

Conflict and the Student Movement

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Abstract

In this thesis an attempt is made to test two divergent theoretical frameworks in sociology. The problem under analysis is the development of a Canadian student movement. From the works of Karl Marx it was postulated that the higher the class consciousness the more successful the movement will be. From Ralf Dahrendorf the converse was postulated, the lower the class consciousness the more successful the movement.

While reviewing certain documents which were considered as data, the author discovered that intervening between class consciousness and success, were a range of proposed tactics or type of action. It was postulated that if one was to follow the theory of Marx, it would logically follow that action programs directed toward the community at large, will have the result of leading the movement to a more successful attainment of its ends or goals.

The hypotheses were tested empirically by content analyzing student newspapers taken from a stratified probability sample of Canadian universities.

The results of the research were inconclusive. As a consequence the researcher was unable to state confidently which of the two theoretical perspectives, if either, were more correct. The weight of the evidence, however, gave credence to the Marxian hypothesis.

The most significant result of the study was the development of a model of political co-optation. This model lay beyond the scope of the original research. The theoretical implications of this finding for social movements suggest areas in which further research is necessary.

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Introduction

When a complete history of the twentieth century has been written, this period in all probability will be seen as one in which revolution affected most parts of the world. As we go into the period of the 'seventies, there are few societies which have not felt the rising demands and increased dissatisfactions of various groups, both large and small, organized and disorganized, militant and peaceful, young and old. This thesis will deal with the development of a potential revolutionary movement among students on Canadian campuses. The major emphasis will not be an attempt at understanding why these movements have developed and which types of students are involved, as social science literature has dealt at length with this (Brown, 1967; Flacks, 1967; Flacks, 1970; Glazer, 1968; Kenniston, 1967; Lipset and Wolin, 1965; Nasatir, 1968; Sampson, 1967; Scott and El-Assal, 1969; Westby and Braungart, 1966; Weinberg and Walker, 1967). The problem will be to determine scientifically how such movements develop and which factors are crucial to their success.

The attempt to come to a fuller understanding of the student movement will, by necessity, entail the development of a theoretical framework capable of adequately explaining the relationship between students, and their educational institutions. However, it is the opinion of the author that recent literature on conflict has fallen short. Most of the basic theoretical frameworks seem to deal with preserving the social structure and analyzing how conflict can be utilized by the established system to achieve an eventual return to the previous order.

This orientation of contemporary conflict theory is understandable in light of the historical intellectual roots of the discipline. Contemporary sociology, although going far back into history, evolved mainly through the response of European intellectuals to a decaying social order during the French and Industrial revolutions. Except for Karl

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Marx, the most dominant intellectual problem among social philosophers of the time (Comte, 1877; Durkheim, 1938, 1951; Gerth and Mills, 1946) was a concern with understanding the conditions which maintained the prevailing "bourgeois" society. Ignored was the opportunity fully to comprehend the social creativity of a revolutionary period. In fact, Bottmore recently stated that:

it is curious, when one reflects upon the tremendous effects which revolutions have had upon human organization, that no sociologist since Marx has thought it worthwhile either to analyze revolutionary movements or to attempt a comparative study of revolutions (Bottmore, 1962:25).

Revolution may be defined as a type of social change which occurs when the objective conditions of a social system become unbearable, and the consciousness of the oppressed is at a high enough level to perceive the situation realistically and to be able to engage in coherent collective activity. Objective conditions are the external, observable, physical conditions based on man's position within the economic system of production.

Chapter IHypotheses and RationaleReview of the Literature

Ralf Dahrendorf considered conflict to be ubiquitous. His view of social life was in terms of a "dialectic" between an "integration theory of society, [which] conceives of social structure in terms of a functionally integrated system held in equilibrium by certain patterned and recurrent processes" (Dahrendorf, 1959:159) and a

coercion theory of society, [which] views social structure as a form or organization held together by force and constraint and reaching continuously beyond itself in the sense of producing within itself forces that maintain it in an unending process of change (Dahrendorf, 1959: 159).

Dahrendorf felt that society must be looked at in terms of the various elements of both models for "what appears as a consensus of values on the basis of the integration theory can be regarded as a conflict of interest in terms of the coercion theory" (Dahrendorf, 1959:163). Through the use of the integration theory, society can be looked at in terms of "voluntary associations of people who share certain values and set up institutions in order to ensure the smooth functioning of cooperation" (Dahrendorf, 1959:165). Society thus coheres through various degrees of stability, integration, function, and consensus. Through the use of the coercion theory, coherence may be based on the enforced constraint of subordinates by superordinates. In this case, various degrees of conflict, change, disintegration, and coercion may help to hold society together. To determine the existence of conflict groups, it is, therefore, necessary to draw upon the theory which recognizes such groups, the coercion theory of society.

Dahrendorf pointed out that, within an organization in which coherence is based upon an enforced constraint, a "differential distribution of authority invariably becomes the determining factor of systematic social conflicts" (Dahrendorf, 1959:165). Furthermore, this differential distribution of "authority is a universal element of social structure" (Dahrendorf, 1959:168). Therefore, conflict is omnipresent.

The distribution of authority results in the formation of two conflict groups: a dominating group "characterized by an interest in the maintenance of the social structure that for them conveys authority" (Dahrendorf, 1959:176), and a dominated group whose interest is "in changing a social condition that deprives its incumbents of authority" (Dahrendorf, 1959:176). Dahrendorf defines authority as "the probability that a command with a given specific content will be obeyed by a given group of persons" (Dahrendorf, 1959:166).

Dahrendorf's basic thesis is that "the distribution of authority in associations is the ultimate 'cause' of the formation of conflict groups" (Dahrendorf, 1959:172). He sees social change in terms of a redistribution of authority, a cyclical process, where authority changes hands, resulting in the formerly ruled becoming the incumbents of authority.

Dahrendorf then attempts to further develop a theoretical model of social conflict and social change. To understand this theory completely, it is necessary to adhere rigidly to his definitions of social phenomena. A "quasi group shall mean any collectivity of individuals sharing position with identical latent interests without having organized themselves as such" (Dahrendorf, 1959:237). "An interest group shall mean any organized collectivity of individuals sharing manifest interests [defined as] orientations of behavior which are articulate and conscious to individuals"

(Dahrendorf, 1959:238). Dahrendorf defined a social class as "unorganized [quasi group] or organized [interest group] collectivities of individuals as share manifest or latent interests arising from and related to the authority structure [within organizations]" (Dahrendorf, 1959:238). "Class conflict is defined as any antagonistic relationship between organized collectivities of individuals ... that arise from and are related to the authority structure [within] associations" (Dahrendorf, 1959:238). According to Dahrendorf, structure change is any change involving the incumbents of positions of domination to that of positions of subjection. The "significance of consequences and ramifications" (Dahrendorf, 1959:237) of such structure change shall be understood as the degree of radicalness of such change.

Dahrendorf pointed out that a variety of conditions of organization could prevent the articulation of latent interests within interest groups. In other words, the more organized classes are with respect to "technical conditions [personnel, charter], political conditions [freedom of coalition] social conditions [communication and patterned recruitment]" (Dahrendorf, 1959:239), the lower the intensity of class conflict. In Dahrendorf's words "the intensity of class conflict decreases to the extent that the conditions of class organization are present" (Dahrendorf, 1959:239). Intensity refers to "the energy expenditure and degree of involvement of conflicting parties" (Dahrendorf, 1959:211).

With respect to the radicalness or significance of structure change, Dahrendorf indicated that the more intense (the more energy expended and the degree of involvement of the conflicting parties) the class conflict, the more radical or significant the structure change. Conversely, the less intense the class conflict, the less radical the structure change.

One would conclude that when conditions of class organization are more prevalent, the less radical the change in the structure of positions of domination and subjection. Conversely, when the conditions of class organization are less present, the more radical the change in the structure of positions of domination and subjection.

Horton has described order theories as having in common "an image of society as a system of action unified at the most general level by shared culture, by agreement on values [or at least on modes] of communication and political organization" (Horton, 1966:703). He emphasized that those individuals who had an interest in maintaining the present system "employ[ed] order models of society and equat[ed] deviation with non-conformity to institutionalized norms" (Horton, 1966:703). Furthermore, those theorists who concerned themselves with institutionalized conflict or competition for similar goals within the same system were not conflict theorists, but were simply providing a variation of "conservative order theory". The "paradigm of the order theorist answers the question of how to solve the ... [problem of the distribution of authority] ... without changing the basic economic and political institutions" (Horton, 1966:712).

Opposing this was Horton's notion of a conflict perspective, where society is viewed as a "struggle between groups with opposed aims and perspective" (Horton, 1966:705). A conflict theorist, he suggests, would be led to "question the legitimacy of existing practices and values and would interpret order analysis as the strategy of a ruling group, a reification of their values and motivations, a rationalization for more social control" (Horton, 1966:704).

Horton would analyze the "conflict" perspective of Dahrendorf as a variation of "conservative order theory". Dahrendorf does not address himself to basic economic and

political changes. He is concerned with the problem of the distribution of authority as a valued but scarce resource. Although he has considered the omnipresence of conflict, he has failed to consider the objective historical conditions of groups in the struggle. On the basis of Horton's evaluations, Dahrendorf's paradigm must be classified as "the strategy of a ruling group, a reification of their values and motivations, a rationalization for more social control" (Horton, 1966:705).

Since the purpose of this thesis is to determine crucial factors affecting the success of a social movement, it is suggested that an understanding of the nature of the society in which such a movement develops is an essential prerequisite. In other words, an analysis of the objective, historical conditions of groups both directly and indirectly involved in the struggle is of vital importance. As Marx pointed out, "men make their own history, but they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given, and transmitted from the past" (Marx, 1959:320). It is proposed that the theory of "historical materialism" may be used to come to a more complete understanding of these conditions. "Historical materialism" may be defined as a science which deals with the relationship between the material existence of man, his position within the economic system of production, and man's non-material existence or his awareness as it concerns his societal position (Bukharin, 1969; Podosetnik and Spirkin, no date).

With "historical materialism" comes the method of analysis known as Marxian dialectics. The basic tenets of dialectics hold that there is continual conflict in or between societies of opposing tendencies due to internal contradictions which are inherent in all things. Marx expounded the view that the historical and social conditions of men were deter-

mined by their relationship to the means of production. On this basis, conflict may be considered inherent and ongoing between those who own and/or control societal institutions (the bourgeoisie or capitalist class and its adherents) and those who come under the domination of such institutions (the proletariat or working class). In other words, the bourgeoisie may be defined as the owners and/or controllers of institutions which produce various material or non-material goods, and the owners of land from which profits are procured. They are also known as capitalists. The proletariat may be defined as those who earn a wage by producing various material or non-material goods within those institutions owned or controlled by the bourgeoisie. Marx held "that from the interaction of opposing activities [conflict between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat] a new order emerges, [a synthesis] which contains forces within it that will eventually come into opposition and the process is continued" (Tucker, 1969:90). For the Marxist, society is in a process of continual movement and change, conflict being inherent in all relationships, and the development from lower to higher takes place not as a harmonious unfolding of phenomena but as a disclosure of the contradictions within society.

The foundation of society is, thus, based on the relations which men have to the means of material production. As a result, the structure of capitalist society, by necessity, entails the existence of a bourgeois class, owners and/or managers of the instruments of production, and a working, or proletariat class, who are objectively compelled to support the owner/managers through the sale of proletarian labour power. (Means of production are defined as factories or institutions within capitalist society which support that society through the production of material [clothing, appliances, automobiles] or non-material [education, personal services, ideas] commodities.) In return, the worker realizes

subsistence, or more recently, slightly higher wages, while the owner/managers realize profits, also known as the "surplus value" of labour. At an early stage in the development of material production and the increase of the power of man over nature, more leisure time may be provided which affords man the opportunity to develop intellectually through various cultural pursuits such as education, music, art and drama. As Marx pointed out, "it is not the consciousness of men which determine their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness" (Marx, 1904:11-12).

As the intellectual side of man develops, both the worker and the owner/manager become more aware of their objective and subjective interests. The objective class interest of the bourgeoisie is a concern with maximizing profits and production. The proletariat are objectively concerned with maximizing wages and improving working conditions. (Objective interests, are the material interests of man as they are affected by the physical conditions of existence. Subjective interests refer to the class interests of man, based on his physical conditions of existence.) Subjectively, workers who have achieved a higher level of consciousness may recognize that they are, or should be, in a struggle for control of the means of production and the establishment of a worker oriented society where ownership and control of the factories is transferred to the proletariat as a class. On the other hand, the owner/managers are much concerned with maintaining the status quo and must to some extent comply with the material demands of the workers. As the material conditions change, the intellectual side of man develops. Marx, however, indicated that:

no social order ever disappears before all the productive forces for which there is room in it have developed; and new higher relations of production never appear before the material

conditions of their existence have matured in the womb of the old society itself (Marx, 1904:11-12).

Throughout the discussion of Marx, continual reference was made to the structure of capitalist society, as largely a two class system: workers and owner/managers. (The existence of the middle classes is recognized; however, they will not be dealt with here.) If Marx is to be given serious consideration, it is essential to draw a parallel between the conditions of students and those of workers before his theory can be admitted as a valid and relevant approach.

In following the outline of Marxist theory as developed above, it would now be appropriate to discuss the objective reality of the position of students within the university, and their awareness of that position. In so doing, the author hopes to establish the fact that, although students do not occupy a strictly proletariat class position, a parallel class analysis is possible between students and the working class. It is also hoped that a more complete understanding of the nature of society in which both students and traditional workers exist can be used to determine which factors are crucial to the success of the student movement. (A student movement may be defined as a collectivity of students who are engaged in organized political activity which is oriented towards realizing a range of changes.)

In a recent article by Bottomore (1968), the similarity between student consciousness and class consciousness was discussed. Bottomore contended that students were not workers in the strict sense, but that they could be regarded as having inherited a similar social role to that of the working class. As a result, it was Bottomore's opinion that one of the essential ingredients which could lead the student movement into becoming a viable force, was an alliance with the proletariat as well as other underprivileged groups in the

community. In other words, the potential for revolution among the student movement lay in linking up both university and community issues as having a similar root cause, thus leading to a united action.

Davidson (1969) outlined what he considered to be one of the most important factors that any student movement should keep in mind. The fact that "the university is intimately bound up with society in general" (Davidson, 1969:12), should indicate to the members of the movement, that they "cannot liberate the university without radically changing the rest of society" (Davidson, 1969:12). "Any attempt to build a student movement based on 'on campus' issues only is inherently conservative and ultimately reactionary. Every attempt should be made to connect campus issues with off campus questions" (Davidson, 1969:12).

Davidson saw students, in one sense, as workers to be vis a vis the traditional working class. He believed that a prime purpose of the student movement should be to develop a radical consciousness among those students. In their role as the new working class, it was hoped that students would come to organize themselves along with the traditional working class around the issues of participatory democracy and worker control.

Gray (1965), in a report to the Fall Training Institute of the Students Union for Peace Action, placed the condition of students in a Canadian context. "The lives of the Kingston poor, the Doukhabors, and university students are all linked and the freedom of each depends on creating a free society" (Gray, 1965:4). He went on to discuss the social nature of the liberating process and concluded that freedom from oppression among the oppressed could not take place until all obtained this freedom together. Students were a particular societal force which had to be organized because they were the "catalysts of agents of social change outside the university" (Gray, 1965:6).

Mandel (1969) believed that an understanding of the nature of the society in which one is living is an essential prerequisite before a revolution can be successful. Mandel was, thus, calling for a complete and thorough historical analysis of the capitalist system. Mandel went on to discuss the structure of the "bourgeois university" as a "reflection of the general hierarchical structure of bourgeois society" (Mandel, 1969:6). Both society and the role of the university in that society become unacceptable to those students who are able to achieve even an elementary level of social consciousness. Mandel's most essential warning to members of the student movement is that:

you cannot change a small sector of bourgeois society, in this case the bourgeois university, and think that social problems can be solved within that small segment so long as the problem of changing society as a whole has not been solved ... as long as capitalism exists there will be alienated labour, alienated manual labour, and inevitably alienated intellectual labour and thereby alienated students ... (Mandel, 1969:9)

Putnam saw the university as an ideological and technical moulding ground for students "to serve the interests [the production of skilled workers who can contribute positively to the development of the bourgeois social system] of the ruling class thereby aiding in the oppression of the people" (Putnam, 1969:318). He went on to state that "social change made by the oppressed in their own interest has to aim at building a mass radical movement based on the working class" (Putnam, 1969:323). The role of the student movement in this struggle should be to establish an alliance between working people and students. Students should:

see their own present and future oppression as linked to the oppression of working people, of black people, of Vietnamese people, of people all over the world, and that will help students to retain these attitudes of solidarity with oppressed people even after they cease to be students (Putnam, 1969:324).

It is the opinion of the author that both students and

the working class can be looked upon as oppressed groups within society, based on their relation to the institutions in which they work. The oppressed may be defined as all individuals and groups in society whose only possession is their ability to produce both material and non-material commodities which they attempt to exchange for certain rewards from those individuals who own and/or control factories or institutions in which such labour may be utilized. For example, members of the traditional working class receive a wage for the production of various material commodities. Students receive grades, scholarships, and degrees for producing examinations, papers, and theses. Students and workers also share similar conditions in that they are alienated and manipulated. (The position of faculty members is an ambiguous one and will not be dealt with here.)

In the factory, the worker is alienated from other workers over the necessity to compete for higher wages, promotions, and easier jobs. Workers are further alienated from the products of their labour in that what they create does not belong to them. Students are alienated from each other over the institutionalized necessity of competition for grades. Competition, rather than co-operation, thus becomes the rule which may prevent students from developing a consciousness of their class position. They are further alienated from the pieces of work which they produce, in that they have very little control over their use. Although at one level the work which students produce may represent knowledge gained, at another level of analysis the requirement for graded intellectual production may facilitate their entering various levels of employment within the social system.

Manipulation within the factory is exemplified by such tactics on the part of the owner/managers as selling shares in the company, development of worker-management athletic teams, creation of credit unions, inter-office parties, and

the possibility of an invitation to certain good (i.e., hard-working and non-critical) workers to join management. It is difficult to challenge an organization which one perceives as a quasi-primary group, particularly if certain vested financial interests are involved.

Within the university, manipulation can be seen in terms of a co-opting effort by the governing structure to involve certain students in university decision-making. They are led to believe that they now have power, in a participatory democratic manner, whereby they can have an effect upon the decisions which concern them. In reality, however, they are powerless to effect any changes concerning their interests as a group, because that would entail a complete restructuring of the university.

The evaluation of students through determining examination and assignment grades is a further manipulative device. Intellectual debate in the search for truth is implicitly denied, because the student is constantly attempting to please.

Similar to the traditional factory, the university manipulates students with the hope of preventing the development of student consciousness. Such development could lead to a conflict situation which might possibly threaten the institution. Just as the traditional worker is manipulated and sees no difference between himself and his company, students by the same process, are prevented from transforming their position from a "class in itself" to a "class for itself". The author would conclude, therefore, that a valid parallel does exist between the working class and students, and that a Marxist approach could be used in developing the hypotheses.

Theoretical Framework

It would now seem that a most crucial factor which could lead a movement on to success is the development of class consciousness among its members. Class consciousness may be defined theoretically as a level of awareness on the part of students that they occupy a similar observable position in society and have similar interests, needs, desires, and requirements to those of other groups outside the university, with respect to the distribution of power (Lenin, 1968; Mills, 1962; Olson, 1970; Bottomore and Reubel, 1966). Theoretically, success may be defined as the degree to which the ends or goals of the movement were achieved. Marx believed that the development of class consciousness, or the transformation of the oppressed from a "class in itself" to a "class for itself", was an essential step toward achieving a structural change of society. Mills stated that a "class in itself referred to the objective fact of the class as an aggregate defined by its position in the economy" (Mills, 1962:87). Individuals in this class situation, however, are never organized for conflict, primarily because their social and material existence is so uncertain that they do not have the time, energy, or motivation to seek out and band together with others in their situation.

"A class for itself refers to members of this class when they have become aware of their identity as a class, aware of their common situation and their role in preserving or changing capitalist society." (Mills, 1962:87). A "class for itself" is an antagonistic power organized for conflict. Thus, the transformation of both workers and students to a class mobilized for conflict requires the development of a consciousness of their class position. Marx believed that this transformation would take place because the interests of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are in irremediable

conflict, their members will eventually become aware of their own interests, and they will organize themselves in pursuit of their objective goals as a class.

As stated earlier, a parallel can be seen between the condition of students and that of the traditional working class. At this point, it is most crucial that the author's position concerning students be fully understood. By making reference to the development of class consciousness among students, it is not meant that students are a separate class. "Students are not a class, but a temporary occupation: they are apprentice intellectual workers who no sooner become conscious of themselves as a community than they tend to be dispersed and hence neutralized (Cockburn and Blackburn, 1969:35-36). Although the class background (largely middle class) and eventual occupational destination (largely unknown) of students are of some consequence in determining present class identification, of crucial importance is the present student situation. As discussed above, students are alienated and manipulated in a similar way to that of traditional workers. The important factor is where students, in their student situation, identify their interests and take action. Many student leaders think that the conditions of students will only improve through collective struggle together with the classical revolutionary class, the proletariat. The notion of a liberated campus is an "infantile disorder" while oppressive conditions exist generally in society as a whole. For students to have class consciousness means that they are consciously aware of their position within the university, they realize the similarities between the situation of all oppressed people, and they see collective action as an essential step toward liberating society and its institutions.

Today, in North America, the existence of class consciousness among students seems to be severely lacking.

What seems to be the case is an identification on the part of students with the values, aspirations, and desires of those in control of the university: the administration, senate, and board of governors. Students, almost willingly, submit to various forms of oppression with the hope that such submission may lead to individual successes in the outside world. In this case a type of class consciousness does exist. Marx would refer to the phenomena as "false class consciousness", which could be defined as a perception of class interest in an area where these interests will have limited opportunity to be realized. (One only need point out the massive unemployment and underemployment among university graduates to emphasize the fact that there is a wide disparity between the values, aspirations, and desires which students have been taught, and reality. Marx pointed out that "a class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that in consequence the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are, in general, subject to it ... consequently their [the owners and/or controllers of the means of production] ideas are the ruling ideas of the age" (Bottomore, 1956:78-79). It would follow from this that the class consciousness of both students and the proletariat may become determined by society's economic base, in this case capitalism. As the ideas of the ruling class are the dominant ideology (law, order, competitiveness, individualism, and success), those who are not in the ruling class, but who accept its norms and standards, are exhibiting false class consciousness. It can, therefore, be concluded that an identification among students, while in a student situation, with classes other than the traditional proletariat, is false class consciousness.

Earlier, in reviewing the literature, the argument was

presented that much contemporary conflict theory in general, and the works of Dahrendorf in particular, seem to be inadequate to provide a thorough understanding of factors which are crucial to the success of social movements. If the results of testing the basic hypothesis derived from Marx, support Marxist theory, this, however, does not by implication substantiate the researcher's position on contemporary conflict theory. What must be attempted here is to show theoretically that, in fact, Marx and the contemporary conflict theorist, Dahrendorf, hold opposite positions concerning class consciousness as a crucial factor which would help social movements attain success.

An analysis of Dahrendorf and Marx has indicated the essential similarities and differences between the two theorists. Dahrendorf's "quasi group" and Marx's "class in itself" are both defined similarly as unorganized collectivities of individuals, never organized for conflict, because their social and material existence is so uncertain. Dahrendorf's "interest group" and Marx's "class for itself" can also be defined similarly as organized collectivities of individuals who are aware of their common situation and who are ready to take direct action. Dahrendorf further pointed out that the presence of various conditions of organization could prevent groups changing from quasi groups to interest groups. In other words, the more classes are organized, the more they become aware of their common situation as a class, the less energy they will expend as a class in a conflict situation. In Marx's terms, the higher the level of class consciousness the less involved classes will be in a conflict situation.

According to Dahrendorf, the radicalness of structure change refers to the degree to which those in position of subjection are successful in supplanting those in positions

of domination. Complete change in the personnel of authority positions would be a highly successful radical change. Success, defined as the degree to which the goals or aims of the movement are achieved, is synonymous with radical change. Dahrendorf also pointed out that the less intense the involvement of classes in a conflict situation, the less radical the structure change, (or the lower the success of the movement) and the higher the level of class organization (defined in Marx's terms as class consciousness) the less successful the movement will be in achieving its ends or goals. The conclusion could be reached, therefore, that the lower the level of class organization (class consciousness), the more successful the movement will be.

Major Hypotheses

The first hypothesis to be tested concerns class consciousness and success. From Marx, the higher the level of class consciousness among students, the more successful the movement will be in attaining its ends or goals. From Dahrendorf, the lower the level of class consciousness the more successful the movement will be in attaining its ends or goals.

A preliminary review of certain documents which were considered as data, indicated the presence of a third variable. In many examples of student movements, there are particular activities which are organized with the specific aim of helping the movement attain its ends or goals. What the author has discovered is that intervening between class consciousness and success are a range of proposed tactics or types of action. This third variable, tactics, is defined as action which attempts to garner the support of groups both on campus and in the community. It would logically follow from the earlier discussion of Marxist theory that action programs which are directed toward the community at large will have the result of leading the movement to a more suc-

cessful attainment of its ends or goals.

The second hypothesis to be tested concerns tactics and success. From Marx, the more community directed the tactics among students in the movement, the more successful the movement will be in attaining its ends or goals. From Dahrendorf, the less community directed the tactics among students in the movement, the more successful the movement will be in attaining its ends or goals.

The third hypothesis to be tested concerns class consciousness and tactics. From Marx, the higher the level of class consciousness among students in the movement, the more community directed will be their tactics. From Dahrendorf, the lower the level of class consciousness among students in the movement the more community directed will be their tactics.

Chapter II

Methodology

Sample

Based on the following criteria, a sample of five Canadian universities was chosen at random. Complete volumes of English language student newspapers from the academic session beginning in September, 1965 and ending in April, 1970 had to be available. The year 1965 was chosen as the lower limit, because that year marked the beginning of the Student's Union for Peace Action (SUPA), which could be considered as the initiating movement among students in the 'sixties. Unfortunately, French language universities had to be omitted due to lack of competence on the part of the researcher in the French language. Regional location and size were also factors when drawing the sample. As Canada is a vast country geographically, it was felt that a more accurate picture of the Canadian student movement could be gained by analyzing a university from each part of the country. As a result, it was arbitrarily decided to divide the country into five regions: British Columbia, the Prairies, Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritimes, for the purpose of determining the sample.

In a recent article by Scott and El-Assal (1969), university size, defined in terms of the student population, was found to be a factor in the development of student movements. They concluded, in part, that larger universities will have a more developed student movement than smaller schools. Based on their findings, university size became an important factor in the present sample design.

In order to have a sample of universities in which the full range of sizes was represented, it was decided first

to stratify these universities in each region according to size. Within each region, the universities located there were listed in order of the size of their student enrollment. This distribution was then trichotomized to form the size categories high, medium, and low. Due to limited research resources, it was possible only to select one university from within each region. Thus, the next step in the sampling design involved deciding what size the university selected from each region would be. This was accomplished using random procedures. Then, within each of the size categories chosen, one university was selected, also using random procedures.

The following are the results of this exercise:

Table I
Sample of Canadian Universities

Region	Size	University Selected
British Columbia	large	U. of British Columbia
The Prairies	small	Brandon U.
Ontario	medium	York U.
Quebec	medium	Sir George Williams U.
Maritimes	small	St. Francis Xavier U.

Analysis of Variables

The major methodological approach in this thesis was to content analyze student newspapers from the five universities in the sample. The major concern, however, was to determine quantitatively, measures of class consciousness, tactics, and success. As a consequence, it was necessary to develop categories and sets of rules whereby the three variables could be measured. It was also necessary to ensure that the coding of the data followed the rules and categories and was reliable. To determine the reliability, pretesting was car-

ried out, both before and during the research.

An analysis was done for each volume of university papers within the time period determined above. The articles analyzed contained factual reports of particular problems with which students were concerned. Editorials, letters to the editor, reports from other campuses, personal comment, and all other articles written from a subjective personal perspective were eliminated. It was recognized that to some extent the media did not provide reliable accounts of particular student activities. It was further felt that a higher degree of reliability could be found in factual stories.

The particular section to be analyzed within each article was the paragraph. The content of each of these units was analyzed in terms of whether there was a class consciousness statement, a statement of tactics, or a statement of success. Paragraphs which did not contain any of these statements were placed into a fourth or neutral category.

Pretesting

The definitions and categories were pretested for their reliability on two different occasions during the research. The initial pretest was done before any actual data collection had taken place. The samples used for this pretest were classes of undergraduate sociology students. They were considered as naive raters, in the sense that they were unfamiliar with the study, and were given minimal instructions on how to complete the test.* The second pretest was done approximately half way through the data collection.** The primary concern here was to make sure that the coding of data still followed the definitions which had earlier been

* See appendix A for pretest I.

** See appendix B for pretest II.

adopted. The sample for this second test was seven volunteer graduate students in sociology. Unlike the initial pretest, during the second test any questions were permitted of the researcher, in addition to the explicit instructions, short of providing the actual answers. The intention was to familiarize these raters as thoroughly as possible with the data, categories, and various pragmatic decisions through which the researcher determined the categorization of the various newspaper statements.

Content Analysis Rules

A preliminary review of the data brought to the attention of the researcher that there were three distinct categories into which statements of class consciousness, tactics, and success could be placed. Each variable could be measured in terms of whether it indicated low, medium, or high. The following are the content analysis rules and definitions which the researcher followed in coding the data. These were also presented as the instructions to both groups used in the pretest:

Class Consciousness: Theoretical Definition

Class consciousness statements are general statements indicating a level of awareness on the part of students that they occupy a similar observable position in society and have similar interests, needs, desires, and requirements to those of other groups outside the university, with respect to the distribution of power.

Class Consciousness: Operational Definition

1) You are to classify the statements in the pretest according to whether they are or are not class consciousness statements. The statements are actual quotes as reported in student newspapers.

2) You are then to go back and decide which category the statements may be placed according to the following instructions.

- a) High-Statements of class consciousness which show that students are aware that their interests, needs, desires, and requirements are similar to those of people in the working or lower class community.
- b) Medium-Statements of class consciousness which show that students are aware that their interests, needs, desires, and requirements are similar to those of people in the general community.
- c) Low-Statements of class consciousness which show that students are aware that their interests, needs, desires, and requirements are similar to those of people in the university community.

Tactics: Theoretical Definition

Tactics statements are statements of intended action which attempts to garner support of groups both on campus and in the community.

Tactics: Operational Definition

- 1) You are to classify the statements in the pretest according to whether they are or are not tactic statements. The statements are actual quotes from students as reported in campus newspapers.
- 2) You are then to go back and decide the category into which the statements may be placed.
 - a) High-Statements of intended action which indicate that students are directing their activities solely toward people in the community at large.
 - b) Medium-Statements of intended action which indicate that students are directing their activities toward other university people and people in the community.
 - c) Low-Statements of intended action which indicate that students are directing their activity solely toward other university people.

Success: Theoretical Definition

Success statements are those expressing the degree to which the ends or goals of the movement are achieved.

Success: Operational Definition

- 1) You are to classify the statements in the pretest according to whether they are or are not success statements. The statements are actual quotes from students as reported in campus newspapers.
- 2) You are to then decide the category into which the statements may be placed.
 - a) High-Statements indicating that the ends or goals of the movement were fully achieved.
 - b) Medium-Statements indicating that the ends or goals of the movement were partially achieved.
 - c) Low-Statements indicating that the ends or goals were not achieved.

Results for Inter-Coder Reliability

The results of pretesting the theoretical definitions were as follows:

Table II

Inter-Coder Reliability Results Based on Theoretical Definitions

	Variable	% Able to Identify
First Pretest	Class consciousness	80%
	Tactics	85%
	Success	73%

Table III

Inter-Coder Reliability Results Based on Theoretical Definitions

Variable	% Able to Identify	
Class consciousness	73%	Second Pretest
Tactics	96%	
Success	88%	

The results of pretesting the reliability of the theo-

retical definition of class consciousness, tactics, and success were based on two possible choices. Statements in the pretest were classified according to whether they did or did not correspond with the researcher's definition of the variable. As a consequence, a 50% level of agreement would be the score which could be predicted before giving explicit instructions on how to proceed. Any score greater than this chance score would be an indication of the reliability of the coding. These results ranged from 73% to 96%. The average reliability score for the group on both pretest one and two combined was 83%. As all scores are considerably better than chance, the researcher felt safe in stating that a degree of reliability concerning the theoretical definitions does exist.

The result of pretesting the categories high, medium, and low for each variable are as follows:

Table IV

Pretest One Results of Categories High, Medium, and Low

	Class Consciousness	Tactics	Success
% Identify Hi	68%	52%	78%
% Identify Med	58%	74%	73%
% Identify Low	---	---	---

Table V

Pretest Two Results of Categories Low, Medium, and High

	Class Consciousness	Tactics	Success
% Identify Hi	93%	57%	76%
% Identify Med	50%	86%	43%
% Identify Low	57%	86%	100%

The results of the pretesting of high, medium, and low on all three variables were based on three potential category

choices. As a consequence, a 33.3% level of agreement would be the score which could be predicted before giving explicit instructions in how to proceed. Any score greater than this chance score would be an indicator of the reliability of the methodology.

Although some of the scores for pretesting the categories high, medium, and low were relatively small (e.g., 43%, pretest two, medium success), all were considerably better than chance. The average score for all variables on both category pretests combined was 70%. As the average is considerably better than chance, the researcher felt confident in stating that a degree of reliability was present. The author's confidence in these scores as indicating reliability was further bolstered by consulting with another researcher (Carney, 1970) who had used content analysis as a methodological tool previously.

Chapter IIIAnalysis of Data and Results

A record was kept on coding sheets of the number of paragraphs within each article selected, containing information on class consciousness, tactics, and success. A varying number of articles dealing with each problem, and a varying number of paragraphs within each article were found. As a result, a control became necessary. If a control was not done, then university issues receiving more coverage in the newspapers would tend to have higher scores for each variable in comparison with issues having little press coverage. To control for this problem, the frequency distribution was converted to a percentage distribution for each of the variables. This was done for each issue within each university. The second problem was to provide weights for high, medium and low statements for each variable. This was accomplished by giving a weight of three to statements in the high category, two to statements in the medium category, and one to statements in the low category. The following example from the data will explain how this total procedure was carried out:

Table VI
Analysis of Data Example
Class Consciousness

	Low	Medium	High	Total
Raw Frequency Count	8	9	3	20
Percentage Score	40%	45%	15%	100%
Multiplier Score	40	90	45	175
Total Class Consciousness Score 175				

The statistical procedure used to analyze the scores for all three variables was the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient. Correlations were obtained between the variables for the total number of issues observed across universities as well as within each university. The researcher had also hoped to obtain correlations within universal issues, issues appearing within every university in the sample. Unfortunately there were no universal issues.

Results

In attempting to test the theoretical perspective of Marx, it was hypothesized that class consciousness and success, class consciousness and tactics, and tactics and success varied directly. From Dahrendorf it was hypothesized that the relationship between the variables would be inverse.

Class Consciousness and Success

The correlation coefficients for the first hypothesis dealing with class consciousness and success are as follows:

Table VII
Class Consciousness and Success by University

University	Score
University of British Columbia	-.03
Brandon University	.39
St. Francis Xavier University	-.54
York University	.16
Sir George Williams University	.52

It can be seen that the correlations vary from -.54

(St. Francis Xavier University), to .52 (Sir George Williams University). The correlations for three universities are in a positive direction (Brandon, York, and Sir George Williams), thus lending some degree of support to the hypothesis derived from Marx. Correlations for the other two universities (University of British Columbia, and St. Francis Xavier) are all negative lending some degree of support to Dahrendorf's hypothesis.

As the correlations above seem to fluctuate randomly, it would be expected that the total correlation across universities for the total sample of observations would be relatively low. This is, in fact, the case, with a total correlation of .06 for the entire sample. Although consistent with the hypothesis based on Marx, the total correlation is sufficiently small to conclude that there is little relationship between class consciousness and success.

Class Consciousness and Tactics

The correlation coefficients for each university between class consciousness and tactics are as follows:

Table VIII
Class Consciousness and Tactics by University

University	Score
University of British Columbia	.29
Brandon University	.67
St. Francis Xavier University	.63
York University	.64
Sir George Williams University	.30

The correlations for each university are all positive, ranging from .29 (University of British Columbia) to .67

(Brandon University). This would seem to support the hypothesis based on Marx, that class consciousness and tactics vary directly.

On the basis of the individual correlations, it would be expected that the total correlations across universities would be similar. The total correlation for class consciousness and tactics is .39. This would again support the hypothesis that the variables involved do vary directly.

Tactics and Success

The correlation coefficients for each university between tactics and success are as follows:

Table IX
Tactics and Success by University

University	Score
University of British Columbia	.15
Brandon University	-.20
St. Francis Xavier University	.18
York University	-.15
Sir George Williams University	-.17

It can be seen that the correlations for these two variables are relatively close to zero. For three universities whose correlations are in a negative direction (Brandon, York, and Sir George Williams), some limited support for the hypothesis derived from Dahrendorf may be found. The correlations for the other two universities (University of British Columbia and St. Francis Xavier) would give limited support to the Marxian hypothesis.

The correlation across universities for the total ob-

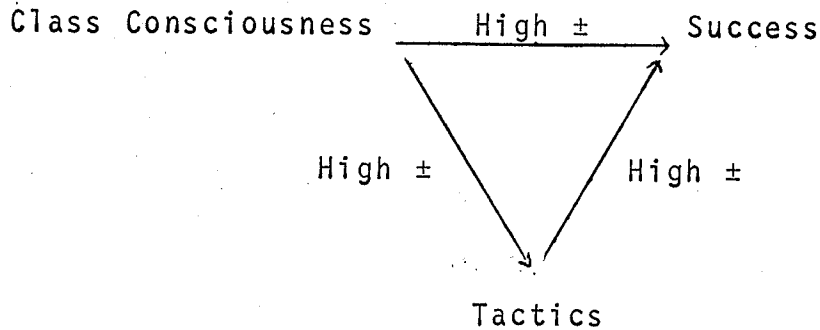
served sample was found to be $-.11$. Although negative, the correlation is sufficiently small to conclude that there is little overall support, here, for the hypothesis derived from Dahrendorf.

Partial Correlations

The partial correlation coefficients between each of the two variables, holding the third constant, were calculated. In general the partial correlation coefficients did not differ significantly from the corresponding zero-order coefficients.

Expected Results

To explore further the results of the research, the patterns of observed correlations found both across universities and across issues, as well as within universities across issues were compared with the corresponding patterns which one would expect to find according to Marx's theory and according to Dahrendorf's theory. It should be emphasized that this operation involved a comparison between total patterns of correlations and not, as was the case earlier, simply between observed and expected relationships between two variables only. The strength of each of the correlations within the pattern will be indicated using partial correlation coefficients to control for the influence of the third variable. Diagrammatically the expected pattern was as follows:

Diagram 1: Expected Results

A pattern in which all three correlations were high and positive would correspond to the hypotheses derived from Marx; a pattern in which all three correlations were high and negative would correspond to the hypotheses derived from Dahrendorf.

By using the following two simple scales, total observed and expected correlations could be interpreted in the same way and compared with each other to determine their degree of similarity or difference:

Table X
Scale Used to Compare Expected Results With Observed Results

	Correlation	Symbolic Score	Weighted Score
Direct	1.00-.67	High +	3
Variation	.66-.34	Medium +	2
	.33-.00	Low +	1
Inverse	-1.00- -.67	High -	-3
Variation	-.66- -.34	Medium -	-2
	-.33- -.00	Low -	-1

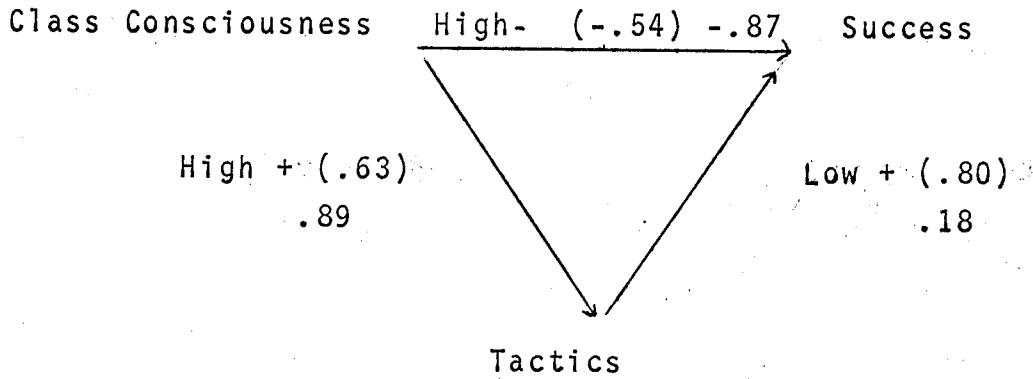
To facilitate the pattern matching, correlation coefficients were divided into high, medium, and low with correlations between .67 and 1.00 designated high, those between .34 and .66 designated medium, and those between .00 and .33 designated low. High correlation coefficients were given a weight of three, medium correlation coefficients

were given a weight of two, and low correlation coefficients were given a weight of one. Due to the small size of the sample, the sampling error of the correlation coefficients is likely to be considerable. By using this weighting procedure the results of the matching operation will be less dependent upon sampling error than would have been the case had the patterns of actual correlation values been compared with the pattern of expected correlation values. For negative correlations of a given value, the weight was the same as that of a corresponding positive correlation, only the sign was changed to reflect its direction. If the Marxian hypotheses were correct, then the sum of the weights of the three expected correlations in the pattern would be +9. For Dahrendorf's hypotheses the corresponding sum would be -9. If one then evaluates the pattern of observed correlations according to this procedure, he will be in a position to see how closely the pattern of observed correlations matches the pattern of expected correlations. The closer the sum of the weights for the observed pattern approaches +9, the closer the match between that pattern and the pattern one would expect from the Marxian hypothesis. The closer the sum of the weights for the observed pattern approaches -9, the closer the match between that pattern and the pattern one would expect from the Dahrendorf hypothesis.

Total Observed Results

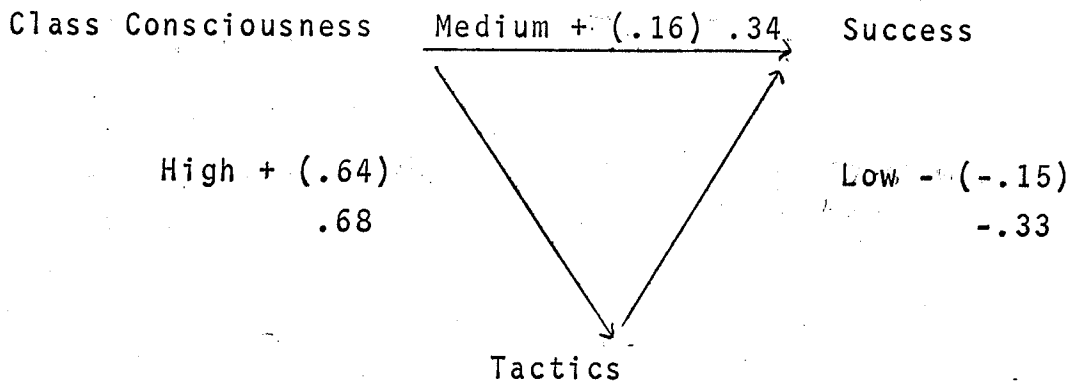
The following diagrams represent the results across issues for each university. These results are shown using partial correlations with the corresponding zero-order correlations in brackets:

Diagram 2: St. Francis Xavier University



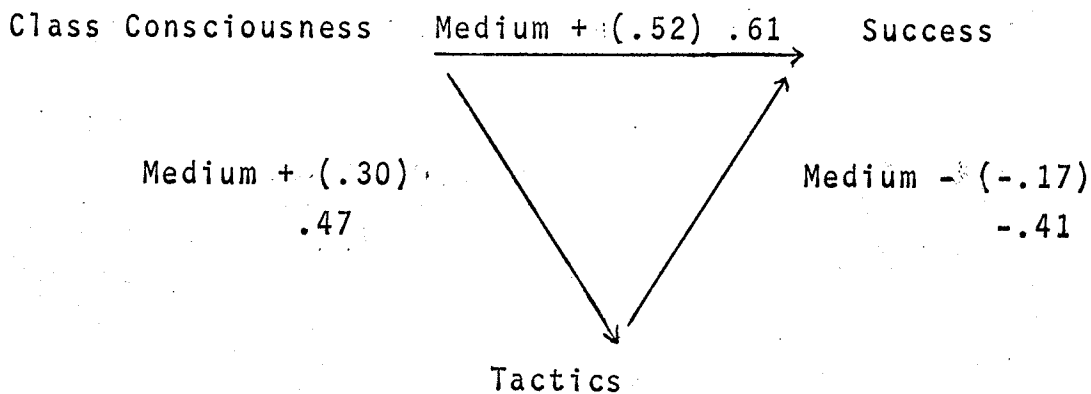
Total Observed=+1

Diagram 3: York University



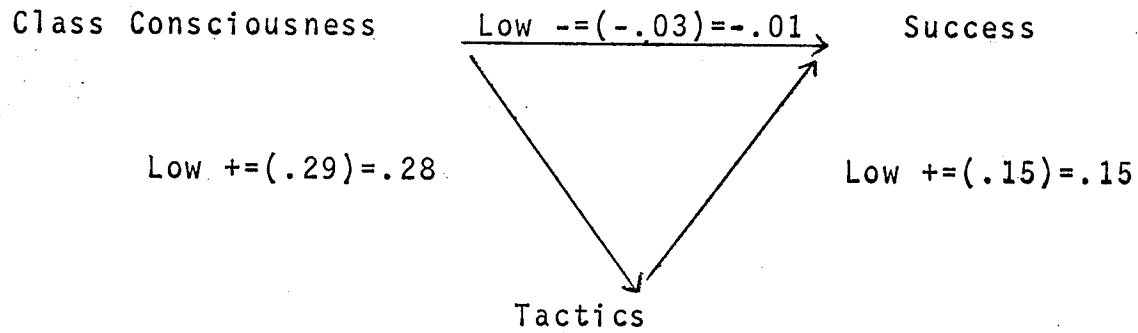
Total Observed=+4

Diagram 4: Sir George Williams University



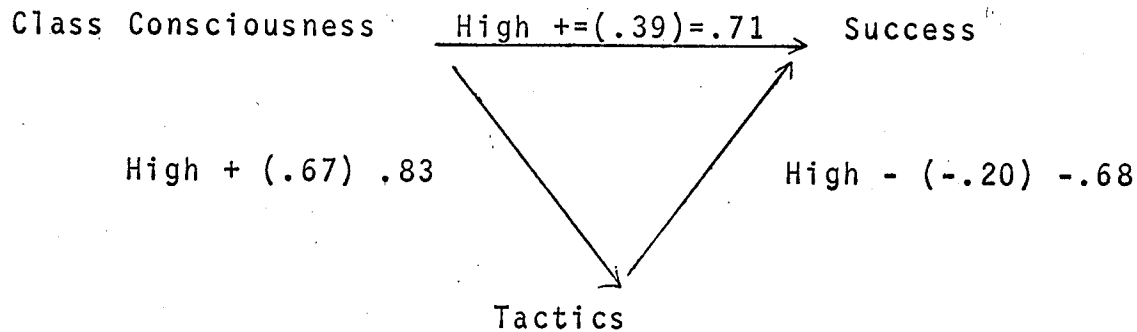
Total Observed=+2

Diagram 5: University of British Columbia



Total Observed=+1

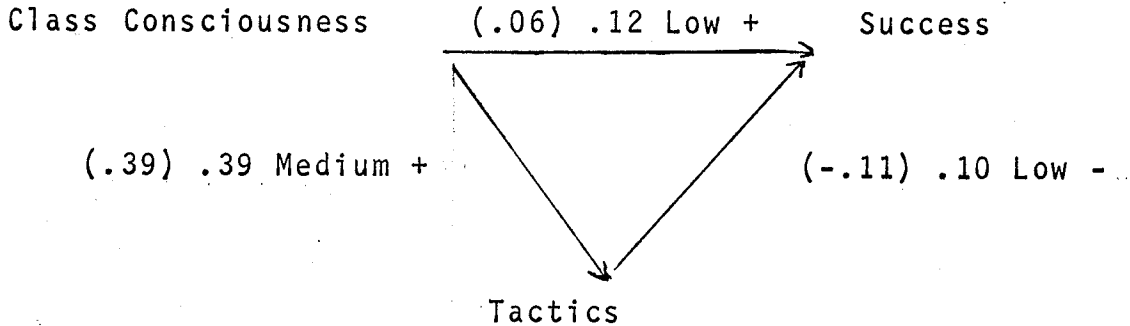
Diagram 6: Brandon University



Total Observed=+3

The total observed results for each university can be seen to vary from +1 to +4. On a scale from +9 to -9, where the extremes of the scale represent the expected results, these correlations lend overall, although limited support, to the hypotheses derived from Marx.

The total observed results across both universities and issues are as follows:

Diagram 7: Total Observed Results Across Universities

Total Observed=+2

Here the sum of the weights of the correlations was +2. This score, as well, is slightly positive on the scale from +9 to -9. Again for the total sample, overall, but limited support is indicated for the hypotheses derived from Marx.

Summary of Results

The analysis of the data has indicated that the observed results all tended toward agreement with the hypotheses based on Marx. For individual universities, as well as for the total combined sample, the correlations are relatively low but in a positive direction.

There would seem to be two logical explanations that might account for these low correlations. The design of the research could be considered to embody a built-in bias. It would seem clear that high class consciousness could be a vital factor tending to orient students toward issues in the general community. In fact, high class consciousness is defined in terms of an awareness of community problems. On the other hand, students having lower class consciousness would tend to direct their efforts toward issues within the university. The data were generated through an an-

alysis of student newspapers containing reports of student movements originating on the various campuses. As a result it seems that the author has designed out of the research project movements of students having high class consciousness who are actively working in the general community and, as a consequence, not readily accessible for coverage by university newspapers. This bias may account for overall low correlations. The problem could have possibly been rectified by including, as part of the data, reports from various other media concerning social movements in the community which involved students.

An overview of the correlations indicates large fluctuations for both zero-order and partial correlations. As a result, looking at the total correlation picture, high scores in both a positive and negative direction tend to be cancelled out, thus resulting in total scores at a relatively low level of relationship. One solution to this problem might be to ignore the highest and lowest correlations in both directions. The size of the sample, however, prevents this from being done.

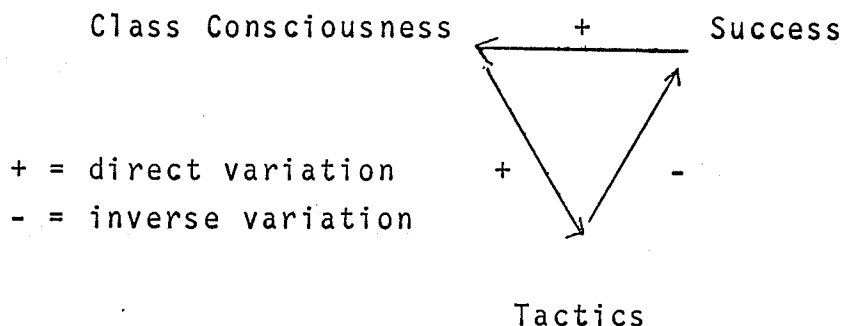
In conclusion, it would seem that the results of this thesis indicate the possibility of the existence of much more complex social phenomena, perhaps going beyond the original scope of the project. To determine whether this might be so, results were analyzed still further. This led to the discovery of further areas for research.

Chapter IVAreas for Further Research

The specific analysis of the correlations has indicated, in part, that they tend to fluctuate, thus resulting in a relatively low total correlation picture. Based on this, the researcher would also expect the general pattern for each university, based on the direction of the correlations (+ or -), to fluctuate as well. Given the relationship between the three variables: class consciousness, tactics, and success, there are eight potential patterns, based on correlation direction, that are possible. The general pattern of correlations for the data, however, were not random, but fell, quite significantly, into only two patterns. (It should also be pointed out, that in going beyond the scope of the original project, the researcher has permitted the three variables to become either dependent or independent. As a consequence, the variables may be looked at as part of a cyclical pattern going from class consciousness, to tactics, to success, to class consciousness, etc.)

Pattern One

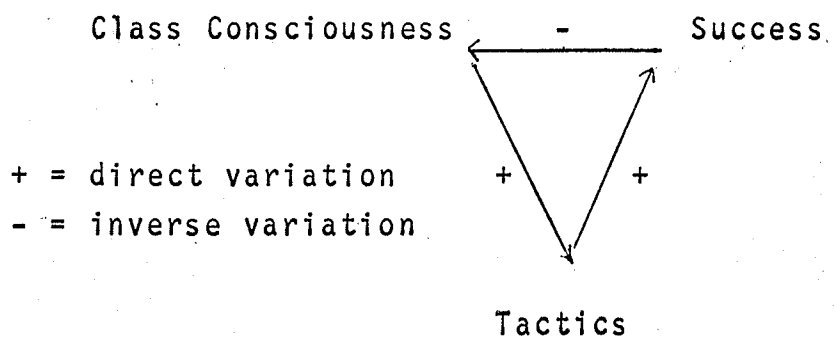
The general pattern of correlations for York, Brandon, and Sir George Williams universities was as follows:

Diagram 8

The pattern may be interpreted in the following way: The higher the class consciousness of students, the more community-directed will be their tactics. This will result in a decrease in the success of the movement. Low success will in turn lead to a decrease in class consciousness. Low class consciousness will then lead to a decrease in community-oriented tactics which will result in an increase in the success of the movement, and the cyclical pattern continues.

Pattern Two

The general pattern of correlations for the University of British Columbia and St. Francis Xavier University was as follows:

Diagram 9

The second pattern may be interpreted in the following way: The higher the class consciousness of students, the more community-oriented will be their tactics. This will then lead to an increase in the success of the movement. High success will in turn lead to a decrease in class consciousness. Low class consciousness will result in a decrease in community-oriented tactics. This will lead to a decrease in the success of the movement, and the cyclical pattern continues.

Pattern of Historical Sequences

These two general patterns of correlation direction, were generated by looking at the total sample of problems across universities. It was the feeling of the researcher that the potential analytical value of the paradigms would be to explain the historical development of social movements from class consciousness, through tactics, to success. To do this, both patterns were looked upon as a chronological progression. The scores for each of the variables within both universities and issues were listed chronologically. Each of the scores was then designated high or low according to whether or not it was greater or less than the mean. This pattern was then compared with each of the chronological patterns which were suggested by the pattern of correlations indicated immediately above. The degree to which the patterns matched one another was then determined using the criteria of percentage agreement with the expected.

The chronological pattern for St. Francis Xavier University is shown in the table below.

Table XI
St. Francis Xavier Observed

Year	Class Consciousness		Tactics		Success	
1965	150	High	140	Low	100	Low
1965/66	120	Low	175	High	167	High
1967	150	High	100	Low	100	Low
1967	200	High	200	High	100	Low
1968	117	Low	113	Low	100	Low
1969/70	100	Low	100	Low	136	High
Mean	139		138		117	

Based on the general pattern into which each university fell it was determined which of the expected patterns to use for the comparison. (See diagrams 2-6.) Thus, pattern I was used for the comparison with St. Francis Xavier and University of British Columbia. Pattern II was used for comparison with York, Brandon, and Sir George Williams. The expected patterns are as follows:

Table XII
Expected Pattern I (St. Francis Xavier, University of B.C.)

Class Consciousness	Tactics	Success
High	High	High
Low	Low	Low
High	High	High
Low	Low	Low
High	High	High
Low	Low	Low

Table XIII

Expected Pattern II (York, Brandon, Sir George Williams)

Class consciousness	Tactics	Success
High	High	Low
Low	Low	High
High	High	Low
Low	Low	High
High	High	Low
Low	Low	High

The comparison between expected and observed patterns for all universities in the sample is as follows:

Table XIV

Comparison Between Expected and Observed Patterns

University	Percent Agreement With Expected
University of B. C.	52%
Sir George Williams	57%
York University	63%
St. Francis Xavier	58%
Brandon	78%
Average Percent Agreement	61%

Although 61% total average agreement between expected and observed patterns is better than chance, these results can only be considered as inconclusive. It cannot be determined here, based on these figures, whether the paradigms can be used to explain the historical development of social movements among students. As a result, the following discussion of the applicability of both models must be hypothetical, suggesting areas where further research would be of value.

Application of Pattern I

In applying the first pattern hypothetically to a university situation, the most crucial result seems to be the direct variation of success and class consciousness. A student movement which achieves or believes that it has achieved success will find that, for the next issue, class consciousness will increase. Conversely, a movement which experiences little success will find that, for the next issue, class consciousness will decline. This model should indicate theoretically to the leaders of various student movements, the importance of success or failure on the life of the movement, as it relates to future campus issues.

Application of Pattern II Model of Political Co-optation

In applying pattern II hypothetically to a university situation, the most important result here is the inverse relationship between success and class consciousness. A student movement which achieves or perceives the achievement of success will find that, for the next issue, class consciousness will decline. On the other hand, little relative success will result in an increase in class consciousness. This pattern could be called a model of political co-optation. Various changes in university policy toward students may dissipate the awareness and collective action of students, thus indicating that a type of co-optation has taken place. For the leaders of various student movements, this model should serve as theoretical evidence, that the achievement of various types of success, perhaps short of the original goal, may have a destructive effect on the continuity of the movement over time. Conversely, the failure of the movement to achieve its goals may re-

sult in an increase in class consciousness as well as a strengthening of collective effort.

To substantiate scientifically the historical analytical value of the two patterns, further research is recommended on social movements which have experienced various degrees of success. The purpose would be to determine what effect success would have, from both the establishment and movement point of view, on the continuation of the struggle to a higher level. In other words, how is political co-optation manifested and will it lead to a decline or strengthening of the movement?

Conclusion and Recommendations

Two explanations may be considered in attempting to understand the inconclusiveness of the results of the research. Both the inappropriateness of the Marxian model and the weakness of the methodology may have affected the results.

While the attractiveness of contrasting and testing the models of Marx and Dahrendorf cannot be denied, the results of this thesis tend to indicate that both models may be inappropriate when applied to the student situation. The relevancy of the models was accepted by the researcher based on a parallel analysis between the conditions of students and that of the working class. It is quite obvious, at this point, that this parallel may be incorrect. The researcher argued the case that students and workers experienced similar conditions of alienation and manipulation and that class consciousness was the crucial variable which would lead students to success. Not only that, but the higher the class consciousness among students the more they would identify and take action openly, with the working class. That the results were inconclusive points to the fact that a strict Marxist model should not have been used. Rather than playing the role of "worker-intellectual" students may be seen as a product, being trained to become part of the elite. The university administration may be seen as the managers in the production process. To a large extent, most students value their degrees as a marketable commodity and thus identify, quite appropriately, with their managers. This argument would demonstrate that an identification on the part of students, with the traditional working class, can perhaps be seen as a betrayal of class interest. In this case the class interest of students may be shaped both by their class

background and the possibility that in the future they may be able to enter the ranks of the elite.

In abandoning a strict Marxian model, the results of the research do indicate a further model which could be used to explain student movement success or failure. The author thus presented the model of political co-optation as the most important finding of the research and an area where further research would be of value.

In content analysis, the possibility of measurement error is considerable. The decision had been made earlier to analyze all articles within a specific time span which dealt with a particular university problem. There is the possibility that some articles were overlooked, thus neglecting large portions of potential data. Further, as there was only a single researcher working on the project, it was impossible to determine inter-rater reliability for the entire sample. The time span in which the data were collected may have also been too short. There is the distinct possibility that articles exist for various university problems which developed before or ended after the period under analysis.

With these weaknesses in mind, the following recommendations are presented indicating areas for future research using content analysis. It seems quite clear that the sample size should be relatively large and should cover a much longer time span. As well, it would strengthen the reliability of the results to have several raters code the actual data. In this way, the possibility of neglecting certain pieces of information could be minimized.

The attempt to analyze the data historically was complicated by the fact that various university problems overlapped chronologically. To deal with this problem of

chronological ranking, it was decided that the date of the last article under scrutiny would be the determining factor for its position. It should be noted, however, that a slight change in the chronological order would have the result of drastically changing the total picture. As a result, the author suggests that the problem of chronological overlapping be explored and tested further.

In conclusion, perhaps one of the most important results of this thesis has been the development and testing of various theoretical and methodological tools. Although admittedly the results were inconclusive, the attempt has been made to open the door to a study of contemporary social movements, not in terms of the social pathology or the social psychology of such phenomena but as social facts which warrant serious consideration from all perspectives. Furthermore, the researcher has attempted to apply Marxian theory as a framework, an approach usually employed by other social scientists to understand traditional economic relationships between man in a capitalist system. It is the hope of the author that sociological understanding and knowledge has been extended, and that the thesis has shed some further light on the social dynamics of the student movement in particular, and other social movements in general.

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Appendix A

Class Consciousness Pretest I

- a) If free education does not become a reality, the current division between the lower classes and the rest of society will continue to be rigid.
- b) Dr. Saunderson said that there was very little likelihood that the present system would be changed.
- c) That education is not the exclusive right of the middle classes and all those who can afford it, but rather that it must be made available to all working people who may now be financially prevented from seeking higher education.
- d) The present system (re a discriminatory housing policy) is more than a small university matter, a way of life and the future of mankind is on trial.
- e) Universal accessibility is in the interest of the country not only the students.
- f) The basic concept of universal accessibility is that higher education must be made available to all academically qualified persons regardless of their financial ability to absorb the tremendous cost involved to themselves and their parents.
- g) That all social and financial barriers to higher education should be removed is a fundamental tenet which can be based only on a person's belief in equality of opportunity particularly for the lower classes.
- h) \$75 boost in tuition fees for next fall-Saunderson.
- i) The university is a public institution.
- j) The board of governors has reversed its stand on the present two list housing policy.
- k) Universal accessibility is in the interest of the community not only students.

Tactics Pretest I

- a) UMSU president has decided to send a letter to Dr. Saunderson protesting the discriminatory housing policy.
- b) A public forum on the question of discrimination in off campus housing will be held on October 4 in downtown Winnipeg.
- c) The president of the University announced that there would be a \$75 fee increase in tuition next fall.
- d) The university is a public institution.
- e) UMSU council will consult with representatives of trade unions on the question of universal accessibility to higher education.
- f) Concerned students will be asked to participate in a demonstration in front of the administration building.
- g) A committee of students will approach all provincial political party organizations, high schools, labor unions, service organizations etc., to gather public support.
- h) All tuition fees will be eliminated at this university.
- i) Dr. Saunderson said that there was very little likelihood that the present system would be changed.
- j) To aim for a public demonstration.

Success Pretest I

- a) The board of governors has thoroughly discussed the question of a two list housing policy and as decided to completely revise its stand thereby abolishing that policy.
- b) The university is a public institution.
- c) To have tuition fees eventually limited is in the interest of both the community and students.
- d) The president of the University of Manitoba announced that starting next fall, tuition fees would be raised seventy-five dollars.
- e) As a result of student protest all tuition fees will be eventually eliminated next fall-UMSU president.
- f) The referendum on universal accessibility indicated that students were in favour of a day of protest but definitely opposed to free education.
- g) Following the day of protest, Dr. Saunderson said that there was no possibility that the present housing policy would be changed.
- h) If free education does not become a reality, the current division between the lower classes and the rest of society will continue to be rigid.
- i) UMSU president sent a letter to Dr. Saunderson protesting the current housing policy.
- j) The present discriminatory housing policy is more than a small university matter, a way of life and the future of mankind is on trial.

Appendix B

Content Analysis Pre-Test #2

- a) A referendum on the payment of second term fees will be held November 15 on campus.
- b) The president of the University of British Columbia, Dr. John Macdonald, said Monday that he will support the students in their attempt to gain representation on the university senate.
- c) The Alma Mater (students) Society will present a short brief to Vancouver City Council next Tuesday along with two petitions - one signed by U. B. C. students, the other signed by Point Grey home owners, both asking for zoning by-law relaxation.
- d) We have to take the case of the students to the public, (student leader) Boylan said.
- e) The university is a public institution and should have representation by student, faculty, trade unions and society in general.
- f) Society is looking to the university to produce leaders and participation in university government would be an invaluable experience in satisfying that need.
- g) Tuition fees will not be abolished, Peterson (the Provincial Minister of Education), told the crowd yesterday.
- h) The main problem concerns both high school and college students. They want reduced prices for students and the management of the Strand Theatre won't offer them.
- i) Instead of the establishment dominated, student dominated university we have now, we seek a critical university that will engage students in a radical constructive role in society on the side of exploited and alienated working class.
- j) Charles Boylan, Graduate Studies, moved that students endorse a sit-in at the next meeting of senate, February 18.

- k) UBC's academic senate Wednesday, voted to open its meetings for the first time.
- l) The vote (to open senate meetings) was a direct reversal of senate's position last year.
- m) A student group led by Michel Lalain, Arts IV, is planning to nominate 81 students for senate.
- n) The science undergraduate society is forming a committee to investigate the pending dismissal of Robin Hagar, Ass't. Professor of Sociology.
- o) The Alma Mater (students') Society will protest officially to Vancouver City Council on the construction of a road around Point Grey beach.
- p) Vancouver City Council last week rejected a request by the Alma Mater (Student) Society to defer construction of a beach road and erosion-control project along the Point Grey foreshore.
- q) Students of UBC will block the U. S. border for an hour Wednesday in protest against the Thursday's planned U. S. nuclear test at Amchitka Island in the Aleutians.
- r) Student organizing should gear itself to fight the sordid society that tends to perpetuate the elitist structure of the university.
- s) Students must not only press for a democratized university but a democratized society for all underprivileged people as well.
- t) The Vancouver City Council has dropped its consideration of a beach road and marine development project on Point Grey beach.

