including ideological commitments (e.g., "In a better system, resources would be distributed according to individual needs") and political preferences (e.g., "The American people would benefit from intensified welfare policies, as compared to the current system."). A full list of the items can be found in the first appendix or at https://osf.io/yr5cp/. Respondents rated their agreement with each of the

22

items using a 7-point Likert scale. The scale was scored by summing the items and averaging (α = .81).

Economic Locus of Control

The Economic Locus of Control Scale (Furnham, 1986) was used to assess personal control attributions in economic affairs. The 40-item scale includes four subscales: internal (M = 5.08, SD = 0.84, α = .75), chance (M = 3.53, SD = 0.93, α = .70), external denial (M = 2.82, SD = 1.04, α = .70), and powerful others (M = 4.41, SD = 1.01, α = .68). Participants were asked to rate their agreement with each statement using a 7-point Likert scale for each item. Each subscale is scored by taking the sum of all the items and averaging within that scale, creating four independent variables.

Alienation

Alienation measures were taken from Nair and Vohra (2010) and Sawyer and Gampa (2020). Nair and Vohra's eight item Alienation Scale (M = 3.78, SD = 1.48, α = .93) was used in addition to three central risk-factors for work alienation: meaningfulness of work (three items; M = 4.43, SD = 1.54, α = .86), opportunity for self-expression at work (two items; M = 4.35, SD = 1.66, α = .88), and quality of work relationships (two items; M = 4.94, SD = 1.35, α = .69). In addition, I used the factors perceived autonomy at work (two items; M = 3.91, SD = 1.37, α = .62) and intrinsic motivation for work (two items; M = 3.65, SD = 0.96, α = -1.05) which were drawn from the Basic Psychological Needs at Work Scale (Brien et al., 2012) by Sawyer and Gampa (2020). Sawyer and Gampa (2020) also include the factors self-actualization through work (two items; M = 4.72, SD = 1.46, α = .73) and perceived exploitation at work (three items; M = 4.03, SD = 1.55, α = .78) which were identified by Marx (1867/1990). All these factors were used

and included in my analysis. Scoring for each factor was computed as the average of the

items.

CHAPTER III RESULTS

First, I analyzed bivariate correlations for my collected data. Then, I performed regression analyses to test my hypothesis that endorsement of leftist ideology would predict poorer well-being. By leveraging scores on my other measures, I estimated a path model (using OLS regression) to determine which correlates of leftist ideology might explain any observed effect of its endorsement on well-being. To access the full materials, data, and results, visit https://osf.io/yr5cp/.

Replicating prior research on LOC reviewed above, I observed significant correlations between well-being and LOC (Table 1). Internality of LOC was positively correlated with both flourishing and satisfaction with life, and external denial was positively correlated with only satisfaction with life. Conversely, a more external LOC was associated with poorer well-being, although only chance was associated with diminished flourishing while both powerful others and chance were associated with less satisfaction with life.

Correlation estimates between alienation factors and well-being outcomes can be found in Table 2. As predicted, both alienation and perceived exploitation were associated with decreased well-being. Conversely, almost every positive feature of work was associated with significantly improved well-being. One notable exception was intrinsic motivation, which in my sample was not significantly associated with either well-being dimension.

As hypothesized, endorsement of far-left attitudes was associated with most of my other measures. Political ideology was associated with diminished life satisfaction, although it was not significantly associated with flourishing (Table 3). Additionally, far-

left ideology correlated with all four economic locus of control subscales (Table 4). As expected, more leftist participants also tended to have a diminished perception of more internal (and greater perceptions of external) dimensions of LOC. Finally, I observed the individuals who endorsed leftist ideology also generally felt a greater sense of alienation at work on all dimensions except intrinsic motivation and work relationship quality (Table 5). I also estimated bivariate correlations between the economic LOC and alienation dimensions. They are reported in full in Table 6 for the interested reader.

While I assessed perceived socioeconomic status, objective socioeconomic status, and social class, I struggled to determine how to score my objective SES scale in a way that would reflect the objective socioeconomic status of young adults transitioning between being financially dependent on their parents to being financially independent. Due to these concerns, I exclude this portion of the survey from my analysis and focus only on perceived SES, perceived social class, and objective social class. I found that lower perceived SES was most strongly correlated with lower satisfaction with life (.40) and greater external attributions of control to powerful others (-.23; Table 7). Higher perceived SES was also weakly correlated with higher internality, less alienation, greater perceived meaningfulness of their work, and greater flourishing. Perceived SES was weakly and negatively associated with far-left attitudes ($r = -.11$, $p = 0.1$), however this effect was not significant. When looking at the bivariate correlation estimates between social class and other variables, I found that participants from higher class backgrounds were more internal, less alienated from their work, perceived more autonomy in their workplace, more meaning at work, felt they had greater opportunities for self-expression through work, greater opportunities for self-actualization, and had stronger work

relationships (Table 8). Higher class individuals also reported greater flourishing (.15) and greater satisfaction with life (.15).

Regression Analysis

Following my correlational analysis, I estimated a path model treating both well-being variables as my outcomes, far-left attitudes as my primary predictor (followed by social class items), and the four LOC and eight alienation factors as candidate mediators to test for potential indirect effects. All tests were conducted in the lavaan package and indirect effects were tested through the use of bootstrapped confidence intervals (5000 resamples).

The aim of this model was specifically to determine whether FLA may indirectly be associated through well-being as a function of related changes in perceptions of economic and work outcomes. While there are many reasons to be skeptical about causal claims or directionality in a cross-sectional mediation model (e.g., O'Laughlin et al., 2018), this analysis offers a first test of the possibility that leftist attitudes influence well-being by shaping how individuals conceptualize their economic life.

In the model for far-left attitudes, I assessed whether LOC positions, experiences of alienation, and alienating work factors displayed indirect effects with my well-being outcomes. For satisfaction with life, the subscale assessing the denial of external control attributions was the only significant moderator of the far-left attitudes SWLS connection (b = -.17, SE = .049, z = -3.451, p = .001). This suggests that people who espoused a Marxist worldview and accepted external sources of control experienced diminished satisfaction with their lives. Internality of LOC (b = -1.01, SE = .049, z = -2.045, p = .041), experiences of alienation (b = -.088, SE = .036, z = -2.427, p = .015), and

perceived meaningfulness of work (b = -.070, SE = .037, z = -1.905, p = .057) displayed

mediation paths on flourishing. Although meaning was only marginally significant, I

include this factor in the figures and analysis. In short, those who espoused a Marxist

worldview reported diminished flourishing as a function of their reduced internal LOC,

greater alienation, and diminished sense that their work matters.

Next, I tested a model in which socioeconomic status and social class served as

predictors of well-being via the same set of mediating variables. For perceived

socioeconomic status and my two well-being outcomes, I identified no significant

indirect effects on SWLS and identified powerful others (b = -.019, SE = .009, z = -

2.047, p = .041) and experiences of alienation (b = .033, SE = .015, z = 2.254, p = .024)

as mediating variables on flourishing. Individuals who felt wealthier reported greater

well-being in part because of their reduced levels of alienation. Unexpectedly, I found

that perceived SES ironically reduced flourishing because of its association with

diminished attributions to powerful others (a predictor of improved well-being).

Although this effect is just at the significant threshold and may not reproduce in future

studies.

For perceived social class and well-being outcomes, I found no indirect effects.

Finally, for objective social class and well-being, I identified indirect effects on

satisfaction with life through perceived meaningfulness of work (b = .12, SE = .051, z =

2.335, p = .02) and indirect effects on flourishing through perceived meaningfulness of

work (b = .085, SE = .032, z = 2.627, p = .009) and experiences of alienation (b = .070,

SE = .028, z = 2.508, p = .012). In the first case, this indicates that people who were from

higher class backgrounds and found their work more meaningful had greater satisfaction

with their lives and greater flourishing. In the last, people from higher class backgrounds flourished in part because they were less alienated in the workplace.

Table 1 – Locus of Control and Well-being

	Flourishing Scale	Satisfaction with Life Scale
Internal	.29***	.36***
Chance	-.20**	-.19**
External denial	-.06	.25***
Powerful others	-.10	-.29***

Note. * *p* < .05, ** *p* < .01, *** *p* < .001

Table 2 - Alienation and Well-being

	Flourishing Scale	Satisfaction with Life Scale
Alienation	-.51***	-.51***
Intrinsic motivation	.13	.11
Autonomy	.41***	.46***
Meaningfulness of work	.54***	.53***
Opportunities for self-expression	.40***	.40***
Quality of work relationships	.40***	.36***

Perceived exploitation	-.24***	-.36***
Feelings of self-actualization	.40***	.43***

Note. * *p* < .05, ** *p* < .01, *** *p* < .001

Table 3 – Political Ideology and Well-being

	Flourishing Scale	Satisfaction with Life Scale
Far-left attitudes	-.07	-.28***

Note. * *p* < .05, ** *p* < .01, *** *p* < .001

Table 4 – Locus of control and Political Ideology

	Far-left attitudes
Internal	-.46***
Chance	.43***
External denial	-.38***
Powerful others	.60***

Note. * *p* < .05, ** *p* < .01, *** *p* < .001

Table 5 – Alienation and Political Ideology

	Far-left attitudes
Alienation	.26***
Intrinsic motivation	.04

Autonomy		-.24***
Meaningfulness of work		-.21**
Opportunities for self-expression		-.19**
Quality of work relationships		-.08
Perceived exploitation		.38***
Feelings of self-actualization		-.19**

Note. * *p* < .05, ** *p* < .01, *** *p* < .001

Table 6 – Alienation and Locus of control

	Internal	Chance	External denial	Powerful others
Alienation	-.25***	.31***	.03	.33***
Intrinsic motivation	-.13	.17*	.06	.00
Autonomy	.27***	-.24***	.04	-.25***
Meaningfulness of work	.31***	-.29***	-.04	-.27***
Opportunities for self-expression	.34***	-.19**	.10	-.14*
Quality of work relationships	.31***	-.16*	.03	-.08

Perceived exploitation	-.32***	.38***	-.02	.35***
Feelings of self-actualization	.33***	-.14*	.07	-.16*

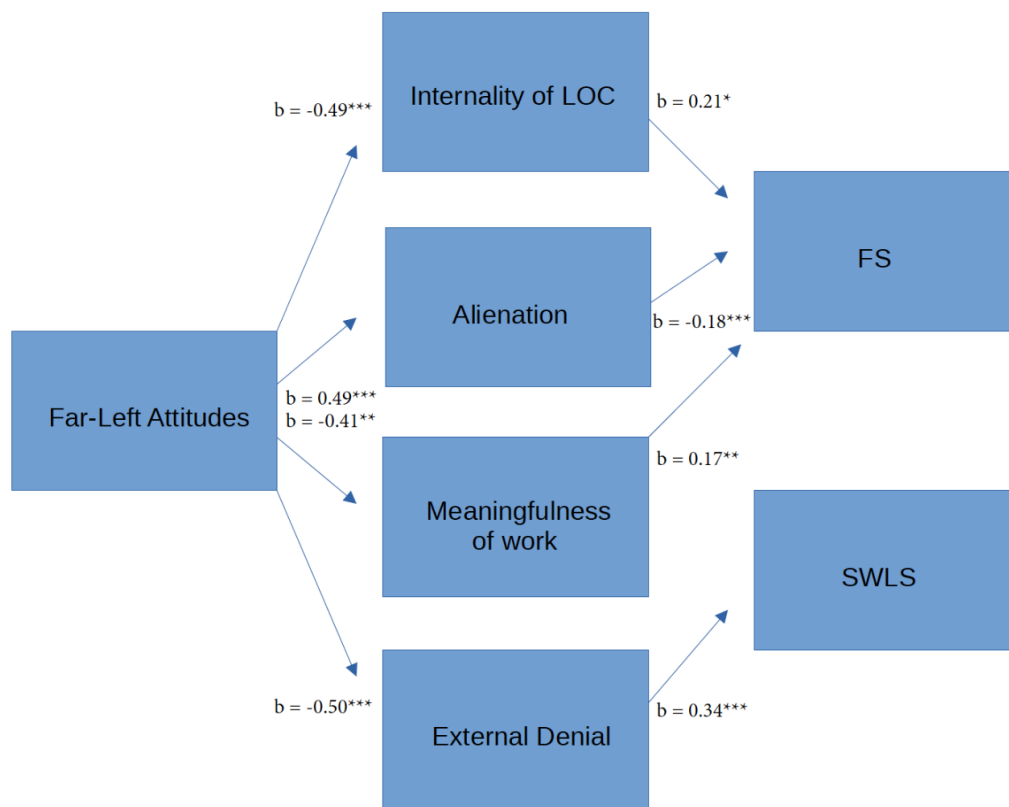*Note.* * *p* < .05, ** *p* < .01, *** *p* < .001

Table 7 – Social Class/Socioeconomic Status Bivariate Correlations

	Perceived Socioeconomic Status	Perceived Social Class	Objective Social Class
Internal	.20**	.15*	.14*
Chance	-.06	-.08	-.05
External denial	.03	.02	.02
Powerful others	-.23**	-.23***	.01
Alienation	-.22**	-.16*	-.23**
Intrinsic motivation	.03	.02	.05
Autonomy	.16*	.12	.19**
Meaningfulness of work	.21**	.14*	.25***
Opportunities for self-expression	.14*	0.11	.19**
Quality of work relationships	.08	0.04	.14*
Perceived exploitation	-.15*	-0.14	-.08

Feelings of self-actualization	.19**	0.08	.26***
Satisfaction with Life Scale	.45***	.40***	.15*
Flourishing Scale	.28***	.15*	.15*
Far-left attitudes	-.07	-0.12	.02

*Note. * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001*

Figure 1 - Political Ideology Path Model

Figure 2 – Perceived Socioeconomic Status Path Model

Figure 3 – Objective Marxist Class Path Model
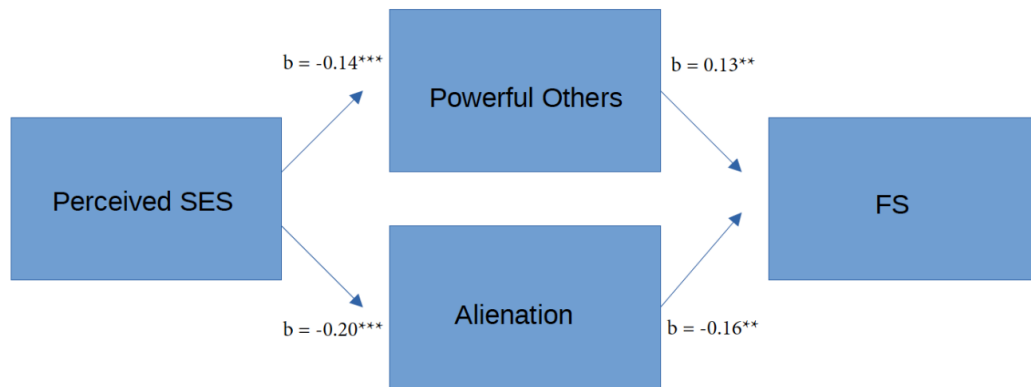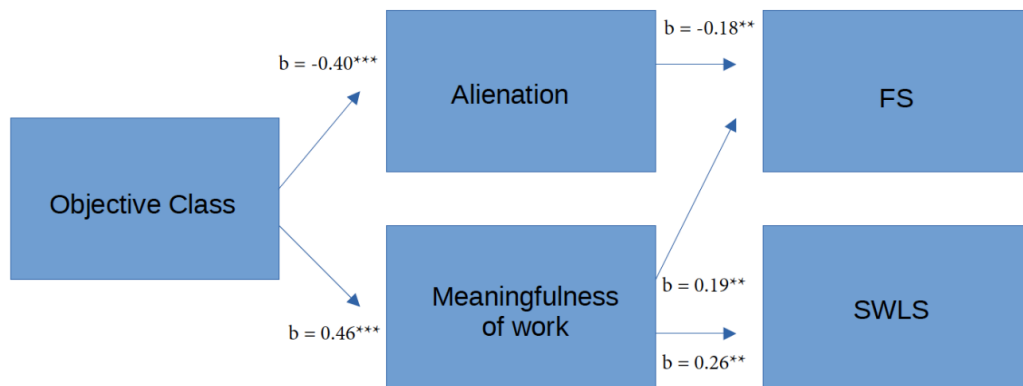
*Note. * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001. Only significant (p < .05) mediating variables are shown in the figure. All LOC and alienation factors were included in the model.*

CHAPTER IV GENERAL DISCUSSION

I tested whether leftist ideology and social class are reliable determinants of psychological well-being by means of both correlational analysis and additional regression analysis. I confirmed that internality of LOC and experiences of alienation correlated with leftist ideology, low class/SES backgrounds, and diminished well-being. Finally, I observed generally improved well-being among wealthier and less left-leaning participants.

But why did this relationship obtain between well-being and my markers of ideology and class? My mediational analyses revealed several ways that LOC and alienation may explain this correlation. After analyzing several candidate mediators, I found that leftist ideology and subjective SES were associated with well-being due to both corresponding shifts in specific aspects of LOC and experiences of alienation. I also found that alienation dimensions were the only ones relevant to explaining the link between objective class and well-being.

These results confirmed my hypotheses, although the pattern of results clearly indicates a need for further nuance in two areas. First, lower objective class and more left-leaning participants reported diminished well-being in part because they believed their work was less meaningful. Second, experiences of alienation itself tended to explain focal links between ideology, class, and well-being. These findings suggest that subjective appraisals of work may be critically important in explaining why some individuals are happier (or less so) than others, although such connections are likely contingent on a capitalist, work-focused society.

Unexpectedly, I found that those who reported more control over their lives by powerful others experienced increased well-being and this indirect pathway accounted for a significant loss of well-being among subjectively wealthy individuals. In other words, because wealthier individuals felt less influenced by others (see Van Kleef et al., 2015) and powerful others had a positive effect on well-being, wealthier individuals on average reported lower well-being as a result of their more internal LOC in this context. The effect may not replicate as the significance was just past threshold ($p = 0.04$). Given that my sample was primarily college students, they may have felt that external control is benevolent, or they may believe that their finances are safer with parental oversight.

These findings draw new connections between literatures on political ideology, social status, and well-being. My findings identified key variables which may underlie the relationships between my focal variables, supplementing past well-being literature. My study also develops a new scale for measuring leftist political views which can be used or modified in future research on the political ideology of leftism.

Limitations and Future Directions

One limitation of the current project was its inability to speak to potential causal relations. As my study was correlational, I could not determine which variables are cause and effect. For instance, it is possible that happier individuals also feel more subjectively wealthy, reversing my assumed causal relationship. I used multiple regression to control for mediators statistically. However, experimental research could better approach this issue. Research on system-justification theory has well-established situational factors that increase conservatism (see Kay & Friesen, 2011 for review), and many validated experimental methods exist for testing its role as a cause in the current analysis.

37

The size of my sample and its demographics limit external validity. My sample was comprised of undergraduate students which skews my sample in terms of age, educational attainment, and finances. First, undergraduate students and their socioeconomic status and social class are in many cases still heavily influenced by their parents' wealth or educational achievement. Because undergraduates experience varying degrees of dependence on their guardians, responses to my objective SES and class items may not best reflect the real position of the individual in society. Trying to be sensitive to this limitation, I excluded objective SES from my analysis. Second, as undergraduate students, my participants are likely to have limited work histories and this lack of work experience could skew the degree of alienation they experience. Both of these concerns can be addressed in future approaches by collecting a more randomized sample of adults. Finally, my study was conducted during the COVID 19 pandemic which have been particularly chaotic times and have caused a variety of changes in the workplace. Future iterations could look at alienation in non-pandemic conditions.

The accuracy of my Far-Left Attitudes scale is also subject to dispute (i.e., how accurately it describes leftists' values). First, although the scale showed a high degree of intercorrelation ($\alpha = .81$), there is likely to be disagreement over what sorts of items best represent leftist viewpoints. To give an example, leftists may score items such as "I tend to prefer progressive candidates in government elections" in diverse ways for one of several reasons. Some leftists may think bourgeois democracy is not worth participating in; others that voting conservative over liberal/progressive is preferable with the thought that enacted reactionary policy will accelerate the path toward socialism or communism (accelerationism); while others may take different approaches to democracy and

electoralism. Secondly, some may disagree with parts of the statements I used to distinguish between leftists and liberals or how I distinguish between liberals and farther left individuals theoretically. Further study with additional political ideology scales could help to evaluate whether my items are sufficient at distinguishing between leftist and liberal participants. Future research could also look to refining my items to improve the scale's accuracy and utility.

Finally, in all cases I relied on self-report measures, and the study could be seen as including sensitive topics that may have elicited demand. Individuals may have been motivated to overreport their well-being or inaccurately represent their political views, SES, or class to appear more flattering or agreeable to the researcher. Since I did not include methods to ensure truthful reporting, I am unable to determine the precision of my measures.

Future research could look to additional risk factors not addressed in this study, potential benefits to leftist ideology, or potential well-being buffers to the risk factors identified in this study. Specifically, participation in activism, union membership, or participation in worker-cooperatives or democratic workplaces could foster either perceived autonomy or workplace connectedness (e.g., Frega et al., 2019; Pérotin, 2013).

Future research could also explore other aspects of workplace alienation, additional contributing factors, or additional forms of alienation. For example, alongside alienation in the workplace, other theorists have considered how capitalism has also alienated consumers (e.g., Debord, 1967/2012). The fact that many elements of human life, even outside of the workplace, carry stamps of monetary value is characteristic of alienation (Fromm, 1955; Allison, 1978). Although I suspect that workplace alienation

may be more detrimental to well-being given work's central place in capitalist society, the rise of hyperconsumption may have tipped the scale toward consumer alienation as a more critical determinant of individual happiness.

Finally, future research could improve upon the methods of this study by critiquing and refining aspects of my Far-Left Attitudes Scale, and by exploring alienation, LOC, and well-being with a greater diversity of political ideology measures. In all cases, I was limited by the measures and materials selected. Additional analysis could be performed on my dataset with unanalyzed variables here (e.g., job type) to further elucidate the risk factors for alienation.

Significance for Political Ideology Research

One novel aspect of this study was the introduction of a Far-Left Attitudes Scale which measured agreement with statements indicative of farther left views than what may be expected of liberal participants. The scale was not fully catered to Marxist sentiments, and even less so to other leftwing ideologies, but I believe that the scale is a sufficient reflection of views held by the contemporary American left. Furthermore, the items displayed a high degree of intercorrelation, suggesting that the items are aimed at measuring the same outcome.

This study provides a de novo approach to exploring the relationships between political ideology and well-being by shifting focus leftward and by infusing new candidate explanatory variables pertaining to perceived autonomy and connectedness with the workplace. In addition, I sought to explore the connection between political ideology and social class in order to answer the question of whether alienation could lead to support of Marxism, finding no significant relationship. Finally, my approach also

adds to past research into SES and well-being while adding new approaches, such as exploring the association between Marxist class and well-being.

Conclusion

As hypothesized, I found that leftist views were associated with an increased risk toward feeling alienated from the workplace, perceiving a lack of personal economic autonomy, and toward having overall lower satisfaction with life. That diminished well-being among leftists was due in part to a diminished internal LOC, accepting external loci of control, feeling alienated, and feeling that work was not meaningful. I also found that lower class and lower socioeconomic backgrounds associated with increased risk of feeling alienated from the workplace, increased likelihood of attributing control to external loci, and diminished well-being. Following my discussion of the conflicting viewpoints concerning whether leftism and working-class backgrounds are associated (e.g., Marx, 1990/1867; Jost et al., 2004), this study has also shown that, despite the finding that working class people feel more alienated on average, being from a working-class background does not necessarily lead to a person adopting a leftist outlook.

This study has important practical implications because the results stress the impact of meaningful work and feelings of financial autonomy on workers' well-being. Aspects of these risk factors can be addressed at the level of the individual, in the workplace, and at the policy level. For individuals, some potential buffers to alienating work conditions include joining or forming a union and engaging in activism. These acts could help people find new avenues to feel more connected to their colleagues and could lead to positive changes in workplace or societal conditions. People would also benefit from finding connectedness with their communities in areas outside of work, including

41

hobby groups, community aid programs, or through involvement in other local organizations.

Perceived control can be addressed though counseling services, through spreading general awareness around the issue, and with improved economic conditions. In order to adopt more internal control attributions, it is important to recognize what freedoms you do have and what actions you can reliably engage in to improve your circumstances. Jean-Paul Sartre proposed the idea of acting in good faith, or recognizing one's radical freedom (Crowell, 2020; Palitsky et al., 2021). The individual, in order to be acting in good faith, should recognize the limitations on their freedoms without neglecting the freedoms which they actually do have. Thinking from this perspective, it is important for those who experience well-being costs as a result of feeling economically powerless to restructure their ideas about what actions they can take as someone in their position. On top of this, it is equally important to enable people to make good financial decisions through programs aimed at improving financial literacy and education broadly. Improvements in these domains will better enable workers to improve their income, wealth, or position at work, and to feel a sense of control over their finances. Financial literacy may also help workers to adopt more internal attributions by helping them recognize the impact of decisions, effort, and knowhow on financial success and by better equipping them to find that success.

At the workplace level, company policy could recognize the importance of these factors and make efforts to minimize their pervasiveness. Despite the fact that our society relies on many jobs that may feel meaningless (e.g., Graeber, 2018), efforts can still be taken on the part of management to add meaning to the workplace (e.g., Lysova et al.,

2019). Perceptions of autonomy can be addressed similarly with changes in workplace organization, for example by participating in unions, participating in democratic hiring decisions, wage negotiations, or other forms of democratic involvement. More minor changes can also be put in place such as online employee suggestion boxes. Finally, elements of alienation and perceived economic autonomy can also be addressed at the policy level, such as with legislation that better affirms workers' rights or provides additional funding for social safety nets, welfare programs (e.g., Pacek & Radcliff, 2008), and improving social infrastructure (e.g., Davern et al., 2017; Vaznonienė & Kiaušienė, 2018) to foster healthier, happier, and more tightly-woven communities and workplaces.

APPENDIX A LIST OF ITEMS

Demographics:

1. What is your age?
   [text box] years

2. How do you best describe yourself?
   a. White, Caucasian
   b. Black or African American
   c. American Indian or Alaska Native
   d. Asian
   e. Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
   f. Hispanic or Latino
   g. Mixed
   h. I prefer not to answer

3. What is your nationality?
   [textbox]

4. Do you describe yourself as a man, woman, or some other way?
   [textbox]

Perceived SES (Adler et al., 2000)

Think of the ladder below as representing the way that your society is set up. Americans

with the most money, education, and most respected jobs ("Best off") are at the top of the

ladder, and Americans with the least money, education, and no jobs or jobs that are the

least respected ("Worst off") are at the bottom. Enter the number of the rung on this

ladder that best describes your position relative to others in American society.
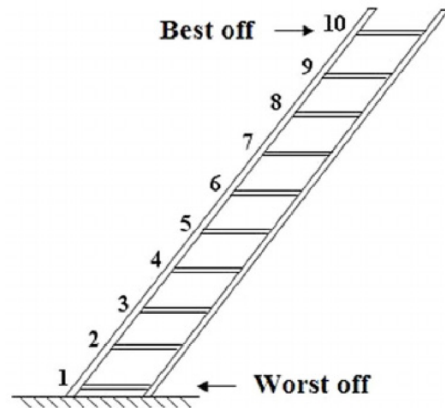
Perceived Social Class

What social class do you feel you belong to?

> Poor
>
> Working poor
>
> Working class
>
> Middle class
>
> Upper middle class
>
> Rich

Objective SES

For the following questions, please answer to the best of your ability.

Which best describes your PERSONAL income annually?

Less than $15,000

$15,001 to $25,000

$25,001 to $35,000

$35,001 to $50,000

$50,001 to $75,000

$75,001 to $100,000

$100,001 to $150,000

$150,000 to $200,000

More than $200,000

Are you currently employed?

If employed, what is your current job? (Do not include your employer's name but just the type of job)

What is your job title?

Do you work part-time or full-time?

OR

If not currently employed, what was your most recent job? (Do not include your employer's name but just the type of job)

What was your job title?

Which best describes your PARENT'S (or GUARDIAN'S) household income annually?

Less than $15,000

$15,001 to $25,000

$25,001 to $35,000

$35,001 to $50,000

$50,001 to $75,000

$75,001 to $100,000

$100,001 to $150,000

$150,000 to $200,000

More than $200,000

Which best describes your mother's highest level of educational achievement?

Did not graduate high school

High school graduate

Some college (and/or Associate degree)

College graduate (Bachelor's degree)

Master's degree

Other Graduate Degree (MD, JD, Ph.D.)

Which best describes your father's highest level of educational achievement?

Did not graduate high school

High school graduate

Some college (and/or Associate degree)

College graduate (Bachelor's degree)

Master's degree

Other Graduate Degree (MD, JD, Ph.D.)

Objective Social Class

Which best describes your position at work?

Worker

Freelancer

Self-employed professional

Middle management

Upper management

Small business owner

Large business owner

Which best describes your mother's position at work?

Worker

Freelancer

Self-employed professional

Middle management

Upper management

Small business owner

Large business owner

Which best describes your father's position at work?

Worker

Freelancer

Self-employed professional

Middle management

Upper management

Small business owner

Large business owner

Well-being

Flourishing Scale (Diener & Biswas-Diener, 2009)

Below are 8 statements with which you may agree or disagree. Using the 1–7 scale below, indicate your agreement with each item by indicating that response for each statement.

- 7 - Strongly agree
- 6 - Agree
- 5 - Slightly agree
- 4 - Neither agree nor disagree
- 3 - Slightly disagree
- 2 - Disagree
- 1 - Strongly disagree

_____ I lead a purposeful and meaningful life
_____ My social relationships are supportive and rewarding
_____ I am engaged and interested in my daily activities
_____ I actively contribute to the happiness and well-being of others
_____ I am competent and capable in the activities that are important to me

_____ I am a good person and live a good life
_____ I am optimistic about my future
_____ People respect me

SWLS (Diener et al., 1985)

Below are five statements that you may agree or disagree with. Using the 1 - 7 scale

below, indicate your agreement with each item by placing the appropriate number on the

line preceding that item. Please be open and honest in your responding.

- 7 - Strongly agree
- 6 - Agree
- 5 - Slightly agree
- 4 - Neither agree nor disagree

- 3 - Slightly disagree
- 2 - Disagree
- 1 - Strongly disagree

_____ In most ways my life is close to my ideal.

_____ The conditions of my life are excellent.

_____ I am satisfied with my life.

_____ So far, I have gotten the important things I want in life.

_____ If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.

- 31 - 35 Extremely satisfied
- 26 - 30 Satisfied
- 21 - 25 Slightly satisfied
- 20   Neutral
- 15 - 19 Slightly dissatisfied
- 10 - 14 Dissatisfied
- 5 - 9 Extremely dissatisfied

Political Ideology

- o   I consider myself a member of the far-left (socialist, Marxist, etc.).
- o   I consider myself a conservative.
- o   I consider myself a liberal.

Far-Left Attitudes Scale (CCS #1-5, Wright, 1997; Ad hoc items #6-15)

Likert scale (strongly disagree 1- strongly agree 7)

1. Corporations benefit owners at the expense of workers and consumers.

2. (R) During a strike, management should be allowed to hire workers to replace the strikers.

3. Many workers in this country receive much less income than they deserve.

4. (R) Large corporations have too little power in American society today.

5. The non-management employees in my (current or most recent) workplace could run things effectively without bosses.

6. The conditions of someone's birth largely dictate the trajectory of their life.

7. Poverty is a consequence of commodity production and distribution and is not necessary.

8. The American government invests a lot of resources into maintaining the status quo.

9. In a better system, resources would be distributed according to individual needs.

10. The American people would benefit from intensified welfare policies, as compared to the current system.

11. I tend to prefer "progressive" candidates in government elections.

12. (R) Poverty is generally the result of laziness or lack of merit and can be fixed by putting forth more effort.

13. Beliefs such as racism, sexism, and other forms of discrimination are misled and ethically reprehensible.

14. The means of production (property and resources necessary for producing commodities) should be publicly owned.

15. Interpreting society through class differences is a useful exercise.

Economic Locus of Control (Furnham, 1986)

Likert scale (strongly disagree 1- strongly agree 7)

1. Becoming rich has little to nothing to do with chance

2. Saving and careful investing is a key factor in becoming rich
3. Whether or not I get to become wealthy depends mostly on my ability
4. Accountants can rarely do very much for people who are poor
5. Anyone can learn a few basic economic principles that can go a very long way in preventing poverty
6. To a great extent my life is controlled by accidental happenings
7. People's poverty results from their own idleness
8. Social workers relieve or cure only a few of the finance problems their clients have
9. I feel that my finances are mostly determined by powerful people
10. There is little one can do to prevent poverty
11. No matter what anyone does, there will always be poverty
12. When I make plans, I am almost certain to make them work
13. Whether or not people get rich is often a matter of chance
14. People who never become poor are just plain lucky
15. Often there is no chance of protecting my savings from bad luck happenings
16. The seriousness of poverty is overstated
17. When it comes the wealth, there is no such thing as "bad luck"
18. When I get what I want, it's usually because I'm lucky
19. In the long run, people who take very good care of their finances stay wealthy
20. Relief from poverty requires hard work more than anything else
21. Although I might have ability, I will not become better off without appealing to those in positions of power
22. In the Western world, there is really no such thing as poverty
23. Becoming rich has nothing to do with luck
24. How many friends I have depends on how generous I am
25. Most people are helped a great deal when they go to an accountant
26. There are a lot of financial problems that can be very serious indeed
27. People like me have little chance of protecting our personal interests when they are in conflict with those of strong pressure groups
28. Regarding money, there isn't much you can do for yourself when you are poor
29. Politicians can do very little to prevent poverty
30. It's not always wise for me to save because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune
31. If I become poor, it's usually my own fault
32. Financial security is largely a matter of fortune
33. Getting what I want financially means pleasing those people above me
34. Whether or not I'm well-off depends on whether I'm lucky enough to be in the right place at the right time
35. I can pretty much determine what will happen to me financially
36. I am usually able to protect my personal interests
37. When I get what I want, it's usually because I worked hard for it
38. My life is determined by my own actions
39. It is chiefly a matter of fate whether I become rich or poor
40. Only those who inherit or win money can possibly become rich

Alienation Scale – Workplace (Nair & Vohra, 2010)

Answer the following questions in relation to your current or most recent job. Please indicate your response by selecting the most appropriate number according to the scale given below. If you have never held a job, leave this portion blank.

1. I don't enjoy work; I just put in my time to get paid.
Strongly Disagree ---- 1 ---- 2 ---- 3 ---- 4 ---- 5 ---- 6 ---- 7 ---- Strongly Agree

2. Facing my daily work tasks is a painful and boring experience.
Strongly Disagree ---- 1 ---- 2 ---- 3 ---- 4 ---- 5 ---- 6 ---- 7 ---- Strongly Agree

3. Work to me is more like a chore or a burden.
Strongly Disagree ---- 1 ---- 2 ---- 3 ---- 4 ---- 5 ---- 6 ---- 7 ---- Strongly Agree

4. I do not feel like my true self at work.
Strongly Disagree ---- 1 ---- 2 ---- 3 ---- 4 ---- 5 ---- 6 ---- 7 ---- Strongly Agree

5. While at work, I often wish I were doing something else.
Strongly Disagree ---- 1 ---- 2 ---- 3 ---- 4 ---- 5 ---- 6 ---- 7 ---- Strongly Agree

6. Over time, I have become disillusioned with my work.
Strongly Disagree ---- 1 ---- 2 ---- 3 ---- 4 ---- 5 ---- 6 ---- 7 ---- Strongly Agree

7. I do not feel like putting in my best effort at work.
Strongly Disagree ---- 1 ---- 2 ---- 3 ---- 4 ---- 5 ---- 6 ---- 7 ---- Strongly Agree

8. I do not feel connected to the events at my workplace.
Strongly Disagree ---- 1 ---- 2 ---- 3 ---- 4 ---- 5 ---- 6 ---- 7 ---- Strongly Agree

Alienation Predictors – Workplace (Nair & Vohra, 2010) & (Sawyer & Gampa, 2020)

Intrinsic motivation for work

(R) My work is really just a means to a material end.

Strongly Disagree ---- 1 ---- 2 ---- 3 ---- 4 ---- 5 ---- 6 ---- 7 ---- Strongly Agree

My work is interesting and intrinsically motivating to me.

Strongly Disagree ---- 1 ---- 2 ---- 3 ---- 4 ---- 5 ---- 6 ---- 7 ---- Strongly Agree

Autonomy at work

At work, I feel a sense of choice and freedom in the things I undertake.

Strongly Disagree ---- 1 ---- 2 ---- 3 ---- 4 ---- 5 ---- 6 ---- 7 ---- Strongly Agree

(R) My daily activities at work feel like a chain of obligations.

Strongly Disagree ---- 1 ---- 2 ---- 3 ---- 4 ---- 5 ---- 6 ---- 7 ---- Strongly Agree

Meaningfulness

My work is highly meaningful to me.

Strongly Disagree ---- 1 ---- 2 ---- 3 ---- 4 ---- 5 ---- 6 ---- 7 ---- Strongly Agree

(R) My work often feels pointless.

Strongly Disagree ---- 1 ---- 2 ---- 3 ---- 4 ---- 5 ---- 6 ---- 7 ---- Strongly Agree

(R) I often feel that my work counts for very little.

Strongly Disagree ---- 1 ---- 2 ---- 3 ---- 4 ---- 5 ---- 6 ---- 7 ---- Strongly Agree

Self-Expression

My work provides me with a means for personal self-expression.

Strongly Disagree ---- 1 ---- 2 ---- 3 ---- 4 ---- 5 ---- 6 ---- 7 ---- Strongly Agree

My work is a reflection of me (my interests and values).

Strongly Disagree ---- 1 ---- 2 ---- 3 ---- 4 ---- 5 ---- 6 ---- 7 ---- Strongly Agree

Work relationships

I am highly satisfied in my relationship with my immediate boss or supervisor.

Strongly Disagree ---- 1 ---- 2 ---- 3 ---- 4 ---- 5 ---- 6 ---- 7 ---- Strongly Agree

I am highly satisfied in my relationship with my coworkers/team members.

Strongly Disagree ---- 1 ---- 2 ---- 3 ---- 4 ---- 5 ---- 6 ---- 7 ---- Strongly Agree

Perceived Exploitation at work

I am exploited by my employer.

Strongly Disagree ---- 1 ---- 2 ---- 3 ---- 4 ---- 5 ---- 6 ---- 7 ---- Strongly Agree

I am paid less than fairly for the work I do.

Strongly Disagree ---- 1 ---- 2 ---- 3 ---- 4 ---- 5 ---- 6 ---- 7 ---- Strongly Agree

My employer benefits from my work more than I do.

Strongly Disagree ---- 1 ---- 2 ---- 3 ---- 4 ---- 5 ---- 6 ---- 7 ---- Strongly Agree

Self-actualization through work

At work, I use my greatest personal talents.

Strongly Disagree ---- 1 ---- 2 ---- 3 ---- 4 ---- 5 ---- 6 ---- 7 ---- Strongly Agree

My work helps me develop as a person (physically or mentally).

Strongly Disagree ---- 1 ---- 2 ---- 3 ---- 4 ---- 5 ---- 6 ---- 7 ---- Strongly Agree

APPENDIX B IRB Approval Letter

Office of Research Integrity

THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN MISSISSIPPI

118 COLLEGE DRIVE #5125 • HATTIESBURG, MS | 601.266.6576 | USM.EDU/ORI

Modification Institutional Review Board Approval

The University of Southern Mississippi's Office of Research Integrity has received the notice of your modification for your submission Brief Survey on Well-Being and Political Beliefs (IRB #: IRB-21-251).

Your modification has been reviewed by The University of Southern Mississippi Institutional Review Board in accordance with Federal Drug Administration regulations (21 CFR 26, 111), Department of Health and Human Services regulations (45 CFR Part 46), and University Policy to ensure:

- The risks to subjects are minimized and reasonable in relation to the anticipated benefits.
- The selection of subjects is equitable.
- Informed consent is adequate and appropriately documented.
- Where appropriate, the research plan makes adequate provisions for monitoring the data collected to ensure the safety of the subjects.
- Where appropriate, there are adequate provisions to protect the privacy of subjects and to maintain the confidentiality of all data.
- Appropriate additional safeguards have been included to protect vulnerable subjects.
- Any unanticipated, serious, or continuing problems encountered involving risks to subjects must be reported immediately. Problems should be reported to ORI via the Incident template on Cayuse IRB.
- The period of approval is twelve months. An application for renewal must be submitted for projects exceeding twelve months.

PROTOCOL NUMBER: IRB-21-251
PROJECT TITLE: Brief Survey on Well-Being and Political Beliefs
SCHOOL/PROGRAM: Psychology
RESEARCHER(S): Liam Luckett, Lucas Keefer

IRB COMMITTEE ACTION: Approved
7. Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.

PERIOD OF APPROVAL: September 15, 2021

Donald Sacco Jr.

Donald Sacco, Ph.D.
Institutional Review Board Chairperson

REFERENCES

Adler, N. E., Epel, E. S., Castellazzo, G., & Ickovics, J. R. (2000). Relationship of subjective and objective social class with psychological functioning: Preliminary data in healthy White women. *Health Psychology*, 19, 586–592.

Adorno, T. W., Frenkel-Brunswik, E., Levinson, D. J., & Sanford, R. N. (1950). *The Authoritarian Personality*. New York, NY: Harper.

Aknin, L. B., Van de Vondervoort, J. W., & Hamlin, J. K. (2018). Positive feelings reward and promote prosocial behavior. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, *20*, 55-59.

Allison, N. K. (1978). A psychometric development of a test for consumer alienation from the marketplace. *Journal of Marketing Research*, *15*(4), 565-575.

Alto, A., Flores-Robles, G., Anderson, K., Wylie, J., Satter, L., & Gantman, A. P. (2022). "I put Liberal but LOL": Investigating psychological differences between political Leftists and Liberals.

Benassi, V. A., Sweeney, P. D., & Dufour, C. L. (1988). Is there a relation between locus of control orientation and depression?. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, *97*(3), 357.

Benham, J. M. (1995). Fostering self-motivated behavior, personal responsibility, and internal locus of control in the school setting.

Bivens, J., Engdahl, L., Gould, E., Kroeger, T., McNicholas, C., Mishel, L., Mokhiber, Z., Shierholz, H., von Wilpert, M., Wilson, V., & Zipperer, B. (2017, August 24). *How today's unions help working people: Giving workers the power to improve their jobs and unrig the economy*. Economic Policy Institute. Retrieved February

13, 2022, from https://www.epi.org/publication/how-todays-unions-help-working-people-giving-workers-the-power-to-improve-their-jobs-and-unrig-the-economy/

Bobbio, N., Cameron, A. (1997). *Left and right: The significance of a political distinction*. University of Chicago Press.

Bollini, A. M., Walker, E. F., Hamann, S., & Kestler, L. (2004). The influence of perceived control and locus of control on the cortisol and subjective responses to stress. *Biological Psychology*, *67*(3), 245-260.

Braithwaite, V. (1998). The value orientations underlying liberalism-conservatism. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *25*(3), 575-589.

Brien, M., Forest, J., Mageau, G. A., Boudrias, J. S., Desrumaux, P., Brunet, L., & Morin, E. M. (2012). The basic psychological needs at work scale: Measurement invariance between Canada and France. *Applied Psychology: Health and Well-Being, 4*(2), 167-187. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1758-0854.2012.01067.x

Caesar, V. R. (1994). Financial success and personality: An examination of self-esteem, locus of control and cognitive characteristics of successful mid-life men in America. *Dissertation Abstracts International, 56*, 621-774.

Cobb-Clark, D. A. (2015). Locus of control and the labor market. *IZA Journal of Labor Economics*, *4*(1), 1-19.

Coleman, M., & DeLeire, T. (2003). An economic model of locus of control and the human capital investment decision. *Journal of Human Resources*, *38*(3), 701-721.

Crowell, Steven, "Existentialism", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer

2020 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (Ed.). Retrieved from

https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2020/entries/existentialism/

Davern, M., Gunn, L., Whitzman, C., Higgs, C., Giles-Corti, B., Simons, K., Villanueva,

K., Mavoa, S., Roberts, R., & Badland, H. (2017). Using spatial measures to test a

conceptual model of social infrastructure that supports health and

wellbeing. *Cities & Health*, *1*(2), 194-209.

Debord, G. (2012). *Society of the spectacle*. Bread and Circuses Publishing. (Original

work published 1967).

Diener, E. (2009). *Assessing well-being: The collected works of Ed Diener*. New York:

Springer.

Diener, E., & Biswas-Diener, R. (2008). *Happiness: Unlocking the mysteries of

psychological wealth.* Blackwell Publishing.

https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444305159

Diener, E. D., Emmons, R. A., Larsen, R. J., & Griffin, S. (1985). The satisfaction with

life scale. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, *49*(1), 71-75.

Diener, E., Wirtz, D., Tov, W., Kim-Prieto, C., Choi, D. W., Oishi, S., & Biswas-Diener,

R. (2010). New well-being measures: Short scales to assess flourishing and

positive and negative feelings. *Social Indicators Research*, *97*(2), 143-156.

Eaton, W.W., Muntaner, C., Bovasso, G., & Smith, C. (2001). Socioeconomic status and

depressive syndrome: The role of inter- and intra-generational mobility,

government assistance, and work environment. *Journal of Health and Social

Behavior, 42*, 277-294.

Engels, F., & Marx, K. (1956). *The holy family, or, critique of critical critique*. Moscow: Foreign Languages Pub. (Original work published 1845).

Elster, J. (1986). Self-realization in work and politics: The Marxist conception of the good life. *Social Philosophy and Policy*, *3*(2), 97-126.

Everett, J. A. (2013). The 12 item social and economic conservatism scale (SECS). *PloS one*, *8*(12), e82131.

Felluga, D. "Terms Used by Marxism." *Introductory Guide to Critical Theory*. January 31, 2011. Purdue U. Retrieved from

http://www.purdue.edu/guidetotheory/marxism/terms/

Frega, R., Herzog, L., & Neuhäuser, C. (2019). Workplace democracy—The recent debate. *Philosophy Compass*, *14*(4), e12574.

Fromm, E. (1955). *The sane society*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Furnham, A. (1986). Economic locus of control. *Human Relations*, *39*(1), 29-43.

Godfrey, E. (2020, May 14). Thousands of Americans have become socialists since March. *The Atlantic*. Retrieved from

https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2020/05/dsa-growing-during-coronavirus/611599/

Graeber, D. (2018). *Bullshit jobs: a theory*. Allen Lane.

Grzanka, P. R., Miles, J. R., Spengler, E. S., Arnett, J. E., & Pruett, J. (2020). Measuring neoliberalism: development and initial validation of a scale of anti-neoliberal attitudes. *Social Justice Research*, *33*(1), 44-80.

Hartig, H. (2019). Stark partisan divisions in Americans' views of 'socialism,' 'capitalism.' PEW Research Center. Retrieved from

https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/06/25/stark-partisan-divisions-in-americans-views-of-socialism-capitalism/

Haugaard, J.J. (2001). *Problematic behaviors during adolescence*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Publications.

Heaven, P. C. (1989). Economic locus of control beliefs and lay attributions of poverty. *Australian Journal of Psychology*, *41*(3), 315-325.

Heaven, P. C. (1990). Suggestions for reducing unemployment: A study of Protestant work ethic and economic locus of control beliefs. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *29*(1), 55-65.

Jaeggi, R. (2014). *Alienation*. Columbia University Press.

Jetten, J., Haslam, S. A., & Barlow, F. K. (2013). Bringing back the system: One reason why conservatives are happier than liberals is that higher socioeconomic status gives them access to more group memberships. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, *4*(1), 6-13.

Johnson, F. (1973). Alienation: Concept, term and word. In F. Johnson (Ed.), *Alienation*. New York: Seminar Press.

Joseph, S., & Lewis, C. A. (1998). The Depression–Happiness Scale: Reliability and validity of a bipolar self-report scale. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, *54*(4), 537-544.

Jost, J. T. (2021). *Left and right: The psychological significance of a political distinction*. Oxford University Press.

Jost, J. T., Banaji, M. R., & Nosek, B. A. (2004). A decade of system justification theory: Accumulated evidence of conscious and unconscious bolstering of the status quo. *Political Psychology*, *25*(6), 881-919.

Jost, J. T., Nosek, B. A., & Gosling, S. D. (2008). Ideology: Its resurgence in social, personality, and political psychology. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, *3*(2), 126-136.

Jost, J. T., Federico, C. M., & Napier, J. L. (2009). Political ideology: Its structure, functions, and elective affinities. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *60*, 307-337.

Kay, A. C., & Friesen, J. (2011). On social stability and social change: Understanding when system justification does and does not occur. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *20*(6), 360-364.

Keefer, L. A., Goode, C., & Van Berkel, L. (2015). Toward a psychological study of class consciousness: Development and validation of a social psychological model. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, *3*(2), 253-290.

Kraus, M. W., Piff, P. K., & Keltner, D. (2009). Social class, sense of control, and social explanation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *97*(6), 992.

Kuhn, M., Schularick, M., & Steins, U. I. (2020). Income and wealth inequality in America, 1949–2016. *Journal of Political Economy*, *128*(9), 3469-3519.

Lefcourt, H. M. (1991). *Locus of control*. Academic Press.

Livne-Ofer, E., Coyle-Shapiro, J. A., & Pearce, J. L. (2019). Eyes wide open: Perceived exploitation and its consequences. *Academy of Management Journal*, *62*(6), 1989-2018.

Lott, B. (2016). Relevance to psychology of beliefs about socialism: Some new research

    questions. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy (ASAP), 16*(1), 261–

    277. https://doi.org/10.1111/asap.12092

Lysova, E. I., Allan, B. A., Dik, B. J., Duffy, R. D., & Steger, M. F. (2019). Fostering

    meaningful work in organizations: A multi-level review and integration. *Journal*

    of Vocational Behavior, *110*, 374-389.

Malka, A., Soto, C. J., Inzlicht, M., & Lelkes, Y. (2014). Do needs for security and

    certainty predict cultural and economic conservatism? A cross-national

    analysis. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *106*(6), 1031.

Marcuse, H. B. (1972). *One dimensional man.* London, United Kingdom: Abacus.

Marx, K. (2007). *Economic and philosophic manuscripts of 1844* (M. Milligan,

    Trans.). Dover Publications. (Original work published 1932).

Marx, K., Engels, F., Mandel, E., & Fowkes, B. (1990). *Capital: A critique of political*

    economy. London: Penguin in association with New Left Review. (Original work

    published 1867).

Marx, K. (1995). *The poverty of philosophy* (H. Quelch, Trans.). Amherst, NY, USA:

    Prometheus Books. (Original work published 1847).

Marx, K., & Engels, F. (1970). *The German ideology* (Vol. 1). International Publishers

    Co. (Original work published 1832).

McLaughlin, S.C., & Saccuzzo, D.P. (1997). Ethnic and gender differences in locus of

    control in children referred for gifted programs: The effects of vulnerability

    factors. *Journal for the Education of the Gifted*, 20, 268-283.

Mehrabian, A. (1996). Relations among political attitudes, personality, and

    psychopathology assessed with new measures of libertarianism and

    conservatism. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, *18*(4), 469-491.

Nair, N., & Vohra, N. (2010). An exploration of factors predicting work alienation of

    knowledge workers. *Management Decision*, 48(4), 600-615.

Nair, N., & Vohra, N. (2009). Developing a new measure of work alienation. *Journal of*

    Workplace Rights, *14*(3).

Nair, N., & Vohra, N. (2012). The concept of alienation: Towards conceptual clarity. *The*

    International Journal of Organizational Analysis, 20, 25-50

Napier, J. L., & Jost, J. T. (2008). Why are conservatives happier than

    liberals?. *Psychological Science*, *19*(6), 565-572.

O'Laughlin, K. D., Martin, M. J., & Ferrer, E. (2018). Cross-sectional analysis of

    longitudinal mediation processes. *Multivariate Behavioral Research*, *53*(3), 375-

    402.

Pacek, A., & Radcliff, B. (2008). Assessing the welfare state: The politics of

    happiness. *Perspectives on Politics*, *6*(2), 267-277.

Palitsky, R., Schmitt, H., Sullivan, D., & Young, I. F. (2021). An existential analysis of

    responses to the 2020 coronavirus outbreak. *Journal of Humanistic*

    Psychology, *61*(2), 231-243.

Peetz, J., Robson, J. (2019). *How personality traits and economic beliefs shape financial*

    capability and literacy. Chartered Professional Accountants of Canada*.*

Pérotin, V. (2013). Worker cooperatives: Good, sustainable jobs in the
community. *Journal of Entrepreneurial and Organizational Diversity*, *2*(2), 34-
47.

Americans' views of 'socialism' and 'capitalism' in their own words. Pew Research Center
- U.S. Politics & Policy. (2020, August 25). Retrieved November 12, 2021, from
https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2019/10/07/in-their-own-words-behind-
americans-views-of-socialism-and-capitalism/

Pratten, S. (1993). Structure, agency and Marx's analysis of the labour process. *Review of
Political Economy*, *5*(4), 403-426.

Ratner, C., & Silva, D. (2017). *Vygotsky and Marx: Toward a Marxist psychology*.
Taylor & Francis.

Ray, J. J. (1983). A scale to measure conservatism of American public opinion. *Journal
of Social Psychology*, *119*(2), 293-294.

Religious landscape study: Party affiliation by state. Pew Research Center's Religion &
Public Life Project. (2020, September 9). Retrieved February 20, 2022, from
https://www.pewforum.org/religious-landscape-study/compare/party-
affiliation/by/state/

Roberts, M. J. (2019). Twilight of work: The labor question in Nietzsche and
Marx. *Critical Sociology*, *45*(2), 267-280.

Rosenkrantz, H. (2021, January 29). *The future of unions*. CQ Researcher by CQ Press.
Retrieved February 13, 2022, from
https://library.cqpress.com/cqresearcher/document.php?id=cqresrre2021012900

Rosner, M., & Putterman, L. (1991). Factors behind the supply and demand for less alienating work, and some international illustrations. *Journal of Economic Studies*, 18, 18-41.

Rotter, J. B. (1966). Generalized expectancies for internal versus external control of reinforcement. *Psychological Monographs: General and Applied*, *80*(1), 1.

Rotter, J. B., Chance, J. E., & Phares, E. J. (1972). *Applications of a social learning theory of personality*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Russel, B. (1991). *The history of western philosophy*. Routledge Publishing (Original work published 1946).

Ryff, C. D., & Keyes, C. L. M. (1995). The structure of psychological well-being revisited. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *69*(4), 719.

Sawyer, J. E., & Gampa, A. (2020). Work alienation and its gravediggers: Social class, class consciousness, and activism. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, *8*(1), 198-219.

Scheff, T. J., & Retzinger, S. M. (2003). Hitler's appeal: Alienation, shame-rage, and revenge. In M. Silberman (Ed.), *Violence and society: A reader* (pp. 30–49). Prentice Hall/Pearson Education.

Schmitt, H. J., Keefer, L. A., Sullivan, D., Stewart, S., & Young, I. F. (2020). A brighter future: The effect of social class on responses to future debt. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, *8*(1).

Schotanus-Dijkstra, M., Pieterse, M. E., Drossaert, C. H., Westerhof, G. J., De Graaf, R., Ten Have, M., ... & Bohlmeijer, E. T. (2016). What factors are associated with

flourishing? Results from a large representative national sample. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, *17*(4), 1351-1370.

Seeman, M. (1959). On the meaning of alienation. *American Sociological Review*, 24(6): 783–791.

Seeman, M. (1975). Alienation studies. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 1: 91–123

Shierholz, H., & Poydock, M. (2020, February 11). *Continued surge in strike activity signals worker dissatisfaction with wage growth*. Economic Policy Institute. Retrieved February 12, 2022, from https://www.epi.org/publication/continued-surge-in-strike-activity/

Son Hing, L. S., Bobocel, D. R., Zanna, M. P., Garcia, D. M., Gee, S. S., & Orazietti, K. (2011). The merit of meritocracy. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *101*(3), 433.

Spector, P. E., Cooper, C. L., Sanchez, J. I., O'Driscoll, M., Sparks, K., Bernin, P., ... & Yu, S. (2002). Locus of control and well-being at work: how generalizable are western findings?. *Academy of Management Journal*, *45*(2), 453-466.

Surridge, P. (2016). Education and liberalism: pursuing the link. *Oxford Review of Education*, *42*(2), 146-164.

Sweetser, K. D. (2014). Partisan personality: The psychological differences between Democrats and Republicans, and independents somewhere in between. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *58*(9), 1183-1194.

Twenge, J. M., Zhang, L., & Im, C. (2004). It's beyond my control: A cross-temporal meta-analysis of increasing externality in locus of control, 1960-2002. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *8*(3), 308-319.

Van Kleef, G. A., Oveis, C., Homan, A. C., van der Löwe, I., & Keltner, D. (2015).

    Power gets you high: The powerful are more inspired by themselves than by

    others. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, *6*(4), 472-480.

Vargas-Salfate, S., Paez, D., Khan, S. S., Liu, J. H., & Gil de Zúñiga, H. (2018). System

    justification enhances well-being: A longitudinal analysis of the palliative

    function of system justification in 18 countries. *British Journal of Social*

    Psychology, *57*(3), 567-590.

Vaznonienė, G., & Kiaušienė, I. (2018). Social infrastructure services for promoting local

    community wellbeing in Lithuania. *European Countryside*, *10*, 340-354.

Vygotsky, L. S. (1994). The socialist alteration of man. In R. van de Veer & J. Valsiner

    (Ed.), *The Vygotsky reader*. Cambridge, MA, USA: Blackwell. (Original work

    published 1930).

Weiner, B., Nierenberg, R., & Goldstein, M. (1976). Social learning (locus of control)

    versus attributional (causal stability) interpretations of expectancy of

    success. *Journal of Personality*.

Wright, E. O. (1997). Rethinking, once again, the concept of class structure. In J. R. Hall

    (Ed.), *Reworking class* (pp. 41-72). Ithaca, NY, USA: Cornell University Press.

Wright, E. O. (2015). *Understanding class*. New York, NY, USA: Verso Books.

Wolff, R. D. (2012). *Democracy at work: A cure for capitalism*. Haymarket books.

Zaleskiewicz, T., Gasiorowska, A., Kesebir, P., Luszczynska, A., & Pyszczynski, T.

    (2013). Money and the fear of death: The symbolic power of money as an

    existential anxiety buffer. *Journal of Economic Psychology*, *36*, 55-67.