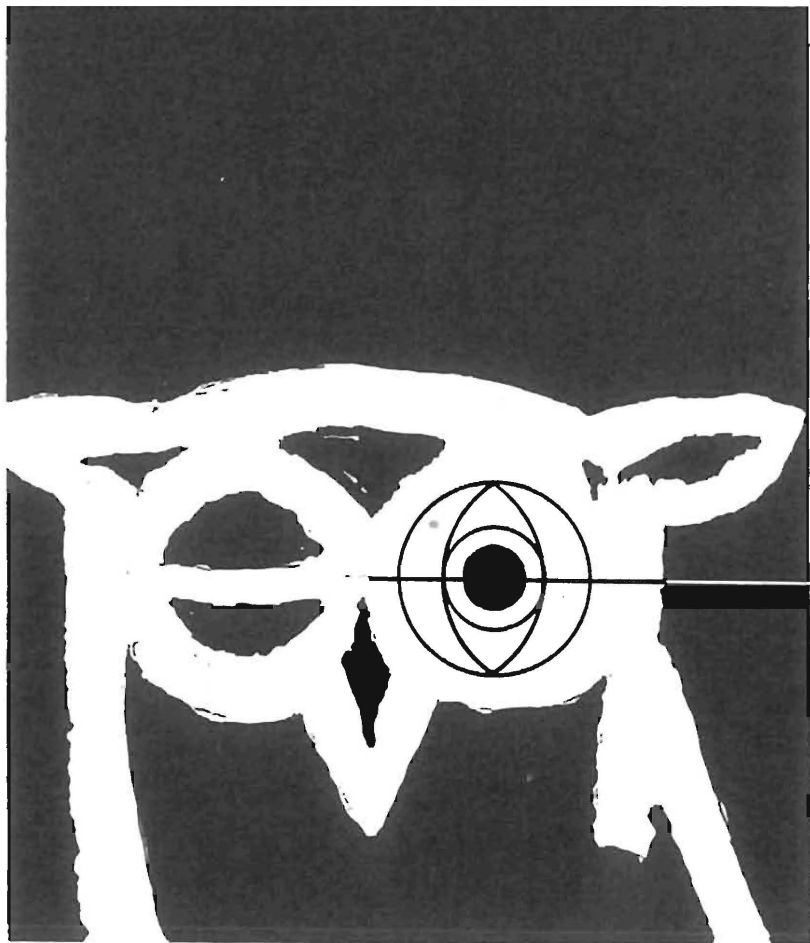


Reference has already been made to the Gramscian notion of ideological hegemony, or the sophisticated wielding of power not through direct imposition - which would be visible and therefore more subject to resistance - but through persuading the masses that the present social order is a just one. Schools are obvious sites for this sort of ideological inculcation where education serves not to decode and reveal what happens in the wider social formation - and hence where knowledge empowers the learner - but rather enslaves him/her to an ignorance which leads to a personal blaming for system-caused injustices.

A number of authors have examined this process of ideological reproduction, foremost of whom one could mention Apple (1979) and Taxel (1980). Such analyses throw light on what is proposed in "The German Ideology", namely that "The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas: i.e. the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force." This can take place through a variety of ways. Apple and Taxel (1982) note that three areas of school life need to be interrogated if we are to understand the schools' role in ideological reproduction. The authors highlight the basic day-to-day regularities of schools which contribute to students learning these ideologies; the form and content of curricular knowledge which contribute to students learning these ideologies; and the way these ideologies are "reflected" in the fundamental perspectives educators employ to guide and evaluate their own and students' activity.

In this particular context it would be useful to focus our attention on school textbooks as a channel for ideological reproduction. Textual analysis reveal that particular world views, consonant with capitalist ideology, are presented as "scientific" fact rather than as normative, value-laden approaches. This is true not only of social studies textbooks (Whitty, 1985), but also of history (Anyon, 1979) and economics (Watts, 1987), for instance.

Textbooks also teach specific values by what they leave unsaid. Williams (1978) refers to this as the "selective tradition", and Eisner (1985) notes that the "null" curriculum is in fact crucial in the transmission of particular messages and the construction of particular meanings. Eisner argues that what is not taught may be as educationally significant as what is taught, "because ignorance is not simply a neutral void; it has important effects on the kinds of options one is able to consider, the alternatives one can examine, and the perspective from which one can view a situation or a problem" (Eisner, 1985, p. 97). In my own analysis of the ideology



REPRODUCTION OR TRANSFORMATION? CONTEMPORARY RADICAL DISCOURSE IN EDUCATION

(Part II)

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of work promoted in New Zealand schools (Sultana, 1988a) I have described in some detail how teachers generally fail to give pro-labour messages, overtly and covertly pushing employers' agendas and maintaining almost complete silence about trade union issues.

FROM REPRODUCTION TO TRANSFORMATION

The problem with reproduction theories was that they over-emphasized the success of capital in determining the character and direction of social institutions and in fulfilling its needs. Human beings seemed to have no other alternative in front of them than to accept these dictates and to enter into dehumanizing and damaging relationships in a variety of social sites and with reference to life-chances generally (Wright, 1978). Much more fruitful was the exploration of the ways individual and groups resisted this imposition, and acted in such ways as to win spaces for themselves within large, impersonal and undemocratic structures.

Under the influence of a number of theorists, but perhaps of Giroux (1983) especially so, the new sociology increasingly turned to the insights developed by the Frankfurt School for theoretical sustenance. The links between critical theory and the new emphasis within the sociology of education can be readily seen in Inglis' (1985, p. 16) depiction of the program for an empowering education in the following terms:

...critical theory...is reflexive, possesses its own valid epistemology and cognitive processes, and above all, is the essential, inevitable motion of all rational, self-conscious beings who are bound to strive (perhaps incoherently) for ever greater freedom, fulfilment, and self-critical awareness...These three goals (or telos), freedom, fulfilment, and self-critical awareness, are the epistemes (or given

grounds) of the epistemology which vindicates the knowledge produced by critical theory.

Simon (1985) outlines three moments in the development of such a critical education. According to him, critical education acknowledges the social production, legitimation and distribution of knowledge within the school; it admits that school knowledge is not value-free but represents specific interests and values, and finally it ought to lead to transformative action in favour of a democratic vision of life.

Reading about the development of Critical Theory (cf Jay, 1973; Held, 1980; Geuss, 1981) one is impressed by the extent to which the program of the *Institut für Sozialforschung* has been appropriated by radical educational theory. Honneth (1987, p. 351) shows for instance that in contrast to the positivism of "traditional theory", "critical theory" is constantly aware of its social context of emergence as well as of its practical context of application. Like critical theory too, critical education follows the three agendas which Horkheimer outlined, namely the economic analysis of contemporary developments in capitalism, the social-psychological investigation of the societal integration of individuals, and the cultural-theoretical analysis of the mode of operation of mass culture.. All three concerns can be identified in one or the other of the reproduction models of education outlined above.

It is interesting to note as well the parallelism between the ultimately functionalist Marxism of the "inner circle" of critical theorists (i.e. Horkheimer, Adorno, and Marcuse) and a similar emphasis on reproduction. This contrasts with the now familiar Habermasian emphasis on the dimensions of everyday practice in which socialized subjects generate and creatively develop common action-orientations in a communicative manner (Young, 1988).

Indeed, radical theorizing entered into a most promising phase when it succeeded in linking the macro-analysis and understanding

which structural Marxism encourage with the micro-level accounts of how individual human beings create meanings within specific circumstances. It was with the development of "resistance theory" - which really took off with Willis' (1977) ethnographic work - that an important methodological goal of the critical theorists was actualized. "Interdisciplinary materials", as it is referred to today, sets out to weld a diagnosis at the philosophico-empirical level to empiric social research as a second current of reflection. As the founder of the Frankfurt School put it:

... philosophy, as a theoretical intention focused on the universal, the "essential", is in a position to give inspiring impulses to the specialist disciplines and, at the same time, is open enough to the world in order to allow itself to be impressed and changed by the advance of concrete studies (Horkheimer, 1972, p. 41).

Such an agenda has led to a more creative approach to those perennial dualism of social theory, namely society and the individual, determinism and voluntarism, structure and agency. In the case of resistance theory, there developed a renewed emphasis on human agency and a concern with the production rather than mere reproduction of culture (Willis, 1981). It helped to save radical educational theory from an over-deterministic view of human nature, where the economic base overwhelmed every possible human initiative and where reproduction necessarily followed. For those who wanted to find a "language of possibility" within education, reproduction theories were found to be much too sterile in comparison to this new approach.

Sociologists of education could now bring together their critical insights in identifying structural constraints and in exposing prevalent mythologies on the one hand, and a new strategy in actively highlighting contested spaces and meanings on the other. The weak-

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