

Productive, manual, and non-supervisory labor categories are the criteria by which Poulantzas defines proletarian locations only in the production process. Agreeing with him, however, classes are determined principally but not exclusively in the production process.<sup>30</sup> Relations of ideological-political domination/subordination outside the production process are included in the objective determination of class location.

In Poulantzas' words:

"The determination of classes involves political and ideological relations....Political and ideological relations are materialized and embodied as material practices in the State apparatuses ....The analysis of social classes can only be undertaken in terms of their relationship with the apparatuses, and with the State apparatuses in particular." 31

This emphasis on the ideological-political relations of domination/subordination in the objective determination of class location is an important innovation in Marxist theory, attributed to the Althusserian Structuralist school from which Poulantzas comes. The significance of this innovation (the structural criteria of the determining of class location) lies in transcending the controversial "class-in-itself"/"class-for-itself" dichotomy, a dichotomy that, although it is often erroneously attributed to Lucas, in fact originated in Marx's writing.<sup>32</sup> Although it contradicts the class struggle paradigm, that classes exist only in class struggle, it is class struggle that makes history.

Despite the importance of this innovation, and in contrast with his criteria of proletarian locations where he is very definite and specific about the labor categories that are and are not proletarian, his structural criteria regarding the political and ideological relations of domination/subordination remains vague and unspecified.

It is not clear, for example, what Poulantzas means by the social