

**POLITICAL ECONOMY OF CLASSISM:
TOWARDS A MORE INTEGRATED
MULTILEVEL VIEW**

Chuck Barone

Department of Economics, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA 17013
barone@dickinson.edu I would like to appreciate Gordon Bergsten and George DeMartino for their close readings, critical insights, and encouragement; thanks are also due to Michael Yates, Deborah Figart, and Patrick Mason for their constructive comments during the review process.

ABSTRACT

Operating within the Marxist tradition, radical economists have utilized a macro-social level structural analysis focusing on modes of production, social relations of production, and class exploitation. But what of classism, the class bigotry and oppression experienced in the everyday lives of working people and their families, at work, in their communities, and in other social spaces? This paper seeks to expand our understanding of the political economy of class by sketching out a multilevel analysis of class oppression as a social system that includes macro, meso, and micro levels, and includes both structures and human agency. It will examine how people come to occupy their class roles; how they learn their particular class outlook, mannerisms, behavior, and culture; and how the personal and social dynamics of class oppression are related to the larger macrostructures of class oppression and exploitation.

I was born in the working-class. Early I discovered enthusiasm, ambition, and ideals; and to satisfy these became the problem of my child-life. My environment was crude and rough and raw. I had no outlook, but an up look rather. My place in society was at the bottom. Here life offered nothing but sordidness and wretchedness, both of the flesh and the spirit; for here flesh and spirit were alike starved and tormented. Jack London, "What Life Means to Me"

Radical political economy (RPE) provides an analytical framework within which to understand class oppression and transform class-based economic systems. Operating within the Marxist tradition, radical economists have utilized a macro-social level structural analysis focusing on modes of production, social relations of production, and class exploitation. But what of other dimensions of class oppression, the class bigotry and oppression experienced in the everyday lives of working people and their families? What of the lived experience of workers and their families, the day-to-day humiliation experienced not only in the spheres of production and distribution, but in the rest of their lives?

While RPE gives us a powerful structural economic analysis of class oppression, these other dimensions of class oppression remain largely in the background. Michael Parenti (1994) notes that "there is...a subjective dimension to class, as experienced in every life" and that "class experience

pervades most of our existence: our speech, dress, education, career opportunities, lifestyles, and choice of friends and spouses (103-14)." The subjective voices and experiences of working people, who live within these class structures, are rarely seen within the pages of political economy.

What is missing from RPE is an understanding of class exploitation and conflict within the larger system of class oppression that can be labeled *classism*, that like racism or sexism operates on both macro and micro levels of objective and subjective experiences.¹ This is important because as Erik Olin Wright states:

The task [of Marxism] is to understand the ways in which macrostructural contexts constrain microlevel processes and the ways in which microlevel subjectivities, choices, and strategies of individuals can affect macrostructural arrangements(Wright 1991: 24).

The economic exploitation of workers could not exist nor could capitalist class structures be reproduced independently of this larger social system of class oppression, without a class culture and the attendant classism which pervades the everyday lives of all class participants.

¹Race and gender studies tend to emphasize micro subjective levels of oppression while those studying class have focused largely on the objective macro structures of oppression. Although it would be interesting to pursue the question of why these differences exist, space does not permit such a discussion here.

The purpose of developing a microlevel analysis of class is to understand the "mechanisms that impinge directly on the lives of individuals [within class locations] as they think, choose, and act in the world(Wright 1991: 23)." Understanding these microlevel mechanisms helps us to better understand the dynamics of class struggle and social change at the point of production as well as at other social locations.

We need to examine how people come to occupy their class roles; how we learn our particular class outlook, mannerisms, behavior, and culture. And we need to understand how the personal and social dynamics of class oppression affect the larger macrostructures of class oppression and exploitation. Bringing classism into the picture broadens our understanding of the political economy of class. It allows us to see better some of the microlevel dimensions of class-based economic exploitation and class reproduction by understanding it as part of a larger system of social oppression. The focus on micro subjectivities and identities adds a missing dimension to political economy.

Classism, rooted in the capitalist macrolevel class structures of exploitation, pits humans against humans. In the dialectics of structure vs agency, the macrolevel institutions of class exploitation and conflict clearly have a

logic and dynamic of their own, independent of the wills of individuals who occupy positions within those structures, constraining what people can and cannot do. Human agency is, on the one hand, constrained by the macrolevel class structures of capitalism while at the same time determining (reproducing as well as transforming) those same structures.

Understanding the personal and social dynamics of class as a system of oppression, and questions of human agency, voice, and identity are critical to fully understanding class oppression and class struggle. Through such an understanding we will be better able to meet the challenge of class liberation and the creation of a society free of classism.

The purpose of this paper is to sketch out a multilevel analysis of class oppression as part of a social system of oppression (classism), by focusing on its personal and social dynamics, and drawing on studies (particularly ethnographies and personal narratives) of class, gender and racial oppression from sociology, education, and race, class, and gender studies. On several counts, this paper breaks new ground. Although many different aspects of class oppression have been studied throughout the social sciences and humanities, they are scattered and there has been no attempt to bring them together in any systematic fashion or view them

within a larger class framework of social oppression. Next, although the use of the term "classism" is starting to appear in oppression studies, it is rarely defined and is conceptually underdeveloped compared with the concepts of racism and sexism.² Classism is uniquely defined and developed here. Finally, placing or casting political economy within this larger social system of class oppression allows us to begin thinking about the ways in which the personal and social dynamics of classism affect the dynamics of class struggle, exploitation, and liberation.

Section I first presents a general definition of oppression as a multi-level social system, drawn from the most recent developments in the social theory of oppression. Then the concept of classism is defined and developed providing the conceptual framework for the rest of the paper. Section II briefly summarizes the political economic (structural) basis of class oppression which will be familiar to most readers. Section III examines the inter-group dynamics of class oppression with an emphasis on class bigotry and prejudice. In Section IV the personal dynamics of classism are examined with an emphasis on the process whereby classist

²Title searches with the key word "classism" pulls up very few titles in the broadest of searches within the humanities and social sciences literature.

beliefs, attitudes, and behavior are internalized in ways that insure that class members play out their socially expected class roles (social reproduction). Section V provides a multidimensional analysis of schooling and the key role it plays in reproducing classism. Finally the implications for political economists of this multilevel analysis of class oppression are examined.

I. Class Oppression As a Social System

Oppression can be defined as the "systematic, institutionalized mistreatment of one group of people by another for whatever reason (Yamato 1995: 66)." Oppression takes place through a complex of "everyday practices, attitudes, assumptions, behaviors, and institutional rules (Lott 1995: 13)." Interactions on the basis of such oppression are relational between oppressor and oppressed, mistreater and victim, dominant and subordinate.

Oppression operates on both macro, meso, and micro levels each interactive with the other. On the macro level oppression is a matter of collectivity, of economic, social, political, and cultural/ideological institutions. At the meso level, oppression operates at the level of group interaction. The micro level is a matter of individuality and identity, our attitudes and interactions with others (Omi & Winant 1994: Ch

4; Ferree & Hall 1996). In other words, oppression operates on personal, inter-group, and cultural/institutional levels.

Both structure, the persistent patterns of social relations, and agency, the self-motivated actions of individuals, are operative on macro, meso, and micro social levels(Ferree & Hall 1996: 930). Depending upon the level, oppression manifests itself differently as aware and unaware prejudice (attitudes, stereotypes, and behavior); discrimination (power); and institutionalized oppression (control and social reproduction).

Classism can be defined as the systematic oppression of one group by another based on economic distinctions, or more accurately one's position within the system of production and distribution. According to Bowles and Gintis(1986) at the institutional level, "Structure allows socially consequential power to be employed against the wills and efforts of those affected thereby"(101).

The primary relation of classism is economic exploitation and consists of squeezing as much labor out of workers as possible and appropriating a disproportionate share of the community's production (surplus product). Class economic exploitation includes the mistreatment of people on the job, forcing people to work long and hard under difficult and often

dangerous conditions, and the denial of the democratic rights of people to control their own production/distribution process. Ben Hamper in his working class memoir *Rivthead* captures the nature of class exploitation:

I was seven years old the first time I ever set foot inside an automobile factory. The occasion was Family Night at the old Fisher Body plant in Flint...If nothing else, this annual peepshow lent a whole world of credence to our father's daily grumble. The assembly line did indeed stink. The noise was very close to intolerable. The heat was one complete bastard...we found my old man down the trim line...We stood there for forty minutes or so, a miniature lifetime, and the pattern never changed. Car, windshield. Car, windshield. Drudgery piled atop drudgery. Cigarette to cigarette. Decades of rolling through the rafters, bones turning to dust, stubborn clocks gagging down flesh, another windshield, another cigarette, wars blinking on and off, thunderstorms muttering the alphabet, crows on power lines, asleep or dead, that mechanical octopus squirming against nothing, nothing, NOTHINGNESS (Hamper 1991: 1-2).

Although rooted in the economy, classism also extends to the social, political, and cultural spheres. Anthropologist Karen Sacks defines class as "membership in a community that is dependent upon waged-labor, but that is unable to subsist or reproduce by such labor alone"(Sacks 1989:543). One of the virtues of this community-based definition is that it allows

us to view class oppression as part of a larger social system of oppression.³

Like other forms of oppression, classism at the intergroup (meso) level consists of prejudice based on negative attitudes toward and classist stereotypes of working class people, and discrimination based on overt behaviors that distance, avoid, and/or exclude on the basis of class distinctions (Bullock 1995: 119).

Class is also clearly a personal experience as Donna Langston states:

...as a result of the class you are born into and raised in, class is your understanding of the world and where you fit in; it's composed of ideas, behavior, attitudes, values, and language; class is how you think, feel, act, look, talk, move, walk; class is what stores you shop at, restaurants you eat in; class is the schools you attend, the education you attain; class is the very jobs you will work at throughout your adult life... We experience class at every level of our lives... In other words, class is socially constructed and all-encompassing. When we experience classism, it will be because of our lack of money... and because of the way we talk, think, act, move--because of our culture (Langston 1995:112).

³For an excellent ethnographic community study of a union organizing drive at the Duke Medical Center that utilizes an integrated multilevel analysis that brings race, class, and gender together see Sacks (1988).

As individuals our class experience is an important part of our identity, who we are, how we are, and how we relate to others and how we see the world.

Class oppression ultimately rests upon a structure of rules and social conventions embodied in institutions, linguistic convention, unwritten custom, and legal practice (Bowles & Gintis 1996:94). Like any other oppression, classism exists because people "agree to" play by the rules.⁴ When people decide not to play by the rules or try to change the rules, they are confronted by a range of social responses from normative peer pressure to intervention by legal authorities to threats and use of physical violence by the dominant classes or those who act on their behalf such as the police or militia. The so-called "power"⁵ of the dominant classes rests upon this structure of rules, the ideology of classism, and the threat or use of violence.

Class exploitation is then part of a larger social system of class oppression, classism. Like other forms of

⁴Unlike neo-classical economists such as Oliver Williamson who view such agreements as the result of voluntary market type exchanges, here class-based "agreements" are reached on an unequal structural terrain and influenced by a coercive social conditioning processes of which more will be written below.

⁵So-called because real power lies with the subordinate classes who represent a clear majority, who when united (no small feat) can and often do defeat their oppressors.

oppression, classism operates on macro(institutional), meso(inter-group), and micro(individual) social levels.

II. The Economic Face of Class Oppression

The primary institutional basis of classism is the mode of production. There is little to add here that has not already been well-analyzed by radical economists. Capitalism has been structured on the basis of classes. The three key economic institutions that generate classes are: private ownership; the hierarchical organization of capitalist factories and offices; and the capitalist division of labor.⁶ These three institutions produce a class-based system of domination and subordination between owners and those who do not own, between managers and those who are managed, and between professionals and those without professional credentials. These can be subsumed into two primary structural bases of class oppression:

- 1) **Capital Ownership:** ownership of the means of production including the land, natural resources, equipment, machinery, factories, offices, farms, and

⁶ Other class divisions, such as the subsumed class model of Wolff and Resnick or the contradictory locations model of Erik Ohlin Wright, can be substituted here if the reader prefers. The three class model presented here has its origins in Nicos Poulantzas' work on the middle class. For a discussion of these class structures see Vanneman & Cannon (1987: Ch. 4) and Wright (1986).

other businesses. Such ownership when it is in the hands of only a few people yields structural or institutional power and control over those who do not own capital. Without access to the means of production, people are unable to survive economically and are placed at a structural disadvantage relative to owners.

2) **Command Positions** within organizational hierarchies (managers, administrators) and in terms of educationally credentialed employees (professionals). Although they often serve at the discretion of owners and do not have ultimate power, managers and professionals often have legally enforceable and thus institutionalized command and authority over others.

Those who do not own and do not have command positions make up the working class majority who account for 73% of U.S. families. The capitalist owning class who own and control the corporate sector represent 2% of families while the middle class consists of those who own small businesses(13%) or occupy command positions based on hierarchical positions and/or professional credentials within the private or public

sectors(12%).⁷ Capitalism is thus structured in a way that generates three primary classes: a capitalist class, middle class, and working class. These classes are structurally opposed to each other creating a system of domination and subordination, power and authority, and class and class conflict.⁸

The macrolevel institutional basis of class oppression goes beyond these economic structures. The capitalist mode of production requires a capitalist system that includes a set of noneconomic institutions and culture to make it work. The family, legal/judicial system, government, schools, church, mental health system, culture, and community organizations are all structured in ways that maintain and reproduce the capitalist mode of production and distribution. Although space does not permit a discussion here of these other institutional bases of class oppression (schooling will be discussed in Section V below), understanding the class-based (as well as other oppression based) nature of these institutions, and the ways in which these reinforce, extend,

⁷Derived from data in Bowles and Edwards (1993: 119).

⁸Of course class structures of domination are not the only forms of economic domination. Gender and racial oppression are interwoven and interactive with class structures of domination.

and challenge class oppression, is important to a complete understanding of how classism works.⁹

III. Inter-Group Dynamics

Because capitalism lacks a social or rational overall coordinating mechanism, people are left on their own to compete for jobs, resources, and income. However, due to limited capital ownership and the limited availability of command positions, some people are able to claim a disproportionate share of the better jobs, resources, and incomes for themselves while denying them to others. The folk wisdom "them that has gits" captures these relationships poignantly.

This is, of course, the basis for economic exploitation and is at the root of all class oppression. It forms the basis for inter-group relations among the three economic classes as they are pitted against each other, and struggle for economic advantage, privilege, status and, as is often the case, economic survival. The extreme maldistribution of income and wealth distribution reveals the profound degree of economic exploitation that takes place in capitalism. The worsening of this distribution in recent years reflects a

⁹The reader is referred to the extensive literature from a variety of Marxist perspectives on class oppression and the role of the state, family, schools, and culture.

shift in the balance of power away from workers to the owning and middle classes

The actual content of class relations (class culture) is elitist, i.e., class oppression and privileges are defended on the basis of one person/group claiming to be more important, smarter, better, more deserving, more qualified, etc. than another person/group. These attitudes frame class behavior and thus inter-class social relations. The oppressed person/group (the working class) is viewed as less intelligent, less talented, inferior, and thus not worth very much. Such views can be patronizing ("they are doing the best they can") or they can be vicious ("working class people are stupid, dirty, lazy, and uncivilized").

Carol Tarlen (1994), university clerical worker and writer, writes about what it was like growing up working class and being viewed through such a lens:

I am motivated by the pain and anger that comes from being rejected because of my class background. I want to prove to all those girls whose parents had 'professional jobs'...the ones whose hair neatly curled into pageboys; who wore plaid knee-length pleated skirts and lambswool sweaters; the ones who quit associating with me when I said I lived in...the housing tract notorious for its Latino and Okie inhabitants; and especially the ones who assumed that having an old mattress on your front lawn was a sign of intellectual

inferiority and moral degeneration--I want to prove...that tough girls from the other side of the highway can't be shoved to the back of the classroom anymore, that we have lives filled with love, honor, imagination, risk. See me, I want to say, acknowledge my talent and intelligence(21).

Classist patterns and attitudes such as these are the source of much prejudice and have been used to denigrate and discriminate against working class people, and to rationalize current and past oppression of millions of people the world over. Widespread anti-union sentiments, attacks on welfare and the poor, and negative media stereotypes of working class people, especially TV sitcoms, are examples of classism in action.¹⁰

Such individual classist beliefs and attitudes frame inter-class relations (behavior), and they facilitate the systematic economic exploitation and oppression of working people. The objective structures of class oppression and exploitation require, on a subjective level, socially held classist beliefs and attitudes. On a social level, individually held beliefs are rooted in a cultural belief system, a classist ideology which rationalizes class oppression as just and equitable. In the U.S. it is a

¹⁰For a discussion of class bias and the media see Puette (1992) and Bullock (1995:127-130).

cultural belief in the ideology of individual achievement, the myth of meritocracy, where anyone can make it if they work hard, that individuals rise on the basis of their own effort and ability. Success honors those who make it and failure stigmatizes those who fail. Conservatives tend to emphasize moral failure, criticizing and scorning those who fail, while liberals tend to focus on deficiency, expressing pity and concern for those unfortunate enough to fail (Lewis 1978: 10).

Although cast in terms of individuals and equal opportunities, this ideology is classist. It casts working class people as inferior and incompetent, and middle and owning class people as superior if not blessed by God. It allows people to rationalize and ignore class oppression, to see and understand the social universe as merely the result of individual interaction, and to view class oppression as "normal" and a "natural" part of a secular or divine order.¹¹ *The Bell Curve*, the recent best-selling book by Herrnstein and Murray, is an attempt to renew and legitimate this view in the

¹¹I am grateful to my colleague, sociologist Susan Rose, for reminding me of the powerful role of religion in legitimating classism. Her own path breaking work on religious fundamentalism illuminates the powerful hold that religion can have on people. See particularly Rose (1988).

face of currently growing class and racial inequality and bigotry.¹²

There are many powerful studies of gender and race supporting the position that while biology(nature) does play some role in explaining gender and racial differences, environment (culture) plays a far more powerful role in explaining social differences(Ortner and Whitehead 1981; Jaggar 1988: Part Two). Although studies on the causes of class differences are not as extensive, there is some evidence and every reason to assume that class inequality and class differences are not reflective of natural or innate differences, but are acquired and socially constructed.¹³ Rather than being part of our innate nature, class differences are culturally constructed and socially enforced by classism.

IV. Personal Dynamics of Classism

¹²For an excellent critique of Richard Herrnstein's and Charles Murray's *The Bell Curve* (NY: The Free Press, 1994) see Claude Fischer, *et al Inequality by Design: Cracking the Bell Curve Myth* (Princeton,NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).

¹³For a good summary and discussion of this evidence see Argyle (1994).

At the personal or individual level, the internalization of classist beliefs, attitudes, and behavior is the result of a socializing and conditioning process which consists of installing on individuals patterns of behavior, mannerisms, and beliefs that insure conformity to class roles.¹⁴ To occupy such roles people have to be conditioned. Acting out or occupying these roles requires that we give up part of our uniquely human qualities, of choosing our own identities.¹⁵ We are given the choice as young children to play out our socially expected role(s), a painful process at best, or get punished with far worse. If you are female and act like a boy, or white and act black, or owning class and act working class, if you resist role conditioning, you risk humiliation and isolation, being ostracized and subjected to emotional and physical abuse.¹⁶

¹⁴ The following analysis is based on the co-counseling theory developed by Harvey Jackins (1972) and the experiences of the International Re-Evaluation Co-Counseling Communities who have been working to heal the affects of oppression, reclaim their full human potential and shape their own identities. For a summary, extension, and further discussion of these ideas see Barone (1995).

¹⁵Although the nature of human beings has been debated for centuries, without entering into that debate, it is here assumed that these inherent human qualities are our capacity to love, our power to take charge of our universe and affect change, our capacity for rational and intelligent thought, our ability to feel and be completely sensitive to our own and each others humanity, and our capacity for complete joy and excitement.

¹⁶Material success and economic security are held out as rewards in return for occupying oppressor roles, replacing genuine human needs with an

Role conditioning begins at birth, extends through young adulthood and is then reinforced throughout adulthood. When we are young we have little choice but to submit to conditioning and carry out our prescribed social roles.

We working-class people have been conditioned as children to be submissive, to devalue ourselves, to think we are ignorant compared to other people, to feel powerless, to settle for very little, to accept insecurity as an unavoidable fact of life, to feel 'lucky to have a job,' and to despise ourselves and each other for not standing up for ourselves and each other and for giving in to violence at each other and to alcoholism(Jackins 1988: 3).

Once conditioned into our respective socially constructed roles (most of us occupy multiple roles, e.g., white gay male working class or black heterosexual female middle class) much of our identity, behavior, actions, and interactions relate back to our socializing experiences as young children.¹⁷ This process is not without its own structural contradictions. Waites (1993) argues that the socialization and conditioning of females into socially constructed gender roles creates dilemmas and double binds. For example,

artificially created materialism which serves both to keep people in their socially constructed roles and fuel capitalist accumulation. See Wachtel (1983).

¹⁷For a discussion of the ways in which these early experiences play themselves out later on in dominant/subordinate social relationships see Barone (1995).

From birth, little girls are subjected to incessant but contradictory messages about their sexuality....Be attractive, but not seductive; be noticeably feminine, but not provocative; be helpful, but not controlling (45-46).

Taylor, Gilligan, & Sullivan (1995) in their study of a diverse group of adolescent females from working class families found similar kinds of dilemmas and double binds based on class, race, and gender.

Role reproduction is further complicated by the "complex ways in which people mediate and respond to the interface between their own lived experiences and structures of domination and constraint."¹⁸ As a result cultures of resistance may develop alongside cultures of accommodation. Ethnographic studies show that while working class cultures of resistance have transformative potential they wind up reproducing class roles and structures (MacLeod 1995; Willis 1977).

Although these contradictory structures of class conditioning and the interplay of human agency are important, given the generally reproductive outcomes, they can be safely

¹⁸Henry Giroux *Theory and Resistance* as quoted in MacLeod (1995:19)

ignored here.¹⁹ Furthermore, in spite of some variability of individual working class patterns, the focus here is on the more general working class patterns of identity, attitudes, behavior, and interaction.

As a result of social conditioning many of the working class internalize negative beliefs and stereotypes about themselves. We are bombarded daily with thousands of subtle and not so subtle messages about ourselves and others.

I remember-the pain of being humiliated because I was a skinny child who was teased at school for wearing too small dresses and living in a trailer; or a recent humiliation when one of the faculty I work for gave me dirty look because I forgot to give her a message...I remember sitting at my receptionist's desk as two female faculty carried on a conversation literally over my head, discussing the private schools their children were attending, oblivious to my presence (Tarlen 1994: 21).

These classist messages have a powerful affect on people, making the social construction of reality appear as the natural state of human beings. Classism experienced on a daily basis by working class people reinforces class conditioning. Working class people tend to view themselves and be seen by others as not very smart or stupid, uneducated

¹⁹Although the structure of class oppression may overwhelm human agency here, class struggle and resistance at the micro as well as other social levels is not entirely without effect. This will be discussed along with the political implications of this approach later in the paper.

and inarticulate, poor leaders, lacking in ability and lazy, crude and uncivilized. But they view those in the middle and owning class as superior and more intelligent, ambitious, with greater poise, self-confidence and leadership (Argle 1994:Ch 9).

Judy Kujundzic (1988) speaks out about what it's like being working class:

What's hard about being working-class is never feeling like you're working class enough. Like you don't work hard enough or you're not funny enough...It's hard to speak up. It's hard to notice that you think real well and to go ahead and do it, not just freezing up even after you decide you're going to think and act...It's hard to notice how smart you are, that you think all the time...It's sometimes hard to remember how clever other working-class people are because they work real hard at covering it up and acting dumb whenever the situation seems like that's what's required...It's hard getting people to take action, to move against how they feel, to move as a group, although it can be done...The other thing about being working-class is the hopelessness, the sense that you know there are so many things wrong, and you can't figure out where to start to take them on and pull them down (67-68).

This is called internalized oppression and as a result many become resigned to their class fate and show deference to one's "betters." Members of oppressed groups are emotionally, physically, and spiritually abused until they begin to believe that oppression is their lot in life, that it is somehow

deserved, natural, right, or conversely, that it does not exist (Yamato 1995:66).

Clarissa Sligh, artist and photographer, shares her experience growing up working class:

...I began to notice that people who had more than us felt that because we had to scrape to get by, that they were better than us. I began to believe it too. Momma said they worked harder, had more than one job, and handled their money better than us(Sligh 1994: 254).

Internalized oppression insures the perpetuation (reproduction) of the class system from one generation to the next. Suzanne Lipsky (1987) explains the power and role of internalized oppression:

Internalized racism has been the primary means by which we have been forced to perpetuate and 'agree' to our own oppression. It has been a major factor preventing us, as black people, from realizing and putting into action the tremendous intelligence and power which in reality we possess(1).

Class oppression, like racism, requires that individuals internalize class domination and subordination and to the extent that we do we become resigned to our fates. Although there is mobility (up and down), class stability is the norm.²⁰

²⁰The dynamics of class stability and schooling are clearly illuminated in MacLeod (1995). For the most recent data on income mobility see Mishel, Bernstein, & Schmitt (1996:97ff).

Even those who fight back and rebel often wind up reproducing the very class system they are rebelling against.²¹

Owning class and middle class children are also conditioned in similar ways and generally internalize the belief that they are superior, smarter, and good leaders, and that working class people are inferior and worthless. These beliefs, and the attitudes and behavior that accompanies them, make up the classist oppressor pattern and insure that most middle and owning class young people will occupy middle and owning class positions.

Middle class people have been placed in a precarious position between the owning class and the working class; they are both oppressed and oppressor. Often plagued by feelings of inadequacy, guilt, a fear of falling and moral slippage, not working hard enough, not being productive enough, and complicity in class oppression, middle class people, underneath their pretenses, have been hurt and held prisoner inside their humanly constricted and conditioned roles. Putting a happy face on it all often takes an extraordinary amount of energy, and it takes its toll on middle class people

²¹See Willis' (1977) classic working class ethnography.

in spite of the generally held belief that they are living the "American Dream."²²

Classism results in people whose basic humanity has been seriously distorted and whose human values have been compromised and members of the owning class are no exception. Although Marx recognized the alienation of the bourgeoisie, there are few contemporary studies of the harmful effects of class oppression on the dominant classes.²³

Cookson and Persell (1986) in their study of elite private schools describe what they call the "prepping" process of upper class children:

...the systematic wearing down of individual identities into a single collective identity...What we found was a conspiracy of forces-powerful institutional controls, peer pressures and personal resignation...In order to forge the prep personality, the schools rely on...strict discipline, shared rituals, and what we call 'deep structural regulation'(35).

²² For an interesting analysis of middle class angst see Erhenrich (1990).

²³There is a growing literature on the negative effects of racism on whites and sexism on men, see for example Feagin & Vera (1995:Ch 7); Bowser & Hunt(1996); Blood, Tuttle, & Lakey(1995); and Irwin,Jackins,&Kreiner(1992). Like racism and sexism, classism forces members of dominant classes into socially conditioned and constructed roles, roles that, although they may "benefit" from in material and other ways, separate them from many of their distinctively human qualities. In addition to Cookson and Persell(1986) on class, see the writings of psychoanalyst Michael Maccoby(1976) whose work with wealthy clients has provided insights into the owning class psyche. The journal *Coming Home* (1996) contains many stories of owning class people who are giving up their destructive patterns of oppression.

Quite the opposite of places of privileges, these schools are oppressive, examples of what sociologists call "total institutions" where individual needs are completely subordinated to the goals of the institution. The human cost of owning class conditioning is high:

The psychological price of prepping includes a relinquishing of personal identity, a loss of innocence and a growth of cynicism. Having paid their dues, students who survive the rite of passage obtain membership in an elite group, which they embrace with a strong sense of psychological and social entitlement(35).

Cookson and Persell go on to conclude that the "structure of boarding school life prepares many students for a life as prisoners of their class" creating "generations of individuals, some of whom are crippled, rather than empowered, by privilege (35)."

Although class conditioning has negative affects on all classes, it is still a way of constructing owning and middle class dominance, creating people who will oppress others. Working class people have borne the brunt of class oppression both through the denial of the fruits of their labor (low and inadequate incomes, poverty, economic hardship) and through mistreatment both on and off the job (overwork, injuries, illness, death, oppressive work conditions, layoffs). Working

class people experience on a daily basis subtle and overt class bigotry as they are confronted with middle and owning classist attitudes and behavior. Indeed, the repeated acting out of classism, reinforces across lifetimes class oppression and the exploitation of working people, in the same way that sexism and racism enforce the oppression of women and people of color.

What has been said up to this point has ignored other forms of oppression. It is important not to generalize about class structures and experience on the basis of white male perspectives. Within classes there are many important differences such as race, ethnicity, religion, gender, sexuality, nationality, occupation, where we live, and parents who come from different class backgrounds that make our subjective and objective experiences within classes sometimes very different from each other. This often makes class a very confusing experience for many of us and creates "fractured identities." It means that there is no single perspective or standpoint, but rather multiple class perspectives.²⁴ However, it is important not to lose sight of the overall class

²⁴The importance of different stand points comes out of the work on feminist epistemology, see especially the work of Sandra Harding. Standpoint methodologies have been extended to multiple-standpoints include race, class, and gender. Patricia Hill-Collins' (1991) work on black feminist thought is instructive.

structure of exploitation and oppression within which these class differences play themselves out and which shape the choices of individuals.

V. Classism, Schooling, and Class Reproduction

A key distinguishing quality of the owning class is that capital ownership can be inherited whereas the command positions of the middle class cannot. Middle class youth often must become credentialed before they can obtain command positions. Of course, they have all the advantages that their class positions confer upon them--money, confidence, good schools, social connections, and even nepotism.²⁵ One of my middle-class college students wrote of her class background:

When I was six years old, my girls friends and I used to sit around and talk about where we would go to college. It wasn't a choice, we just knew that we would go to college and become professionals... When I graduate from college I will work for a large luxury hotel and will manage my own hotel someday (Student Paper).

This student's sense of middle class confidence and entitlement stands out; college and a successful professional career appear as a birthright, not something one must struggle for and if lucky achieve. Contrast this with a working class voice :

²⁵ On nepotism see "The New Nepotism: Why Dynasties Are Making a Comeback" *Business Week*. April 4, 1988: 106-109.

In 1980 I got a clerical job at a university...After twelve years, I was laid off [discarded as so much human excrement]. This job meant a lot to me, since I had no hope of ever getting 'professional' employment. Although I attended college, I never finished. I felt alienated from my middle-class peers. Writing papers was agony, because the linear, rational thinking required of them was impossible for someone with my background. Therefore, the working class for me is something there is no escape from. It's an eternal present as well as memory (Joseph 1995: 137).

The school system, at the institutional level plays a predominant role in both the social conditioning process and the reproduction and legitimation of class inequality.²⁶ Well known are the effects of property-based school taxes which result in inferior schools in less wealthy working class communities.²⁷ Additionally, next to the family, schools are perhaps the most important conditioning agent, holding out the promise of individual mobility while reinforcing expected social roles and insuring the success of the already successful. Within dominant cultural discourse, education is erroneously viewed as a sorting process where individuals with

²⁶The pioneering work by radical economists Bowles and Gintis *Schooling In Capitalist America* (1976) laid the groundwork for subsequent studies of the roles of education in the reproduction of capitalism. For a good analysis of schooling and class reproduction based on ethnographic studies see MacLeod (1995) and Willis (1977). See also the extensive work by educational theorist Michael Apple.

²⁷The best contemporary study of unequal schooling is Jonathan Kozol's *Savage Inequalities*.

superior abilities do well academically and are rewarded with command positions and economic privileges. Individuals with inferior abilities or who are not motivated and do not work hard, do not do well in school and wind up in working class positions with low pay and poor working conditions or without a job at all. Class inequality is thus rationalized as a meritocracy.

Jay MacLeod's now classic 1987 working class ethnography, *Ain't No Makin' It*, shows the fallacy of the belief that hard work and motivation always pay off. This study focuses on two groups of working class teens who live in the same housing project. The white Hallway Hangers, who see the system as rigged against them, refuse to go along; they aren't motivated, don't study, and rebel at every chance. The black Brothers, on the other hand, do all the right things; they are motivated, behave themselves, and have the right values for success. Yet both sets of teens wind up not making it.

MacLeod explains:

Conservative and liberal commentators alike often contend that if the poor would only apply themselves, behave responsibly, and adopt bourgeois values, then they will propel themselves into the middle class. The Brothers follow the recipe quite closely but the outcomes are disappointing. They illustrate how rigid and durable the class structure is. Aspiration,

application, and intelligence often fail to cut through the firm figurations of structural inequality...[The Brothers'] dreams of comfortable suburban bliss currently are dreams deferred, and likely to end up as dreams denied (1995: 241).

Perhaps the biggest fraud of all perpetuated by the school system is the underlying belief that individuals differ significantly in terms of innate intelligence.²⁸ School performance data shows that on average working class children don't do as well in school as children of the middle or owning classes (Walsh & Witt 1985). Therefore, it is incorrectly assumed that they must not be as bright, smart, or intelligent. This emphasis on intellectual inequality lies at the heart of "higher" education.²⁹

The reality is that schools are systematically biased against working class students. Working class ways of knowing, seeing, and being (often referred to as cultural capital) are systematically depreciated and invalidated in

²⁸William Ryan argues that the differences in "inherited" qualities must differ significantly if they are to explain economic inequality. On this point and other controversies over defining and measuring intelligence see Ryan (1981); Blum (1978); Argyle (1994: Ch 7); and Fischer et al (1996).

²⁹"Higher education" is of course structured and based very much on a whole set of classist, as well as racist and sexist, beliefs. As faculty we need to transform these oppression-based structures as well as eliminate the elitism and arrogance that many of us have internalized.

schools.³⁰ Education and much of what is taught is based on middle and owning class ways of knowing, seeing, and being.

Anthropologist and linguist Shirley Brice Heath(1983) has done an ethnographic study of two Southern working class communities and she documents these class (and race) based educational biases:

The school is not a neutral objective arena; it is an institution which has the goal of changing people's values, skills, and knowledge bases. Yet some portions of the population, such as [the middle and owning classes], bring with them to school linguistic and cultural capital accumulated through hundreds of thousands of occasions for practicing the skills and espousing the values the schools transmit. Long before reaching school, [such] children...have made the transition from home to the larger societal institutions which share the values, skills, and knowledge bases of the school. Their eventual positions of power in the school and the workplace are foredestined in the conceptual structures which they have learned at home and which are reinforced in school and numerous other institutions (367-368).

According to language and literature professor Janet Zandy(1994)

Oral language (vocabulary, syntax, inflection, pronunciation, diction, exclamations, blessings, curses) is a giveaway class identity marker...Class marks not only our tongues, but also our bodies. Working-class

³⁰For a discussion and study of these biases see MacLeod (1995: Ch 6).

people practice a language of the body that eludes theoretical textual studies. Working-class people do not have the quiet hands or the neutral faces of the privileged classes(5).

These class markers identify one's social and economic class background, making it difficult to hide one's class background or assimilate into another class or avoid class bigotry and prejudice let alone negotiate the educational terrain that relies on middle and owning class cultural capital.

Linguistic studies³¹ show that middle and owning class students, because they often come from a more isolated and individualistic environment, have to explain themselves, their positions, and ideas at length because they cannot assume shared meaning. Everything has to be carefully explained and fully articulated to insure meaning for the listener. Working class students, on the other hand, often come from a more communal environment where they are more connected to others and where meaning is often shared through common experiences. They don't have to explain themselves at length and in such detail because they can assume the listener has a shared context and will understand.

³¹ Much of this work is based on the pioneering class studies by Basil Bernstein which is summarized in MacLeod (1995: Ch 2) and Argyle (1994: Ch 6).

Working class use of language and ways of knowing are thus contextual and organic whereas middle and owning class are elaborated and linear. Schooling emphasizes the linguistic patterns and the kinds of thinking that white, male middle and owning class patterns generate. Anyone whose linguistic patterns or thinking do not fit this norm or who have difficulty adapting to such norms are systematically depreciated and labeled inferior, slow, stupid, or learning disabled and are graded and tracked accordingly.

Because of the inherent classist basis of schooling, working class students often perform poorly, while middle and upper class students do well. Ethnographic studies confirm these results and reveal the ways that middle and owning class behavioral norms are validated while working class norms are punished and invalidated in school (MacLeod 1995; Heath 1983).

Many do not attempt to cross these class divides, choosing not to risk failure in what is sometimes perceived as a rigged game as the following statement from one of MacLeod's (1995) working class student interviews illustrates:

SHORTY: Hey, you can't get no education around here unless you're fucking rich, y'know? You can't get no education...And you can't get a job once they find out where you come from. 'You from Clarendon Heights? Oh shit. It's them kids again' (p.121).

Group loyalty is often valued more highly than upward mobility so there is resistance to being separated from one's class peers. Often individual survival is viewed as dependent upon membership in a group and group membership is valued more highly than individual mobility. The following exchange between MacLeod and another working class student illustrates this point:

JINKS: I'd say everyone more or less has the same attitudes toward school: fuck it. Except the bookworms- people who just don't hang around outside and drink, get high, who sit at home-they're the ones who get the education.

JM: And they just decided for themselves?

JINKS: Yup

JM: So why don't more [low income] people decide that way?

JINKS: Y'know what it is Jay? We all don't break away because we're too tight. Our friends are important to us. Fuck it. If we can't make it together, fuck it. Fuck it all(119).

Of course there are young people who in spite of these risks do cross school class boundaries. Many are not successful and blame themselves for failure (internalized oppression). For working class students, doing well in school means being bi-cultural and bi-lingual, and it often means a denial of one's self, culture, and people. Carol

Faulkner(1994), a teacher at Lane Community College in Oregon, writes about college and the costs of becoming an academic:

A college education was never my birthright, but something I always knew I had to struggle to get. I was sixteen when my mother came to my school, pulled me out of history class, and told me the shop was closing. My father was already disabled by then, and I went back to class dazed with a picture in my head of having to forget college and go to work to support my parents as my father had done before me. It's hard to explain what getting an education has meant to me, but more and more I ask myself what good is it to have arrived if I have to pretend to be someone else when I get there. What I really want is to be accepted and respected for who I am within the academic community(201).

Many of the upwardly mobile working class find themselves with a foot in both worlds but do not feel at home in either world. Sennett's and Cobb's classic work, *The Hidden Injuries of Class*, vividly portrays the personal costs experienced by upwardly mobile working class people, the costs of class assimilation.³² Jake Ryan's and Charles Sackrey's(1984) collection of stories by academics from the working class, who like Carol Faulkner above have difficulty fitting in, reveals both the difficulty of assimilation as well as the classism on

³²Steinitz and Solomon (1986) find in their ethnographic study of mobility in working class communities, that the experience of mobility is contingent and depends upon a number of factors, not just class background.

college and university campuses. One faculty member sums his experience up this way:

Being a working class academic is sometimes very lonely. It's difficult to relate to most colleagues, but it is also difficult to relate to working-class folks, who tend not to trust you since got to be a "Doctor" (Sackrey and Ryan 1984: p 257).

Although more difficult to identify than say sexism or racism, given the existing low level of class awareness, classist patterns of behavior and attitudes among the faculty of college and universities, particularly more elite institutions, make it difficult for those with working class backgrounds to fit in. The same is true for students and more generally for others from the working class in other middle class settings.³³

The middle classes in many ways are the standard bearers of U.S. culture and society. Most Americans dream of, if not aspire to, middle class status and it is the middle class, at least the white heterosexual gentile middle class, that set the standards of "normality" by which most people are judged both in and out of school. Middle class standards of

³³In addition to Ryan and Sackrey (1984) there are a number of other studies of faculty from the working class: Tokarczyk and Fay (1993); Penelope (1994): and Dews and Law (1995). Also the 1996 issue of *Race, Gender, and Class* (4(1)) is devoted to working class intellectual voices and Zandy (1994) includes the voices of cultural workers raised working class.

cleanliness, demeanor, quietness, pleasantness, hard work, and denial are examples of such behavioral norms or yardsticks. These norms are reinforced by the family, schools, and by the mental health system of counselors, psychologists, and psychiatrists.³⁴

However, these standards or norms were not generated in a social vacuum; they are the characteristics and patterns of behavior required for middle class command positions (managers and professionals). Middle class standards are enforced by the owning class whom the middle classes serve. According to sociologist Edna Bonacich

In my view, middle class people (including myself) are essentially the sergeants of the system. We professionals and managers are paid by the wealthy and powerful, by corporations and the state, to keep things in order. Our role is one of maintaining the [class] system... We are a semi-elite. We are given higher salaries, social status, better jobs, and better life chances as payment for our service to the system. If we were not useful to the power elite, they would not reward us(Bonacich 1989)

The interplay of class structure and human agency, and the interplay between macro, meso, and micro social levels are quite complex. Classism, schooling, and the shunting of

³⁴For a discussion of the mental health system and its role in maintaining class as well as other forms of oppression see Foner and Alexander (1991).

individuals into capitalist class structures both preserves the illusion of just desserts while reproducing class structures and class oppression.

VI. Summary and Implications

Classism, rooted in the capitalist macrolevel class structures of exploitation, pits humans against humans. In the dialectics of structure versus agency, the macrolevel institutions of class exploitation and conflict clearly have a logic and dynamic of their own, independent of the wills of individuals who occupy positions within those structures, constraining what people can and cannot do. This is the terrain well known to radical economists. Human agency is, on the one hand, constrained by the macro, as well as meso and micro social levels of capitalist class structures, while at the same time determining (reproducing as well as transforming) those same structures. This part of the social landscape is less well-known.

The subjective basis of capitalist institutions is the patterned attitudes and behaviors of individuals. Like other forms of oppression, class oppression requires that people have to be socialized and conditioned to occupy and play out

their respective class roles and participate in class oppression. These microlevel forces help to explain how individuals learn their particular class outlook, mannerisms, demeanor, and culture, indeed how individuals within classes think, choose, and act in the world.

The same conditioned patterns that form much of the basis for our identity, attitudes, behavior, and interaction at the micro level also provide the underlying basis for macro level economic, social, and political institutions. The individual, overlapping patterns of racism, sexism, classism, etc. at the micro level get institutionalized or codified and embedded in institutions, culture, and ideology. The social construction of identity gets transformed into the social construction of institutions. At this macro social level, oppression seems to operate independent of human will or volition. In the dialectic of structure and agency, structure appears to win out over human agency. However, the subjective basis of these institutions and culture is the patterned behavior and attitudes of individuals. The patterns or records materialize at this structural level and exist in a frozen ordered state, as "products" of human creation.³⁵

³⁵Historically the interplay of structure and agency is clear. People both create institutions and are created by them. For an interesting discussion of this interplay and the legitimating role of economic theory see

Class patterns of thinking and behavior at the personal level hold classism in place at the inter-group mesolevel and account for the on-going class bigotry and prejudice experienced by the working class. Pumping surplus labor out of workers could not exist without classism anymore than the oppression of people of color or women could exist without racism and sexism. The ongoing aware and unaware rehearsal of the patterns of class bigotry and prejudice serves to keep people locked into the system of class oppression, as "prisoners" of their class. Classism prevents people from creating a classless society free of classism, with economic structures of cooperation and sharing.

Although all the implications of the analysis of classism sketched out here have yet to be worked out, a couple of preliminary observations can be made. At the most general level this analysis provides a more inclusive multilevel analytic framework within which to view and understand class oppression as a social system of oppression. Defining and bringing classism into the picture allows us to see better some of the micro and meso level dimensions of class-based economic exploitation, social domination, and reproduction by

understanding these as part of a larger system of class oppression that operates on multiple social levels. The focus on the personal and social dynamics of classism adds many missing and important dimensions to our understanding of the political economy of capitalism. The lived experience of workers and their families, the subjective voices and experiences of working people, bring life and a new vibrancy to our predominantly structural political economic analysis.

By viewing class oppression as a multilevel process where social structure and human agency interact, we can begin to see some of the complexities of the process of social reproduction and the ways that people are conditioned and socialized to participate as oppressor and oppressed in the system of class exploitation. The social contradictions at these micro and meso social levels are no less important than the political economic contradictions that emanate from the mode of production, or those within the capitalist system as a whole at other macrolevel sites such as the state, family, schools, or within capitalist culture. Much more attention needs to be given to the exact nature of these social contradictions if we are to develop more effective political strategies and policies for radical reform and revolutionary change.

Ending class oppression will require more than changing the macrolevel structures of economic exploitation; it will require the elimination of classism on all levels. While the mode of production has a powerful influence on individual attitudes and actions, people are not passive or indifferent in the face of such pressures.³⁶ Understanding working class identities and cultures of resistance as well as cultures of conformity are likely to be critical at micro and meso levels for effective political mobilization not just within the labor movement but at a variety of other social locations including the family, schools, and community. Successful revolutionary change or the radical reform of capitalism are both limited by the micro and meso level objective and subjective forces of classism.

The challenge is figuring out how to empower human agents in the context of the social structures of class conditioning and socialization in order to transform cultures of conformity and resistance into cultures of liberation. Of particular importance here is understanding how working class cultures of resistance can be used to foster and promote multilevel

³⁶The ethnographic studies of MacLeod (1995) and Willis(1977), and the theoretical work of Giroux (1983) show convincingly that not only are individuals not passive they are active agents often producing counter cultures or cultures of resistance.

structural change. Structure and agency are clearly interactive across multiple levels, sites and locations.³⁷ The labor movement and class struggle at the point of production have certainly transformed, in intended and unintended ways, capitalist class structures, but they have not supplanted them (Braverman 1974; Edwards 1979; Gordon, Edwards, & Reich 1982). The work of Burawoy (1979) and Fantasia (1988) show how both cultures of consent and solidarity are manufactured by the capitalist organization of work and by working class resistance and struggle.

The intellectual and political challenge is to understand and exploit both the oppositional and collaborative forces of human agency for radical reform and revolutionary social structural change. The multilevel framework and analysis of class oppression developed here complements in many ways the "social regulation of labor" school which views labor as embedded in and shaped by a social context that extends well beyond the mode of production. According to Peck (1996), "making workers" is a complex and contradictory process which requires the socialization of work within the family,

³⁷Perhaps the richest discussions of structure vs agency have been taking place in the field of education. For a good summary of these debates see MacLeod (1995: Ch 2). See also the discussion in the context of political economic analysis by Bowles and Gintis (1986).

educational system, and the community in ways that "shape the process by which working class kids get working class jobs(28)." The analysis of the personal and social dynamics of classism that have been sketched out here provides a missing piece of the social regulation of labor story.

Our failure to understand the personal and social dynamics of classism is perhaps one of the principle reasons for our failure as leftists to organize and mobilize effective working class reform or revolutionary movements. This is one of the lessons of the feminist and anti-racism movements: institutional changes are limited by changes in the attitudes and behavior of individual men and whites. The feminist political slogan "the personal is political" applies with equal force to classism.

On a personal level freeing ourselves (all classes) from classism requires reversing the conditioning process through healing the wounds of class oppression, reclaiming our past and present class experiences, and sorting out how classism presently and in the past prevents us from being ourselves, from shaping our own identities, and from having the kinds of relationships we want with all people.³⁸ Reversing class

³⁸I can personally attest to the liberation value of the healing work that I have done within the International Reevaluation Co-Counseling

conditioning, particularly working class internalized oppression, is key to successful working class liberation. As political economists we are not immune to the larger social and cultural forces of classism, and are thus not free of classism no matter how much we might champion working class liberation. We need to address the ways that we have personally internalized classism and the way that classism has shaped our own identities. Of course, eliminating classism also requires that we take leadership to organize other members of our class and form alliances with those from other classes in order to get rid of capitalism and create a classless system of production and distribution that is free of classism and that is democratic, equitable, and humane.

Community(RC). RC provides a model of personal recovery and liberation from the effects of social conditioning and oppression based on peer co-counseling. (Jackins 1972)

REFERENCES

- Apple, Michael. 1982. *Education and Power*. NY: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Argyle, Michael. 1994. *The Psychology of Social Class*. NY: Routledge.
- Barone, Chuck. 1995. *The Personal and Social Dynamics of Oppression*. Working Paper Dickinson College.
- Blood, Peter and Allan Tuttle and George Lakey. 1995. "Understanding and Fighting Sexism: A Call to Men." *Race, Class, and Gender*. Margaret Andersen and Patricia Hill Collins (eds). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing.
- Blum, Jeffrey M. 1978. *Pseudoscience and Mental Ability*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Bowles, Samuel and Richard Edwards. 1993. *Understanding Capitalism*. Second Edition. New York: Harper-Collins.
- Bowles, Samuel and Herb Gintis. 1986. *Democracy and Capitalism*. NY: Basic Books.
- Bowles, Samuel and Herb Gintis. 1976. *Schooling In Capitalist America*. NY: Basic Books.
- Bowser, Benjamin and Raymond Hunt (eds). 1996. *Impacts of Racism on White Americans*. Second Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

- Bonocich, Edna. 1989. Inequality in America: The Failure of the American System for People of Color. *Sociological Spectrum* 9(1).
- Bullock, Heather. 1995. "Class Acts: Middle-Class Responses to the Poor." *The Social Psychology of Interpersonal Discrimination*. Bernice Lott and Diane Maluso(eds). pp.118-159. NY: Guilford Press.
- Burawoy, M. 1979. *Manufacturing Consent*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Cookson, Peter and Caroline Persell. March, 1986. "The Price of Privilege," *Psychology Today*. pp 30-35.
- _____ 1986. *Preparing For Power: America's Elite Boarding Schools*. NY: Basic Books.
- Daniels, Jim. 1990. *Punching Out*. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press.
- Dews, C.L. Barney and Carolyn Leste Law. Eds. 1995. *This Fine Place So Far From Home: Voices of Academics From the Working Class*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Ehrenreich, Barbara. 1990. *Fear of Falling: The Inner Life of the Middle Class*. New York: Harper Collins.
- Fantasia, Rick. 1988. *Cultures of Solidarity*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

- Faulkner, Carol. 1994. "My Beautiful Mother." *Liberating Memory*. Janet Zandy(ed). pp 198-205. New Brunswick,NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Feagin,Joe and Hernan Vera. 1995. *White Racism*. NY: Routledge.
- Ferree, Myra Marx and Elaine J. Hall. December 1996.
"Rethinking Stratification From A Feminist Perspective:
Gender, Race, and Class In Mainstream Textbooks."
American Sociological Review. (61) 929-950.
- Foner, Janet and Jamie Alexander. 1991. *What's Wrong With The
"Mental Health" System: And What Can Be Done About It*.
Seattle,WA: Rational Island Publishers.
- Giroux, Henry A. 1993. *Theory and Resistance in Education*. NY:
Heinemann Educational Books.
- Glen, Evelyn Nakano. 1985. "Racial Ethnic Women's Labor: The
Intersections of Race, Gender and Class Oppression"
Review of Radical Political Economics. 17(3) 86-108.
- Hamper,Ben. *Rivthead: Tales From The Assembly Line*. New York:
Warner Books.
- Heath, Shirley Brice. 1983. *Ways With Words*. New York:
Cambridge University Press.
- Hill Collins, Patricia. 1991. *Black Feminist Thought*. New
York: Routledge.

Irwin, John, Harvey Jackins and Charlie Kreiner. 1992. *The Liberation of Men*. Seattle, WA: Rational Island Publishers.

Jackins, Harvey. 1972. *The Human Side of Human Beings*. Seattle: Rational Island Publishers.

_____ 1988. "The Facts of Life" For Working Class
Rcers." *Working For A Living* (6) Seattle: Rational
Island Publishers.

Jagar, Alison M. 1988. *Feminist Politics and Human Nature*. Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Littlefield Pub.

Joseph, David. 1995. "Breaking Through the Sounds of Silence." *Liberating Memory*. Janet Zandy(ed). pp.131-142. New Brunswick, NY: Rutgers University Press.

Kujundzic, Judy. 1988. *Working For A Living* (6) pp 67-68. Seattle,WA: Rational Island Publishers.

Langston, Donna. 1995. "Tired of Playing Monopoly?" *Race, Class, and Gender: An Anthology*. Margaret Andersen and Patricia Hill Collins(eds). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co.

Lewis, Michael. 1978. *The Cultural of Inequality*. Amherst,MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

- Lipsky, Suzanne. 1987. *Internalized Racism*. Seattle, WA: Rational Island Publishers.
- London, Jack. "What Life Means to Me."
- Lott, Bernice. 1995. "Distancing From Women: Interpersonal Sexist Discrimination." *The Social Psychology of Interpersonal Discrimination*. Bernice Lott and Diane Maluso(eds). pp.12-49. NY: Guilford Press.
- Lott, Bernice and Diane Maluso(eds). 1995. *The Social Psychology of Interpersonal Discrimination*. NY: Guilford Press.
- Maccoby, Michael. 1976. *The Gamesman*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- MacLeod, Jay. 1995. *Ain't No Makin' It: Aspirations and Attainment in a Low-Income Neighborhood*. Expanded Edition. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- McNall, Scott G., Rhonda Levine, and Rick Fantasia(eds). 1991. *Bringing Class Back In: Contemporary and Historical Perspectives*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Mishel, Lawrence and Jared Bernstein & John Schmitt. 1996. *The State of Working America 1996-97*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe).

- Omi, Michael and Howard Winant. 1994. *Racial Formations in the United States*. Second Edition. New York: Routledge.
- Ortner, Sherry B. and Harriet Whitehead(Eds). 1981. *Sexual Meanings: The Cultural Construction of Gender and Sexuality*. NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Parenti, Michael. 1994. *Land of Idols*. New York: St. Martins Press.
- Peck, Jamie. 1996. *Work Place: The Social Regulation of Labor Markets*. NY: Guilford Press.
- Penelope, Julia. Ed. 1994. *Out of the Class Closet: Lesbians Speak*. Freedom, CA: Crossings Press.
- Puette, William J. 1992. *Through Jaundiced Eyes: How the Media View Organized Labor*. Ithaca, NY: ILR Press.
- Quadagno, Jill S. 1994. *The Color of Welfare*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rothenberg, Paula, ed. 1995. *Race, Class, and Gender in the United States: An Integrated Study*. Third Edition. NY: St. Martin's Press.
- Rose, Susan. 1988. *Keeping Them Out of the Hands of Satan: Evangelical Schooling in America*. New York: Routledge.

- Ryan, Jake and Charles Sackrey. 1984. *Strangers In Paradise: Academics from the Working Class*. Boston: South End Press.
- Sacks, Karen. 1989. "Toward a Unified Theory of Class, Race, and Gender." *American Ethnologist* 16(3).
- Sacks, Karen. 1984. *Caring By the Hour*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Sennett, Richard and Jonathan Cobb. 1972. *The Hidden Injuries of Class*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Sligh, Clarissa. 1994. "Reliving My Mother's Struggle." *Liberating Memory*. Janet Zandy(ed). pp 250-264. New Brunswick,NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Steinberg, Stephen. *The Ethnic Myth: Race, Ethnicity, and Class in America*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Steinitz, Victoria and Ellen Solomon. 1986. *Starting Out: Class and Community in the Lives of Working-Class Youth*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Tarlen, Carol. 1994. "The Memory of Class and Intellectual Privilege," *Liberating Memory*. Janet Zandy(ed). pp 19-25. New Brunswick,NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Taylor, Jill McLean and Carol Gilligan and Amy M. Sullivan.

1995. *Between Voice and Silence*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).

Tokarczyk, Michele M. and Elizabeth A. Fay (Eds). 1993.

Working-Class Women in the Academy: Laborers in the Knowledge Factory. Amherst, MA: University Massachusetts Press.

Vanneman, Reeve and Lynn Weber Cannon. 1987. *The American*

Perception of Class. Phila: Temple University Press.

Wachtel, Paul. 1983. *The Poverty of Affluence*. New York: Free

Press.

Waites, Elizabeth A. 1993. *Trauma and Survival*. New York:

Norton.

Walsh, D.J. and J.F. Witte. 1985. *Correlates of Educational*

Performance. (Report No.6). Madison/Milwaukee, WI: Study

Commission on the Quality of Education in the

Metropolitan Milwaukee Public Schools.

Willis, Paul. 1977. *Learning To Labour: How Working Class Kids*

Get Working Class Jobs. NY: Columbia Univ Press.

Wisman, Jon. 1979. "Legitimation, Ideology-Critique, and

Economics." *Social Research* 46(2) Summer.

Wright, Erik Olin. 1991. "The Conceptual Status of Class Structure in Class Analysis." *Bringing Class Back In: Contemporary and Historical Perspectives*. Scott G. McNall, Rhonda Levine, and Rick Fantasia(eds). pp 17-38. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Wright, Erik Olin. 1986. "What is Middle about the Middle Class?" *Analytical Marxism* John Roemer(ed). NY: Cambridge Univ Press.

Yamato, Gloria. 1995. "Something About the Subject Makes it Hard to Name." *Race, Class, and Gender: An Anthology*. Margaret Andersen and Patricia Hill Collins(eds). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co.

Zandy, Janet (ed). 1994. *Liberating Memory*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.