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**A STRUCTURATIONIST ANALYSIS OF
THE CLASS CHARACTER OF STATE
PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYEES IN CANADA**

by

PAUL W. NESBITT-LARKING

B.Sc. (Hons.), M.A.

A DISSERTATION

**Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research,
Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario,
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
in Political Science**

CARLETON UNIVERSITY, OTTAWA

January, 1991

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**A STRUCTURATIONIST ANALYSIS OF THE CLASS CHARACTER
OF STATE PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYEES IN CANADA**

submitted by

Paul Nesbitt-Larking, B.Sc., M.A.

in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

Principles of structuration theory are applied to the problem of analysing the class character of State Professional Employees.

Existing analyses of the class character of State Professional Employees are considered. Structuralist approaches are found to overlook or downplay the contingency and openness of agency, culture and consciousness. Voluntarist approaches are criticised for insufficient attention to the conditioning effects of the unacknowledged conditions and unanticipated consequences of class action. Elements of both approaches are also found to be deterministic, functionalist, teleological and prone to the attribution of fixed class characteristics.

State Professional Employees are particularly resistant to investigation because they have been occupants of ambivalent and contradictory class locations. Structuration theory provides a basis for exploring their class characteristics. It abandons the dualism of structure versus agency and combines the best elements of both tendencies in an integrative approach. Through the double hermeneutic, structuration theory facilitates the open exploration of class ambivalence in a manner which privileges neither the conceptual understandings of the researcher nor those of lay actors.

A particular methodological application of the double hermeneutic is undertaken through the empirical study of School teachers in Ottawa-Carleton. Class consciousness is adopted as the basis for this investigation.

The researcher-based element of the double hermeneutic consists of the contextualised historical and empirical study of the class-related experiences and actions of teachers in post-war Canada and, specifically, Ontario. A particular range of class consciousnesses, from Possessive Individualism to Solidaristic Collectivism, is distilled from this investigation.

Operationalising these elements of class consciousness gives rise to a questionnaire which is administered to a group of teachers in Ottawa-Carleton. Their responses constitute the other half of the double hermeneutic, complementing, vivifying and amending the initial conceptualisations. Specifically, the anticipated class ambivalence, instrumentalism and fragmentation of teachers is generally supported, even though certain counterfactual findings would require further interchange for the attainment of a more refined hermeneutic.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BCTF	British Columbia Teachers' Federation
CEQ	Centrale de l'Enseignement du Quebec
FWTAO	Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario
OECTA	Ontario English Catholic Teachers' Association
OISE	Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
OPSMTF	Ontario Public School Men Teachers' Federation
OSSTF	Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation
OTF	Ontario Teachers' Federation
PI	Possessive Individualism
SC	Solidaristic Collectivism

INTRODUCTION

THE BACKGROUND: STATE PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYEES, SCHOOL TEACHERS AND SOCIAL CLASS.

At first glance, the concept, 'state professional' seems to attach itself quite readily to a concrete referent: those employees, receiving salaries from the coffers of the state, who have relatively independent and 'responsible' work functions such as civil servants, planners, social workers, nurses and school teachers. Some reflection, however, leads us to its oxymoronic characteristics, since it can be argued that the concepts 'state' and 'professional' contradict each other. The state is a collective concept, professionalism implies individualism; the state connotes fixed 'structures', whereas a profession is more of a loose amalgam of discretionary acts; the state has often been thought of as conditioned, determined, mechanistic and subjectless, while professions conjure up images of rational autonomy, voluntarism and interpretation.

The purpose of my dissertation is to continue this dismantling of the curious couplet, 'state professional'. It

is an exploration which involves many of the most important debates on class and stratification to have emerged in recent decades. Moreover, it is an 'uncoupling' which returns again and again to the dualisms mentioned in the previous paragraph.

In the broadest sense, contemporary debates are concerned with the political, economic and ideological aspects of the growth and character of the 'new middle class' or 'intermediate strata': those somehow 'between capital and labour'. State professionals are a part of this broader class or stratum, and the extent of commonality between professionals and other middle-class or 'white-collar' employees has been a matter of extensive reflection and research.

Whether state professionals are taken to be a separate class (or category) or to be part of a broader middle class, the questions addressed fall into three basic sets: 'Where have they come from?', 'Where are they now?' and 'Where are they going?' All three questions receive some attention in the dissertation, but most emphasis is placed upon the second question, 'Where are they now?'

What does this question mean? The implication is that it is extremely difficult to classify the economic, political and ideological characteristics of the work-related and other experiences of state professionals in particular, and middle-class people in general. It is difficult because state professionals, both as objects of research and as active

social agents, tend to hover in the middle of the conceptual space created by each of the dualistic contradictions referred to earlier as individual-collective, structure-agency and determinism - autonomy.

During the past twenty years many scholars have attempted to 'locate' the class of intermediate workers, that is those who do not own the means of production but who, nonetheless, possess some degree of work autonomy and power. These scholars, whose work is to be evaluated in Chapter One, argue from quite different perspectives. Some are 'Marxists', some 'Weberians,' some 'structuralists,' others 'voluntarists.' Some see professionals and other middle-class persons as a class, while others believe they do not form a 'class' in any meaningful sense at all. What most of these scholars do have in common, however, is a desire to settle, once and for all, the class location, class position, or both, of state professionals or the new middle class. In other words, they are trying to state exactly 'where they are now.' As I shall explain in the dissertation, the search for such exactitude is chimerical.

The problem of the middle class is not new, even if the current round of attention requires the conjunctural elucidation I shall devote to it throughout the dissertation. Max Weber's critique of Marx' problematises the 'two great classes' approach by stressing the broad range of life chances resulting from the competitive market as well as the rapidly

growing spheres of bureaucratic power and status. There was a rich and extensive German scholarship on the middle class in the 1920s and 1930s.² Contemporary 'managerialist' and 'post-capitalist' theory found early impetus in the scholarship of James Burnham in the 1930s and 1940s.³ Burnham's conceptions of the declassed nature of managerialism and technocracy evolved into debates concerning 'the end of ideology', 'embourgeoisification' and 'social class as authority relations' in the 1950s.⁴

These latter ideological developments are related to practical political developments throughout the capitalist world of the late 1950s and 1960s. These developments have, if anything, gathered impetus in recent years, with the growing propensity for socialist, social democratic and even some communist parties to address the growing ranks of those 'between capital and labour'. As vote-gathering enterprises, these parties have identified an increasingly large potential pool of voters whose growth, conditioned by the onset of Keynesian or interventionist-state policies, has co-incided with the 'decline' in both numbers and political cohesion of the 'traditional working class' of productive manual workers. The centrality and dominant political relevance of the middle classes, including state professionals, is manifest in the sustained relevance of this group to left-wing parties during the decline of Keynesianism and the rise of neo-conservatism in many capitalist states.

There is much more to the political, economic and cultural rise of the new middle class than the gloss I have offered here. The complexities of the post-war conjuncture in Canada are to be explored in greater detail in Chapter Three.

In order to explore the class characteristics of state professionals, I have selected school teachers as the paradigm occupational group for the dissertation. My choice of school teachers was, to some extent, a happy accident. I became interested in the notable and pervasive growth of school teacher militancy in the capitalist world over the past twenty years. According to 'common sense' assumptions, teachers were supposed to be 'responsible,' 'professional' and 'apolitical'. Teachers were not expected to join unions or to go on strike. Preliminary investigation revealed that many teachers themselves adhered to these common sense assumptions and, consequently, became militant reluctantly and with deep reservations. It soon became apparent that, as an occupational group, teachers were being pulled in a number of different directions at once.

If the dissertation was inspired by an interest in teacher militancy per se, it has ended up with a much broader focus of interest in the class character of state professional employees. Beginning with a re-theorisation of current approaches to class and the development of a new methodology for exploring the class character of state professionals,

teachers have now become the focus for empirical exemplification, rather than the primary object of attention.

However, despite this apparent relegation, the distinctive experiences and characteristics of teachers receive careful analysis. One major reason for concentrating on teachers is that they are a most ambivalent, contradictory, divided and conflicted group in terms of class, status and power. C. Wright Mills, in a justly renowned passage from White Collar, argues that:

Schoolteachers, especially those in grammar and high schools, are the economic proleterians of the professions. These outlying servants of learning form the largest occupational group of the professional pyramid.⁵

Mills' statement is provocative and rhetorical and offers the unintended insight that it is dangerous to over-generalise about the particular class character of school teachers. Mills, writing about American teachers in the 1950s, had a point. They were, and are, relatively proleterianised. Note, however, Mills' careful use of the adjective 'economic'.

One theoretical position adopted in the dissertation is that, contrary to much conventional social theory, time and space are intrinsic to all forms of social structuration, including the emergence of social classes. Consequently, it is incumbent upon me to be specific about the precise cultural, economic and political forces conditioning and conditioned by those people whom I investigate. Nowhere is this more critical than in the case of teachers, a most

unsettled occupational group, symbolically and materially. This does not imply that comparative work is impossible, or that probabilistic statements are unattainable. It does imply, however, that a great deal of caution is required in the application of the words of Mills and others to Canadian and, more specifically, anglophone central Canadian teachers today. Can they be classified in the same way as Mills' teachers? Were they, or are they, in the same class location as their American counterparts? 'Economic proletarians' is a seductive label but, in contemporary Canada at least, it might be better applied to social workers than school teachers. But even if it 'fits', we face the important question of the extent to which such a location is a matter of the structural definition of teachers by social researchers, or a matter of their class agency. As I shall argue, both couplets - structure/agency and objective/subjective must be considered simultaneously.

Establishing the class character of school teachers is, apparently, highly complex. It is reasonable to ask whether the task is worthwhile. The answer, elaborated in the dissertation, is that if we wish to understand the power-related experiences and actions of this occupational group, it is unavoidable. Teachers, like other workers for the state, are both the products and the active producers of the class forces which underpin the existence and character of the state. The contemporary interventionist state, the

birthplace of the mass cadres of educational workers, can not be explained without reference to the manner in which the central contradiction of capitalism - the increasing social nature of production versus the increasingly private nature of appropriation - has been addressed. Contemporary states have emerged in response to the class conflicts which preceded the Second World War. Although they vary widely in their characteristics, all capitalist states face the consequent problems of intervening to balance the distribution of the benefits and burdens of capitalism. Teachers cannot be considered outside of social class since their very existence and their changing circumstances are conditioned by the class character of the state itself. On the other hand, as we shall see, capitalism is not enough to explain the whole range of teachers' power-related experiences and actions.

The discussion so far has accentuated 'objective', and external effects on teachers. It remains to address the extent to which teachers themselves have become involved in those struggles which have conditioned their existences. It would be premature to state that teachers 'belong' to a certain class. They are, however, inserted in a complex of accumulation, legitimation and control-related practices in which what they do has definite class effects. However, neither teachers' continuance in these reproductive roles, nor the very functions themselves are in any way essential. Within current capitalist social formations, teachers are not

indispensable to 'the system', but neither is the system the only one which is plausible for teachers.

These matters of insecurity, ambivalence and choice inform much of the recent research on the nature of teachers' work. Much has been written about teacher alienation, processes of deskilling, deprofessionalisation and disempowerment, as well as growing teacher militancy. In the overall patterning of class forces in society, teachers are centrally implicated, both as agents of class reproduction and, relatedly, as agents of class struggle.

But, if teachers are inserted into a complex of class relations and forces which they cannot 'escape' or 'stand above,' exactly what do they do? Do they conform or rebel? Do they side with the owners, exploiters, oppressors and controllers or with the non-owners, exploited, oppressed and controlled? Or do they vacillate? Do they attempt to establish some position 'in the middle'?

As I shall argue, it depends. My major concern is, in fact, to trace those parameters which enable us to explore how it depends. Kevin Harris, in his book Teachers and Classes,⁶ refers to teachers as: "... non-aligned ... fickle ... amenable and likely to make adjustments in their class position in accordance with other determining factors." Bob Connell⁷ in his book, Teacher's Work argues that teachers are "... often at odds with each other and can be pushed in more than one direction." Michael Nelson,⁸ in his unpublished

Ph.D. dissertation, Teacher Militancy also puts the matter well:

In a sense contradictory strains arising from teachers' class position cancel each other out, making it impossible to predict the direction of collective teacher action on the basis of class location alone.

All three authors affirm that the class character of teachers is indeterminate, ambivalent, and contingent. What teachers can become, therefore, is much less certain than is the case for other occupational groups. This is what makes teachers and certain other groups of state professional employees, such as nurses and social workers, worth investigating: their class character is a challenge, both to themselves and to social investigators.

What makes the insights of scholars such as Harris, Connell and Nelson so valuable is that they have recognised the awkward, untidy facts of the indeterminate class character of teachers. Many other scholars, as we shall see, have rushed too readily to classify, attribute and locate. Nonetheless, if we wish to explore the class character of state professional employees, using teachers in contemporary Canada as an exemplary group, we have to find a method for describing and analysing vacillation and ambivalence. My response to this challenge has been to make use of structuration theory, derived largely from the scholarship of Anthony Giddens.'

In brief, structuration theory constitutes a sustained attempt to overcome the dualisms I have been describing in this section, such as structure-agency, collective-individual, determinism-voluntarism and objective - subjective. It attempts to overcome them by treating each of the ostensible opposites as constituent parts of each other's production and reproduction. Thus, a structurationist analysis of class treats class agency seriously, but does not thereby grant agents complete historical 'free will'. Structures exist as sets of more-or-less sedimented rules and resources which are, often routinely, drawn upon in ongoing practices. We are, on the one hand, unknowingly subjected to such structures but, on the other hand, we also act as subjects to draw upon available rules and resources in a deliberate manner. Similarly, certain social patterns are within our capacity to change, while others evade us because of the unintended consequences of our actions.

Structuration theory is most promising for the analysis of the class character of state professional employees because it combines a sophisticated appreciation of the cultural, economic and political parameters of contemporary societies with a deliberate and sustained openness to the actual practices of social agents within, and sometimes beyond, those parameters.

DEFINITIONS AND DELINEATIONS

In exploring the meaning of the major concepts used in the dissertation I have three purposes. First, I wish to indicate that simple 'definitions' are currently unattainable, given the ideological interests which underpin the various approaches to the concepts. Second, I intend simply to assist the reader through their usage in the dissertation and, third, to continue the work, already undertaken in the first section of this Introduction, to establish the broad parameters of my ideas.

Social Class:

My understanding of class is based upon, but not restricted to, a Marxist conception of relations which arise from processes of production. Since I take class to be, simultaneously, something which happens to people as well as something which people create or do, some account needs to be taken of those negotiated aspects of class being which relate to gaining or losing in the economic marketplace, including the market in labour power. In the capitalist mode of production exploitation is concealed by the specific manner in which surplus value is extracted. The consequence has been the oft-fetishised notion of 'a fair day's work for a fair day's pay'. Under such ideological conditions, distributional questions achieve major importance, becoming matters of constant class negotiation. Thus, from my perspective,

distributional factors are as important as those of ownership and control of the labour process and the means of production.

The emergence of a large number of skilled, credentialled wage workers in the twentieth century has elevated the concept of status to a degree of intrinsic relevance to any understanding of class. Status is not an epiphenomenon; it is constitutive of class formation and class struggle. How we conceive of and symbolise social relations and how we act within them are parts of the same recursive process of social structuration.

Class, then, is related to questions of social ownership, control, distribution and status: how the surplus value (or surplus labour) is extracted from the producers; how such extraction is socially explained and symbolised; how the exploited and economically oppressed are kept in place and reproduced; who benefits from the distribution of surplus value and status resources; and what struggles occur over the sharing of the benefits and burdens of the capitalist mode of production.

The structurationist conception of class stresses that classes are collectivities into which people are born and inserted when they enter and negotiate their way through the workplace, being assigned a specific place in the division of labour. But it also recognises that classes are the deliberate and unintended consequences of people's struggles over ownership, control, distribution and status. In this

sense, each class action can be viewed, simultaneously, as a structural prop or an historical event.

Class Location:

This concept, and the next concept to be considered, class position, are often treated as ontologically distinctive. Class location, or 'class determination,' is regarded as corresponding to a reading of Marx's 'class-in-itself'. My own analysis explores the nature of the linkages between the two rather than asserting that they are entirely distinctive or that they are, in practice, the same phenomenon. I expect these linkages to become clearer when I discuss the distinctions between 'contradiction' and 'conflict' in Chapter Two.

Class location indicates a set of objective, historically emergent structural placements of large groups in the social relations of production, vis-a-vis other classes. Class locations are said to exist irrespective of the notions of individuals and groups concerning their existence. Furthermore, class locations can be ideological and political as well as economic. Thus, for those who adhere to the concept of an objective set of class locations, the 'bearers' of class relations can be ideologically inserted in various ways and act as class agents without their individual knowledge. While I agree that individuals and groups can be unaware of certain conditioning effects of their class

locations I do not believe that class location should be understood as a given ontological priority and be said to operate even when there is no human intervention of a purposeful kind.

Class Position:

Theoreticians who sustain the concept of objective class locations have found it necessary to explain why certain classes, in practice, act in ways which are antithetical to those objective 'interests' which correspond to their location. As I shall explain, such attribution of interest is, in general, incorrect. But, more specifically, in the case of state professional employees it is very difficult to determine exactly what objective interests could correspond to their indeterminate class location.

Class position, therefore, fills a void. It denotes the strategic and tactical movements of classes at certain times, and their consequent class representations. Class location and class position can, therefore, be non-corresponding. Theoreticians who employ the distinction wish to accord prominence to one or the other. In so doing, they tend to treat human agency as either entirely constitutive of class relations, or entirely irrelevant to the process. What needs to be done instead is to investigate the manner in which intention blends with the unintended consequences, and

knowledge blends with the unacknowledged origins of class being.

Class Consciousness:

Many theoreticians operate with a conception of collective consciousness. This (mis)conception has, as we shall see, resulted in a great deal of unnecessarily tortuous argumentation. It is simplest to begin with the assumption that consciousness is irreducibly individual. Using the term 'class culture' for that mode of class expressivity which is collective renders the distinction clear.

Consciousness refers to the individual's cognitive awareness of the world in which she or he lives. Consciousness develops to the extent that individuals interpret their own experiences. For Erik Olin Wright, consciousness refers to, "... those elements of a person's subjectivity which are discursively available to the individual's own awareness."¹⁰

Some scholars have employed the concepts of 'true' and 'false' consciousness. These categories are premised on a range of dualistic theories which treat society and the individual, science and practice, and history and structure as mutually exclusive phenomenon. I reject such conceptions of true and false consciousness stressing, rather, multiply-formed subjectivities from which emerge differently patterned blends of consciousness. Such consciousness changes according

to circumstance and according to contingency. Consciousness develops as the individual interrogates the inherited social world and, to a greater or lesser extent, modifies it. Although social relations are the indispensable subject matter of consciousness, it is better to think of consciousness as an individual tool - or even a weapon - rather than a social attribute.

Consciousness of class is, therefore, the awareness, forever emergent and shifting, of questions of social ownership, control, distribution and status. Thus class consciousness, as I conceive it, must be distinguished from 'awareness of class,' in which the individual relates in some way to the verbal prompt, 'class.' The relevance of this distinction becomes apparent once we investigate the plethora of mainstream questionnaire research built around precisely this kind of prompt and its responses. The word 'class' in Canada lacks a consistent discursive focus, even if, as I shall argue later, those issues which pertain to what I mean by class constitute a range of coherent and meaningful positions.

To say that an individual possesses class consciousness is not to impose upon individuals some structure of 'levels' or 'stages' of class consciousness into which they may be inserted. To argue in this way is to push individuals toward a particular reading of their life situation which they may not share. In our impatience to see class actors read their

class situations correctly, we may ignore the very important signals emanating from what they actually believe. This is not to deny the virtue, and inevitability, of operating with a series of probabilistic expectations based upon the patterns of individual life chances. Such wary and tentative mapping of social and individual mechanisms is, however, far removed from the Leninist 'trade union' vs. 'socialist' consciousness model. There are great insights in Lenin's distinction, but we are obliged to exhibit a greater sensitivity to the particularities of time and place in which socio-economic, political and cultural circumstances come to affect people's thoughts and, possibly, their actions.

The Middle Class or Intermediate Stratum:

Since the entire dissertation concerns problems of theorising the middle class, it would be very difficult to provide any definitive delineation at this stage. My use of the phrase 'middle class' should not be taken to imply that I acknowledge the coherent existence of such a class. I use the term in the absence of a more adequate collective noun and in full awareness of the unwanted baggage which travels with it.

The emergence of the middle class, or intermediate stratum, is directly the consequence of the changing nature of the capitalist mode of production in this century, principally the economic, political and ideological

contradictions between the forces and relations of production, involving the two key classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Theorising the class character of these classes is beyond the scope of the dissertation. Nevertheless, it can be argued that these two polar classes form a historically definitive dyadic antagonism, based upon irreconcilable contradictions, with which the growth of the middle class has been associated.

There exists another 'middle class,' the traditional petty bourgeoisie of independent commodity producers and small-business people. The traditional petty bourgeoisie has everywhere contracted in the twentieth century, in terms of numbers as well as economic, political and cultural weight. The 'new middle class' has, of course, expanded throughout this century. Given the hegemony of capitalism in the twentieth century, a hegemony which has only been sustained through monumental changes, one can detect a clear logic in both the decline of the traditional middle class (concentration and centralisation of capital) and the rise of the new middle class (the growing problems of mediating capital/labour social relations as well as the increasing technical difficulties of the reproduction of labour power). Such logic, however, must not lead to functionalism and should be viewed as historically contingent, rather than structurally inevitable. Both the decline of the traditional petty bourgeoisie and the rise of the middle class took place in a

complex of particular political and cultural struggles, the outcomes of which are, even today, far from certain.

Nonetheless, it is safe to argue that the new middle class has grown historically as the regulator and supervisor of the process of realising surplus value, involving managing, planning and co-ordinating. As the global force of monopoly capital consolidated, in the 1930s and 1940s, so the state emerged with enhanced and more complex responsibilities for ensuring continued accumulation and, simultaneously, facilitating legitimisation of the capitalist economic system and social formation. School teachers, as state professionals, were critical in this process. As with other middle class occupational groups, teachers developed control over yet also empowered their clients, the school students. Teachers were accorded a certain autonomy and status as well as distributional advantages, yet they also, as wage earners, were subject to economic oppression and regulation of their work process.

School teachers were just one occupational group whose rapid growth was the consequence of the economic and political changes I have identified. There were many others: accountants, managers and supervisors, planners, nurses, social workers, sales representatives, advertising personnel and clerical workers. I have not made the claim that these various occupational groupings actually constitute a 'class' and, as I shall explain in Chapter One, such claims would

necessarily be too deterministic. Any statement of the class character of the middle class necessarily involves an appreciation of class position, that is, how, if at all, these various occupational groups think and act together.

The final word in this section belongs to C. Wright Mills, who identifies something which has been of critical importance to me in my research on the class character of state professionals. He argues that in a highly individuated and fragmented social milieu, it is perhaps on the basis of individual-level analysis that we must originate our exploration of the class character of the middle class:

since they [the middle class] have no public position, their private positions as individuals determine in what direction each of them goes: but as individuals, they do not know where to go. So now they waver. They hesitate, confused and vacillating in their opinions, unformed and discontinuous in their actions."

It is for these reasons that, in Chapters Three and Five, I devote as much attention to biographical and personal experiences as to collective ones.

State Professional Employees:

Even before we can consider the ideologically saturated concept, 'professional', we must address ourselves to the concept of 'state.' Panitch's extension of Miliband's definition of the state is a good place to begin:

The state is a complex of institutions, including government, but also including the bureaucracy (embodied in the Civil Service as well as in public corporations, central banks, regulatory commissions,

etc.), the military, the judiciary, representative assemblies, and (very importantly for Canada) what Miliband calls the sub-central levels of government, that is, provincial executives, legislatures, and bureaucracies, and municipal governmental institutions.¹²

The state has developed, in monopoly capitalist societies, as the central forum for the overall co-ordination of the capitalist economic system. It depends upon such an economy for its continuance as well as the continued integrity of the territories which it controls. Nevertheless, since there are no automatic steering mechanisms in the capitalist economy, at least none powerful enough to afford a macrological co-ordinating role, the state fulfils this task. In a more general sense, the state is responsible for the maintenance of a semblance of order and regularity in its territories. Consequently, it must constantly regulate and control conflict and try to ensure that contradictions are managed. Such contradictions, and the conflicts which sometimes develop out of them, may be economic, to do with the problems of capitalism, but others relate to non-economic issues such as race, ethnicity, language, religion, age, gender-sexual politics, sub-national and trans-national problems and issues. The state, therefore, finds itself responsible for increasingly difficult rule and resource allocation - legitimising, allocating, authorising, restraining, and interpreting. As Weber noted, its own

ultimate resource is the monopoly on the legitimate use of violence.

State professionals are executive lieutenants in this process. They co-ordinate and carry out the various activities of the state. But this is not to adopt a functionalist view. State professionals do not simply 'put into effect' structural imperatives decided elsewhere, but are, in fact, like other social agents, an intrinsic and discretionary force in the rules and resources they manage, and may even be in conflict with them. In its origins and its practices, the 'welfare state' is an oppressive instrument as well as a popular gain. Johnson and O'Donnell express this well:

... service professionals ... produce socially necessary services rather than marketed commodities: this production carries implicitly within it the germ of a new society, one which is organized to collectively produce, distribute, and consume use values in a humane, rational, and egalitarian form.¹³

If professionals are able to accentuate and promote the use-value logic of their positions, they are embedded in a state which depends upon the perpetuation of exchange-value rationality. The struggles between these two logics are distilled into the very symbolic presence of the label: 'professional':

The term "professional" is itself partly a function of reification: the term is not a neutral, objective description of reality, but is, rather, a label which has developed in response to specific social context [sic] and which functions in turn to create a reality which becomes part of the social context.¹⁴

The term 'professional,' then, is multiply connotational and various social actors, from time to time, are interested in stressing several characteristics. The state, as we shall see, is able to use the label, 'professional' to regulate, control and disempower its credentialed workers. Those workers themselves can use the term to restrict access to their ranks via credentialism, licencing and quotas. Alternatively, they can use the term to gain for themselves routine advances in pay and conditions. They can co-operate with the state against clients - those who are to be 'regulated' - or they can combine with their clients, operating on the basis of the 'neutral,' universalistic use-values their 'professionalism' implies, against an authoritarian state. Clients, equally, may interpret professionals as the beneficent and trustworthy distributors of largesse, or as the impersonal and elitist controllers of their lives.

The term 'professional' thus emerges from political, economic and cultural ambiguities. It cannot be defined once and for all.

THE DIRECTION OF THE DISSERTATION: A CHAPTER SYNOPSIS

Having introduced the major substantive questions of the dissertation and provided a brief delineation of the central

concepts, I now wish to explain how my exploration of them will unfold in the five substantive chapters.

Chapter One considers the current literature on the class character of state professional employees. The purpose of the review is to engage in debate with those scholars who claim to have identified the class character of school teachers and other state professionals. Since certain scholars include state professional employees in larger categories, such as 'the middle class,' the analyses are not restricted to those authors who have dealt exclusively with state professionals.

The chapter is divided into two major foci, criticising first structuralist and then voluntarist accounts of the class character of state professional employees. Within each focus, a range of particular class attributions of state professionals exist. Therefore, both approaches, and each attempt at class attribution within them, receive critical attention. The principal criticism of structuralism relates to its determinism and objectivism; the major objection to voluntarism concerns its recourse to teleology and the attribution of rationality and meaning to social actors.

In Chapter Two, I develop my response to these theoretical impasses. Using structurationist theory, I attempt a particular re-theorisation of the class character of state professionals, which overcomes the structuralist-voluntarist dualism. Such a re-theorisation carries implicitly within it a demand for methodological extension.

That structurationist theory motivates its own engagement with the phenomenal world is best understood in Giddens' conception of 'the double hermeneutic'¹⁵: the notion that social theory emerges through diffuse and particular interplay between the rationalities and projects of investigators and the rationalities and projects of social actors in their everyday lives. The concept of the double hermeneutic has been appreciated for some time. Giddens' work, however, enables us to make critical use of its operational features so that we might overcome the tendencies toward idealised theoretical abstractions, on the one hand, and the apparent randomness of everyday practical thinking on the other. Eschewing dualisms of 'social science' vs. 'common sense,' the method consists of an interweaving of the two - a duality of consciousnesses. Our social scientific understandings, despite their undoubted impact on the processes of social structuration, are incomplete and often highly tentative, and the actions of social agents, despite their seeming randomness, are often deliberate in their intentions and predictable in their consequences. All social agents, including social scientists, operate on the basis of unacknowledged conditions of actions as well as unintended consequences. Both social scientists qua social scientists and social agents in their everyday lives employ discursive, or reflective, consciousness as well as practical, or unreflective, consciousness. The only difference - although it is arguable whether it is always

operative - is that social scientists regard it as their vocational practice to engage in the sustained work of discursive reflection about the social world. Consequently, no adequate use of structurationist theory is possible without a deliberate and sustained attention to the rationalities and projects of those social agents under investigation. Furthermore, structurationist theory moves the researcher away from the abstract and ahistorical verities of structuralism without leading to the utter voluntarism of symbolic interactionism.

The particular focus of class structuration chosen in the dissertation is consciousness. This is not because consciousness is taken to be the only focus of class existence worth investigating. Consciousness is appropriate here, however, because it affords a mediating ground between structural 'rules and resources' and their reproduction. In Chapter Two, I explain how these normative and signifying rules as well as the authoritative and allocative resources constitute those 'structures' which are constantly drawn upon in their own reproduction or transgression. I acknowledge that it is possible to identify a cultural or intersubjective moment of such structuring practices as well as a conscious or subjective moment. The two are, of course, intimately linked. However, for my purposes, consciousness constitutes the most promising starting point for an investigation of class structuration.

In my account of Chapter Two, I made reference to the need for detailed and painstaking work in the theorisation of the lives of those social agents under investigation. It is in Chapter Three that I establish my understanding of the social, economic, cultural and political context of contemporary school teachers in Canada and, more specifically, Ontario and Ottawa - Carleton. The development of these insights enables me to generate those targetted class-related issues and concerns which will constitute the basis of my investigation of the school teachers, the results of which are analysed in Chapters Four and Five.

In the first five sections of Chapter Three, I describe how the social structural forces conditioning teachers' working and non-working lives, as well as teachers' own actions in shaping these very forces, have been, and continue to be, contradictory and conflictual. At the heart of this is a dual-valanced experiential continuum. The poles of the continuum approximate to the opposing impulses of capitalism: socialized production vs. private appropriation. The post-war experiences of Canadian state professionals in general, and school teachers in particular, can be seen to have been conditioned by the unstable fault line between the two poles.

Much of Chapter Three, then, is devoted to explaining the historical background of teachers' class experiences in Canada. On the basis of this I attempt to derive a meaningful, coherent and empirically supported framework from

which to investigate the class character of contemporary Canadian school teachers. In the final section of the chapter I bring together these historical and empirical insights to establish a range of plausible positions and concepts with which to address the teachers of Ottawa-Carleton.

Chapter Four represents my analysis of the responses of school teachers in Ottawa-Carleton to the class experiential agenda I have established and set out in Chapter Three. It is, therefore, a largely empirical chapter in which aspects of class consciousness are analysed and presented. Because it is based upon a relatively small sample, the results of the empirical work must be treated with caution and be taken as suggestive rather than definitive. Having allowed my own understanding of the class experiences of teachers, derived from the historical empirical analysis of Chapter Three, to form the basis of my field study of the class consciousnesses of the school teachers of Ottawa-Carleton in Chapter Four, I undertake a series of empirical tests of hypotheses, related to the correlates of teacher class consciousness, in Chapter Five. My theoretical insights and empirical evidence encourage me to anticipate that it is personal and biographical factors which correlate with patterns of teacher class consciousness in contemporary Ottawa-Carleton, rather than collective experiences, such as union and strike activism.

In the concluding chapter, I attempt a reconciliation of my theorisations with the results of the empirical analysis in chapters Four and Five. In the spirit of structurationist theory, it is not conceived as a neat and packaged conclusion. At best, it represents the achievement of a more profound understanding of a highly complex and ever-changing process of social structuration.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

Introduction

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CHAPTER ONE

DETERMINISM IN STRUCTURALIST AND VOLUNTARIST APPROACHES TO THE CLASS CHARACTER OF STATE PROFESSIONALS

INTRODUCTION:

In this chapter, I consider some of the contemporary literature on the class character of the middle class, state professionals, and, more specifically, school teachers. My major objective is to discover whether any of the most familiar analyses provide a satisfactory account of the class locations or class positions of school teachers. By the end of the chapter, by means of detailed and specific critiques, I demonstrate that none of them does. Moreover, I identify the major contradictions in existing approaches and, in so doing, move my argument toward my attempt to resolve these contradictions in Chapter Two. Despite my criticisms of existing theories, however, I garner from the insights of various scholars useful material for the construction of my own approach.

To anticipate, I take issue with both major approaches to class - structuralism and voluntarism - for failing to be open enough to the variations of conjunctural circumstances. Such openness is essential because, both structurally and in terms of their agency, state professionals, such as school

teachers, cannot be fixed, once and for all, on a 'class map,' either in terms of their 'given' location or their 'chosen' position. Much of my criticism revolves around attempts to do so.

I demonstrate how attempts to locate school teachers in certain classes, even in 'contradictory class locations,' fail to capture the emergent class character of this occupational group, in particular their propensity for independent and even idiosyncratic class behaviour. It becomes clear that teachers are, if anywhere, in contradictory or ambivalent locations. Such contradiction or ambivalence demands detailed conjunctural exploration.

Such is the promise of the voluntarist approach. Unfortunately, existing voluntarist approaches do not take into account the conditioning effects of structural ambivalence, and, in the end, tend to become arbitrarily attributional, assigning school teachers and other state professionals to certain class cultures and fixed collective behaviour patterns. Such approaches are one-sided, because they are always open to contradiction by counterfactual evidence.

In the end, I advocate a new epistemological position, which overcomes the limits of structuralism and voluntarism, by exploring the structured nature of cultural ambivalence. As we shall see, I choose to do this by concentrating upon the nature of class consciousness.

APPROACHES TO CLASS CHARACTER: VOLUNTARISM AND STRUCTURALISM

The two major sections of this chapter concern the dominant approaches to class character - voluntarism and structuralism. Most understandings of social class are rooted, explicitly or implicitly, in the classical foundations established by Marx and Weber. Because the insights of these writers never achieved a definitive, extended treatment, generations of scholars have been able to draw upon their analyses in a broad range of creative ways.

The central tension, both within the works of Marx and Weber and between them, concerns the relationship between social determination and social contingency in the characterisation of social classes. Does 'social being determine social consciousness' in some automatic manner, or is the social existence of class entirely dependent upon the collective culture of a body of people who know and will themselves to be a class? On the most obvious level, Marx and Marxists adhere to the former position, while Weber and the Weberians argue the latter. It is, however, misleading to posit 'Marx the material determinist' versus 'Weber the idealist' or to argue that Weber is a market-based voluntarist while Marx is a production-based structuralist. Such absolute oppositions are crude renderings of the subtle, if incomplete, scholarship of each author and his successors.

The positions of both Marx and Weber can be further illuminated by tracing their thoughts on the middle class. It is in their respective treatments of the middle class that we arrive at some of the fundamental differences between them. For Marx, the middle class was not really a 'class' at all. It was, rather, a heterogeneous category,¹ consisting of a fast-declining fragment of the old petite bourgeoisie, coupled with a loose amalgam of non-productive wage earners, who would eventually be swallowed up by one of the two classes constituted by their objective location in antagonistic production relations, the proletariat or the bourgeoisie. What made the middle class such a heterogeneous and indeterminate grouping was the fact that non-productive workers were not bound, in a necessary manner, to the mechanisms of surplus value extraction. It is this latter insight, the manner in which surplus value is extracted from the direct producers, which occupies the core of Marx's thinking on class.

If the middle class are decentred from Marx's basic economic interpretation of the class structure in capitalist societies, for Weber, they are central. Observing changes in the occupational structure, in particular the rapid rise of the ranks of bureaucrats, administrators and clerks, Weber argued that it was politics rather than economics which best explained the character of capitalism. Capitalism was the economic outcome of an historical process of rationalisation,

characterised by the growing dominance of the 'iron cage' of the legal-rational order. Capitalism was, moreover, a contingent outcome. Liberated from the constraints of a mechanistic economic theory, Weber was able to develop those elements of class existence which suffered from relative neglect in Marx such as status, authority, credentials, bureaucratic hierarchy and the liberal conception of rationality.

At the risk of oversimplification, it can be argued that, in terms of class analysis, Marx is the theoretician of contradiction, while Weber is the analyst of domination and conflict. Marx conducts a painstaking examination of the machinery of the economic system and discovers that, contrary to appearances, it is doomed to breakdown. Weber casts a wider net in his exploration of the problems of order in modernity and establishes a tentative framework for understanding how forms of conflict and co-operation can best be understood. Each author suffers from the absence of the other's central insights, yet, as I shall argue, both approaches are important. Marx is stunted by his refusal to acknowledge the autonomous importance of bureaucratic power and privilege; Weber's theories suffer from the absence of an understanding of the structural contradictions at the heart of class relations.

It is not unreasonable to place Marx at the origin of the structuralist conceptions of class and Weber at the

beginning of voluntarist understandings. However, attempts at author taxonomy in class analysis are always stymied by the complexity of the actual arguments raised. Every writer on class is obliged to be both a structuralist and a voluntarist. All that can be claimed is that authors tend to stress one approach or the other. What ultimately matters is not the particular label which applies to a scholar, but the intrinsic value of that author's arguments.

Structuralist work on social class is of critical importance in this dissertation. The self-conscious contemporary emergence of a structuralist approach to class analysis is related, in part, to the central concern of this dissertation, the class character of the middle class. Louis Althusser² and his students have attempted to construct non-deterministic yet rigorous ways of reading the structurally objective locations of social classes in capitalism, notably those between capital and labour. Althusser and his colleagues believed that they were engaged upon a radical and fundamental 'rescue' of Marxism from the clutches of those scholars who had purportedly weakened the rigours of Marxist science through inappropriate 'humanism' and 'historicism'.

Structuralism was a response to, and continues to be in dialogue with, voluntarism; an approach which has been equally seminal in my approach to class. In contrast with structuralism, voluntarism was based upon the 'early', 'Hegelian' Marx, notably the Marx of The Paris Manuscripts.

The discovery of these writings, in the early 1930s, coincided with the beginnings of various strands of voluntarism. The general tenor of these voluntaristic approaches was indeed 'humanistic', concentrating upon essential rights, human needs, the tangible misery of alienation, and the naturally co-operative and creative potentials of humankind. Structuralism, by contrast, was to develop Marxism as a hard science - hard meaning both rigorous and unsentimental - with the major themes being derived from the work of the 'later' Marx, after the so-called 'epistemological break'. Structuralism would explore the fine details of the mechanism of the capitalist mode of production, the reproduction of the forces and relations of production, commodity fetishism and the inexorable insertion of bodies as the passive 'bearers' of class relations, beyond their 'will'. These themes are developed, with reference to state professionals, in the section on structuralism. I will turn my attention now to voluntarist insights.

VOLUNTARISM

No more than a brief mention is necessary, at this stage, of the lineaments of early voluntarist thought. Mention has already been made of the work of Weber, so I will concentrate on certain Marxist authors of the 1930s and 1940s.

The work of Antonio Gramsci¹ represents a sustained enquiry into the manner in which the working class comes to

act in certain ways which sustain its own oppression. Gramsci concentrates on the impact of ideologies on culture and is best known for his work on the concept of 'hegemony'. The notion of hegemony allows us to think through the manner in which we simultaneously accept and resist our insertion into capitalist social relations - economically, politically and ideologically - and how we can use counter-hegemonic discourse to create the bases for profound economic change.

The Freudo-Marxism of Reich,⁴ Fromm⁵ and Marcuse,⁶ offers important insights into how oppressive social structures are historically reproduced in each of us through our unconsciousnesses, and how the family and the realm of mass consumption relate to the struggles of production. If Gramsci offers the insight that control and resistance are not cast-iron absolutes, the Freudo-Marxists explain how, as individuals, we come to live both regulation and resistance, and how ostensibly non-political experiences relate to political practices.

From a neo-Hegelian perspective, the Frankfurt School of 'critical theory', best exemplified in the work of Horkheimer,⁷ Adorno⁸ and Habermas,⁹ stresses the importance of reasoned communication as praxis, and the manner in which liberal ideology in its various manifestations has had a distorting effect upon our capacity to question. Open to the criticism that it is too 'idealist', critical theory

nonetheless adds to our understanding of how complex it is to unravel the 'taken-for-granted'.

A group of British historiographers, including Christopher Hill,¹⁰ Eric Hobsbawm¹¹ and E.P. Thompson,¹² have conducted painstaking research into the manner in which social classes make themselves in history. By concentrating on the complexities of lived historical experience, these scholars have opened the way for a subtle re-appraisal of the manner in which people confront the conditions of their own existences.

Naturally, many other thinkers could be added to the above categories. Their projects combine such a broad range of purposes and perspectives that they defy easy classification. What does unite these otherwise disparate voices is their concentration upon the capacity of the human will (voluntas) and the creativity of rational (and irrational) projects based upon human purposes and intentions.

Perhaps the clearest expression of the voluntarist impulse in theories of class is in the scholarship of E.P. Thompson. Thompson asserts:

... it [class] is an historical phenomenon. I do not see class as a 'structure', nor even as a 'category', but as something which in fact happens¹³

Thompson is quite adamant that: "Class is defined by men as they live their own history, and, in the end, this is its only definition."¹⁴

Such anti-structuralist insights are also to be found in recent work specifically on state professional employees. American scholar Sherry Gorelick¹⁵ objects to, as she sees it, undialectical attempts to: "... nail teachers into a "place" in "the class structure". Australian writer, Bob Connell similarly adopts a voluntarist perspective when he asserts:

Rather than asking what teachers' class location is, we should be asking what class relations teachers enter. Better still, we should ask through what practices, their own and others', teachers participate in class relations; what their views, purposes and conflicts are; and what are the consequences for the making and remaking of class structure."

Such reasoning is close to my own, although, as I shall elaborate in the next chapter, I find it better not to posit 'class location' against 'class relations', but to view them as part of the same process. Connell is correct, however, to argue that what state professionals do is of critical importance in what they can become in class terms.

STATE PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYEES AS WORKING CLASS

As we shall see, the designation of state professionals and other new middle class individuals as working class is relatively common among Marxist voluntarists. Unlike their structuralist counterparts, who cite mechanistic reasons why all those who alienate their labour power in return for a wage should automatically be classified as proleterian,¹⁷ voluntarists are concerned to answer the Weberian argument

that, in terms of control, distribution and status, state professionals are in a different, higher class than manual workers. Voluntarist Marxists usually assert that such advantages are ephemeral and inessential and, in any case, are subject to historical erosion. If state professionals exhibit a false consciousness of difference, circumstances will gradually oblige them to change their minds. The debilitating effects of being a wage worker will ultimately guide people's political choices. Employing such an analysis, the British scholar of trade unions, Vic Allen argues:

There is no doubt that selling labour power possesses common objectives which can be characterised by inferiority, helplessness, subordination, subjugation to varying extents ... a common objective economic position.¹⁸

Allen is making the implicit point that it is the sale of one's labour power alone which makes a wage-earner 'working class.' In so doing, Allen is adopting a necessary condition as a sufficient one. As I have already pointed out, class is concerned with control, distribution and status as well as with ownership. Allen's classification is too highly dependent upon the latter. Not all scholars, however, have chosen to equate state professionals' class positions with those of the immiserated masses. The French scholars, Alain Touraine and Roger Garaudy¹⁹ detect the existence of a 'new working class', of technological and other white-collar workers, who, far from being oppressed and weary proletarians, are skilled, confident, avowedly privileged, yet strongly

anti-capitalist cohorts. In a sense, these workers can be seen as the vanguard of the working class, both because of their pivotal importance in the organisation of production and because of their articulate opposition to the inefficiencies and waste of capitalism.

The problem of attempting to assess the usefulness of the two approaches just described revolves around the issue of what, in voluntarist terms, it means to be 'working class'. There are two common interpretations. One, based upon community and culture, stresses the inchoate, yet powerful, culture of enclosed subordinate communities. The other, based upon the analysis of ideologies and large-scale political movements, identifies the articulate, anti-capitalist resistance of actively open groups.

What, if anything, in the class-related experiences of state professionals would prompt them toward either of the two interpretations of the 'working class' just described. There has been little research on the propensity of state professionals to gravitate toward the 'them and us' culture of the traditional working class. In contemporary Canada it is uncertain how far a coherent and viable working-class culture exists. Such an issue is beyond the scope of this work. However, later in the dissertation I attempt to explore conceptions such as solidarity, status distinction and attitudes toward unions and workers among teachers.

Research has, however, been conducted on the propensity of state professionals and other middle-class occupational groups to adopt an anti-capitalist ideology. Once the occupational and other experiences of state professionals are investigated, it seems plausible, if not inevitable, that they would gravitate toward an anti-capitalist ideological position. In an interesting article, Peter Meiksins²⁰ suggests just this.

Meiksins introduces us to a point of distinction within the professional worker category, that between supervisors and managers who directly control the processes of material production, on the one hand, and other professionals who control and reproduce capitalist social relations in a more diffuse way, outside the materially productive workplace, on the other hand. Of the two groups, it is the former who are inclined to be more consistently pro-capitalist because, Meiksins argues, they are more routinely required to impose authority on behalf of the capitalist class. The distinction Meiksins introduces between production and service professionals is an important one, even if, as Meiksins himself admits, it is not clear-cut. Meiksins acknowledges that teachers and other service professionals do in fact: "... enter into conflict at times with all or part of the 'working class'"²¹, but, he argues, they are also exploited by their employers, and have unionised and affiliated to broader

working-class movements in order to protect their position.

There are two problems with this analysis, however. First, Meiksins puts too little stress on the central fact that school teachers are socialised, and encouraged in the very nature of their occupational existences, to reproduce social constant capital, in the form of trained and skilled children, and social variable capital, in the shape of obedient and docile charges. Second, Meiksins too readily assumes that 'unionisation' is an indicator of 'becoming working class', that is developing a solidarity with the manual working class. We shall explore the issue of unionisation in more detail later. At present, it is sufficient to state that unionisation could be interpreted as a desperate bid to distance the occupational group from the manual working class, by the attendant demands for higher wage differentials and greater occupational status.

Despite these reservations, it is plausible to argue that service professionals, especially those working for the state, who are doubly distanced from capitalism, can develop a relatively greater degree of anti-capitalism. This is precisely what Dale Johnson and his colleagues²² have been arguing for some time. Johnson argues that state professionals have: "... a clear class interest in maintaining, even extending, the process of decommmodification and socialization of the production of use values."²³ Such an

interest springs from the character of their occupational roles, which accentuate service and the general good, rather than profitability and private advantage. State professionals, in their everyday occupational practices come to live such 'use-value' rationality quite naturally. This certainly raises the possibility that state professionals can act against capitalist interests, and exhibit socialist behaviour. As with all attribution of will, however, it is always balanced by the plausible positing of an opposite will, that is, a will to support and sustain commodified and exchange-rational values. My exploration of post-war teacher behaviour in Canada, in Chapter Three, will, in fact, reveal both use- and exchange-value mentality and action. Even if it materialises that use-value logic and action has been dominant, we face another, complex question, which will receive greater attention later: Does the espousal and demonstration of socialist beliefs render state professionals a part of the working class? or, as some have argued, is this very manifestation what makes the occupational category distinctive from the working class and other classes?

Jennifer Ozga and Martin Lawn²⁴ have conducted a lengthy analysis of British school teachers in which their central conclusion is that teachers are becoming proleterian. Ozga and Lawn's portrayal of teachers is, however, partial and limited, and the authors employ criteria of classification which are dubious. The authors point out, quite correctly,

that it is little more than guesswork to assume that because teachers are inserted into a structural 'role' (of reproduction), they should act according to it or think according to its logic. They are equally correct to demand concrete studies of actual labour processes and struggles at the 'point of production', rather than abstract theorisations.²⁵ Ozga and Lawn, however, take the argument a step further, saying that because teachers are not functionally determined as agents of bourgeois reproduction, they have become radically proletarian.²⁶ Nowhere in their monograph do Ozga and Lawn offer very strong evidence to back up their assertions. They have a strong point when they claim that the political distinction between productive and unproductive labour is a spurious one. In accord with Dale Johnson²⁷, Ozga and Lawn argue that, in experiential terms, it does not really matter whether one is technically 'exploited' (that is, has surplus value extracted from one), or 'economically oppressed' (that is, has surplus labour pumped out of one). For Ozga and Lawn, only a crude economism could allocate teachers to a 'middle class' of unproductive workers. Furthermore, they argue,²⁸ attempts to sustain a class antagonism between such 'middle class' workers and the working class are obliged to rest on unsubstantiated assertions of subjectivity: a list of ascribed class characteristics.

I agree with Ozga and Lawn but remain confused about why they themselves resort to such ascriptions of will, if in the

opposite direction. The evidence they accrue to substantiate their claims is weak. First, they describe the proletarianisation of the labour process in schools and the deskilling of teachers' work.²⁹ These are important processes. However, they cannot be taken as either necessary or sufficient grounds for teachers to become proletarian in their beliefs and actions. There is evidence to suggest, in fact, that such processes of 'deprofessionalisation' prompt teachers toward a greater status consciousness. Second, Ozga and Lawn use increased trade-union activism as an indicator, which, they believe, reflects the growth of working-class unity and consciousness.³⁰ As I shall be arguing, the linkages between unionisation and radical consciousness or activism are much more obtuse than this simple equation implies.

Despite these misgivings about attempts to situate state professionals as occupants of a proletarian class position, the arguments are not without merit. State professionals are non-owners, who are, to a greater or lesser extent, economically oppressed. Large groups of them have experienced a declining control of their labour process. On the other hand, in distributional, status and other market-related forms of power, they remain, in many places, a distinctively privileged category.

STATE PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYEES AS MIDDLE CLASS

The fact that state professionals and other credentialled, white-collar workers are non-owners of the means of production should not be taken, so the Weberians argue, to suggest that they are proletarian. Their possessions, level of education, cultural values and ascribed status set them apart from manual workers. Many contemporary scholars have established hierarchies of stratification, with any number of gradations of rank on the basis of life-chance variables such as education, occupation or income. Others have included variables derived from data gathered on 'subjective' social class. All of these scholars face the critical question that if the categories are to be anything more than bureaucratically convenient codes, some reference has to be made to the degrees of unity and cohesion found among people of the same ostensible rank. Furthermore, the number of ranks must be, in some way, limited. But what criteria can be used to limit such numbers of ranks? In this sub-section, I concentrate upon those authors who claim to have identified a common, unified, middle-class 'culture', incorporating, but not limited to, state professional employees.

One of the clearest statements of the middle class culture is found in Alvin Gouldner's, The Future of Intellectuals and the Rise of the New Class." Gouldner claims that, for reasons of structural necessity, related to the

operation of a complex political and economic system, the 'old' class of businessmen and party leaders has given rise to a new class of "... intellectuals and technical intelligentsia ...".³² The new class has been created to administer things in a rational manner. The requirements of the old class, however, do not always accord with such rationality. On the contrary, they often seek advantage, profit and destruction. The intellectuals, whom Gouldner characterises en bloc as 'teachers':

... come to be defined, and to define themselves, as responsible for and "representative" of society as a whole, rather than as having allegiance to the class interests of their students or their parents.³³

Gouldner claims that the new class has developed a 'culture of discourse' in which all public claims, assertions and statements are to be justified only according to abstract and universalistic principles. This procedural scepticism and disinterest combines with a form of noblesse oblige in the ideology of professionalism. The new class comes to develop a sense of obligation to the welfare of the collectivity.³⁴ The sense of obligation is, moreover, a fiercely autonomous one, based upon a distrust of authority, vested interest and the tyranny of unreflective thought.³⁵

In its struggles with the old class and the working class, the new class has a weapon: its monopoly of the stock of cultural capital, in the form of technical and intellectual

expertise. The possession of this knowledge is, for Gouldner, as valuable as ownership of the means of material production.

Toward the end of his book, Gouldner is careful to state that both the 'alienation' of the new class from the old, and the degree of consequent new class unity, are probabilities rather than inevitabilities.³⁶ Such caution is, however, out of character with the remainder of the book. More typical is Gouldner's assertion that:

The New Class is a new class: it is neither identical to the old working class nor to the old moneyed class; while sharing elements of both, it also has characteristics possessed by neither.³⁷

Gouldner's claims are, self-avowedly, voluntaristic. For Gouldner, the entire existence of the 'new class' is based upon a will to intellectual and ethical autonomy. Although Gouldner's suggestions are not implausible, we must agree with Giddens³⁸ that there is simply little evidence of the existence of a new class of the kind described by Gouldner. On the contrary, there could well be more 'academicians' than 'intellectuals' and academicians get by through practicing the safest kinds of 'normal science'. The technical intelligentsia, for their part, far from resisting the logic of capitalism or the dictates of bureaucratic structures, characteristically serve to support and reinforce them. As critical theorists have been arguing for decades, technical experts are as entrapped by the strictures of means-ends rationality as other individuals.

In the last paragraph I made reference to Giddens' critique of Gouldner. Giddens himself has presented a voluntarist perspective on the middle class which merits consideration. Before proceeding, however, some clarification is needed. Anthony Giddens has, over the past twenty years, been a prolific author in the fields of sociology and social theory. As an original and honest thinker, working in the most difficult areas of social theory, Giddens has not been content to leave his own theories intact. The Giddens of the early 1970s, when he wrote his principal work on social class³⁹ is substantially different from his more recent position on social theory. There are, of course, discernible continuities in the corpus of his work, but his theory of structuration, which I set out and employ in the next chapter, was only partially there in his early work on social class. Consequently, my critique of his conceptualisation of the middle class is itself, partially a 'Giddensian' critique, even if it is not the precise critique Giddens would make of his own early work.

In his book, The Class Structure of the Advanced Societies,⁴⁰ Giddens presents a general theory of the class structure, as well as a particular interpretation of the character of the middle class. For Giddens, all capitalist societies are three class societies, consisting of a working, middle and upper class, based upon the respective possession of labour power, credentials and capital. Giddens

acknowledges that there are variations between particular societies and within classes, but is clear in his fundamental claim that there is a recognisable, distinctive middle class of white-collar workers. Since I have already addressed the problem of credentialism as a basis for class differentiation, I will not repeat my comments but simply argue that they apply to Giddens as well.

Of greater interest here is Giddens' promising introduction of the concept of class structuration. In a bid to escape the tortuous and sterile arguments about whether classes 'exist' or not, Giddens suggests that we must concentrate upon how the objective realities of given life chances come to be incorporated into the intersubjective and subjective characters of classes and individuals." Giddens' marriage of structuralism and voluntarism is not, unfortunately, successful in this work and, as I shall be arguing, resolves itself down to an untenable voluntarism.

Although Giddens advances our appreciation of the nature of class by arguing that class structuration: "... represents the mode by which disparities in market capacity become 'social realities' ...", he does not complete the circle by investigating how social reality might itself condition market capacity. Giddens' inability to treat structural and behavioural phenomena simultaneously results in an artificial divorce of the two, and, ultimately in the privileging of the cultural-behavioural side. This has serious consequences for

his treatment of the middle class, which is characterised by the positing, on one side of a set of 'common life chances', and, on the other, with assertions about so-called middle-class culture. Giddens does not fulfil his promise to investigate the interplay between structure and culture.

Giddens' account of the middle class nevertheless contains valuable insights which are worthy of elaboration. Giddens is careful to distinguish the importance of white-collar occupational groups within the middle class, even if he ultimately claims that the middle class is a unified social force, and leaves unresolved the nagging issues of how one can meaningfully place clerks and architects in the same class." Giddens does address the problem, but offers an unsatisfactory solution based upon a differentiation between the resources of an occupational group, in terms of credentials and skills, and its actual place in the hierarchy of control. Giddens argues that it is possible for a particular insertion into a place in the hierarchy of control to override a seeming equivalency in the possession of credentials. Thus Giddens is making the valuable observation that, under given circumstances, the currency of skills and credentials can be more or less devalued." Unfortunately, his analysis is left hanging and fails to explore the dynamics of such control and status-related conflicts.

Elsewhere" Giddens acknowledges the possibility that clerical labour could undergo a process of proletarianisation,

but concludes by discounting the importance of such theories of routinisation and deskilling almost by fiat.⁶ The devaluation of the labour process of state professionals is much more important than Giddens allows.

Giddens' thoughts on white-collar unionisation are open to two major criticisms. First, he accepts the questionable premise that unionisation implies a certain cultural militancy. Second, and relatively, he considers unionisation to be uncharacteristic of the middle class.⁷ His rationale for this claim is that white-collar workers are prone to individualism. This is, of course, partially true, but does not, as we have seen in the previous sub-section, tell the entire story. It cannot be asserted that middle-class individuals, "... characteristically do not embrace any form of conflict consciousness."⁸

On the other hand, Giddens is correct to point out that although there seems to be a convergence of income level between manual and non-manual workers, the latter often have a range of benefits, work conditions and degrees of autonomy which set them apart from the former. He is also justified in alerting us to the importance of the social class composition of residential neighbourhoods, and their relevance to class structuration, as well as to the important issue of gender in the internal differentiation of the middle class.⁹

Giddens cites approvingly research findings which substantiate his view that white-collar employees are

characteristically individualistic.⁵⁰ Such individualism, according to Giddens, inhibits the middle class from developing certain levels of class consciousness - those which are simultaneously collectivistic and conflictual. However, Giddens is mistaken in his pre-emptive banishment of the possibility of collectivist logic in the middle class. As we shall see, there is evidence of a great deal of collectivistic thinking and action among state professional employees.

I have outlined certain of those features of Giddens' work on class which, I believe, extend our understanding of state professional employees. I have also been critical of his major claims. The tenor of my criticisms can be repeated in a concluding evaluation of Giddens' treatment of British school teachers.⁵¹ Giddens attempts to answer the question why school teachers have achieved such high rates of unionisation. Such a finding seems unusual, given Giddens' conceptions of both unionisation and middle-class culture. At the root of teachers' high rates of unionisation lies stymied promotional opportunities, according to Giddens. Because so many teachers soon reach the peak of their careers, they are relatively dissatisfied and prone to collective organisation. Giddens' explanation is unsatisfactory. First, it does not account for the absence of unionisation among other middle-class occupational groups which possess even fewer chances for promotion; second, it makes no mention of the fact that the majority of teachers are in the public sector, and the

implications of this situation; third, it does not engage either the cultural or ideological facets of collectivism or unionisation, but rests instead upon a curious economism, given Giddens' sensitivity to multiple social causality, exhibited elsewhere. We cannot, in fact, supply facile answers to the question of teachers' unionisation. Giddens' proffered solution is misleading and, given his later theoretical work, unsophisticated. It only serves to mask those underlying tensions associated with his assertion of a unified, meaningful and singular middle class.

Two authors, who have conducted empirical research on school teachers in distinctive, if comparable, national contexts, are Michael Nelson in Canada and Rob White in Australia. Both authors are primarily concerned with teacher militancy, rather than the class character of teachers. However, both portray the relationship of teachers to the working class and the capitalist class in a manner similar to that of Giddens. They see little evidence of teachers becoming a part of a movement such as Gouldner's 'New Class'.

In the context of his research in Ottawa-Carleton, Nelson⁵² acknowledges that wage militancy has increased among teachers. He cautions us not to interpret this as a sign of 'working-class consciousness,' however:

Ontario teachers want more money to show that they are not the same as other workers, especially blue-collar workers.⁵³

Nelson's conclusions are plausible, if only partial. They are an impressionistic summary of the interviews he conducted and the documents he read. There is other documentary evidence to show that the attitudes Nelson describes are not universal, and I shall be presenting some of this in Chapter Three. In Chapters Four and Five, I shall conduct an empirical examination of this, and related issues, based upon the questionnaire survey I conducted.

White's⁵⁴ Australian research arrives at conclusions similar to those of Nelson. As with Nelson, my major critique of White is that he positions teachers too deterministically. White argues that teachers see themselves as underpaid professionals rather than as oppressed workers. Teachers' militant actions are interpreted by White as superficial struggles for individual advancement rather than as fundamental struggles for social, economic and political change in the nature of the occupation itself. Teachers adhere neither to 'proletarian interests' nor to 'radical views of the capitalist social system'.⁵⁵ Instead, teachers support both the capitalist system and the capitalist state as sources of their privileges, autonomy and income. The only struggles they engage in are those 'economistic and careerist' ones related to sustaining their own advantages.

Ultimately, the arguments of Nelson and White fail to capture the complexity and the range of teachers' attitudes and behaviour. As with both Gouldner and Giddens, the

allocation of state professionals and other middle class individuals to coherent 'middle class' positions is belied by the empirical evidence which emerges from other research. Furthermore, the critique of structuralist theories, which I conduct in the second part of this chapter, demonstrates that, for the middle class at least, there are no structural or functional fixed locations from which might emerge such a unified and distinctive culture.

STATE PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYEES AS A NON-CLASS

There are some authors who assert that state professionals and other middle-class workers are not, in any meaningful sense, a class at all. For such authors, the various occupational groups form a loose stratum or a series of unconnected places in the social hierarchy. Before considering the voluntarist versions of this position, however, we should consider another attempt at categorisation. This position resembles the 'ambivalent or contradictory' characterisation, but is, in fact, quite distinctive from it. For certain authors, the various occupational groups in the middle can be meaningful subdivided into smaller, coherent classes. The various sub-groups within the middle class are often labelled. We can differentiate, for instance, between 'clerical and service', 'routine non-manual', 'middle management', 'professional and executive' and so on. The choice of particular categories depends, of course, upon the

technical parameters established by the researcher. When it comes to the establishment of subjective social class categories, it is easy to become as bewildered and frustrated as Edward Albee's character, Jerry, in The Zoo Story⁵⁶:

Say, what's the dividing line between upper-middle-middle-class and lower-upper-middle-class?

One scholar, who subdivides the middle class is Ralf Dahrendorf.⁵⁷ Dahrendorf's theory of class begins with an attempt at a sympathetic critique of Marx. Nevertheless, Dahrendorf's understanding of class owes more to Weberian-inspired notions of the primacy of authority, bureaucracy and control than to anything Marx wrote. Dahrendorf's reading of the 'classics' is not, however, as important as the ideas he actually develops. It is these which deserve our attention. In the tradition of the elite theorists, Dahrendorf argues that there are leaders and led in every sphere of life. Class is little more than a useful term to describe this range of dyads. Dahrendorf certainly has a point in his claim that associations, organisations and institutions, in their very emergence and continuation, constitute autonomous fields of conflict. However, he goes further than this and restricts 'power' to one group and denies it to the other. Although distributions of resources are often asymmetrical, they are never completely skewed in this manner. Perhaps what is most glaringly absent from Dahrendorf's analysis is an explanation of the underlying dynamics of conflict. Dahrendorf argues

that the latent interests of potential groups occasionally become manifest in the conduct of active groups."⁵⁸ The problem, for Dahrendorf, is to explain how latent interests become manifest, or how unorganized groups come to organize themselves or be organized. The problem is never resolved:

By social class shall be understood such organized and unorganized collectivities of individuals as share manifest or latent interests arising from and related to the authority structure of imperatively coordinated associations.⁵⁹

Dahrendorf's dichotomous authority-based class structure meets a challenge in the 'third term' of the middle class. Following the managerialist theories, Dahrendorf first argues that society has become 'post-capitalist', capitalists and workers having been replaced by managers and menials. Thus, the Marxist problem of the middle class, as a category lacking in ownership but exerting some control, disappears for Dahrendorf. Dahrendorf sees no reason to retain the concept of a distinctive middle class since, as with all other groups, it can be allocated to either of the sub-groups of leaders or led. Thus Dahrendorf deals with the problem of the middle class by putting part of it in the powerful class and the rest in the powerless class.

It is at this point that Dahrendorf confronts the difficult problem of boundary lines between categories. Dahrendorf's treatment of the problem is inadequate. First, he simply asserts that it is easy to separate salaried employees who are in bureaucratic leadership positions from

those who are not.⁶⁰ Leadership, authority and power is never, of course, so neatly divided, unless one accepts the de jure allocations of authority at face value. Second, Dahrendorf places 'bureaucrats' in the ruling class and 'white-collar workers' in the working class.⁶¹ Once again, the labels chosen are much more slippery than they appear, and the distinction is vague because it lacks adequate boundary criteria. Third, although Dahrendorf specifies some of those occupational groups he considers to be part of the lower group of middle-class employees, it is an ambiguous and incomplete collection.⁶² It certainly does not lead one to support Dahrendorf's subsequent claim that it is from among these 'white-collar' workers that trade unions and radical political parties are more likely to be successful.⁶³ Although the argument can not be conclusively demonstrated, there is sufficient evidence to cast doubt on the assumption that 'routine non-manual' workers are more likely to be radical than autonomous middle-class workers. Dahrendorf adds to his voluntaristic attributions when he claims that bureaucrats, the higher middle-class category, are more likely than white-collar workers to be part of the ruling class in their actions.⁶⁴

In the end, Dahrendorf's analysis of the middle class is far removed from the actual practices of middle-class individuals. But, if it is not good voluntarism, it is little better as structuralism. In his academic obsession with the

two-class model, the specificity of the middle class is lost and one remains very confused about where, for instance, Dahrendorf would locate school teachers, and why.

As I mentioned at the beginning of this section, because the position and location of the middle class is so difficult, and because its class character is so uncertain, some scholars argue that it does not, in any meaningful sense, constitute a 'class' at all, but a collection of groups, a stratum, or a category. Such a categorisation has been the position of the French Communist Party, which declared these politically unreliable individuals to be a 'couche intermédiaire'.⁵⁵ The American scholars Stanley Aronowitz,⁵⁶ and Jean Cohen and Dick Howard⁵⁷ adopt similar positions.

Cohen and Howard make a persuasive case that although, from a structuralist perspective, one may be able to provide complex 'maps' of the class location of the middle class, one cannot: "... impute a uniform, action-orienting class interest to the variety of new strata: technicians, intellectuals, professionals, bureaucrats, managers, etc., merely because they compose a middle stratum between capital and labour."⁵⁸ In the sense, then, of what it is they might do or become, they are not a class at all. Cohen and Howard suggest an insight which I employ fully later in the empirical part of the dissertation: social class is not purely, or even mostly, a matter of the uniform, coherent position of a collectivity, but is differentially created and experienced

at the point of production." What is particularly strong about Cohen and Howard's analysis is their statement that no amount of socio-economic contradiction can, in and of itself, bring about the emergence of a class. What needs to be done is to extend this line of reasoning to investigate under what conditions, certain specified structural contradictions give rise to forms of resistance consciousness and culture. In this process, we do not have to declare, as Cohen and Howard do, that the collection of professionals, managers and others are or are not a class. Instead, we have to work from the specific class-related preconditions of their lives and explore how, in fact, they are responding to them.

THE VOLUNTARIST APPROACH TO CLASS CHARACTER AND THE PROBLEM OF ATTRIBUTION

Most of the scholars reviewed in the preceeding three sub-sections fall victim to the same temptation - they are not content to raise the importance of consciousness and culture in our understanding of class character, or to provide a meaningful, if partial, portrayal of certain types of class position. They wish, instead, to attribute a definitive, clear and unified class culture or class position to the middle class, state professionals or white-collar workers as a whole. As such, they are not actively listening to the voices of the class actors themselves. They are voluntarists not because they attempt to record the actual manifest wills

of the people they are studying, but because they give priority in their arguments to a supposed collective will. Ironically, it is the 'will' of the researcher which, by fiat, shapes and defines the ambiguous and vacillating consciousnesses of those researched.

As we have seen, however, a few authors are more sensitive. They face another problem, and it is one which is addressed by the structuralist approach: they simply do not pay enough attention to the fact that subjectivity and intersubjectivity, consciousness and culture alone do not explain the formation and deformation of social classes. The purest expression of a voluntarist epistemology is found in phenomenology. Spurling⁷⁰ provides a clear description:

... this objectivity of society is really an intersubjectivity ... the facticity of the social structure does not exist over and beyond individuals and their praxis, in some mythical heaven, but is constituted by, and realized in, social interrelations and social praxis.⁷¹

Such explanations, based as they are upon the meaningful and intentional actions of social actors in their everyday practices, provide but a partial explanation of the social structure, its reproduction and modification. My own epistemological position adopts a modified version of realism, arguing that we can, in principle, unearth social mechanisms which operate, to a greater or lesser extent, independent of the will, or even recognition, of social actors in the everyday world. As I shall be explaining in the next chapter,

individuals are able to follow rules even when they are not conscious of their existence. Much of social reproduction is mundane and routine. Furthermore, the field of symbolisation, of representation, is open to particular bids for appropriation. Common sense, logic, science and fact cannot be conceived as free-floating reference points for judgement. They are always and everywhere conditioned by the matrix of particular power-related projects and struggles of the individuals which live them. Under those circumstances, people can and do recognise the preconditions of their own actions and plan for certain consequences, but they also fail to recognise the conditions of their own practices and find themselves unable to control the consequences. Social scientists make it their business to investigate the operations of the field of social action and to develop theories, such as the theory of the social contradictions arising from capitalism, to attempt to capture the nature of determination and contingency as well as the factors underlying the shifting boundary between them. C. Wright Mills provides a blunt summary of my perspective:

No matter what people believe, class structure as an economic arrangement influences their life chances according to their positions in it. If they do not grasp the causes of their conduct this does not mean that the social analyst must ignore or deny them.⁷²

Thus, the operation of social relations cannot be reduced simply to the level of interpersonal relations and

intersubjective understandings. Neither can the individual's subjectivity be treated as a fixed, unchangeable and unified basis of explanation. As I shall be explaining in the next chapter, I view the subject as multiply and contingently constituted - as part of a force field of structuring practices.

These insights about structure lead us to question conceptions of the class character of state professionals which base themselves upon interpretations (or attributions) of the will of class actors. At best, the voluntarist perspectives highlight the realm of contingency, openness and possibility in social relations and attune us to the actual existing practices of social agents. Structuralist perspectives, which I shall explore in the next section, accentuate the factors of conditioning, opaqueness and probability in social relations.

STRUCTURALISM

The problem of how to conceptualise the post-Second World War growth of the new middle class, and the inadequacies of its treatment in the hands of both neo-Weberians and traditional Marxists, prompted Althusser⁷³ and other 'neo-Marxists' to re-think certain hitherto taken-for-granted assumptions in Marxism.

The major break, of relevance to my project, concerns the abandonment of economic determinism. Althusser,

Poulantzas and Carchedi have attempted to build into a rigorous Marxist science, coherent conceptions of the 'relatively autonomous' spheres of politics and ideology as well as of economics. In so doing, they have opened the way to appreciating how middle-class individuals can be both economically proletarian and yet political or ideologically 'bourgeois' or, at least, 'new petty bourgeois'. As the structuralist approach has developed, however, the inevitable question of how relatively autonomous are the non-economic 'instances' has arisen. Whether the economic instance is granted full or partial determination, however, the fact remains that contemporary Marxist scholarship enables us to ask serious, systematic questions about the effects of ideology, culture, status, credentials, bureaucratic power and economic distribution.

As I shall be arguing, a major flaw in structuralist accounts has been their inability to deal in any adequate way with subjectivity, social agency and culture. To conclude this introduction, however, I should draw attention to three further important structuralist insights, which will be developed throughout the subsequent sub-sections: first, from an economic perspective, structuralism has enabled us to ask serious questions about the precise distinctions between legal ownership, de facto ownership and control of the labour process. Without degenerating into 'mindless managerialism', structuralist accounts have provided a basis for understanding

the place of those between capital and labour in the labour process and the circulation of capital. Second, from a political perspective, structuralist accounts provide guidelines for exploring the role of the state in capitalist societies. In my own analysis, insights into the state as an employer are of particular importance. Finally, in terms of ideology, structuralism promises, even if it has not yet fulfilled, the analysis of how class, gender and ethnicity interrelate.

STATE PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYEES AS WORKING CLASS

My attention in this sub-section will be focussed upon those theoreticians who have detected a definite process of "deprofessionalisation" among state professional employees. The logic of their arguments is compelling. The capitalist state has, in the post-war period, found itself increasingly committed to sustaining the costs of both constant and variable capital. In order to meet these expenses, it has been obliged to expand its services and personnel in areas such as education, health, welfare, transportation and planning. In so doing, it has itself incurred a range of unproductive expenses, and even its 'productive' expenses have come under attack, from capitalist interests, as the 'fiscal crisis'²⁴ has deepened. One of the responses of the state, which is in line with its quite natural diffuse support for the logic of the economic system with which it is associated,

is to adopt a more 'businesslike' approach to its own functionings. Attempts to cut costs have, in various ways, diminished the autonomy of the professionals who work for the state. Processes of planning, central co-ordination, budget cuts and time-management demands have all had a deleterious effect on the labour processes of state professionals. Here is how Haug defines deprofessionalisation:

Deprofessionalization is defined as a loss to professional occupations of their unique qualities, particularly their monopoly over knowledge, public belief in their service ethos, and expectations of work autonomy and authority over the client.⁷⁵

A range of scholars, from a number of capitalist countries, have detected the impact of processes of deprofessionalisation upon schoolteachers. Their analyses are strikingly similar. Braverman argues that the "new middle class"⁷⁶ is intrinsically bound up with processes of capital accumulation and that it: "... bears the mark of the proleterian condition."⁷⁷ By this comment, Braverman means that teachers, and others like them, have been subject to inexorable processes of deskilling and deprofessionalisation as their work processes have been routinised.

Kevin Harris⁷⁸ traces the impact of deskilling and deprofessionalisation in contemporary Britain. Harris records strong tendencies toward the routinisation of the job of teaching, for greater teacher accountability in terms of externally imposed 'results', bids to eliminate 'unproductive'

wastage and attempts to increase efficiency. Harris concludes:

Teachers are going to become more economically oppressed, and more and more accountable in cost/benefit terms in the future: they will maintain some economic privilege, but they will have to work harder, and at different tasks ...⁷⁰

Rob White⁸⁰ detects exactly the same tendencies operating among Australian teachers. As we shall see in Chapter Three there is also Canadian evidence sustaining the deprofessionalisation thesis.

But, despite this evidence, the proleterianisation thesis should not be taken too far. Most authors are aware, in fact, that, despite the deprofessionalisation, teachers retain certain economic and status advantages, which differentiate them from other members of the 'non-owning' class. Work situations may well be deteriorating, but they still do not approximate those in most factories, offices and shops.

Even if we can detect a high degree of routinised and standardised teaching, especially at the primary level, and even if the case is made persuasively that deteriorating working conditions and remuneration levels result from contradictions in the capitalist system, which the state is obliged to manage, we cannot argue that such conditions inevitably give rise to a greater degree of working-class behaviour or consciousness among teachers. In other words, until we explore the particular ramifications of ideology and consciousness, we cannot assume that the consequences of

economic contradiction, mediated through the state to teachers, will result in forms of social conflict.

STATE PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYEES AS MIDDLE CLASS

In the Althusserian tradition of Marxist structuralism, the scholarship of Nicos Poulantzas⁸¹ presents the case for considering intermediate workers as a distinctive class: the new petty bourgeoisie, different from both the working class and the bourgeoisie in fundamental ways and sharing much in common with the traditional petty bourgeoisie. For Poulantzas, the new petty bourgeoisie is clearly the class location for most state professional employees, and indeed, most state employees in general, including 'non-professional' workers.

Poulantzas offers only a cursory treatment of state employees in both Classes in Contemporary Capitalism⁸² and State, Power, Socialism.⁸³ Even in this limited treatment, however, it is possible to detect that Poulantzas would not include many state professionals in the bourgeoisie. His position is most unclear, however. At times, Poulantzas refers to personnel of the state as a 'category',⁸⁴ presumably a non-class conceptualisation. When he does refer to state personnel in class terms, his categorisation remains frustratingly unclear. By the end of what was to be his final work, Poulantzas argues:

It is a question of bourgeois class affiliation or place for the upper reaches of this personnel, and

of petty-bourgeois affiliation for the intermediate and subaltern echelons of the state apparatus."

There are clear problems here. First, the concept of class affiliation is of limited use in a structuralist analysis, since it connotes a position, not a location, as I have defined these terms in the introduction. Second, the familiar problem of boundaries arises: where do the 'upper reaches' begin and where do the 'intermediate' and 'subaltern' groups divide? Third, it takes a great deal of imagination to be able to refer to a university professor as 'bourgeois' or to a school janitor as 'petty bourgeois'. As I have stated before, the attribution of class position is a hazardous enterprise.

Poulantzas' location of school teachers illustrates his logic. Poulantzas would place teachers and school administrators in the new petty bourgeoisie.⁶ They obviously do not own or possess their means of production, but neither are they employed as manual producers of exchangeable concrete products, criteria Poulantzas insists upon for membership of the working class. Poulantzas⁷ even seems to exclude teachers in the private sector from the category 'productive' workers. In a famous passage, Karl Marx⁸ provides a persuasive and colourful argument to sustain the point of view that: "A school master is a productive labourer"⁹ In the case of the public sector, the argument is less clear. However, Poulantzas' chief point of distinction rests upon his dubious

elevation of the difference between technical 'exploitation' and non-exploitative oppression. These classifications do not help us to identify the class character of teachers in any positive way. It will not do to argue, as Poulantzas does, that teachers and other members of the new petty bourgeoisie can be distinguished from the working class for functionally necessary 'political' and 'ideological' reasons. Simply put, there are no such immutable reasons. Teachers do not have to reproduce capitalist social relations.

In fact, in his final work, State, Power, Socialism,⁹⁰ Poulantzas acknowledges the possibility of "... massive leftward politization of broad sectors of the state personnel."⁹¹ But for Poulantzas such trends do not reveal a pattern of proletarianisation among the new petty bourgeoisie. Rather they manifest a change in class allegiances. The new petty bourgeoisie is still seen as a distinctive class, but it is one which manifests a break in its alliance with the bourgeoisie. Poulantzas attributes such a break to the reactive position adopted by the new petty bourgeoisie when it confronts the tangible realities of fiscal and legitimation crises. He refers to the state administration as being: "... caught between the hammer of the governmental apex and the anvil of social struggles"⁹²

Poulantzas' acknowledgement that state professionals are not obliged to support capitalism is an improvement over his position in Classes in Contemporary Capitalism. Nevertheless,

he portrays the class character of state professionals in a manner which is too reactive and too docile. In so doing, the distinctive problems of the class character of state professional employees are overlooked. As with his earlier explanations, the actual practices and struggles of state professionals are absent from his analyses. The only hints we have about state professional practices suggest that Poulantzas believes that even when they 'side' with the working class, their petty bourgeois characteristics prevent them from ever being able to achieve a revolutionary class consciousness."

Two familiar criticisms of Poulantzas' work are that it is economically deterministic⁹⁴ and class reductionistic.⁹⁵ In a direct sense, Poulantzas cannot be accused of economic determinism in his treatment of the new petty bourgeoisie. Indirectly, Poulantzas argues that the character of the new petty bourgeoisie is pushed and pulled by class struggles beyond itself. Directly, however, Poulantzas is more appropriately accused of political or ideological determinism. The determinism arises from Poulantzas' treatment of political and ideological levels as fixed attributes rather than as facets of struggle. Wright⁹⁶ is correct to accuse Poulantzas of overplaying the mental/manual division and its ideological relevance, and to argue that other cleavages, such as those based on race or ethnicity, might, arguably, be equal

claimants for prominence in Poulantzas' treatment of the new petty bourgeoisie. Poulantzas argues:

The principal aspect of an analysis of social classes is that of their places in the class struggle; it is not that of the agents that compose them. Social classes are not empirical groups of individuals, social groups, that are 'composed' by simple addition; the relations of these agents among themselves are thus not inter-personal relations."

In banishing individual subjectivity and cultural intersubjectivity from his analysis, Poulantzas can offer little to explain the emergence of coherent social opposition or change. Social agents face a range of economic, social and political contradictions. But there is no necessary reason to suppose that such contradictions will prompt them to engage in conflict or that knowledge of the contradictions can tell us, in advance, how social agents will engage in conflict. Poulantzas goes so far as to exclude: "... any question of behavioural motivation ..."" from his analysis of class interests: Poulantzas is giving ontological privilege to class location. In Classes in Contemporary Capitalism," he states that while a class position can be wrong, a class structural relation can never be wrong, even if it is misrecognized.

Poulantzas' notions appear somewhat crude when we consider the rich and nuanced experience of Canadian teachers later in the dissertation. As Robert Carter argues:

It does not follow ... that as the capitalist's role has become fragmented people having no real ownership of the means of production and performing minimal tasks of supervision and major collective

worker tasks are, as Poulantzas decrees, automatically dominated by the global function of capital. Their class determination cannot be allocated in this a priori manner. To understand their position it is necessary to examine their complex and many-sided relationships.¹⁰⁰

Poulantzas' conceptualisation of state professionals, and other 'unproductive' non-owners, is based upon a rigid and deterministic functionalism in which each "class" has its function in the reproduction of capitalist social relations. Because he cannot find a clear-cut economic determination for the new petty bourgeoisie, Poulantzas resorts to ideological and political determinism in which those characteristics which should be seen as conditioned yet contingent upon culture and consciousness are taken as determined and fixed by pre-theorized 'places' in struggle.

Such a view is not far removed from that of Barbara and John Ehrenreich.¹⁰¹ The Ehrenreichs, like Poulantzas, provide a theory of a distinctive middle class. Unlike Poulantzas, however, they define a 'Professional-Managerial Class' (PMC) which is distinctive from both the old middle class and from routine non-manual workers. For the Ehrenreichs, the PMC has quite distinctive interests. It is defined as:

... salaried mental workers who do not own the means of production and whose major function in the social division of labor may be described ... as the reproduction of capitalist culture and capitalist class relations.¹⁰²

The Ehrenreichs correctly if partially, see the genesis of the PMC as a derivative social group. It is a class which

has emerged to some extent conditioned by the requirement that monopoly capitalist social formations develop a specialised cohort of employees to assist in the reproduction of capitalist class relations. It is the history of class struggle between labour and capital which has rendered the growth of the PMC a logical historical development. The PMC have both diminished the struggles by administering the reproduction of capitalist ideology and enhanced the legitimacy of the entire economic system. Like Poulantzas, the Ehrenreichs are able to define their class in terms of its political and ideological functions. The PMC is, like the new petty bourgeoisie, a class which creates a monopoly of knowledge through its credentialism and controls on entry. Also, like the new petty bourgeoisie, the PMC fulfils the role of political controller of the working class.

While agreeing in large part with much of what the Ehrenreichs have to say about the origins of the professional-managerial cohorts, it is necessary to take a critical look at their claim that the PMC is a single, distinctive class.

Ultimately, the Ehrenreichs define the PMC in terms of its interests. Since the class includes occupational groups as diverse as social workers and accountants, it is not at all clear that the class possesses a single set of interests. Given what we know about processes of de-professionalisation and de-skilling, it is also difficult to be clear about either the boundaries between the PMC and other classes or about the

dynamics and direction of this class. The functionalist definition of the PMC, that it serves the interests of capitalism, while conveying certain historical tendencies, glosses over wide variations in practice. Dale Johnson, cited earlier in the chapter, provides a convincing argument to explain why many 'service professionals' do not have an interest in supporting capitalism or exchange-rational social relations. From the perspective of Gouldner and other like-minded scholars, we must also consider the possibility that the bureaucratic, organisational mentality of the PMC renders it antithetical to the irrationalities of market systems.

There are, in short, no structurally necessary reasons why we should conceive of the occupational groups, described by the Ehrenreichs, as a 'class'. Nor do the Ehrenreichs provide any convincing evidence to sustain the view that these workers act as a class. Rather, the Ehrenreichs are at their best when they express the ambivalence and uncertainty of middle-class occupational groups. They describe PMC class consciousness as an "... ambiguous mixture of elitism and anti-capitalist militance ..."¹⁰³ Unfortunately, this view is not in keeping with their analysis as a whole, and they do not develop it.

Whether in the work of Poulantzas or the Ehrenreichs, functionalism and structuralism are unable to provide grounds for declaring those in the middle to be a distinctive social class. Although we can trace a common background, in terms

of their relationship to both capital and labour, among state professional employees, it is not a clear-cut or unambiguous background. It is not surprising that, at times, members of state professional occupational groups have acted as lieutenants of the bourgeoisie, but neither is it surprising that they have also acted in a proleterian manner. Given their origins, such ambivalence is to be expected. It is only through the exploration of such ambivalence that a clear understanding of the class character of state professionals can be achieved.

STATE PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYEES AS CONTRADICTIONARY OR AMBIVALENT

Guglielmo Carchedi¹⁰⁴ and Erik Olin Wright¹⁰⁵ are two theoreticians who have devoted a great deal of attention to the structural location of the middle class. There are large differences and disagreements between the two on fundamental matters of epistemology and social research. Nevertheless, both, in their own ways, provide structuralist explanations of the middle class which stress ambivalence or contradiction.

Carchedi takes Marx's conception of the tendency for both capital and labour to become universalised and depersonalised and develops out of it a functionalist explanation of the class characteristics of the middle class. In brief, Carchedi argues that, to a greater or lesser extent, middle-class persons fulfil both the functions of capital. Following Marx, Carchedi refers to the functions of the 'collective worker'

and those of 'global capital.'¹⁰⁶ Carchedi sketches the major features of the new middle class:

...1) it does not own either legally or economically the means of production 2) it performs both the global function of capital and the function of the collective worker 3) it is therefore both the labourer (productive or unproductive) and the non-labourer and 4) is both exploiter (or oppressor) and exploited (or oppressed).¹⁰⁷

Carchedi's analysis of the process of technical deskilling among the new middle class is persuasive. The impulses of capitalist rationalisation tend to reduce the proportion of global capitalist functions performed by the new middle class. Supervision, management and surveillance tend to become bureaucratised and standardised. In the process, professionals and managers lose large areas of discretion. When it comes to the analysis of a particular occupational group, however, Carchedi's analysis fails to capture the complexity of such movements and resorts instead to ex nihilo attributions.

In his article, 'The Economic Identification of the State Employees,'¹⁰⁸ Carchedi attempts to locate school teachers. Carchedi's major claim is that although school teachers and other state employees cannot be either direct producers or exploited, they can participate in the work of collective labour and can be economically oppressed. Consequently, for Carchedi, distinctions between the private and state sectors are trivial.¹⁰⁹ Carchedi is incorrect to gloss over the substantial distinctions between the profit-oriented private

sector and the use-value oriented state sector. In terms of the potential class character of state professionals, the fact that the state is centrally involved in unproductive, legitimating and redistributive operations is critical. Carchedi is correct to trace the interconnections between capitalism and the state, but incautious in his denial of the specificity of the state.¹¹⁰

While it is arguable that school teachers perform the 'functions' of the collective worker and global capital, they do much else besides. Furthermore, these other 'extra-capitalist' practices, related to matters of general social control and non-class social differentiation, can often be critical in shaping teachers' behaviour. Even if Carchedi's equation of the private sector with the state sector is accepted, however, we cannot argue, as Carchedi does,¹¹¹ that school teachers can be simply slotted into their economic class locations. For Carchedi, primary school teachers are basically proletarian, while secondary school teachers are effectively capitalist. Such allocation is simply too rigid. Ideological and political factors, concerned with the ways in which teachers experience their daily lives, render such placements premature. Carchedi's classification loses any sense of dynamism or the 'dialectical relations' to which he refers elsewhere.¹¹² He argues that state employees are either capitalists, workers or members of the new middle class. Since he has declared primary school teachers to be workers

and secondary school teachers to be capitalists, who are the new middle class teachers? One can only suppose it is those who are employed in middle schools or junior high schools.

Kevin Harris' interesting work, Teachers and Classes,¹¹³ attempts to extend Carchedi's class analysis. Like Carchedi, Harris views teachers as carrying out the functions of both global capital and the collective worker. Teachers perform tasks of surveillance and control, but they are also, themselves, economically oppressed in that surplus labour is extracted from them. Harris, however, is no better able than Carchedi to escape the problems of functionalism. According to Harris, teachers are, in economic terms, effectively working class, while in political and ideological terms, they are very close to capitalists.¹¹⁴ Although this classification represents an improvement over Carchedi's equation of class location with educational level, it is still unsatisfactory. Before any claims can be made about teachers' economic relations, their precise conjunctural circumstances must be explored. A range of work-related benefits, some of them very important, are not normally included in the calculation of the comparative income levels of professionals and manual workers may appear to be smaller than they are. Of course, none of this alters the fact that, in a technical sense, teachers are 'economically oppressed'. However, in terms of ideology and politics, income differentials are of great importance. Issues of ideology and politics are, therefore, central to

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economic relations themselves, and, whether or not teachers introduce into these economic relations the kind of 'pro-capitalist' ideology and politics Harris refers to, the relations themselves cannot, in advance, be labelled either proletarian or bourgeois.

Harris' work is of great value in demonstrating how the class ambivalence of teachers operates in their daily practices.¹¹⁵ However, like Carchedi, Harris' model of objective locations is lacking in dynamism and a sense of history. As Carter¹¹⁶ argues, Harris' functionalism is unable to take us very far because:

... there seems to be no relationship between class place and class action in the production process, on the one hand, and consciousness and class action outside the workplace on the other.¹¹⁷

Carchedi and Harris provide insights into some of those conditioning circumstances in which teachers and other professionals find themselves, but neither scholar develops these insights into anything more than an attributional model of what class agents would do if they remained within the confines of their determination. My own analysis, for these reasons, is centred upon the problem of class consciousness; is related both to the workplace and wider society; and explores class in the context of certain key non-class factors. Most importantly of all, my project is precisely set in a context within contemporary Canada.

Although the work of Erik Olin Wright, from Class, Crisis and the State¹¹⁸ to Classes¹¹⁹, has undergone major epistemological changes, Wright's structuralist treatment of the middle class as occupants of 'contradictory class locations' has remained a constant in his work. There are a number of ways in which Wright's work represents an improvement over that of Carchedi. First, Wright seems less concerned, notably in his more recent work, with locating, once and for all, the new middle class - he is 'tolerant of ambiguity'. Second, although in the end his treatment may not be satisfactory, he attempts to integrate subjectivity and consciousness into his analysis and to take into account certain non-class forms of social differentiation. However, there remain serious unresolved problems in Wright's work, which prevent its adoption as the theoretical basis for my research.

For Wright, state professionals are the occupants of a contradictory class location: they lack ownership, but they possess certain organizational control and a form of exclusive and exploitative capital in their credentials and skills. However, whether Wright's initial class map is employed, in which there are three basic classes and three contradictory locations, or whether his later typology is used, in which there are twelve classes, it remains uncertain as to where Wright would locate school teachers or other state professionals. Wright argues that teachers have certain

'interests' which coincide with those of the working class and others which correspond to those of the petty bourgeoisie. Furthermore, Wright claims that such contradictions are actually 'lived' by class agents and are not just the consequence of some abstract processes of categorization.¹²⁰

In this context, Wright makes the interesting point that:

The more contradictory is a position within social relations of production, the more political and ideological relations can influence its objective position within class relations. The more a position coincides with the basic antagonistic class relations at the level of social relations of production, the less weight political and ideological forces can have in determining its class position.¹²¹

Although this argument has a strong appeal and it is possible to understand how school teachers would have greater class contradiction than large shareholders or coal miners, it is presented undialectically. What seems more important than the positing of economic against political and ideological relations is to treat them all simultaneously, irrespective of which particular class is being investigated. Wright does not do this. Instead he creates a bifurcation between economic relations, on the one hand, and political/ideological relations, on the other. This has very unsatisfactory consequences, as I shall explain when it comes to dealing with school teachers. In effect, Wright abandons any economic analysis of the class character of state professionals in Class, Crisis and the State and resorts, instead, to an analysis on the basis of politics and ideology

alone. Wright argues that all state personnel must be understood in the context of the state's principal function of excluding the working class from state power and maintaining ideological hegemony. In this context, school teachers would occupy a contradictory location in the hierarchy of state domination - neither controlling nor creating state policies, nor completely excluded from creation and execution.¹²²

One difficult issue for Wright concerns the degree of autonomy, in relations of domination, necessary for an occupational group to be classified as 'semi-autonomous'. Like Mills, Wright allocates most routine white-collar employees, such as clerks and secretaries to the working class. Such employees have only trivial autonomy.¹²³ On the other hand, Wright would not restrict the category to those who have: "... like university professors .. extremely high levels of control over the pace of work, the scheduling of work, the content of work"¹²⁴ However, Wright's ultimate classification is unsatisfactory in that it leaves the concept 'semi-autonomy' vague. The problem is made worse by Wright's arbitrary empirical data in which individuals have simply been asked to say, effectively, to what extent they feel 'semi-autonomous'. Wright himself admits this problem.¹²⁵

When it comes to school teachers, it remains most unclear whether they are 'semi-autonomous' in Wright's sense or not.

The problem is particularly acute if one takes into account the issue of occupational degradation and deskilling.

In Classes, Wright attempts a more sophisticated analysis of the class structure. In so doing, he continues the bifurcation of economic from political/ideological relations by actually introducing a split between them. This is an extremely bold move, but one which only worsens the problem of coming to terms with the complexities of state professionals and other occupational groups.

Early in the book, Wright issues the necessary corrective to Poulantzas' theory of the new petty bourgeoisie by arguing that:

It is very hard to see how the diverse categories of unproductive and/or supervisory and mental wage-earners (secretaries, professionals, managers, unproductive manual workers in the state, salespersons, etc.) are in any sense homogeneous with respect to the problems of class formation, class consciousness and class struggle. It is therefore difficult to understand why they should be seen as members of a common class.¹²⁶

Wright, however, seems to be presenting too much of the contrary point of view. Just as Poulantzas' classification needs to be rejected, so too should we admit the possibility that certain of these occupational groups could form a class. Although there might be structural barriers to such a process of class formation, there are no structural contradictions of a fundamental kind.

Wright's new typology of social classes, in which ownership of the means of production is complemented with

'ownership' of organizational position and skills/credentials, has for each of the three ownership categories three divisions: exploiter, exploited and contradictory. There are twelve classes, three of owners of the means of production and nine of non-owners of the means of production. Professionals are designated as non-owners of the means of production, yet 'owners' of certain organisational and skills assets: "The central argument in the reconceptualization of the 'middle class' is that such positions are simultaneously exploiters and exploited."¹²⁷ This is why Wright now designates the middle class as occupants of: "... 'contradictory locations within exploitation relations.'¹²⁸

Wright continues his analysis of state professionals as a distinct group, somehow separate from capitalist relations. He argues that state bureaucrats, "... embody a principle of class organization which is quite distinct from capitalism and which potentially poses an alternative to capitalist relations."¹²⁹ Not only have state professionals been cut loose from their capitalist bearings, Wright has now charted an entirely new course for them.

When it comes to attempts to locate schoolteachers in his typology, we face some confusion. Do they 'possess' full skills or credentials, or are they 'semi-credentialled'? Do they completely lack organisational assets or do they possess some? In other words, school teachers might be located in any

one of four classes. Such a typology assists us very little in attempting to understand their class character.

Before he wrote Classes, Wright contributed to the collection of essays, Between Labor and Capital, edited by Pat Walker.¹³⁰ Since Wright's essay concerned school teachers, it is of direct relevance to my own study.

Wright deals with school teachers by arguing that they are, in economic terms, between the working class and the petty bourgeoisie, while in political and ideological terms, they are between the bourgeoisie and the proleteriat. Although Wright argues that teachers: "... contribute to the ideological hegemony of the bourgeoisie"¹³¹ in a functional capacity, he does not offer any clear analysis of how state employed teachers might be: "... oppressed in various ways by the bourgeoisie."¹³² As I have already argued, there is no guarantee that teachers will fulfil their 'function' of executive lieutenants of the bourgeoisie. Furthermore, their structural insertion into capitalist relations is, far from being different from their 'functions', an intrinsic element of it.

Wright argues that teachers retain: "... real control over much of their own labor process."¹³³ As I pointed out earlier, however, the category 'semi-autonomous' is a very difficult one and badly in need of conjunctural elucidation. Wright attempts to make use of the degree of occupational autonomy of different groups of teachers. He argues that the

higher the level of economic autonomy, the greater is the potential risk to the transmission of bourgeois ideology.¹³⁴ This seems to suggest that high school teachers are more likely to subvert bourgeois ideology than elementary school teachers. However, Wright later argues that the greater the degree of exclusion from economic autonomy, the greater is the opportunity for working-class behaviour, such as unionisation.¹³⁵ This would seem to suggest that elementary school teachers are more likely to subvert bourgeois ideology than high school teachers. Wright adds another twist to the argument by claiming that routinisation of the ideological functions can influence the sense of proximity of teachers to the working class by removing an ideological barrier to their class unison with other workers.¹³⁶

Wrights' analysis of the structure and functions of school teachers in capitalist society helps us to appreciate the complex of conditioning factors which surround their work lives. However, his separation of the economic from the political/ideological is artificial and, in the end, leads him to a position in which he can only point out what teachers would do if they were to act in accordance with their structural and functional parameters. Since these remain most unclear, however, there can be no such certainty.

Although Wright's functionalist and structuralist determinism is sustained in Classes, his initial outline of his own project is close to my own method, to be developed in

the next chapter. It is worth quoting him at some length here:

... because many locations within the class structure have complex bundles of ... exploitation interests, these interests should be viewed as constituting the material basis for a variety of potential class formations Class structure thus remains the structural foundation for class formations, but it is only through the specific historical analysis of given societies that it is possible to explain what kind of actual formation is built upon that foundation.¹³⁷

Such an absence of automatic connection between class location and actual patterns of class conflict is notably pronounced in the case of the contradictory class locations, according to Wright. This should lead him to adopt a highly contingent approach to the class possibilities of the middle class. Instead, he insists upon defining them in the context of 'objective' positions of exploitation relations. Wright believes that we should:

... define classes in terms of a structural map of material interests (based on exploitation or some other account of material interests) and then to treat the problem of lived experiences as an independent source of variation within classes rather than as a criterion for class as such.¹³⁸

But such an account cannot work for school teachers and other state professionals. For these occupational groups there simply are no 'objective' bases of exploitation relations. Even if we were able to identify 'pure' locations for such groups, the categories 'skill' and 'organisation' assets, as I have explained, carry with them little structural necessity. Lived experiences cannot be added onto an analysis

conducted on a prior level of supposedly objective circumstances. A large part of 'objectivity' is subjectivity and intersubjectivity for the school teachers I am investigating.

With respect to consciousness, Wright states that:

... while the personal attributes of individuals may affect the strength of the association between class structure and class consciousness, the linkage between class and consciousness will not be an artifact of personal attributes of incumbents; it is based on the objective properties of the class structure itself.¹³⁹

In refusing a place for the mediation of individuals, Wright misconstrues group behaviour. Introducing the contingency of individual wills severely complicates the analysis of class. However, ignoring individuals may well result in the pointlessness of an analysis which berates agents for desiring phenomena which they are not (structurally) supposed to desire.

This problem of the correspondence between structural interests and actual interests seems to frustrate Wright. In the end, all he can say is:

There should, therefore, be at least a tendency for those aspects of consciousness which revolve around class interests to be structured by class location.¹⁴⁰

This is mere conjecture and, once again, cannot assist us in the analysis of those who possess no fixed location.

Wright's analysis gets us close to the position in which we can utilise certain structuralist insights in the

exploration of what state professionals actually think and do in terms of class. Like Carchedi and Poulantzas, however, Wright shares the tendency to plot social agents on the class map largely on the basis of attributed ideological and political structural positions.

STATE PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYEES AS A NON-CLASS:

The major purpose of structuralist analyses of class is to allocate agents to their appropriate class locations. It is, therefore, unsurprising, that there are few structuralists who treat the middle class as a non-class. This position is not, however, untenable. Martin Oppenheimer, in White Collar Politics,¹⁴¹ agrees with theorists of contradictory class locations that white collar workers in general, and professionals in particular, can be said to belong to more than one class at the same time. But he also claims that certain white-collar employees can be allocated to specific classes.

But such marginality and ambivalence is, for Oppenheimer, resistant to structuralist classification because it occurs in an ever-changing socio-economic and political space:

The various fractions of the professional stratum, insofar as they can be identified, either belong to a vestigial class formation (the petty bourgeoisie) or are marginal to one of the major classes, or even both of them, depending on their function within the capitalist mode of production at any given moment - a moment that is constantly in motion, so that the situation of a given fraction of the professions, or of a profession, is "normally" contradictory, ambiguous, mystified."¹⁴²

For Oppenheimer, although the professionals are currently ambiguously located, there is no reason why, under certain conjunctural circumstances, they could not blend into either of the two major classes, either in whole, or in part.

Oppenheimer's position is close to my own, in that he remains open-ended about what state professionals have become, in structural terms, and what they might become, in terms of their future class actions. Like most other class analysts, however, Oppenheimer does not investigate the character of the ambivalence and contradiction he describes. In his discussions of white-collar unionisation and white-collar politics, Oppenheimer relies upon standard interpretations of unionisation as an indicator of a working-class impulse¹³ and relies upon people's responses to opinion surveys on their 'class' membership and records of 'class voting' for his analysis of white-collar politics.¹⁴ This kind of analysis is both superficial and potentially misleading. Responses to questionnaire prompts concerning 'class' and rates of unionisation cannot be taken as givens, somehow explaining class characteristics. They require a deeper analysis, in which the meanings attached to them are explored, rather than asserted.

STRUCTURALISM AND VOLUNTARISM IN REVIEW

Structuralists are largely incapable of incorporating into their analyses of social class the historical, purposeful actions of men and women as they have struggled through their daily lives in the workplace and beyond. For structuralists, subjectivity is a nuisance, albeit one which can be dealt with. Voluntarists tend to argue that anything is possible in terms of class formation, while the better structuralists are able to demonstrate why only certain things are probable. Voluntarists overlook the powerful conditioning circumstances which underpin our lives and they do not realise how complex is the transition from will to achievement. Structuralists, such as Poulantzas, Carchedi and Wright, fail to acknowledge how aware we are of our own conditions and how powerfully we can influence our own destiny. In the case of state professionals in contemporary Western societies, there is a vast field of possibility - an arena in which class consciousness and cultures might develop, but also in which there could be an indefinite process of class-based anomie and stultification. We can explore certain of the complex contradictions which are mediated through the lives of state professionals, but we are not in a position to develop any general theories about their probable impact. We cannot even argue, in any general sense, whether state professionals will move toward the bourgeoisie or the proleteriat, or simply stay put in the nebulous centre. The most sophisticated taxonomies

will not answer such questions unless they reflect, to some extent, the lived experience of the ambivalent class agents who purportedly occupy them. We cannot 'know' such experiences or 'interests' in an a priori manner. Such fixed interests do not exist.

This does not imply that we should, like Paul Hirst¹⁴⁵, abandon any notion of the fundamental contradictions which drive the basic antagonisms between capital and labour. Hirst is far too voluntaristic when he asserts that the bourgeoisie could, in effect, abandon its constant struggle to sustain capitalism. Of course, if the argument that 'anything is possible' is adopted, then Hirst could be correct. The point is, however, that such a contingency is highly improbable. When it comes to state professionals, however, one cannot even argue that such a notion is improbable. We are forced to explore particular conjunctures in detail and to build images and understandings in a piecemeal and tentative fashion. It is such a process that I begin in the next chapter. I hope to be able to transcend the particular problems of both voluntarism and structuralism by employing the theory of structuration which combines insights from both approaches.

In order to conclude this chapter and to anticipate the next I shall present Anthony Giddens' very useful epigrammatic extension of the words of that 'famous author':

... men [let us immediately say human beings] make history, but not in circumstances of their own choosing¹⁴⁶

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CHAPTER TWO

THE CLASS CHARACTER OF STATE PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYEES AND THE STRUCTURATIONIST CONCEPTION OF CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS.

INTRODUCTION

It is evident that there are fundamental flaws in the currently available treatments of the class character of state professional employees. Voluntarists fail to register both the unacknowledged conditions of social action and the unanticipated consequences of action; structuralists fail to see that subjective and intersubjective actions are partially constitutive of the structures which they claim operate independently of human will.

In this chapter, I develop a method which is designed to overcome this structuralist-voluntarist dualism and to facilitate the empirical analysis of state professionals as they live their class experiences. There are five sections. First is an account of the duality of agency and structure. Unlike the dualism, which it seeks to overcome, the duality is a fluid, dialectical construct. In brief, I argue that social agency is conditioned by but also conditions the foundations of its own circumstances. Such an analysis replaces the spurious search for structural certainties or teleological voluntarist attributions of collective will with

a more nuanced, contextualised account of social contradiction, reproduction and conflict. Contradiction and conflict is the object of the second section.

To argue in such probabilistic terms of contingency and dependency creates a hiatus when it comes to understanding the real worlds of competent class actors. It is the treatment of this hiatus which I consider in the third and fourth sections of the chapter. In the third section I attempt an operationalization of Giddens' conception of the double hermeneutic.¹ I set out how I intend to analyse the interplay of class forces which underpin the experiences of those school teachers I am investigating (my hermeneutic) as well as their own analysis of class-related issues (their hermeneutic). In the fourth section I justify my choice of the individual actor as the unit of analysis, and consciousness as the locus of my investigation. In so doing, I re-visit, briefly, the structuralist and voluntarist approaches I criticised in Chapter One. In the context of my justification of the individual and consciousness as foci of analyses, however, my comments are far from redundant. On the contrary, my critique of existing approaches to the individual in class analysis is fundamental and radical. My challenge provides a theoretical counterpart to the empirical evidence in Chapter Three, that, far from being merely residual phenomena, the individual and consciousness should be at the very centre of my analyses of school teachers in contemporary

Ottawa-Carleton. Furthermore, it is on the strength of these insights and findings that I undertake the empirical analysis of the origins of class consciousness in Chapter Five.

In the final section of the chapter, I present a brief outline of my strategy for the empirical research presented in the subsequent chapters.

THE DUALITY OF STRUCTURE:

Anthony Giddens' must accept dubious credit for the awkward neologism, 'structuration'. Giddens has been a prolific author and, in recent years, has provided rich and detailed explorations of the structurationist approach to social theory. There are other scholars, however, such as Pierre Bourdieu,³ whose work is very close to that of Giddens and whose ideas have been strongly influential in the development of my understandings of social theory and social class.

Giddens, Bourdieu and certain other contemporary social theorists represent a movement away from the all-embracing grand theoretical schemes of a Marx or a Parsons. Instead, they insist upon a careful contextualisation of claims about social reproduction and change. However, both scholars have developed sets of analytical concepts in order to provide for the generation of "... diverse substantive theories across the full range and scope of historical cases."

Giddens presents a forceful challenge to all forms of evolutionism in social theory and insists upon the contextualisation of frameworks of understanding in time and space.⁵ Although Bourdieu does not share Giddens' respect for the discriminating powers of the ordinary social agent, his account of social being, like Giddens', is careful to stress that the precise mode of articulation of symbolic and material capital - in Giddens' terms, rules and resources - depends upon the particular state of the field of class forces. Such a field can never be known for certain in an a priori fashion. Furthermore, for both Bourdieu and Giddens, rules and resources are forms of capital which make sense only in the context of how they are employed and deployed. In terms of their recent treatment of social class, however, there are some substantial differences between Bourdieu and Giddens. These differences have led me to value Bourdieu principally for the precise manner in which he is able to capture points of distinction and to show how central they are to processes of group endogamy. Bourdieu's theory of class, however, is simply too broad and descriptive to be of much analytical use. Giddens' theory of class is more thoroughly worked through and, importantly, gives a prominent place to social contradictions, notably that between private accumulation and socialized costs of production.

The dualistic conception of the thinking subject versus the 'objective' structure, as posited by structuralists, needs

to be replaced by the conception of the duality of structure. For Giddens, there is really no such thing as a 'structure', it can only be discerned 'instantiated' in practices. There are sets of sedimented rules and resources, which social actors draw upon, often routinely, in their daily activities. These rules and resources are, in Giddens' terms, both the medium and the outcome of recursive social practices. In social interactions, social agents draw upon these rules and resources as well as experience the effects of others' use of them. Giddens identifies the rules as both normative and signifying and the resources as authoritative and allocative.⁶ He explains how the invocation of one has effects upon one or more of the others, and, importantly, he argues that the treatment of rules and resources as 'constraining', favoured by many structuralists, should be complemented by the possibility that rules and resources can also be enabling and empowering.

Social systems exist and can be discerned to the extent that typical patterns of structuring practices can be identified across time and space. The boundaries of such time-space settings are a matter for empirical exploration, rather than one of simple definition. Thus, concepts such as 'nation-state' or 'epoch' are problematic and, owing to the duality of structure, need to be explored in terms of the social agents who constitute them. Thus, time and space are intrinsic to social practices.

Although Giddens is aware of historical patterns of domination in which authoritative and allocative resources are systematically malapportioned, and processes of signifying and normative rule-making are substantially distorted, he does not accept the principle of powerlessness - that there are those who completely lack power. Even in the most extreme situations of privation, argues Giddens, the oppressed are able to draw upon rules and resources and can use them to influence those who 'dominate'.' This is an important point in that it stresses how completely Giddens accepts the principle that social action is simultaneously intentional and unintentional. Although there might be powerful 'structural forces', there is none strong enough to constrain absolutely the choices and preferences of social actors.

Giddens argues that we are simultaneously knowledgeable social agents, with both an understanding of our own circumstances ('discursive' consciousness) and an ability to act competently in day-to-day life ('practical' consciousness). Using insights which owe much to Erving Goffman,⁸ Giddens argues that whenever our practical consciousnesses are disrupted, whenever our 'common sense' is rendered 'uncommon', we face a great deal of discomfort, which may or may not result in changes in our own conditions. On the whole, however, our everyday lives continue in a routine manner and it is the banality of such routine which acts as the strongest cement in social reproduction. Another source

of routine conduct, unacknowledged by most social agents, is identified by Giddens as the unconscious.' For Giddens, the unconscious element of our psyches is deeper than our practical consciousnesses and far less amenable to reflexive self-awareness. Giddens' acknowledgement of the unconscious is plausible and yet, given the difficulty of the concept, somewhat incautious.¹⁰

It is arguable that the unconscious motivations of action have a very profound effect upon processes of class structuration. Unfortunately, neither Giddens, nor any one else at present, has been able to show how the concept might be utilised by lay persons. Consequently, despite some misgivings, I shall not make use of the concept in my own analyses.

One critical insight of Giddens is that our experiences are only partially available to us. The extent to which we make use of discursive consciousness, of course, varies according to circumstances. I shall be arguing in the section on the double hermeneutic that although social researchers have no monopoly on discursive consciousness, either in terms of quality or quantity, we do make it our business to employ this kind of reasoning in our work. This is, perhaps, the major typical difference between us and those we wish to understand.

Just as we are only partially aware of those forces which shape our destinies, so too are we limited in the control we

exert over our projects. Apart from simple errors of judgement and inabilities to realise our individual and collective goals, the consequences of our acts elude us and can never be entirely known to us, because they take place in a complex field of other actions and reactions. Certain consequences are possible, or even probable, but the particular combination of circumstances in the setting of an intentional act, or set of acts, can frustrate outcomes.

Thus, in the duality of structure, agents are only partially aware and in control of both the causes and consequences of their actions; but they are not completely lacking in such control. The interesting extension of these insights lies in the precise investigation of how certain agents attempt to understand their own background and current environmental circumstances; what, if anything, they do with such insights; and how far they are successful in the projects they devise. Addressing these questions enables us to construct models and theories concerning the degree to which structural rules and resources are reproduced.

Eschewing the extremes of both subjectless structuralism and structureless subjectivism, Giddens stresses the importance of the concept of 'practical consciousness.' Between the deep structural imperative of the unconscious and the controlled lucidity of discursive consciousness, practical consciousness illuminates the process by which people routinely reproduce the conditions of their existence, but

also manifests the relative simplicity of their ability to do otherwise - to learn the rules as well as to apply them and to question the distribution of resources.¹¹

Our practical consciousnesses are nebulous fields of semi-comprehension, practical or folk wisdom, inarticulate knowledges and understandings which often lack an established and recognised public presence. Thus, it is difficult to unearth the extent to which practical consciousnesses do or do not contribute to the maintenance of social systems. Appearances can be very deceptive and social constructions of reality, which are intrinsic to processes of social interaction themselves, can be highly complex. Nowhere is this more certain than in the case of ambivalent groups, such as state professionals. We have to be exceedingly cautious in our methodologies of enquiry into their consciousnesses. We must pay heed to Ira Cohen's¹² important critique of Giddens in which the problem of the validity of social scientific accounts is raised, and we are asked to consider how one evaluates the relative epistemological status of competing theories.

My own particular manner of tackling this difficulty lies in a particular extension of the double hermeneutic, which I shall explain in full later. The fundamental point is, however, that in bringing together the social scientific with the 'natural' hermeneutic, the best opportunity is created for exploring the nature and scope of the practical

consciousnesses of those being studied, as well as the discursive consciousnesses of the investigators.

This is precisely the kind of approach which is needed to understand the character of social classes. Giddens himself, in Central Problems in Social Theory¹³, and Adam Przeworski, in his article, "Proleteriat into Class,"¹⁴ supply the elements of a structurationist conception of class.

Giddens argues that neither those in the Marxist tradition of class analysis nor those in the Weberian tradition have been able to come to terms with the tension between class as an externally classified abstraction and class as a meaningful cultural group. Giddens' solution, and it is one which I follow, is to explore the details of: "... how class relations are expressed in concrete types of group formation and consciousness"¹⁵ within the framework of a theory of class society. The specific historical characteristics of capitalist society provide a set of identifiable contradictions, in which a range of conflictual possibilities may be discerned. Giddens' own mention of the historical 'insulation' of economic activity from direct political control is highly suggestive in this respect, raising as it does the key factors of ideology, legitimation, and the centrality of the state.

A careful reading of Adam Przeworski's article on class formation reveals a structurationist perspective very close to that of Giddens. It is possible to read Przeworski's now

famous statement that: "... ideological struggle is a struggle about class before it is a struggle among classes,"¹⁶ as a voluntarist thesis. Such a reading, however, would not capture the dialectical subtlety of Przeworski's position. Like Giddens, he views class formation as a recursive process in which economic, political and ideological relations are both the medium and the outcome of social struggles. Przeworski misses the interesting insight of Giddens that, under certain circumstances, routine actions can have exceptional effects and that exceptional actions can produce quite mundane results, but he does offer a rich portrayal of how possibility is bounded by probability:

Class struggles are neither epiphenomenal, nor free from objective determination. They are structured by the totality of economic, political, and ideological relations; and they have an autonomous effect upon the process of class formation. But if struggles do have an autonomous effect upon class formation, then the places in the relations of production, whatever they are, can no longer be viewed as objective in the sense of the problematic of "class-in-itself," that is, in the sense of determining uniquely what classes will emerge as classes-in-struggle. What this implies is that classification of positions must be viewed as immanent to the practices that (may) result in class formation. The very theory of classes must be viewed as internal to particular political projects. Positions within the relations of production, or any other relations for that matter, are thus no longer viewed as objective in the sense of being prior to class struggles. They are objective only to the extent to which they validate or invalidate the practices of class formation, to the extent to which they make the particular projects historically realizable or not. And here the mechanism of determination is not unique: several projects may be feasible at a particular conjuncture. Hence positions within social relations constitute limits upon the success of political practice, but within

these historically concrete limits the formation of classes-in-struggle is determined by struggles that have class formation as their effect.¹⁷

Applying Przeworski's concepts to an analysis of state professional employees in the current conjuncture is rendered difficult by the highly elastic nature of the boundaries of their 'historically realizable' projects. Nevertheless, as I shall demonstrate in subsequent chapters, although the range of possibility is wide indeed, a carefully undertaken 'snapshot' of modes of class consciousness can assist a great deal in narrowing the field of plausibility.

A fitting conclusion to this section on the duality of structure is Giddens' own summary statement of the concept:

... Human agency and structure are logically implicated with one another Understood as rules and resources replicated in the 'form' of collectivities of social systems, reproduced across space and time, structure is the very medium of the 'human' element of human agency. At the same time, agency is the medium of structure, which individuals routinely reproduce in the course of their activities it is characteristic of human agents that they routinely appraise what they do as a means of doing it, and that they are able discursively to give both an account of what they do and of their reasons for what they do. ... But it does not follow that they know all there is to know about the consequences of what they do, for the activities of others or for their own activities in the future. Nor do they know all there is to know about the conditions of their action, that is, the circumstances that are causally involved with its production."

CONTRADICTION VERSUS CONFLICT:

Irrespective of their treatment of human agency, many structuralists and voluntarists have operated on the assumption that particular forms of social contradiction result in particular patterns of conflict. Whether in the form of agentless structural imperatives or teleological readings of will, these scholars, as we saw in the last chapter, have failed to take into account the relative indeterminacy of practice.

A range of scholars in the field of ideology and consciousness have addressed these attributional issues. Many of them have taken issue with the twin problems of economic and class determinism in traditional Marxist scholarship. In the 1930s, Wilhelm Reich, reflecting upon the failure of the working class to bring about revolution and the rise of fascism, argued:

... what has to be explained is not the fact that the man who is hungry steals or the fact that the man who is exploited strikes, but why the majority of those who are hungry don't steal and why the majority of those who are exploited don't strike.¹⁹

Even under circumstances of economic crisis, argued Gramsci²⁰ at about the same time, there is no guarantee of an historical crisis. Gramsci meant that the balance of hegemony was always sustained by a battery of coercion. But Reich, and many others, have demonstrated that legitimation itself is coercive to the extent that the socialized psyche may be the most repressive force - stronger than the repressive state

apparatuses and the cruel disciplines of the free market. Irrespective of the location of coercive domination, it is clear that between the lucid analyses of social researchers, in which systemic factors are seen to be at odds with each other, and existing social practices, there lies a cultural and psychological field of doubt, indecision, fear, bravery, acceptance, rejection, identity and alienation. What occurs in such a field cannot be known in advance.

It was the experience of fascism which, above all else, prompted scholars to question the automatic link between class location and class action. Michael Schneider²¹ and Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe²² are among those contemporary scholars who make this point. In so doing, they move the analysis of social class into the challenging, if difficult, area of ideology and consciousness. Such approaches to class are difficult because they go beyond the comforting certainties associated with Marx's laws of motion of capitalism and demand that we treat as independent realms the fields of ideology, politics and consciousness. But in order to treat them as separate and equal, we require theories of a comparable robustness to those of Marx. There are a range of claimants to such equality, including versions of feminism, discourse theory, concepts of symbolic capital and neo-Weberian theories of power. Each of these theories offers certain insights into the nature of modern conflict. None, however, from my perspective, has so far been able to equal

the deep explanatory scope of Marx's theory of capitalism. It is, thus, the explanation of the dynamics of capitalist production which occupies the centre of my hermeneutic, even if it is complemented by constant reference to other spheres of domination. Furthermore, these other factors are taken to be absolutely autonomous 'in the last instance', even if we must presently rest uncertain about their underlying dynamics.

Giddens would not fully agree with my analysis. His understanding of modernity treats capitalism as only one of four critical explanatory focuses.²² However, he might agree that it is the study of capitalism which has unearthed the most obvious and important systematic contradictions.

The primary contradiction of capitalism, for Giddens, is between private appropriation and socialized production.²⁴ By contradiction Giddens means: "... a opposition or disjunction of structural principles of social systems, where those principles operate in terms of each other but at the same time contravene one another."²⁵ Under capitalism, the structural principle of 'anarchic', uncontrolled private accumulation depends upon, but also runs counter to the structural principle of co-operative or socialized production. Sustained accumulation can only occur at the expense of the very socialization process which sustains it.

It is at this point that certain Marxist scholars would argue that the capitalist economic system is doomed to failure and others would add that it will be replaced with socialism.

Giddens would not agree with either argument. The lifetime of capitalism cannot be known, according to Giddens, because, despite the undoubted contradictions, there is no guarantee that social agents will either recognise them, or, if they do, that they will recognise them in such a way that they seek systemic transformation. With respect to the fascism theme which I introduced earlier, Giddens' comment that: "... contradiction can underlie or stimulate retrograde movements of historical change,"²⁶ seems appropriate.

In attempting to understand the circumstances under which systemic contradiction might result in social conflict, Giddens identifies a number of variables. First is the 'opacity' of action, or the degree to which social contradictions can be symbolically or normatively expressed as such. It is in this context that Bourdieu's important work on symbolic struggles becomes critical.²⁷ Bourdieu demonstrates how the discursive realm itself is inscribed in material practices and, consequently, how the structures of subjectivity can resist even the most powerful of 'objective' changes. In the context of state professionals, one only has to consider the symbolic weight of the label 'professional' itself to appreciate the point made by Bourdieu. In Giddens' terms, action is rendered more opaque for state professionals than for others owing to the centrality of the ideological separation of state from civil society under capitalism. The spheres of 'politics' and 'economics' are rendered mutually

exclusive. On the other hand, state professionals may be the beneficiaries of a reduced opacity to the extent that their workplaces are actually in the state. Second, Giddens makes reference to the 'dispersion of contradictions.' If contradictions can be kept separate, if evidence of systemic breakdown can be distributed widely, then conflict is less likely to occur. Fragmentation weakens both the capacity to understand the problem and the possibility of action against it. This is particularly true if the worst effects of contradiction can be transmitted to those least able to comprehend or fight. In contemporary Western societies this might imply state professionals and their clients, who are less critical to the accumulation process than those in the private sector, notably the monopoly sector. Once again, the range of possibility is wide - as victims of the 'dispersion of contradictions', state professionals might be disempowered, but they might also develop a more lucid understanding of the contradictions and one which would prompt rebellion. The third element mentioned by Giddens is direct repression. It is clear that even with a high degree of discursive understanding and a will to fight, direct repression can act as a limit on overt forms of conflict and can have a draining effect upon the subjective will to rebel.

Between forms of class contradiction and class conflict there are, therefore, a range of ideological, cultural, political and psychological mediating factors. There is no

guarantee that exploitation or oppression will resist in conflict, or that if it does, the conflict will be one in which the sides correspond to the structural principles of the contradiction. There is no guarantee, but there are degrees of probability. One of my tasks in the remaining chapters is to trace those elusive parameters of the probabilistic structural underpinnings of the life experiences of state professionals.

In summarising the intellectual project of Merleau-Ponty, Laurie Spurling admires the kind of balance with which I have attempted to inform my own understanding. Even though it is necessary to reject structuralist and functionalist claims about the 'purposes' or 'needs' of systems and abstract collectivities, and voluntarist attributions of will, we can trace historical instances of reproduced social regularity which serve as the bases for informed social scientific understanding:

... history is neither a chaotic collection of accidental happenings, nor a chain of events rigidly determined by iron laws of historical development, but is an ambiguous phenomenon, an area where individual projects and praxis interact to form an overall tendency, probability or direction to history a continual transformation of chance into pattern.²⁸

THE DOUBLE HERMENEUTIC:

According to Giddens, there is:

... a mutual interpretative interplay between social science and those whose activities compose its subject matter - a 'double hermeneutic'. The

theories and findings of the social sciences cannot be kept wholly separate from the universe of meaning and action which they are about. But, for their part, lay actors are social theorists, whose theories help to constitute the activities and institutions that are the object of study of specialized social observers or social scientists. There is no clear dividing line between informed sociological reflection carried on by lay actors and similar endeavours on the part of specialists. I do not want to deny that there are dividing lines, but they are inevitably fuzzy, and social scientists have no absolute monopoly either upon innovative theories or upon empirical investigations of what they study."

Such an interweaving of the discursive and practical consciousnesses of both social scientists and lay actors compels social science to be both a hermeneutic and a critical practice. Once we accept this, we can set aside the search for 'laws' of the natural scientific kind and accept the fact that there can be no neutrality. Within the confines of such realities, however, we can be most creative and yet rigorous.

With respect to the contradiction-conflict dilemma raised in the previous section, we must be aware that our positing of a series of structural principles as 'contradictory' can have an impact upon 'the real world.' But we must not overlook the fact that lay actors can and do perform exactly the same theoretical tasks and, in so doing, shift the very bases of our understandings of them. Nor must we forget the important realm of practical consciousness, the taken-for-granted, which pervades the understandings of each of us, lay and expert.

We must attempt to make use of the characteristics of the double hermeneutic to broaden our appreciations of the emergence of contradictions, the existence of conflicts and the manner in which actors who face either contradictory or incompatible circumstances make sense of their lives. Such sensitivity is critical for those whose class situations are most ambivalent or 'contradictory' in Wright's terms, the new middle class and most particularly, state professional employees. As I shall stress in subsequent chapters, this occupational group is particularly prone to 'informed sociological reflection' not simply because of its class location, but also because of its historical emergence as a highly educated category.

The particular method of investigation I derive from the principles of the double hermeneutic is relatively straightforward and can be described in a few paragraphs.

I begin my study with a clear acknowledgement of the structurationist attention to time-space specificity. While acknowledging that it is possible to achieve plausible analyses of social systems which are stretched quite far in both time and distance, I also admit that when it comes to the analysis of the class character of state professional employees, it is necessary to build most carefully from specific cases. Consequently, in terms of its scope, my own study is micrological - it relates to school teachers in contemporary Ottawa-Carleton, even though it draws tentatively

upon some broader Canadian and Ontario material for its contextualisation. In terms of its method, however, it is not a traditional 'case study.' It is certainly 'in depth', but its principal intentions are to explore the method itself and, possibly, to provide clues as to how a more generalized study might be conducted in the future.

The study raises the familiar problems of the hermeneutic circle: I intend to listen to the words of the school teachers and to understand their 'language,' but, in order to do so, I must operate with some approximation of their 'language' to begin with. If I presume to speak their language, however, I may impose a structure upon them which inhibits their speech and my comprehension. My resolution of this dilemma lies in the fullest employment of the principles of the duality of structure. While not invalidating the ideas of the teachers, I also operate on the assumption that I bring to the study certain theoretical and empirical insights concerning the causes of their actions. Such insights provide an initial framework for investigation, an agenda which is imposed, even if in a tentative fashion.

With respect to state professionals in general, and school teachers in particular, it so happens that a careful study of their occupational backgrounds reveals a broad range of historical class characteristics. Consequently, the framework which emerges from my own research is broad enough to encompass a wide spectrum of response. In the course of

conducting the research for this dissertation, I have explored in great detail the major facets of the growth of the post-war interventionist state; the post-war state in Canada; the history of school teachers in Canada, particularly in Ontario; and the history of teacher militancy in Canada. In the next chapter, I set out some of the major findings of this research. From these data, I develop my understandings of potential class characteristics. Although I employ the scholarship of structuralists, functionalists and voluntarists, I do not present a theory which argues for the historical necessity of any of the findings. My method attempts to capture what has actually occurred, why it occurred and, consequently, whether any of the revealed class characteristics might inform the contemporary experiences of those school teachers in whom I am interested.

It is on the basis of this carefully established hermeneutic that I address the school teachers of Ottawa-Carleton. In the final substantive chapters, I describe the process by which I assessed both the teachers' reactions to my analysis of relevant issues and their self-placement with respect to those issues.

The method is, therefore, more than simply a combination of structuralism and voluntarism, it is the best of both and yet neither. The unacknowledged, or partially acknowledged, structural principles which inform teachers' lives are set out in great detail and their own words and actions are treated

with great respect. It is, however, the particular combination of these two approaches and, notably, the manner in which such a combination comes to influence my own reading of teachers' class character, which makes the project a distinctively structurationist enterprise.

CONSCIOUSNESS AND THE INDIVIDUAL

Although it is not unusual for studies of social class to use the individual as a unit of analysis, there are many serious scholars who would claim that class cannot be studied in this way. They reason instead that it is, by definition a collective construct, whose evidential basis is in the broad sweeps of social reproduction and transformation, rather than in the reflections of individuals. These are serious criticisms and deserve a response before I embark upon the empirical elements of my project. In this section I wish to justify my choice of the individual as a focus of analysis and my concentration upon consciousness, rather than action.

Despite the fact that I concentrate upon the individual in my empirical work, and make the claim that the individual psyche is the sole location of consciousness, my method is not 'methodological individualism.' I view the relationship between individual and society as a dialectical one in which individuals are, of necessity, constituted by patterns of rules and resources which pre-exist them. I reject the psychologistic conception of the transhistorical 'individual'

which is little more than an example of generalised humanity. To argue in such a manner is to posit society itself as nothing more than the sum total of all the individuals within it. On the contrary, society possesses its own dynamics, which transcend the particular projects of the individuals who 'compose' it.

Furthermore, like Adorno, I recognise the fact that ".... people are incapable of recognizing themselves in society and society in themselves"³⁰ At least, I would agree that the capability of such recognition is severely curtailed in various ways. In this respect, I agree with Jacoby's identification of the central sociological relevance of Freud:

... his concepts are radical in their pursuit of society where it allegedly does not exist: in the privacy of the individual.³¹

and:

To discover society within the psyche of the individual - the universal within the particular - is to discover the objective nature of the prevailing subjectivity: it is to strip away the floss of the autonomous individual.³²

Like Adorno, Jacoby may err too far in the direction of the determinism of the unconscious. Erich Fromm, who laundered much of Freud in his interpretations, perhaps goes too far toward the other extreme when he asserts:

Any group consists of individuals and nothing but individuals, and psychological mechanisms which we find operating in a group can therefore only be mechanisms that operate in individuals³³

It is obvious that groups are much more than collections of individuals, even if individuals are also much more than the 'group within them.' Without resorting to the individualism of Fromm, it is reasonable to agree with Andre Gorz that:

... it is impossible that individuals should totally coincide with their social being, or that social being should encompass all the dimensions of individual existence. Individual existence can never be entirely socialized. It involves areas of experience which, being essentially secret, intimate, unmediated and incapable of mediation, can never be had in common.³⁴

In his interesting book, Personality and Ideology,³⁵ Peter Leonard points out that the ideological ambivalence of many social contexts should divert us from an oversocialized conception of humanity and should open our eyes to the manner in which individuals actually confront their ranges of social cues.³⁶ Despite the various social conditioning forces, individuals are able to reflect, assess, hesitate, perceive and recollect in an independent manner. Although it may occasionally err too much toward voluntarism, the symbolic interactionist perspective is able to capture the balance of society and the individual:

... the individual is not simply imprisoned in ... culture, for these [cultural] objects not only create the individual as a social being, but also are created by the individual as part of the process of interaction with others. It is through interaction with others that common understandings emerge, including the individual's understanding of himself or herself.³⁷

There is, therefore, no guarantee of a correspondence between social existence and consciousness. An approach to class which concentrates upon the individual is, far from being mistaken, potentially of great importance. Nowhere is this more certain than where the very social bases of class themselves are highly ambivalent and the possibilities for class action are wide open. It would be hazardous to attempt an analysis of the class character of state professionals without paying a great deal of attention to how these social actors made sense of their class-related circumstances. There are no laws, at least none acceptable to me, about socio-economic cause and class effect, whether they are derived from voluntarist theories of historical unfolding or from reductionist theories of structural causation in which individuals fill pre-ordained roles. With all social actors, but especially with state professional employees, it is necessary to adopt a position of openness regarding the propensity of these individuals to think and act alike. Such openness is bounded only by our own tentative hermeneutics.

Erik Olin Wright points out that in order to understand:

... the real mechanisms that link social structures to social practices, the subjective basis of the intentional choices made by the actors who live within these structures and engage in those practices must be investigated, and this implies studying consciousness."

In order to study consciousness, it is necessary to concentrate upon individuals. The individual psyche is the

exclusive residence of consciousness, even if the origins and ramifications of consciousness cannot be explained in individual terms alone. This is, consequently, not a denial of the independent importance of systems, structural principles and cultures; it is, rather, an assertion of the distinctive nature of consciousness as a matter of the psyche not the social formation.

This is a very important argument because it denies the possibility of a 'collective consciousness.' Certainly, group cultures exist and are of great relevance in our understandings of social class, but to speak of a mass soul, or a group mind is to introduce a confusing distortion; one, furthermore, which has resulted in unwarranted attributions of will in social theory. Consciousness is not something external to individuals, which develops through them, even in part. It is entirely the product of individual minds or it is nothing. We cannot, therefore, speak of classes, as a whole, possessing consciousnesses, even if we can and should trace the lineaments of intersubjective class cultures.

As I have mentioned, there are two modes of consciousness: discursive, or elevated, consciousness and practical, or everyday, consciousness. The distinction between them is, of course, difficult to sustain in practice since the one, quite naturally, slides into the other. On the whole, however, when I engage in the exploration of my own consciousness or the consciousnesses of the school

teachers I have questioned, I am inviting the presentation of the results of a discursive consciousness - some reflection upon the everyday, the taken-for-granted. It is a statement of 'how things work', which implies not just an awareness, but, more than this, 'an awareness of being aware', as Rollo May" would put it. Perhaps the simplest way to summarise what I mean by consciousness is to use the words of Erik Olin Wright for whom consciousness consists of "... those elements of a person's subjectivity which are discursively available to the individual's own awareness."⁴⁰

How far such a matter of personal and open choice seems to be from the notions of Georg Lukacs:

... class consciousness consists in fact of the appropriate and rational reactions 'imputed' ... to a particular typical place in the process of production."

In the Leninist scheme of things, it is, of course, the vanguard party which 'knows' what is 'appropriate and rational', even if the working class is lagging behind and desires other things. A distinction is thereby introduced between the real consciousnesses of men and women and an imputed, collective consciousness, which, given the particular stage of contradiction between the forces and relations of production, the class, as a whole, should attain. Such an imputed collective consciousness might be good politics and is certainly powerful rhetoric, but it can result in a dangerously teleological reading of history in which the

complex of confusions of actual practices are not explored in the detail they deserve.

Such understandings of consciousnesses as collective phenomena are current today in certain analyses. Three years ago, Bertell Ollman published an article entitled, "How to Study Class Consciousnesses, And Why We Should."⁴² Ollman is sophisticated enough to acknowledge the existence of an 'individual' consciousness, alongside his conception of group consciousness. However, it is the group consciousness which is privileged. His description of group consciousness as a kind of 'group think'⁴³ is, in fact, a characterisation of what I have called intersubjective class culture. Instead of analysing how consciousness and culture interrelate, Ollman simply declares that where individual consciousnesses do not meet the standards of the group, the individuals are 'exceptional', and: "... temporary exceptions at that."⁴⁴ Thus, for Ollman, individuals have little of importance to say about their consciousness. How then is consciousness to be understood? Ollman's answer is that it is in the analysis of: "... a group of people embodying a particular societal place and function."⁴⁵ Ollman has fallen victim to the tendency to equate contradiction with conflict, or structural principle with action. All that has to happen for class consciousness to be realized, according for Ollman, is for people to catch up with their own correct analysis. Ollman does not consider the possibility that they might not catch up, because: "...

it is a journey with an end, a goal established by the situation of the class as such"6

There is, of course, no place for such teleology in the analysis of any class, but in the case of those who occupy the middle, whose locations are contradictory, the imposition of definitive historical projects is out of the question. Even if Lukacs, Ollman and others were correct about the working class, and could assert that their structural contradictions would inevitably give rise to the kind of consciousnesses they impute, the middle classes would remain resistant to analysis.

Once Ollman begins to discuss a proposed methodology for actually studying class consciousness, toward the end of his article, he is unable to find a series of techniques which support his culturalist definition. In fact, what he proposes is using the individual as the focus of analysis, but argues that we approach individuals in such a manner as to elicit from them 'groupish' responses, rather than individualistic ones.

Contrary to Ollman, we cannot conceive of consciousness as a collective revolutionary potential, waiting to be triggered by the right historical developments. Consciousness is not, in fact, a potential at all. It is an actuality - an actuality which is, nevertheless, related to patterns of changing historical circumstances.

If the voluntarist accounts of Lukacs and Ollman are too imputational, structuralist conceptions of consciousness are even less tenable. In structuralist accounts of class reproduction, the individual agent disappears altogether. Since this argument, expressed most forcefully in E.P. Thompson's attack on Althusser,⁴⁷ is well-known, I shall not dwell upon it.

However, Althusser's mechanistic conception of ideology and consciousness is sustained by Poulantzas and his denial of the relevance of the individual class actor is amplified in this thought concerning class consciousness:

... there is no need for there to be 'class consciousness' or autonomous political organizations for the class struggle to take place, and to 'take place in every domain of social reality.'⁴⁸

Both voluntarist and structuralist accounts of class consciousness attribute to social groups a range of necessary 'reasons' and 'purposes.' I can do little better than present Giddens' forceful denunciation of such tendencies:

... social systems have no purposes, reasons or needs whatsoever; only human individuals do so. Any explanation of social reproduction which imputes teleology to social systems must be declared invalid.⁴⁹

While it is certainly true that the attainment of certain forms of discursive consciousness is very difficult, requiring what Frank Parkin⁵⁰ refers to as a facility like learning a foreign language, it is not out of the question. If it were, there would be no major systemic change. E.P. Thompson is

correct to argue that 'programmed robots' of the Althusserian kind would be incapable of such praxis. Structuralists and voluntarists alike fail to register the importance of practical consciousness, as a nebulous yet contested terrain of social meaning. Practical consciousness is indeed the realm of our most unthinking reproduction of those social relations which oppress us and others, but it is also the domain of our nascent disaffections - those indefinable discomforts with the way things are.

What we find in the analysis of structuralists and voluntarists is a denial of the efficacy of actual consciousness - and a lack of curiosity about it. They are insufficiently concerned about how it comes about and what effects it has upon social organisation.

A STRATEGY FOR RESEARCH

I have argued that the structurationist approach constitutes a mechanism through which it is possible to transcend the dualistic opposition between structure and agency. Giddens' version of structurationist theory also tackles the problems of teleology, attribution and spurious universalism found in much of the structuralist and voluntarist literature reviewed in Chapter One. Moreover, the concept of the double hermeneutic suggests a methodology through which theoretical insights can be brought to bear upon the empirical analysis of class character.

In the remaining chapters of the dissertation, I turn my attention to the empirical study of class consciousness in an attempt to put theory into practice. I present the results of a small-scale, yet highly contextualised study of teachers in Ottawa-Carleton.

In Chapter Three, I combine my theoretical understandings of the nature of social class with a detailed study of the class-related experiences of school teachers in Canada and, more specifically, Ontario and Ottawa-Carleton. I do not, however, present my findings as a sufficient explanation of the class character of these school teachers. On the contrary, such explanation is only possible in the light of the teachers' responses to my agenda. In Chapter Three I develop an empirically generated framework in which I attempt to capture the range of typical class experiences. I then organise my findings into a broad typology of potential class consciousnesses.

It is in Chapter Four that I complete the operationalization of the class-based concepts by constructing questionnaire items based upon them. The major purpose of Chapter Four is to portray the configurations of class consciousnesses among those teachers who responded to my questionnaire. I make no attempt to predict, in advance, which particular structures of class consciousness might be dominant, or which particular class valences might be predominant within them. Given the class ambivalence of

school teachers, such an approach, in which the stress is upon empirical openness, seems the correct one. Although I am careful to ensure that the questions themselves are not remote from the actual experiences of those I question, I retain an openness to the range of plausible results.

In the final substantive chapter, Chapter Five, I continue my exploration of the class character of school teachers by exploring the correlates of their revealed class consciousnesses. My theoretical determination of the individual and consciousness as the 'way into' an understanding of class character is complemented by the proposition that, given the complex ambivalence and contradictions of school teachers' class locations and positions, it is perhaps to the individual and consciousness we should look in attempting to make sense of those circumstances in which various patterns of school teacher class consciousnesses arise. Neither my survey of the theories of teacher class consciousness, in Chapter One, nor my research into the experiences of school teachers, in Chapter Three, reveals anything consistent about collective, structural effects. In Chapter Five, I am able to explore a range of certain non-class sociological and social psychological candidates for the elucidation of patterns of class consciousness. In so doing, I discover that C. Wright Mills'⁵¹ contention that the private, individual position of 'middle-class' people determines in 'which direction they go'

receives empirical support. So too does my suspicion that collective-level phenomena, such as union and strike activism, have little to do with teacher class consciousness.

In conclusion, I am making the claim that the most useful approach to uncovering the class character of state professionals, such as school teachers, lies in the carefully contextualised analysis of their individual consciousnesses. Such an analysis is only a beginning, but it is, I contend, an indispensable one.

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Chapter 2

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2. Anthony Giddens, Central Problems in Social Theory (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 69-73.
3. Pierre Bourdieu, Distinctions: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste transl. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984).
4. Ira Cohen, "The Status of Structuration Theory: A Reply to McLennan," Theory, Culture and Society, 3 (1986), 125.
5. Anthony Giddens, The Constitution of Society, 227-280.
6. Ibid., 31-33.
7. Ibid., 16.
8. Anthony Giddens, "Erving Goffman as a systematic social theorist," Social Theory and Modern Sociology (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987), 109-139.
9. Anthony Giddens, The Constitution of Society, 4-7, 44-51; 93-104.
10. Giddens himself does not actually employ the concept and fails to demonstrate, even in the most superficial manner, how it might be employed by others. His own understanding of the unconscious is a highly contentious one anyway, since he conflates it with the 'id'. (The Constitution of Society, 7) Any use of the unconscious in social theory would have to incorporate elements of history and social reproduction. Freud himself devoted much attention to the place of both the super-ego and the ego in the unconscious. We should do as much if we wish to explore the social in the psyche. Additionally, Giddens' idea that the unconscious means "... not being

able to give verbal expression to the promptings of action." (The Constitution of Society, 45) overlooks the very core of psychoanalytic practice, which is 'the talking cure', or, to use Lacanian terminology, is the exploration of metaphor and metonymy. The agent can and does make use of a wide range of verbal expression and such verbalisations can take us back to some core understandings about the individual. The point is, however, that everything depends upon the interpretation.

11. Interestingly, Erik Olin Wright (Classes, 144-145) makes reference to Giddens' conception of practical consciousness in his recent class analysis. Wright does not, however, integrate Giddens' insights into his own work. Wright makes little attempt to explore the manner in which: "... subjectivity mediates the ways in which the objective conditions of class locations are translated into the active choices of class actions." (Classes, 145) As I argued earlier, the theoretical problem revolves around Wrights' dualistic treatment of 'location' and 'position'.
12. Ira Cohen, "The Status of Structuration Theory," 130-131.
13. Anthony Giddens, Central Problems in Social Theory, 109-110.
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17. Ibid., 367.

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25. Ibid., 141.
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35. Peter Leonard, Personality and Ideology: Towards a Materialist Understanding of the Individual (London: Macmillan, 1984).
36. Ibid., 27.
37. Ibid., 71.
38. Erik Olin Wright, Classes (London: Verso, 1985), 244.
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42. Bertell Ollman, "How To Study Class Consciousnesses, And Why We Should," Insurgent Sociologist 14 (1987), 57-96.

43. Ibid., 68.
44. Ibid., 69.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid., 70.
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48. Nicos Poulantzas, Classes in Contemporary Capitalism (London: Verso, 1978), 17.
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CHAPTER THREE

THE CLASS EXPERIENCES OF PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS IN POST-WAR CANADA

INTRODUCTION

My methodological extension of the principles of the double hermeneutic entails a mutual process of intellectual and informational exchange between myself, as investigator, and the teachers of Ottawa-Carleton, the agents in whom I am interested.

My critique of existing theories of class in Chapter One led me to characterise state professionals, including teachers, as ambivalent and contradictory occupational groups, whose locational and positional vacillation was in need of empirical study. In Chapter Two, I argued the case for a high degree of sensitivity to time and place in all social analysis. In this chapter, I attempt to capture the empirical realities of contradiction and ambivalence in this time and this place.

I begin the study with the presentation of empirical and historical research into the class experiences and class behaviour of school teachers in Canada. My concern is to identify, in general, those class-related aspects of teachers' lives which have meaning for the particular teachers whose

class consciousness I hope to understand. How successful I am in this bid becomes clearer in Chapter Four, where I set out the findings of the empirical study of class consciousness, and in Chapter Five, where I undertake a comparative analysis of the background to the patterns of class consciousness established in Chapter Four.

My approach is self-avowedly anti-functionalist. However, because I do not characterise all public school teachers everywhere as 'members' of a certain class or as 'instruments' of certain processes of social reproduction, it does not follow that I am obliged to abandon hope of achieving certain contextualised understandings of how teachers have, or in fact, do behave. On the contrary, the structurationist approach encourages the search for regular patterns of reproduced rules and resources.

If locales¹ are treated as problematic, as intrinsic to the temporal and spatial reproduction of social relations, rather than as inert spaces or places into which we might pour our conceptual frameworks, then we can and we should make judicious use of them in establishing those factors contributing to the life-worlds of those we are investigating.

My analysis in this chapter makes use of three locales: Canada, the province of Ontario, and the Ottawa-Carleton region. These locales form meaningful reference points in contextualising the experiences of school teachers in Ottawa-Carleton. Since I have detailed comments to make about the

relevance of Canada later in the chapter, I shall comment no further upon it in this introduction.

The importance of Ontario relates both to the highly decentralized federal system of Canada, in which Ontario has a unique status as the largest province in English-speaking Canada, as well as to the fact that the class relations surrounding educational experiences are largely mediated through provincial organizations, associations and institutions including the government, the Ministry of Education, and the school teachers' associations and federations. The historical data discussed in the chapter portray the class experiences and class actions of Ontario's school teachers as relatively moderate and muted, in comparison with circumstances in other provinces, notably Quebec and British Columbia. Ontario's post-war economic dominance, based upon strong growth in the manufacturing sector, as well as its continued cultural dominance, facilitated both a lengthy period of industrial peace and the absence of aggressive moves toward 'province building'. Ontario did not really need a separate identity, it simply came to assume Canada's, or, more precisely, those social structures and practices sustained by the post-war federal state.

Attending to the specific circumstances of Ottawa-Carleton facilitates a highly targetted analysis of the

particular developments underpinning the biographies of the actual men and women upon whom the empirical study is based.

The substance of this chapter is divided into four sections. The first three are chronological, the fourth is conceptual.

In the first section, I present the class experiences and actions of Canadian school teachers from the 1837 rebellions to the Second World War. This section is intended as a brief contextualisation rather than as an exhaustive historical study.

The second and third sections constitute a more detailed analysis of events since the Second World War. The first section, from the end of the Second World War, to about 1970, which I refer to as 'limited Keynesianism,' describes the period of rapid educational growth in Canada and Ontario. The second period, from about 1970 to the present day, labelled 'neo-liberalism,' captures the dynamics of the curtailment of this growth. Each section is divided into two sub-sections, one concentrating upon factors impinging upon teachers' class experiences, the other describing their class-related actions.

A great many scholars in Canadian political economy and public policy analysis would agree that the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s constituted an economic, political and ideological watershed. A recent, and concise, analysis is by David Wolfe.² In his overview of the development of the Canadian state, Wolfe points out that:

Keynesianism or fordism defines a broad accumulation strategy adopted by the industrialized countries in the aftermath of the Great Depression and World War II. The social and economic policies associated with fordism were consciously designed to overcome the crisis conditions of the Great Depression.³

Later in the chapter I shall briefly elaborate upon Jane Jenson's' explanations of the specifically Canadian characteristics of post-war Fordism and Keynesianism.

Wolfe offers the following condensed explanation of the breakdown of post-war Keynesianism and Fordism. As we shall see in the body of the chapter, elements of his analysis are critical to appreciating the evolving class experiences and class actions of Canadian school teachers:

In the late 1960s and early 1970s ... Canada's economic performance began to deteriorate under the combined impact of rising wage militancy by trade unions, chaffing under the restrictions of the collective bargaining environment, and the instability resulting from the breakdown of the international financial regime. The collapse of the post-war accumulation strategy became apparent with the abandonment of Keynesianism and the adoption of both wage controls and monetary gradualism in 1975. The subsequent period exhibited a growing toleration of rising unemployment levels, an expanding use of coercive measures to restrict the scope of collective bargaining and expenditure restraint, especially in the areas of social policy.⁵

My presentation of the transition from limited Keynesianism to neo-liberalism, with reference to the lives of Canadian teachers, reveals a complex of trends. Most of the economic, political and ideological transitions, however, are reflective of the factors identified by Wolfe. All the economic indicators - such as state expenditure on education,

teachers' salary levels and the size of the teaching profession - show a sustained growth until about 1970, followed by a period of stagnation. Before 1970, there were very few teachers' strikes in Canada and none in Ontario. From about the late 1960s, school teachers in Ontario began taking industrial action. In a more diffuse sense, we can detect, in the immediate post-war period until the end of the 1960s, expansionary, collectivistic and egalitarian visions. Since then, the dominant ideology has become harsher, more restrained, confrontational and individualistic.

The empirical details of these developments are to be explored in sections two and three. I conclude the chapter with a conceptual synthesis of the major trends emerging from my historical and empirical analysis. The final section, entitled 'Possessive Individualism and Solidaristic Collectivism' constructs a framework for the empirical exploration of class consciousness conducted in Chapter Four.

In the light of my general observations about the class ambivalence of state professionals, as well as the historical evidence I will be citing with respect to the muted and moderate character of class relations in Ontario, it is not surprising that my analyses reveal the absence of any clear and sustained class movements among school teachers in Ontario. What is revealed is a great deal of vacillation and confusion. It is, however, possible to identify the major dynamics of teacher ambivalence, and to establish a plausible

range of economic, political and ideological positions. The poles of this range, which I label 'possessive individualism' and 'solidaristic collectivism' are informed by the substantive historical and empirical data derived from my analysis of the two post-war periods. In a crude sense, the dynamics of the period of limited Keynesianism provide the material for the concept 'solidaristic collectivism', while the features of the neo-liberal period are constitutive of the concept 'possessive individualism.'

These phrases are chosen to reflect the 'bourgeois-proleterian' dichotomy, but also to indicate that there is both something more and something less in the range of teacher class consciousnesses than those traditional terms would suggest. There is something more because I incorporate a full range of facets of class experience, often overlooked by other researchers. There is something less because my understanding of the history of Canadian school teachers leads me to narrow the range of potential positions, and to exclude the extremes. In this way, I create measures, in Chapter Four, which are more sensitive to shades of difference in the centre.

The narrowness of the ideological range of positions in Canadian education has been noted by the Organization For Economic Co-Operation and Development. In a 1976 report on education in Canada,⁶ Canadian educational policy was referred to as one of the least politicized in the world. The report contended: "... it is as if the attempt has been made in this

field since the beginning to avoid party-political controversy at any cost."⁷

Before proceeding, I offer some qualifications about the analyses to be conducted in this chapter. First, the data on school teachers across Canada, with respect to my research purposes, is incomplete and patchy. Consequently, the profile I develop is, of necessity, something of a palimpsest. Second, much of the evidence of teachers' class-related actions which I have discovered relates to unionisation drives and strike action. I have already expressed reservations about the facile interpretations commonly offered for these actions. My reservations are implicit in this chapter, even if my empirical assessments of the nature of unionisation and strike activism are conducted later, in Chapter Five. Third, my occasional references to the experiences of school teachers in other countries should not be interpreted as inadvertant slippage into functionalism. Any non-Canadian evidence is employed within the context of the Canadian scene, and is employed tentatively. Finally, like Abercrombie and Urry⁸ and Przeworski⁹, I recognise that the class experiences of teachers are complexly connected to forms of non-class differentiation, and I begin my analysis of these points of connection in this chapter. It is in Chapter Five, however, that I attempt to address the claim of the Ehrenreichs that: "... the relationship between class as abstract economic

relationship and class as real social existence has been all-but-unexplored."¹⁰

**CLASS AND CANADIAN TEACHERS: FROM THE 1837
REBELLIONS TO THE SECOND WORLD WAR**

In a recent book, Robin Mathews¹¹ describes the Canadian identity as a dialectical struggle between: "... a balanced communitarianism and an unleashed competitive individualism...."¹² Mathews' account of this perennial Canadian tension is the most recent statement of a dynamic which has long been recognised by a great many Canadian scholars. Mathews' 'communitarianism versus individualism' is close to Innis' 'East-West versus North-South' transportational impulses¹³ or his apposition of 'time versus space' as the communicational bases of cultures.¹⁴ Mathews' dialectic is also close to Frye's 'homestead versus frontier,'¹⁵ S.D. Clark's 'law and order versus chaos and anarchy,'¹⁶ as well as W.L. Morton's 'European influence versus American influence.'¹⁷

From a range of different perspectives on the Canadian experience, these scholars identify a basic dynamic in Canadian history, which consists of perpetual struggles between nationalism, collectivism, order, equality and compromise, on the one hand, and continentalism, individualism, freedom from restraint, and enterprise, on the

other hand. Mathews expresses the longevity of these struggles:

Dialectical tension in Canadian identity began a long time ago, maybe at the time the court of France told Jacques Cartier (1534) to go find riches in the New World when he really wanted to colonize and build a community. It has surfaced most recently in the Free Trade battle. Will Canadians attach the ultimate worth of people to the anchor of profit and the ability of the individual to make a profit? Or will Canadians attach the ultimate worth of people to something else: community values, social well-being at all levels, an idea of service at home and in the world, a concept of universal justice?"

Despite the fact that such arguments are idealist and determinist, the empirical evidence I draw upon in this chapter supports their principal contentions. Mathews and like-minded scholars have isolated a set of dynamics which are uniquely and powerfully Canadian, dynamics which, as I shall demonstrate, are at the very heart of the class characteristics of teachers in contemporary Canada, and which therefore come to serve as the basis for my exploration of them.

My analysis begins with the 1837 rebellions in Upper Canada, struggles which took place between individualistic and liberal continentalists and the communitarian and conservative established interests. Smaller¹⁹ identifies the 1837 rebellions as events which focussed the minds of the Upper Canadian elite on the problems of ruling over a disorderly and rebellious population. Combined with large-scale immigration to Canada of the labouring poor, in the

1830s and 1840s, as well as the birth of working-class industrial militancy, the rebellions prompted men such as Egerton Ryerson²⁰ to advocate a system of public education, funded by taxpayers and supported by Normal Schools and teacher institutions.

By about 1850, the fundamentals of a system of public education were in place in Canada East and Canada West. From its inception, the system of public education was directly related to class conflict. It was the outcome of a certain response to growing social disorder. Stephen Schecter,²¹ writing about the emergence of public education in Canada in the middle of the nineteenth century, says:

What is so striking about Canadian early school reform is the frankness with which the reformers acknowledged that its basic purpose was the social control of an emerging working class.²²

In attempting to explore the class characteristics of the teacher themselves, in these early years, one must immediately recognise the importance of another form of differentiation, sex. For the first hundred years of public education in Canada, the great majority of elementary school teachers were women, usually single women.²³ In its earliest, pre-public days, formal education had been the domain of men, even if much informal education, in the home, was the unpaid responsibility of women. With some misgivings, the public school authorities built their system around the cheap labour of women. Only a minority of teachers, notably senior

teachers, 'masters,' and those in secondary education, were men. The sexual division of labour was explicit and clear-cut: Men, although themselves often economically oppressed and denied professional autonomy, taught 'subjects' and tended to be rewarded with a 'family wage.' Women teachers extended their domestic nurturing roles into the schoolroom, working for a much smaller salary than their male counterparts.

Phillips²⁴ estimates that between 1850 and 1890, women's salaries were about half those of men. The portrayal of women teachers as cheap agents in the reproduction of capitalist class relations, instilling in their charges the virtues of thrift, sobriety, and order, is, perhaps, understandable. Yet this stereotypes women and their experiences. For many women, even a low wage was a step toward 'respectable independence.'²⁵ Furthermore, as Alison Prentice²⁶ points out, although most women were obliged to accept their low status, some expressed their sense of grievance, demanding the right to equality with men, and recognition of their value.

Protest was always possible, but, in practice, extremely difficult. Most teachers were obliged to go along with the requirements of trustees and governors, and even the mildest forms of indiscipline or challenge could be answered with dismissal. As Paton²⁷ says:

They respected and followed, almost without question, their superiors in education; they knew their proper places and, in general, refrained from any kind of self-assertive action."²⁸

Characteristic of 'deferential' workers," women teachers in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, were simultaneously isolated from each other, and subject to close and paternalistic relationships with their employees.

There were, however, small pockets of resistance. Until late in the nineteenth century, school teachers' salaries were often unpaid until long after they had provided their services. 1870 saw the first teachers' 'strike' in Canada, over this particular issue. It was John Jessop, an educational reformer and moderate who was moved to write to the British Columbia Colonist newspaper, informing the editor of the appalling delays in wage payments to himself and his colleagues. Jessop argued that he and his colleagues would be obliged to withdraw their services because they had received only six out of the previous eighteen months' pay.³⁰

The final quarter of the nineteenth century saw the development of a modest version of teacher solidarity. A number of teacher associations were established, but they tended to be weak organisations, including in their ranks many non-teachers and not including the majority of the teachers themselves. According to Johnson,³¹ teachers did not yet constitute a 'corporate voice' and: "... when their voice was heard it tended to be apologetic and weak."³² Most teachers had not developed a sense of occupational solidarity.

However, by the turn of the century, some teachers began to demonstrate a greater degree of militancy and others at

least a sense of corporate purpose. In 1904, a resolution to create a British Columbia teachers' union, similar to the British National Union of Teachers, was defeated.³³ The fact that the motion arose at all, however, was noteworthy, reflecting a growing sense of grievance and anger among some teachers.

According to Danylewycz and Prentice,³⁴ it was already apparent by the end of the nineteenth century, that public school teachers were experiencing a class ambivalence, which, as we shall see, has continued to the present. They argue:

... female and male teachers alike found it difficult to see themselves as "workers" or to form alliances with the trade unions They saw that classroom teachers were poorly paid and had little control of the workplace but, for the most part, continued to identify themselves as mental rather than manual labourers³⁵

It is apparent from this description of the tensions between solidaristic and individualistic leanings, that class characteristics were complicated not only by sex but also by forms of status differentiation. The empirical analyses of the teachers of Ottawa-Carleton will demonstrate that status has continued to be an important qualifying variable in the class character of teachers.

The final decades of the nineteenth and the first of the twentieth century were periods of mass immigration into Canada. They were also decades of burgeoning socialism and social democracy as mass movements in capitalist countries. Muir³⁶ makes reference to the impact of large influxes of

radical British teachers into Canada at this time, although it is uncertain how much influence they had shaping teachers' organisations in Canada.

What might be supposed is that something in the collectivistic and communitarian cultures associated with the rapid growth of trade unions in Canada, as well as with the mobilisation for the First World War, prompted most Canadian teachers to establish associations and federations in the period shortly following the war. The establishment of these bodies should not be taken to imply that all teachers were coming to regard themselves as members of the working class, or as socialists, but it does reflect a growing, if diffuse, sense of collective status and need.

Working within the parameters of the established order, the new associations attempted to build for their members decent, equitable salaries and conditions of work as well as to enhance the professional status of the occupation by interventions in credentialling, training and curriculum. Evidence of the seriousness of the associations can be seen in the first major teacher strikes in Canada, which occurred in Victoria and Moose Jaw in 1919, and in New Westminster in 1921.

Another less obvious, but equally important consequence of the new assertive professionalism of teachers was an acceleration of the trend towards equality between the elementary and secondary levels and towards equality between

the sexes. By the end of the nineteenth century, secondary school teachers and men were paid approximately double the salaries earned by elementary school teachers and women. Phillips tracks the progressive reduction of both differentials throughout the twentieth century." By 1950, secondary school teachers in English-speaking Canada were earning just fifty percent more than elementary school teachers.³⁸ Fleming notes that this trend reflected the growing uniformity of credentials at all levels of the profession, and the success of the profession in standardising remuneration according to qualifications and experience.³⁹ Such standardisation was of particular importance to women, who not only constituted the majority of the elementary teaching force, but who also, according to Fleming,⁴⁰ were increasingly coming to regard a career in teaching as a complement to a domestic career, rather than as an alternative to it.

The reductions in salary differentials between men and women did not, however, lead to their eradication. It is difficult to capture the precise extent of the conflict between men and women teachers which surrounded the moves towards the partial reduction of pay differentials. Nelson, however, provides evidence of such conflict in Ottawa-Carleton as late as the 1970s.⁴¹ In the Ottawa board, the local leadership of the Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario (FWTAO) fought constant battles with the Ontario

Public School Men Teachers' Federation (OPSMTF).² The women teachers, like other women teachers in Ontario, constituted a large majority of the elementary classroom teachers, but only a small minority of the elementary principals and vice-principals.³ Understandably, the women teachers of Ottawa resisted attempts by the OPSMTF to unite the two associations; the women perceived the OPSMTF as representative of school administrators, rather than as reflective of the voices of ordinary classroom teachers. The women teachers of Ottawa were also aware of the existence of the Ottawa Elementary Men Teachers' club, and of the fact that participation in the club was, as Nelson puts it, "... the route to promotion in the Ottawa system."⁴ Moreover:

... successful admission to the inner circle of the club and, hence, success in promotion, required a fairly conservative pro-management outlook since the Ottawa principals who controlled the club were loyal to management.⁵

As I shall explain in greater detail in Chapter Five, it is evidence of these conflicts among contemporary teachers which leads me to doubt the majority of survey data findings of the researchers on 'teacher militancy,' who consign women and elementary teachers, without much reflection, to the 'conservative' camp.

Mass unemployment is rightly regarded as an economic condition which frequently inhibits working-class militancy. It certainly had this effect on school teachers in the great depression of the 1930s. Unemployment, notably in Western

Canada, flooded the market with school teachers, creating a surplus of supply.⁴⁶ Salaries were cut and average wage levels declined.⁴⁷ In Ontario, during the 1930s, the depression: "... enabled school boards to reduce salaries by substantial amounts."⁴⁸ Fleming points out that in the immediate post-war period, teachers' salaries in Ontario were comparatively slow to recover and that this contributed to teacher shortages in the 1950s and 1960s.⁴⁹ Provincial associations found it difficult to collect dues and were unable to promote membership activities.⁵⁰ By the end of the 1930s, school teachers were struggling to sustain their occupational cohesion. Like many other occupational groups, circumstances compelled them towards strategies for survival, rather than towards forms of collective resistance.

LIMITED KEYNESIANISM

Factors Conditioning School Teachers' Class Experiences:

Like Robin Mathews, Jane Jenson⁵¹ recognises the existence of a struggle between 'nationalists' and 'continentalists,'⁵² and points out that this struggle is waged both within the political parties, as well as between them and beyond them.⁵³ Where Jenson's analysis differs is in her precise identification of the political and economic forces upon which such a unique situation is based. In setting out the dynamics of Canada's 'permeable Fordism,' Jenson's work provides a valuable contextual analysis for the exploration of teachers'

class experiences. Her account of the growth and demise of Canada's version of Fordism closely corresponds, both in explanation and periodisation, to my distinction between 'limited Keynesianism' and 'neo-liberalism'.

By Fordism, Jenson means a particular mode of regulation of the social formation in which the relationship between capital and labour was mediated through the rapid expansion of mass production, made possible by the fostering of mass consumption, with attendant implications for higher rates of unionisation and higher wage levels, at least in the primary sector of the economy. It was privatised labour-management relations which emerged in the Canadian political economy, rather than corporatism, or partisan struggles between clear ideological forces. In this respect, it makes sense to conceptualise the development of the limited Keynesian welfare state in Canada as a pragmatic and incremental sequence of events, rather than as a 'compromise' or a 'victory.' In Canada Fordism sustained the invisibility of class relations in so far as the representation of classes in the state was obscured.

In the case of Canada, class relations were further obscured to the extent that the expansion of mass production and mass consumption took place in a highly 'permeable' economy. In the post-war period, Canadian economic growth was driven by foreign, mostly American, capital investment and by the rapid expansion of branch plants. In political

terms, the processes of economic development in permeable Fordism came to implicate, and eventually to dominate federal-provincial relations.

Whereas the post-war economies of many European nations had been built upon clearly established principles of agreement between labour and capital, in which the state played a major role in macroeconomic steering policies, nationalizations, and the establishment of a social wage, in Canada, state interventions were minimal until the 1960s.⁵⁴ There were certainly elements of Keynesianism in the policies of the federal state after 1945, such as attempts to maintain full employment, an expansion of infrastructural spending and the provision of certain pan-Canadian social policies. However, these are best characterised as the consequences of certain intellectual developments among senior public servants and politicians in Ottawa, rather than as the consequences of mass mobilisation for reform. As Hugh Armstrong points out: "There can be no doubt as to the influence of Keynesian thought in official Ottawa during and after the war."⁵⁵

These limited forms of Keynesianism were, however, limited in their ability to regulate the Canadian economy. The dependent, uneven, and permeable nature of economic development resulted in the federal state having to create regional development, redistributional and other policies, positing itself as the representative of the entire nation,

and assuming great responsibilities without sufficient resources or authority.

Yet these developments also created the opportunity for provinces to use their constitutional rights. The advantaged provinces were able to share with foreign owners the benefits of resource exploitation and branch plant operation, without suffering from the burdens of sustaining a pan-Canadian quality of life.

Thus, when permeable Fordism entered into crisis in the late 1960s, so too did Canadian federalism. As the economic problems of stagflation and declining resource prices deepened, so provinces such as Alberta and Quebec sought to gain fuller control over their own economies, moving toward economic integration with the USA and fighting rearguard attempts by Ottawa, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, to create a new 'national policy.' Just as the period of limited Keynesianism was muted in terms of class conflict or ideological left versus right debate, so too was the period of Canadian neo-liberalism, following the demise of Fordism.

Jenson's analyses have a direct bearing upon the class experiences of Canadian school teachers in the post-war period. Although the period was one of massive educational expansion, as we shall see, the environment of this growth was curiously devoid of Class-based ideology, both before and after the demise of Fordism. As we shall also see, the occupational militancy of Canadian school teachers increased

in the late 1960s and early 1970s, but, overall, there was a relative absence of either class analysis or class struggle, both in terms of the circumstances in which teachers found themselves and the actions they took.

The clearest indication of this is in the almost complete absence of class discourse on education or school teachers as an occupational group in the post-war period. With few exceptions, commentaries by state commissions, private individuals, trade unions, and the school teachers themselves, were couched in the vague language of caution and pragmatism. If this language had a certain optimistic and progressive tinge before 1970, and a pessimistic and conservative tone after 1970, it tended not to stray from the unproblematic assumptions that Canada and the provinces were unified entities in which a wide range of constituents had to be 'accommodated' - the language of liberal pluralism. It is the absence of ideological and class discourse which, notably in the Ontario context, has prompted me to shape the empirical research I conduct in Chapters Four and Five in such a way as to maximise shades of distinction in the 'middle' of the spectrum of class consciousness, as well as to explore the precise salience of the term 'class' to the teachers of Ottawa-Carleton.

In the first few pages of his exhaustive review of public education in Ontario, written in the early 1970s, W.G. Fleming⁵⁶ attempts to capture something of the general 'mood'

with respect to education. Having characterised the 1950's as a period of slow and faltering developments, he says:

Most of the decade of the 1960s may be characterized as one of relatively uncritical confidence in the efficacy of education as a means of improving the economy, of solving social problems, and particularly of ensuring the material welfare of the recipient by guaranteeing him a good job.⁵⁷

This extract reflects the dominant liberal pluralist discourse. Notable is the ideological positing of 'the economy' as a universalistic phenomenon, as opposed to the particularistic claims of workers for good jobs. There is no mention of 'capitalists' or 'owners,' even if they are there implicitly as 'the economy.' Obscured by the language, the class message is nonetheless clear: education is valuable to the extent that it supports the capitalist economy - and implicitly those who control it - and education is secondarily valuable to the extent that it assists workers in their search for good jobs.

One seeks in vain for clearer statements supportive of the capitalist class from this period. However, this extract from a 1962 federal report on education⁵⁸ makes it clear that liberal democracy stops at the ballot box and that, far from being a force for the promotion of working-class assertiveness, education should function as a machine which reproduces competent and compliant labour power:

A democratic society cannot function successfully unless a large majority of its citizens have received education and training which makes them competent and co-operative workers, as well as informed and intelligent voters.⁵⁹

With little dissent, these are the types of statements which characterize the ideology of limited Keynesianism in Canada and Ontario in the 1950s and 1960s - fundamentally supportive of the capitalist class system, but also tinged with a limited rhetoric of human development and individual growth. Such is in fact the essence of the Hall-Dennis Report on education, which I shall discuss later.

By the end of the 1960s, some voices in Canadian society were calling these ideological assumptions into question. For example, in 1968, M. Fenwick, Vice President of the Ontario Federation of Labour asked:

Are we producing clock numbers for industry and business in our educational system, or are we going to develop human beings who will not accept everything that the establishment gives them; who will be curious, who will challenge, who will question?⁶⁰

Statements such as this, challenging the ideological character of public education were, however, quite rare, even from trade-union leaders. In his careful research, David Livingstone⁶¹ found little evidence of sustained ideological opposition to capitalism among union leaders in Ontario, and, consequently, little support for fundamental changes in the structure of education.

Most of the relevant statistics on public education in the period from the end of the Second World War until 1970 tell the same story: there was a period of slow growth and improvement in educational provision up to the early 1960s,

followed by a period of rapid development which began to tail off by the end of the decade and beyond.

Bruce Wilkinson's careful empirical analysis of public education in Canada isolates the major trends.⁶² Table 3.1 amplifies Wilkinson's basic findings with respect to overall public expenditure on education in Canada from 1950 to 1985. Whether in terms of the percentage of the GNP, or in terms of the percentage of overall government expenditure, the trends are clear. A period of faltering progress in the 1950s was succeeded by a period of rapid development in the 1960s, followed by stagnation in the growth trend throughout the 1970s and 1980s.

Columns six and seven in table 3.1 provide more detail. Column six shows the ratio of the percentage of the population to be taught to the percentage of the GNP allocated to their education. There is an almost monotonic trend of improvement, most of which occurs between 1960 and 1970. Column seven is more complex and more interesting, showing the ratio of the percentage of the population to be taught to the percentage of government expenditure devoted to education. This trend is more fluctuating. Once again, the 1960s appear as a decade of public commitment, but the 1970s reveal a sharp retrenchment of commitment, even allowing for the declining enrolments of that period. I shall have more to say about this period in the next section of the chapter.

TABLE 3.1

STATISTICS ON THE COMMITMENT TO PUBLIC
EDUCATION IN CANADA, 1950-1985.

	PUBLIC SCHOOL ENROLMENT		TOTAL GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES ON PUBLIC SCHOOLS		GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES ON PUBLIC ELEMENTARY & SECONDARY ED. AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES**	RATIO OF (2) TO (4)	RATIO OF (2) TO (5)
	NUMBERS* (MILLIONS)	% OF TOTAL POP.	CURRENT \$ (MILLIONS)	PERCENT OF GNP		(6)+	(7)+
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)+	(7)+
1950	2.4	17.4	328	1.8	8.3	9.66 (8)	2.10 (6)
1955	3.1	19.9	629	2.2	8.8	9.05 (7)	2.26 (8)
1960	4.0	22.4	1224	3.2	11.3	7.00 (6)	1.98 (5)
1965	4.9	25.0	2247	4.1	13.9	6.10 (5)	1.80 (2=)
1970	5.7	26.6	4638	5.4	14.8	4.93 (3)	1.80 (2=)
1975	5.4	23.7	7867	4.8	11.0	4.94 (4)	2.16 (7)
1980	4.9	20.2	14186	4.8	10.7	4.21 (2)	1.89 (4)
1985	4.7	18.4	21089	4.6	10.3***	4.00 (1)	1.79 (1)

NOTES: * Includes public kindergartens

** Total government expenditures are the consolidated expenditures of federal, provincial and municipal governments.

*** This statistic is for 1981 as more recent data were not available. The trend from earlier years is, however, clear.

+ The rank orders, in parentheses, show the level of commitment from low (8) to high (1).

TABLE 3.2
STATISTICS ON THE COMMITMENT TO PUBLIC
EDUCATION IN ONTARIO, 1950-1985⁶⁴

Year	PUBLIC SCHOOL ENROLMENT		GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES ON PUBLIC ELEMENTARY & SECONDARY EDUCATION AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES (3)**	RATIO OF (2) TO (3)***
	NUMBER* (MILLIONS) (1)	% OF TOTAL POPULATION (2)		
1950	0.8	17.2	22.0	0.78 (1)
1955	1.0	19.7	23.4	0.84 (2)
1960	1.4	22.7	25.8	0.88 (3)
1965	1.7	25.6	27.8	0.92 (4)
1970	2.0	26.8	24.6	1.09 (7)
1975	2.0	24.2	19.6	1.23 (8)
1980	1.8	21.3	21.5	0.99 (5)
1985	1.8	19.4	19.1	1.02 (6)

NOTES: * Includes public kindergartens

 ** Government expenditures on education are composed of all sources of revenue, federal, provincial, municipal, fees, and other sources. Total government expenditures are a combination of provincial and municipal spending in Ontario.

 *** The rank orders, in parentheses, show the level of commitment, from low (8) to high (1).

The comparable statistics for the province of Ontario, set out in table 3.2, differ from those of Canada as a whole in a number of respects. Columns one and two of table 3.2 show that, in terms of the evolving enrolments in public schools as a percentage of the total population, the Ontario experience was very close to that of the Canadian one overall. Columns three and four, however, tell a different story with respect to the comparative percentages of public spending devoted to education. It is certainly the case that in both Canada and Ontario, one can describe the period since 1970 as one of relative stability, with the exceptionally low level of commitment in 1975 removed from the trend. However, whereas public support for education, in terms of its prioritisation, improved in Canada as a whole, from the 1950s to the 1960s, in Ontario it did not improve in relative terms. Although the dollars devoted to elementary and secondary education increased from 125.8 million in 1950 to 8,063.2 million in 1985, an increase of 6,410 percent, the combined municipal and provincial total spending in Ontario increased from 573 million in 1950 to 42,158 million, in 1985, a jump of 7,357 percent.⁶⁵

Thus, although there was a rapid growth in public spending on education in Ontario during the 1960s, and although there was a noticeable decline in public spending commitment in the late 1960s and early 1970s, comparatively

speaking, the trends appear to be more muted than elsewhere in Canada.

It is conceivable that the relatively muted impact of public educational spending in Ontario budgets throughout the 1960s and 1970s contributed to the relative quiescence of Ontario school teachers in this period. Elsewhere in Canada, notably in Quebec and British Columbia, expenditures on public education were characterised by surging growth, followed by sudden retrenchment. Under these circumstances, there was obviously a greater visibility of public spending commitments in education. Knowledge of these comparative public spending data contributes to my interpretation of the differences in degrees of militancy throughout Canada, described later in the chapter.

The data in Tables 3.1 and 3.2 show the growth in the number of children enrolled in public education. These increases, until the end of the 1960s, are partially reflective of the 'baby boom,' but are also the consequence of increased retentions. In 1945, 87.8 percent of the appropriate age group were enrolled in public elementary school in Ontario. By the 1960s, the figure had grown to 93 percent. In 1950, 41 percent of the appropriate age group were enrolled in Ontario's secondary schools. By 1970, the corresponding figure was over 80 percent.⁶⁶ The now well-established problem of declining enrolments in the 1970s and 1980s is also evident in Tables 3.1 and 3.2.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, large numbers of teachers had to be recruited to meet the demands of the expanding system, and throughout the 1970s and 1980s the problem of declining enrolments came to represent a threat to the continued high rate of teacher employment. Table 3.3 provides the statistics on the growth of employment of teachers in post-war Canada. It is evident from Table 3.3 that from the early 1950s until the 1980s there was a large increase in the overall Canadian labour force. However, the number of teachers increased at an even greater rate. From 1951 to 1981, the Canadian workforce increased by 128 percent, while the number of Canadian teachers increased by 243 percent. School teachers constituted 1.93 percent of the Canadian workforce in 1951. By 1981, they were 2.9 percent of a much larger workforce. The Ontario data are comparable. Most of this rapid growth took place in the era of limited Keynesianism, notably in the 1960s. Although the 1970s saw an increase in the absolute number of school teachers, their relative contribution to the total workforce declined from 3.15 percent in 1971 to 2.9 percent in 1981, in Canada, and from 2.96 percent in 1971 to 2.75 percent in 1981, in Ontario.

The statistics on the relative growth and decline of the employment of school teachers, like those on overall public commitment to education in Canada and Ontario, reflect a similar trend: a period of slow development in the 1950s,

TABLE 3.3

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF SCHOOL
TEACHERS IN ONTARIO AND CANADA,
1951-1981 (000)⁶⁷

	ALL OCCUPATIONS (CANADA) (1)	TEACHERS (CANADA) (2)	ALL OCCUPATIONS (ONTARIO) (3)	TEACHERS (ONTARIO) (4)
1951	5,286 (100)*	102 (1.93)	1,885 (100)	29 (1.53)
1961	6,472 (100)	166 (2.57)	2,393 (100)	54 (2.24)
1971	8,627 (100)	272 (3.15)	3,354 (100)	99 (2.96)
1981	12,054 (100)	350 (2.9)	4,464 (100)	123 (2.75)
% CHANGE 1951- 1961	22.4	63.3	27.0	85.7
% CHANGE 1961- 1971	33.3	63.4	40.2	85.2
% CHANGE 1971- 1981	39.7	28.6	33.1	23.5

NOTE: * Figures in parentheses are percentages. The percentages shown in columns two and four express the raw numbers in those columns as percentages of the raw numbers in columns 1 and 3, respectively.

followed by a take-off in the 1960s, and a period of stability, even stagnation in the 1970s.

One way in which to assess the impact of these changes upon the working lives of school teachers is to compare the trends in the number of children enrolled with those of the number of teachers employed. The usual manner in which to do this is to trace developments in the pupil-teacher ratio (PTR).

A superficial comparison of Tables 3.1 and 3.2 with Table 3.3 would lead to the conclusion that teachers benefitted from declining enrolments in the 1970s, in that there was no corresponding decline in the absolute number of teachers employed. Indeed, Wilkinsons' data support this reading. Wilkinson points out that, in the 1950s, Canadian PTRs averaged around 27, by 1970, they were 21.6 and by 1983, they had declined to 18.2.⁶⁸ In Ontario, Fleming traces the decline in the PTR, for public elementary schools, from 29.3 in 1950, to 25.2 in 1969, and the decline of the PTR in the secondary schools from 22.6 in 1950 to 16.4 in 1969.⁶⁹ More recent data⁷⁰ indicate a subsequent decline of the PTR in Ontario public elementary schools to 22.1 in 1975 and to 19.3 in 1985. The corresponding changes in Ontario's secondary schools are to 17.1 in 1975 and to 15.7 in 1985. Recent data are also available on the changing PTR in Ontario separate schools.⁷¹ A PTR of 23.6 in 1970 fell to 21.7 in 1975, to 21.1 in 1980 and then to 20.7 in 1985. These disaggregated PTR statistics

school teachers, such an approach, in which the stress is upon empirical openness, seems the correct one. Although I am careful to ensure that the questions themselves are not remote from the actual experiences of those I question, I retain an openness to the range of plausible results.

In the final substantive chapter, Chapter Five, I continue my exploration of the class character of school teachers by exploring the correlates of their revealed class consciousnesses. My theoretical determination of the individual and consciousness as the 'way into' an understanding of class character is complemented by the proposition that, given the complex ambivalence and contradictions of school teachers' class locations and positions, it is perhaps to the individual and consciousness we should look in attempting to make sense of those circumstances in which various patterns of school teacher class consciousnesses arise. Neither my survey of the theories of teacher class consciousness, in Chapter One, nor my research into the experiences of school teachers, in Chapter Three, reveals anything consistent about collective, structural effects. In Chapter Five, I am able to explore a range of certain non-class sociological and social psychological candidates for the elucidation of patterns of class consciousness. In so doing, I discover that C. Wright Mills'⁵¹ contention that the private, individual position of 'middle-class' people determines in 'which direction they go'

3

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No 2)

manifest substantial improvements in the public elementary sector, modest changes in the separate school system, and the slight deterioration, throughout the 1970s, of the secondary sector.

It is difficult to interpret these statistics either in terms of their cause or effect with respect to the working conditions of school teachers. It can be seen that, in general, average class sizes have decreased, and, for public elementary teachers at least, have continued to decrease during the period of declining enrolments. However, it would be incorrect to deduce from this that the high rate of teacher acquisition established in the 1960s has continued. Empirical evidence is to the contrary.⁷² In both the elementary and secondary sectors, teacher acquisitions were high in Ontario throughout the 1960s, leading to net gains to the system in every year until 1970. From 1971 until 1985 both sectors experienced either net losses, or insubstantial net gains.

It is, nonetheless, true that in both the public elementary sector and in the separate schools, there was an overall improvement in the PTR. Even so, Fleming⁷³ warns us that:

A large part of the increase in the teaching force has in fact been absorbed by a rapid growth in administrative positions and by the provision of consultants or teachers of special groups requiring unusually small classes or individual treatment.

In the light of this warning, it is unwise to speculate too much about the probable impact of overall reductions in

the PTR for elementary school teachers. Although the data cited earlier⁷⁴ do not point to massive layoffs in either the elementary or the secondary sectors in Ontario throughout the 1970s, they do point to a period of stagnation and slow erosion. The PTR data for the secondary sector portray the same picture. PTR data for the public elementary sector are difficult to interpret. However, there does seem to have been a substantial increase in the number of students enrolled in special education in the 1970s and 1980s.⁷⁵ In 1970, children in special education constituted 2.3 percent of the total public elementary school enrolment. By 1984, they constituted 3.8 percent. Perhaps Fleming's contention, made in the early 1970s, is relevant to the 1970s and 1980s. If so, then it is in keeping with the general contrast between the two periods as I have described them.

During the period of limited Keynesianism there were substantial enhancements of the PTR.⁷⁶ We have also seen data supportive of the interpretation of the 1960s as a period of accelerated educational development in Ontario in the areas of increased public spending; increased teacher acquisition; and increases in the number of students.

A final statistical indicator of the rapid developments in public education in the 1960s is to be found in the contemporary history of teachers' salaries. Fleming comments that in the immediate post-war period and throughout the 1950s, teachers' salaries in Ontario were relatively poor and

failed to attract either the quantity or the quality of teachers required to service the expanding system.⁷⁷ Fleming is not very specific, however, about the trends in salary increases in the 1960s.⁷⁸

In order to achieve an estimation of the relative quality of teacher salaries in the post-War period, I have compiled table 3.4, in which the median salaries for Ontario's teachers in selected years are compared with the baseline of the Ontario industrial composite or aggregate income. Although the data in table 3.4 are generally supportive of Fleming's contention that it was not until the 1960s that teachers' salaries began to be competitive, absolute comparisons between teachers' salaries and the average industrial wage should be made with caution owing to the different criteria which underpin the two indexes.

Nevertheless, the data set out a number of important trends. First, in general terms, it is apparent that it was not until the 1970s that teachers' salaries in Ontario began to accelerate away from the industrial composite. As I shall be explaining in the next section, the period of neo-liberalism was also the period of the rapid growth of strike action and other forms of militancy among Ontario teachers. There were no strikes among Ontario teachers until 1970. Second, although improvements in salaries have been almost monotonic for both men and women, the gender gap in salaries has been sustained. In fact, among public elementary and

TABLE 3.4 ⁷⁹

THE COMPARATIVE WORTH OF SCHOOL TEACHERS'
SALARIES, 1951-2 TO 1984-5

YEAR	ONTARIO INDUSTRIAL COMPOSITE INCOME (\$)	ONTARIO MEDIAN TEACHER SALARIES* IN ABSOLUTE TERMS AND AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE INDUSTRIAL COMPOSITE					
		PUBLIC ELEMENTARY		SEPARATE		SECONDARY	
		MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
1951-52	2688	2845 (106)	2351 (87)	-	-	-	-
1955-56	3305	3690 (112)	3010 (91)	2470 (75)	2140 (65)	4850 (147)	4460 (135)
1961-62	4228	4908 (116)	4161 (98)	3636 (86)	3332 (79)	7339 (174)	6506 (154)
1965-66	4909	5510 (112)	4737 (96)	4445 (91)	4128 (84)	8868**	7904**
1968-69	5904	7231 (122)	6108 (103)	6311 (107)	5713 (97)	9418 (160)	8008 (136)
1979-80	14850	24328 (164)	19347 (130)	22472 (151)	18404 (124)	27944 (188)	24679 (166)
1984-85	22020	40747 (185)	33441 (152)	38099 (173)	30918 (140)	42722 (194)	39287 (178)

NOTES: * Figures from 1951-52 to 1968-69 include
salaries of principals

** These figures are for 1966-67

separate school teachers, the gap has widened. Only among secondary teachers has the gap remained relatively stable. In Chapter Five, I shall be investigating the impact of these and other trends on the class consciousness of men and women teachers in Ottawa-Carleton. Third, it is apparent that although secondary teachers have continued to earn salaries substantially higher than the industrial composite throughout the post-war period, their comparative advantage over other teachers has been declining. In other words, the salaries of teachers in all three sectors are much closer to each other today than they were in the mid 1950s. Such developments, which I shall be exploring in Chapter Five, reflect both a new-found militancy as well as an enhancement of professional prestige among both elementary and separate school teachers, most of whom are women. Finally, the advancements of teachers in the separate schools are remarkable. Up to the end of the 1960s, separate school teachers were poorly paid. Within the last fifteen years they have made substantial progress toward catching up with their secular school colleagues. Some of the catch-up can be attributed to the modernisation of the separate school system, culminating in the 1984-85 extension of full public funding. The teachers themselves, however, had a role to play, and, from the mid-1970s onwards became highly active in their association, the Ontario English Catholic Teachers' Association (OECTA). The analyses I undertake in

Chapter Five illustrate the militancy of the separate school teachers.

The data I have been describing capture the rapid developments in public education in Ontario during the 1960s. Other less quantifiable developments in pedagogy and educational administration reflect the underlying optimism and egalitarian spirit of the period. These rhetorical manifestations of the mood, however, also served to conceal the underlying realities of the events taking place at the time. I shall be unravelling some of these commentaries throughout the chapter.

Irrespective of whether the leading commentators on education⁸⁰ were 'traditionalist', such as the Ontario Royal Commissioners, J.G. Althouse and W.J. Dunlop in the 1950s, or 'progressive', as were the contributors to the Hall-Dennis report, in the late 1960s, mass education, as it evolved in Ontario, continued the process of filtering children into positions of relative advantage and disadvantage. While the absolute standard of life of Canadians has improved since the War, the distribution of wealth has hardly changed.⁸¹

Given the sudden expansion of the teaching profession throughout the western world in the post-war period, it is true that large numbers of individuals have experienced 'upward mobility'. In his British research, Kevin Harris⁸² has discovered that large numbers of school teachers attribute such mobility to their own individual talents and to the

achievement-oriented egalitarianism of the economy. The extent to which Canadian teachers have adopted individualistic explanations of the political economy is explored empirically in Chapter Four. It is, however, plausible to suppose that Canadian teachers, like their British counterparts, generalised their own individual successes to the expanding educational system as a whole and thereby failed to conceptualise this massive process of social restructuring as an entrenchment of inequality, rather than an eradication of it.

Panitch and Swartz⁸³ characterise the period of limited Keynesianism as the achievement of a new level of hegemony for capital. There were identifiable, if limited, gains for the working class, in commitments to reduce unemployment, and the range of welfare state and labour reforms of the 1940s and 1950s. Precisely because it was a new hegemony, it is possible to understand how the legitimising rhetoric of the time might have been taken at face value. Capitalism certainly changed but it did not thereby disappear. There were new opportunities for upward mobility - but these should be conceptualised as 'places to be filled,' rather than as 'persons making good.' Evidence later in this section indicates that ideological struggles were muted, but the evidence discussed in the subsequent section on neo-liberalism, indicates that the contradictions had not been resolved.

The evolving structures of educational administration in Ontario help to shed light on the curious invisibility of class relations in education. Michael Nelson notes:⁸⁴

In Ontario teachers sharing the same objective class position and the same kinds of deprivations have been unable to develop a strong common "class" consciousness, largely because they are not clearly subject to the same authorities. Even if, as some suggest, the provincial government really controls school boards, the nominal granting of autonomy to boards limits the visibility of provincial government as the common opponent of all teachers.

In Ontario, as elsewhere in Canada, public education is two steps removed from the economic sphere. First, it is an ostensibly apolitical branch of the state, in which 'partisan' considerations are, or should be, absent.⁸⁵ Second, the state itself, in its institutions and practices, is a reified object of 'politics,' separated from the very real politics of the economic sphere. This separation of the educational system from capitalist class relations is particularly pronounced in Ontario, where both the federal 'division of powers' and the existence of local school boards, render the relationship between economy and education even more difficult to discern. It is difficult for teachers to see even the state behind what happens in schools; the visibility of the capitalist presence is even dimmer. The comments of Stirling McDowell, ex-General Secretary of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation are apposite here. He notes that by the 1970s Saskatchewan school teachers:

... soon came to the conclusion that they were negotiating with a team that was five times removed

from the real decision makers. They were talking to the trustee team, which went back to consult with individual school boards, which had already been to Regina to hear from the Department of Education what their budgets could or could not contain, and the Department, of course, was under the direct control of the Premier and Cabinet.⁸⁶

From the mid-1960s to the end of that decade, the system of public education in Ontario underwent large scale consolidation and bureaucratisation.⁸⁷ These changes influenced the class experiences and class perceptions of teachers in a variety of ways.

Between 1967 and 1970, the number of school boards in Ontario was reduced from 1,400 to 126.⁸⁸ Harp and Betcherman⁸⁹ and Nelson⁹⁰ point out that this act of bureaucratic centralisation, combined with the introduction of spending ceilings for school boards in the early 1970s, alienated and frustrated many school teachers and contributed to their growing militancy. The negative effect of alienation, however, was complemented by the more positive impulse of teacher anonymity. As Nelson⁹¹ explains, the destruction of bonds between the teacher and the particular community freed the teacher from informal community pressures which might otherwise inhibit militant actions.

The consolidation of the school boards, therefore, not only bureaucratised the educational system, but also socialized the educational 'forces of production'. However, the enhancement of teacher militancy was not the only outcome of this process. According to Derek Allison,⁹² the creation

of large school boards also disempowered teachers and others by "... taking some "heat" off the Ministry."⁹³ The new boards themselves, according to Allison, were the victims of political arrangements beyond their control. Ostensibly the beneficiaries of large-scale devolved powers, they were, in fact, relatively powerless. With respect to major budgeting decisions, the curriculum, the credentialling of teachers, school textbooks, school design, and other matters, the boards were unable to act independently, and yet were obliged to act as if they were independent.⁹⁴ Extrapolating from Allison, it seems as if the creation and establishment of the new school boards simply furthered the obfuscation of class relations.

The appearance of decentralisation, openness and innovation, which I have just described with respect to educational administration, can also be seen in developments in pedagogy and curriculum. In both domains, there was an atmosphere of accountability and progress, and, as with all successful ideologies, there was some grounding in the actual changing circumstances of the time.

However, the reality was removed from the vision. Despite the abolition of province-wide examinations in the late 1960s and the liberal rhetoric of the Hall-Dennis report, Ontario schools actually intensified processes of selection through forms of streaming, tracking and vocational training, and they entrenched the system of examinations, even if they came to be referred to as 'objective tests.'⁹⁵

Nevertheless, pedagogical and curricular reforms were instituted, quite genuinely, to enhance individual freedoms, equality of opportunity and parity of educational provision to various groups. A few extracts from the Hall-Dennis report, "Living and Learning," written in 1968, capture these evaluations:"

- (1) ... all, regardless of prior condition or cultural background, may enter the formal school program on a basis of optimum opportunity to reach their potential.
- (2) In a democratic society all men are of equal importance and none is expendable.
- (3) Too often educators seem to assume that all children come from a middle class, Anglo-Saxon background.
- (4) The basic aim of education is to develop manhood, not manpower.
- (5) We ... have children in this rich province who are starving for attention, receiving inadequate diets, living in filthy, crowded rooms, lacking privacy, and destined to be losers in our society from a very early age.

Irrespective of the actual impact of these statements, they do represent a definitive shift in emphasis from the traditionalist statements of the 1950s, such as those contained in the 1950 Royal Commission on Education." The emphasis now is upon equality, rather than quality, and 'class' means a social group as well as a body of students.

The Hall-Dennis report made specific statements about teachers:

- (1) As teachers become more professionally minded, it is both natural and proper that they should have more control over matters that concern them as professionals, such as curriculum,

workload, recruitment, teacher education, certification, postgraduate education, and administrative procedures.⁹⁸

- (2) At present, about a third of a teachers' day may go to clerical and other non-professional tasks, and a hour or more may be spent on work that could be done by technicians and by automated devices.⁹⁹
- (3) The 'captain of the ship' description so frequently applied to principals may well be made obsolete by the use of team leadership, wherein a teacher assumes the role of principalship in the school.¹⁰⁰

Despite the fact that few of these suggestions have been adopted since the late 1960s, Hall-Dennis's contentions are based upon a thorough review of the circumstances of teachers at that time. Throughout the remainder of this chapter, and in Chapters Four and Five, I explore the attitudes and actions of teachers with respect to these issues.

Understandably, the Hall-Dennis Report received mixed reviews.¹⁰¹ Among the most fervent supporters, however, were the school teachers of Ontario. A survey conducted by the Ontario Teachers' Federation and the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, in 1969, throughout the province, discovered that over ninety percent of the teachers expressed agreement or strong agreement with each of the five statements of principle derived from the report.¹⁰²

The Class-Related Attitudes and Actions of Teachers:

Not much has been written about the political orientations and class attitudes of Canadian teachers in the

period from the end of the war until the late 1960s. Much more has been documented about teacher attitudes and behaviour since 1970. The absence of literature about teachers in the earlier period is explicable in the light of the evidence given in the previous sub-section. In Ontario, the 1950s were years of cautious slow growth, in which teachers were, like many others, attempting to rebuild after the depression and the war. The 1960s were years of optimistic and relatively 'progressive' expansionism. The demands for school teachers were great in all parts of Canada, and often outstripped the supply. Many teachers experienced a personal upward mobility and could witness the translation of their own educational efforts and credentials into secure and increasingly well-paid employment.

An Ontario teacher, Bob Davis¹⁰³ argues:

Since the 1950s and '60s were a period of non-stop expansion, teaching jobs were plentiful and a negotiating style was established by the federations which could be called dignified cooperation, a style which the teachers' leaders of that period could show was successful because of the gradual climb of teachers' salaries, the clear beginnings of dignified working conditions and the beginnings of fringe benefit protection.¹⁰⁴

In an expanding educational system, it was relatively easy for teachers to reconcile their own career goals with the needs and preferences of students, parents and employers. Education was not experienced as a zero-sum game, in which certain groups could only benefit at the expense of others.

This does not mean, however, that school teachers in Canada were entirely quiescent throughout the 1950s and 1960s. As the educational system expanded, some teachers came to regard their salaries as inadequate, while others rebelled against the depersonalising effects of centralisation and bureaucratisation. From the mid-1960s, school teachers, notably younger ones, radicalised by the student movements of the time and, in Quebec, by the rapid expansion of the secular state, manifested a growing militancy. Teachers were not alone in their militancy. The labour movement at that time attained a clearer understanding of its contribution to post-war economic expansion and began to press for a larger share of the benefits.¹⁰⁵ For a time, in Canada and elsewhere, employers, including the state, felt it possible and desirable to meet these demands.

The emergent militancy among teachers in Quebec was particularly pronounced. The secularisation of education, a key process in the Quiet Revolution, had taken place in an explosive expansionism. Within a few years, the entire educational structure of the province was transformed. The new teachers were young and shared in the messianic goal of overturning the reactionary legacy of the Duplessis era. In 1963, the rising swell of public sector expectations prompted eight illegal teacher strikes in Quebec.¹⁰⁶ In 1965, the Centrale de l'Enseignement du Quebec (CEQ) elected Raymond Laliberte to the presidency of the association.¹⁰⁷ Laliberte

was a militant young NDP candidate, and a fellow-traveller of the 'Waffle.' Over the next two years, there were a series of strikes and other expressions of militancy. By 1967, the Quebec state was obliged to legislate an end to strikes, and, by passing Bill 25, it suspended the right to strike for sixteen months. All collective agreements then in force were frozen. The Quebec state also introduced a new province-wide system of collective bargaining. It did not anticipate that this move would, within the next decade, provide an ideal organising principle for the establishment of a common front among public-sector workers. The defensive and pre-emptive acts of the Quebec state succeeded in controlling the teachers for a time, but, according to Le Blanc,¹⁰⁸ only served to radicalise and politicise them in more profound ways.

In British Columbia, the late 1960s also saw a rapid expansion of the public educational system. At that time, half the members of the British Columbia Teachers' Federation (BCTF) had no more than six years of experience.¹⁰⁹ Crawford Killian notes:

Many were fresh out of university at a time when campuses were alive with new ideas that questioned authority and called for new approaches to old problems.¹¹⁰

As in Quebec, the young school teachers of British Columbia of the late 1960s were undergoing a process of politicisation which was to bring them into conflict with a series of governments in the next decade. Furthermore, just as the

emerging solidaristic class culture of Quebec teachers was linked to a non-class conflict - that of independence - so was the class culture of the British Columbia teachers, as Killian explains. This link between class and non-class forms of conflict in British Columbia was to become important in the early 1980s as school teachers played a key role in linking the labour union and new social movement wings of the Solidarity coalition.

Of the major provinces, Ontario manifested the least overt teacher activism in the 1960s. In this respect, the actions of teachers were as relatively muted as was the evolution of changes in the educational system overall, as described in the last sub-section. Lind¹¹ argues that by the end of the 1960s, "education was no longer the splendid deliverer. Davis sealed its fate by declaring it a non-growth industry." For the previous twenty years, however, Davis and other Ministers of Education, had presided over a richly endowed public educational system. By the mid-1960's, however, the fiscal limits to its growth were becoming apparent to the Ontario state. It was only really at this time that school teachers began to experience any negative forces. The reorganizations and rationalizations of the late 1960s dampened their optimism and led to a degree of conflict. Certain teachers engaged in 'work-to-rule' activities, although they did not strike. The various teacher associations and federations also began to issue 'pink lists'

of school boards which had, in the view of the associations, treated teachers badly.

On the whole, however, teachers in Ontario, and in the rest of Canada, were not militant before 1970. They were not obliged to think about the premises and the logic of their roles in the expanding system of public education. This acceptance - albeit implicit - suggests a serious and genuine belief, shared with others, in the service ethic of their profession, and in the ameliorative effects of the educational system as a whole. Fundamentally, teachers were able to believe that public education could serve the needs of the entire society - that large-scale collective provision was compatible with the 'needs' of the economy. In the 1970s and 1980s, as I shall explain, this service ethic and collectivist vision was to manifest itself as highly tenacious as it inexorably entered into conflict with the realities of an increasingly impoverished system of public education.

NEO-LIBERALISM

Factors Conditioning School Teachers' Class Experiences:

During a debate at Queen's Park, in 1969, MPP Walter Pitman said:

In a strange "gut" way, the people of Ontario are questioning the explosion in expenditures and activity all in the name of education we have acted as though any expenditure in the name of education was good and worthwhile.¹¹²

Like other neo-liberals, throughout the Western world, in the early 1970s, Pitman, implicitly linking educational expenditure with matters of pedagogy and curriculum, was making the case against the continued expansion of the system. Since it was becoming clearer to Pitman, and others, that educational spending was not contributing to 'the economy,' he urged a cutback in public commitment.

The data presented in the last section tell the story of the actual cutbacks which occurred in public spending on education over the next decade and a half. Writing in 1977, Hugh Armstrong noted:

Both the birth rate and the faith in education as an economic investment have declined appreciably in Canada during the last decade or so, stabilizing thereby the school age population and the enrolment ratio. Hence the abrupt end to the growth in the numbers of education workers.¹¹³

It was indeed at about the end of the 1960s that Canada developed a 'surplus' of highly credentialled employees, according to Fleming.¹¹⁴

The post-war period of sustained economic growth and the relative industrial peace, which characterised most of the capitalist nations, was, by the late 1960s, coming to an end. Western states, including the Canadian states, were decreasingly able to balance the competing demands of monopoly capital and wage labour; they could no longer sustain a high employment, high growth economy without inflation. In Canada,

these strains were to give rise to a new era of troubled federal-provincial relations.

By the late 1960s, the major Canadian provinces were beginning to institute a series of changes in the public educational system, designed to cheapen costs and reduce conflict. There were board consolidations, processes of economic centralization, the introduction of expenditure ceilings, and attempts to contain the subsequent upsurge in militancy among school teachers.

The terms 'neo-liberal' and 'neo-conservative' have been used to describe the political and economic characteristics of the 1980s in the West. In electoral politics, the successes of Reagan and Thatcher do seem to mark a distinctive break with the past. However, I would argue that the major 'neo-liberal' shifts in state policy were already well underway by the mid-1970s: attempts at monetary controls; cutbacks in public spending; restrictions on trade unions and the implementation of 'supply side' tax and other benefits to capital.¹¹⁵ Panitch and Swartz¹¹⁶ describe the late 1960s and the early 1970s as the transition period 'from consent to coercion.'

In this period of rapid change, school teachers found their occupational positions under attack. The waves of rationalisations, cutbacks and reorganisations compelled teachers to review their own conditions as well as those of their students. Like its Keynesian counterpart, however, the

neo-Liberal 'solution' in Canada, especially Ontario, was less clear-cut than in other places. Jenson's analysis of 'permeable Fordism', described earlier in the chapter, helps to explain why; class struggles were muted by the opaqueness of class relations. In Canada, with the partial exceptions of British Columbia and Saskatchewan, there was little of the active struggle over 'neo-liberal' ideology seen in Britain and the USA. Nevertheless, the effects in Canada of 'neo-liberal' public policy developments were serious and sustained. Not the least of the consequences of these developments was the rapid growth of unemployment.

Unemployment in the Canadian private sector was accompanied by reduced occupational and promotional opportunities in the public sector. In the 1970s and 1980s, Canadian states felt able to restrict and even take back benefits granted to their own workers, under the threat of casting them into the harsh world of the private sector. Canadian school teachers experienced the effects of these responses to neo-liberal moves in tangible ways. Their numbers were restricted, there were few new appointments, they were subject to wage restrictions and even wage reductions, their collective bargaining powers were eroded and their workloads were increased. Dovetailing with these neo-Liberal developments were neo-conservative bids in pedagogy and curriculum - calling for a return to 'the basics,' for less

experimental, radical or open-ended education and a return to teacher-centred, child-deferential instruction.

The impact on teachers was profound. Malcolm Buchanan, ex-President of the OSSFT said, in 1983:

A lot of our members bought the 'big lie' from the federal and provincial governments: 'If you do not accept controls, you are not doing your fair share'.¹¹⁷

In British Columbia, Crawford Killian notes the inclusion in the 1982 Education Finance Act of a provision which stated that pay raises for teachers would only be given if evidence of 'productivity' could be provided.¹¹⁸ Crawford Killian is contemptuous in his dismissal of the notion that teachers could be assessed according to some standard criteria of 'productivity.' The very issue of the directive, however, is testimony to the neo-liberal mind set of the legislators.

In parallel with changes in public policy was a clearly discernable neo-liberal mood among certain corporate opinion leaders. J. Donald Wilson says:

To attempt to restore the schools' credibility, both British Columbia and Ontario announced new core curricula late in 1976. Both were clearly political moves, both in the crass sense of currying favour with the public¹¹⁹

While it is unclear who exactly constituted this 'public,' it is probable that it was represented by those who felt that the state had not gone far enough in curtailing the public sector. The head of the Ontario government Commission

on Declining Enrolments, Robert Jackson, had this to say in 1978:

They [teachers] have to accept that unemployment will have to hit teachers like other groups The Boards of Education accept the provincial restraint as given. It must be done. And with \$1 billion provincial deficit, who can quarrel with that?¹²⁰

Another contributor to the Commission on Declining Enrolments, Richard Bird, suggested that there be major shifts in the financing of education away from the public sector into the competitive market. Education should be privatised, and users should pay.¹²¹ There were other similar demands from business leaders in the late 1970s and early 1980s. K. MacDonald, a business writer, in 1975 made the argument that:

... the Canadian Chamber of Commerce should draw attention to the need for cutting the educational coat according to the job market cloth.¹²²

George Temple, a senior corporate executive, was even blunter in 1976:

Every businessman has a self-interest in finding ways to achieve a harmonizing of educational objectives with those of the business community which is the ultimate user of its end product.¹²³

David Livingstone's research on capitalist attitudes toward education in Ontario in the late 1970s and early 1980s,¹²⁴ reveals that these economic leaders were calling for a stabilisation in spending, rather than for massive reductions. They were also, however, concerned to stress the desirability of rendering education more productive for industry, and less vulnerable to the public sector mentality

of pure use value. It is notable that, in Livingstone's survey of public opinion, of all the social classes, only capitalists were in favour of laying off surplus teachers.¹²⁵

Many of these perspectives found expression in the aims and objectives of Betty Stevenson's 1980 Secondary Education Review Project. The language of these directives is restrictive and stands in sharp contrast to the language of Hall-Dennis report. The tone is clear in these extracts:

... prepares students for the futures envisaged by society to realign the secondary school programs to ensure that the goals and programs are compatible and viable ... to re-design the program to better prepare students for the world of work to respond to concerns regarding standards and discipline in secondary schools.¹²⁶

It is notable that the project chose to receive a 'balanced' input from the community by inviting representatives from 'the economic community.'¹²⁷ Invitations were not extended to workers or their representatives.

Data presented in the previous section track the declining public spending commitment to education in the 1970s and 1980s, as well as the general stagnation of the educational system in other respects. By the late 1970s and the early 1980s, according to both John Calvert¹²⁸ and Ian Taylor,¹²⁹ the economic tide had definitely turned in Canada and there was a clear diminution in the scope and depth of the public sector. From 1977 to 1983, for the first time in the post-war era, the teaching profession lost jobs: 17,000 of them across Canada.¹³⁰ Both the federal and the provincial

governments began to restrict public sector wage increases, to remove the right to strike and to lay off workers.¹³¹

In Quebec, school teachers actually had to accept wage decreases.¹³² Referring to Quebec's 1982 Bill 105, Panitch and Swartz say:

... in the severely hit education sector, there were cutbacks in staff, increases in workloads, increased administrative control over the distribution of teachers, changes in seniority clauses and ability to obtain "permanent" status, and extension of administration control over departmental policy.¹³³

It was in British Columbia that the most obvious and ideologically grounded moves toward neo-liberalism took place in the early 1980s. In a package of legislative changes in 1983, Bennett's Social Credit administration set out an integrated agenda, which included far-reaching changes to the educational system. It was proposed to increase the pupil-teacher ratio; to allow public sector employers to fire teachers without cause or reason; to centralise educational budgets in Victoria, and remove fiscal discretion from school boards; and to privatise large sectors of educational provision.

The privatisation theme has become increasingly relevant in this period. State support for private schools varies widely across Canada. Wilkinson reports that it is higher in the Western provinces and Quebec than it is in the Maritimes or Ontario.¹³⁴ Ken Aitchison points out that, in the early 1980s, the British Columbia government began making more

generous grants to private schools than to public schools and that Ministers often made disparaging remarks about public schools and sycophantic remarks about private schools.¹³⁵ Interestingly, Pat Brady's interpretation of the mood of British Columbia teachers is that they were divided on the issue of whether or not to provide public funds for independent schools, despite the provocations of the government.¹³⁶ In Chapter Four, the attitudes of teachers in Ottawa-Carleton to this issue are discussed.

The neo-liberal assault on education was not as pronounced in Ontario as it was in Quebec or British Columbia. Nevertheless, certain school boards moved strongly in this direction. For example, in 1975-76, the Renfrew Board laid off ten percent of its caretakers and secretaries and pushed up the PTR by one point. This meant that some Renfrew teachers faced classes of over forty children.¹³⁷

All Ontario teachers were affected by the 1971 introduction of provincial ceilings on school board expenditures.¹³⁸ Ceilings threatened teachers' salaries and job security and boards became less willing to grant increases and began to push for higher PTRs. It is in this context that the OSSTF Bulletin, throughout the early 1970s, began calling for a greater degree of 'union' structure and orientation among the teachers. In November, 1973, seventeen groups of teachers submitted 'mass resignations.' The Davis government immediately introduced Bill 274, forbidding mass resignations

and introduced compulsory binding arbitration within the ceilings. On December 18th, 1973, 30,000 teachers marched on Queen's Park in a mass protest and one-day strike.

In the Ontario context, the statistics on the PTR and teachers' salaries in the 1970s and 1980s show little evidence of savage cutbacks; rather, they tell the story of some progress in wages and conditions. Ontario school boards have found it easier to make savings in ways other than through the direct assault on teachers. And, as we shall see, at certain times, teachers have shown themselves to be a very confident occupational force, capable of resisting attacks on their occupational prestige and benefits.¹³⁹ In so doing, however, they have had to develop strategies for countering the claims that they are 'selfish' and unwilling to accept their share of the burdens faced by the educational system and that their continuing high wage levels have resulted in the deterioration of other aspects of public education.

Rosemary Deem's¹⁴⁰ interesting research among British teachers, conducted in the early 1970s, found an important distinction in the consciousnesses of most teachers. Although they were militant about salaries and working conditions, they were relatively satisfied with letting others control the structure of education, including the curriculum, examinations and the administration of schools. Rennie Warburton made similar discoveries about teachers¹⁴¹ in British Columbia in the 1980s. He characterised their responses to the neo-

liberal agenda of the Bennett government as remarkably restrained, seeing in them at most a limited version of 'trade-union consciousness,' and very little evidence of a counter-hegemonic attack on the restructuring of the system.

In Chapter Four, I investigate the class consciousnesses of the teachers of Ottawa-Carleton in the light of these findings and contentions. In particular, I am able to assess the extent to which school teachers are concerned about the less instrumental elements of their work experiences as well as more general societal issues. The questions I raise with them, moreover, are grounded in my survey of the attitudes and actions of their immediate predecessors, which I describe in the next sub-section.

The Class-Related Attitudes and Actions of Teachers:

In 1980, Harp and Betcherman wrote:

The emergence of teachers as a viable economic and political force is a fairly recent phenomenon in the history of the occupation, at least within Canada. During the past decade, we have seen teachers across the country actively and relentlessly impressing a wide range of demands upon provincial governments, local school boards and the public in general.¹⁴²

There were no teachers' strikes in Ontario prior to 1970. By 1975, 412,430 days had been 'lost' in nine strikes, involving 14,660 teachers.¹⁴³

Although it is indisputable that the 1970s saw a marked upsurge in teacher militancy across Canada, nowhere near a

majority of teachers became militant. Of those who did engage in certain forms of workplace action, the motivations and causes were complex. It is safe to assume that the changes I described in the previous sub-section created strong preconditions for discontent. However, it is incautious to assert, as Warburton does, that teachers were developing "... basically antagonistic relations with their employers"¹⁴⁴ It is, in fact, important to understand, as Warburton himself comes to appreciate late in his article,¹⁴⁵ that such a culture of ideological opposition was almost entirely absent. Nevertheless, I concur with Downie that in Ontario at least "(b)etween 1969 and 1974, teacher/board relations ... were tumultuous, uncertain and deteriorating."¹⁴⁶ The mass resignations and province-wide one day strike in response to spending ceilings, which I described in the previous sub-section, constitute preliminary support for Downie's contention.

Table 3.5 presents data derived from the federal Department of Labour's records of strikes and lockouts in Canada between 1970 and 1985. In most instances, the Department of Labour's records indicate the major causes of the strike.¹⁴⁷ Although classification of this kind is never entirely accurate, it is possible to provide some interesting comparative data to assist in the analysis undertaken in this sub-section.

Despite the fact that individual strikes vary widely in terms of their duration and the number of workers involved, it is apparent that, compared with other occupations, teachers have not resorted to strike action very often. Between 1970 and 1985, the Department of Labour recorded 12,701 strikes and lockouts in Canada. Only 0.94 per cent of these were attributable to teachers. Since teachers constituted around 3 per cent of the total labour force in these years, their strike record is relatively low.

I have attempted a consolidation of the reasons for striking into three classifications: highly instrumentalist, moderately instrumentalist, and non-instrumentalist. The highly instrumentalist classification consists of the following reasons - wages; wages and benefits; pensions; job security; wages and workload; and leave. The moderately instrumentalist classification consists of the following reasons - work conditions; reclassification; contract negotiations; transfers; timetables; assignments; and the PTR. Finally, the non-instrumentalist classification consists of political protest; study sessions; grievances; discipline and suspension of teachers; complaints about work-to-rule policy; non-wage issues; and changes in the workforce.

Of the 119 teacher strikes between 1970 and 1985, 102 could be classified into one of the three groups. What is immediately apparent is the high degree of instrumentalism among Ontario teachers, especially in comparison with Quebec

TABLE 3.5
 REASONS FOR TEACHER STRIKES IN
 CANADA, 1970-1985¹⁴⁸
 (COLUMN PERCENTAGES)

REASONS:	ONTARIO	PROVINCE: QUEBEC	OTHER
HIGHLY INSTRUMENTALIST	82.6	37.9	59.3
MODERATELY INSTRUMENTALIST	4.3	37.9	25.9
NON- INSTRUMENTALIST	13.1	24.1	14.8
(N)	(46)	(29)	(27; (TOTAL N) (102)

teachers. Comparatively speaking it appears that Ontario teachers were far less likely to be aggrieved by poor working conditions than teachers in other provinces, notably Quebec. It is also apparent that Quebec teachers were more likely to go on strike over non-instrumentalist issues, such as forms of political protest or individual grievances.

These findings are in keeping both with the profiles of teachers in the various provinces, which have emerged so far, and with the characteristics of teachers' class actions, to be discussed later in this sub-section. Teachers in Ontario have been relatively restrained in terms of their occupational militancy. Only rarely have they engaged in strikes to protest issues other than those of immediate, direct, and tangible concern to them.

The contrasts between Quebec and Ontario teachers become clearer when we explore their respective histories between 1970 and 1985.

The twenty-second congress of the Quebec Catholic Teachers Union, the CEQ, approved a document in 1972 which was entitled: "Our Schools serve the Ruling Class."¹⁴⁹ In it, the authors referred to schools as "... a faithful reflection of capitalist society, a society which could not maintain itself without the exploitation of the labour of the majority by a minority who appropriate the means of production, thus controlling political power."¹⁵⁰

One of the leaders, Yvon Charbonneau¹⁵¹ went further in his analysis and, in so doing, presented an opposition which reflects the contrast between limited Keynesianism and neo-liberalism as I have conceptualised these terms:

We as teachers contribute to our own alienation; as well, we condone the flippancy of the government by looking to reform the school without seeing that this is one trick among others to perpetuate a system where capital, the "economy," consumerism and profit at any cost always win over work, social good, creativity and quality¹⁵²

The language is deterministic and conspiratorial, but the contrast between individualistic exchange rationality and collectivistic use rationality is clear. This contrast was readily apparent in the early 1970s, when the CEQ developed an anti-capitalist position. The Ontario secondary teachers' union, the OSSTF, by way of comparison, made no statements about 'classes' or 'capitalism.' Harp and Betcherman highlight these differences, referring to the CEQ position as: "... an enlightened Marxist critique ..." and to the OSSTF stance as: "... an individualistic, professional orientation ..."¹⁵³

However, when we explore the culture of even Quebec teachers in the early 1970s, we rarely find the kind of clearly articulated oppositional position which might have propelled them toward a sustained attack on the system. The CEQ document of 1972, referred to earlier, said:

In some conflicts where the abuses of the class in power are flagrant, these intermediate classes [including teachers] tend to take a position squarely with the workers. However, when the

established order is threatened, a good number of the salaried middle class hurry to support it.¹⁵⁴

At a certain point, school teachers are confronted with a stark choice: either accept the logic of the current structures, with all their faults, or struggle to abolish them. For most teachers, the latter option is inconceivable. Referring to teachers in the 1972 common front activities, Lysiane Gagnon¹⁵⁵ speaks of:

... huge, frightened "silent majorities," and many other disillusioned people ... unable to take action because of an acute feeling of impotence and failure.¹⁵⁶

An acid test of teacher resistance came some ten years later in British Columbia, in the response to the sweeping package of neo-Liberal legislative initiatives introduced by Bennett in 1983. Within weeks, the Solidarity Coalition had been built; a collectivity composed of trade unionists and concerned interest groups as well as other social movements.

A series of escalating actions culminated in a strike by school teachers in November, 1983. The teachers surprised many commentators by their display of unity and purpose. Many of them were assisted in their militancy by the ineptly hostile acts of the British Columbia cabinet. Teachers were threatened not just with the loss of their jobs, but also with the loss of their provincial certification.¹⁵⁷ The teacher strike vote had been sixty percent in favour. Many government commentators believed that school teachers were too concerned with their professional ethics to take strike action. They

also believed that teachers could easily be intimidated.¹⁵⁸ In the event, more than ninety percent of the teachers struck, and they were joined by most school principals. The principals were in a bind - although they were members of the BCTF, they were also regarded by school trustees as 'management'.¹⁵⁹ In fact, teachers themselves expressed ambivalent feelings toward the principals, whom they regarded both as colleagues and as administrators.

Commentary on the BC teachers' strike highlights the class ambivalence of these professional employees. Larry Kuehn, the leader of the BCTF at the time of the strike, believes that teachers were developing a greater understanding of the relationships between capitalism and public policy and that:

... teachers and others in the education sector were clearly on strike for more than just seniority rights. Even more important to them were educational cutbacks and other challenges to social services, democratic rights and human rights.¹⁶⁰

Crawford Killian believes that the experiences of 1983 not only politicized teachers, but prompted them to regard themselves:

... less as aspiring professionals and more as workers, no longer kidding themselves that a university degree and a teaching certificate somehow elevated them above the ranks of the working class.¹⁶¹

But Killian is equally clear to point out that many teachers were extremely reluctant to engage in militant

action. It was not "... in their nature to withhold what they had to give."¹⁶² Some teachers, a small minority, actually supported what the Social Credit government were attempting to do. A larger group, perhaps a majority, very quickly became emotional victims of struggle and tended to retreat from political conflict as soon as they could:

The real problem with teachers is that too many of them have given up. Their invertebrate reaction to the insults heaped upon them [after 1983] by the government and its know-nothing supporters has only encouraged still more insults.¹⁶³

Despite the appearance of militant solidarity in British Columbia and Quebec, and support for working-class principles among teachers in those provinces, many teachers have been obliged at least to accommodate themselves to neo-liberalism. Their opposition to it, and their assertion of the humanistic and collectivistic use value logic of the welfare state has been fitful.

In Ontario, however, it has been almost entirely absent. As the data in Table 3.5 suggest, militant action by teachers in Ontario has tended to be limited in its scope to 'bread and butter' issues. In the early 1970s, teachers in metropolitan Toronto seemed to be the most agitated. In 1970, the OSSTF 'pinklisted' all six school boards in Metropolitan Toronto, and the teachers threatened mass resignations over wage restrictions and a deterioration in the PTR. In the end, however, most teachers backed down quietly, and Fleming reports that there did not seem to be much support for mass

resignations.¹⁶⁴ Windsor members of the OSSTF, however, developed greater militancy. At their 1973 annual assembly the Windsor delegation called for greater democratisation of the educational decision-making process. The Windsor teachers argued that principals and vice-principals should be subordinate to the collective will of the staff.¹⁶⁵

I have already mentioned the 1973 march on Queen's Park by 30,000 teachers, to protest the provincial government's spending ceilings and imposition of restrictive compulsory arbitration measures. According to the Ontario Teachers' Federation,¹⁶⁶ the day of action galvanised the teachers in their objection to Bill 274 and Bill 275. Shortly after the teachers' protest, the House prorogued for the Christmas recess and both bills died on the order paper. The teachers had won.

Between the one day strike in December, 1973 and the introduction of a new bill governing collective bargaining between teachers and school boards, Bill 100, in 1975, there was bargaining chaos. Ontario teachers found Bill 100 to be altogether too restrictive and, throughout 1975 and 1976 spoke out against both Bill 100 and the federal government's anti-inflation programme. In 1976, the Ontario Association of Secondary Teachers issued a 148-page document to all staff rooms of high schools, setting out criticism of the federal anti-inflation programme.¹⁶⁷ The OTF organised 'political

action' workshops culminating in another day of protest on October 14, 1976.

The field research I conducted in 1986 took place among teachers from the Ottawa Board of Education and the Carleton Separate School Board. Teachers from both boards were involved in strike action throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Members of the OECTA, in the rapidly expanding Carleton Separate School Board, went on strike in 1975, for 21 days, over wages and salaries; in 1982, for 35 days, over wages and salaries, and were, at the time of interviewing, in 1986, in a legal strike position. The Ottawa Board teachers were part of the one day province-wide strike in 1973, and also had their own strike in 1975 which lasted 51 days.

Although there was a high degree of militancy among both groups of teachers, it was the Ottawa Board teachers, confronted by a particularly severe trend of declining enrolments, who experienced the most bitter struggle. On February 27, 1975, high school teachers in Ottawa went out on strike. Accustomed, throughout the 1960s, to a series of favourable wage increases, and beneficiaries of one of the highest spending boards in the province,¹⁶ the teachers found themselves 'capped' by the province in the early 1970s. The effects of capping in Ottawa were particularly insidious, as the provincial ceilings were tied to the number of students enrolled.

The Ottawa Board administrators were obliged to cut costs. From 1973 to 1975 they attempted to effect this by drastically reducing the number of positions of responsibility. In a Board with a large proportion of senior teachers, this move imposed tangible hardship.¹⁶⁹

In 1974, OSSTF leadership visited all 26 high schools in Ottawa, and explained to classroom teachers both the relative deprivations of their position and the efficacy of strike action.¹⁷⁰ For four or five years Ottawa teachers had accepted wage increases well below the rate of inflation. By 1974, they were no longer prepared to tolerate the erosion of their salaries. Despite hostility from the press, vindictiveness on the part of the Board administration, and little public sympathy, the teachers remained on strike for nearly a month and a half, returning to their classrooms on April 18.¹⁷¹ Whatever else was revealed by such tenacity, it demonstrated that school teachers could stand up to a great deal of economic, political and ideological pressure. Their level of solidarity was apparently as strong as that of other workers. Of course, their major contentions were instrumentalist ones; they wanted more money.

In the end, the teachers won their demands, and achieved an average salary increase of 34 per cent. In the process, they compelled the government of Ontario to raise its established provincial ceiling on salary increases in the public sector.¹⁷² It is noteworthy that many Ottawa teachers

had been emboldened by the previous successes of their colleagues in Windsor and Thunder Bay. The OSSTF leadership were effective in conveying to the teachers that they could be both caring professionals and militant workers. The teachers, on the whole, were willing to accept only about 40 percent of their regular pay and to walk picket lines. These were major achievements. Although they received some community support, most teachers had to confront accusations that they were betraying their professional code.

A few teachers would not tolerate strike action. Of 1600 teachers, about 100 refused to walk out and continued working throughout the strike.¹⁷³ The motivations of these non-striking teachers are unclear. However, if some of them were claiming that the strike was a 'selfish' one, they had a point. The major benefit of the victory was in salaries. Although the final agreement included some clauses about improved working conditions, "... the teachers did not make any serious dent in the right of the board to staff and manage the schools."¹⁷⁴

There was evidence in the Ottawa strike of the class ambivalence of teacher militancy. On the one hand, there was evidence of solidarity, counter-ideological organisation, and militant tenacity; on the other hand, there were signs of exclusive status consciousness, instrumentalism and a disregard for profound issues of class control.

The very human face of some of these dilemmas emerges in a letter written during the strike to an Ottawa newspaper by one of the striking teachers. It is worth repeating some of it:

As a 12-year teacher you know in a very personal way that you need a sizeable increase in salary; in the past four to five years your economic status has eroded seriously. You resent it, but you're not the wild eyed militant unionist, gung-ho for the picket line, that the public might think you are. In fact, like many teachers, you are reluctant to make this decisive break Programs, courses, projects, tournaments, plays, concerts, tours that have taken months to prepare are all cancelled now. You ask yourself if what you have at stake is worth those hundreds and thousands of disappointments The OSSTF has been called a well-oiled machine; it sounds like our actions are virtually automatic. But each of us has had to wrestle with conscience before ending up out on the pavement this blustery morning. There are so many claims on our loyalty. It's understandable that, of all the conflicting obligations, your loyalty to that monolith, the board, is of least significance to you. They think so much of you that they've fired you now.¹⁷⁵

The years 1975-1980 were peak years of militancy among Ontario school teachers. The average number of strikes per year, from 1970 to 1985, was 3.19. In 1975 alone, there were 11 strikes. The years 1981 to 1984 were, however, relatively strike free. In none of these years was the average exceeded, and, during 1983 and 1984 there were no teachers strikes at all in Ontario.¹⁷⁶

If the teachers were not active, the province was. The government introduced Bill 179, in 1982, restricting the scope of teacher bargaining. The somewhat less draconian Bill 111 replaced Bill 179, in 1983, but still acted as a stringent

restraint upon teacher action. Under the umbrella of the OTF, Ontario teachers began to make common cause with other public-sector employees, in campaigns of political action, such as the campaign to re-establish the right to negotiate and the right to strike. On November 12, 1983, a Divisional Court decision upheld this right.¹⁷⁷

Despite the fact that a great deal of their energies had to be devoted to winning back basic rights which had been removed during the years of restraint, in the early 1980s, teachers continued to manifest their militancy in strike action. In 1985, there were 6 strikes involving teachers in Ontario, making it the most militant year, apart from 1975.

POSSESSIVE INDIVIDUALISM AND SOLIDARISTIC COLLECTIVISM

My historical and empirical overview of the changing conditions and consequences of teachers' working lives has been necessarily inconclusive. Whether in terms of their given class experiences or their adopted class positions, teachers have been deeply ambivalent.

It is clear that the ideas of Poulantzas, Carchedi, Wright, Ollman, Harris, Ozga and Lawn, and others, reviewed in Chapter One are inadequate to the task of capturing the complex realities of teachers' class experiences in contemporary Canada. Teachers can not be allocated to a given class; neither can we argue that they are moving inexorably

toward a particular class location or class position. Canadian teachers, particularly those in Ontario, evidently refuse to be located on the class map - at least, they are not on terra firma. Neither are they always in the water, flowing with the prevailing currents. They are, to put the metaphor in jeopardy, occupants of 'murky swampland.' It should be clear that it is not my intention to leave them floundering there!

Bearing in mind my presentation of the experiences and actions of Canadian teachers in the periods of limited Keynesianism and neo-liberalism, I have been able to extract a range of teacher class consciousnesses which are potentially meaningful. These are based upon the discoveries of the previous two sections. I have decided to remain close to the insights of Mathews, Jenson, Wolfe and others discussed earlier in the chapter, by building a bipolar model which has, at one end, the communitarian, Keynesian extreme, and, at the other end, the individualistic neo-liberal extreme.

At the 'Keynesian' extreme of the model, following David Lockwood,¹⁷⁸ I develop the construct of 'Solidaristic Collectivism.' (SC). Borrowing from C.B. Macpherson,¹⁷⁹ I label the neo-liberal construct: 'Possessive Individualism.' (PI) Making use of the data in the previous two sections, I shall now describe the characteristics of SC and PI. I shall also offer some comments concerning the propensity of teachers to approach the extremes.

Although Solidaristic Collectivism is reasonably characterised as 'left wing,' it differs from the purer forms of communism and socialism: it is not necessarily 'scientific' or programmatic; it is not economistic and it is potentially compatible with certain non-socialist visions of community. It is concerned with the prioritisation of the welfare of the collectivity, with distributional justice and compassion. Its adherents are inspired to make common cause with others, and self-consciously to work with them toward the achievement of humane public ends. Emphasis is placed on support for the disadvantaged, the poor and the oppressed.

Solidaristic Collectivism promotes the ideal that ownership and control of the economy are best kept in the hands of the community as a whole, and that decisions about the production, distribution and exchange of products should be co-ordinated by the community's representatives on the basis of common needs and preferences. Even if full public ownership is not always implied in an Solidaristic Collectivism orientation, sustained public control is. Solidaristic Collectivism is contrary to distinctions in labour and social hierarchies, as well as large wage and income differentials. Individuals supporting an Solidaristic Collectivism outlook would argue that systems of equality ennoble people rather than encourage them to be idle or greedy. Common provision of certain goods and services, such as education, is seen as fairer and more rational than systems

of commercial exchange. From an SC perspective, the contemporary Canadian states would be regarded as too highly supportive of the capitalist system, uncritical in their promotion of capitalist social relations and, consequently, unable and unwilling to provide people, especially the poor and minorities with the goods and services they should have.

Erich Fromm¹⁸⁰ provides an important normative statement of SC, from a social psychological perspective:

There is only one possible productive solution for the relationship of individualized man with the world: his active solidarity with all men and his spontaneous activity, love and work, which unite him again with the world, not by his primary ties but as a free and independent individual.¹⁸¹

Fromm is making the point that between the tyrannical certainties of the highly rigidified social structures of the past and the equally tyrannical uncertainties of socially atomised modernity, there lies the authenticity of deliberate and sustained engagement with others - the creation of a dignified community based upon equality, mutuality and respect. Such was the vision of young teachers in Quebec and British Columbia in the 1960s, and the contributors to the Hall-Dennis Report in Ontario.

In his book, Continuous Excursions, which explores the politics of personal life, Marshall Colman¹⁸² provides a concise definition of Possessive Individualism. Colman is careful to state that there are spheres of individual expressivity which are not competitive or possessive. These

include: self-assertiveness; personal judgements; the promotion of individual abilities or dissent from the cultural consensus. These characteristics are certainly individualistic, but, far from being antithetical to Solidaristic Collectivism, are most useful in its articulation and development. In the following extract, Colman's 'competitive individualism' is the equivalent of my Possessive Individualism:

Competitive individualism embraces the following principles: the best interests of society as a whole are served if individuals pursue their own private interests; material inequality is a good thing because the prospect of exceptional rewards is the only guarantee of exceptional achievements; the market is the best social regulator and permits greater individual freedom than economic planning; the activities of government should be limited as far as possible; and collective bodies should be discouraged because they restrict economic activity.¹⁸³

This PI orientation which has experienced something of a renaissance in the last fifteen years, promotes the restriction of decisions about investment, wages, profit, and other commercial and industrial matters to private owners and managers, themselves disciplined by the 'hidden hand' of free market competition. With respect to non-owners, supporters of PI believe that social and economic advancement should be the consequence of individual effort alone and that distinctions in the labour and social hierarchies are valid; wage and income differentials are fair; and that people should be left to make up their own minds what to do with their

earnings, rather than being obliged to lose such freedom under the burden of taxation. These PI perspectives emerge in the statements of Canadian business leaders, quoted in the last section; in the contributions to the Ontario commission on declining enrolments as well as in the rhetoric and legislation of the 1980s Social Credit administration in British Columbia.

As with my presentation of the SC position, I have detailed the elements of PI in an extreme form. It is probable that only a few teachers, such as those who supported the Social Credit administration in British Columbia, and some of those who did not go out on strike in Ottawa in 1975, would give whole-hearted ideological support to Possessive Individualism. It is, of course, a matter of great empirical interest to discover precisely how teachers distribute themselves along the continuum from SC to PI.

C. Wright Mills¹⁸⁴ is not mistaken when he describes the pervasiveness of PI in popular culture, and its particular influence over white collar workers. Yet Tawney¹⁸⁵ was not illogical in his claim that professionals were: "... a major force capable of subjugating rampant individualism to the needs of the community"¹⁸⁶ We have seen evidence of solidarity and even community consciousness among Canadian school teachers, for example in the 'common front' activities of Quebec teachers, or the 'Solidarity Coalition' movement supported by British Columbia teachers. But there are also

counterfactual examples. Repo¹⁸⁷ describes two Social Credit teachers in British Columbia who, in 1972, attempted to decertify their federation, or at least to prevent union dues from being spent on 'political' ends. Other teachers may give voice to some Solidaristic Collectivism ideals but, in practice, pursue forms of militancy which are pragmatic and instrumentally designed to bolster their relative status.

In the next chapter, I undertake an exploration of the forms of class consciousness which underpin overt acts of militancy. In so doing, I state that 'individualism' is not always 'possessive' and that 'collectivism' is not always 'solidaristic.' Despite this, however, I also provide support for my contention that PI and SC are meaningful and coherent patterns of belief for most teachers.

To the two logics of teacher class consciousness, PI and SC, David Livingstone,¹⁸⁸ whose scale of class consciousness I discuss more completely in Chapter Four, adds a third possibility - that of withdrawal. If teachers, in his terms, neither give active support to capitalist social relations, nor purposefully oppose them, they may be inclined to retreat into the vagueness of 'neutrality' and hope that class conflict will remain distant from them. Such passivity is, as Livingstone points out, support by default for the status quo. It is difficult to know how to explore the class consciousnesses of those who are actively attempting to avoid facing conflict. However, I provide empirical evidence in the

final substantive chapter to support the view that those individuals most inclined to 'withdraw' from conflict of all kinds, are disproportionately to be found in the centre of the PI-SC continuum.

One very important and ironic tendency, discussed by Hobsbawm,¹⁸⁹ with respect to the British class structure, is that even when they adopt collective and solidaristic forms of action, professionals organise as individuals. Furthermore, such organisation is quite different from that of the working class. My own analysis in Chapter Five provides empirical support for the proposition that the paths of teachers to an SC consciousness are largely individual paths.

As the Keynesian logic of use value has come under attack in the past fifteen to twenty years, so the choices faced by teachers have been sharpened. Some teachers, such as the Ottawa teacher whose letter during the 1975 strike was presented earlier, have responded to pressure by intensifying their SC orientation. In so doing, they have adopted a range of tactics, most critically what they actually do with their students in the classroom. In a poignant quotation from a Kamloops teacher, during the 1983 teachers' strike in British Columbia, Crawford Killian makes some important points about the relationship between teachers as caring professionals and their degree of 'militancy.'¹⁹⁰ Although the teacher fought hard in the strike itself, and refused to speak to a picket-

crossing colleague for over a year, he noted that it was extremely hard for teachers to "... withhold what they had to give"¹⁹¹ Thus, despite their sense of grievance, teachers would be anxious to return as soon as possible to their classrooms, where they could be 'givers.' Thus, strike action and other traditional forms of militancy would be, simultaneously, acts designed to promote SC and yet acts directly antithetical to SC. This is a most uncomfortable paradox, and one which makes it difficult to 'predict' how a Solidaristic Collectivistic consciousness is related to action, especially strike action.

As I have said, there is little aggregate evidence of a strong Possessive Individualistic culture among Canadian teachers, and few instances of expressions of PI consciousness in the review of teachers' actions undertaken in the previous sections. Given the pervasiveness of PI ideology, notably in the period of neo-liberalism, this is surprising.

Lane¹⁹² and Sennett and Cobb¹⁹³ have described, in great ethnographic detail, the incorporation of a profound PI ideology into the consciousnesses of working-class men. Those they interviewed consistently stated that they owed their lack of success to their own individual failures; and that although they had experienced opportunities for upward mobility and individual advancement, they had not grasped them. If these 'failures' are bound to the competitive premisses of PI, it should not be surprising to find that those who have

'succeeded,' such as school teachers, are equally, if not more, committed. School teachers and other state professionals seem to represent, in their own upwardly mobile life experiences, the strongest testimony to the belief that with diligence and a sense of purpose, anyone can become successful. Those teachers who are self-conscious of the sacrifices they made and the deferred gratification they accepted in order to attend college and pass examinations would probably be hostile to the suggestion that they simply slotted into class positions which had to be filled and that, their own efforts notwithstanding, not anyone could make it. Such teachers would be resistant to the idea that their own histories and the destinies of their students were conditioned by the general circumstances of class struggle.

These expectations are summarised in a comprehensive passage from Kevin Harris, writing about the socialization experiences of British teachers. Although I believe that Harris' comments are broadly applicable to the experiences of teachers in Canada, they are made in an empirical vacuum. As with other elements in this section, these tendencies should be treated as plausible potential positions, rather than as given statements of attributed characteristics:

... existing social relations have been so structured that teachers themselves have to be highly schooled, and this greatly increases the likelihood that teachers will be well-constituted ideological subjects, bearing the dominant ideological relations, and motivated on account of their own personal success (at school) to reproducing the conditions of their own making.

Second, the very act of becoming a teacher is likely in itself to entail support for the overall structure and ideologically perceived function of schooling people do not generally become part of the structures they are fundamentally antagonistic to. Third, once in the schools, teachers have to survive and also get results, and so they are most unlikely to give up their political and ideological power. They are more likely to exercise it, and thus support the function of the school. Finally ... teachers have to justify themselves to themselves: and this is likely to entail extolling schooling as a good thing, which in turn would entail teachers becoming subject to the very illusions which they serve, and in practice serving the same illusions which they are subject to.¹⁹⁴

If the functionalism and structural determinism can be overlooked, the key elements Harris lists are as plausible in Canada as they are in Britain. The fragmentation, competitiveness and rewards of a professional career do indeed tend to promote a Possessive Individualistic consciousness, even if such consciousness is far from inevitable. But we should not go too far. Harris¹⁹⁵ as well as other scholars¹⁹⁶ notes that the separation of teachers from each other in their own classrooms promotes a climate of individualism. This is not, however, a solid argument. Harris takes for granted the correlation between physical separateness and forms of consciousness. Such a correlation should be established, rather than asserted. Harris offers no evidence comparing school teachers with other, more 'collectivist' workers, in terms of the amount of time these various occupational groups devote to workplace contacts. School teachers certainly do spend a great deal of time in their classrooms, but they also

spend time in staff rooms, lunch rooms, offices and other places where they talk to colleagues. Given current trends toward the rationalisation, standardisation and control of both the curriculum and pedagogy, as we have seen in recent developments in Ontario and British Columbia, there seems little reason to suppose that the individual teacher experiences a great deal of sovereignty in her or his classroom.

There is more to the claim that the ideology of public education encourages a strong self-conception of moderation or balanced neutrality on the part of school teachers, and that this orientation has individualist consequences.¹⁹⁷ Teachers find it difficult to conceive of the system as anything other than a neutral purveyor of "... uncontaminated knowledge"¹⁹⁸ Statements such as those by the CEQ that "our schools serve the Ruling Class," are rare in the Canadian experience.

It is more probable, as Malcolm Buchanan of the OSSTF stated, that school teachers and other state professionals believe in the neutrality of the state and in its potential for efficacious reform. Precisely because this is so, Canadian teachers have shown themselves to be supportive of the ideals of social justice, equality of opportunity, social welfare and even mildly redistributational policies. These ideals encapsulate the limited Keynesian culture from which Canadian teachers arose as a significant occupation group.

Of course, the exigencies faced by the Canadian states under neo-liberalism have called these Keynesian ideals into question as the period of educational expansion has come to an end. The contradictions, at the hearts of the Canadian educational systems, between SC and PI have become more apparent. Faced with declining enrolments, a hostile ideological climate, cuts to the system, and deteriorating conditions of work, many Canadian teachers have only been able to maintain their own individual position by compromising upon their communitarian ideals. Others, of course, have chosen to fight back, often in collaboration with others affected by neo-liberal policies.

CONCLUSION:

In this chapter, I have completed the first stage of the application of structuration theory to the analysis of teachers. The chapter represents one half of the double hermeneutic, my attempt to develop a conditional, yet highly contextualised, framework for analysis. In the following chapters I present a small group of teachers with the substance and tendencies emerging from my account of the experiences of their immediate predecessors. In so doing, I embark upon the process of hermeneutic exchange.

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CHAPTER FOUR
AN EXPLORATION OF THE CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS
OF SCHOOL TEACHERS

INTRODUCTION:

In Chapter Three, I set out my version of the class-related circumstances surrounding the occupational lives of teachers in Canada, and, more specifically, Ontario and Ottawa-Carleton. My conceptual summary of the overall experiences of Canadian teachers within the past forty years led me to establish a tentative range of orientations, from Possessive Individualism to Solidaristic Collectivism.

In accordance with my theoretical principles, the model was, however, only a contingent one. In this chapter, I complement, vivify and, possibly, amend it, by reporting upon the actual responses of school teachers to a series of questions derived from it. I explore the empirical facts of class consciousness manifest in responses to a questionnaire survey. Although I do not predict a particular valence of class consciousness, my exploration is not a random one. The questions derive from the historical and empirical analysis of the previous chapter. These are, I believe, the most pertinent questions, even if I remain unwilling to predict the responses. I would suggest, however, that the contradictory

and ambivalent history of the class character of Canadian teachers could produce a heterogeneous range of results.

The chapter consists of six sections. In the first section, I consider the scales of class consciousness employed by David Livingstone¹ and Erik Olin Wright² and explain their limitations for my purposes. I provide a brief rationale for my own measures in which I concentrate upon the class-related substantive foci which inform their construction.

The second section is a description of some pertinent details of the survey I conducted in Ottawa-Carleton.

In the third section, I describe and analyse the teachers' responses to class issues in the Canadian social formation. I explore each item and explain how they can be combined to build a composite scale of class consciousness.

The fourth section continues the exploration of class consciousness making use of other measures derived from the questionnaire. In addition to building a clearer substantive understanding of the class consciousnesses of teachers, the analyses conducted facilitate construct validation of the scale of class consciousness.

I make further use of the scale in the fifth section where class consciousness is explored with respect to the workplace experiences of the teachers.

Finally, I conclude with a test of a hypothesis developed earlier in the dissertation. I argued that the terms 'class' and 'social class' are largely absent from popular discourse

in Canada. I therefore doubted the efficacy of attempting to understand class relations in Canada by offering individuals these prompts in questionnaires. My method of assessing class consciousness relies upon the clearest possible identification of class issues. Support for my hypothesis about the absence of 'class' from contemporary Canadian ideological debate would come from the failure of individuals' responses to the standard questionnaire items on class' to correlate with their levels of class consciousness according to my scale.

MEASURES AND SCALES OF CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS:

The key component of each of the class consciousness items in the questionnaire, reproduced as Appendix One, is the ideological range from Possessive Individualism to Solidaristic Collectivism. Each item is constructed in such a manner that an affirmative response manifests either a PI or an SC orientation. The items are balanced in polarity to avoid problems of response-set bias.

The substance of the items begins with the four-fold characterisation of social class - based on ownership, control, exploitation and status - discussed in the Introduction. There are two Likert scale groups of items on class consciousness. Questions 1 to 14 in the questionnaire concentrate upon the educational system and the workplaces of the teachers. The second group, questions 30 to 51, relate to class consciousness in the broader social formation.'

Additionally, there are two other groups of measures whose substance parallels those of the Likert items. These measures are computed from responses to items 22 to 29 and 52 to 59 in the questionnaire. I shall explain the computational procedures later in the chapter.

My adoption of a structurationist solution to the existing inadequacies of theories of class has required me to build my own scales rather than to rely upon those of previous scholars. It has been necessary to incorporate into my measures the specific contextual realities of contemporary Canadian teachers. A brief consideration of the scales of two existing scholars illustrates the relevance of my innovations.

In Classes, Wright constructs an eight item scale which invites respondents to comment upon a range of statements concerning corporations, strikers, strike breaking, profits and worker management.⁵ Among Wright's themes are some which I employ in my own study. There are, however, a number of technical problems with Wright's scale. First, there are insufficient items for the development of an adequate composite scale. Wright's discussion of the operationalization of his construction of class consciousness⁶ does not, in fact, make reference to the scalability of his items. Second, the valence of all of Wright's items is unidirectional, a positive response always revealing a 'working-class' consciousness. Third, Wright's items concentrate on economic and productive issues at the expense

of political or ideological issues. Finally, and curiously given Wright's concern with the exploitation of status, there are no items pertaining to status, expertise or credentials. On the other hand, Wright's items do cover the other three elements of class - ownership, control and exploitation. Even if Wright's insensitivity to the intrinsic importance of time and place in class analysis is overlooked, there remain too many technical problems with his scale for it to be of assistance in the construction of my own measures.

Closer to home, and to the focus of this dissertation, David Livingstone has made use of scales of class consciousness in his empirical research on attitudes toward education in Ontario.⁷ Livingstone's most sustained treatment of class consciousness appears in Social Crisis and Schooling. Although he does not provide the original questionnaire items upon which his scale was built, he identifies it as having seven positions. In the middle is the node of contradictory class consciousness. Then, on each side, are three 'stages' of capitalist and working-class consciousness, each from simple class identity, through oppositional consciousness, to hegemonic or counter-hegemonic consciousness. It is difficult to evaluate Livingstone's scale effectively, since his promise to elaborate upon the conceptual and empirical meanings of class consciousness in another work is not sustained.⁸

A careful reading of the forms of questionnaire reprinted as appendices to his collaborative reports on public education

in Ontario' reveal those items which might possibly have served as the basis for the scale. Since the items are concerned with class in the context of schooling and education, the data base is limited and it is difficult to see how Livingstone derived from them a general scale of class consciousness, including, for instance, statements about 'worker control of the economy.'¹⁰

Irrespective of the problems of operationalization, Livingstone's scale fails to discriminate sufficiently between levels of class consciousness. Too many respondents occupy the middle and too few the extremes.¹¹ As a consequence of this technical difficulty, Livingstone is unable to make much use of his scale in his subsequent analysis.¹² Given the close attention to context and detail which informed the building of my own measures, I would expect to see a broader range of consciousnesses than in Livingstone's results. It is not enough to record the fact that most Ontario teachers are 'in the middle.' We should investigate precisely how they occupy that space, and this implies opening up the middle.

Despite the undoubted value of their work, and my interest in their research, neither Wright nor Livingstone produce measures of use for my project. Neither scholar is concerned enough with the specificities of time and place. Both scholars offer items which are too economistic and both fail to provide sufficient methodological material for a proper assessment of their scale construction.

The measures I have devised address each of these problems. From the analysis of theoretical approaches to state professional employees, undertaken in Chapter One, it was apparent that measures of class consciousness should include distributional and status-related matters as well as those to do with ownership and control. It was also apparent that the class character of state professionals could only be properly undertaken in the political and ideological realms as well as the economic. The structurationist approach, outlined in Chapter Two, emphasised the necessity of attending to the specificities of time and place. In Chapter Three, I undertook an analysis of the particular background of the teachers under investigation. It was on the basis of this analysis that the PI-SC ideological range was derived and the substance of the class consciousness items were grounded.

One further aspect of my measures requires a brief discussion. In order to gain a clearer and deeper appreciation of the class consciousnesses of teachers, I have devised items which pertain to two distinctive experiential spheres. On the one hand, I investigate the workplaces of teachers and, on the other hand, the broader social formation. Is the ambivalent and contradictory nature of the class character of teachers reflected in distinctive patterns of consciousness in these two spheres? If, as I anticipate, there is a relative absence of workplace-based class culture, and school teachers attain their class consciousnesses through

individual rather than collective routes, then it would not be surprising to see little cohesion with respect to the concrete issues of the workplace and relatively greater cohesion with respect to more abstract and distanced issues, related to the broader social formation. To anticipate later sections of this chapter, these are in fact the trends which emerge.

STUDYING TEACHERS IN OTTAWA-CARLETON:

Between March and June 1986, I conducted an empirical investigation into the class consciousnesses of teachers in the Ottawa-Carleton region. My investigation began with a series of informal discussions with a few teachers, representing both levels of the Ottawa Board of Education, about the original questionnaire. Overall, the teachers to whom I spoke registered a great deal of interest in the content of the questionnaire and felt that most of the items would be highly relevant to their colleagues. These teachers assisted me greatly by pointing out certain items which were either confusing to them, poorly worded or beyond their experience. On the basis of their advice I issued a pilot version of the questionnaire to about thirty teachers.

In late May and early June, I distributed the final version of the questionnaire to fifteen schools in two school boards, the Ottawa Board of Education and the Carleton Separate School Board. The mode of distribution was through

impersonal drop-off. Of the four hundred and thirty-two questionnaires distributed, one hundred and sixty, about 37 per cent, were returned in usable form. Response rates in different schools varied widely, from a low of 14 per cent to a high of 100 per cent. The comparative rate of completed returns seemed to depend upon a number of factors including the energy of my 'champions' in each school, the level of prior saturation of the particular schools with other questionnaires, and the degree of parsimony in the targeting of questionnaires within schools.

The Ottawa Board of Education readily granted me access to their schools. The Carleton Separate School Board, however, refused my request. At the time, the Catholic teachers were in a legal strike position and the board wrote to me expressing their concern that certain questions in my questionnaire could inflame an already delicate situation. I offered to consider the removal of offending questions, but the board were adamant. Being aware of the prior militancy of the OECTA, I was anxious to contact Catholic teachers. I decided to approach the OECTA directly and ask their local president for permission to distribute my questionnaire through the Association's channels. The president agreed and, furthermore, offered his services as a distributor. In the end, just over 40 per cent of the questionnaires distributed through the OECTA were returned.

The fact that the separate school teachers were in a legal strike position presented both problems and potentials. The problems centred upon the obvious lack of comparability between these teachers and the public school teachers, who were not in a legal strike position. The heightened political activism of the Catholic teachers rendered the interpretation of their responses somewhat difficult. Would they normally respond in this manner or not? The fact that the questionnaire was clearly distributed through the Association, rather than the Board, raised further problems. Had this mode of distribution influenced either the type of respondent or the mode of response? On the other hand, the existence of a sub-sample of respondents in a legal strike position afforded me the opportunity to test certain hypotheses about the character of teachers' collective culture and actions. I shall return to these in the next chapter.

The number of returned questionnaires as well as their distribution across different boards and levels of education allows me to generalise the results to the entire teaching profession within Ottawa-Carleton. In a cautious and tentative manner, the findings could also be generalised to other anglophone teachers in Ontario. However, the results I present should not be taken to represent other state professional employees or teachers in other Canadian provinces or beyond.

CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE BROADER SOCIAL FORMATION:

Items 30 to 51 on the questionnaire were designed to measure the class consciousness of teachers toward issues of general importance in Ontario and Canada.

Although there is, of course, some overlap between categories, I will discuss the teachers' responses to the 22 items in four sets. Each set considers those items which tap into the four principal foci of class consciousness: ownership, control, distribution and status.

Ownership:

Table 4.1 presents the responses of teachers to six questions about social ownership.

Each of these items emerges from this historical tension between the public-sector and use-value logic of the era of limited Keynesianism and the private-sector and exchange-value rationality of neo-liberalism. Items 37, 41 and 48 in Table 4.1 are designed to assess whether, in a fundamental sense, teachers lean toward a private-sector or public-sector orientation. Item 34 assesses the more radical possibility of an anti-capitalist posture on the part of the teachers. Naturally, in the light of research by the CEQ¹³ and Livingstone,¹⁴ we would not anticipate a great deal of principled opposition. Item 32 addresses both the public versus private and the capitalist versus worker orientations. The issue of foreign ownership of the Canadian economy

TABLE 4.1

TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD
SOCIAL OWNERSHIP (ROW PERCENTAGES)

QUESTIONNAIRE ITEM #	ITEM	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNCERTAIN	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	TOTAL (N)
30.	'The owners and managers of companies in Canada should put the needs of their employees above the drive for profits'	7.5	37.5	23.1	30.6	1.3	160
32.	'The federal government should encourage foreign investors and businessmen who wish to compete in the Canadian market'	7.6	58.9	17.7	15.2	0.6	158
34.	'The ownership and management of companies in Canada should be in the hands of employees and workers'	1.9	15.1	20.1	54.7	8.2	159
37.	'Government ownership of industry always results in inefficiency and waste'	11.9	32.7	22.6	29.6	3.1	159
41.	'The major banks in Canada should not be privately owned and controlled, but rather owned and controlled by the Canadian people'	7.6	18.4	25.3	43.7	5.1	158
48.	'The federal and provincial governments should sell many of their companies, industries and other concerns to private buyers'	6.9	46.5	28.3	14.5	3.8	159

throughout the 1970s and 1980s came to represent fundamental differences of ideological vision between left-wingers and right-wingers as well as between nationalists and continentalists. Finally, item 30 invites teachers to ponder the limits to ownership and managerial rights in the private sector.

In terms of ownership, most teachers tend toward the Possessive Individualistic end of the spectrum. Two out of three teachers believe that the government should actively encourage foreign investment. Almost as many disagree with the notion of worker ownership. It is, perhaps, surprising that even a small minority of 17 per cent agree with this radical proposition. Over half the teachers are in favour of moves toward privatisation and almost as many reject the idea of taking the banks out of the private sector. Although a plurality of teachers believes that government ownership is inefficient and wasteful, there is a substantial minority who disagrees with this contention. Thus, even though the teachers express a generally favourable attitude toward private ownership, they hold back somewhat from castigation of the public sector. Responses to item 30 demonstrate that the teachers believe in limits to private sector rights. 45 per cent believe that "the owners and managers of companies in Canada should put the needs of their employees above the desire for profits," and only 31.9 per cent disagree.

TABLE 4.4

TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD
STATUS (ROW PERCENTAGES)

QUESTIONNAIRE ITEM #	ITEM	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNCERTAIN	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	TOTAL (N)
46.	In the calculation of wage rates employees and workers should receive more money for doing boring or repetitive jobs	1.3	4.4	13.2	68.6	12.6	159
47.	The Canadian welfare system supports too many lazy people	21.3	46.3	10.6	17.5	4.4	160
50.	Current wage differences between highly educated and less well educated employees and workers should stay about the same	5.0	45.3	25.2	22.0	2.0	159

extent. Exactly what the teachers have in mind, however, is unclear since when it comes to a more specific issue, whether companies should be inhibited from laying off workers, only 22.6 per cent agree. Even if the teachers are uncertain about the extent of state control, they manifest a support for worker and employee control. Over two out of three argue that workers have a right to interfere in decisions about what their employers produce. Only a minority of teachers believe that too much attention is paid to labour unions.

When the data in Table 4.2 are broken down further, it is clear that the separate school teachers exhibit a stronger SC orientation with respect to control than other teachers. It is conceivable that the legal strike position of the separate school teachers explains their greater enthusiasm for state inhibition of companies in laying off workers. 33.3 per cent of separate school teachers agree with item 36, while only 18.6 per cent of public school teachers are in agreement. Equally, while 64.1 per cent of public school teachers believe that employees and workers have a right to interfere in production decisions, a full 83.4 per cent of separate school teachers support this right.

The overall support teachers give to the state and other workers, notably when those teachers themselves are engaged in their own struggles, is evidence of an SC orientation with respect to control.

TABLE 4.0

TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD
CONTROL OF THE ECONOMY
(ROW PERCENTAGES)

QUESTIONNAIRE ITEM #	ITEM	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNCERTAIN	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	TOTAL (N)
21.	'The federal and provincial governments should not interfere in how the owners and managers of companies conduct their business affairs'	2.5	23.8	11.9	51.9	10.0	160
26.	'The federal and provincial governments should make it more difficult for companies to lay off their employees and workers'	3.8	18.8	21.9	48.1	7.5	160
39.	'Employees and workers should not interfere in decisions about what their employers produce'	1.3	17.6	11.9	57.2	11.9	159
45.	'The federal and provincial governments pay too much attention to labour unions'	1.9	20.1	27.0	48.4	2.5	159

Distribution:

Nine items together constitute a basis for exploring the teachers' attitudes concerning 'who gets what.' The post-war developments of teachers' conflicts over their own salaries and benefits, as well as their position in broader debates about the rightful redistributive role of the Canadian states, has sensitised them to matters of social distribution. I have included a range of items from broad, philosophical issues, through narrower ideological ones, to specific and targetted questions.

As with the items assessing the teachers' attitudes toward control, most responses to the distributional items are Solidaristic Collectivistic. Only three of the nine items show teachers to be predominantly Possessive Individualistic in orientation. 53.5 per cent of the teachers agree with the contention that federal and provincial governments have grown too large. This seems to be a surprisingly frank admission for state employees to make. It is, of course, possible that the teachers do not have themselves in mind when they make this claim. Related to their general support for private property rights, most teachers defend existing levels of financial reward to shareholders. Very few teachers (6.9 per cent) feel that shareholders returns are too high. However a relatively large 35.6 per cent of teachers remain uncertain about this issue. It would be interesting to know whether such uncertainty results from ignorance or ambivalence. The

TABLE 4.3

TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD
DISTRIBUTION (ROW PERCENTAGES)

QUESTIONNAIRE ITEM #	ITEM	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNCERTAIN	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	TOTAL (N)
33.	'Financial inequality among people is a good thing because it encourages them to be more competitive'	1.9	37.1	18.2	35.2	7.5	159
35.	Canadian medicare needs to be upgraded and expanded	7.5	34.6	22.6	32.7	2.5	159
38.	'The catholic bishops, in their recent report on ethics and economics, were correct to condemn the large inequalities in contemporary Canadian Society'	10.6	36.9	30.0	18.8	3.8	160
40.	Poverty in Canada has more to do with the social system than with the failures of particular individuals'	10.0	41.9	16.3	30.0	1.9	160
42.	One of the major problems facing Canada today is that our federal and provincial governments have grown too large'	10.7	42.8	20.1	25.2	1.3	159
43.	Most shareholders receive financial returns on their investments which are far too high	0.6	6.3	35.6	52.5	5.0	160
44.	Canada's foreign aid programs should be substantially reduced'	4.4	13.8	12.5	61.3	8.1	160
49.	'Federal and provincial governments should give better tax breaks to enterprising businessmen	7.5	48.4	18.2	23.3	2.5	159
51.	'Poverty in Canada should be a matter of the highest political concern'	18.1	56.9	11.9	11.9	1.3	160

third predominantly PI response relates to item 49. 55.9 per cent of teachers express support for the 'supply side' contention that governments should give better tax breaks to enterprising businessmen.

Items 42, 43 and 49 are 'hard' distributional questions making direct or implicit reference to taking something away from the rich minority. It is obvious that most of the teachers resist such ideas. The teachers are clearly not 'socialists' in that they do not favour any radical restructuring of relations of ownership or distribution. A survey of their responses to the other six items, the 'softer' distributional items, shows that the teachers support the idea of greater redistributive justice within the current system. It appears easier for the teachers to support 'more for the poor' than 'less for the rich.'

Item 33 links the 'soft' theme of equality with the harder theme of 'competitiveness'. The statement is worded in such a manner that teachers cannot support both. Few teachers place themselves in the 'uncertain' category, and the remainder are evenly split between agreement and disagreement with the contention. It remains unclear, therefore, whether teachers would ultimately privilege the competitive system or the social effect of equality.

A majority of teachers respond to the remaining five items with an SC response. Although a substantial minority disagree, most teachers believe that medicare needs to be

upgraded and expanded. A relatively large group of teachers are uncertain about the position of the Catholic Bishops. It is possible that these teachers were unaware of the particular study referred to in the statement. However, 70 per cent of the teachers express an opinion and a majority of these support the Bishops' condemnation of inequality. It is noteworthy that only 22.6 per cent of the teachers disagree with the Bishops, whereas 39 per cent of them responded to item 33 by agreeing that financial inequality is 'a good thing' because it encourages people to be more competitive. Perhaps the moral credentials of the Catholic Bishops move the teachers toward agreement. It is also possible that objecting to inequality in the abstract is easier than objecting to a partially justified and conditional inequality.

Two items, 40 and 51, ask the teachers to reflect upon the issue of poverty. In a general sense the teachers are obviously concerned about poverty. In one of the most skewed results, 75 per cent of them agree that "poverty in Canada should be a matter of the highest political concern." Moreover, a majority of the teachers regard poverty as a systemic problem, rather than the consequence of the failings of particular individuals. Responses to item 44 indicate that the teachers' charity does not 'stop at home.' 69.4 per cent of teachers oppose substantial cuts in foreign aid programs.

Summarising the response patterns in Table 4.3, it is evident that the teachers are in solidarity with the poor and

the disadvantaged. It is equally clear that they would oppose any collectivist movement away from the current economic system. In fact, they seem to support its extension.

Status:

Both White¹⁵ and Nelson¹⁶ argue that teachers are jealously protective of their professional status. The teachers' responses to the three items in Table 4.4 support their contentions. Each item is designed to bring out the perception of status distinction between manual and non-manual work or between those who are deserving and those who are not.

The teachers manifest extreme attitudes concerning status. Very few teachers (5.7 per cent) would support greater remuneration for individuals doing boring or repetitive jobs. It is, however, possible that the wording of this item was unclear to some respondents and that they understood the word 'more' to mean 'in comparison with those who do not do boring and repetitive jobs.' Even so, a clear majority of the teachers believe in the maintenance of existing wage differentials according to educational background. Given their responses to item 46, it seems improbable that many of those who disagree with the maintenance of existing differentials would wish the gap to narrow. Notwithstanding the charitable responses teachers often portray, they also operate with a conception of the 'undeserving poor.' 67.6 per cent of the teachers believe

TABLE 4.4

TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD
STATUS (ROW PERCENTAGES)

QUESTIONNAIRE ITEM #	ITEM	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNCERTAIN	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	TOTAL (N)
46.	In the calculation of wage rates employees and workers should receive more money for doing boring or repetitive jobs'	1.3	4.4	13.2	68.6	12.6	159
47.	The Canadian welfare system supports too many lazy people	21.3	46.3	10.6	17.5	4.4	160
50.	Current wage differences between highly educated and less well educated employees and workers should stay about the same	5.0	45.3	25.2	22.0	2.0	159

that the Canadian welfare system supports too many lazy people. This response stands in apparent contrast to the pattern in item 40, where most teachers express the view that poverty is a systemic problem rather than one caused by individual failure. One possible reconciliation of the two response patterns is to suppose that teachers do not regard laziness as a manifestation of individual failure, but rather see it as a product of a bad system. Another possibility is that the teachers do not associate poverty with the welfare system. Whatever the explanations, it is apparent that the teachers have developed meaningful status hierarchies, differentiated according to perceptions of individual effort.

A Composite Scale of Class Consciousness:

On the basis of the detailed study of teachers' responses to each item, it is difficult to generalise about their orientation on the PI-SC dimension. In terms of ownership rights and social status, they exhibit support for the liberal capitalist status quo. However, when it comes to matters of control or distributional concerns, they are more collectivistic and solidaristic. On the whole, the teachers find it easier to affirm solidarity with people than to lend support to major systemic changes in the direction of greater collectivism.

Despite the heterogeneity of the particular responses, on an individual level teachers are relatively consistent.

Twenty-two items together assess the class consciousness of teachers. Table 4.5 displays the inter-item correlations. To facilitate the interpretation of the table, those items in which a positive response registers an SC consciousness have been recoded to reverse the categories. In this manner, the consistency of the teachers with respect to my criteria can be registered simply by comparing positive with negative responses. There are two hundred and thirty-one possible inter-item correlations. Of these, only eleven are negative. Moreover, only one of these negative correlations is significant. Of the two hundred and twenty positive correlations, ninety-four have coefficients greater than or equal to .2 and one hundred and forty-four are significant at the level of .05 or greater.

For the further analysis of class consciousness, the construction of a composite scale is desirable. The major advantages of a scale are that it incorporates into one measure many of the underlying facets of complex constructs and that it facilitates quantitative analysis. The software package SPSSX¹⁷ contains a programme which assesses the scalability of items, known as 'reliability.' The major findings of a reliability test of the items assessing class consciousness in the broader social formation are presented in Appendix Two, as Scale One. Items 42 and 50 have been excluded from the scale because of their relatively low correlations with the other items. A generally accepted

coefficient of scalability is Cronbach's alpha. The alpha for the scale of class consciousness is provided in the appendix. Alpha¹⁶ is a measure of reliability which assesses the internal consistency of a group of items. The greater the propensity of individuals to score in a similar manner across different items, the more confident we can be that each item represents the underlying construct and the stronger is the reliability. The perfect alpha score is unity. As alpha approaches unity, the greater is the reliability. An alpha of .7 is acceptable, but .8 is preferable. Alpha increases both with the average inter-item correlation and with the number of items. My twenty item scale of class consciousness achieves the acceptable alpha level of .825. A glance at the column labelled 'alpha if item deleted' in Appendix Two, Scale One, shows that the robustness of the scale would not benefit by the removal of any individual item and that, therefore, each item makes an effective contribution.

The scale of class consciousness is composed of the combined scores of each respondent to twenty items. Any respondent may score from one to five on each item. A score of one is maximally PI and a score of 5 is maximally SC. Thus the combined scale score of any individual ranges from 20 (highly PI) to 100 (highly SC). If the distribution of scores were normal, the mean would be 60. The actual measures of central tendency shown in Table 4.6 approximate the normal mean.

TABLE 4.5

INTER-ITEM CORRELATIONS - ITEMS ASSESSING
CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE BROADER SOCIAL FORMATION

	30 [†]	31	32	33	34 [†]	35 [†]	36 [†]	37	38 [†]	39	40 [†]	41 [†]	42	43 [†]	44	45	46 [†]	47	48	49	50	51 [†]	
30 [†]																							
31	.17°																						
32	.04	.20°																					
33	.22°	.25°	.26°																				
34 [†]	.23°	.00	.11	.06																			
35 [†]	.38°	.22°	.05	.24°	.27°																		
36 [†]	.28°	.15°	.16	.24°	.42°	.52°																	
37	.10	.13°	.19°	.22°	.08	.01	[-.02]																
38 [†]	.14°	.21°	.09	.38°	.32°	.22°	.35°	.05															
39	.18°	.21°	.16°	.19°	.29°	.05	.17°	.16°	.37°														
40 [†]	.21°	.20°	.07	.30°	.33°	.33°	.28°	.04	.41°	.22°													
41 [†]	.33°	.24°	.16°	.28°	.13	.45°	.51°	.00	.27°	.12	.41°												
42	.05	.15°	.05	.08	[-.02]	.03	.07	.29°	.06	.15°	.04	.04											
43 [†]	.12	.03	.18°	.08	.23°	.17°	.22°	.09	.14°	.09	.19°	.24°	[-.15°]										
44	.19°	.10	.03	.19°	.12	.04	.05	.17°	.20°	.19°	.06	[-.05]	.18°	.01									
45	.06	.23°	.11	.23°	.08	.11	.11	.18°	.21°	.13°	.09	.12	.27°	.04	.32°								
46 [†]	.16°	.23°	.17°	.20°	.14°	.23°	.23°	.13	.28°	.08	.29°	.28°	[-.10]	.19°	[-.01]	.01							
47	.09	.12	.11	.37°	.25°	.13°	.12	.33°	.34°	.21°	.25°	.07	.20°	.12	.18°	.36°	.24°						
48	.23°	.18°	.16°	.29°	.27°	.14°	.15°	.42°	.15°	.22°	.22°	.20°	.23°	.24°	.06	.22°	.16°	.52°					
49	.04	.10	.16°	.18°	.07	.10	.20°	.16°	.20°	.20°	[-.01]	.10	.26°	.23°	.15°	.30°	.00	.26°	.30°				
50	.14°	[-.02]	.07	.16°	.05	.10	.10	.02	.07	.00	.14°	.06	[-.06]	.07	.07	.03	.25°	.21°	.12	.20°			
51 [†]	.33°	.28°	.05	.33°	.26°	.41°	.19°	.11	.48°	.18°	.47°	.25°	.06	.11	.24°	.18°	.18°	.17°	.16°	[-.01]	[-.03]		

* p. < .05

† = item recoded to reverse categories.

Although the central tendency of the distribution is close to the mid-point of the scale, there is little dispersion at the extremes of the scale. If the distribution is collapsed into quintiles, according to the scale parameters, the first, most PI quintile (20 to 35), contains no cases at all, and the fifth, most SC quintile (84 to 100) contains only two cases. Therefore, 98.7 per cent of the teachers occupy the second, third and fourth quintiles of the scale. Nevertheless, the teachers are better dispersed across a substantial mid-range of the scale distribution. Despite the absence of extreme scores, 23.2 per cent of the teachers, who score between 39 and 52, can be described as moderately PI and a further 15.9 per cent, who score between 68 and 82 can be described as moderately SC.

The scale of class consciousness constitutes a useful summary measure of a complex construct. Between them, the twenty items tap into the orientations of teachers with respect to matters of ownership, control, distribution and status from a political, ideological and economic perspective. Moreover, the items have been created to address the precise experiences of school teachers in Canada in the past forty years. As the inter-item correlations in Table 4.5 demonstrate, the teachers of Ottawa-Carleton organise their own ideas about class in a manner anticipated by my reading of their situation. The distribution of their scores on the scale manifests a reasonably broad range of consciousness,

4

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

TABLE 4.6

DISTRIBUTION OF SCORES ON THE
CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS SCALE
(20 = MOST PI; 100 = MOST SC)

VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
39	1	.7	.7
41	2	1.3	2.0
42	2	1.3	3.3
43	1	.7	4.0
44	1	.7	4.6
45	1	.7	5.3
46	3	2.0	7.3
47	4	2.6	9.9
48	4	2.6	12.6
49	2	1.3	13.9
50	5	3.3	17.2
51	4	2.6	19.9
52	5	3.3	23.2
53	2	1.3	24.5
54	5	3.3	27.8
55	6	4.0	31.8
56	8	5.3	37.1
57	8	5.3	42.4
58	15	9.9	52.3
59	5	3.3	55.6
60	10	6.6	62.3
61	5	3.3	65.6
62	6	4.0	69.5
63	6	4.0	73.5
64	5	3.3	76.8
65	1	.7	77.5
66	5	3.3	80.8
67	3	2.0	82.8
68	2	1.3	84.1
69	6	4.0	88.1
70	2	1.3	89.4
71	4	2.6	92.1
72	1	.7	92.7
74	3	2.0	94.7
75	1	.7	95.4
77	1	.7	96.0
79	2	1.3	97.4
81	1	.7	98.0
82	1	.7	98.7
85	1	.7	99.3
99	1	.7	100.0
TOTAL:	151	100.0	

MEAN: 59.192 MODE: 58.000 MEDIAN: 58.000
VARIANCE: 88.356 STANDARD DEVIATION: 9.400

even if it also demonstrates that extreme orientations are rare.

EXPLORING CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS:

Both Richard Hoggart¹⁹ and Frank Parkin²⁰ point to the importance of conceptions of in-groups and out-groups in the class consciousnesses of working-class people. Class consciousness is, in part at least, a matter of 'them and us.' I have decided to explore the class consciousnesses of teachers with respect to their support for or opposition to certain social groups.

My analysis is based upon questions 22 to 29 and 52 to 59 on the questionnaire. These items invite the teachers to comment upon the actual and the desired degrees of influence of certain class agents with respect to certain relevant decisional objects. For instance, the respondents state how much influence they believe Canadian workers have over wages (item 52) and then how much influence they believe Canadian workers should have over wages (item 56).

There are two broad domains of agency. Items 22 to 29 pertain to agents in the school system: the teachers themselves as individuals, classroom teachers in general, principals and vice-principals and superintendents. Items 52 to 59 refer to agents in the broader social formation: workers, unions, owners and managers and Cabinet Ministers.

I shall analyse responses to items 22 to 29 in the next section and responses to items 52 to 59 in this section.

To analyse the responses to items 52 to 59 I have adapted a technique used by Duncan Gallie.²¹ The basis of my adaptation is the creation of a series of scores for each respondent. Each score is calculated by adding together the respondent's score for actual influence with the score for desired influence. Each respondent can score from 1 to 4 on each of the items. By adding together the scores of matching pairs of items, respondents can score from 2 to 8. Thus, with respect to the five decisional objects (wages, prices, profits, tax, welfare services) for the four agencies (workers, unions, owners and managers and Cabinet Ministers), each respondent has 20 scores, each one ranging from 2 to 8.

To facilitate the analysis, I have recoded certain of the items so that a low combined score represents support for the greater influence of owners and managers and Cabinet Ministers while a high combined score represents support for the greater influence of workers and unions. For instance, a respondent who scores '2' with respect to 'owners and managers-wages,' has said that they actually possess 'almost no influence' (score=1) and that he or she would like them to possess 'a great deal of influence' (score=4). Likewise, a respondent who scores '8' with respect to 'owners and managers - wages,' has said that he or she actually possess 'a great deal of influence' (score=4) and that they would like them to

possess 'almost no influence,' (score=4). In this manner, high scores always express a desire for the greater influence of workers and unions and less influence for owners and managers and Cabinet Ministers.

The data are presented in Table 4.7. In general terms, the teachers exhibit a strong desire for workers to have greater influence. To some extent, the teachers also support greater influence for unions. With respect to specific decisional objects, the teachers give strong support to the idea that workers and unions should have greater influence over taxes and welfare services and that workers, but not unions, should have greater influence over prices and profits. The teachers evidently believe that all groups have too much influence over wages, including workers and unions.

The marginal degree of support the teachers accord to unions is almost perfectly mirrored by their marginal desire to see owners and managers exert less influence. The teachers would wish to limit owners and managers' influence over wages, prices and profits, but support their rights with respect to taxation and welfare services. As with workers and unions, although more prominently, the teachers favour the enhancement of distributional and market influence, but not production-based influence. One notable characteristic is the relatively homogeneous response pattern to the influence of owners and managers with respect to wages, prices and profits. The homogeneity is reflected in the low standard deviations.

TABLE 4.7

TEACHERS' DEGREE OF SUPPORT FOR THE
INFLUENCE OF CLASS AGENTS IN THE
BROADER SOCIAL FORMATION (ROW PERCENTAGES)

(2 = support for a reduction in influence of Workers and Unions;
8 = support for the greater influence of Workers and Unions;
2 = support for the greater influence of Owners and Managers and Cabinet Ministers;
8 = support for a reduction in influence of Owners and Managers and Cabinet Ministers)

[illegible]

While this pattern tells us that there are very few teachers who would wish to enhance the influence of owners and managers, it also demonstrates that there are few who would wish it to be entirely absent. While few teachers would also be reluctant to deny influence to workers, substantial numbers would like to see workers exert greater influence. Despite the presence of a small 'anti-union' minority, much the same can be said of the teachers' attitudes toward unions. Paralleling the findings of the previous section, it is evident that teachers find it easier to support workers than to oppose 'capitalists.'

On the whole, teachers exhibit a neutrality with respect to the influence of Cabinet Ministers. I had anticipated that the teachers would respond to Cabinet Ministers as they did to owners and managers, and desire limits to their influence. It is evident, however, that the teachers do not make this association. Appendix Two, Scales 5 to 8 are composite scales representing each of the four class agents. The scale for owners and managers, scale 7, is necessarily restricted to three items. The responses of teachers to the influence of owners and managers over taxation and welfare services did not correlate well with the other three items. Table 4.8 displays the inter-scale correlations. It is immediately apparent that the teachers' responses to the influence of Cabinet Ministers are orthogonal to their responses to other agents. It is plausible that the teachers operate with a conceptual split

TABLE 4.8

INTER-SCALE CORRELATION BETWEEN
CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS AND THE CLASS
AGENCY SCALES IN THE BROADER
SOCIAL FORMATION

	CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS	WORKERS	UNIONS	OWNERS AND MANAGERS
WORKERS	.32 *			
UNIONS	.44 *	.49 *		
OWNERS AND MANAGERS	.37 *	.30 *	.26 *	
CABINET MINISTERS	-.11	-.03	-.07	-.05

* P. <.001

between the realms of 'politics' and 'economics.' If this is so, the trivial correlations between the Cabinet Minister scale and the others is explicable.

Table 4.8 yields two further important findings. First, the correlations between the teachers' attitudes toward workers, unions and owners and managers correlate moderately strongly with each other and in the anticipated direction. Those teachers who wish workers and unions to have greater influence wish owners and managers to have less influence. In a crude sense, then, there is evidence of a 'zero-sum' neutrality among teachers. Second, I have introduced the scale of class consciousness into the matrix. I anticipate that those teachers who are high in Solidaristic Collectivism will tend to support greater influence for workers and for unions. Conversely, those teachers high in Possessive Individualism will support greater influence for owners and managers. The correlations in the first column of Table 4.8 support this expectation. In so doing they provide a partial validation of the scale of class consciousness. More specifically, I have attempted to support my contention that the scale of class consciousness is in fact assessing class consciousness through 'construct validity.'" According to Carmines and Zeller, "... construct validity is concerned with the extent to which a particular measure relates to other measures consistent with theoretically derived hypotheses concerning the concepts (or constructs) that are being

measured."²³ If Solidaristic Collectivism means what I suggest it does in Chapter Three, then those who exhibit it should lend greater support to the aspirations of workers and unions. Equally, those who exhibit Possessive Individualism should wish to limit workers' and unions' influence and promote the influence of owners and managers. Empirical support for such a pattern is clearly evident in Table 4.8.

Despite the construct validation of the scale, it remains possible that the teachers could be 'possessively collectivistic' or 'solidaristically individualistic.' The literature on teacher militancy is full of claims that teachers use collective action to pursue narrowly possessive ends.²⁴ It is also conceivable that expressions of solidarity with others are coupled with a high degree of individualism. The responses to the class consciousness items discussed in the previous section might be interpreted in this manner. Although the precise meaning of each item in the scale and the responses of each individual to them can never be completely interpreted, certain tests can be conducted to assess the likelihood of widespread 'possessive collectivism' or 'solidaristic individualism.'

A majority of the teachers (86.3 per cent) believe that teachers should be allowed to strike. Item 17 on the questionnaire asks the teachers to state justifiable grounds for striking. Certain of these grounds are narrow and instrumentalist (a and f) while others are broader and

solidaristic (b, c, d and e). If the scale of class consciousness is tapping into a genuine Solidaristic Collectivistic consciousness, then those teachers who cite solidaristic reasons for striking should score higher on the scale. Conversely, those teachers who mention instrumentalist reasons for striking should not score higher on SC. Nor should they necessarily score higher on Possessive Individualistic consciousness since instrumentalist reasons for striking, such as improved wages and conditions, are not exclusive of a solidaristic collectivistic consciousness.

Table 4.9 reports on the results of a series of t-tests in which the mean class consciousnesses of those teachers mentioning a particular reason for striking are compared with the mean class consciousness of those teachers not mentioning that particular reason. The analysis is restricted to those teachers who support the right to strike for the teaching profession.

The results of the t-tests are mixed but produce some tentative support for the contentions. It is clear that there is little difference between the class consciousnesses of those citing instrumental justifications for striking and those not citing such justifications. Those who mentioned "improved wages and conditions" and "protecting professional autonomy" are at about the same level of class consciousness as those who did not. Each of the mean differences in the four solidaristic reasons (b, c, d and e) are in the

TABLE 4.9

A COMPARISON OF THE MEAN
CLASS CONSCIOUSNESSES OF TEACHERS
MENTIONING CERTAIN REASONS FOR STRIKING
WITH THOSE NOT MENTIONING THOSE REASONS
FOR STRIKING

(CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS - 20 = MOST PI; 100 = MOST SC)

REASON FOR STRIKING	MEAN FOR THOSE CITING REASON	(N)	MEAN FOR THOSE NOT CITING REASON	(N)	T VALUE	D.F.	ONE-TAIL PROBABILITY
To improve teachers' own wages and conditions of employment (a)	59.73	(123)	59.00	(6)	-0.18	127	0.429
To protect themselves from attacks upon their professional autonomy (f)	60.30	(66)	59.06	(63)	-0.73	116.21	0.232 *
To improve the quality of the educational system (b)	59.84	(122)	57.29	(7)	-0.68	127	0.249
To attempt to prevent the implementation of unpopular laws (e)	60.74	(39)	59.24	(90)	-0.73	58.47	0.234 *
To protest large-scale cuts in public spending (c)	61.33	(58)	58.37	(71)	-1.70	102.47	0.046 **
To lend support to other workers and employees already on strike (d)	67.00	(20)	58.36	(109)	-2.97	22.27	0.004 ***

+ = SEPARATE VARIANCE ESTIMATE

* p. < .05

** p. < .01

anticipated direction, with those mentioning such reasons scoring higher than those who did not. However, it is only in the highly solidaristic foci of "protesting cuts in public spending" and "supporting other workers" that any significant differences emerge in the anticipated direction. One possible reason for the failure of the other two items to distinguish clearly between levels of class consciousness is that they do not, in fact, have solidaristic or collectivistic connotations for the teachers. It is conceivable that support for the educational system is instrumentalist; more a matter of job protection than disinterested public spiritedness. Similarly, opposition to the implementation of unpopular laws is not necessarily incompatible with possessive individualism. With caution, then, I suggest that my initial categorisation of items 'b' and 'e' as solidaristic might have been incorrect. Consequently, their failure to discriminate is partially explicable.

Carmines and Zeller²⁵ point out that claims for the validity of a measure can never be made definitively. In this section my major purpose has been to explore the nature of class consciousness. In so doing, I have been able to introduce some tests of construct validity. Correlating the class consciousness scale with scales related to teachers' attitudes toward class agents produced results which were moderately supportive of my claims that those who were SC on the class consciousness scale would tend to support workers

and unions. The results for the t-tests were mixed but, if problems of operationalisation are taken into account, also moderately supportive.

CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE SCHOOL AND THE EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT:

Two contributors to Wotherspoon's Political Economy of Canadian Education, Stephen Schecter²⁶ and David Livingstone²⁷ provide sound deductive reasoning for supposing that there are continuities in social class dynamics between the school, the educational system and the broader social formation. According to Schecter, Livingstone and many others, we should not be surprised to find a class consistency between what teachers do in the classroom and what is happening elsewhere in society. Both authors, in fact, make a point of discussing details of pedagogy and curriculum. However the interpretations of Schecter and Livingstone are opposed to each other.

Schecter traces the impact of societal neo-liberalism on pedagogical and curricular practices in such a manner that he detects a deepening of the trends toward 'progressive' education. His argument is that existing progressive education is well-suited to producing anaesthetized, bored and compliant students, who will develop into unreflective consumers and obedient workers. In an increasingly differentiated society, with large quantities of unrewarding,

low-paid jobs, progressive education, with its banal and illusory freedoms, is quite acceptable.

From an opposing viewpoint, David Livingstone identifies how the 'new right' has insisted upon and is succeeding in gaining a return to conservatism in the schools, a move back from progressive education. Livingstone itemises the cutbacks in extra-curricular activities, the return to 'the basics,' a renewed trend toward streaming in schools, state support for private education and the replacement of teachers with teaching machines.

Rather than take issue with either of these authors, I shall undertake an empirical exploration of the teachers' responses to the range of items covering the school and educational issues. My analysis consists of six sub-sections. The first three sub-sections analyse the teachers' responses to items 1 to 14 on the questionnaire. These questions can be divided into three clusters. The first cluster, concerned with items 8, 9, 11, 13 and 14, considers the teachers' attitudes toward ownership, control and distribution in the education system. The second cluster, analysing responses to items 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6, explores teachers' reactions to issues of pedagogy and curriculum. Third, items 5, 7, 10 and 12 exhibit the extent to which teachers feel that their work lives have come to make unreasonable demands upon themselves and their colleagues. I label this domain 'workplace alienation.' The fourth sub-section explores empirical

continuities and discontinuities across the teachers' responses to the first fourteen items. In the fifth sub-section, I conduct an analysis on items 22 to 29 very similar to the analysis conducted in the last section on items 52 to 59. These latter items concerned the actual and desired influence of agent in the broader social formation. Items 22 to 29 concern the actual and desired influence of agents in the school. In the final sub-section I explore the empirical relationship between items 22 to 29 and class consciousness.

Ownership, control and distribution:

Table 4.10 displays the full responses to those items to do with ownership, control and distribution in the educational system.

Agreement with items 8, 9 and 11 in Table 4.10 constitutes a Possessive Individualistic orientation. Those teachers who agree that "Canadian schools should pay more attention to the needs of Canadian business" are more in tune with the pro-capitalist logic of the Secondary Education Review Project than with the liberal-humanist vision of the Hall-Dennis Report. The notion that "school principals should learn from the experiences of successful managers in private business" is attractive to those teachers who believe that the state system and its personnel are inefficient. One reason for this could be that such teachers favour the exchange-value

TABLE 4.10
TEACHERS' RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS
CONCERNING OWNERSHIP, CONTROL AND
DISTRIBUTION IN THE EDUCATIONAL
SYSTEM (ROW PERCENTAGES)

QUESTIONNAIRE ITEM #	ITEM	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNCERTAIN	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	TOTAL (N)
8.	'Canadian schools should pay more attention to the needs of Canadian business'	5.7	46.5	18.9	23.3	5.7	159
9.	'Canadian schools should accept their share of the budget cutbacks needed to solve Canada's economic problems'	1.3	28.8	10.0	41.9	18.1	160
11.	'School principals should learn from the experiences of successful managers in private business'	18.1	40.6	15.0	23.1	3.1	160
13.	'Funding for public education in Ontario should be greatly increased'	16.3	42.5	21.3	18.1	1.9	160
14.	'Private schools in Canada should be gradually phased out'	2.5	6.9	13.8	58.8	18.1	160

rationality of the private sector over the use-value rationality of the public sector. A general disenchantment with the utility of the public sector would also inform agreement with the contention that "Canadian schools should accept their share of the budget attacks needed to solve Canada's economic problems."

Agreement with items 12 and 14 in Table 4.10 suggests a Solidaristic Collectivistic orientation. Those teachers who support increased funding for public education or who wish the private sector in education to be phased out are making claims for collective provision and against privilege. It should be acknowledged, of course, that support for increased funding to public education, in the case of teachers, could be a matter of enlightened self-interest.

I now turn to the data in Table 4.10. Overall, there seems to be a substantial support base for the private sector. Over one half of the teachers believe that Canadian schools need to pay attention to business and over two-thirds are convinced that their school principals have something to learn from private sector managers. But this is diffuse support. When it comes to specific questions concerning the allocation of resources, the teachers seem to favour the public sector. Three out of five teachers would not accept cuts in education spending, while almost as many believe that public funding in education should actually be increased.

Given the obvious support for public funding to education it might seem surprising that so many teachers (76.9 per cent) also support the principle of private schools. Evidently, most teachers believe that the existence of private schools has little bearing on the financial or other resources available for public education. In line with my interpretation of the teachers' responses to reasons for striking in the previous section, I suspect that there is a general 'instrumentalism' in the teachers' attitudes about the economics of the educational system. They seek resources for their own sector, to improve their conditions of work and to increase wages, but not through ideological opposition to the private sector. Indeed the private sector receives diffuse support from the teachers, even as they adhere to a jealous defence of the public sector. Manifesting a pluralistic support for both the public and the private sector, they demonstrate the kind of ideological ambivalence which is evident in their responses to the class consciousness scale items.

Pedagogy and the curriculum:

The data in Table 4.11 show the teachers to be relatively 'progressive' on matters of pedagogy and curriculum. Following the equally plausible, but contradictory ideas of Schecter and Livingstone, it would be unwise to assert that

TABLE 4.11

TEACHERS' RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS
OF PEDAGOGY AND CURRICULUM
 (ROW PERCENTAGES)

QUESTIONNAIRE ITEM #	ITEM	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNCERTAIN	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	TOTAL (N)
1.	'Many schools with bad discipline problems would benefit from the introduction of a certain amount of corporal punishment'	7.0	16.6	14.6	27.4	34.4	157
2.	'Teachers should not expect automatic respect from their students; they should earn it through their proven commitment to the students'	29.6	35.8	5.7	22.6	6.3	159
3.	'The education system in Ontario was better when students spent more time on the basics of literacy and numeracy'	11.5	32.5	17.8	32.5	5.7	157
4.	'There is too much emphasis on competitive sports in Ontario schools, and not enough emphasis on more co-operative sports'	14.6	36.1	20.3	25.9	3.2	158
6.	'The intelligence level of most students is fixed at birth, and cannot be improved upon very much'	0.6	10.7	9.4	46.5	32.7	159

such distributions are either PI or SC in terms of class consciousness.

In sub-section four, the data on pedagogy and curriculum will be correlated with the scale of class consciousness to see whether any patterns emerge.

Items 1, 3 and 6 present 'reactionary' propositions. Teachers quite clearly oppose corporal punishment. 61.8 per cent are against even the tentative wording in item 1. Almost four out of five teachers disagree with the suggestion of innate and fixed intelligence in item 6. Crosstabular analysis of these items by sex demonstrates that women teachers are significantly and substantially more progressive than their male colleagues. While 56.2 per cent of male teachers disagree with corporal punishment, 69.3 per cent of women teachers oppose it ($\chi^2 = 15.24$; $df. = 4$; $p. < .01$. Cramer's $V = 0.32$) Equally, 75.7 per cent of male teachers disagree with the contention that intelligence is fixed at birth, while a full 86 per cent of women teachers disagree. ($\chi^2 = 9.2$; $df. = 4$; $p. = .056$. Cramer's $V = 0.25$) The teachers are evenly divided on the question of whether education was 'better' when students spent more time on the basics of literacy and numeracy.

On the progressive contentions in items 2 and 4 the teachers are mostly in agreement. 65.4 per cent of the teachers agree that they should earn respect from students

and 50.7 per cent believe that there is too much emphasis on competitive sport.

Further analysis of the importance of these items, in terms of class consciousness, will be conducted in sub-section four.

Workplace alienation:

Between them, the items in Table 4.12 attempt to assess the extent to which teachers feel that they themselves, and other teachers, are suffering because of an increased workload.

It is evident that few teachers believe that the amount of time either they or their colleagues are able to devote to the inventive and creative side of their teaching is in decline. The results of the other two items are more balanced. Slightly more teachers agree that their non-work relationships are suffering as a consequence of overwork (48.8 per cent) than disagree (44.4 per cent). A substantial proportion of the teachers choose not to speculate about the deterioration in the non-work relationships of most of their colleagues. Of those who do, slightly more agree with the proposition (39.4 per cent) than disagree (36.9 per cent).

If Panitch and Swartz²⁸ are correct in their portrayal of the declining working conditions and increased workloads of teachers, then the responses to the workplace alienation items are unexpected. I acknowledge that the items could have been

TABLE 4.12
TEACHERS' RESPONSES TO ASPECTS
OF WORKPLACE ALIENATION
 (ROW PERCENTAGES)

QUESTIONNAIRE ITEM #	ITEM	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNCERTAIN	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	TOTAL (N)
5.	'The amount of time I am able to devote to the inventive and creative side of teaching seems to be declining'	5.0	22.6	11.9	43.4	17.0	159
7.	'The amount of time most of my colleagues are able to devote to the inventive and creative side of teaching seems to be declining'	3.1	18.9	17.6	42.8	17.6	159
10.	'I have to devote so much time to my work as a teacher, that my various non-work relationships are suffering'	10.0	38.8	6.9	30.0	14.4	160
12.	'Most of my colleagues have to devote so much time to their work as teachers, that their various non-work relationships are suffering'	4.4	35.0	23.8	30.0	6.9	160

interpreted by the teachers in ways I had not anticipated and that they assess their 'professional self-esteem' or some other concept. Perhaps it is difficult for many teachers to conceive of themselves as less creative than they used to be, or as less effective in their non-work relationships. However, if we can assume the validity of the items, it is possible that the teachers genuinely believe that they retain the ability to perform their tasks effectively both at work and at home. It might also be the case that the teachers are manifesting a certain resistance and are organising their lives in such a manner as to retain their creativity in the school and to leave the problems of school behind them at the end of the day.

Patterns of class consciousness in the school and educational context:

Table 4.13 presents the inter-item pearson correlation coefficients between items 1 to 14. The purpose of the table is to allow the exploration of patterns of commonality among teachers' responses to those class-related aspects of education and schooling discussed in the previous three sub-sections. For purposes of comparison, the table also includes the correlations between each of the school and educational system items and the scale of class consciousness developed earlier in the chapter.

The inter-item correlations for the scale of class consciousness were presented in Table 4.5. A comparison of Table 4.5 with Table 4.13 immediately brings out the relatively low inter-item correlations in the latter. Whereas the teachers' responses to items 30 to 51 display a definite empirical consistency, their responses to items 1 to 14 are both less substantial and less significant. Of the ninety-one correlations between items 1 to 14 in Table 4.13, thirty-five are negative. Only twelve inter-item correlations exceed .2 and only twenty-three are significant beyond the level of .05. I had anticipated more substantial positive correlations than those given in Table 4.13. Although I was uncertain about how the items concerning pedagogy and curriculum would inter-correlate, I anticipated that there would be positive and substantial correlations among those items related to ownership, control and distribution within the educational system. Moreover, I expected those teachers who exhibited greatest support for the public sector to be those who were most likely to feel alienated in their workplaces.

The results in Table 4.13 display a more complex series of relationships than I had anticipated. The particular results of the correlations between items are important with respect to the principles of the double hermeneutic. It is apparent that the belief systems of most of the teachers operate in ways other than those I had anticipated. Exploring

the particular patterns of correlations between items will provide a preliminary entree into their hermeneutic.

Four of the inter-correlations are both negative and significant. While each of these correlations is insubstantial - they range from $-.14$ to $-.17$ - they merit some consideration. Those teachers who believe that teachers should earn respect through proven commitment to the students (item 2) tend to believe that education was better when literacy and numeracy were stressed (item 3), that Canadian schools should pay more attention to the needs of Canadian business (item 8) and that private schools in Canada should not be phased out (item 14). Although I had associated a belief in the right of teachers to automatic respect with a conservative mind-set, it is equally possible that a belief in the requirement that teachers earn their respect is equally conservative. The weak correlations between item two and the other items are explicable in the light of this interpretation.

Six of the twelve positive correlations in excess of $.2$ are inter-correlations between the four workplace alienation items. They display a continuity between responses to the two themes of creative teaching and non-work relationships. Responses to evaluations of one's own position correlate extremely highly with responses attributing degrees of suffering to colleagues. Correlations here are of the order of $.3$. There are also substantial correlations between the

TABLE 4.13

INTER-ITEM CORRELATIONS - ITEMS ASSESSING
CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE SCHOOL AND
EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT AND 'CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS'

QUESTIONNAIRE
 ITEM #

	1	2 ⁺	3	4 ⁺	5 ⁺	6	7 ⁺	8	9	10 ⁺	11	12 ⁺	13 ⁺	14 ⁺
1														
2 ⁺	.01													
3	.27 [*]	-.15 [*]												
4 ⁺	.05	.22 [*]	-.01											
5 ⁺	.06	.01	-.08	.11										
6	.14 [*]	.01	-.04	-.06	-.14 [*]									
7 ⁺	.11	.01	-.10	.15 [*]	.81 [*]	-.03								
8	.08	-.17 [*]	.10	-.05	-.01	.14 [*]	-.06							
9	.15 [*]	-.05	.08	.10	.02	.08	.02	.18 [*]						
10 ⁺	-.10	-.04	.00	.12	.33 [*]	-.06	.31 [*]	.00	.13					
11	.07	-.08	.18 [*]	-.12	-.04	.02	-.11	.14 [*]	.17 [*]	.08				
12 ⁺	-.12	-.01	-.02	.19 [*]	.28 [*]	-.02	.28 [*]	-.06	.10	.81 [*]	.07			
13 ⁺	-.01	-.02	-.05	.26 [*]	.24 [*]	.00	.25 [*]	.06	.27 [*]	.09	-.03	.13 [*]		
14 ⁺	-.06	-.14 [*]	.02	-.06	.03	-.13	-.02	.08	.00	.02	-.06	.06	.18 [*]	
CC	.30 [*]	.05	.16 [*]	.17 [*]	.01	.08	.09	.18 [*]	.05	-.05	.22 [*]	-.04	.21 [*]	.05

* p. < .05

+ = item recoded to reverse categories.

CC = Class Consciousness

two themes. Together the four items produce an composite scale of workplace alienation. The scale is presented in Appendix Two. Although relatively few teachers register negative effects with respect to their own and their colleagues' inventive and creative teaching, those who do register such effects also tend to report a deterioration in the non-work relationships of themselves and their colleagues.

The relative absence of other patterns of strong correlation in Table 4.13 indicate that it would be unwise to make too much of those which emerge. The correlation of .27 between items 1 and 3 indicates that those teachers opposing corporal punishment are also inclined to dispute the fact that education was better when literacy and numeracy were stressed. There is also a weak to moderate correlation of .22 between items 2 and 4. This shows that teachers who believe that they should earn respect from their students also tend to believe that there is too much competitive sport in schools. Despite these correlations, however, there is little overall pattern among the items concerning pedagogy and curriculum. There is also little pattern among those items concerned with ownership, control and distribution, items 8, 9, 11, 13 and 14. The correlation between items 9 and 13 can only be described as a 'moderate' .27. Item 9 asks the teachers if they believe Canadian schools should accept their share of the budget cutbacks needed to solve Canada's economic problems. Item 13 assesses the teachers' support for increased public

funding to schools in Ontario. It is conceivable that many of the teachers distinguish between Canadian schools and Ontario schools. Alternatively, some teachers may give simultaneous support to extended funding as well as the acceptance of budget cuts, or reject both additional funding and budget cuts.

The high proportion of insubstantial correlations in Table 4.13 runs counter to my expectations. It is possible that the fourteen items suggest complex and multiple concepts to the teachers and that my own unidimensionality is out of keeping with this subtlety of interpretation. If the items are multiply connotational for the teachers, then the establishment of both validity and reliability is challenging and is probably best served by deeper techniques of research such as intensive interviewing.

Six of the fourteen items correlate positively and significantly with the scale of class consciousness. The higher the level of Solidaristic Collectivism, the greater the opposition to corporal punishment (item 1), the lower the support for 'the basics' (item 3), the greater the support for co-operative sports (item 4), the lower the perception of the need to attend to business (items 8 and 11) and the greater the support for increases in public funding to education (item 13). Between the individual items and the scale of class consciousness, therefore, there is at least some minimal relationship. Interestingly, three out of the five

pedagogical and curricular items correlate in such a manner that a 'progressive' orientation is associated with an SC class consciousness. This lends greater support to Livingstone's thesis about the relationship between schooling and the economy than to Schecter's. The overall absence of strong correlations among the items in Table 4.13, however, throws doubt upon the hypotheses of both scholars.

It is apparent that the consciousnesses of teachers with respect to class issues in the school and educational setting is highly complex and cannot be reduced to the dimensions I have established. The correlations in Table 4.13 suggest incipient patterns, worthy of further investigation. However, as they stand they are resistant to further elucidation here.

Class Agents in the School

I now turn my attention to the responses of the teachers to class agents in the school setting. The calculation of the data in Table 4.14 repeats the technique used to calculate Table 4.7 - a score is arrived at for each respondent based upon the difference between the perceived and the desired influence of certain agents in particular spheres of decision-making. As with Table 4.7, a low score denotes support for the greater influence of two agents - 'Principals and Vice-Principals' and 'Superintendents,' while a high score denotes support for the greater influence of the other two agents - 'You personally' and 'Classroom Teachers.' The substantive

content of the 'decisional objects' in Table 4.14 is derived from those arenas of control reflective of the greatest conflict in the post-war educational setting of Ontario.

A glance at Table 4.14 shows that teachers are strongly supportive of greater influence for themselves and their colleagues in all domains, with the exception of designing curricula and choosing textbooks, where there is only moderate support. These data lend support to the view that the teachers are somewhat instrumentalist in their claims and not entirely convinced by the idea that they should control their own labour process.²⁹ The teachers also display a clear desire for superintendents to exert less influence. When it comes to principals and vice-principals, however, the picture is mixed. Although they seek a reduction in the influence of principals over allocating the budget, the assessment of teachers and assigning workloads, they are willing to grant principals greater influence over the less instrumental domains.

Scales of Class Agents in the School

The mean scores given in Table 4.14 would seem to suggest that what teachers deny in influence to 'themselves' and 'classroom teachers' they grant to 'principals and vice-principals', notably influence over curricular matters and the choice of textbooks. However, the situation is more complicated. Whereas the teachers' answers to questions about

TABLE 4.14

TEACHERS' DEGREE OF SUPPORT FOR THE
INFLUENCE OF CLASS AGENTS IN THE SCHOOL
AND EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT (ROW PERCENTAGES)

(2 = support for a reduction in influence of You Personally and Classroom Teachers;
 8 = support for the greater influence of You Personally and Classroom Teachers;
 2 = support for the greater influence of Principals and Vice-Principals and Superintendents;
 8 = support for a reduction in influence of Principals and Vice-Principals and Superintendents)

AGENT:	DECISIONAL OBJECT:	SCORE							TOTAL (N)	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION
		2	3	4	5	6	7	8			
YOU PERSONALLY	ALLOCATING THE BUDGET	-	-	1.3	25.8	33.3	38.4	1.3	159	6.1	.855
	DESIGNING CURRICULA	-	-	6.3	54.7	26.4	9.4	3.1	159	5.5	.870
	ASSESSING TEACHER COMPETENCE	-	-	5.8	38.5	33.3	19.9	2.6	156	5.8	.927
	ASSIGNING WORKLOADS	-	-	5.7	21.7	28.7	37.6	6.4	157	6.2	1.026
	CHOOSING TEXTBOOKS	-	1.3	4.4	61.4	22.8	8.2	1.9	158	5.4	.826
	THE STUDENT- TEACHER RATIO	-	-	1.3	13.9	22.8	46.2	15.8	138	6.6	.956
CLASSROOM TEACHERS	ALLOCATING THE BUDGET	-	-	2.5	33.1	26.1	36.9	1.3	157	6.0	.927
	DESIGNING CURRICULA	-	.6	3.8	47.8	33.8	10.2	3.8	157	5.6	.890
	ASSESSING TEACHER COMPETENCE	-	-	3.9	27.3	35.1	30.5	3.2	154	6.0	.932
	ASSIGNING WORKLOADS	-	-	1.3	25.8	29.8	33.1	9.9	151	6.2	.993
	CHOOSING TEXTBOOKS	.6	-	10.8	40.1	39.5	4.5	4.5	157	5.5	.952
	THE STUDENT- TEACHER RATIO	-	-	.6	15.9	21.0	39.5	22.9	157	6.7	1.019

Page 2 - Table 4.14 Continued

AGENT:	DECISIONAL OBJECT:	SCORE							TOTAL (N)	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION
		2	3	4	5	6	7	8			
PRINCIPALS AND VICE- PRINCIPALS	ALLOCATING THE BUDGET	.6	.6	8.4	61.3	29.0	-	-	155	5.2	.656
	DESIGNING CURRICULA	.6	11.0	29.7	45.8	11.6	1.3	-	155	4.6	.901
	ASSESSING TEACHER COMPETENCE	-	.6	6.5	55.2	27.7	-	-	155	5.2	.574
	ASSIGNING WORKLOADS	.6	.6	7.8	57.8	33.1	-	-	154	5.2	.669
	CHOOSING TEXTBOOKS	-	9.0	26.5	46.5	15.5	1.3	1.3	155	4.8	.950
	THE STUDENT- TEACHER RATIO	11.7	13.0	23.4	33.8	15.6	2.6	-	154	4.4	1.293
	SUPER- INTENDENTS	ALLOCATING THE BUDGET	-	2.7	8.1	43.2	33.8	9.5	2.7	148	5.5
	DESIGNING CURRICULA	-	2.0	10.7	44.3	33.6	8.1	1.3	149	5.4	.906
	ASSESSING TEACHER COMPETENCE	.7	6.1	13.6	45.6	25.2	8.2	.7	147	5.2	1.032
	ASSIGNING WORKLOADS	-	5.5	17.8	45.2	19.9	10.3	1.4	146	5.2	1.055
	CHOOSING TEXTBOOKS	-	5.5	17.8	47.9	24.7	2.1	2.1	146	5.1	.956
	THE STUDENT- TEACHER RATIO	3.4	3.4	11.5	37.8	33.8	8.8	1.4	148	5.3	1.140

themselves, other teachers or superintendents are relatively consistent across the decisional objects, when it comes to their beliefs about the influence of principals and vice-principals there is little consistency across decisional objects. Scales 2, 3 and 4 in Appendix Two show that there are high degrees of inter-item correlation among those items related to the teachers themselves, other classroom teachers and superintendents. There is no such pattern of correlation among the items pertaining to principals and vice-principals. It is plausible that the mixed responses to the influence of principals reflect the ambivalence of teachers toward them, which I touched upon in Chapter Three.³⁰ Principals and vice-principals tend to be viewed both as occupants of managerial positions and as colleagues.

The development of scales summarising the responses of teachers to the influence of 'you personally,' 'classroom teachers' and 'superintendents' facilitates the further exploration of the relationship between the workplace-related and the general facets of class consciousness. However, as the data in Table 4.15 show, there is little relationship between the degree of support for the influence of certain class agents in the school setting and broader class consciousness. The correlations between class consciousness and the agency scales are in the anticipated direction, but only one of them achieves significance and each of them is trivial.

TABLE 4.15

INTER-ITEM CORRELATIONS BETWEEN
SCALES OF CLASS AGENCY IN THE
SCHOOL AND EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT AND
CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

	SCALES		
	YOU PERSONALLY	CLASSROOM TEACHERS	SUPERINTENDENTS
CLASSROOM TEACHERS	.68***		
SUPERINTENDENTS	.17*	.13	
CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS	.15*	.09	.14

* p. <.05
 *** p. <.001

Further analysis shows little relationship between the school agent scales and the fourteen Likert items concerning the school and educational context, analysed earlier. While those teachers who express alienation³¹ are somewhat more likely to desire greater influence for themselves and other classroom teachers, there are few other correlations, even moderate, between items 1 to 14 and the school class agent scales.

Reviewing my survey of class consciousness in the educational context, it is necessary to conclude that my measures have uncovered very little pattern among the items of between these items and the scale of class consciousness. The most obvious exceptions to this lack of continuity are, first, the workplace alienation scale and its positive relationship to the attitudes of teachers toward the influence of themselves and their colleagues and, second, the moderate positive correlations between some of the fourteen Likert items and the scale of class consciousness. In general, however, there is little empirical consistency among the fourteen Likert items and little relationship between these and the school class-agent scales.

Strictly speaking, analysis of the absence of empirical pattern is theoretically suspect. If my instruments have failed to unearth consistencies, then it is very difficult to assess whether it was the instruments themselves, the underlying theories or random error which produced the

empirical results. As I have mentioned, it is also quite conceivable that the consciousnesses and cultures of the teachers are organised in ways which evaded my analysis. In other words, it would be premature to dismiss the understandings of either Livingstone or Schechter that there are in fact continuities between the workplace experiences and broader class experiences of teachers. The most which can be claimed is that my analysis throws doubt upon their conjectures.

The relative weakness of the inter-item correlations among the Likert items 1 to 14 reflects a low consistency of response pattern among the teachers. Despite my acknowledgement that other items and other foci might have brought out more consistent patterns, the particular items I selected were grounded in the historical and empirical analysis conducted in Chapter Three. Furthermore, as I stated in the introduction to this chapter, the absence of pattern lends support to the hypothesis that cohesive workplace class cultures have not so far emerged among teachers in Ontario. The existence of coherent class consciousnesses would not constitute sufficient bases for claiming the existence of class cultures, but they would be necessary. It is arguable that if teachers were engaged in active debate among themselves over the political, ideological and economic implications of schooling and the educational system, then there would be at least some consistency of response pattern

in Table 4.13. In contrast with the broader class consciousnesses of teachers is little evidence of distinctive positions. These conclusions are, of necessity, partial and tentative. I shall return to the exploration of the emergence of class consciousness in Chapter Five.

THE ABSENCE OF 'CLASS' IN POPULAR CANADIAN DISCOURSE

Jon Pammett²² argues that there is a relative lack of popular discourse with respect to the vocabulary of class in Canada. Pammett states that: "... it is difficult to see how a common class consciousness could arise without an implicit consensus on a lexicon."²³ Pammett has a point, but stops short of attempting to unearth those lexicons which currently exist to name the class experience. Using structurationist analysis, I have attempted to explore the class experiences of teachers and to make explicit what would otherwise remain implicit. In so doing, I believe that I have crafted measures which reflect the orientations of the teachers to matters of ownership, control, distribution and status with greater validity than those standard 'class' items often included in mass questionnaires.

It is important to investigate the extent to which the standard class items, which are included in my questionnaire as items 60 and 69 to 72, covary with my scale of class consciousness. If these items were to denote or connote for many teachers the substantive foci assessed in my composite

scale of class consciousness, then the scale itself would not be necessary. Following Pammett, I do not expect there to be substantial covariation between those standard items which make use of the prompt 'class' and my scale of class consciousness. The existence of weak correlations does not, however, provide conclusive evidence that my own scale is better able to reflect the construct 'class' than the standard items. It is possible that my scale is, in fact, assessing some other construct. However, in the light of the cautious and grounded evolution of my measures in comparison with the vague and taken-for-granted characteristics of the prompt 'class,' I favour my own measures as a benchmark.

Despite the fact that social class is a comparatively unimportant term in contemporary Canadian discourse, teachers have probably come across the term and operate with some coherent sense of what it means. Mainstream definitions of class in Canadian social science are related to three variables: income, education and occupation. When invited to explain what they mean by the term 'social class' most teachers make use of one or more of these three variables.

In keeping with the instrumentalist aspects of their orientations, income appears to be the most important factor for the teachers. On the other hand, wealth receives relatively little mention. The relative lack of attention given to occupation is also noteworthy. For many social scientists it is the ideal combinatory variable of education

TABLE 4.16

TEACHERS' MENTIONS OF VARIOUS ASPECTS
OF SOCIAL CLASS (%)

("As you are probably aware, there are many definitions of the phrase 'social class'.
Please describe ALL your understandings of the word.")

(open-ended item with multiple responses)

INCOME	80
EDUCATION	59
OCCUPATION	24
BACKGROUND	22
STATUS	20
WEALTH	15
MANAGERS	12
OTHER	19

and income. For teachers, perhaps because they work in an occupation where qualifications are so closely tied to income potential, both income and education must be considered separately in the assessment of class.

There is very little emphasis on individual or personal factors in the teachers' characterisations. Manners, values, attitudes, feelings and intelligence receive only minimal attention. Class is a collective, attributional and classificatory construct for the teachers rather than something to do with personal strivings. Not one of the 160 respondents made mention of "subjective social class" or words equivalent to this, and neither was there much emphasis on the action of class participants. Only one respondent referred to classes as coherent social forces.

Classes are regarded, therefore, not as agencies which act but rather as categories into which individuals may be sorted. There is something academic, distanced and artificial about such characterisations. The classifications are also distinctly distributional and allocative, rather than to do with ownership and control. Only one respondent described class in a manner which might be classified as to do with production relations. This type of classification indicates that teachers regard the socio-economic order as a pluralistic market rather than an arena of conflict. In general, the terms teachers use to describe 'class' convey the qualities

of distance and artificiality. They appear to be removed from the teachers' own experiences of conflict.

As I anticipated, there was little significant relationship between the scale of class consciousness and any of the four standard items on social class. The results of t-tests are presented in Table 4.17. The only mean difference to achieve significance is from item 70, "which class do you belong to?" Those teachers who claim upper middle class membership are significantly more Possessive Individualistic than those who declare middle class membership. However, the differences between the means of class consciousness are not particularly strong. The other three items, pertaining to class membership, closeness to class and belief in conflict display insubstantial and insignificant mean differences. It is difficult to interpret what the teachers have in mind when they respond to the standard class items. It is apparent, however, that it has little to do with class as the construct is operationalised in the scale of class consciousness. Making use of the patterns of response to the open-ended item on 'class,' reported earlier in this section, it would be interesting to explore the extent to which the teachers regard that prompt as something artificial, distanced and academic.

TABLE 4.17

A COMPARISON OF THE MEAN CLASS
CONSCIOUSNESSES OF TEACHERS RESPONDING
TO FOUR STANDARD CLASS ITEMS

(CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS - 20 = MOST PI; 100 = MOST SC)

STANDARD CLASS ITEM	RESPONSE	MEAN	NUMBER OF CASES	RESPONSE	MEAN	NUMBER OF CASES	T-VALUE	DEGREES OF FREEDOM	TWO- TAIL PROBABILITY
69. 'Do you ever think of yourself as belonging to a particular social class?'	No	60.47	30	Yes	59.19	114	-0.65	142	0.514
70. 'Which class do you belong to?'	Middle class	60.39	76	Upper middle class	56.58	33	2.28	92.20	0.0258 ⁺
71. 'Some people feel they have a lot in common with other people of their own class, but others do not feel this way. Would you say that you feel fairly close to people of your own class or not closer to people of your own class than to people of other classes?'	Fairly	58.40	77	Not	59.43	47	-0.53	76.14	0.598 ⁺
72. 'On the whole, do you think that there is bound to be some conflict between different social classes, or do you think that they can get along together without any conflict?'	Can get along	57.73	74	Bound to be conflict	60.30	63	1.58	135	0.116

⁺ = Separate Variance Estimate

⁸ p. <.05

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have explored the manner in which the class consciousnesses of a particular group of teachers related to the contextualised understandings I developed in Chapter Three. I concluded Chapter Three by setting out the characteristics of a range of class consciousnesses, from Possessive Individualism to Solidaristic Collectivism. I explained how each of these tendencies was related to the experiences of teachers in post-war Ontario.

The principal finding of this chapter is that both tendencies continue in the consciousnesses of the teachers of Ottawa-Carleton. It is, therefore, reasonable to describe their consciousnesses as ambivalent, even contradictory. Moreover, the interpretations of the data offered in this chapter help to uncover the nature of such ambivalence.

The construction of the scale of class consciousness shows that while there are few teachers who exhibit extreme PI or SC tendencies, there are many whose responses can be characterised as coherently SC or PI. At this general level, groups of teachers can be isolated according to their fundamental leanings towards the limited Keynesian or neo-liberal traditions. A closer look at particular patterns of response, however, enables us to say more about those particular foci which elicit a PI or SC response among most of the teachers.

Whether in the broader social formation or the workplace, the teachers manifest a fundamental support for private property and the liberal capitalist status quo. This trend is particularly apparent in matters of ownership and status. The teachers support privatisation, private ownership rights and favour neither public nor state ownership. The only support given to the state is in the narrow arena of public education and here self-interest might be a better explanation than ideological commitment. Such an explanation seems highly plausible given the teachers' support for private education. The teachers are highly status conscious, supporting the continuation of existing wage differentials according to credentials and operating with a conception of the undeserving poor. With respect to their own position, the teachers exhibit elements of instrumentalism. While they support the rights of unions and collective bargaining to some extent, they tend to desire greater influence over wages, salaries and conditions of work rather than over the ideological matters of curriculum and pedagogy. While they support greater funding for public education, they also exhibit a certain ideological opposition to the state and support private education.

When it comes to the issues of distribution and control, however, the teachers are more inclined toward a Solidaristic Collectivistic consciousness. Although they support private property, they exhibit a belief in certain limitations to

property rights. According to most of the teachers, both workers and the state have a right to interfere in the operations of business organisations. In general, the teachers are supportive of workers and unions. They also manifest a mild opposition toward managers, both in the broader social formation and in the school setting. The teachers clearly see poverty and the maldistribution of wealth as problems in Canadian society. Although they do not wish to see a reduction in shareholders' returns and favour better tax breaks for enterprising businessmen, they also hope for something to be done about poverty, both in Canada and beyond. It is apparent that they would not favour radical changes to the capitalist system, and would even support its intensification. Within the parameters of capitalism, however, the teachers would seem to support at least a compassion toward the poor and, possibly, some redistribution in their favour.

Contrary to my expectations, there was no discernible pattern of responses among teachers with respect to class issues in the school and educational context. The absence of empirical regularity does not imply that there is an absence of coherent consciousnesses or cultures. It is possible that, despite their careful grounding, the items failed to address existing patterns, either conceptually or operationally. The workplace class cultures of teachers constitute an important focus for further research.

The centrepiece of this chapter is the composite scale of class consciousness. Given the limited scope of the empirical study, the scale possesses a strong reliability and a promising validity. The relatively strong patterns of inter-item correlation provide support for the configurations of class consciousness I established on the basis of research in Chapter Three. Despite the overall tendencies of teachers to veer toward a PI or SC orientation on particular issues, a relatively coherent PI or SC position can be established for each individual teacher.

Throughout the chapter, I have indicated that certain identifiable sub-groups of teachers exhibit distinctive patterns of class consciousness. Both women teachers and separate school teachers appeared to be more SC in certain respects. Because teachers constitute a relatively homogeneous occupational group, variations among them deserve further exploration. Having established the nature of teacher class consciousness in this chapter, I turn my attention to the correlates of teacher class consciousness in Chapter Five.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

Chapter Four

1. David Livingstone, Social Crisis and Schooling, 54-57.
2. Erik Olin Wright, Classes (London: Verso, 1985), 146.
3. See items 69 to 72 in the Questionnaire, reproduced as Appendix One.
4. Frank Parkin (Class Inequality and Political order, 95) following his general thesis of the distinction between oppositional and accommodative ideologies among the working class, argues that questions to working-class respondents about broad and general class issues - in the abstract - are likely to produce responses compatible with the "dominant (bourgeois value system." On the other hand, questions about specific contexts of militancy and action will probably produce more evidence of a distinctive working-class voice. In fact, Parkin applies this distinction between abstract and concrete values to all classes (Class Inequality and Political Order, 95).
 Parkin's insight encouraged me to differentiate between the workplace - a tangible, concrete, experiential base - and the wider social formation - more distanced and abstract.
 A number of interesting outcomes are possible: First, there could be an absence of cohesion among items in either one or both contexts. Second, the responses to items in one domain might be different from responses to items in the other, as Parkin suggested. Third, comparing the relative cohesion of responses in both domains might assist us in understanding the overall class consciousnesses of teachers.
5. Erik Olin Wright, Classes, 146.
6. Ibid., 252-254.
7. David Livingstone and D.J. Hart, Public Attitudes Toward Education in Ontario, 1980 (Toronto: OISE Press, 1981); David Livingstone, D.J. Hart and L.D. McLean, Public

Attitudes Toward Education in Ontario, 1982 (Toronto: OISE Press, 1983); David Livingstone, D.J. Hart and L.E. Davie, Public Attitudes Toward Education in Ontario, 1984 (Toronto: OISE Press, 1985); David Livingstone, D.J. Hart and L.E. Davie, 1986: Public Attitudes Toward Education in Ontario (Toronto: OISE Press, 1987); David Livingstone, Social Crisis and Schooling; David Livingstone, Class Ideologies and Educational Futures.

8. On page 56 and page 99, footnote 9, of Social Crisis and Schooling, Livingstone promises an expanded discussion of the scale of class consciousness he presents. There is, however, no such discussion in Class Ideologies and Educational Futures.
9. See works by David Livingstone and his colleagues.
10. David Livingstone, Social Crisis and Schooling, 55.
11. Ibid., 56.
12. Ibid., 57-63.
13. CEQ, "Our Schools Serve the Ruling Class," 185.
14. David Livingstone, Social Crisis and Schooling, 56.
15. Robert White, "Teacher Militancy, Ideology and Politics," Australia and New Zealand Journal of Sociology 19 (1983), 264-265.
16. Michael Nelson, Teacher Militancy, (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Carleton University, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, 1981), 542.
17. Statistical Package for the Social Sciences.
18. Jum C. Nunnally, Psychometric Theory (Second edition), (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1978), 229-230.
The formula for the calculation of alpha is:

$$\alpha = N / (N-1) [1 - \{\sigma^2(Y_i) / \sigma^2\}]$$

where N is equal to the number of items; $\sum \sigma^2(Y_i)$ is equal to the sum of item variances; and σ^2 is equal to the variance of the total composite. (From Edward G. Carmines and Richard A. Zeller, Reliability and Validity Assessment (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1979), 33.)

19. Richard Hoggart, The Uses of Literacy (London: Penguin, 1958), 53-78.
20. Frank Parkin, Class Inequality and Political Order (New York: Praeger, 1971), Chapter Three.
21. Duncan Gallie, In Search of the New Working Class: Automation and Social integration Within the Capitalist Enterprise (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 122-148.
22. Edward G. Carmines and Richard A. Zeller, Reliability and Validity Assessment, 22-26.
23. Ibid., 23.
24. See, inter alia, Robert White, "Teacher Militancy, Ideology and Politics," and Michael Nelson, Teacher Militancy.
25. Edward G. Carmines and Richard A. Zeller, Reliability and Validity Assessment, 17-27.
26. Stephen Schecter, "Another Turn of the Screw: Educational Reform in Progress."
27. David Livingstone, "Crisis, Classes and Educational Reform in Advanced Capitalism," in Terry Wotherspoon (ed.) The Political Economy of Canadian Schooling, 57-67.
28. Leo Panitch and Donald Swartz, From Consent to Coercion, (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1985), 46.

29. See Rennie Warburton's conclusion on teachers in British Columbia ("The class relations of public school teachers in British Columbia," 223) in which he argues that BC teachers have not moved toward autonomous forms of professionalism in which teachers control their own labour process. See also similar conclusions by Rosemary Deem in "Professionalism, Unity and Militant Action," 51-52.
30. A. Saanitch, BC, teacher states she is able to regard principals as 'one of us,' but definitely regards trustees as 'management.' See Anonymous, "Suddenly I Had to Take a Stand," The B.C. Teacher 63 (3) (1984), 136.
The position of the Saanitch teacher is understandable. In Canada although principals are administrators, they do not appoint, promote, dismiss, discipline or transfer teachers. It is the superintendent who is responsible for such functions. See J. Douglas Muir, "Canada," 38.
31. See Scale 9 in Appendix Two.
32. Jon Pammett, "Class voting and class consciousness in Canada," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 24 (2) (1987), 272.
33. Ibid.

CHAPTER FIVE

EXPLORING THE CORRELATES OF TEACHER CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS: COLLECTIVE AND INDIVIDUAL VARIABLES

INTRODUCTION:

The portrayal of teacher class consciousness in Chapter Four is of intrinsic interest and relevance. It is, however, possible to move the analysis beyond the descriptive level and to investigate the possibility of commonalities among teachers who exhibit different types of class consciousness.

My purpose in this chapter is to explore the relationship between certain collective-level and individual-level variables and class consciousness. In so doing, I return to certain contentions, discussed in Chapters One and Two, concerning the background to class consciousness among State Professionals. In order to broaden the analysis somewhat, I also make brief reference to some other material not so far discussed.

The findings of this chapter must be taken as suggestive, rather than definitive, since the attribution of simple 'causes' in the emergence of a complex phenomenon such as class consciousness is reductionist. Notwithstanding this, the chapter is based upon a particular, if provisional,

hypothesis. The hypothesis builds upon the important insight of C. Wright Mills, given in the Introduction,¹ that white-collar workers are only able to think of class in individual terms, but as individuals do not know 'where to go.' The ambivalence of teacher class consciousness, combined with my preliminary finding that the workplace class culture of teachers is weak, lead me to doubt the existence of strong collective-level forces in the development of patterns of class consciousness among teachers. Moreover, research reported in the final section of Chapter Three provides strong evidence of a high degree of individualism among teachers.

These understandings prompt me to doubt the central contention of many scholars that class is a matter of collective and, particularly, workplace experience. On the contrary, I hypothesise that for teachers, class consciousness is more highly correlated with individual factors than with collective factors.

My hypothesis does not imply that all teachers have become possessive or competitive individualists. Neither does it imply that teachers have simply accepted those individuating forces which surround them. As we have seen, some teachers have developed a high degree of Solidaristic Collectivism. The paradox is that they have done so through their own individual mediation, rather than through any significant collective experiences.

I assess my hypothesis in three sections. In the first section I examine the relationships between certain collective-level variables, based upon the teachers' workplaces, and class consciousness. In the second section, I investigate certain familiar grouped biographical variables, such as sex and age. I anticipate that these variables will be more powerful in the 'explanation' of class consciousness than the collective-level variables. The third section is devoted to the analysis of relationships between class consciousness and the dispositions of teachers toward issues of personal power. Little research has been conducted on the relationship between class consciousness and individuals' experiences of other arenas of power. I undertake a preliminary exploration of this kind in the third section.

COLLECTIVE WORKPLACE EXPERIENCES AND CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS:

It has almost become a commonplace in the literature on class consciousness to assume that certain collective experiences, related to a common history of militancy or to the size and nature of the workplace, encourage the development and intensification of a high degree of Solidaristic Collectivism.

As I have been arguing, however, such equations require critical examination, both conceptually and empirically. Teachers operate in a highly individuated and fragmented social context in contemporary Canada, in which unions play

a reluctant, minimal and instrumentalist role, and in which collective acts of militancy are infrequent and exceptional. In order to assess the relationship between forms of collective experience and class consciousness, I now explore a series of background variables related to unionisation, strike activism and educational level.

Unionisation:

While some teachers are happy to regard themselves as organised workers, others are most reluctant for this label to be applied and regard 'professionalism' and unionism as incompatible.' Unionisation has not come easily to teachers. It is little wonder that teachers have lacked a collective identity as an occupational group' and, as we saw in Chapters Three and Four, have often tended to regard their associations in narrowly instrumentalist terms.

Despite the instrumentalism, status consciousness and individualism of teachers, Ozga and Lawn simply regard increased trade-union activism among British teachers in recent years as an indication of the growth of 'working-class' consciousness.' Crompton and Gubbay argue similarly, seeing those occupational groups, such as teachers, whose 'class situations' are 'profoundly complex and ambiguous' as having their consciousnesses and actions 'determined' by trade-union organisation.' C. Wright Mills, however, is more cautious when he points out that unionised white-collar workers are not

necessarily any more solidaristic than non-unionised white-collar workers, since: "... the union is an impersonal economic instrument, rather than a springboard to new personal, social, or political ways of life."

Because all the school teachers in my survey belong to associations, it is not possible to assess whether membership per se influences patterns of class consciousness. It is, however, possible to conduct other analyses based upon attitudes toward unions.

In Table 4.8 I reported a moderately strong (.44) correlation between support for union influence and Solidaristic Collectivism. Unfortunately, however, this is only an indirect measure of whether forms of collective experience themselves influence class consciousness. Although the correlation is impressive, it simply demonstrates that teachers expressing an SC consciousness also tend to support unions; it does not explain, in any way, the origins of their SC.

Another test relates to the assessment of the frequency with which teachers attend meetings of their association.⁷ Following Ozga and Lawn and Crompton and Gubbay, we should anticipate that individuals high in attendance are higher in SC. In fact, this is not the case. Table 5.1 shows the mean class consciousnesses of various groups of teachers classified according to how often they attend meetings of their association. The analysis of variance shows that there is no

significant pattern of association. The eta squared coefficient shows the relationship to be trivial.

Despite the absence of a relationship between meeting attendance and class consciousness at the individual level, there is some marginal evidence that schools in which there is a high degree of meeting attendance have higher levels of SC consciousness. When the schools were rank-ordered in terms of the regularity of meeting attendance within them, there was a statistically significant if weak correlation of .17. Given the fact that individuals attending meetings regularly are no more likely to be higher in SC, there is some support for the position that the culture of meeting attendance influences class consciousness.

However, there is an additional complication. It also transpires that those schools in which there is a high degree of meeting attendance are disproportionately likely to be separate schools. These schools, and their teachers, were in a legal strike position at the time of the survey. When the original relationship between meeting attendance and consciousness is controlled for the public/separate school variable, the coefficient diminishes from .17 to an insignificant of .05.

It is important to assess whether the Catholic teachers simply exhibited higher levels of Solidaristic Collectivism as individuals, or whether there was something in their temporarily heightened collective levels of activism which

TABLE 5.1

ATTENDANCE AT ASSOCIATION
MEETINGS AND CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

(20 = MOST PI; 100 MOST SC)

GROUP	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	NUMBER OF CASES
All of the Time	60.86	7.49	21
Most of the Time	59.21	8.99	56
Sometimes	58.57	10.67	37
Seldom	57.93	9.08	29
Never	62.71	13.36	7

$F = .5713$ $df. = 4/145$ $P. = .6838$

$Eta^2 = 0.016$

(No two groups are significantly different at the
.05 level)

conditioned their SC orientation. One way in which to assess this is to compare those public school and separate school teachers high in meeting attendance. If there is any collective effect upon the Catholic teachers, then they should exhibit significantly higher levels of SC consciousness than those public school teachers who are their equals in terms of meeting attendance. If there are no significant differences, then it is more prudent to attribute the high degree of SC consciousnesses among the high attending Catholic teachers to their individual characteristics. Table 5.2 displays the results of a t-test in which those Catholic and public school teachers attending association meetings all of the time or most of the time are compared. The SC consciousness of the Catholic teachers is, in fact, higher than their public school counterparts. Consequently, there is some support for the contention that a culture of SC is operating among the Catholic teachers.

Despite my expectation that collective-level factors would have a negligible impact, the data on association activism bring out substantial indications of a collectively-stimulated pattern of SC class consciousness among the Catholic teachers. As I stated in Chapter Four, these particular teachers were in a legal strike position at the time of the survey. I turn next to an analysis of the teachers' experiences of striking in order to deepen the analysis.

TABLE 5.2

A COMPARISON OF THE CLASS
CONSCIOUSNESSES OF HIGH ATTENDING
PUBLIC AND SEPARATE SCHOOL
TEACHERS

(20 = MOST P1; 100 = MOST SC)

GROUP	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	# OF CASES	T-VALUE	D.F.	ONE-TAIL PROBABILITY
Public	57.94	7.97	50	-2.47	75	0.008
Separate	62.85	8.92	27			

Strike experience:

Going on strike is a major collective act by any group of workers. For teachers the experience creates a very special, if temporary, state of heightened awareness of the collectivity.

Both the Boards I investigated had engaged in protracted strikes in their histories, in 1974, 1975, 1976 and 1982. Understandably, only 13.8 per cent of the teachers felt that they should not be allowed to strike. Moreover, an analysis of the teachers' reasons for not employing the strike tactic revealed them to be 'other-centred,' rather than either pragmatic or ideological. As the data in Table 5.3 indicate, most opposing teachers mentioned the harm done to children, the fact of social blackmail and the disrepute to the profession.

Gordon Marshall has commented upon the ambivalent meaning of strikes, stating that: "... empirical research has shown that the meaning of a strike can vary among different respondents at the same time, or the same respondent at different times" This is an important conclusion in the context of my current analysis: what is the effect on consciousness of being on strike, or having been on strike?

If strikes have a lasting effect on consciousness, if they change people in profound ways, then we should expect to see differences between those teachers and schools which have had the experience, and those which have not. On the other

TABLE 5.3

**DISTRIBUTION OF TEACHER REASONS FOR
GOING ON STRIKE AND NOT GOING ON
STRIKE**

(ITEMS 16 AND 17 IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE.
PRE-CODED ITEMS WITH MULTIPLE RESPONSES)

16. GOING ON STRIKE (N=137)		17. NOT GOING ON STRIKE (N=22)	
REASON	% TEACHERS MENTIONING	REASON	% TEACHERS MENTIONING
To Improve Teachers' Own Wages & Conditions Of Employment	95.6	Strikes Have A Harmful Effect On The Students	81.8
		Strikes Bring The Teaching Profession Into Disrepute	68.2
To Improve The Quality Of The Educational System	93.4	Strikes Are, In General A Form Of Social Blackmail	68.2
To Protect Themselves From Attacks Upon Their Professional Autonomy	51.8	Strikes Lead To Divisions Among Teachers	59.1
To Protect Large-Scale Cuts In Public Spending	43.1	Strikes Usually Achieve Few Benefits For Strikers	59.1
To Attempt To Prevent The Implementation of Unpopular Laws	29.2	Strikes Cause Too Many Problems For Parents	22.7
To Lend Support To Other Workers And Employees Already On Strike	15.3	Teachers Should Keep Away From Radical Action Of Any Sort	18.2
Other Reasons	3.6	Other Reasons	9.1

hand, if strikes are functional, pragmatic, short-term and undesirable, then there should not be a correspondence between the experience and levels of consciousness. There is evidence on both sides. Research and commentary by Hennessy,⁹ Martell,¹⁰ and Hutchinson,¹¹ discussed in Chapter Three, suggest that strikes among Canadian teachers have enhanced the collectivist mentality and increased solidarity. However, Michael Mann¹² suggests that among instrumentalist workers, strikes are limited, exceptional and discontinuous events, which do not result in the sustained growth of solidaristic consciousness. Moreover, Rob White¹³ suggests that the careerist and individualistic goals of most teachers render strike action actually 'conservative' in nature. In light of the instrumentalist orientations I have uncovered among the teachers of Ottawa-Carleton, I anticipate little relationship between strike experience and class consciousness. However, I also anticipate that those actually in a legal strike position at the time of the survey, the Catholic teachers, will manifest a higher SC class consciousness.

On the whole, the statistics support my expectations. I asked the teachers to state simply whether they had been on strike before. Table 5.4 shows that there is no significant difference between the class consciousnesses of teachers who have been on strike before and those who have not. When schools were rank-ordered in terms of the percentage of

TABLE 5.4

A COMPARISON OF THE CLASS
CONSCIOUSNESSES OF TEACHERS WHO HAVE BEEN ON STRIKE
WITH THOSE WHO HAVE NOT

(20 = MOST PI; 100 = MOST SC)

GROUP	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	# OF CASES	T-VALUE	D.F.	ONE-TAIL PROBABILITY
Been On Strike	59.10	8.73	100	-.017	149	0.434
Have Not Been On Strike	59.37	10.69	51			

teachers within them who had been on strike, the correlation was insignificant and very weak ($-.09$). If anything, this correlation coefficient was indicating that those schools in which there had been a high degree of strike experience were more likely to manifest a Possessive Individualistic consciousness.

In order to conduct a better test on the collective impact of strike experience, I rank-ordered schools with respect to the extent to which those teachers who had been on strike, had struck in their present school. This measure conveyed some sense of a collective past in terms of strike activism. Here, the correlation was at least in the anticipated direction ($.13$), but was weak and statistically insignificant. Somewhat surprisingly, I found no significant or substantial correlations between how active individuals or schools had been in strike support (item 20) and levels of class consciousness.

According to my expectations, therefore, irrespective of how it was assessed, the experience of having been on strike, either individually or collectively, did not seem to leave a lasting impact on the distribution of class consciousnesses. It certainly did not render such teachers more SC in their consciousnesses.

However, as I also anticipated, the separate school teachers manifested a significantly higher degree of Solidaristic Collectivism. Table 5.5 displays the differences

TABLE 5.5

A COMPARISON OF THE CLASS
CONSCIOUSNESSES OF PUBLIC SCHOOL
AND SEPARATE SCHOOL TEACHERS

(20 = MOST PI; 100 = MOST SC)

GROUP	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	# OF CASES	T-VALUE	D.F.	ONE-TAIL PROBABILITY
Public	57.83	9.44	109	-2.93	149	0.002
Separate	62.71	8.41	42			

between the two groups of teachers. Something of the collective nature of the levels of SC among the Catholic teachers was demonstrated in Table 5.2 in which the separate school teachers high in association meetings attendance were more SC than their high attending public-school counterparts. A similar test can be conducted with respect to the degree of strike support. If there is a collective factor at work in the higher SC of those teachers in a legal strike position, we should anticipate that these teachers remain higher in SC even when the history of strike activism is held constant. Table 5.6 compares the class consciousnesses of those teachers in a legal strike position, the separate school teachers, and those teachers not in a legal strike position, the public school teachers. Both groups of teachers are restricted to those whose responses to item 20 were 'very active' and 'quite active.' The differences between the levels of class consciousness are greater than those differences for the groups as a whole, shown in Table 5.5. Those separate school teachers high in strike activism are substantially higher in SC than their less active colleagues. Conversely, public school teachers high in strike activism are almost indistinguishable from their less active colleagues in terms of class consciousness.

We can detect a probable collective influence in operation among the Catholic teachers in the separate schools. It is not clear, however, whether this is a temporary

consequence of the exigencies of a legal strike position, or whether it is more profound. Given the general failure of strike experience or strike activism to have a lasting impact on the class consciousnesses of teachers as a whole, we can speculate that what we are witnessing is a temporarily altered state of consciousness among these particular teachers. It is, however, impossible to answer this conclusively.

Educational level:

In Chapter One, I criticised certain functionalist assertions, made by Wright and Carchedi, concerning the differences between the class character of elementary and secondary school teachers. In Chapter Three, moreover, I stated that these distinctions are becoming less relevant and that patterns of experience and action are relatively close.

Carchedi¹⁴ stated that, in essence, elementary school teachers were proleterian and secondary school teachers were bourgeois in terms of their economic location. We might, therefore, plausibly anticipate a greater degree of SC among elementary school teachers. Wright,¹⁵ on the other hand, argued that the higher degree of economic autonomy of secondary school teachers rendered them less constrained in the transmission of ideology. This could imply that secondary teachers would display a greater SC. On the other hand, Wright further agreed that the greater the exclusion from economic autonomy, the greater the potential for working-class

TABLE 5.6

**A COMPARISON OF THE CLASS
CONSCIOUSNESSES OF PUBLIC SCHOOL
AND SEPARATE SCHOOL TEACHERS
HIGH IN STRIKE ACTIVISM**

(20 = MOST PI; 100 = MOST SC)

GROUP	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	# OF CASES	T-VALUE	D.F.	ONE-TAIL PROBABILITY
Public	57.65	8.10	55	-3.74	75	0.000
Separate	65.18	7.69	22			

behaviour. He also made the connection between the degree of routinisation in a job and the degree of proletarian characteristics. These latter points might again take us in the direction of supposing elementary teachers to manifest greater SC.

In the Ontario context, Hennessy¹⁶ discovered a greater degree of militancy among secondary teachers than among elementary teachers. Nelson, pointing to the greater size and 'anonymity' of secondary schools, coupled with the relatively high proportion of male teachers, came to similar conclusions with respect to the schools of Ottawa-Carleton.

In the context of the current Canadian educational system, in which there has been a convergence of salaries and credentials over time as well as probable diminution in the quiescence of women teachers, none of the distinctions presented in this sub-section seems plausible. Table 5.7 presents the mean differences in class consciousness between elementary and secondary school teachers. There are clearly no substantial differences between elementary and secondary school teachers.

Of the collective-level variables analysed in this section, only the temporarily heightened state of activism brought about by a legal strike position seems to have any impact upon levels of class consciousness. Activism in the professional association, strike experience, strike activism in the past and educational level all fail to covary

substantially with class consciousness. Since there were no items in the questionnaire measuring religious affiliation or religiosity, it is impossible to test the proposition that the separate school teachers exhibit greater degrees of Solidaristic Collectivism because they were predominantly Catholic, rather than because they were in a legal strike position. Recent research by Greeley¹⁷ suggests that throughout the Western world Catholics retain a communitarian culture, while Protestants sustain their individualism. Further research, making use of religious variables, would be able to address the impact of denomination on class consciousness.

BIOGRAPHY AND CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS:

Class cultures emerging from common workplace experiences are only weakly related to patterns of class consciousness. I anticipate that the broader and deeper biographical experiences teachers bring with them when they enter the profession explain more of the variation. In this section, I will investigate three clusters of biographical experience, age, sex and gender and degree of mobility from childhood to adulthood.

Age:

In the 1970s a number of scholars conducted empirical research among teachers in Western nations. One consistent finding was that there was a negative linear relationship

TABLE 5.7

A COMPARISON OF THE CLASS
CONSCIOUSNESSES OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
AND SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS

(20 = MOST PI; 100 = MOST SC)

GROUP	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	# OF CASES	T-VALUE	D.F.	ONE-TAIL PROBABILITY
Elementary	59.84	10.25	64	0.73	149	0.234
Secondary	58.71	8.76	87			

between age and militancy.¹⁸ Apart from references to life-cycle effects and the 'radicalism' of youth, these empirical findings were undertheorised. It is possible that the scholars believed that as people age, so they become more comfortable with the status quo. However, it is also possible that the scholars were mindful of the radicalism of a particular age cohort, those teachers who received their training in the relatively militant 1960s.

By 'militancy,' the scholars meant support for unions, strikes and industrial action, rather than the concepts employed in my scale of class consciousness. It is, therefore, difficult to test their contentions directly. It is, however, possible to derive from their work some indirect suggestions. Apart from some generalised material on the radicalism of the 60s generation of Quebec and B.C. teachers in Chapter Three, my research on the class-related circumstances and actions of Canadian teachers in the post-war period shows little evidence of any life-cycle effects. However, there is clear evidence of period effects. To recapitulate, the 1950s were years of slow, steady growth, the 1960s were years of rapid expansion and the subsequent period has seen slowdown and even stagnation. At the time of the survey, those teachers aged 45 years or more are likely to have received their training in the 1950s; those between 35 and 45 to have been trained in the 1960s; and those younger than 35 were trained in the 1970s. If these three age cohorts

carried with them the ideology of their formative years, it is likely that the youngest group would be higher in PI than the oldest group and that the middle-aged group, at college in the 1960s, would be the most SC of the three groups. However, this is to assume the persistence of cohort effects. It is equally possible that, by the mid 1980s, many teachers, even those who grew up in the 1950s and 1960s, would have been influenced by the powerful period effects of the neo-liberal era. Under such circumstances, those teachers with the most pressing family responsibilities, the middle-aged, might even become the group most likely to toe the line of conformity to neo-liberal ideology. In the light of these contradictory potentials it seems unwise to speculate about the probable relationship between age and class consciousness.

Table 5.8 shows the mean class consciousness score for each of eight age groups. There is some variation between the groups, but little apparent pattern. The eta squared of 0.063 is very weak and the mean differences fail to achieve significance. The small number of cases in some of the groups and the fluctuating standard deviations make it difficult to interpret the data. It is clear, however, that those aged between 35 and 45 are no more SC than other age groups. In fact, apart from the oldest age group, they constitute the most PI of the respondents. Equally, there is no linear pattern, either positive or negative, between age and class consciousness.

TABLE 5.8

AGE AND CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

(20 = MOST PI; 100 = MOST SC)

GROUP	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	NUMBER OF CASES
UNDER 30	59.63	5.78	8
30-34	64.94	10.47	18
35-39	58.93	12.36	28
40-44	57.21	7.30	39
45-49	59.64	7.99	25
50-54	59.36	9.28	14
55-59	61.40	13.50	5
OVER 59	57.00	8.26	8

F = 1.3179

df. = 7/137

P. = .2463

Eta² = 0.063.

Class consciousness, therefore, does not appear to be patterned according to age. Interestingly, neither do 'strike activism' or 'association activism' correlate with age among my sample of teachers.

Sex and gender^{18a}:

If there is one constant finding in the empirical literature on school teachers and militancy, it is that women teachers are less militant than men. Black¹⁹ speculates that women are less militant and solidaristic than men because they do not invest the same career ambitions into the job as their male counterparts and because "... in our society, femininity is generally seen as being more expressive and tender, rather than instrumental and tough."²⁰ Citing Etzioni, Cox²¹ argues that women teachers tend to be easier to manipulate and control than men, and that women are generally more submissive to administrative fiat. Donnenwerth and Cox²² argue that for women teaching offers a relatively high status and income, while for men it is relatively low. For most women, they argue, the salary is a secondary one, complementing their husbands', rather than constituting the main source of income. Furthermore, women do not seek to exercise power in the same way as men. Hennessy's²³ 1975 survey of teachers in Ontario and Quebec and Selinger's²⁴ 1977 Ontario survey come to similar conclusions.

As I have mentioned before, 'militancy,' as assessed by these scholars, is a different construct from the scale of class consciousness. Nevertheless, in the light of their reasoning we should not expect women to exhibit higher levels of Solidaristic Collectivism than men. In fact, however, this is precisely what I anticipate. Many of the reasons cited by the scholars were dubious when they conducted the research, while others had some validity then, but do not now. I am extremely cautious of generalisations of the kind that women are more 'expressive and tender' and less 'instrumental and tough.' There is something in these claims, yet they ignore a history of women in teaching which Prentice,²⁵ among others, has begun to correct. If women do manifest certain gendered characteristics of expressivity and tenderness these are, if anything, likely to underpin Solidaristic Collectivism more effectively than would instrumentalism or toughness.

In the words of Sandra Acker, what has been offered so far in the research on women as teachers is "... sociologically simplistic."²⁶ One element which was not apparent to the researchers of the 1970s concerns the impact of the women's movement. Many women teachers in the 1980s have been exposed to feminist analyses of various kinds and will, in all likelihood, no longer be prepared, as Etzioni believed, to submit passively to the dictates of school administrators, especially if these dictates are gender specific. As we saw in Chapter Three, Nelson's research among

the teachers of Ottawa-Carleton in the late 1970s noted the militancy of women teachers at that time.²⁷ Furthermore, an analysis of male-female salary differentials, in Table 3.4 shows that only in the secondary sector have women caught up with the salaries of their male colleagues, and even here, the gap has been only slightly narrowed. In the separate school sector, the gap has, in fact, widened. In 1961-62, women in the public, secondary and separate schools earned, respectively, 84.48 per cent, 88.51 per cent and 91.86 per cent of their male colleagues' salaries. By 1984-85, the public school figure dropped to 82.16 per cent, the secondary school figure rose slightly to 91.75 per cent, but the separate school figure dropped by over 10 per cent to 80.92 per cent.

The growing impact of the women's movement, combined with the relative stagnation of women's salaries suggests to me that women teachers are likely to score higher than men teachers in terms of SC class consciousness. Table 5.9 shows this to be the case.

On its own, sex is a relatively crude variable for assessing the impact of gendered society. We simply cannot know exactly how far men and women share roles, or personal dispositions, and the extent to which they come to adopt characteristics of the other sex. As Leonard²⁸ argues, although we can view socialization in general terms, each family and each individual background is different and family

TABLE 5.9
SEX AND CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

(20 = MOST PI; 100 = MOST SC)

GROUP	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	# OF CASES	T-VALUE	D.F.	ONE-TAIL PROBABILITY
Men	57.46	8.98	71	-2.43	144	0.008
Teachers						
Women	61.20	9.57	75			
Teachers						

interactions are "... influenced by but never wholly accounted for by the general features of the social order and historical period in which it is located." Item 75 on the questionnaire provides a measure of the degree to which the teachers come from traditional patriarchal families. Reich" long ago suggested that father-dominated families reproduce subservience in women. I expect those women teachers raised in egalitarian backgrounds to exhibit higher levels of SC than those from patriarchal backgrounds. Moreover, I expect that the level of patriarchy makes little difference to the class consciousness of men teachers. Tables 5.10 and 5.11 display the mean differences in class consciousnesses for men and women teachers from patriarchal and non-patriarchal backgrounds. Table 5.10 supports my hypothesis. Women teachers from non-patriarchal backgrounds are significantly higher in SC than those from patriarchal backgrounds. In fact, a comparison of Tables 5.10 with 5.9 shows women from patriarchal backgrounds to be marginally higher in PI than the average male teacher. However, it is also apparent that there is a great deal more variation within the non-patriarchal group than within the patriarchal group. Perhaps this suggests that women from relatively egalitarian backgrounds simply exert greater freedom in the construction of their class ideologies. Table 5.11 shows that although a similar trend is apparent among the male teachers, it is far less pronounced. Differences of class consciousness between

TABLE 5.10

A COMPARISON OF THE CLASS
CONSCIOUSNESSES OF WOMEN TEACHERS
FROM PATRIARCHAL AND NON-PATRIARCHAL
BACKGROUNDS

(20 = MOST PI; 100 = MOST SC)

GROUP	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	# OF CASES	T-VALUE	D.F.	ONE-TAIL PROBABILITY
Patriar- chal	57.30	6.392	20	-2.56	55.82	0.007*
Non- Patriarchal	62.67	10.260	45			

+ = separate variance estimate

TABLE 5.11

**A COMPARISON OF THE CLASS
CONSCIOUSNESSES OF MEN TEACHERS
FROM PATRIARCHAL AND NON-PATRIARCHAL
BACKGROUNDS**

(20 = MOST PI; 100 = MOST SC)

GROUP	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	# OF CASES	T-VALUE	D.F.	ONE-TAIL PROBABILITY
Patriar- chal	55.87	8.23	23	-1.11	60	0.271
Non- Patriarchal	58.56	9.77	39			

teachers from patriarchal and non-patriarchal backgrounds are not significant.

Whereas age has only a limited impact on class consciousness, sex is clearly related. On the whole, the women teachers have developed a greater SC consciousness. The effects of sex are further conditioned by the particular gender experiences of the teachers. Patriarchal backgrounds do not influence men's class consciousnesses very much at all. On the other hand for women, for whom such familial relations are arguably more relevant, it does make a difference. Patriarchal backgrounds render women more Possessive Individualistic, whereas non-patriarchal backgrounds enhance their Solidaristic Collectivism. Not too much should be made of these findings, based as they are on a small sample, but they are most suggestive for future directions of research in class-gender relationships.

Upward mobility:

As I demonstrated in Chapter Three, the entire cohort of school teachers in the public sector has grown impressively since the Second World War. Teachers, as an occupational group, represent vivid support for the rhetoric of upward mobility. Large numbers of Canadian women and men have experienced a qualitative and quantitative change in their life chances by pursuing the career of teaching. And yet not all of them has. For some teachers, the occupational category

they now occupy represents either a lateral move, or even a downward step from the socio-economic conditions of their childhoods.

Those teachers who have experienced upward mobility entered the profession by success in a series of meritocratic examinations. Little has been written about the cognitive and affective responses of Canadian teachers to experiences of upward mobility. However, it is my expectation that those who have 'made it' in this manner are more likely to be attuned to the importance of class relations than those for whom teaching is simply another career option.

Teachers from lower socio-economic backgrounds may have had to counter certain difficulties in order to attain their occupational status. Such teachers may adopt a SC consciousness, pointing to their own successes as an example to others who wish to make it, as they did.³⁰ Alternatively, they may promote an SC set of ideals, being mindful of the difficulties of their own lives, and empathising with relatively poor and disadvantaged people.³¹ They might also bring with them something of the communitarian and resistant culture of a working-class background.³²

Eleven items on the questionnaire supply information on the socio-economic backgrounds of the teachers. Items 76 and 77 ask the teachers to assess the socio-economic status of the high school they attended. Item 78 records the teachers' comparisons of the economic standing of their own community

with that of their parents. Items 79 and 80 assess the educational level of the mother and father of the teacher. On the basis of items 81 and 89, two measures of occupational status are calculated for each parent, the Standard Occupational Classification Code³³ and a measure based upon the classifications of Pineo *et al.*, with seventeen substantive categories.³⁴ Additionally, teacher assessments of each parents' occupational group derive from items 87 and 95. Altogether, then, there are six items assessing the occupational status of the teachers' parents, three for each parent. Between them, these six items, plus the other five, provide a broad range of indicators of the teachers' socio-economic backgrounds.

Contrary to my expectations, most of the measures do not relate in any substantial way to class consciousness. In fact, of the eleven measures, only one showed even a small covariation with class consciousness. There was a significant correlation between class consciousness and the educational level of the teachers' father of -0.142 . This suggests a slight tendency for the level of SC to increase as the educational level of the father decreases. The coefficient rises to -0.392 in the case of elementary school teachers ($p = <.01$). Since nearly 70 per cent of the elementary school teachers in the sample are women, it might be suspected that upward mobility has a greater impact upon the SC consciousnesses of women teachers. However, analyses of

variance and correlations conducted for males and females separately on the eleven measures of upward mobility reveal no substantial alteration to the absence of pattern between mobility and class consciousness. Since the coefficient between the level of fathers' education and class consciousness is the only one to achieve a substantial relationship among the eleven measures, it would be unwise to attach too much importance to it.

A general survey of the biographical variables brings out relatively little of importance. Apart from the notable influence of sex and gender, none of the other measures correlates highly with class consciousness. I had anticipated that these variables would explain more of the variation in class consciousness than the collective-level variables analysed in the previous section. Patterns of connection between life-chance and life-cycle variables and adult orientations are, of course, difficult to establish. Furthermore, I have stated that there is reason to anticipate a high degree of individual idiosyncrasy among the teachers. In the next section I shall explore the class consciousnesses of teachers at this level.

To conclude this section, Table 5.12 combines the sex of the teacher with the most salient factor to emerge from the previous section, the legal strike position of the teacher. Four categories are created, representing men and women in a legal strike position and not in a legal strike position. The

creation of these categories maximises the range of class consciousnesses, with women teachers in a legal strike position significantly higher in SC consciousness than male teachers not in a legal strike position. Interestingly, there is little difference between male teachers in a legal strike position and female teachers not in a legal strike position. Eta squared is calculated by dividing the total variation into the proportion of the variation attributable to the group differences. It can be interpreted to mean that 7.7 per cent of the variation in class consciousness can be 'explained' by the particular combination of characteristics in the groups. Together, then, the sex and strike status of the teachers contribute substantially to the variation in class consciousness. Moreover, analysis of variance shows that each variable contributes independently of the other, and only an infinitesimal quantity of the variation can be attributed to their interaction.

PERSONAL POWER DISPOSITIONS AND CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS:

Biography provides a broad expression of how class consciousness develops through individual experiences. However, in order to get close to the individual, it is useful to delve into what they have become in terms of their fundamental responses to their social worlds.

In this section I explore the probability that teachers develop orientations to power in a range of contexts which

TABLE 5.12

SEX, LEGAL STRIKE POSITION
AND CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

(20 = MOST PI; 100 = MOST SC)

GROUP	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	NUMBER OF CASES
Women In Legal Strike Position	63.81	6.61	27
Men In Legal Strike Position	60.73	10.92	15
Women Not In Legal Strike Position	59.73	10.67	48
Men Not In Legal Strike Position	56.59	8.28	56

F = 3.9708

DF. = 3/142

P. = .0094

Eta² = 0.077

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	df.	F	SIGNIFICANCE
LEGAL STRIKE POSITION	491.598	1	5.853	.017
SEX	346.353	1	4.124	.044
INTERACTION	0.024	1	0.000	.987
UNEXPLAINED	11926.040	142		
TOTAL	12926.521	145		

inform the orientations they develop toward class issues. In a technical sense, I correlate items 61 to 68 with the scale of class consciousness. Whereas the scale of class consciousness is composed of items which tap into attitudes, items 61 to 68 have been designed to measure underlying basic beliefs and values. The items establish certain scenarios in which the teachers face dilemmas of personal power. In order to render the items more realistic for the respondents, there are a broad range of options for response and the possibility of multiple responses. In making a claim for the psychodynamic priority of the personal power disposition items, I am following Milton Rokeach's³⁵ hierarchy of psychic organization, set out in The Open and Closed Mind, in which he demonstrates that opinions are the most ephemeral elements, beliefs and values the most profound, and attitudes occupy a place between them. My comments should not be taken to imply that I believe that class consciousnesses of the teachers to be ephemeral. Rather I make the claim that, on the whole, the personal power disposition items capture something more basic.

In developing both the class consciousness items and the personal power items, I have attempted to keep the subject-matter distinct, but to invest into the PI-SC spectrum an attitudinal range which is analagous to the range of response among the personal power items. The personal power items capture broad and general dispositions toward power which, I believe, inform the teachers' attitudes in a variety of

domains, including class consciousness. I therefore expect there to be correlations between class consciousness and the personal power dispositions and, because of the divergent subject-matter of the two sets of items, make the claim that such relationships are not the consequence of measuring the same phenomenon in two different ways.

Before exploring the empirical relationship between class consciousness and personal power dispositions, I shall briefly present a rationale for the substance of the personal power items. The optional responses for each item provide the respondent with three characteristic ways of reacting to a power dilemma. The Utilitarian individual tends toward the active support of people, groups and values which enhance his or her well-being within the competitive world. The Withdrawn individual reacts to power dilemmas by attempting to escape from the fray. The Resistant individual adopts an active opposition to those people, groups and values which oppress the weak and disadvantaged. In Chapter Four I introduced the options of utilitarianism and resistance into the class agent scales by way of their particular expression in Possessive Individualism and Solidaristic Collectivism. However, the content was restricted to class issues.

A reading of the rubrics for items 61 to 68 demonstrates the broad scope of power-related circumstances covered in the items, from what to do about a five-year-old bully (item 61) to commercial sponsorship in schools (item 68). The eight

items which appear on the questionnaire were very carefully chosen in consultation with teachers in the preliminary stages of my research. They were selected from an original list of twenty-one items. The relatively small number of items which survived pre-testing reflects the fact that, unlike the class items, they were not directly grounded in a contextualised study of the experiences of the teachers. Nevertheless, the teachers with whom I spoke were satisfied that the items ultimately chosen were of relevance to themselves and their colleagues.

There are intellectual precedents in the tripartite conceptualisation of responses to personal power dilemmas. In the spheres of work relationships and love relationships, Erich Fromm³⁶ describes three characteristic responses - domination, aloneness and spontaneity - which correspond to my utilitarianism, withdrawal and resistance. In expressing the differences between the dominant value system in a society, the subordinate value system and the radical value system, Frank Parkin's³⁷ work on social class approximates to the distinctions I have in mind. In the context of public orientations to American politics, C. Wright Mills³⁸ describes three typical responses, loyalty, indifference and insurgency. My understandings of the characteristic responses to personal power dilemmas in the liberal-capitalist world derive much from the insights of these scholars. However, my

categorisations are sufficiently distinctive that I shall now sketch each in turn.

Utilitarianism describes the tendency to deal with dilemmas of power by adopting the characteristics or even the values of the powerful. The utilitarian individual is a conformist, a supporter of the status quo and espouses conventional values. It is, however, a pseudo-conformity, lacking in moral depth, and conditioned by the pragmatism of the maxim 'life is what you make of it.' The utilitarian's world-view is commodified and tends to objectify people. The utilitarian not only treats other people as objects, but constructs out of himself or herself a series of properties for exchange. As Fromm says, such people transform themselves into "... the "personality package" conducive to a higher price on the personality market."³

The withdrawn individual deals with power dilemmas by attempting to escape from them. In the field of industrial relations, Mann⁴⁰ and Archibald⁴¹ describe a whole range of tactics employed by workers to cope with oppression without having to become militant. Mann mentions rationalisation, projection, day-dreaming, apathy and fatalism. To this list Archibald adds deference, brittle formality, detachment, conformity and predictability. Rather than being described as a state of consciousness, withdrawal is better viewed as action without much reflection. Reflection is dangerous for

the individual who chooses to withdraw. It is safer not to think too much and to let others deal with conflict.

The resistant approach shares with the utilitarian a high degree of personal activism. However, it tends to support those persons, agents and values which are weak, disadvantaged or marginalised. The resistant individual is highly conscious of the nature of power struggles and often chooses to question the asymmetry of power relations. The resistant individual is far less manipulative and pragmatic than the utilitarian and operates with a moral code which occasionally leads to confrontation with authority. Resistance also implies a distinctive way of seeing the world. If the utilitarian regards the social world as a series of commodities, the resistant individual contests the objectification of human relations and insists upon the priority of human values.

Table 5.13 displays which particular responses to the personal power disposition items were coded into the three characteristic responses, utilitarian, withdrawn and resistant. The possibility of multiple responses in all of the items, except item 66, creates a large number of potential combinations. This is particularly the case where more than one response is designed to measure a particular value. The complexity of the coding scheme was rendered necessary by my decision to maximise the range of plausible responses to each dilemma. The intention was to sustain a degree of realism which nevertheless encouraged the teachers to express one of

the three value orientations. Very few of the teachers responded in a manner which combined a utilitarian with a resistant value. However, a few gave a utilitarian or resistant response in combination with a withdrawn response. Table 5.13 shows that I decided to include these individuals in either the utilitarian or resistant categories. In most cases, their numbers would have been too small for meaningful analysis.

Operationalising such broad and nebulous concepts as utilitarianism, withdrawal and restraint is clearly a challenging task. The pattern of weak correlations between many of the items, displayed in Table 5.14, suggests that further refinement of the concepts and measures is necessary. Nevertheless, an embryonic patterning is evident. Few of the correlations are negative and about a third of them are moderate.

Adopting a cautious approach with respect to the validity of the items, I examine the levels of class consciousness of each of the three dispositions across the eight items in Table 5.15. The overall patterns of mean differences between the groups are as I had anticipated them to be. In five of the eight items, the ordinality of the mean scores is in the anticipated direction. Utilitarians score lowest in SC, resisters score highest and the withdrawn are between them. In two of the remaining three items where this ordinal pattern is broken (items 63 and 68), there are very few cases in the

TABLE 5.13

CODING THE PERSONAL POWER DISPOSITION ITEMS

(FOR THE COMPLETE TEXT OF EACH ITEM AND EACH RESPONSE SEE
THE QUESTIONNAIRE)

ITEM #	ITEM	RESPONSES AND RESPONSE COMBINATIONS		
		UTILITARIAN	WITHDRAWN	RESISTANT
61.	FIVE-YEAR-OLD BULLY DILEMMA	C C & A	A	B A & B
62.	THEFT OF IDEAS BY SENIOR COMMITTEE MEMBER DILEMMA	B E B & E A & B A & E A & B & E F & B F & E F & B & E F & B & A F & E & A F & A & B & E	A F A & F	C D C & D A & C A & D A & C & D F & C F & D F & C & D F & C & A F & D & A F & A & C & D
63.	VIOLENCE IN THE ARMED FORCES DILEMMA	C D C & D A & C A & D A & C & D	A	B A & B
64.	JOB OPPORTUNITY DILEMMA	C C & A	A	B A & B
65.	RENT REVIEW DILEMMA	A D A & D B & D B & A A & B & D	B	C C & B
66.	VOLUNTEER COMM. DILEMMA	C	B	A
67.	NEW EMPLOYEE WORK OVERLOAD DILEMMA	A A & C	C	B B & C
68.	COMMERCIAL SPONSOR- SHIP AND ADVERTISING WITHIN THE SCHOOL DILEMMA	D D & B	B	C A C & A B & A B & C A & B & C

TABLE 5.14

INTER-ITEM CORRELATIONS - ITEMS
ASSESSING PERSONAL POWER DISPOSITION

	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68
61								
62	.16*							
63	.07	.06						
64	-.05	.05	.17*					
65	.01	.14	.22**	.22**				
66	-.02	.12	.04	.23**	.11			
67	.06	.15*	.01	-.04	.17*	.02		
68	.07	.06	.19**	.04	.17*	.09	-.06	

* p. <.05
 ** p. <.01

withdrawn category. Of the eight items, then, only item 62 deviates substantially from my expectations. Table 5.13 demonstrates the complexity of this item, with its six potential responses. It is possible that the technical complexity of the item itself, and the resulting response patterns, served to obscure the values of the teachers with respect to the theft of ideas by a senior committee member.

Responses to item 61 demonstrate that those who believe that the five-year-old should reciprocate the aggression of the bully are substantially higher in Possessive Individualism than those who counsel resolute, but peaceful discussion. Equally, those, in item 64, who desire a lucrative and competitive job outscore in PI those who favour a collaborative and meaningful job. A similar pattern emerges in item 65, where those who would advocate ignoring Rent Review legislation in a manner detrimental to the tenants, or who would argue that the law should be obeyed only because the consequences of breaking it could be costly, are substantially higher in PI than those teachers who would tell their friend that exceeding the Rent Review guidelines is unfair to the tenants. The differences in class consciousness between the teachers who responded to the volunteer committee item are less clear-cut. Nevertheless, those who would stay with the work-related committee, with its promise of promotion score higher in PI than those who would stay with the committee which attempts to improve facilities for young people. The

TABLE 5.15

PERSONAL POWER DISPOSITIONS AND CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS
(20 = MOST PI; 100 = MOST SC)

ITEM #	ITEM		UTILITARIAN	WITHDRAWN	RESISTANT	F	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE OF	
								F	ETA ²
61.	FIVE-YEAR-OLD BULLY DILEMMA	MEAN	56.93	58.46	60.85				
		STANDARD DEVIATION	9.60	9.30	9.76	1.5003	2/129	.227	.019
		N.	15	39	78				
62.	THEFT OF IDEAS BY SENIOR COMMITTEE MEMBER DILEMMA	MEAN	58.86	60.18	59.89				
		STANDARD DEVIATION	9.54	8.12	10.52	0.1433	2/123	.867	.002
		N.	29	22	75				
63.	VIOLENCE IN THE ARMED FORCES DILEMMA	MEAN	57.94	52.44	63.94				
		STANDARD DEVIATION	8.94	5.62	10.07	7.6145	2/117	.001	.115
		N.	79	9	32				
64.	JOB OPPORTUNITY DILEMMA	MEAN	55.85	59.75	61.43				
		STANDARD DEVIATION	8.50	9.84	9.96	3.1988	2/135	.044	.045
		N.	34	67	37				
65.	KENT REVIEW DILEMMA	MEAN	55.13	58.86	61.74				
		STANDARD DEVIATION	7.88	10.49	9.67	5.4463	2/123	.005	.081
		N.	31	22	73				
66.	VOLUNTEER COMMITTEE DILEMMA	MEAN	57.46	58.23	60.62				
		STANDARD DEVIATION	8.49	9.52	10.05	1.4021	2/130	.250	.021
		N.	35	43	55				
67.	NEW EMPLOYEE WORK OVERLOAD DILEMMA	MEAN	56.35	58.30	60.96				
		STANDARD DEVIATION	7.69	10.24	9.41	2.8904	2/122	.059	.045
		N.	37	33	55				
68.	COMMERCIAL SPONSORSHIP AND ADVERTISING WITHIN THE SCHOOL DILEMMA	MEAN	57.16	54.43	59.84				
		STANDARD DEVIATION	7.49	8.22	10.58	1.6105	2/121	.204	.026
		N.	31	7	86				

TABLE 4.7

TEACHERS' DEGREE OF SUPPORT FOR THE
INFLUENCE OF CLASS AGENTS IN THE
BROADER SOCIAL FORMATION (ROW PERCENTAGES)

(2 = support for a reduction in influence of Workers and Unions;
8 = support for the greater influence of Workers and Unions;
2 = support for the greater influence of Owners and Managers and Cabinet Ministers;
8 = support for a reduction in influence of Owners and Managers and Cabinet Ministers)

[illegible]

5

of/de

5

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

issue of how to deal with a heavy workload brings out clear distinctions in class consciousness between those pragmatists who do not question the dilemma and those resistant individuals who believe that the problem of overwork needs addressing. The pragmatists exhibit a PI orientation, while the resisters score high on SC.

Item 63 invites the teachers to ponder the issue of violence in the armed forces and how they would advise a young person concerned about this issue. It is apparent that those teachers who either defend the use of violence under certain circumstances or deny its importance are substantially higher in Possessive Individualism than those teachers who share the student's concern with violence and advise him not to join the armed forces. In fact, those thirty-two teachers who express their opposition to organised violence also manifest a notably high SC orientation in class consciousness. An unexpectedly high level of PI class consciousness occurs among those teachers who advocate withdrawal on the grounds of risk rather than principle. I had anticipated that response 'a' to item 63 would elicit a typical 'withdrawal' response. It is possible, however, that the response is better able to assess pragmatism than fear.

In item 68, those teachers who lend their support to commercial advertising in schools are somewhat higher in PI than those teachers who either disapprove of advertising altogether or who find it inappropriate in the school. The

group highest in PI, however, is the withdrawn group. The seven teachers who adopt a laissez-faire attitude toward advertising in schools, by selecting response 'b' have a high PI score. As in the case of item 63, it is possible that the teachers' responses are pragmatic rather than illustrative of a desire not to get involved.

Bearing in mind my stated reservations about the conceptualisation and operationalisation of the personal power disposition items and the three characteristic values, Table 5.15 provides sufficient evidence to establish a tentative pattern of relationships between the class consciousnesses of the teachers and their personal power dispositions. The pragmatic and objectifying utilitarians routinely score higher in PI than the assertive and moralistic resistant individuals. Those teachers who manifest resistance also, in most instances, possess substantially SC class consciousnesses. Those who characteristically withdraw from conflict of all kind locate themselves between the poles of class consciousness established by their utilitarian and resistant colleagues.

CONCLUSION:

Having established that there is variation within teacher class consciousness in Chapter Four, I set out in this chapter to explore the nature of this variation. In so doing, I tested certain hypotheses, derived both from the literature

on social class and research on teacher militancy, to see how much of the variation in class consciousness could be attributed to commonly accepted correlates. My principal contention was that collective-level explanations were unlikely to explain as much of the differences among teachers as individual ones.

Basing my comments upon the overall empirical findings of the chapter, I cannot claim that I have supported my contention conclusively. It is clear that many of the collective-level variables related to association activism, strike activism and educational level, do not explain much of the variation in teacher class consciousnesses. To this extent, there is support for my hermeneutic. However, it is equally evident that the temporarily heightened state of consciousness brought about by a legal strike position does have an effect and that this impact is, moreover, probably a collectively-mediated one. It is also apparent that the biographical variables of age and degree of mobility have little impact upon class consciousness. Consequently it would be inappropriate to attribute variations in class consciousness among teachers to these important facets of their life experiences. I had anticipated that these broader facets of teachers' lives would exert a greater impact. At least one of the biographical foci, however, sex and gender, did seem to be important. That women, notably those from non-patriarchal backgrounds, score substantially higher in SC than

their male colleagues turns upside down most of the existing research on teachers and militancy. It also raises a series of questions for further research on the relationship between sex, gender and class among other Canadian teachers, professionals and state employees.

Although the biographical items capture something of the individual experiences of the teachers, the personal power disposition items attempt to discover fundamental characteristics of personal beliefs. Despite the complexities of conceptualisation and operationalisation, the correlations between the personal power items and class consciousness are, relative to the collective and biographical variables, reasonably patterned. It would be inappropriate to claim that the personal power variables are simply more 'powerful' than the collective or biographical variables. A survey of the empirical relationships throughout the chapter shows that none of them is very strong. It is more appropriate to reason that in the absence of any clear and lasting impact on class consciousness deriving from collective workplace experiences and biographical factors, the interesting consistencies emerging from the relationship between class consciousness and the personal power dispositions encourages us to pursue this line of enquiry further. As I stated in Chapter Three, both C. Wright Mills and Eric Hobsbawm have provided well-reasoned grounds for anticipating that state professionals develop their class consciousnesses as individuals. In

attempting to capture certain fundamental dimensions of what the teachers have become as individuals, I have devised measures which distill typical patterns of personal development in contemporary Canadian society. It is these measures more than any of the others which promise to explain why teachers differ from each other in how they conceive of ownership, control, distribution and status.

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Chapter Five

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3. David Hargreaves, "The Occupational Culture of Teachers," in Peter Woods (ed.) Teacher Strategies, 145-146.
4. Jennifer Ozga and Martin Lawn, Teachers, Professionalism, and Class (London: Falmer Press, 1981), 61.
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6. C. Wright Mills, White Collar, 308-309.
7. See item 21 on the Questionnaire.
8. Gordon Marshall, "Some Remarks on the Study of Working-Class Consciousness," Politics and Society 12(3) (1983), 280.
9. Peter Hennessy, Schools in Jeopardy (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979), 82.
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14. Guglielmo Carchedi, "Class Politics, Class Consciousness, and the New Middle Class," The Insurgent Sociologist 14 (1987), 113-114.
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16. Hennessy cited in Alphonse D. Selinger, "Attitudes of Ontario Secondary School Teachers Toward Aspects of Professional Negotiations and Sanctions," 36.
17. Andrew Greeley, "Protestant and Catholic: Is the Analogical Imagination Extinct?" American Sociological Review 54 (1989), 485-502.
18. Joseph A. Alutto and James A. Belasco, "Determinants of Attitudinal Militancy Among Nurses and Teachers," Industrial and Labor Relations Review 27 (2) (1974), 223; Alan Black, "Some Factors Influencing Attitudes Toward Militancy, Membership, Solidarity, and Sanctions in a Teachers' Union," Human Relations 36 (11) (1983), 979; Gregory V. Donnenwerth and Harold G. Cox, "Attitudinal Militancy Among Teachers," The Sociological Quarterly 19 (1978), 467.
- 18a. I follow Michele Barrett's argument (Women's Oppression Today (London: Verso, 1984) 248-251) that class and gender relations are of equal importance and yet analytically distinctive. The inclusion of this short section on sex and gender reflects a concern to begin the extension of the particular treatment of class I have undertaken in this project. My limited and partial treatment should not be construed as a deliberate or unwitting relegation of sex and gender to a sub-category of class.

19. Alan Black, "Some Factors Influencing Attitudes Toward Militancy," 974, 979.
20. Ibid., 982-983.
21. Harold Cox, "Professional Orientation, Associational Membership, and Teacher Militancy," Sociological Inquiry 50 (1) (1980), 57-58.
22. Gregory Donnenwerth and Harold Cox, "Attitudinal Militancy Among Teachers," 461.
23. Peter Hennessy, Schools in Jeopardy, 178.
24. Alphonse D. Selinger, "Attitudes of Ontario Secondary School Teachers Toward Aspects of Professional Negotiations and Sanctions," 53.
25. Alison Prentice, "The Feminization of Teaching in British North America and Canada 1845-1875," Social History 8 (1975), 5-20.
26. Sandra Acker, "Women and Teaching: A Semi-Detached Sociology of a Semi-Profession," in S. Walker and L. Barton (eds.), Gender, Class and Education (London: Falmer Press, 1983), 128.
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29. Wilhelm Reich, The Mass Psychology of Fascism, (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1971), 53.
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38. C. Wright Mills, White Collar, 328.
39. Erick Fromm quoted in Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America, 73.
40. Michael Mann, Consciousness and Action Among the Western Working Class, (London: Macmillan, 1973), 29.
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CONCLUSION

A cursory glance at the concluding sections of contemporary essays and books in the field of political economy will uncover many comments exhorting future scholars to 'make connections' and 'build bridges' - between lived experience and structural analysis; consciousness, culture, and capitalism; or between class, gender, and race.

In the most general sense, my dissertation has been a response to such exhortations, and, through the methodological extension of the double hermeneutic, an attempt to move them beyond the level of abstract desire to the world of empirically-referential argumentation.

It is evident that the task has been an extremely challenging one: that is why many scholars have reserved pleas for comprehensive and integrated scholarship for their conclusions, rather than setting them up as agendas in their introductions.

Unlike these scholars, I have established my work squarely in the context of these problems: I have combined the exploration of under-theorised social analysis with the empirical exploration of an under-researched and ambivalent occupational category. Consequently, I have refused the deterministic language of proof or prediction. Instead, my

arguments have been made tentatively, in a highly contextualised and contingent manner, and with little attribution of class characteristics. At the end of this dissertation, it would be impossible for me to argue that, in terms of social class, school teachers, or state professionals in general, 'belong' to this or that group. It would be folly for me to predict that school teachers are likely to move, en bloc, in a particular class direction, or that they will become 'allies' of one class or another. Indeed my own understanding of the ambivalent class character of teachers, developed in Chapter Three, found substantial, if qualified, support in Chapter Four. Although the analyses conducted in Chapter Five deepened my understanding of the variations within the class consciousnesses of the teachers, in the end few definitive claims could be made.

Although I consider questions of class membership and affiliation to be important, and, in principle, possible to answer, I contend that the strengths of my work are to be found in methodology, rather than substance: in helping to clear the way for such questions to be addressed in a reasoned and coherent manner in the future. Despite this, my work does contain some important substantive features, and I will be addressing these as I review the five chapters.

In revisiting and reviewing the arguments and findings of my dissertation, I will work backwards, considering the empirical study of the school teachers of Ottawa-Carleton

first, and then discussing broader matters of methodology and theory.

In the context of a highly targetted and thoroughly researched historical-empirical analysis, and the careful construction of a valid and reliable scale of class consciousness, I undertook a wide-ranging exploration of the nature of school teacher class consciousness in Chapter Five.

The empirical findings of the chapter supported the understanding I have been developing throughout the dissertation that in a highly individuated political and occupational context, it was the individual level of analysis to which we should turn our attention, rather than to the collective level. Most existing analyses of class operate with a range of collectivistic assumptions. My empirical findings threw doubt upon these assumptions. Specifically, I discovered that most of the commonly accepted class-related collective variables failed to correlate with patterns of class consciousness.

Although all of the teachers I contacted were members of professional associations, their degree of personal activism within their associations bore little relation to their class consciousnesses. It is, however, the case that when schools were rank-ordered according to the degree of association activism within them, the rank-order correlated with class consciousness; the more activist schools displayed higher levels of SC.

When the relationship between school association activism and class consciousness was controlled for 'school board', the correlation diminished to insignificance. It was apparent that the reason why there appeared to be a moderate relationship between association activism within schools and class consciousness was because the Catholic teachers were disproportionately likely to report high meeting attendance. This finding was to be expected since the separate school teachers were in a legal strike position at the time of the survey. Furthermore, I produced empirical evidence to support the contention that there was something of a collective culture of SC among the separate school teachers at that time.

Nevertheless, contrary to the findings of a number of other researchers, I detected little lasting impact of previous strike experience on the teachers. Both in terms of individual experiences of having been on strike and in terms of those schools in which there had been a high degree of strike experience, these variables did not correlate with class consciousness.

My overall conclusion was that collective-level experiences among the school teachers were not able to account for the variation in levels of class consciousness.

I turned my attention to certain biographical aspects of the teachers' experiences. This was a field in which a great deal of mainstream work had already been conducted. On the basis of theoretical and empirical feminist scholarship, I

anticipated that women teachers would exhibit greater SC consciousness than men. My expectations about sex and gender countered most of the existing research findings in the literature on teacher militancy, which had portrayed women teachers as conventional, timid, and obedient.

It is arguable that many of the premises of the original research projects were dubious, and feminist historiographers in education are currently reviewing aspects of hitherto taken-for-granted assumptions. It is highly probable, however, that the feminist movement itself, within the past twenty years, has had an impact upon the consciousnesses of the women school teachers of Canada. I anticipated that this impact would be reflected in a higher degree of Solidaristic Collectivism among those women teachers I surveyed.

The empirical data supported my expectation. Moreover, when a gender variable was added to the sex variable, the distinctions between men and women became even clearer. Particularly noteworthy was the manner in which a patriarchal background seemed to make little difference to the class consciousnesses of men teachers, while it had a clear influence upon women teachers. Women teachers from non-patriarchal backgrounds were notably high in SC.

I was able to combine certain biographical variables to maximise the distinction between SC and PI teachers: clear differences emerged between women teachers in a legal strike position and men teachers not in a legal strike position. The

former were notably high in SC, the latter notably high in PI. I had, therefore, been able to establish empirical points of connection between class and sex.

These points of connection were further illuminated in the analysis of personal power dispositions. It was my expectation that for these highly individuated teachers, who were occupants of an ambivalent social space, there would be points of continuity across their experiences of power: I expected to find empirical substance to support the now-clichéd contention that 'the personal is political'.

On the basis of a carefully theorised model of available responses to power relations in the current conjuncture, I created a series of personal power disposition variables to assess responses analogous to those in the class consciousness scale, but in a different substantive context. The empirical findings provided strong support for my expectation that those teachers high in Solidaristic Collectivism would also be high in personal resistance, while those high in Possessive Individualism would be high in personal utilitarianism.

The empirical explorations of Chapter Five were based upon both my analysis of existing theories of class and occupation, and my historical-empirical account of Canadian teachers. I shall review and comment upon these later in the conclusion. There was, however, a further essential basis for my empirical investigations: the establishment of a valid and reliable scale of class consciousness.

Counterposing my spatially and temporally specific methodology against the work of scholars such as Wright and Livingstone, I set out to build a meaningful scale of class consciousness for the teachers of Ottawa-Carleton. On the basis of my theorisations about class and the historical-empirical material of Chapter Three and Four, I built a scale of class consciousness which covered the major domains of class experience relevant to the teachers and which was created to bring out teachers' orientations on the specifically Canadian continuum of Possessive Individualism to Solidaristic Collectivism.

The first major strength of the scale became clear in its application to the teachers of Ottawa-Carleton. Most of its items captured an approximately normal distribution of consciousnesses, thereby facilitating the kind of analyses undertaken in Chapter Five. I had hoped to set my items in the middle of the various aspects of class ambivalence experienced by the teachers. The results were encouraging.

The scale was reliable, but I wanted to explore the extent of its validity. Notably, I wanted to test the extent to which those teachers high in what I called SC, were in fact 'in solidarity' with others, and not just instrumentally concerned with their own interests; in other words, it was important to assess the proposition that they could be 'possessively collectivistic' or 'solidaristically individualistic'. Although such positions were plausible, the

scale correlated in the expected direction with certain external measures of solidarity: those teachers high in SC were more likely to state solidaristic and collectivistic reasons for striking, and were much more likely than others to support the rights of workers in general and unions.

These correlations supported the construction of the scale by showing teachers high in SC to possess other solidaristic and collectivistic leanings. This does not, however, mean that those teachers high in SC necessarily exhibited strong patterns of collectivistic behaviour in their own occupational backgrounds. Indeed, as the findings in Chapter Five demonstrated, irrespective of whether teachers were SC or PI, their paths to such consciousnesses were individual ones. Thus the scale assessed attitudes, and not necessarily behaviours.

In my careful construction of the class consciousness scale, I avoided making use of the prompt: 'class' or 'social class.' My scale assessed those aspects of teachers' consciousnesses with respect to ownership, control, distribution, and status, which my historical-empirical analysis had shown to be most relevant. This was what I had in mind when I referred to class. I had strong doubts about the usefulness of the term 'class', as it is currently understood in contemporary Canadian discourse, toward explicating these patterns of consciousness.

In order to assess the relevance of the word, I conducted some correlations between various standard questionnaire items on class and my scale of class consciousness. In accordance with my expectations, none of the variables correlated significantly or strongly. Although these standard items on class might well be able to tell us certain things about the consciousnesses of the teachers of Ottawa-Carleton, they were evidently to do with matters other than those in which I had an interest.

On a substantive level, the results of the items were able to illuminate, in some detail, the nature of class ambivalence among the teachers. In keeping both with the informed speculations of certain scholars, and the historical-empirical work I conducted on teachers in Canada, the teachers' consciousnesses were, to some extent, instrumentalist: although they were in favour of greater public resources being devoted to education, they were not opposed to private schooling; when it came to their own power and their colleagues' powers in the school, they were far more concerned with the narrower contractual issues than with the broader issues of curriculum and school management; and in general, the teachers displayed a high degree of sensitivity to their status and a jealous defence of credentialism.

In many respects they exhibited support for the liberal capitalist status quo. On matters of ownership and status, both in the broader social context and the school, they

adopted a Possessive Individualistic orientation. There was little evidence of any sustained opposition toward 'the system.' However, the teachers did also manifest elements of an Solidaristic Collectivistic consciousness, notable in the 'softer' distributional arenas, manifesting a diffuse support for the (deserving) poor and the disadvantaged. Furthermore, they manifested an SC orientation toward elements of worker control in the broader social context, and for themselves in the schools. They did not, however, argue for the diminution of the rights of students, and, in fact, were relatively 'progressive' in matters of pedagogy.

Perhaps the most important finding of Chapter Four was the manifest absence of a coherence among the teachers around matters related to the school and the educational system. This lack of coherence stood in contrast to the highly organised patterns of teacher response to the items pertaining to the broader social formation. There are any number of plausible explanations as to the random patterns exhibited in the items related to the school and the educational system. From my perspective, however, this randomness of response reflected the absence of a developed workplace class culture. This insight helped to support two further contentions, both of which received empirical support in Chapter Five: first, the relative lack of relevance of collective and workplace-related variables in explaining class consciousness; and, second, the importance of individual paths to consciousness.

The scale of class consciousness which I developed possesses an unknown degree of applicability. The only claim I make for it is that it was relevant to the teachers of Ottawa-Carleton in 1986. However, it would be possible, and indeed, most useful, to make use of it, or a modified version of it, in other contexts. It would take far less work to explore its applicability to other teachers in Ontario, and even other parts of Canada, than it did to create the scale in the first place. The further application of the scale would, however, entail the extension of the principles of the double hermeneutic. Provided it were undertaken in a sensitive and reflective manner, there is also no reason, in principle, why the logic and substance of my enquiry could not be extended to the exploration of other groups of state professionals in Canada, such as social workers, nurses, public servants, and state scientists. Each of these groups is, of course, different, but each also shares a great deal in common with the school teachers. A substantively and procedurally open approach would allow us to build, in a pyramidal fashion, models which have a broader applicability than that which I currently claim for my scale. Such an extension of my methodology would be resistant to attribution, teleology, and determinism, and would carry with it the promise of a model which packed large quantities of realism into its evolving 'ideal type.'

Any extension of the methodology to other groups of teachers or other state professional employees would entail the kind of in-depth historical-empirical analysis conducted in Chapter Three. While much of the general background information and analysis, concerning the changes in state and society in recent years, would be directly applicable, each extension would require its own historical-empirical work. Nevertheless, the organisational framework of Chapter Three shows a way in which this might be attempted.

The key contribution of Chapter Three was the establishment of a specifically Canadian historical framework, consisting of the positing of two conjunctures in the post-war era: limited Keynesianism and neo-liberalism. Each of these conjunctures was considered both in terms of its effects on teachers and with respect to the actions of the teachers. Furthermore, the ideological trends constituted by these two conjunctures came, quite naturally, to serve as the basis for the exploration of teacher class consciousnesses in the contemporary period: these conjunctural phenomena were, after all, the historical bases of what the teachers could become. The Keynesian impulse was expansionary, collectivistic, and egalitarian. The liberal response was, conversely, restrained, individualistic and competitive.

My opposition of the two conjunctures was no more assertion: I had data to substantiate the periodisations. Whether in terms of overall educational expenditures, the rate

of teachers entering the occupation, the student-teacher ratio, or the salaries of teachers, the 1950s were years of steady progress, the 1960s were the boom years, and slowdown and stagnation occurred in the 1970s and 1980s. The trends in Ontario, with respect to these indicators, were less extreme. These moderated trends in the Ontario case help us to appreciate the relatively muted character of teacher militancy in the province throughout the 1970s. Nevertheless, Ontario teachers, like their colleagues in Quebec and British Columbia, started to take forms of collective action as the period of limited Keynesianism was coming to an end. Their militancy continued throughout the 1970s, but diminished as the most serious effects of neo-liberal public policy set in.

From these conjunctural trends, I derived the general orientations of Possessive Individualism and Solidaristic Collectivism. The limited Keynesian years allowed teachers to believe in the ameliorative service ethic of education; that education could serve the needs of the 'entire society'; and that their personal progress and the growth of large-scale collective provision were compatible with each other and 'the needs of the economy.' Against the ethics of SC and in keeping with those of PI, the period of neo-liberalism subjected teachers to waves of rationalizations, cutbacks, reorganizations, spending ceilings, wage stabilization, and reduced collective bargaining powers. The response of the teachers was, as we saw, fitful, vacillating, and confused.

It was this vacillation which I hoped to understand better by representing to the teachers I interviewed in 1986 the parameters of their occupation's own experiences.

One important finding of the historical-empirical research concerned the specificity of the experiences of Ontario teachers in comparison with those of their colleagues in other provinces. The waxing and waning of educational trends in Ontario was less pronounced than in provinces such as Quebec and British Columbia. Altogether, education was regarded as less of an object of ideological contestation in Ontario. Two consequences, in terms of teacher action, arose from these circumstances: first, the militancy of Ontario teachers was comparatively muted; second, the nature of teacher action was lower in politics and higher in instrumentalism. It would be interesting to see whether similar research to my own, conducted in Quebec or British Columbia, brought out a greater degree of militancy, of systemic opposition, or sharper differences among the teachers themselves.

The analyses of school teachers, conducted in Chapters Three, Four, and Five, served two purposes: first, they simply permitted the exploration of the class character of an important occupational group; second, they represented an attempt to put into effect certain methodological principles, derived from structuration theory. The elucidation of structuration theory, which I conducted in Chapter Two, was

itself a theoretical response to the impasse of both structuralist and voluntarist theories of class in attempting to come to terms with state professional employees.

I demonstrated how structurativists are unable to see that subjective and intersubjective actions are partially constitutive of the 'structures' which they claim operate independently of the human will. I also pointed out the failure of voluntarists to register both the unanticipated consequences of action and the unacknowledged conditions of action. I indicated how both structuralist and voluntarist accounts of class often resorted to teleological, deterministic, or attributional claims. In the case of state professional employees, those people who clearly lacked a coherent class location or class position, such tendencies were, as I explained, untenable.

In their own ways, Poulantzas, Carchedi, and Wright resorted to types of ideological and political determinism in their analyses of state professional employees. Since it was difficult to 'locate' state professionals economically, Poulantzas snatched at pieces of cultural and consciousness material and wove them into a ragged map, based upon so-called 'objective' political and ideological relations. In his treatment of professionals, Carchedi also ended up attributing to them spuriously objective ideological and political characteristics. In Classes, Erik Olin Wright manoeuvred in a similar manner by treating his assumptions about the wills

of class agents as instances of structuralist logic. Wright thereby lost the opportunity to explore how economic, political, and ideological relations actually come together.

The attributionist tendencies of Wright were particularly regrettable, as his conception of the contradictory locations of those between labour and capital might have been left open, for further analysis and exploration, rather than closed in order to satisfy the requirements of his model.

I agreed with Wright and other scholars who characterised the class locations and class positions of state professional employees as contradictory, ambivalent, and vacillating. I went one step further than these scholars, however, by insisting upon the need to explore the characteristics of such ambivalence and contradiction.

The manner in which I chose to explore the class characteristics of state professionals was through the application of certain insights derived from structuration theory. Not only did structuration theory overcome the ontological impasses of structuralism and voluntarism, but it also suggested certain answers to the long-standing problems of how to deal with occupational groups who seem to resist classification.

As an individuated, fragmented, and ambivalent occupation group, state professionals were a particularly good focus for a theory which concentrates upon the hiatus between social existence and consciousness, and which explores, to paraphrase

Laurie Spurling, the perpetual transformation of chance into pattern.

In Chapter Two, I argued that structuration theory adopts the best elements of both structuralism and voluntarism, by treating structures as practices. With voluntarism, structuration theory treats individuals and cultures as knowledgeable, competent, and deliberative. However, with structuralism, structuration theory points to those facets of our existence which condition us, yet evade us, notable the unacknowledged conditions of our actions and the unanticipated outcomes of our actions.

Provided we are sensitive to locale and time, I argued, we can attempt to bring together both the structural preconditions of the lives of state professionals, and their own actions. The particular manner in which I chose to do this was through the extension of Giddens' conception of the double hermeneutic. Based upon a respect for the competency of social agents, tempered with an awareness of their unawareness, the double hermeneutic promised a process of continued exchange and bridging between the well-thought-out contextual understandings of the researcher and the everyday meanings and realities of those being researched. The application of the double dermeneutic was, in a sense, a matter of asking the correct questions, but not expecting the 'correct' answers.

With state professionals, perhaps more than with any other group, there simply were no 'correct' answers. Giddens was correct to point out that the continued existence of elements of social contradiction is no guarantee of conflict. How appropriate this seemed when I came to analyse the structure of educational bureaucracies in Canada. The existence of various layers of authority between the teachers and the economic system provided an exemplification of Giddens' point that conflict is often reduced when the origins of contradiction are rendered opaque.

However, the class characteristics of state professionals were not predestined to arbitrariness. Structuration theory characterised social practices as only relatively indeterminate. In other words, the parameters or the probabilities of certain kinds of behaviour could be set out, even if tentatively, through careful analysis. It was this understanding which informed my building of the scale of teacher class consciousness - not a randomly constituted scale, but, rather, an open one with empirically-grounded parameters. These parameters, developed in Chapter Three, were my hermeneutic. The business of Chapters Four and Five was to explore my hermeneutic in the context of the understandings of the teachers.

The survey conducted as part of my research can not be considered a 'sample' survey. It was not my intention to let the teachers of Ottawa-Carleton speak for other teachers, or

for state professional employees in general. The survey was, rather, a way in which to assess the extent to which a structurationist methodology could open up our understandings of the class character of a particular occupational group. As I have already indicated, earlier in this conclusion, I believe that it did so effectively. There is no reason why the methodology could not be extended to include sample surveys in the future. However, a great deal more would have to be known about the 'population' than is customarily the case.

I concentrated upon the individual as the unit of analysis in my research. I did so in a manner which attempted to avoid accusations of methodological individualism. I argued that a great deal of social research has not only failed to see the individual in the constitution of the social, but has also neglected the social in the constitution of the individual. I was adamant that consciousness resides in the individual psyche, even if its causes and consequences take us necessarily beyond the individual. I also argued that culture is as intersubjective as consciousness is subjective. I did not, however, undertake an exploration of the class culture of teachers or other state professionals. Although I argued that the analysis of class consciousness was intrinsically useful, I also pointed out that, on its own, it would not be sufficient for a complete analysis of class. The next stage of this research might well be in a macrological

direction - attempting to apply the methodology and the findings of the research to ever-expanding concentric circles of other state professionals in Canada and elsewhere. However, a micrological direction would also be invaluable - perhaps attempting to discover the patterns of connection between consciousnesses and cultures. For example, it would be most useful to explore patterns of teacher interaction in the workplace, particularly in the light of the empirical evidence I discovered of the relative lack of cohesion around educational and workplace issues.

In concluding, I return to C. Wright Mills. His contention that white collar employees lack a collective identity, and, consequently must pursue individual paths, but, as individuals' do not know where to go,' is one of the leitmotifs of this dissertation. What of state professionals, specifically teachers? Indeed, we cannot say where they are going. However, by tracking their individual paths, we might just be quicker than others to realise 'how they got there' when they arrive. We might also recognise a range of signals which tell us that they are about to mobilise, and in what manner they are about to mobilise. We might also dispute Mills' contention that as individuals they do not know where to go. Evidently, some of them do. Above all, we can be certain to eschew the spurious certainties of those who speculate about groups whose characteristics remain uncertain.

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APPENDIX ONE
THE QUESTIONNAIRE

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TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE

Thank you for agreeing to complete this questionnaire. Please do NOT write your name on the questionnaire. You have my complete assurance that all responses will be used for academic purposes only, and that no school or individual will be named. The questions cover a range of political, social and economic issues. This is an opinion questionnaire with no 'right' or 'wrong' answers. Please respond fairly quickly, without spending too much time on individual questions. It is best to complete the questionnaire at one sitting. The questionnaire has the approval of the Ottawa Board of Education, the OSSTF, and the OECTA.

PAUL NESBITT-LARKING
PH.D. CANDIDATE

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
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Please indicate your response to the following statements by circling ONE of the following: SA (strongly agree); A (agree); U (uncertain); D (disagree); SD (strongly disagree).

1. Many schools with bad discipline problems would benefit from the introduction of a certain amount of corporal punishment.

SA A U D SD

2. Teachers should not expect automatic respect from their students; they should earn it through their proven commitment to the students.

SA A U D SD

3. The education system in Ontario was better when students spent more time on the basics of literacy and numeracy.

SA A U D SD

4. There is too much emphasis on competitive sports in Ontario schools, and not enough emphasis on more co-operative sports.

SA A U D SD

5. The amount of time I am able to devote to the inventive and creative side of teaching seems to be declining.

SA A U D SD

6. The intelligence level of most students is fixed at birth, and cannot be improved upon very much.

SA A U D SD

7. The amount of time most of my colleagues are able to devote to the inventive and creative side of teaching seems to be declining.

SA A U D SD

8. Canadian schools should pay more attention to the needs of Canadian business.

SA A U D SD

9. Canadian schools should accept their share of the budget cutbacks needed to solve Canada's economic problems.

SA A U D SD

10. I have to devote so much time to my work as a teacher, that my various non-work relationships are suffering.

SA A U D SD

11. School principals should learn from the experiences of successful managers in private business.

SA A U D SD

12. Most of my colleagues have to devote so much time to their work as teachers, that their various non-work relationships are suffering.

SA A U D SD

13. Funding for public education in Ontario should be greatly increased.

SA A U D SD

14. Private schools in Canada should be gradually phased out.

SA A U D SD

15. Some teachers in Canada have taken strike action in recent years. Do you think teachers should be allowed to strike?

NO [] (go to question 16) YES [] (go to question 17)

16. If you answered NO to the previous question, was it because: (you may check as many categories as you wish)

- a) Strikes bring the teaching profession into disrepute []
- b) Strikes have a harmful effect on the students []
- c) Strikes usually achieve few benefits for strikers []
- d) Teachers should keep away from radical action of any sort []
- e) Strikes lead to divisions among teachers []
- f) Strikes cause too many problems for parents []
- g) Strikes are, in general, a form of social blackmail []
- h) Other reason (please state) []

(go to question 18)

17. If you answered YES to question 15, which of the following reasons would you say are justifiable grounds for going on strike? (you may check as many categories as you wish):

- a) To improve teachers' own wages and conditions of employment []
- b) To improve the quality of the educational system []
- c) To protest large-scale cuts in public spending []
- d) To lend support to other workers and employees already on strike []
- e) To attempt to prevent the implementation of unpopular laws []
- f) To protect themselves from attacks upon their professional autonomy []
- g) other reasons:

(go to question 18)

YES []

NO []

19. If you answered 'yes' to the previous question did you go on strike in your present school or another school?

Present school []

Another school []

20. If you answered 'yes' to question 18, and you were on strike at some point in your career as a teacher, how active were you in supporting the strike through picket line duty, information dissemination and other organisational duties?

Very active []

Quite active []

Not very active []

Inactive []

21. As a member of your teachers' federation or association, you are invited to attend many meetings. How regularly do you attend?

All the time []

Most of the time []

Sometimes []

Seldom []

Never []

The next set of questions relate to decisions which have to be made in the running of a school, and to how much influence the various people involved have in the making of these decisions. The first set of questions ask you to indicate how much influence you feel certain individuals and groups ACTUALLY HAVE over these decisions. The next set of questions ask you to indicate how much influence you feel these individuals and groups SHOULD HAVE over these decisions. Please check all the appropriate boxes:

22. How much influence do you personally have over:

Great deal of influence Some influence Not much influence Almost no influence

a) allocating the budget within the school				
b) designing curricula in your subject areas				
c) assessing teacher competence				
d) assigning teacher workloads				
e) choosing textbooks in your subject areas				
f) the student-teacher ratio				

23. How much influence do classroom teachers in your school, acting together, have over:

Great deal of influence Some influence Not much influence Almost no influence

a) allocating the budget within the school				
b) designing curricula in your subject areas				
c) assessing teacher competence				
d) assigning teacher workloads				
e) choosing textbooks in your subject areas				
f) the student-teacher ratio				

24. How much influence do the principal and vice-principal in your school have over:

Great deal of influence Some influence Not much influence Almost no influence

a) allocating the budget within the school				
b) designing curricula in your subject areas				
c) assessing teacher competence				
d) assigning teacher workloads				
e) choosing textbooks in your subject areas				
f) the student-teacher ratio				

25. How much influence do school board superintendents have over:

Great deal of influence Some influence Not much influence Almost no influence

a) allocating the budget within the school				
b) designing curricula in your subject areas				
c) assessing teacher competence				
d) assigning teacher workloads				
e) choosing textbooks in your subject areas				
f) the student-teacher ratio				

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Great deal of influence	Some influence	Not much influence	Almost no influence
1	2	3	4

- a) allocating the budget within the school
- b) designing curricula in your subject areas
- c) assessing teacher competence
- d) assigning teacher workloads
- e) choosing textbooks in your subject areas
- f) the student-teacher ratio

[illegible]

27. How much influence SHOULD classroom teachers in your school, acting together, have over:

Great deal of influence	Some influence	Not much influence	Almost no influence
1	2	3	4

- a) allocating the budget within the school
- b) designing curricula in your subject areas
- c) assessing teacher competence
- d) assigning teacher workloads
- e) choosing textbooks in your subject areas
- f) the student-teacher ratio

[illegible]

28. How much influence SHOULD the principal and vice-principal in your school have over:

Great deal of influence	Some influence	Not much influence	Almost no influence
1	2	3	4

- a) allocating the budget within the school
- b) designing curricula in your subject areas
- c) assessing teacher competence
- d) assigning teacher workloads
- e) choosing textbooks in your subject areas
- f) the student-teacher ratio

[illegible]

29. How much influence SHOULD school board superintendents have over:

	Great deal of influence	Some influence	Not much influence	Almost no influence
a) allocating the budget within the school				
b) designing curricula in your subject areas				
c) assessing teacher competence				
d) assigning teacher workloads				
e) choosing textbooks in your subject areas				
f) the student-teacher ratio				

Please indicate your response to the following statements by circling ONE of the following: SA (strongly agree); A (agree); U (uncertain); D (disagree); SD (strongly disagree).

30. The owners and managers of companies in Canada should put the needs of their employees above the drive for profits.

SA A U D SD

31. The federal and provincial governments should not interfere in how the owners and managers of companies conduct their business affairs.

SA A U D SD

32. The federal government should encourage foreign investors and businessmen who wish to compete in the Canadian market.

SA A U D SD

33. Financial inequality among people is a good thing because it encourages them to be more competitive.

SA A U D SD

34. The ownership and management of companies in Canada should be in the hands of employees and workers.

SA A U D SD

35. Canadian medicare needs to be upgraded and expanded.

SA A U D SD

36. The federal and provincial governments should make it more difficult for companies to lay off their employees and workers.

SA A U D SD

37. Government ownership of industry always results in inefficiency and waste.

SA A U D SD

SA A U D SD

39. Employees and workers should not interfere in decisions about what their employers produce.

SA A U D SD

40. Poverty in Canada has more to do with the social and economic system than with the failings of particular individuals.

SA A U D SD

41. The major banks in Canada should not be privately owned and controlled, but rather owned and controlled by the Canadian people.

SA A U D SD

42. One of the major problems facing Canada today is that our federal and provincial governments have grown too large.

SA A U D SD

43. Most shareholders receive financial returns on their investments which are far too high.

SA A U D SD

44. Canada's foreign aid programmes should be substantially reduced.

SA A U D SD

45. The federal and provincial governments pay too much attention to labour unions.

SA A U D SD

46. In the calculation of wage rates, employees and workers should receive more money for doing boring or repetitive jobs.

SA A U D SD

47. The Canadian welfare system supports too many lazy people.

SA A U D SD

48. The federal and provincial governments should sell many of their companies, industries and other concerns to private buyers.

SA A U D SD

49. Federal and provincial governments should give better tax breaks to enterprising businessmen.

SA A U D SD

50. Current wage differences between highly educated and less well educated employees and workers should stay about the same.

SA A U D SD

51. Poverty in Canada should be a matter of the highest political concern.

SA A U D SD

The next set of questions relate to areas of major decision-making in the running of Canadian society, and to how much influence various groups have in the making of these decisions. The first questions ask you to indicate how much influence you feel certain groups ACTUALLY HAVE at present over these decisions. The next set of questions ask you to state how much influence you feel the groups SHOULD HAVE over these decisions. Please check all appropriate boxes:

52. How much influence does the average Canadian worker have over:

Great deal of influence Some influence Not much influence Almost no influence

a) wages				
b) prices				
c) profits				
d) taxation levels				
e) welfare services				

53. How much influence do labour unions have over:

Great deal of influence Some influence Not much influence Almost no influence

a) wages				
b) prices				
c) profits				
d) taxation levels				
e) welfare services				

54. How much influence do the owners and managers of large companies in Canada have over:

Great deal of influence Some influence Not much influence Almost no influence

a) wages				
b) prices				
c) profits				
d) taxation levels				
e) welfare services				

55. How much influence do federal and provincial cabinet ministers have over:

Great deal of influence Some influence Not much influence Almost no influence

a) wages				
b) prices				
c) profits				
d) taxation levels				
e) welfare services				

56. How much influence SHOULD the average Canadian worker have over:

Great deal of influence Some influence Not much influence Almost no influence

a) wages				
b) prices				
c) profits				
d) taxation levels				
e) welfare services				

57. How much influence SHOULD labour unions have over:

Great deal of influence Some influence Not much influence Almost no influence

a) wages				
b) prices				
c) profits				
d) taxation levels				
e) welfare services				

58. How much influence SHOULD the owners and managers of large companies in Canada have over:

Great deal of influence Some influence Not much influence Almost no influence

a) wages				
b) prices				
c) profits				
d) taxation levels				
e) welfare services				

59. How much influence SHOULD federal and provincial cabinet ministers have over:

Great deal of influence Some influence Not much influence Almost no influence

a) wages				
b) prices				
c) profits				
d) taxation levels				
e) welfare services				

60. As you are probably aware, there are many definitions of the phrase 'social class'. What does the phrase mean to you personally? Please describe ALL your understandings of the word:

Listed below are a series of personal and social controversies. In each case you are provided with a description of a difficult situation and asked to respond by stating what you would do as a consequence of the circumstances described. Please check the appropriate box(es).

Having given your response, you should then state WHY you responded in this way. Please just write a sentence or two.

The problems described are complex, and no responses are better than any others. There are no 'correct' or 'incorrect' responses.

You may have to IMAGINE yourself faced with the particular problems described, especially if they are personally unfamiliar to you. Please respond on the basis of what you WOULD do if you were to encounter these situations at this point in your life.

Please do not dwell too long on the descriptions. Having made sure you understand the situations, and the possible responses, make a reasonably quick decision, based on your first reactions.

You may check off as many responses as you wish, provided you give reasons for EACH response. You may also devise your OWN response, if none of those listed seem appropriate to you. If you DO devise your own response, however, please be sure to give reasons.

61. An ordinary five-year-old boy, with whom you are well acquainted, regularly complains to you about being bullied by another boy of about the same age and size. You advise him:

- a) to avoid the bully wherever and whenever possible []
- b) to attempt to talk to the bully in a friendly, but firm way, pointing out that his behaviour is not very kind []
- c) to do to the bully precisely what the bully does to him, but no more []
- d) other response:

Reasons for response:

62. A senior, respected and powerful member of a committee on which you serve is gaining a great deal of prestige by repeating, almost word-for-word, ideas which you have come up with. You decide:

- a) that since the senior member has a great deal of influence and can affect your career, that the best course of action is to remain silent and continue your work normally until the committee has disbanded []
- b) to work on enhancing your usefulness to the senior member, and thereby increase your chances of promotion []
- c) to announce, in the context of a committee meeting, that you do not like his behaviour, stating that you do not mind your ideas being used, provided they are acknowledged []
- d) that, no matter what the personal cost, the senior member should be told that his actions are unethical, and that you will not continue to share information with him unless he stops pretending that the ideas are his own. []
- e) to continue to support the senior member with your work, but to let everybody else know who the ideas really come from []
- f) to resign from the committee []
- g) other response:

Reasons for response:

possibility of being called upon to use violence. You respond:

a) that you too share his concern with violence and that it is better for him not to put his life at risk []

b) that you too share his opposition to violence and that it is better for him not to sanction the organized use of violence by joining []

c) that the use of force is nothing to be ashamed about when it is employed to defend democracy, and that he should join []

d) that the use of violence is unlikely to play a major part in his career in the Canadian armed forces today, and that he should join for all the many positive benefits []

e) other response:

Reasons for response:

64. You find yourself in the following dilemma: Although you are relatively satisfied with your job (JOB A) you receive, in the same week, two very attractive opportunities for a change of career. One job offer (JOB B) entails a slight cut in salary, but allows you to work for an organisation whose goals you strongly believe in, and where there is a great deal of collaborative team work. The organisation warns you, however, that their future existence is by no means guaranteed. The other job offer (JOB C) represents a large jump in salary, but entails a demanding work schedule. There is stiff competition for promotion and advancement within the organisation. Do you stay with your present job or take up one of the offers?:

a) stay with job A []

b) go for job B []

c) go for job C []

d) other response:

Reasons for response:

65. A friend of yours, who owns a small apartment building, has just increased the rent of his tenants by an amount which is well above the provincial legal limit. He assures you that this is necessary to meet increased costs, and to keep his small profit. He also tells you that he wants to avoid the bureaucratic problems of appealing to the Rent Review Board, and has no intention of dealing with them. What do you tell him?:

a) that you agree such an unworkable law is impossible to obey []

b) that he should not increase his rents because it is wrong to break the law []

c) that although the law is flawed, his efforts to take matters into his own hands is clearly unfair to his tenants []

d) that he should not increase his rents because if he is found out the consequences could be very costly []

e) other response:

Reasons for response:

66. In addition to your family and work responsibilities, you find yourself serving on three demanding voluntary committees. You are, understandably, overburdened. You decide, with regret, that you can retain only ONE committee membership.

Your work on COMMITTEE A entails collaborative efforts to improve facilities for young people in your community. You stand to gain little from this committee other than the pleasure of knowing that you have helped young people.

On COMMITTEE B, you assist in the running of a club to which you personally belong. Your work on this committee is rewarded with pleasant social contact.

COMMITTEE C is a work-related committee, which you share with a number of colleagues. It is well-known that service on this committee is a key to promotion.

Which ONE committee membership do you retain?:

a) Committee A []

b) Committee B []

c) Committee C []

d) other response:

Reasons for response:

suspects that, as a new employee, he is receiving an unreasonable share of the workload. What do you advise him to do?:

a) to deal with the heavy workload by creative planning and better prioritising []

b) to discuss the matter with his supervisor, to explain that he feels he is being overworked []

c) to accept the fact that new employees, for a time at least, tend to be treated in this way []

d) other response:

Reasons for response:

68. You are attending a school board committee meeting at which someone suggests that more commercial sponsorship would be a good way to increase school revenues. You are invited to give your opinions about commercial advertising in the school. You argue:

a) that advertising creates the wrong atmosphere in the school []

b) that since school students are already exposed to a great deal of advertising, it would not be a bad idea to have more advertising in the schools []

c) that advertising often plays on people's weaknesses and insecurities, and that it should, therefore, be discouraged []

d) that advertising is a positive help to people in making informed choices, and should be encouraged []

e) other response:

Reasons for response:

69. Do you ever think of yourself as belonging to a particular social class?

YES []

NO []

UNCERTAIN []

70. If you answered YES to question 69, which class do you belong to?:

MIDDLE CLASS []

WORKING CLASS []

UPPER MIDDLE CLASS []

UNCERTAIN []

OTHER (please specify):

71. Some people feel they have a lot in common with other people of their own class, but others do not feel this way. Would you say that you feel:

Fairly close to people of your own class	[]
Not closer to people of your own class than to people of other classes	[]
Uncertain	[]

72. On the whole, do you think that there is bound to be some conflict between different social classes, or do you think that they can get along together without any conflict?:

Bound to be conflict	[]
Can get along together	[]
Uncertain	[]

73. How much influence did you have in family decision-making as a teenager?

A great deal	[]
Some	[]
Not much	[]
No influence at all	[]
Other response:	

74. Do you feel that the amount of influence you exerted in family decision-making was:

Not nearly enough	[]
Not quite enough	[]
About right	[]
A little too much	[]
Far too much	[]
Other response:	

75. Who made the most important decisions in your family when you were living with your parents?:

Father	[]
Mother	[]
Both equally and together	[]
Both equally, but separately	[]
Uncertain	[]
Only one parent	[]
Other response:	

76. In terms of the social class of the students, would you describe the high school you attended as:

Higher than average	[]
About average	[]
Lower than average	[]
Uncertain	[]
Other response:	

77. In terms of the family incomes of the students, would you describe the high school you attended as:

Higher than average	[]
About average	[]
Lower than average	[]
Uncertain	[]
Other response:	

78. Comparing your social and economic standing in your community today with that of your parents when you were a teenager, would you say that it is :

Much higher	[]
Somewhat higher	[]
About the same	[]
Somewhat lower	[]
Much lower	[]

79. Please indicate the level of schooling attained by your mother:

No school	[]
Elementary school only	[]
Some high school	[]
Completed high school	[]
Some post-school education	[]
Non-university post-school qualification	[]
Bachelor degree	[]
Graduate degree	[]
Other (please specify)	[]
Uncertain	[]

80. Please indicate the level of schooling attained by your father:

No school	[]
Elementary school only	[]
Some high school	[]
Completed high school	[]
Some post-school education	[]
Non-university post-school qualification	[]
Bachelor degree	[]
Graduate degree	[]
Other (please specify)	[]
Uncertain	[]

81. What was your father's major job when you were a teenager?

82. What kind of business or industry was your father's job in?
That is, what did it make or do?

83. Describe some of your father's major duties or activities in his job:

84. Was your father self-employed in his major job?

Yes []

No []

85. If he was self-employed, did your father employ any other persons or did he work on his own?:

Employed other persons []

Worked on his own []

86. If your father worked for someone else, did he manage or supervise any other employees?:

Yes []

No []

you place your father's major job?:

- a) Top professional and managerial (e.g. physician, lawyer, owner of large company, professor) []
- b) Other professional and managerial (e.g. librarian, bank manager, school teacher, food store owner, large farm owner, nurse) []
- c) Skilled manual (e.g. carpenter, electrician, policeman, baker, TV repairman) []
- d) Routine non-manual (e.g. clerk, secretary, receptionist, postal worker) []
- e) Semi-skilled or unskilled manual (e.g. bartender, packer, farm worker, cab driver, labourer, cleaner) []
- f) unemployed []
- g) homemaker []

88. Which grades do you teach?:

89. What was your mother's major job when you were a teenager?

90. What kind of business or industry was your mother's job in? That is, what did it make or do?

91. Describe some of your mother's major duties or activities in her job:

92. Was your mother self-employed in her major job?

Yes []

No []

93. If she was self-employed, did your mother employ any other persons or did she work on her own?:

Employed other persons []

Worked on her own []

94. If your mother worked for someone else, did she manage or supervise any other employees?:

Yes []

No []

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97. Please indicate your household income range for the last tax year (1985) Your figure should COMBINE:

98. To which age group do you belong?:

under 25	[]	45-49	[]
25-29	[]	50-54	[]
30-34	[]	55-59	[]
35-39	[]	over 59	[]
40-44	[]		

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE

APPENDIX TWO

THE SCALES

SCALE 1

"CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS"

ITEM #	ITEM	ITEM - TOTAL CORRELATION	ALPHA IF ITEM DELETED
30.	OWNERS AND MANAGERS SHOULD PUT EMPLOYEES ABOVE PROFITS	.377	.818
31.	GOVERNMENT SHOULD NOT INTERFERE IN BUSINESS	.351	.820
32.	GOVERNMENT SHOULD ENCOURAGE FOREIGN INVESTORS	.279	.823
33.	FINANCIAL INEQUALITY IS GOOD FOR ENCOURAGING COMPETITIVENESS	.501	.812
34.	WORKERS SHOULD OWN AND MANAGE COMPANIES	.397	.817
35.	MEDICARE NEEDS TO BE UPGRADED AND EXPANDED	.441	.815
36.	GOVERNMENTS SHOULD MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR COMPANIES TO LAY OFF WORKERS	.463	.814
37.	GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP RESULTS IN INEFFICIENCY AND WASTE	.302	.823
38.	CATHOLIC BISHOPS WERE RIGHT TO CONDEMN INEQUALITY	.528	.810
39.	WORKERS SHOULD NOT INTERFERE IN PRODUCTION DECISIONS	.375	.818
40.	POVERTY IS DUE TO THE SYSTEM RATHER THAN TO INDIVIDUALS	.473	.813
41.	BANKS SHOULD BE PUBLICLY OWNED AND CONTROLLED	.442	.815
43.	SHAREHOLDERS REMARDS ARE TOO HIGH	.292	.822
44.	FOREIGN AID SHOULD BE SUBSTANTIALLY CUT	.252	.824
45.	GOVERNMENTS PAY TOO MUCH ATTENTION TO UNIONS	.334	.820
46.	BORING JOBS SHOULD RECEIVE MORE PAY	.358	.820
47.	WELFARE SUPPORTS TOO MANY LAZY PEOPLE	.464	.814
48.	GOVERNMENTS SHOULD SELL OFF COMPANIES AND INDUSTRIES	.478	.813
49.	GOVERNMENTS SHOULD GIVE BETTER TAX BREAKS TO BUSINESS	.286	.823
51.	POVERTY SHOULD BE OF THE HIGHEST POLITICAL CONCERN	.504	.812

ALPHA = .825

SCALE 2"YOU PERSONALLY"

ITEM #	ITEM	ITEM - TOTAL CORRELATION	ALPHA IF ITEM DELETED
1.	ALLOCATING THE BUDGET	.458	.738
2.	DESIGNING CURRICULA	.433	.744
3.	ASSESSING TEACHER COMPETENCE	.584	.704
4.	ASSIGNING WORKLOADS	.608	.696
5.	CHOOSING TEXTBOOKS	.441	.742
6.	THE STUDENT-TEACHER RATIO	.493	.729

ALPHA = .761

SCALE 3"CLASSROOM TEACHERS"

ITEM #	ITEM	ITEM - TOTAL CORRELATION	ALPHA IF ITEM DELETED
1.	ALLOCATING THE BUDGET	.396	.715
2.	DESIGNING CURRICULA	.491	.689
3.	ASSESSING TEACHER COMPETENCE	.487	.689
4.	ASSIGNING WORKLOADS	.543	.671
5.	CHOOSING TEXTBOOKS	.357	.725
6.	THE STUDENT-TEACHER RATIO	.529	.676

ALPHA = .732

SCALE 4"SUPERINTENDENTS"

ITEM #	ITEM	ITEM - TOTAL CORRELATION	ALPHA IF ITEM DELETED
1.	ALLOCATING THE BUDGET	.528	.774
2.	DESIGNING CURRICULA	.588	.762
3.	ASSESSING TEACHER COMPETENCE	.648	.746
4.	ASSIGNING WORKLOADS	.652	.744
5.	CHOOSING TEXTBOOKS	.587	.761
6.	THE STUDENT-TEACHER RATIO	.363	.818

ALPHA = .799

SCALE 5"WORKERS"

ITEM #	ITEM	ITEM - TOTAL CORRELATION	ALPHA IF ITEM DELETED
1.	WAGES	.535	.840
2.	PRICES	.754	.783
3.	PROFITS	.663	.808
4.	TAX	.648	.812
5.	WELFARE SERVICES	.654	.811

ALPHA = .844

SCALE 6"UNIONS"

ITEM #	ITEM	ITEM - TOTAL CORRELATION	ALPHA IF ITEM DELETED
1.	WAGES	.544	.875
2.	PRICES	.804	.811
3.	PROFITS	.787	.815
4.	TAX	.737	.829
5.	WELFARE SERVICES	.615	.860

ALPHA = .868

SCALE 7"OWNERS AND MANAGERS"

ITEM #	ITEM	ITEM - TOTAL CORRELATION	ALPHA IF ITEM DELETED
1.	WAGES	.631	.850
2.	PRICES	.734	.753
3.	PROFITS	.758	.727

ALPHA = .841

SCALE 8"CABINET MINISTERS"

ITEM #	ITEM	ITEM - TOTAL CORRELATION	ALPHA IF ITEM DELETED
1.	WAGES	.860	.815
2.	PRICES	.738	.848
3.	PROFITS	.860	.815
4.	TAX	.599	.879
5.	WELFARE SERVICES	.523	.893

ALPHA = .880

SCALE 9"WORKPLACE ALIENATION"

ITEM #	ITEM	ITEM - TOTAL CORRELATION	ALPHA IF ITEM DELETED
1.	MY INVENTIVE AND CREATIVE TEACHING IS DECLINING	.580	.726
2.	COLLEAGUES' INVENTIVE AND CREATIVE TEACHING IS DECLINING	.578	.727
3.	MY NON-WORK RELATIONSHIPS ARE SUFFERING	.595	.721
4.	COLLEAGUES' NON-WORK RELATIONSHIPS ARE SUFFERING	.587	.734

ALPHA = .778

APPENDIX THREE

THE RESEARCH SCHEDULE

1. INTERVIEWS WITH TEACHERS:

DATE:

14 FEBRUARY 1986	ROSEMARY HOEY
14 FEBRUARY 1986	SHARON COOK
8 APRIL 1986	MARGARET BARCLAY
8 APRIL 1986	LYNDELL HUGHES
8 APRIL 1986	MARIAN FISHER
8 APRIL 1986	MARY DORAN
22 MAY 1986	PAT JENNINGS
23 MAY 1986	MARTY GOODIER
23 JUNE 1986	NANCY TANGUAY

2. QUESTIONNAIRE PRE-TEST:

DATE:	PLACE:	NUMBER DISTRIBUTED:	NUMBER RETURNED:
7 APRIL 1986	SIR WILFRID LAURIER HIGH SCHOOL, OTTAWA	25	21
8 APRIL 1986	BELL'S CORNERS ELEMENTARY SCHOOL	10	4

3. FINAL QUESTIONNAIRE DISTRIBUTION:

DATE:	PLACE:	NUMBER DISTRIBUTED:	NUMBER RETURNED:
21 MAY 1986	HIGH SCHOOL 1 - OTTAWA	61	42
21 MAY 1986	HIGH SCHOOL 2 - OTTAWA	52	9
21 MAY 1986	ELEMENTARY SCHOOL 1 - OTTAWA	35	5
22 MAY 1986	HIGH SCHOOLS 1,2,3 - CARLETON	} 104	42
	ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS 1,2,3 - CARLETON		
22 MAY 1986	ELEMENTARY SCHOOL 2 - OTTAWA	34	9
23 MAY 1986	ELEMENTARY SCHOOL 3 - OTTAWA	10	7
23 MAY 1986	ELEMENTARY SCHOOL 4 - OTTAWA	2	2
23 MAY 1986	HIGH SCHOOL 3 - OTTAWA	65	16
26 MAY 1986	ELEMENTARY SCHOOL 5 - OTTAWA	44	11
3 JUNE 1986	ELEMENTARY SCHOOL 6 - OTTAWA	20	17

END

0/2/03/9/2

FIN

group highest in PI, however, is the withdrawn group. The seven teachers who adopt a laissez-faire attitude toward advertising in schools, by selecting response 'b' have a high PI score. As in the case of item 63, it is possible that the teachers' responses are pragmatic rather than illustrative of a desire not to get involved.

Bearing in mind my stated reservations about the conceptualisation and operationalisation of the personal power disposition items and the three characteristic values, Table 5.15 provides sufficient evidence to establish a tentative pattern of relationships between the class consciousnesses of the teachers and their personal power dispositions. The pragmatic and objectifying utilitarians routinely score higher in PI than the assertive and moralistic resistant individuals. Those teachers who manifest resistance also, in most instances, possess substantially SC class consciousnesses. Those who characteristically withdraw from conflict of all kind locate themselves between the poles of class consciousness established by their utilitarian and resistant colleagues.

CONCLUSION:

Having established that there is variation within teacher class consciousness in Chapter Four, I set out in this chapter to explore the nature of this variation. In so doing, I tested certain hypotheses, derived both from the literature