



# Kent Academic Repository

**Coben, Diana Cicely (1992) *Radical heroes : Gramsci, Freire and the liberal tradition in adult education*. Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) thesis, University of Kent.**

## Downloaded from

<https://kar.kent.ac.uk/94279/> The University of Kent's Academic Repository KAR

## The version of record is available from

<https://doi.org/10.22024/UniKent/01.02.94279>

## This document version

UNSPECIFIED

## DOI for this version

## Licence for this version

CC BY-NC-ND (Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives)

## Additional information

This thesis has been digitised by EThOS, the British Library digitisation service, for purposes of preservation and dissemination. It was uploaded to KAR on 25 April 2022 in order to hold its content and record within University of Kent systems. It is available Open Access using a Creative Commons Attribution, Non-commercial, No Derivatives (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>) licence so that the thesis and its author, can benefit from opportunities for increased readership and citation. This was done in line with University of Kent policies (<https://www.kent.ac.uk/is/strategy/docs/Kent%20Open%20Access%20policy.pdf>). If you ...

## Versions of research works

### Versions of Record

If this version is the version of record, it is the same as the published version available on the publisher's web site. Cite as the published version.

### Author Accepted Manuscripts

If this document is identified as the Author Accepted Manuscript it is the version after peer review but before type setting, copy editing or publisher branding. Cite as Surname, Initial. (Year) 'Title of article'. To be published in **Title of Journal**, Volume and issue numbers [peer-reviewed accepted version]. Available at: DOI or URL (Accessed: date).

## Enquiries

If you have questions about this document contact [ResearchSupport@kent.ac.uk](mailto:ResearchSupport@kent.ac.uk). Please include the URL of the record in KAR. If you believe that your, or a third party's rights have been compromised through this document please see our [Take Down policy](https://www.kent.ac.uk/guides/kar-the-kent-academic-repository#policies) (available from <https://www.kent.ac.uk/guides/kar-the-kent-academic-repository#policies>).



UNIVERSITY OF KENT AT CANTERBURY

RADICAL HEROES  
GRAMSCI, FREIRE AND THE LIBERAL TRADITION  
IN ADULT EDUCATION

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES IN  
CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY  
DIANA CICELY COBEN

SEPTEMBER

1992



DX 172139  
F142951

RADICAL HEROES  
GRAMSCI, FREIRE AND THE LIBERAL TRADITION  
IN ADULT EDUCATION

CONTENTS

TABLE OF FIGURES . . . . .	iii
ABSTRACT . . . . .	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS . . . . .	v
Chapter	
I        Introduction . . . . .	1
PART ONE. THE LIBERAL TRADITION	
II       Concepts of Liberal Education . . . . .	11
III      The Historical Background to the Development of the Liberal Tradition 1740-1900.	21
IV      The Liberal Tradition in the Twentieth Century.	66
PART TWO. RADICAL CRITIQUES AND RADICAL HEROES	
V       Radical Adult Education . . . . .	.147
VI      Freire . . . . .	.223
VII     Gramsci . . . . .	.299
VIII    Radical Heroes: Gramsci, Freire, and the Liberal Tradition . . . . .	.379
IX      Conclusion . . . . .	.449
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS OF WORKS CITED . . . . .	.463
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	.464

## TABLE OF FIGURES

### Figure

1.	Macintyre's schema of ideological differences between Labour socialism and Marxism after 1917. .	174
2.	Williams's four sets of educational philosophies or ideologies . . . . .	179
3.	A visual representation of Thomas's continuum of adult education . . . . .	190
4.	Evans's representation of the philosophical positions of radical adult educators . . . . .	199
5.	A typology of adult education programmes . . . . .	200
6.	A classification of ideologies of adult education.	218
7.	A representation of Lovett et al.'s Typology of Community Adult Education . . . . .	219
8.	A representation of ideological positions of Gramsci, Freire, Raybould, Wiltshire and Tawney in relation to adult education . . . . .	446

## ABSTRACT

In the 1970s and 1980s many radical adult educators in the United Kingdom turned to the work of Antonio Gramsci and Paulo Freire for theoretical insights to support new initiatives in the education of adults. The thesis considers the significance of the work of Gramsci and Freire in the development of theories of adult education in Britain in the period following the publication of the Russell and Alexander Reports.

The thesis begins by charting the origins of the dominant tradition in British adult education, the Liberal Tradition, starting with an analysis of concepts of liberal education and outlining the struggle for education and for emancipation by working class groupings from the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. The thesis then traces the development, in the twentieth century, of the Liberal Tradition, with its emphasis on education for personal development and social purpose and for leisure as opposed to vocational education. The origins and development of radical critiques of liberal adult education in the period up to 1990 are outlined and some conceptualisations of the relationship between liberal and radical adult education are analysed. Freire's analysis of the transformative role of adult education in liberating the oppressed is considered, as is Gramsci's concept of politics as educative, his writing on hegemony, the role of intellectuals and the nature of education in a revolutionary process. The relationship between Gramsci, Freire and the Liberal Tradition is explored, and the thesis considers the appropriateness of the emergence of Gramsci and Freire as 'Radical Heroes' in radical critiques and developments of the Liberal Tradition in adult education.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe thanks to many people who have helped this thesis to see the light of day, including the many students, colleagues and friends with whom I have discussed these ideas and who confirmed me in my belief that the issues addressed here do matter. In particular, I owe a deep debt of gratitude to Professor David McLellan, my supervisor, for his patient and perceptive guidance and support and for the intellectual stimulation I have enjoyed in tutorials and at various 'Lentils Seminars'. Brian Ingram of Christ Church College read and commented on drafts of the thesis, for which I thank him. I am also grateful to Dr. Harold Goodwin, formerly of the WEA, whose comments on earlier drafts were an unfailing source of encouragement and critical challenge. Mary Thorpe of the Open University kindly read the final version and her thoughtful comments were most useful in preparation for my viva. My thanks also to my examiners, Professor Richard Taylor of the University of Leeds and Mike Caesar of UKC, whose thought-provoking questions made the viva a most stimulating and enjoyable experience.

Without the support of Study Awards from my former employer, the late ILEA, I should probably not have been able to embark on this research and I am very grateful to all those who made that possible. Equally, without the forbearance and support of my colleagues, family and friends I should have found the task of writing the thesis while in full-time employment far more onerous: my thanks to you all. Special thanks are due to my husband, John Ashworth, whose belief in me and in this project has sustained me through some bleak periods when completion seemed a long way off. My thanks also to Ken Ward of the Association of Atari User Groups who generously gave technical assistance at a crucial point in the production process - the print-out of the final version.

Without the help and support of the above this thesis would not exist. Any errors and imperfections that remain are entirely my own.

## CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

This thesis is the product of concern about the relationship between political and educational theory in the education of adults. As a field of study, the education of adults is relatively new. It is also very much an applied field of study, dependent on concepts drawn from other, more established disciplines in the social sciences, and on knowledge derived from practice in a field in which theory is commonly treated as subordinate to practice [Jarvis 1990a]. There is, however, evidence of interest in political theory in relation to adult education: a recent study of citations patterns revealed that the main type of theoretical literature cited was political [Field et al. 1991:15]. Nevertheless, adult education has not yet generated significant "'invisible colleges' of scholars pursuing common debates and themes" [Field et al. 1991:20]. As a result, the theoretical base of adult education is under-developed and regarded as marginal by some scholars in more conventional academic fields. Even within the field of the study of education, adult education suffers from a low

research profile and a certain invisibility born of a general assumption that education is concerned exclusively with what happens to children and young people in schools and colleges.

As a field of practice, adult education is an exceptionally diverse field whose practitioners do not all share a common language, or even a common term to designate what it is they do. Debates amongst adult education practitioners are accordingly informed - or ill-informed - by an inadequate knowledge base and distorted by terminological and conceptual confusions. Where these debates are concerned with vital political questions of direction, purpose, the exercise of power and the allocation of resources, theoretical weakness can have serious practical consequences, making it hard for practitioners to understand the situations in which they find themselves and unsure of what action, if any, to take. Where politics are concerned, while knowledge may not always be power, ignorance is rarely bliss. The thesis is intended as a contribution to such debates and to the continuing development of political theory in the field of adult education.

The principal subject of the thesis is the relationship between liberal and radical approaches to adult education and the place within that relationship of the ideas of Paulo Freire and Antonio Gramsci. The particular political question which underlies the thesis is this: why, in the 1970s and 1980s, a period when the ethos of the dominant Liberal Tradition was



subject to review following the publication of the Russell [1973] and Alexander [1975] Reports, did many radical adult educators in the United Kingdom turn to the work of Gramsci and Freire for theoretical insights, and for inspiration, to support new initiatives in the education of adults? Gramsci and Freire were not the only writers to be hailed as 'radical heroes' in this way, but their names appear frequently in the literature [Field et al. 1991], separately and in association and sometimes explicitly linked. There seems to be an assumption that the insights they offer are politically and educationally compatible and that their ideas are particularly relevant to the development of radical theories of adult education. The thesis considers the basis for Gramsci's and Freire's status as 'radical heroes' in the context of an exploration of the origins and development of the dominant tradition in adult education, the Liberal Tradition, and radical critiques of that tradition.

But what is meant by "adult education"? Problems of definition bedevil theoretical writing on the education of adults, perhaps more so in the UK, where the pattern of provision has been especially diverse, than elsewhere. Even within the UK in the twentieth century the pattern varies, with adult education in England and Wales operating under a different administrative and legal framework from that pertaining in Scotland or Northern Ireland. The focus of this thesis is primarily England, although with excursions to other parts of the UK -

notably to Scotland, in Chapter VI, where an account of an avowedly Freirean adult community education project is considered, and to Italy, Latin America and other parts of what Freire calls the Third World in order to contextualize his work and that of Gramsci.

Another problem arises in relation to the "adulthood" of adult education: as Johnson [in Lovett (ed.) 1988:5] points out, historically, the very concept of "adult education" is an anachronism, since the modern distinction between childhood and adulthood is a comparatively recent and class-based social construction. The distinction between "adult education" and the broader concept of "the education of adults" is problematic, as are the host of competing terms, such as "continuing education", "lifelong education", and "recurrent education" which have emerged in recent years [1]. For the purposes of this thesis, the term "adult education" will be used, as in Thomas's definition [1982:1], to mean

the creation of opportunities for adults to learn, under the guidance of a leader, co-ordinator or teacher. It is further assumed that an adult is someone who has finished, or is no longer eligible for, schooling. Finally it is assumed that such activities generally take place within a structure which provides the necessary resources, and which expects adult education to achieve certain goals.

Equally problematic is the definition of liberal adult education, and in particular, the manifestation of it known as the Liberal Tradition. It is always difficult to define a living tradition without either offering too partial and

limited a view, or being too inclusive, to the point where all sense of definition is lost. Here the problem is approached historically.

The thesis begins by charting the origins of the Liberal Tradition, starting, in Chapter II, with an analysis of concepts of liberal education and, in Chapter III, outlining the struggle for education and for emancipation by working class groupings from the beginning of the Industrial Revolution to the end of the nineteenth century. The emergence of the Liberal Tradition, with its emphasis on education for personal development and social purpose and for leisure as opposed to vocational education, is then traced, in Chapter IV, from developments in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which reached their apotheosis in the 1919 Report [2]. As a result of these developments, it is argued that the spiritual home of the Liberal Tradition of adult education may be found in the symbiotic relationship between the university extra-mural departments and the Workers' Educational Association (WEA) and accordingly the thesis focusses on this area. While constituting a relatively small part of the provision of education and training for adults, adult education in the Liberal Tradition has been regarded as the flagship of the endeavour, a symbol of academic seriousness and social purpose in a field otherwise dominated by recreational classes geared to the acquisition of practical skills, handicrafts and sports and counterposed to vocational training as education for

leisure.

Accordingly, the working definition of adult education in the Liberal Tradition which is adopted in this thesis is that it is government subsidised provision characterised by a distinctive, critical methodology entailing the systematic, sustained and serious study of humanistic subjects undertaken by adults usually in their own (as distinct from their employer's) time as a means of achieving individual personal development and peaceful social change. The aims of personal development and peaceful social change are brought together in the Liberal Tradition by educationalists who believe that education is essentially civilising, rendering its adherents more critical, cultured and fulfilled human beings who are thereby a force for good in society, whether in a leadership or subsidiary role. The creation of a reflective citizenry and of responsible popular leaders, able to formulate and articulate the legitimate aspirations of disadvantaged people, is seen as an educational task, necessary in order to reform the economic and social system and extend freedom, through education, to those to whom it has been denied.

Tensions remain: for example, belief in the individual's freedom of choice and right to self-fulfilment is central to the Liberal Tradition, yet in this individualistic perspective the social purposes affirmed in the vision of liberal adult education as a collective enterprise may be seen as secondary,

or indeed run counter to, the personal aims of its participants. The association of liberal adult education with leisure has led some critics to consider it a luxury by comparison with vocational education and training, and thus less deserving of government subsidy. Subsidy is essential if the liberal adult educator's mission to the poor and disadvantaged and to the working class is to be maintained, yet such provision must maintain organizational independence and freedom of intellectual enquiry to avoid being compromised. These and other problems have occasioned much debate amongst adult educators and academics, which has intensified as the Liberal Tradition has come under attack from a variety of directions, as outlined in Chapters IV and V.

One such attack from within the ranks of professional adult educators was mounted by radicals whose challenge to the basic tenets of the Liberal Tradition emerged in the wake of publication of the Russell Report in 1973 (which dealt with England and Wales) and the Alexander Report in 1975 (which dealt with Scotland). Holyoake's description in the 1880s of a radical as "a man who has heroic unrest under injustice' even if he did not always have a coherent policy for ending oppression" [Silver 1975:2], may serve to indicate the state of the debate amongst radical adult educators one hundred years later. This debate is explored in Chapter V, which analyses the origins and development of radical critiques of the Liberal Tradition in the period up to 1990 and examines

conceptualisations of the relationship between liberal and radical adult education.

As indicated above, both Freire and Gramsci are cited in the literature of radical adult education as conveyors of important insights into the political and educational purposes, methods and content of adult education and the thesis explores the basis for this view through an exploration of the ideas of Freire and Gramsci in Chapters VI and VII respectively. Chapter VI considers Freire's analysis of the transformative role of adult education in liberating the oppressed, and Gramsci's concept of politics as educative, his writing on hegemony, the role of intellectuals and the nature of education in a revolutionary process are explored in Chapter VII. Chapter VIII explores the points of contact and divergence of Gramsci's and Freire's ideas and considers their influence on radical critiques of the Liberal Tradition, focussing particularly on the claim that their ideas are compatible with each other, and comparing their approaches with the principles of Marxist adult education, as delineated by Youngman [1986] and those of proponents of the Liberal Tradition.

Finally, Chapter IX considers the appropriateness of Gramsci's and Freire's emergence as radical heroes in radical critiques and developments of the Liberal Tradition, and draws together themes from throughout the thesis and suggests areas for further research.

## NOTES

1. Terminology and associated concepts are comprehensively discussed by Peter Jarvis [1988, Chapter 2] and by Brendan Evans [1987, Chapter 1].

2. Final Report of the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction [Cmd. 321], known as "The 1919 Report".

PART ONE

THE LIBERAL TRADITION IN ADULT EDUCATION



## CHAPTER II

## CONCEPTS OF LIBERAL EDUCATION

Introduction

This chapter briefly traces the development of concepts of liberal education from ancient times to the present day.

The Ancient Concept of Liberal Education

The Liberal Tradition in adult education takes its name and many of its principles from the ancient concept of liberal education, associated with Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. The Hellenistic system of liberal education reached its mature form in Athens in the fourth century before Christ, and remained little changed for many centuries. The liberal education system aimed to provide a rigorously intellectual general education, divided into discrete stages and subjects. It was conceived of as a preparation for citizenship and for statesmanship undertaken during childhood and youth by free

citizens (those who were not slaves). It is primarily in this literal sense that the Hellenistic system of education was "liberal": that is, concerned with freedom. Freedom was thus both a pre-condition and an objective of the Greek system of education insofar as it was believed that a free citizen should be informed and capable of exercising judgement, free from ignorance and superstition.

The influence of the three founding philosophers on the Liberal Tradition in education has been pervasive. For Plato, education entailed a rigorous intellectual training, beginning with a study of grammar and rhetoric, continuing with the natural sciences, history and literature, and completed with the study of logic and philosophy. Knowledge and truth, for Plato, lay outside the individual and must be encountered in a painful process of learning which entailed freeing the mind of prejudices and accepting the responsibility to help others to do likewise. The highest ideal was the philosopher-king who knew what was true and of value and could govern according to those principles.

Socrates was influential in his method of exhorting his disciples to question all assumptions. For Socrates, the aim of education was for the individual to become knowledgeable, since he believed the person who knew the truth would also do that which is true. Aristotle developed a concept of moral education to be achieved through the formation of habits and an

intellectual education through the development of practical wisdom (art, prudence) and theoretical wisdom (knowledge of science, intelligence and wisdom). For Aristotle, wisdom, the contemplation of truths, at leisure, was an end in itself, a manifestation of the divine within mankind [Elias and Merriam 1984:14-15].

The classical liberal education tradition of Ancient Greece entered the Christian world in the fifth century A.D. through the endorsement of Augustine, Bishop of Hippo. For Augustine, education in the Christian virtues of faith, hope, charity and humility was conceived as a preparation for the afterlife. Classical learning, which developed the intellect, was a means by which this aim could be achieved [Elias and Merriam 1984:15]. Throughout mediaeval Christendom, the classical liberal arts of the trivium (grammar, rhetoric and logic), and the quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy) were taught alongside study of the Bible, in schools geared to the education of boys for the priesthood [Lawson 1967:8-9].

### The Renaissance

At the Renaissance, the fusion of classical liberal and religious education was augmented by a humanist dimension. The liberal arts were an essential component of the classical humanist philosophy of education propounded by humanists such

as Erasmus, Thomas More and Ignatius Loyola, which prevailed in Europe from the mid-fifteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries. As Williams has pointed out, the liberal arts themselves came to be regarded as free, in the sense of independent of considerations outside themselves: "pure" rather than "applied" [Williams 1976:148-9]. The aim of this form of education was to produce a gentleman scholar and man of culture: someone who would be equally a fit citizen of the secular world of commerce and the court at the same time as he was equipped to enter the priesthood [Elias and Merriam 1984:16].

In Britain, the classical humanist philosophy of education inspired a literary curriculum based on the liberal arts which dominated the grammar schools and the universities of Oxford and Cambridge from the Middle Ages. The study of ancient Greek and Latin carried forward the ideas and values of a liberal education from the ancient world. At the same time religious faith, and a moral, and, to a lesser extent, an aesthetic sense, were cultivated in the young.

#### Nineteenth Century Ideas of a Liberal Education

By the mid-nineteenth century, debates about the kind of education appropriate for the ruling class focussed on university and public school curricula, which had come to be

dominated by a somewhat fossilised classicism. The idea of a liberal education played an important part in these debates, lending legitimacy to calls for educational reform through an appeal to continuity and established values. Three main strands in the nineteenth century debate about the concept of liberal education set the agenda of future debates: liberal education as a civilising influence; liberal education as rational, humane and scientific; and liberal education as concerned with learning for learning's sake.

#### Liberal Education as a Civilising Influence

One strand, liberal education as a civilising influence, was championed by Matthew Arnold. For Arnold [Sanderson (ed.) 1975:139], the aim of culture was "to know ourselves and the world"; it was therefore necessary "to know the best which has been thought and said in the world". Arnold saw education, poetry and criticism as vehicles for the creation of a literary culture of "beauty and sweetness" [Sanderson (ed.) 1975:121]. By such means, humane individuals from all classes, whom he termed "aliens", would be able to rise above the "stock notions" characteristic of their class and awaken the "best self" latent in others. The humane influence of such people would be embodied in the creation of a state, which Arnold saw as a "centre of authority and light", able to transcend the existing class basis of society.

Liberal education was a means by which the middle classes, (whom he called the "Philistines") could acquire the culture necessary to equip them for their role in society: this was to offer the education of a gentleman to those who were not (quite) gentlemen. A liberal education was also important for gentlemen - the aristocracy, whom Arnold called the "Barbarians" - in order to overcome their deficiency in ideas and inflexibility of mind. Even the Populace (Arnold's name for the working class) would benefit themselves and safeguard society through a liberal education based on literature "the greatest power available in education" as a "moralising" agent to effect "a rise in what the political economists call the standard of life" [HMSO 1910:142-8].

While his view of education was rooted in the class society of his day, Arnold looked to the future, refusing to see education as merely an instrument of contemporary social policy. He believed that liberal education was ultimately the means to abolish class differences and benefit society as a whole, since educated people would be better able to overcome class prejudices while such differences continued. As Williams [1961:158] has pointed out, Arnold's influence re-established the aim of social purpose as part of the education of a Christian gentleman.

## Liberal Education as Rational, Humane and Scientific

A second approach saw liberal education as comprising a broad-based rational, humane and scientific curriculum. Scientific subjects, either as the dominant element or balanced with classical literary studies, formed an important element of liberal education in this mode. Champions of this view included Spencer, who espoused the former position and T.H. Huxley and J.S. Mill, who took the latter view. For Huxley [1895:83], "education is the instruction of the intellect in the laws of Nature". Huxley was an indefatigable adult educator: he was for thirteen years Principal of the South London Working Men's College [Bibby 1959]. He described the effects of a liberal education on the individual in the following heroic terms

That man, I think, has had a liberal education who has been so trained in youth that his body is the ready servant of his will, and does with ease and pleasure all the work that, as a mechanism, it is capable of; whose intellect is a clear, cold, logic engine, with all its parts of equal strength, and in smooth working order; ready, like a steam engine, to be turned to any kind of work, and spin the gossamers as well as forge the anchors of the mind; whose mind is stored with a knowledge of the great and fundamental truths of Nature and the laws of her operations; one who, no stunted ascetic, is full of life and fire, but whose passions are trained to come to heel by a vigorous will, the servant of a tender conscience; who has learned to love all beauty, whether of Nature or of art, to hate all vileness, and to respect others as himself [Huxley 1895:86].

### Liberal Education as Learning for Learning's Sake

A third view, that liberal education exemplified the love of learning for its own sake, was that of the Classical Humanists, such as Cardinal Newman. Newman, a leading figure in the Oxford Movement who became a Roman Catholic, argued that universities should provide a liberal education based on the classics, but encompassing a wide variety of subjects studied for their intrinsic beauty and interest and not for any external purpose. For Newman the role of a university was to extend and diffuse knowledge by bringing students and teachers together in a community of scholars searching for truth, unimpeded by subject boundaries.

To Newman, theology was the supreme transcendent subject, uniting all others, and his vision of a liberal education was eclectic, including mathematics, the sciences, economics and political science. While recognising the need for specialisation, Newman held that study of a subject should be tempered by a recognition of the importance of other subjects. Newman emphasised the powers of insight and judgement that a liberal mind could bring to bear on a variety of subjects and emphasised the essential unity, as he saw it, of all knowledge.

Newman conceived liberal education as a process of striving towards perfection in the Platonic sense of identification with



the supreme idea of knowledge. For Newman, such an education

gives a man a clear and conscious view of his own opinions and judgements, a truth in developing them, and a force in urging them. It teaches him to see things as they are, to go right to the point, to disentangle a skein of thought, to detect what is sophistical, and to discard what is irrelevant. It prepares him to fill any post with credit, and to master any subject with facility [Newman in Sanderson (ed.) 1975:124-5].

### Twentieth Century Ideas of a Liberal Education

Twentieth century ideas about the nature of a liberal education echo Newman, Huxley and Arnold in various ways. From Newman has come the idea of a liberal education as one which is disinterested, searching after truth and avoiding the dangers of a narrow vocationalism and over-specialisation in one field of knowledge. In the form of 'Liberal Studies' it has come to be associated particularly with courses designed to broaden the educational experience of young people studying for vocational qualifications. From Arnold has come the idea of a liberal education as a moral enterprise, a civilising influence on society and the individual, and as equipping people for enlightened leadership. From Huxley and others has come the idea that a broad-based liberal education forms and enhances not only the intellect but also the character of its adherents.

Elias and Merriam, writing from a North American context,

define the educated person as one who

possesses the four components of a liberal education: rational or intellectual education which involves wisdom, moral values, a spiritual or religious dimension, and an aesthetic sense [Elias and Merriam 1984:26].

In Britain, the association of a liberal education with wealth and leisure, cultural refinement, moral probity and disinterested public service has persisted to the present century. As the hallmark of an elite governing class, a liberal education is still "the education of a gentleman" and the ideas of a liberal education propounded by Arnold, Huxley and Newman for many still express the highest ideal of what education should be.

How, then, did a process of education designed for and serving the needs of the governors come to be seen as appropriate for the governed? Furthermore, given that liberal adult education for the working class could not proceed without subsidy, how did it happen that not only the governed themselves, but also those with command over public funds, endorsed the idea? In order to understand this apparent contradiction, it is necessary to trace the origins of the Liberal Tradition in adult education in the struggles over education and political reform from the Industrial Revolution to the twentieth century.

## CHAPTER III

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LIBERAL  
TRADITION IN ADULT EDUCATION: 1740-1900Introduction

This chapter traces the historical background to the development of the Liberal Tradition in adult education from the dawn of the Industrial Revolution to the end of the nineteenth century, focussing on issues of class, education and political reform.

The Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution

From about 1740 two far-reaching changes affected almost every aspect of life in Britain. These were the ideas of the Enlightenment and the social upheaval attendant on the Industrial Revolution, in the process of which the working class itself was being formed, a process classically described by E.P. Thompson in his The Making of the English Working

Class [1968]. The Enlightenment sparked a new interest in intellectual enquiry and scientific discovery, guided by a belief in human perfectability. Education was seen as a major factor in bringing about gradual moral improvement in the individual and hence in society as a whole. Educational methodology would be based on the principles of scientific observation and the educational historian Bantok [1980:263] points to

the changed role of cognition,... and its emergence as a tool. It betokens the time when the curriculum was to be conceived of as a process rather than a body of truths, an activity rather than as knowledge stored.

The liberal arts curriculum was profoundly challenged by the new learning. As one historian of the period has commented: "Hand and intellect, technology and philosophy, separated since the Greeks, were now finding common ground in the utilization of science for the sake of improving man's lot" [Gay 1967:11].

Notwithstanding the influence of the Enlightenment, the 'improvement of man's lot' in the Industrial Revolution probably owed more to the processes of capital accumulation, the existence of natural mineral resources, the development of transport systems to establish internal and export trades, allied to an inventiveness which produced the few crucial breakthroughs and gave Britain an overwhelming lead in the export of textiles, heavy machinery and iron goods, than to Britain's educational institutions, narrowly conceived in terms

of the established schools and ancient universities [Roderick and Stephens 1972:7-22]. However, societies such as the Lunar Society, the Spitalfields Mathematical Society [Cawthorne 1928-9] and the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society were crucial in achieving scientific and technological breakthroughs which propelled the Industrial Revolution forward. The societies were educational in the broadest sense and set a pattern for groups of people meeting together to study and discuss matters of mutual concern. In addition, individual society members such as Erasmus Darwin, Joseph Priestley and the Edgeworths, father and daughter, were in the vanguard of those arguing for educational reform, mainly in relation to the education of children [Simon 1981:17-38].

### Religion and Secularism

In the same period, Methodism underwent a rapid expansion so that by 1820 it has been estimated that approximately twenty per cent of the most politicised section of the adult 'lower orders' were associated with chapel communities of one sort or another [Kelly 1970:72-73]. Methodist class meetings provided a model for later forms of working class political organisation. In addition, Wesley's determination to provide a wide range of reading matter in order to produce 'thorough Christians', led him to publish cheap abridged editions of the classics, tracts and other popular works which became widely

disseminated, encouraging the spread of literacy.

By 1780, with increasing numbers of poor children in employment in the factories, mills and mines, the Charity Schools for the poor, established in the post-Restoration period, were in decline. A flourishing Sunday School movement grew up and for many years Sunday Schools of one denomination or another (and later Secular Sunday Schools) were a common forum for adult (and child) education in poor areas. The Sunday School movement was important in shaping ideas about popular education in the nineteenth century. As Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth wrote nearly fifty years later

The idea of education for the poor sprang from a religious impulse... it regarded the school as a nursery of the Church and congregation, and confided its management to the chief communicants, to the deacons, elders, and class teachers. Thus the Sunday School became the type of the daily school [quoted in Curtis and Boulton 1964:7].

The overwhelming practical problem in extending the ideals embodied in the Sunday School movement to anything approaching universal popular education was the expense of running the schools, coupled with the scarcity of experienced teachers. Two independent initiatives by Bell and Lancaster sought to overcome this difficulty by using the monitorial system to teach large numbers of children [Curtis and Boulton 1964:7-12]. But the problems were not only practical. Since the Restoration in 1660, the idea of education for the lower orders had come to be regarded with suspicion, if not

hostility: to those in power it appeared politically dangerous.

Meanwhile, the Adult School movement developed from humble beginnings in an 'Institution for Instructing Adult Persons to read the Holy Scriptures' established in Bristol in 1812. The movement spread rapidly throughout the south and midlands of England and into South Wales in the early decades of the nineteenth century, with many Quakers actively involved. It then declined, to be revived towards the end of the nineteenth century, reaching its peak in the period before the First World War [Kelly 1970:passim].

As a result of such initiatives, and, perhaps more importantly, the spread of reading matter through newspapers and circulating libraries, England was described by Dr. Johnson in 1781 as "a nation of readers" [Hill 1969:278].

### The Struggle for Change

Political struggle developed strongly in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, inspired by the revolutions first in America and then in France and conducted against a background of rapid industrialisation and social upheaval. The new literacy was a significant factor in the development of radical politics, as new and aspiring readers met and discussed

revolutionary ideas in gatherings which often took the form of class meetings.

With the founding of the Constitutional Society in 1780, a forum for the discussion and dissemination of radical ideas was established, the forerunner of many organisations which fought for justice and freedom from oppression. The Constitutional Society agitated for the reform of an unrepresentative parliament and the restoration of liberties lost to the aristocracy as long ago as the Norman Conquest. Its founder, Major Cartwright, divided reformers into two groups: "moderate" reformers who advocated modest reforms and "constitutional" or "radical" reformers, who argued for the "constitutional representation of the people in parliament" [Silver 1975:6-7]. Middle class radicals in the period following the French Revolution rejected the revolutionary option, nevertheless, as the educational historian Andy Green [1990:245] contends in his analysis of education and state formation

they represented a uniquely radical moment of educational thought. After them few middle class educationalists would offer such a generous and rounded vision of human enlightenment without, at the same time, pushing their own brand of class dogma.

The distinction between moderates and radicals became more pronounced with the explosion of popular (in Cartwright's terms, 'constitutional') radicalism in the 1790s, following the French Revolution. In 1792 Tom Paine's Rights of Man,



celebrating the revolution, sold 50,000 copies within a few weeks [Williams 1965:184]. Corresponding Societies spread progressive and revolutionary ideas through the writings of Paine and other radicals, at their peak claiming large memberships organised into divisions about forty-five strong throughout the country. Well-heeled radical clubs were joined by organisations of artisans which sprang up only to be suppressed by a government determined to ensure that the revolutionary ferment sweeping through France should not infect Britain. Mary Wollstonecraft's Vindication of the Rights of Woman, also published in 1792 and urging that the rights of man be extended to woman, met with less enthusiasm, prefiguring the ambivalent response to women's struggle for emancipation that was to characterise much radical political activity during the next two centuries.

Educational ideas featured strongly in radical writings, just as radical meetings had a strongly educational flavour. Paine, for example, in Rights of Man [1969:263], put forward a plan for universal education to the age of 14, and argued for the right to education in "reading, writing and common arithmetic" for the poor, to be paid for by taxes. When the Corresponding Societies were suppressed in 1799, other organisations calling for rational secular education for all, such as the Secular Sunday Schools, sprang up, linking education with political activity through political reading and discussion coupled with instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic and grammar.

Female societies were organised and women were active in many local radical organisations. Radical groups met weekly in classes of twenty and read political journals such as the unstamped version of Cobbett's Political Register and Wooler's Black Dwarf. The battle for the freedom of the press and against repressive libel laws was fought out against a background of increasing political unrest [Kelly 1970:158-164]. Owenism, and later the Chartist movement, continued the struggle, organising classes and carrying on political activity as the Corresponding Societies had done.

Education became a weapon in a protracted class struggle: for emancipation or for containment. Attitudes to education and its purposes for different groups were significant in emerging political tendencies from the conservative to the radical. Lack of education hampered the struggle for political emancipation. Political knowledge and understanding was essential for effective collective action so education was a vital weapon in the struggle, an important part of the process of becoming organised and defining political directions and strategies as well as a goal to be achieved once the struggle had been won.

However, working class radicalism was a heterogeneous affair with disagreement about the place of education in the struggle, despite a common commitment to ideas of rights and rationalism and the aims of political emancipation and freedom of the

press. Knowledge was regarded as a natural right which had been denied for too long, but questions of what it was useful to know, to what extent knowledge should be explored for its own sake, for individual fulfilment or for political advance were argued over with passion. Debates about the classics had no place in the deliberations of working class radicals: they were looking to the future, rather than back to a golden age of classicism, and progressive political activists and thinkers, from Paine onwards, argued for a broad-based practical and scientific education for all. For example, Carlile, publisher of Paine's work and doughty fighter for the freedom of the press, argued the case for universal education based on study of the sciences and called upon eminent scientists to share their knowledge with the people [Simon (ed.) 1972:91-137]. In this he foreshadowed the calls for a science-based liberal education made later in the century by Huxley and others.

Education was not regarded as the prerogative of childhood alone: education in adulthood was often the only possibility for those who had to work or starve from childhood. The position of women in many of these groupings has yet to be fully explored, but it is clear that the problems of the emancipation of women were not always accorded the same priority as those of humanity in general or men in particular. Literacy was an essential first step and many working class radicals put the literacy they had acquired at Lancasterian or Sunday Schools to good use, continuing a tradition of self

education. The historian, Laqueur [1975], has pointed out that Sunday Schools also instilled habits of discipline and commitment to study in many who went on to use them in the service of radical political movements in later life.

### The Philosophic Radicals

The 'Utilitarian' or (from the mid-1820s) 'Philosophic' Radicals were the most active and articulate of the middle class groups agitating for parliamentary reform and the freedom of the press. They were inspired by the ideas of the economist and philosopher Adam Smith and led by Jeremy Bentham, who attempted to synthesize utilitarianism with Smith's laissez-faire economic theories. The Radicals conducted their agitation with working class support until the passing of the Reform Act in 1832 split the uneasy alliance.

Education was a popular cause with working class groups and a means of ensuring that their support did not waver - but it was more than this. The Radicals' support for mass education was part of a pragmatic, incorporationist political strategy, pursued despite their general belief in non-intervention by the state.

State intervention 'for the greater good' was not entirely ruled out, but there was continual debate about which public concerns could be justified. As Halévy [1928] has pointed out, the ambiguity in the Radicals' approach to state

intervention stemmed from this contradiction and, as Green [1990:253] has shown, this was reflected in the debate over the role of the state in education.

The argument went as follows: the Radicals believed that it was necessary for the greatest happiness of the greatest number that the interests of the governors should be in harmony with those of the governed; an extension of the franchise was therefore necessary in order to prevent narrow, class-based interests (meaning those of the aristocracy and landowners) predominating; in the context of a harmonious 'natural' market, the individual interest coincided with the common good, but this was not always clearly perceived by the working class; education was therefore necessary to enlighten them and persuade them that their true interests lay in supporting the campaign to enfranchise those who were to be their new middle class masters.

Support for this convoluted argument came from Adam Smith's writing, who had earlier seen the education of the masses as a necessary counterbalance to the development of factory production and the process of industrialisation, which, through specialisation, rendered workers stupid and ignorant. For Smith, education was the means by which workers could be led to perceive the benefits of industrialisation and the difference between their 'apparent' and their 'true' interests in political terms: their 'true' interests lying in support for

the middle class against the landed aristocracy [Simon 1976:139]. As Simon points out, Smith was the first to advance the argument that labourers could be convinced through education, that the introduction of machinery and the accumulation of capital is in their 'true' interests, however unlikely such an idea might appear [Simon 1976:140].

Smith put the argument for state intervention in education as a means of ensuring social harmony in a portentous passage on the education of "the common people" in his Wealth of Nations [1776]

The state... derives no inconsiderable advantage from their instruction. The more they are instructed, the less liable they are to the delusions of enthusiasm and superstition, which, among ignorant nations, frequently occasion the most dreadful disorders. An instructed and intelligent people, besides, are always more decent and orderly than an ignorant and stupid one. They feel themselves, each individually, more respectable, and more likely to obtain the respect of their lawful superiors, and they are, therefore, more disposed to respect those superiors. They are more disposed to examine, and more capable of seeing through, the interested complaints of faction and sedition; and they are, upon that account, less apt to be misled into any wanton or unnecessary opposition to the measures of government. In free countries, where the safety of government depends very much upon the favourable judgement which the people form of its conduct, it must surely be of the highest importance, that they should not be disposed to judge rashly or capriciously concerning it. [Smith quoted in Eccleshall 1986:124-5]

Smith's ideas influenced the economist Malthus, who, in his An Essay on the Principles of Population As It Effects the Future Improvement of Society [1798], states that if the poor were taught

a few of the simplest principles of political economy... the benefit to society would be almost incalculable... A knowledge of these truths so obviously tends to promote peace and quietness, to weaken the effect of inflammatory writings and to prevent all unreasonable and ill-directed opposition to constituted authorities. [Malthus quoted in Simon 1976:142]

The Philosophic Radicals, following Smith's and Malthus' line of argument, believed that unrest and revolt amongst the workers occurred because no appeal had been made to their powers of reason. In this sense, education was seen as an alternative to those early forms of collective bargaining: machine-breaking and rioting.

The Philosophic Radicals believed that leadership in the struggle for reform, and in society in general, must be vested in the middle class as the "strength of the community... the men who think for the rest of the world and who really do the business of the world [the] class which gives to the nation its character" [quoted in Silver 1975:22]. As Green [1990:246] remarks, by 1826, the middle class "increasingly saw itself as the rising hegemonic class, the bearer of a new set of universal values".

Accordingly, the Radicals' battle for education was couched in universal terms. It was conducted, however, on two, class-specific, fronts: for the middle class and for the working class. The Philosophic Radicals criticised existing educational practices as corrupt and irrelevant to contemporary society and struggled for new forms of secondary and higher

education for their own class, to include the sciences. The middle classes would be educated for leadership and the wise and scientific control of industry. For the working class, the Radicals followed Adam Smith in advocating elementary education to pacify them and equip them for their subordinate role in society.

Not all reformers agreed with the rationalist self-interest of Smith and his followers. For example, James Kay-Shuttleworth, an assistant Poor Law Commissioner who rose to become Secretary to the Committee of the Privy Council on Education from 1839-49, was generally in sympathy with the Radicals, but for him religious education for all, and particularly for the poor, was the key to internal peace. Some industrialists and politicians also took this view, as did some trades unionists in the period of "New Model Unionism" (1851-1880) [Hobsbawm 1980:272].

The Philosophic Radicals attempted "to apply the principles of Newton to affairs of politics and of morals" [Halévy 1949:6]. The theoretical background to the Philosophic Radicals' position on education was derived from the psychological theory of "associationism", an attempt to describe the basic process of learning, which was to have a profound effect on thinking about education in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries [Simon 1981:45-50]. Associationists believed that the mind is formed by circumstances and governed by laws, and



that therefore, by the application of scientific method, education could become a science. Freed from the burden of original sin, redemption became possible through human agency: the doctrine of human perfectability was born. Education, the associationists believed, had the power to change society.

The Radicals set great store by efficiency and usefulness in education as in other matters, developing their own theory for an alternative to liberal education inspired by the principles of utility and facility. The doctrine of utility proposed that whatever was conducive to pleasure was also useful to the individual and to society. In education the subjects studied should be those with the most direct application to everyday life, principally science and technology. Facility meant that the development of learning should be from the simple to the complex; from the particular to the general; from the concrete to the abstract. The Philosophic Radicals followed Bentham in propounding the doctrine of the greatest happiness of the greatest number, and education was seen as an important means of disseminating happiness throughout society. For example, James Mill [quoted in Silver 1975:26], in his article on education in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, argues for a rational, secular, scientific education for all in order "to render the individual, as much as possible, an instrument of happiness, first to himself, and next to other beings".

Another of the Benthamite ideas sustaining working class and

middle class radicals was the belief that oppression could not stand against truth: if people knew the truth of the injustices done to them those injustices would necessarily fall. As James Mill's son, John Stuart Mill, later wrote of his father

So complete was my father's reliance on the influence of reason over the minds of mankind, whenever it is allowed to reach them, that he felt as if all would be gained if the whole population were taught to read [Mill quoted in Silver 1975:26].

Such faith in the power of reason was shared by disparate radical middle and working class groups in the fight for liberty, justice and freedom.

#### The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge and the Mechanics' Institutes

In the 1820s the Philosophic Radicals and other radical and dissenting (later Nonconformist) groups were actively involved in educational initiatives aimed at the working class such as the Mechanics' Institutes and the cheap literature movement, in particular the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (SDUK).

The cheap literature movement comprised publishing companies such as that of the Chambers brothers, which aimed to produce attractive and useful literature for the working class, while other publishers produced popular literature for the burgeoning

lower middle classes, such as Murray's Family Library and Constable's Miscellany [Kelly 1970:164] as well as Methodist and other religious tracts. For the SDUK 'useful knowledge' meant particularly knowledge of industrial and scientific processes to fit people for their roles as workers in the changed circumstances brought about by the Industrial Revolution. The Radicals' concern for social control is evident in exhortatory SDUK pamphlets such as An Address to the Labourers on the Subject of Destroying Machinery, published in 1830 and sold for one penny.

The Mechanics' Institutes developed in the years after 1823 and quickly spread throughout the country, controlled by the industrialists who provided the resources. Kelly [1970:134] describes them as the typical form of adult education in the first half of the nineteenth century. The aims of the Institutes, as described by an early historian of the movement, were the promotion of science by increasing the number of people engaged in the informed observation of scientific phenomena; the diffusion of rational information among the people; and "the creation of intellectual pleasures and refined amusements, tending to the general elevation of character" [Hudson quoted in Simon 1981:158].

Such initiatives, however well intentioned, tended to incorporate the working class into middle class political and economic campaigns through the medium of education and they

were greeted with suspicion in some quarters. For example, William Cobbett, when making a contribution of £5 to a collection for an early Mechanics' Institute, added the proviso,

I gave my £5 as a mark of my regard for and my attachment to the working classes of the community and also as a mark of my approbation of anything which seemed to assert that these classes were equal, in point of intellect, to those who had the insolence to call them the 'Lower Orders'. But, I was not without my fears that this institution may be turned to purposes extremely injurious to the mechanics themselves. I cannot but know what sort of people are likely to get amongst them ... Mechanics, I most heartily wish you well but I also most heartily wish you not to be humbugged, which you most certainly will be if you suffer anybody but REAL MECHANICS to have anything to do in managing the concern. You will mean well; but many a cunning scoundrel will get place or pension as the price of you. [Cobbett quoted by Williams 1983:13]

While the initial success of the Mechanics' Institutes showed that there was indeed hunger for knowledge, incorporation was resisted by sections of the working class, who shared Cobbett's misgivings and refused the notion of useful knowledge foisted on them by middle class Radicals. As early as 1823 a breakaway body was formed in Glasgow after interference in the running of the library at the Andersonian Institute, and this pattern was repeated elsewhere. In Manchester, a self-educated cotton worker, Rowland Detrosier, became the first president of the breakaway Mechanics' Institute in 1829 and called for the setting up of independent working class educational institutions: the Mechanics' Halls of Science.

### The Cooperative Movement

Meanwhile, Robert Owen's educational ideas were put into practice as part of the cooperative social and industrial programme he set up at his New Lanark Mills in Scotland. His theories of education were based on the empiricist philosophy of Hobbes and Locke, interpreted with a new, optimistic humanism. The aim of education, for Owen, was, "to enlighten the world, to raise all classes without lowering any one, and to reform all mankind from the least even to the greatest" [Owen in Simon (ed.) 1972:176].

By the mid-1820s the cooperative movement was gathering strength, inspired by Owen's utopian socialist ideals. The early societies functioned as trading associations or producers' cooperatives with the ultimate aim of forming cooperative communities settled on the land. Practical and liberal education for adults and children played an important part in these plans, and lectures, debates and discussions were organised, and a central organisation for propaganda and education, the British Association for the Promotion of Cooperative Knowledge, was founded in London in 1829 [Kelly 1970:136-7]. As one cooperator wrote in their monthly periodical, the Cooperator

let Cooperators compete with each other in the improvement of their minds; let them form classes for this purpose; let them have common reading rooms and libraries; let them learn how to make common accounts, the principles of book-keeping, and the dealings of trade. These are the first steps in

learning, and which are most useful to themselves. When they have accomplished this, then let them extend their reading to other subjects, and never cease till they have dissipated those mists of ignorance in which they are at present enveloped. [quoted in Kelly 1970:137]

### Owenism and Trades Unionism

In 1825 with the repeal of the Combination Acts, trades unionism began to emerge as an element in working class political organisation. Divisions along class lines became more and more obvious and unity between the different radical groups harder to maintain. The middle class Radicals' uneasy alliance with their working class counterparts lasted until the passing of the 1832 Reform Act, which left the working class without the vote while enfranchising the property-owning male middle class. After 1832 the working class began to emerge as an independent political force in a process heavily reliant on forms of organization that merged the educational with the political.

While the Reform Bill was still being prepared in 1831, as the extent of the betrayal became clear, the National Union of the Working Classes (NUWC) was formed with an organisational structure firmly based on class meetings and the aims of campaigning for parliamentary reform and trade union protection. The NUWC was not able to live up to the high hopes expressed in its name, calling in vain for unity with the

Owenites and others, and the organisation wound up in 1835. During this time, Robert Owen was attempting to set up the first general union of the working classes, the Grand National Consolidated Trade Union (GNCTU), in 1834. When that failed, the Owenite Association of All Classes of All Nations (AACAN) rose to take its place, inaugurating a decade of intense Owenite political activity supported by educational endeavours such as the Owenite schools in London and elsewhere. The AACAN came to be known as the Rational Society or, simply, Socialism, and spearheaded educational and propaganda activities in the early 1840s with its slogan "Educate! Educate!! Educate!!!" [Simon 1981:235].

Amongst its other aims, Owenism stood for collectivised family life and women's equality [Taylor 1983:xii-xiii] so that the Owenite organisations offered opportunities for women to engage in educational and political activity. From 1839, Owenite Halls of Science provided education in Socialism, the 'science of society', as well as the physical and natural sciences. The Halls were very successful for a time, with much of their following drawn from disillusioned former adherents of the Mechanics Institutes. However, Owenism, despite its appeal to advanced sections of the working class and to women, was never a mass movement. That role, as a potentially unifying force in working class political life, was taken by Chartism.

### Chartism

In 1836 former members of the NUWC organised the London Working Men's Association (LWMA) to agitate for universal male suffrage, and it was the LWMA, together with the Birmingham Political Union which initiated Chartism by drawing up the list of six points which became the basis of the People's Charter issued in 1838 and calling for universal male suffrage, annual parliaments, vote by ballot, payment of MPs, equal electoral districts and abolition of the property qualification of MPs. The Chartists emerged as the most important of the working class organisations in the period from the late 1830s to 1848.

The Chartists' struggle for political emancipation was primarily a struggle for reform of the state. Elsewhere in Europe the nineteenth century was a period of revolutionary upheaval, yet in Britain it was a time when those who might have sought to overthrow the state instead struggled to reform it. The successful model was the parliamentary one with which the middle class had succeeded in breaking the stranglehold on power of the old aristocracy and landed interests. If the working class had been excluded from the fruits of reform brought about by the bourgeoisie in 1832, the remedy must lie in securing the widening of the franchise and ensuring that its numerical superiority won it the representation necessary to pass legislation in the interests of working people.



To the Chartists, as to their radical predecessors, education linked to political activity was essential to emancipation. The straightjacket of 'useful knowledge', as defined by the Philosophic Radicals, was thrown off along with the division of education into different forms for different classes. There was vigorous debate amongst working class radicals about what constituted 'really useful knowledge', as for example, between the Chartists and Cobbett [see Simon 1981:271]. The Chartists' concept of the crucial importance of 'spearhead knowledge', that is, political analysis, social science and knowledge of the causes of poverty and exploitation, informed the content of the education they organised for adults and children in Sunday Schools and Chartist Halls throughout the country [Johnson 1979:79-102]. They borrowed the forms of organization of the Methodists and others and prefigured the education system which would be created for all once the demands of the Charter were won. Their aim was to educate working class people for leadership in a democratic industrial society.

The education to which the Chartists aspired was 'liberal' in the Greek sense insofar as it aimed to produce free citizens, informed and capable of exercising judgement, free from ignorance and superstition, and capable of taking a leading role in society. To the Chartist leaders, liberal and practical, scientific education were not antithetical: education should enable people to develop their mental,

physical and moral faculties and instruct them in their political rights and obligations. They criticised prevailing teaching methods as passive and mechanical and regarded the Philosophic Radicals' utilitarian schemes as patronising and limited [Simon 1976:148]. Instead, they called for a practical scheme of education for all in language which would not have disgraced Newman, Arnold or Huxley

Give to a man knowledge, and you give him a light to perceive and enjoy beauty, variety, surpassing ingenuity, and majestic grandeur, which his mental darkness previously concealed from him - enrich his mind and strengthen his understanding, and you give him powers to render all art and nature subservient to his purposes - call forth his moral excellence in union with his intellect, and he will apply every power of thought and force of action to enlighten ignorance, alleviate misfortune, remove misery, and banish vice; and, as far as his abilities permit, to prepare a highway to the world's happiness. [Lovett and Collins in Simon (ed.) 1972:241]

For Lovett and Collins, education linked to political action was the means by which to acquire the freedom which to the Greeks was a pre-condition of a liberal education. Their intention was to democratize knowledge so that the education of a gentleman, suitably transformed, should become available to all through the achievement of the Charter demands.

Meanwhile, there was increasing disagreement about the extent to which it was right to campaign for the provision of a comprehensive state system of education before the achievement of democracy (as Lovett and other 'moral force' or 'knowledge' Chartists believed), or whether the political struggle was paramount (as the 'physical force' Chartists maintained). To the latter group, the campaign for state provision of education

was a dangerous utopian diversion; they believed the working class should pursue its own independent means of education without reference to the state [Green, A. 1990:260]. As a result, the movement split, declining rapidly following the major Chartist demonstration in 1848, the year of revolution in Europe.

#### Voluntaryism versus State Control of Education

From the end of the period of Chartist agitation, educational debate increasingly focussed on the role of the state and the need for a more comprehensive provision of education than was possible under a voluntary system. With representation in parliament, some middle class Radicals' energies focussed on efforts to secure provision of education by parliamentary means. The Central Society of Education was formed to galvanise pressure on the government to this end. Progress towards the creation of a national system of popular education was slow and erratic but the first, pitifully small (£20,000) parliamentary grant for education was made in 1833. Meanwhile, the new Poor Law of 1834 contained only very limited educational clauses but the advent of the penny post in 1840 was welcomed by Radicals as an important impetus to education and the flow of information.

Divisions in the Radicals' ranks were never far from the

surface. When the Factory Bill, which contained a scheme for the education of children in workhouses and in the textile industry, was put before parliament in 1843 it failed as a result of deep hostility from Nonconformists who were opposed to the power the Bill gave to the established Church to appoint teachers. The Factory Act of 1844 only avoided a similar fate by omitting education clauses altogether. The dispute led to an influential body of Nonconformist opinion rejecting all government involvement in education and adopting an independent voluntaryist position on education, relying instead on private initiative and funding.

Meanwhile, the Public Libraries Act of 1850 gave working people greater access to books and other published materials and gave a significant boost to efforts at self-education. Working class organisations attempted, mostly unsuccessfully, to reinstate the people's ancient rights to education enshrined in the charters of local grammar schools as the rising middle class took them over. The gradual increase in state grants for elementary education of children indirectly benefitted working class adults: the 1851 Census records that 39,783 adults attended night schools in England and Wales, with a further 15,071 attending similar schools in Scotland. These schools were mostly held in day school premises and were often taught privately by school teachers, or by the clergy. According to Kelly [1970:157], "It was in these schools, perhaps more than anywhere else, that the illiterate or semi-literate adult

acquired the elements of education". Independent working class political and educational activity continued a strong voluntaryist tradition of its own.

In the same period, there was mounting pressure from philanthropic middle class organisations for reform of the education system and increased provision by the state. Such reformers were often motivated by what Silver [1975:97] has called "the search for social protection" in response to the radicalism of working-class self-education. Despite pressure for reform, successive Education Bills failed in the middle years of the nineteenth century because of opposition from a range of competing interests. These included: the established Church, which feared that a national system of education would be a secular system; Nonconformists and secularists who feared the domination of the established Church in any national system of education and who could not agree amongst themselves on an alternative; manufacturers, who were reluctant to lose access to cheap child labour; and Tories, opposed on the one hand to the emerging power of the middle classes and the manufacturers and who favoured at worst repression and at best religious instruction rather than education of the poor. The result was a stalemate.

By 1858, when Treasury grants amounted to £663,000 per year, there were calls for economies to be made. As a result, the Newcastle Commission was set up

to inquire into the present state of Popular Education in England and to consider what Measures, if any, are required for the Extension of sound and cheap elementary instruction to all classes of the People [Maclure 1979:70].

The Commission found that many schools were bad; that attendance at most schools was sporadic and that the average school-life of a child was only four years. The situation revealed by the Commission was clearly far from satisfactory for an industrial nation such as Britain. In a somewhat half-hearted attempt to improve educational efficiency without resorting to legislation, the Revised Code issued in 1863 set out a curriculum consisting solely of the '3 Rs', and initiated 'payment by result' for teachers [Maclure 1979:79-80].

#### 'New Model' Unions and the Extension of the Franchise

During the 1850s and 1860s a 'new model' trade union movement arose, composed of the so-called 'labour aristocracy' of the craft unions. These unions collaborated with employers and were able, in a period of rising prosperity, to reap the benefits in the form of greater trade union rights, an increased standard of living, social and educational reforms and political enfranchisement. The franchise was extended in 1867 to include male manual workers subject to a property qualification. John Stuart Mill's attempt to extend the franchise to women on the same conditions was soundly defeated, triggering the organisation of a series of regional suffrage

societies which, with secularist groups, became fora for women's political and educational activity after the demise of Owenism [Taylor 1983:282-285].

With the extension of the franchise, anxiety was aroused in government circles about the inadequacy of the education of newly-enfranchised voters. There was felt to be a serious danger that an ignorant and politically inexperienced electorate would vote irresponsibly. It was considered necessary, therefore, that the people be educated to use their votes wisely. Robert Lowe, Vice-President of the Department of Education, voiced this concern when he stated in 1867 that it was necessary "to compel our future masters to learn their letters" [Lowe in Curtis and Boulton 1965:443] (a statement often misquoted as "We must educate our masters"). For Lowe, as for the Philosophic Radicals, education was class-specific: he advocated liberal education for the middle class and a very restricted form of elementary instruction for the poor. With the extension of the franchise the form and content of such instruction became crucially important: education had become a vital tool in a managed democracy.

Attempts to extend the franchise continued with the Labour Representation League of 1869 and some of the more radical members of the middle class combined with trades unionists to form the National Education League in 1869 to agitate for state provision of universal, secular and compulsory education. This

led to the passing of the Forster Elementary Education Act in 1870. The Act introduced a dual system of elementary education whereby voluntary schools, supported by a grant from the Treasury, and schools supported by local rates existed side by side and thus in competition in many areas. The Act, prefiguring much education law in the latter part of the nineteenth century, was a result of compromises between different political and religious interests - and it showed.

A significant aspect of the 1870 Education Act for working class people lay in its provision of Board Schools paid for out of local rates. The School Boards thus established became important fora for local democracy, having a wider franchise in some respects than that for parliamentary elections: for example, women could vote and sit as members. After 1870, much working class activity in relation to state provision of education focussed on the struggle for local democratic control of elementary education through the School Boards, in order to improve the quality of education and to extend both its scope and duration.

In the later years of the nineteenth century successive Education Acts were passed, eventually establishing a system of locally controlled, compulsory elementary education while increasing grant-aid to church schools and curtailing the development of secondary education for the 'industrial classes', apart from technical education. The overall picture



was one of compromise and muddle. As Green [1990:244] has shown, whilst in Europe

educational reform meant the creation of national systems through state intervention, in England it meant educational expansion without system. The underlying principle was not state direction but rather voluntaryism.

That principle was classically expressed by the educational polemicist, Edward Baines Junior

I stand for the English, the free, the voluntary method, which I hold accordant with the national character, favourable to civil and religious liberty, and productive of the highest moral benefits to the community. [quoted in Green, A. 1990:275]

#### Autodidacticism and Independent Working Class Education

Meanwhile, the rather different voluntaryist tradition of independent working class education linked to political movements persisted, but was inevitably effected by state intervention in education. Rée argues that 'educational systems' stifled and obliterated unsystematic learning institutions

so that while statistical sources display an expansion of the 'educational system' it may well be that so many uncentralised institutions were destroyed in the process that the net effect was a reduction in the quantity of education taking place [Rée in Levy (ed.) 1987:213].

However, working class self-help organisations dedicated to 'mutual improvement' flourished [Chancellor 1969:75-238]. Chartist, Socialist and Methodist ideas and forms of organization informed working class political agitation and

forms of education, as the struggle for the extension of the franchise, for factory reform and trade union rights and for educational reform, continued.

Working class autodidacts as spectacularly successful as Joseph Wright, who started work in a Bradford mill at the age of six and became Professor of Comparative Philology at Oxford forty years later, were the exception, but many others managed somehow to educate themselves under conditions of the greatest difficulty [see Rée 1984:6-14]. However, self-education could be a two-edged sword. As Levy points out, "Self-education allowed workers to articulate the demands of the confused and apathetic, but it also distanced them from much of ordinary working-class life" [Levy in Levy (ed.) 1987:166].

### Socialism and the New Unions

By the late 1870s economic depression had followed the golden period of the 1850s and 1860s, pushing even the labour aristocrats into poverty, and towards socialism. Craft unions such as the building workers, engineers and steel smelters became more militant. By the 1880s and 1890s unskilled workers were also becoming organised and trade union membership increased to approximately one and a half million by 1892 [Cole 1948:246]. The New Unions cut their teeth on campaigns for better wages and conditions in strikes such as those of the

match-girls, the gasworkers, and the fight for the dockers' tanner. Education formed an important part of the programme of the New Unions. As employers, the judiciary and the government rallied for a counter-attack, the distinction between the craft and New Unions tended to fall away in the face of the common enemy.

Socialist organizations sprang up in London and provincial cities, linking the study of politics and economics with political activity and agitating for a future in which education would be a right for all. The Democratic Federation was founded in 1881 and became the Social Democratic Federation (SDF) in 1884, the year that also saw the breakaway from the SDF of the Socialist League, led by Eleanor Marx and William Morris [Simon 1965:24]. The emergence of these two organisations marked the beginning of organised Marxist activity in Britain, although, as K. Willis has shown [1977], Marxism did not greatly influence English political thought.

The Socialist League, with its slogan "educate, agitate, organise", was probably the strongest socialist educational influence during the 1880s, holding a 'Free Education' demonstration in Trafalgar Square followed by a Socialist League meeting at which calls were made for education to become "part of the great struggle for a complete change in the conditions of life" [Horrabin and Horrabin 1924:42]. As Morris argued, "the knowledge we have to help people to is

threefold - to know their own, to know how to take their own and to know how to use their own" [quoted in Horrabin and Horrabin 1924:73].

In the same period, the Women's Cooperative Guild, formed in 1883 as an offshoot of the main cooperative movement, "soon established itself as the only organisation that brought working women out of their kitchens to discuss matters beyond the narrow confines of their domestic lives" [Liddington 1984:55]. The foundation of the Fabian Society, also in 1884, which favoured an evolutionary transition to socialism on grounds of "national efficiency" through increasing state intervention and municipal enterprise, marked the beginning of 'municipal socialism' and led to the establishment of a selective system of secondary education in London [Simon 1965:203].

#### Philanthropy and Social Protection

Meanwhile the plight of the poor, highlighted by Dickens, Kingsley and other novelists and by documenters of social conditions such as Mayhew in his book London Labour and the London Poor [1851], and Mearns in his penny pamphlet The Bitter Cry of Outcast London [1883], aroused slumbering middle class social consciences. Voluntary initiatives such as Working Men's Clubs and the non-denominational Adult Schools,

promulgated by the well-educated and comparatively well-off, provided education and leisure activities and in varying degrees, anti-socialist propaganda aimed at working class adults. Meanwhile a burgeoning club movement developed for the young. In this context, education of the working class was inspired by the need for social protection, as a civilising influence, a means of increasing social cohesion and lessening the danger of insurrection, as a matter of social conscience and, often, as a Christian duty. For many Christians, also, this was a missionary effort at home to parallel that being made in the colonies. Such initiatives could also be seen as a manifestation of 'one-nation Toryism'.

Whatever their political persuasion, the motivation of many of those involved was primarily philanthropic, religious and humanitarian. Such was the case of those in the church, the public schools and the ancient universities of Oxford and Cambridge who were active in two initiatives which made a major contribution to the development of the Liberal Tradition in adult education in the last quarter of the nineteenth century: the settlement movement and university extension.

#### University Extension

The movement for reform of the ancient universities, havens of religious and class discrimination, gathered momentum as

electoral reform in the nineteenth century left them increasingly out of step with the wider society. The Royal Commission on the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, which reported in 1852 [Maclure 1965:63-69], gave the first official recognition of the term 'university extension' in the sense of largely domestic, internal reforms designed to extend existing activities. This idea was taken up by 'missionary dons' who sought to extend the benefits of a university education beyond the confines of the aristocracy to the middle class, through extra-mural initiatives that became known as the university extension movement [Kunzel 1975:34-51].

These 'missionary dons', inspired by the liberal idealist philosopher T.H. Green, saw university extension as a vehicle for incorporating both the middle and working classes into full citizenship within an overarching corporate moral state. Green believed that society constantly carried on a work of moral liberation for the individual: individual fulfilment and freedom could only be attained through society. For Green, the citizen could not have any right against the state

in the sense of a right to act otherwise than as a member of some society, the state being for its members the society of societies, the society in which all their claims upon each other are mutually adjusted [Green, T.H. 1941:146].

The state was the agent through which communities' and individuals' needs were adjusted and harmonised in a pluralistic whole

The other forms of community which precede and are independent of the formation of the state, do not continue to

exist outside it, nor yet are they superseded by it. They are carried on into it. They become its organic members, supporting its life and in turn maintained by it in a new harmony with each other [Green, T.H. 1941:146].

In this preeminently moral role, the state was "the supreme guardian of the communal national culture and the composer of social harmony", to be obeyed implicitly for the common good [Rée 1984:16].

Green's ideas were influential in the years spanning the turn of the century. His philosophy represented an attempt to bring together not only the classes, but also the conflicting demands of the individual and society as a whole. This was a conjunction vital to the development of the Liberal Tradition in adult education (as it was also to the formation of the Welfare State, for which Green's ideas may be said to have prepared the way). Since the state, for Green, was the embodiment of the people's will, it was natural that it should engage in action for social reform on a number of fronts, including education [Gordon and White 1979].

Such were the lofty ideals behind university extension as it grew from small-scale experimental beginnings in Cambridge in 1873 to a peak in the late 1880s and early 1890s when up to 60,000 adults per year attended lectures and classes [Kelly 1970:223]. Subjects included science, literature, modern languages, history, and political economy, much to the chagrin of the Oxford Hegelians (as Green's followers were known) who

favoured a liberal education in idealistic social philosophy. Although the subjects offered were 'modern', university extension was epistemologically conservative insofar as it aimed to transmit knowledge and culture, as defined by the universities, to those who lacked these cultural goods. There was no suggestion that the audience had any contribution to make and the mode of delivery in large lectures made it difficult for people to participate and ask questions. In addition, the fact that university extension had to be financially self-supporting skewed the curriculum towards short courses in those subjects which would attract large audiences and prevented the development of tutorial work.

The university extension movement was, at one level part of a larger, empire-building exercise by the universities, designed to extend their influence 'beyond the walls'. In many respects the exercise was extremely successful in the long term, leading, for example, to the universities' control of school curricula through their administration of the public examination system and through teacher training and to the creation of many new universities after 1870. In the short term, however, university extension conspicuously failed to attract working class people in any great numbers, although Rowbotham [1981] has shown that it was effective in this respect in some areas. Audiences were drawn instead largely from the lower middle class and included many young middle class women, who, with the working class, were effectively



excluded from pursuing a conventional university education. However, the very failure of university extension to unify the classes in a Greenian harmonious state spurred on renewed efforts to this end which were an important strand in the development of liberal adult education in the early years of the twentieth century.

### Ruskin Hall

As the failure of university extension to reach the working class became evident, Ruskin Hall, Oxford was founded in 1899 by two American philanthropists to provide postal and residential courses for workers in science, history, and modern languages, citizenship and practical industrial work. Classics, philosophy and theology were proscribed and the intention of the founders was to ensure a separate educational route for workers, rather than to augment the already overcrowded ranks of the professional classes. From the beginning Ruskin's status in Oxford but not part of the University of Oxford was ambiguous: was it an alternative to a conventional university education or an entry route into the university for working people? This question was to be resolved in the early years of the twentieth century in favour of the latter option, but at the expense, according to its more radical students, of Ruskin's intellectual autonomy.

### The University Settlement Movement

In the same period, the university settlement movement drew idealistic young undergraduates into the slums to live and work amongst the poor, sharing their environment, although not their conditions of life. By their example and their presence, the intention was that the university people would, "do something to weld Classes into Society" [Barnett 1921:307-8]. The communitarian approach of the settlement movement stressed ideals of civic duty, responsibility and obligation, but the need for social protection was not forgotten. For example, the Tory MP, Sir John Gorst, spoke of the conspicuous and dangerous urban concentrations of "the destitute classes" who "already form a substantial part of the population, and possess even now, though they are still ignorant of their full power, great political importance": such masses were in need of the "wise counsellors" of the settlement movement [Simon 1965:80].

The university settlement movement is identified with progressive elements in the Church of England, and in particular, with the pioneering work of Canon Barnett at Toynbee Hall in East London, although Toynbee Hall settlement was criticised by the Anglican Church as being insufficiently religious [Inglis 1964:156]. Barnett particularly dissociated himself from proselytizing, which he saw as a weakness of the missionary approach. His vision was of a new feudalism,

healing the dangerous rift in society through direct personal contact between the classes. He was influenced by Carlyle, Ruskin and T.H. Green (who supported Barnett's Toynbee Hall venture) [Simon 1965:81] and had links with the Christian Socialists such as Maurice, who espoused adult education as an alternative to political activity for the working class [see Maurice 1855 and Raven 1920].

The settlements were the bases for a wide variety of educational activities, including university extension work and clubs and societies. Rather than imposing solutions from outside, the settlements sought to help local communities to identify and solve their own problems in a spirit of friendship and fellowship. The teaching of vocational and cultural subjects was one part of what it was intended should be a two-way process in which the university-educated settlers both taught and learned from their working class neighbours, inspired by Green's notion of service.

Barnett himself favoured spontaneity and eschewed any set pattern of activities which would interfere with the settlement's ability to respond imaginatively to changing situations. He saw Toynbee Hall as the seed-bed of a new type of working class university. The settlement functioned as a social laboratory and a base for political activism in local government and with individuals and groups, and as a training ground for leaders. All the activities at Toynbee Hall, and

the other university settlements which sprang up in cities throughout the country and spread to the United States, aimed at civic education in a broad sense, inspired by notions of citizenship.

The university settlement movement had a major impact on the universities of Oxford and Cambridge in the 1880s and was an important factor in the development of the Liberal Tradition in adult education. Symbolically, the movement was important in that it posited a key role for adult education not only in the amelioration of social problems, but also in the transformation and regeneration of society as a whole. In practical terms, it engaged the energies and commitment of a generation of undergraduates who otherwise might have remained ignorant of the educational and spiritual needs of the poor, and gained the support of influential people such as the Master of Balliol, Benjamin Jowett, and his successor, A.L. Smith. Indeed Toynbee Hall has been described as expressing the spirit of Balliol College [Inglis 1964:156]. Smith, for example, later chaired the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction which produced arguably the most complete expression of the ethos of the Liberal Tradition in British adult education, the 1919 Report [Cmd. 321].

### The Campaign for Labour Representation

The franchise was further extended to two-thirds of adult men, in 1884, isolating women suffragists while fuelling attempts to secure working class (male) representation in parliament with the Labour Electoral Committee of 1886, as well as attempts to infiltrate the Liberal Party. In mining areas the Liberal Party was forced by the sheer concentration of new voters to adopt working class candidates, (known as 'Lib-Labs') but in other areas local Liberal associations, dominated by respectable, educated business and professional men and Nonconformist ministers, were reluctant to take on a cause which they saw as running counter to their own interests. When the Home Rule Crisis of 1885-86 split the Liberal Party, the way was open for the formation of an independent working class party.

In the event, it was not until 1893 that the Independent Labour Party (ILP) was formed with the aim of send<sup>ing</sup> working men to parliament, independently of the major parties. The new party was an amalgam of working class autodidacts and educated professionals and white-collar workers, with the latter predominating, and members were recruited from the Socialist League, Secularist Societies and Nonconformist chapels. The ILP remained peripheral to the parliamentary power struggles of the day, although it did better in local government elections. At this time the left was weak as the country was swept with

jingoistic fervour over the Boer War. Employers were becoming increasingly militant in protection of their own interests and many of the established unions of artisans continued to pursue a policy of infiltration of the Liberal Party.

In these inauspicious circumstances the Labour Representation Committee (LRC) was founded in 1900 with two members of the ILP, two from the SDF, one Fabian and seven trades unionists. Two LRC MPs were elected six months later, becoming the first independent working class labour movement representatives in parliament. However, the two, Kier Hardie and Richard Bell, a socialist and a quasi-Liberal respectively, symbolised also the divisions in labour movement ranks. While their arrival was symbolically important, it made little impact on the progress of educational reform.

### Conclusion

The struggles for political emancipation and social reform outlined above contributed, by the end of the nineteenth century to a rich heritage of broad-based, independent working class education which developed in opposition to philanthropic and self-protective efforts to 'civilise the lower orders' by means of a limited elementary curriculum. In a society predicated on class difference, a liberal education remained the hallmark of the educated middle and upper classes and,

revitalised by the mid-century debate between Newman, Arnold and Huxley, set the standard by which educational excellence was judged. Attempts to incorporate working people into a morally redeemed neo-feudal state through initiatives in liberal adult education met with mixed success, but laid the groundwork for major developments in the twentieth century which are outlined in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER IV

## THE LIBERAL TRADITION IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Introduction

This chapter outlines the development of the Liberal Tradition in the twentieth century from the time that organised labour began to emerge as an independent political force. The struggle for state funding for working class education, which was heir to the energies, the vision, and many of the problems of earlier struggles to secure political rights, began to be fought out directly in parliament for the first time. Outside parliament, a socialist movement, a Marxist tradition, a trade union movement, a women's suffrage movement and a strong autodidactic tradition, as well as a host of religious and secular organizations, all entailed educational activities related to political aspirations.

The relationship between the working class and the state in relation to education was perceived differently by different groups. For example, was the state to be captured by the



working class, as the socialists wished, with state education to be provided under working class control? Was the state to incorporate the working class, as T.H. Green and the Oxford Hegelians had attempted to do? Was there a third way, linking the working class with progressive elements in the political establishment in order to raise the level of public life and advance the cause of humanitarian reform? In adult education the Liberal Tradition began to emerge as the embodiment of a third way, in a process of working class alliance with and differentiation from the educational establishment and the state analogous to the struggle for working class parliamentary representation with - and against - the established political parties. The battle to secure state funding for adult education came to parallel that for state funding of initial education: how to secure provision while retaining control of the curriculum?

### The Political Background to the Emergence of the Liberal Tradition

The 'Khaki Election' of 1900 returned a large Tory majority which was in a strong position to push through legislation to reorganise education, in alliance with the Church. The legal situation of state-funded liberal adult education was unclear, with some funding provided by local authorities under the terms of the Technical Instruction Act of 1889 through Regulations

for Technical Schools, Schools of Art and Other Forms of Provision of Further Education. Apart from the university extension movement, adult liberal education was a small part of what was known as "further education" in a field dominated by the local education authorities.

In order to counteract restrictions on further education effecting working class people, some School Boards fostered the development of advanced work with older children and adults in what were supposed, by law, to be elementary schools catering only for younger children. In 1900 this was declared illegal in the "Cockerton Judgement" on a case brought against the London School Board by an Art School complaining of competition. The Education Department followed this ruling with a Minute on "Higher Elementary Schools" designed to prevent the expansion of the elementary schools in order to remove competition from the voluntary schools.

The first "Cockerton" Act of 1901 gave temporary legal authority for the schools and classes which had been declared illegal by the Cockerton Judgement. It was followed in 1902 by the "Balfour" Education Act which abolished the School Boards, establishing local education authorities in their place. The 1902 Act allowed for the provision of secondary education, although with a technical and vocational bias in the curriculum and restricted access to study of the arts and sciences [Simon 1965:194]. By preventing the elementary schools from

developing a secondary level, the Act effectively prevented access to a higher level of non-vocational education for workers who were already prevented by poverty and lack of leisure time from continuing their education. In this respect the development of state-funded liberal adult education was curtailed just as it was beginning.

However, some aspects of the legislation increased access to education for working class adults. Under the terms of the Act county councils and county borough councils were permitted to organise or assist evening courses for adults without limitation as to subject. In London, particularly, this opportunity was enthusiastically taken up by the London County Council. In addition, by 1903 the Board of Education's regulations for evening schools allowed for the provision of grants from central government under certain conditions [Kelly 1970:250]. Adult education was being set firmly in the local education authority mould.

On the trade union front, the anti-union Taff Vale Judgement of 1901 which outlawed picketing and made unions liable for the tortious acts of their officials, had the effect of massively increasing labour movement support for the Labour Representation Committee. The LRC grew to nearly one million members in 1903 and became the Labour Party in 1906 [Pelling 1976:1-17].

In the Marxist camp, breakaway groups from the SDF formed the Socialist Labour Party (SLP) in 1903, and the Socialist Party of Great Britain (SPGB) in the following year, both dedicated to the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism by a highly disciplined vanguard party, trained in a rigorous, if partisan, study of Marxism. The SLP also favoured general industrial unions rather than sectional, craft-based unions and founded the "Advocates of Industrial Unionism" in 1906, which, "having overthrown the class state... will furnish the administrative machinery for directing industry in the Socialist Commonwealth" [Fieldhouse 1987:35]. SLP and SPGB educational initiatives were designed to root out errors deposited in workers' minds by the ruling class since, as the American socialist Daniel de Leon put it, "a ruling class dominates not only the bodies, but the mind also of the class that it rules" [Rée 1984:13]. Such revolutionaries were small in number, but becoming increasingly active and vociferous.

The strong working class autodidactic tradition continued with such men as Tom Mann, Tommy Jackson (General Secretary for a time of the SPGB and later a founding member of the Communist Party of Great Britain), John Burns and many other men and women whose names have gone unrecorded. Study groups and classes were organised by a range of labour movement organizations, including the Clarion movement, the Co-operative movement, the Labour Church movement, Socialist Sunday Schools, the SDF, the Socialist League, the ILP and the Fabian Society.

What seemed to some like a rising tide of socialism was confirmed when the general election of 1906 resulted in an overwhelming Liberal victory, with thirty LRC MPs elected as a result of an electoral pact between the Liberal Party and the LRC. The result was greeted with some apprehension by the wealthier classes and by Tories and even some Liberals who saw the result in the context of the growing strength of continental socialist parties, as an augury of a threat to stability. J.A.R. Marriott, Secretary of the Oxford Extension Delegacy and a prominent Tory, who had often warned of the dangers of teaching "our democracy to read unless we also teach it to think", saw the result of the 1906 general election as effecting the transfer of a "preponderating share of political control" to the common people [Jennings 1987:11]. The redistribution of political power made it appear vital to Marriott and others like him that workers, and particularly their leaders, should be educated to use their new-found power wisely. Marriott saw in the newly-founded Workers' Educational Association (WEA) an organisation which could undertake that task.

#### The Workers' Educational Association

The Association to Promote the Higher Education of Working Men (from 1905 re-named the Workers' Educational Association) was founded in 1903 by Albert Mansbridge, a clerk in the

co-operative movement and lay preacher in the Church of England and his wife [1]. Mansbridge had attended university extension lectures, evening classes and classes at Toynbee Hall and he was inspired to pass on his vision of "the glory of education" to his fellow workers [Kelly 1970:248]. Accordingly, the new organization aimed to organize and voice the educational claims of the working class

to stimulate and to satisfy the demands of adults, in particular members of workers' movements, for education... to the end that all... may have full opportunities for the education needed for their complete individual and social development [WEA 1975].

Pioneer WEA branches supported and in some cases promoted extension lectures but soon found the system wanting and by 1905 Mansbridge advocated intensive class teaching up to university standard [Jennings 1987:12]. Mansbridge drew churchmen such as William Temple, later Archbishop of Canterbury, and others into support for the ideals of the WEA and it rapidly took on the role of intermediary between working class organizations such as the trades unions, co-operatives and working men's clubs, the universities (particularly the University of Oxford), and the state.

For Marriott, the new spirit amongst working people shown by the "remarkable success" of the WEA was a good omen [Jennings 1987:11]. Dr. Percival, Bishop of Hereford, another influential supporter of the WEA, was quick to point out to the Chairman of the Oxford Delegacy that "to exercise its highest

influence among the working class generally", Oxford should work through the leading trade unions [Marriott 1983:291]. Views such as Marriott's and Percival's gained ground as Mansbridge carried through a carefully constructed campaign leading to the formation of a partnership between labour and learning [2]. In that historic partnership, labour was represented principally by the WEA, while learning was represented principally by the University of Oxford, in the form of young Oxford academics and two older Oxford men, Canon Barnett, Warden of Toynbee Hall and Charles Gore, Bishop of Birmingham.

It was Canon Barnett who recommended the young R.H. Tawney (who had worked at Toynbee Hall after his graduation from Baliol) to Mansbridge as a potential tutor, thus inaugurating a career that was to become synonymous with the ideals of the Liberal Tradition in adult education, interpreted in a democratic socialist form. Tawney joined the WEA in 1905 and was quickly elected to the National Executive Committee, serving as WEA President from 1927 to 1943.

Oxford and Working Class Education:  
the 1908 Report and its Aftermath

The University of Oxford presented fertile ground for the new alliance: influential Oxonians, including A.L. Smith, who was

to become Master of Balliol, had been drawn into support for the University Settlement movement and were receptive to the ideals of working class liberal adult education. In Smith's case this was to have important consequences through his work at the conference in 1907, which could be said to have been midwife at the birth of the Liberal Tradition.

The conference, entitled Oxford and Working Class Education, marked the beginning of co-operation between working class organisations and the universities over adult education. It was attended by 430 delegates from 210, mostly working class organisations, despite the "widespread... distrust of Universities" alluded to by one delegate [Jennings 1975:57]. Also present was the widow of T.H. Green. Smith took part in the drafting of the subsequent report, Oxford and Working Class Education (referred to here as the 1908 Report) [OWCE 1987:79-268]] and went on to chair the Committee which produced the 1919 Report [Cmd. 321].

The 1908 Report called for a change in the role of university extension to give the working class access to university teaching in response to the growing demand for higher education as evidenced by the success of pioneering tutorial classes which offered the opportunity for serious academic study to working class students in the mining community of Longton, Staffordshire, and at Rochdale; the tutor was R.H. Tawney. Such tutorial classes, first suggested by Canon Barnett in



1900, differed from university extension lectures in that they were democratically organised and offered continuity of study, in depth, over a three year period. A contemporary account of the aims of tutorial classes states that

We may assume that university teaching is teaching suited to adults; that it is scientific, detached and impartial in character; that it aims not so much at filling the mind of the student with facts or theories as at calling forth his own individuality, and stimulating him to mental effort; that it accustoms him to the critical study of leading authorities, with perhaps occasional references to first-hand sources of information, and that it implants in his mind a standard of thoroughness, and gives him a sense of the difficulty as well as of the value of truth. The student so trained learns to distinguish between what may fairly be called matter of fact and what is certainly mere matter of opinion, between the white light and the coloured. He becomes accustomed to distinguish issues and to look at separate questions each on its own merits and without an eye to their bearing on some cherished theory. He learns to state fairly, and even sympathetically, the position of those to whose practical conclusions he is most strongly opposed. He becomes able to examine a suggested idea, and see what comes of it, before accepting it or rejecting it. Finally, without necessarily becoming an original student, he gains an insight into the conditions under which original research is carried on. He is able to weigh evidence, to follow and criticise argument, and put his own value on authorities. [Hobhouse and Headlam quoted in Raybould 1951:3-4]

The strong emphasis on the social sciences in tutorial classes reflected the collective nature of working class education and its social purpose and echoed the old Chartist notion of "spearhead knowledge", although some Chartists would have eschewed the notion of disinterested enquiry until such time as their demands were won. According to the Report, this curriculum was appropriate because

at the present time higher education appeals to workpeople not primarily as a method of personal culture or distinction, but as an avenue along which their class can pass to a

broader life... [Since] their daily experience gives them an insight into the working of human motives and into economic conditions, they have a natural aptitude for the study of political and economic science [OWCE:153-154].

However, the content of the education offered was to be controlled by the university in a way far removed from the Chartist ideal

While the management and organisation of the class shall be mainly in the hands of workpeople, the selection of curricula and guidance in reading must be the duty of the university acting in co-operation with workpeople [OWCE:153].

The model economics syllabus offered as an appendix to the Report showed what this would mean in practice [OWCE:204-213]. The syllabus drew heavily on Marshall's Economics of Industry and works by other Liberal and Fabian writers, allowing that some study of Marx or Hyndman might be appropriate "If many of the class have socialistic views" [OWCE:205], but presumably not otherwise. However

The teacher who adopts this course must... be very sure that the criticism of Marx implicit in the ordinary textbook is equally carefully explained [OWCE:205].

The Report repeatedly stressed the collective nature of the need and demand for education by working class people. The aim was to raise up the working class as a whole, rather than to enable individuals to rise out of their class, since "the great mass of the working classes gain little by any system which merely transfers to other positions the brightest and most zealous among them" [OWCE:180]. Working people demanded university education "in order that they may face with wisdom

the unsolved problems of their present position, not in order that they may escape to another" [OWCE:180]. Those who were educated through the tutorial class system were to put their education at the service of their fellows. The task of educationalists of the future must be

not merely to make smooth the way for those who wish to rise to positions usually considered higher than that of the manual worker, but to ennoble the status of every class by supplying it, whatever its work and social conditions, with the form of education appropriate to its needs [OWCE:86:144].

In order to achieve this general uplift, the 1908 Report put forward a package of measures inside and outside the university, including the establishment of a system of tutorial classes on the Longton and Rochdale model. The system would be controlled by a Standing Committee of the University Extension Delegacy, a joint committee to consist of equal numbers of representatives of working class organizations appointed through the Workers' Educational Association and representatives of the university, nominated by the University Extension Delegacy.

In addition working class students would be enabled to attend the university, supported through a system of scholarships, exhibitions and maintenance grants tenable at a college or hall of the university or at Ruskin College. In this way university extension would act "not as a substitute for study in Oxford, but to prepare men for it" [OWCE:134]. Such a move would also

have completely altered the ethos of Ruskin College, turning it into a preparatory college to the university, something that many Ruskin students were anxious to avoid.

The 1908 Report and its illustrious successor, the 1919 Report, spelled out a new role for the universities, in partnership with working class organizations, as providers of higher education for those (men) who would become leaders of the working class. Echoing Arnold's call for education for leadership, the 1908 Report stated that a university-educated working class man would be "at once a more efficient servant of his own society, and a more potent influence on the side of industrial peace" [OWCE:177]. Those students who would, the Report anticipated, "find a useful career in service on municipal bodies of all kinds" might "raise the whole tone of public life" [OWCE:178]. As Fieldhouse points out, "Thus was social harmony - the very antithesis of class struggle - an unquestioned doctrine of the workers' education advocated by the Report" [Fieldhouse 1987:43].

The position of working class women was effectively ignored in the Report, which mentions women only twice. One of these is a quotation from another source on the objects of cooperative education [OWCE:97]. The other, more substantial reference prefaces the Report and states that

The Tutorial Classes are of course open to women upon the same terms as to men; there are several women students in the classes now at work. It is intended that the whole

scheme shall benefit the education of working women as much as the education of working men. It would be within the province of the Tutorial Classes Committee to consider any further steps with regard to the education of working women which may from time to time appear desirable. [OWCE:83]

However, no mention is made of measures that would be needed in order to make that pious hope a reality, and the "further steps" did not materialise.

The 1908 Report was approved "by almost every section of English opinion" according to the preface to the second edition published in 1909 [OWCE:81]. However, there was opposition from the left in the pages of journals such as Clarion, Justice and New Age and within the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, where one critic, Schiller, saw the proposals as "destructive of progress in knowledge" because the workers wanted

an education specifically adjusted to their needs... conducted by teachers whom they have themselves selected for their willingness to teach what is wanted [Jennings 1975:62].

In The Labour Leader, Ramsey Macdonald wrote to Mansbridge in support of tutorial class work but warning of the dangers of sending workers to Oxford:

Oxford is a poison... You cannot recreate Oxford by an infusion of working men... Oxford will assimilate them, not they Oxford [Jennings 1975:62].

However, whatever the response to the Report, as Jennings has pointed out, "The principal benefit was that adult education

became for a time not just the business of a private secular cult, but a national concern" [Jennings 1987:27].

The 1908 Report was the first of the major reports on adult education to be produced in the twentieth century, and the only one which was not commissioned by the government. However, Mansbridge and his associates had prepared the ground thoroughly and substantial financial aid from the government was guaranteed in advance. As Fieldhouse has shown, such support was of a piece with the liberal and social reformism with which the new Liberal government sought to placate and incorporate the labour movement: "Support for the WEA was seen as a sound political investment against extremism" [Fieldhouse 1977:8].

The old 1889 Regulations were augmented by new Regulations in 1908-1909 [Cd. 4187] and 1910 [Cd. 5329], and grants were also made by trusts such as the Gilchrist Educational Trust [OWCE:197-98]. The way was clear for major developments in the liberal education of working class adults based on the WEA model and tutorial classes developed strongly after 1908, reaching a total of 145 classes with over 3,200 students by 1913-14 [Jennings 1975:56-63].

In 1913 the Board of Education, on whose Consultative Committee Tawney served from 1912 to 1931, authorised special grants under the Regulations for University Tutorial Classes in

England and Wales [Cd. 6866], in aid of

part-time courses in subjects of general as distinct from vocational education under the educational supervision either of a University or University College, acting directly or through a Committee or Delegacy, or of an educational body containing representatives of a University or University College and constituted expressly for such supervision

For the first time, tutorial classes enjoyed a definite legal status and grant became payable per class, rather than, as had previously been the case, per student. A tutorial class was defined in terms echoing the 1908 Report. It would last for at least three years, with each year having twenty-four two-hour meetings with at least half the time spent on class work. Numbers of students were limited to thirty-two and in the first year two-thirds of these, or twelve (whichever was the higher), had to attend sixty-six per cent of the meetings and have done the written work required. The university or other supervising body was responsible for framing the syllabus and selecting the tutor and teaching was to "aim at reaching, within the limits of the subject covered, the standard of University work in Honours" [Cd. 6866].

However, while the 1908 Report was undoubtedly successful in establishing the privileged position of the tutorial class, other, less advanced forms of liberal adult education continued to be dealt with under the terms of the Regulations for Technical Schools, Schools of Art and Other Forms of Provision of Further Education [Cd. 6925 1913]. Such classes constituted a small part of "further education" in a field

dominated by the local education authorities and including many voluntary organizations, such as the adult schools and the educational settlements which developed from the alliance of the adult schools and the Quakers' First Day School Association, were funded variously from private trusts. Some affiliated to the WEA, including, from 1911, the central organization of the adult schools [Kelly 1970:260].

When, in 1917, the Board of Education issued draft Regulations which it was widely assumed would lead to the abandonment of the policy of paying direct grants to voluntary organizations under the Regulations for Technical Schools, forcing them to rely instead on the local education authorities for funding, there was considerable anxiety in the voluntary movement. In the event, the draft Regulations were never confirmed.

The second part of the 1908 Report's recommendations failed completely. No more than a handful of tutorial class students went up to Oxford and the Royal Commission envisaged by the Committee did not come into being until after the First World War of 1914-18.

#### Tawney's Vision of a "Humane Education"

Meanwhile, in 1914, Tawney wrote a seminal article in which he



argued passionately for liberal adult education on the tutorial class model and against the "morally insulting" error of "the differentiation of humane education according to class"

[Tawney in Hinden (ed.) 1964:76]. Tawney was outraged at

the placid and impudent assumption, so popular with many educated people, that a 'humane education' is suitable for persons entering a certain restricted group of professions... but that it is a matter with which the manual working classes have nothing to do... If persons whose work is different require, as they do, different kinds of professional instruction, that is no reason why one should be excluded from the common heritage of civilization of which the other is made free by a university education, and from which ceteris paribus, both, irrespective of their occupations, are equally capable, as human beings, of deriving spiritual sustenance. [Tawney in Hinden (ed.) 1964:75-6]

Instead, he argued that a system aiming at universal provision of higher education should be established

which is accessible to all who care to use it, and which is maintained not in order to enable intellect to climb from one position to another, but to enable all to develop the faculties which, because they are the attributes of man, are not the attributes of any particular class or profession of men. [Tawney in Hinden (ed.) 1964:76]

Universal provision is an essential corollary of the fact that, for Tawney [1964:78], "society is one". It is a unity necessarily made up of different classes but this does not excuse discriminatory policies such as the exclusion of sections of society on grounds of class from the benefits of a humane, liberal education. Neither is it sufficient merely to increase access to educational opportunity to enable some to climb the social ladder.

It is not enough that a few working class boys and girls should be admitted to universities, and that many more will be admitted in the future. We want as much university

education as we can get for the workers who remain workers all their lives. [Tawney in Hinden (ed.) 1964:78]

The attitude of such workers is in stark contrast to that "which is common in the ordinary seminaries of youth", their "incentive to education is not material success but spiritual energy, and [they] seek it, not in order that they may become something else but because they are what they are" [Tawney in Hinden (ed.) 1964:78].

Accordingly, university tutorial classes are not a second best alternative to a university education, or a preparation for university study. Instead, "They are themselves a university education, carried on, it is true, under difficulties, but still carried on in such a way as to make their promotion one among the most important functions of a university" [Tawney in Hinden (ed.) 1964:84-5]. For Tawney, the message is clear

the disinterested desire of knowledge for its own sake, the belief in the free exercise of reason without regard to material results and because reason is divine, a faith not yet characteristic of English life, but which it is the highest spiritual end of universities to develop, finds in the Tutorial Classes of the Workers' Educational Association as complete an expression as it does within the walls of some university cities. [Tawney in Hinden (ed.) 1964:85]

Tawney's passionate declaration of the ethos of liberal education echoes earlier notions of freedom as attainable through education. It echoes Newman in its celebration of learning for its own sake and its vision of a renewed spiritual role for the universities. It echoes Arnold in its belief in the civilising power of a humane education, indeed developing

Arnold's argument to suggest that liberal education for the working class civilises society as a whole, while to deny access to university study is an injustice which disfigures society. Huxley's regard for the rational and humane is also recalled, and transformed, in Tawney's strong belief in the divinity of reason and his vision of a common humanity and a common culture. In reworking the ethos of liberal education in terms of adult education for the working class in the light of the new phenomenon of the WEA and the tutorial class, Tawney was helping to create a powerful myth which informed ideas about adult education for the rest of the century.

With such effective advocates as Tawney and Mansbridge, and with the growth of the WEA encouraged by the 1908 Report and fostered by injections of public money, the star of liberal adult education was in the ascendant.

#### The Plebs League and the Labour College Movement

However, the WEA did not have matters all its own way. Factions in the labour movement were pressing for Independent Working Class Education (IWCE) with a Marxist orientation, in opposition to the ethos of disinterested, liberal adult education embodied by the WEA [Phillips and Putnam 1980:18-42].

In 1908 the Plebs League was formed by disaffected students of Ruskin College who were proponents of IWCE with the mandate "Nothing more nor less than the education of the workers in the interests of the workers" [Horrabin (1918) 1981:390]. Independent Working Class education meant "education definitely designed to assist the workers in their struggle for social and economic emancipation" and should be based on a recognition of the antagonism of interests between Capital and Labour [Horrabin (1918) 1981:390]. The Plebs League made clear its explicit commitment to education for socialism: the League aimed

To further the interests of Independent Working Class Education as a partisan effort to improve the position of Labour in the present, and ultimately to assist in the abolition of wage slavery [Phillips and Putnam 1980:28].

The next year there was a strike at Ruskin as a result of the dismissal of the Principal and the residential Central Labour College was founded by the strikers, supported by the South Wales Miners' Federation and the National Union of Railwaymen [3]. The Plebs League and the Labour College movement eschewed the emphasis on impartiality and the Socratic method of the WEA and the universities, stating that education "is necessarily propoganda; the only question for the working class being: what kind of propoganda?" [Horrabin (1918) 1981:391].

Meanwhile, progress on the development of liberal adult education for the working class was interrupted by the First

World War. Pressure for social reform led to the establishment of a Committee of Reconstruction, with an Education Panel which focussed particularly on adult education. The Committee was transformed in 1917 into the Ministry of Reconstruction and the Education Panel became a Ministerial Committee, whose Final Report [Cmd. 321] was published in 1919 [4]. The Report is known as, and will be referred to here as "the 1919 Report".

### The 1919 Report

The 1919 Report is the fullest, most authoritative and eloquent statement of the ethos on which the Liberal Tradition in adult education is based: the ethos of the Workers' Educational Association and the tutorial class movement. If the 1908 Report was midwife to the Liberal Tradition, the 1919 Report shows us the child in the full bloom and confidence of youth. It was to set the tone for future debates about the education of working class adults, developing more fully the themes of the 1908 Report.

The 1919 Committee's terms of reference were

To consider the provision for, and possibilities of, Adult Education (other than technical or vocational) in Great Britain, and to make recommendations [Cmd. 321 1919:1].

The emphasis throughout the Report was on the high moral purpose of liberal adult education, as befits a Report largely produced by Tawney, Greenwood, a wartime civil servant and

Chairman of the Yorkshire WEA, Cartwright, Secretary of the Tutorial Classes Committee and A.L. Smith.

Echoing Newman, Arnold and Huxley, the Report stated, "Whether an education offers a liberal culture or not depends on the purpose to which it is directed, and the spirit in which it is carried on" [Cmd. 321 1919:87]. Adult education "rests upon the twin principles of personal development and social service" [Cmd. 321 1919:168]. J.S. Mill's argument half a century earlier that a university is not a place of professional education also finds an echo when the Report states that adult education should aim at the "development of mind and character rather than at professional equipment" [Cmd. 321 1919:86]. The aim of Ruskin College was quoted approvingly: it offered "a training in subjects which are essential to working class leadership, but which are not a direct avenue to anything beyond" [Cmd. 321 1919:57].

Lifelong and universal education were seen in the Report as a civic duty, the central task in restructuring the nation after the devastations of the Great War. The point was emphasised in capitals.

THAT ADULT EDUCATION MUST NOT BE REGARDED AS A LUXURY FOR A FEW EXCEPTIONAL PERSONS HERE AND THERE, NOR AS A THING WHICH CONCERNS ONLY A SHORT SPAN OF EARLY MANHOOD, BUT THAT ADULT EDUCATION IS A PERMANENT NATIONAL NECESSITY, AN INSEPARABLE PART OF CITIZENSHIP, AND THEREFORE SHOULD BE BOTH UNIVERSAL AND LIFELONG [Cmd. 321 1919:5].

Accordingly, the Report recommended that liberal adult

education should be supported by grant-aid from the state, and provided through a partnership between the universities, which should establish extra-mural departments, and voluntary organizations. The conditions for eligibility for state funding should be such as to include as many different kinds of educational effort as possible [Cmd. 321 1919:172].

The Report was clearly informed by the democratic ideals and practices of the WEA and couched in terms of the need to guard against state interference in academic rather than political freedoms as a consequence of state funding. There should be freedom of teaching and freedom of expression to allow controversial subjects to be freely discussed in an atmosphere of mutual confidence and tolerance [Cmd. 321 1919:169]. Adult education should be non-partisan.

The really important question is whether in the educational work at present carried on among adults there is a genuine effort to present all sides of the questions which are considered, and to avoid a narrow dogmatism [Cmd. 321 1919:81].

A model of the kind of liberal adult education favoured by the committee may be seen in the Report's description of a university tutorial class

A tutorial class consists of men who have felt the need and desire for such mental discipline so strongly that they have themselves formed a class and then asked to be supplied with a teacher approved by themselves. The class is 'run' by them, and therefore they all take a keen pride in its success. The subject of study is one chosen by them, under advice, of course, and with supervision by competent educational authorities. There is free and ample discussion in which all learn to take part. They learn too to put their



thoughts into their own words and to express them in written form. Men who begin inarticulate, hardly able to read without a strain, come in one or two sessions to express themselves with notable clearness and force. Above all, they learn from discussion with the teacher and with each other to rise above their original prejudices and limitations, to see that there are two sides to every question, to have an open mind and a sense of the paramount duty of truth; that is, they are educated. [Cmd. 321 1919:4]

It is a disinterested, Socratic approach, grounded in adult students' sense of agency. Confidence in the epistemological base is assured and tolerance and open-mindedness are paramount virtues.

The goal of adult education should be citizenship. Echoing earlier, nineteenth century concerns, the Report stated that an education geared to ideals of good citizenship was necessary in order to support the successful working of democracy and ensure "the proper use of their responsibilities by millions of new voters" [Cmd. 321 1919:5]. Responsible leadership was seen as essential and achievable through liberal adult education. By this means the mass of people should be enabled to recognise "the natural aristocracy that is among any body of men" [Cmd. 321 1919:5]. In a passage which set out the agenda for the kind of education advocated in the Report, it was pointed out that this "natural aristocracy" could never number more than a few thousand.

yet the millions of rank and file can certainly get the educational essentials which will enable them to recognise those natural leaders; these two essentials being (a) the development of an open habit of mind, clear-sighted and truth-loving, proof against sophisms, shibboleths, claptrap phrases and cant; (b) the possession of certain elementary information and essential facts about such main questions as



the Empire, the relations between Capital and Labour, the relations between science and production, and other such subjects. [Cmd. 321 1919:5]

The curriculum advocated in the Report included natural science, modern languages, craftsmanship, music, drama and literature [Cmd. 321 1919:169], as well as the social sciences, as "the natural outcome... of the wider diffusion of intellectual interests" [Cmd. 321 1919:50]. Technical education should not be viewed as an alternative to non-vocational education since the latter was a universal need while the need for technical education depended upon the nature of the employment. Instead, technical education should be liberalised to include pure science and enable the students to place technical work in a wider social and economic context [Cmd. 321 1919:174].

The Report recommended that universities should establish extra-mural departments under the authority of a joint committee of representatives from the tutorial classes and the University Extension Board which should promote and develop extra-mural education; represent the needs and desires of adult students to the universities; and report on matters arising from extra-mural work, such as new developments and experiments in adult education.

One of the "special aspects and areas" which the Report surveyed was the situation of women in adult education. The

Report found that while the number of women participating had increased, men formed the great majority of the students in classes. The need for adult education for women, as for men, was linked to citizenship and reflected the burgeoning of activity by women in previously male areas of employment and responsibility during the war years. The long-awaited extension of the franchise to women over 30 in February 1918 "has meant a great advance towards a fuller citizenship, and brings with it the need for increased educational facilities adapted to the peculiar difficulties and special circumstances of women" [Cmd. 321 1919:255]. In order to attract women into adult education, the Report recommended that women be approached through the organisations to which they already belonged, such as the Women's Institutes and the women's suffrage organization, the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, later responsible for the launch of the Townswomen's Guilds. The Report recommended that classes should be democratically run, and that adult education must be made as attractive and congenial as possible. Care should be taken to ensure that class titles were not off-putting (for example, "The History of the Home" rather than "Economic History" was recommended) and subjects other than "book subjects" should be offered to enable women to make their homes and surroundings more beautiful [Cmd. 321 1919:261-62].

The Report also included an interim Report on 'Education in the Army' [Cd. 9225] in which the Committee recommended that

provision for forces' liberal education should continue to be made on an ample scale [Cmd. 321 1919:172]. This Report owed much to the work of B.A. Yeaxlee, Secretary of the YMCA Education Committee, and reflected the scale and importance of the YMCA's commitment to forces' education in the First World War [Kelly 1970:305]. Yeaxlee was later author of Spiritual Values in Adult Education [1925] and Lifelong Education [1929] in which he argued passionately for liberal education imbued with Christian spiritual values and continued throughout life consisting of "knowledge, experience, wisdom, harmony and the giving of self in service" [Yeaxlee 1929:165]. However, Yeaxlee's evident sincerity cut little ice with the War Office, which regarded the Report as trespassing on their territory [Taylor, J. in The 1919 Report 1980:34].

The Report's proposals were to be applicable throughout Britain in rural as well as urban areas. The Report emphasised

THAT THE OPPORTUNITY FOR ADULT EDUCATION SHOULD BE SPREAD UNIFORMLY AND SYSTEMATICALLY OVER THE WHOLE COMMUNITY, AS A PRIMARY OBLIGATION OF THAT COMMUNITY IN ITS OWN INTEREST AND AS A CHIEF PART OF ITS DUTY TO ITS INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS, AND THAT THEREFORE EVERY ENCOURAGEMENT AND ASSISTANCE SHOULD BE GIVEN TO VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS, SO THAT THEIR WORK, NOW NECESSARILY SPORADIC AND DISCONNECTED, MAY BE DEVELOPED AND FIND ITS PROPER PLACE IN THE NATIONAL EDUCATION SYSTEM [Cmd. 321 1919:5 (capitals in original)].

Publication of the Report coincided with an economic crisis and cuts in educational expenditure and the Ministry of Education was wound up even before the Report was published. As a result, its recommendations fell upon stony ground, with the

exception of that concerning the establishment of university extra-mural departments, which some universities and university colleges quickly acted upon [Wiltshire 1980:23]. Despite a lukewarm reception from government, the press and the labour movement when it was published, the 1919 Report has inspired liberal adult educators ever since and has been described as, "probably the most important single contribution ever made to the literature of adult education" [Waller 1956:15]. For Wiltshire, one of the foremost proponents of liberal adult education and for many years Head of the Department of Adult Education at Nottingham University, the importance of the Report lies in its general and pervading influence rather than its specific recommendations or reforms. He considers that the 1919 Report

can be said to have created 'adult education' in the sense that it established it in our consciousness as a distinctive domain of education, elucidated its ethos and purposes, made us aware of its problems and its possibilities, and described in some detail its characteristic modes of teaching and organisation. [Wiltshire 1980:23]

### The Inter-War Years

In the aftermath of publication of the 1919 Report, in 1921, the Board of Education set up its own Adult Education Committee. No attempt was made by the Board to associate itself with the 1919 Report's recommendations and accordingly out of a membership of thirty-two of the Board of Education's

Adult Education Committee, only five had been members of the Ministry's 1919 Committee [Wiltshire 1980:23]. However, as Jennings [1980:43-4] has pointed out, an important outcome of the 1919 Report was that an influential group, including Mansbridge, Tawney, Temple, Greenwood, Smith and others was able to argue more effectively on the network of committees which sprang up to coordinate and regulate the new field. As a result of their efforts, the years following 1919 saw a modest expansion of the provision of liberal adult education aided by financial support from the state.

The new committee aimed

to promote the development of liberal education for adults and in particular to bring together national organizations concerned with the provision of adult education, so as to secure mutual help and prevent overlapping and waste of effort; to further the establishment of local voluntary organizations for the purpose of and arrangements for cooperation with the local education authorities; and to advise the Board of Education on any matters which the Board might refer to the Committee [Ashby 1954:6].

The first Report produced by the Committee, the Report on Local Co-operation between Universities, Local Authorities and Voluntary Bodies of 1922 [Paper No.1, 1922] set the pattern for those that followed, reflecting the Committee's belief in the importance of the voluntary movement in adult education and favouring co-operation between equals rather than a rigid hierarchy of organizations. By contrast, the Board of Education believed that adult education below the level of the university tutorial class would not develop fully unless the

local education authorities took the main financial responsibility. However, by separating liberal adult education (other than that provided by local education authorities) from other forms of adult education, the Board in effect retreated from this position.

In fact, soon after its establishment, the Committee had pressed for the introduction of a comprehensive set of regulations designed for Adult Education rather than Technical Schools [Paper No.9 1927]. The Committee was consulted in the drafting of the important Board of Education (Adult Education) Regulations of 1924 [S.R. and O., 1925], under which the universities and "approved associations", including the Districts of the WEA, were recognised as Responsible Bodies (RBs) and received direct grant for terminal, one-year and vacation courses of liberal adult education. The same Regulations extended the range of university courses eligible for grant aid, thereby weakening the link between universities and the WEA and diversifying the pattern of provision away from the tutorial class model towards shorter, general interest classes, much to the WEA's displeasure [see Peers 1972:89-90].

The 1924 Regulations, with amendments, substantially remained in force until new Regulations were published in 1946 to give effect to the provisions of the 1944 Education Act. This was despite the fact that the preface to the Regulations specified

that the arrangement whereby grants were made by the Board of Education directly to approved voluntary organizations was "an interim measure only", stating that "a full development of adult education will not be made unless the main financial responsibility for the work of lower standard is assumed by the local education authority" [quoted in Raybould 1959:225].

Altogether, the Committee produced a series of eleven papers in the inter-war years [5], reflecting the range of adult education in that period and including one on the education of women, published before women finally received the vote on the same terms as men in 1928. These papers concentrated on issues of content rather than organization, and emphasised the importance of voluntary bodies in the provision of liberal adult education. They were apolitical, reflecting the loss of some of the dynamic social purpose of the adult education movement in this period to which Taylor alludes [in Taylor R., Rockhill and Fieldhouse 1985:6].

The Committee also set a curricular pattern in which liberal adult education was the exclusive preserve of the Responsible Bodies, while local authorities provided practical courses in such subjects as foreign languages, music, painting and physical education and vocational education was deemed ineligible for RB grant. As the historian of adult education, Harrison remarks [1961:325], in the inter-war period

the antithesis between liberal and vocational education

hardened into dogma... All the weight of the most powerful organizations in the field, the WEA and the universities, was thrown behind the "liberal education of adults", as distinguished from bread and butter studies. It was not that the necessity for vocational adult education was unrecognised; far from it but the prestige position was conferred upon those parts of the work which had no apparent vocational motivation.

The National Council of Labour Colleges  
and the Communist Party

In 1921 the local Labour Colleges and class centres created through the Plebs League as branches of the Central Labour College came together to form the National Council of Labour Colleges (NCLC) in opposition to the liberal adult education championed in the 1919 Report [Hamling 1987]. The NCLC pledged itself to "the education of the workers from the working class point of view" at precisely the time when it was becoming clear that there was no longer one "working class point of view" (if indeed there ever had been) but many [Phillips and Putnam 1980:28]. The foundation of the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) in 1920-21 came at a time when the Labour Party was emerging as the representative of labour in parliamentary politics and the Trades Union Congress increasingly spoke for organised labour on the national industrial scene. The potential for disunity in the labour movement inevitably grew as it became more heterogeneous. Adult education once again became a weapon in the fight between



opposing factions.

The year after the foundation of the NCLC the TUC decided to develop a nationally co-ordinated scheme of workers' education bringing to a head the competition between the NCLC and the WEA, which had set up its own Workers' Educational Trade Union Committee in 1919. The Communist Party established its own Central School in opposition to the London Labour College in the period following the General Strike in 1926 and from 1928 systematically developed its own educational programme, although individual CPGB members continued to be active in NCLC affairs for some time.

The educational approaches of the two organisations differed: the NCLC went to considerable lengths to popularise its material to make it accessible to potentially sceptical students, while the CP cadres were by definition already committed to the ideals of communism and did not have to be persuaded; as a result they were often treated to somewhat dry and impenetrable texts. Macintyre [1986] shows that in the Marxist camp, a crude positivistic approach to Marxism was reinforced by concentration on the later writings of Engels. The problem was exacerbated by the unavailability of most of Marx's early works as well as the Grundrisse, his writings on political economy, later published as Theories of Surplus Value and various writings on politics, most notably the Critique of the Gotha Programme. Consequently, Marxist debates

in adult education in this period were informed by an intellectually impoverished reading of Marxism just at the time when the liberal/radical split was becoming entrenched [Macintyre 1986:68].

The philosopher, Rée [1984], outlines the stultifying effect of this situation on the left in the years from 1900 to 1940. Rée's thesis is that a proletarian cult based on the work of the philosopher Dietzgen distorted understandings of Marxism, while the bland philosophising of academic Marxists failed to connect with working class concerns and did nothing to correct this distortion. Furthermore, dogmatic insistence on toeing the Soviet Communist Party line increasingly depressed the level of debate in the British Communist Party and contributed to its intellectual and political isolation.

Rée [1984:53] describes how, in the aftermath of the General Strike in 1926, antipathy between some elements of the CPGB and the NCLC came to a head with a disagreement about the control of political education and culture which ended with the closure of the Central Labour College in 1929. The Communist Party installed its own permanent dual system of education in 1930, consisting of district schools for the training of experienced members and a network of workers' study circles based on local branches for the education of ordinary Party members and selected sympathisers. Both elements of the system were beset by difficulties concerning exactly what should be taught, as a

result of the CPGB's increasing ideological dependence on the Soviet Communist Party, which was itself undergoing major changes in the wake of Lenin's death in 1924.

The major radical alternative to liberal adult education, Marxism, was thus fatally compromised by an inadequate and distorted knowledge-base, dogmatically asserted, and by fragmented organization riven by internal ideological disputes. The gulf between proponents of Marxist and liberal adult education, which had opened up when the Plebs left Ruskin, became increasingly unbridgeable. The NCLC was accused of reformism by the Communist Party and both sides accused each other of dogmatism. The CPGB, the political party which sought to provide an organizational base for Marxist adult education, became estranged from the labour college movement dedicated to its achievement.

The WEA, for its part, accused the Labour College movement of being a communist plot [Phillips and Putnam 1980:33] and the Plebs League called the WEA "Lackeys standing in front of the university trying to divert the workers into this kind of university consciousness" [Williams 1983:17].

A battle between left and right wings of the NCLC led to the left wing leaving in the early 1930s and from that time the organization was increasingly dependent on right wing unions for financial support. Nevertheless, many Communist Party



members drew their inspiration from a variety of sources inside and outside the Party and some continued to attend Labour College classes despite the disapproval of the Party [Rée 1984:76]. Groups were not exclusive; for example, the Labour College movement was sufficiently diverse in practice to provide a base for the Trotskyist opposition in the 1930s at the same time as it was becoming closer to the TUC. Labour College courses remained popular with labour movement activists of various shades of opinion, including some Communist Party members.

Rée's analysis [1984] is illuminating in many ways, not least for the light it sheds on the formal and informal ways in which working class adults acquired a Marxist political education in the first four decades of the twentieth century. As well as Labour College classes or Communist Party study groups, these included attending courses put on by the Marx House Schools, and reading books from the non-party Left Book Club. Macintyre [1986:88] reports also that some Marxist tutors were employed by LEAs to run courses under the terms of the Fisher Education Act of 1918 and some would have come by their Marxist studies in this way. Meanwhile, individual members of the non-party Left Book Club, founded in 1936, bought books and attended "Study Groups" and rallies organized by the Club [Rée 1984:58-75]. According to Rée,

Thanks to local Labour Colleges, to the Left Book Club, and indeed to local Communist Party groups and various unclubbed individuals, a steady bass note of socialist education, which

had begun to sound before the First World War, was sustained throughout the 1930s, indifferent to the shrill staccato of the Communists' debates with themselves and everyone else. [Rée 1984:75].

Contributors to Simon's book on the working class and adult education in the twentieth century have added to knowledge in this area and continued the debate [Simon (ed.) 1990]. Cohen, for example, traces the history of the Marx House Schools from their inception in 1933, when the London Marx House School was established as a challenge to the Labour Colleges, to their closure in 1945, victims of a new CPGB policy of rapprochement with the NCLC and the WEA. She assesses their contribution to Independent Working Class Education and concludes that

Overall the Marx House Schools made a valuable contribution to the IWCE movement. They primarily offered Communist education and their failure to become the major provider of IWCE in their areas paralleled the failure of the Communist Party to displace the Labour Party as the natural party of the left in Britain. [Cohen 1990:150]

Of particular interest, also, are two essays by McIlroy [in Simon (ed.) 1990] which continue the story of the NCLC through to its demise in 1964 and show how a liberal adult education approach was espoused in NCLC classes in spite of the enmity between the NCLC and the WEA. McIlroy analyses developments in trade union education, the universities and the WEA and then, in his final essay, goes on to give a critique of the outcomes of these events, which he sees as the abandonment of liberal education in favour of a narrow technical training in the techniques of collective bargaining, symbolised by the

exclusive use of pre-packaged TUC training materials. In an earlier paper, McIlroy undertook a historical survey of trade union education from 1929 to 1980 [McIlroy 1985].

In his description of trade union courses run under the auspices of Sheffield University, McIlroy reports that the majority of tutors of such courses saw themselves as left-wing socialists operating within the Liberal Tradition. He quotes one tutor as saying

This related not to the conclusions at which we thought the student should arrive but to the issues which we thought the student should be addressing. It is an agenda question not a conclusion question [McIlroy 1990:251].

The extent to which socialists, Marxists and other radical adult educators have been able to operate within the Liberal Tradition, despite controversies and purges such as those documented by Fieldhouse [1985; 1987] and outlined below, has yet to be comprehensively explored.

#### The Debate over Political Bias in the WEA

The value placed in the WEA on a disinterested approach to politically sensitive subjects did not protect the Association from occasional accusations of political bias; for example, Simon reports that the WEA was "rapped sharply over the knuckles" on at least two occasions for alleged left-wing bias [Simon 1974:319]. The extent to which the WEA's non-partisan

approach was maintained is the subject of debate amongst historians of the period. Basing his argument on evidence from the socialist G.D.H. Cole, Brown has argued that the WEA's emphasis on economic history did contribute to the dissemination of Marxism through economics teaching [Brown 1980:121]. Furthermore Brown argues that WEA teaching was effective precisely because the best WEA practice was based on

an unpatronising assessment of the abilities of working class students themselves and also on a recognition of the diversity of points of view, even within the Labour movement [Brown in Thompson (ed.) 1980:124].

Certainly, some WEA adult educators saw the potential of liberal adult education for contributing to social change through the process of building social consciousness adequate to the tasks faced in an era which saw mass unemployment, the rise of fascism and ultimately the outbreak of the second world war [Williams 1983:20]. However, in his analysis of the ideology of English adult education teaching from 1925 to 1950, using testimony from WEA tutors and students as well as documentary sources, Fieldhouse has found that in the case of that most politically sensitive of subjects, economics, it was "broadly liberal, sometimes radical, sometimes pluralist, but essentially anti-Marxist in its overall tenor" [Fieldhouse 1983:28]. Fieldhouse [1977; 1981] argues that the WEA's independence was compromised by its acceptance of government grants. By contrast, Jennings [1973; 1975; 1976; 1978; 1979a; 1979b] argues that the WEA played on official fears of the

Marxist threat to ensure government funding with the minimum of strings attached.

Despite the Labour College movement's rhetoric of independence, Brown has argued that the NCLC's practice in its early years was based on the crude reductionist principle that acceptance of state funding automatically meant that the WEA and similar bodies were part of the capitalist state's machinery of repression, and that this period was followed by increasing subordination to the Labour Party and right wing trades unions from the 1930s [Brown 1980]. Phillips and Putnam, by contrast, argue that the Labour College movement did for a while offer an independent working class education based on a rejection of bourgeois knowledge and the creation of alternative proletarian forms of knowledge, together with a specifically socialist form of working class organisation. They characterise the specific contribution of the Labour Colleges as,

a capacity for a form of education which took serious account of the problems of presentation to non-socialist activists, while avoiding the dangers of a narrow economism in its curriculum [Phillips and Putnam 1980:39].

After the second world war the NCLC lost much of its radical edge, generally supporting the Labour Party and co-operating with the WEA and the universities. It came to concentrate on postal courses covering instrumental matters such as Britain's economic difficulties, local and national government, and the



roles and responsibilities of chairmen and secretaries. In 1964 the NCLC was merged into the TUC Education Department and ironically the remnants of the Labour College "political" courses were ultimately taken over by the WEA [Fieldhouse 1981].

In the battle between disinterested and politically committed working class education, the Liberal Tradition exemplified by the WEA and the university extra-mural departments, won the day. It seems clear that official encouragement of the WEA and other voluntary organisations in partnership with the universities, was designed to off-set the revolutionary Marxist influence of the Plebs League and the Labour College movement. Indeed, in his study of the generation of proletarian intellectuals which exercised an influence on education and working class politics in this period, Macintyre concludes that "the development of adult education in the inter-war years was an integral aspect of official social policy" and that the WEA was "the chief instrument" of that policy and aimed "to break down the isolation of working-class students and integrate them in a national culture" [Macintyre 1986:89]. This view is supported in the following statement by Lord Percy, Conservative President of the Board of Education, in 1925

In adult education there is a continual struggle going on between the universities and those bodies, like the Workers' Educational Association, who work with the Universities, on the one hand, and the Communist or semi-Communist Labour Colleges on the other. Hitherto the Workers' Educational

Association and the University Extension people have been able to make headway against these undesirable propagandists because, largely owing to government assistance, they can offer better facilities. On the whole, too, I think the education that they do offer is extraordinarily useful... If we force the WEA and the Universities to cut down their work we shall not choke off the demand for local classes which is extraordinarily strong in all parts of the country, but we shall open a wide door to the Labour Colleges and I believe that the result will be deplorable. In fact my own view is that £100,000 spent annually on this kind of work, properly controlled, would be about the best police expenditure we could indulge in. [quoted by Fieldhouse 1987:46]

Viewed in this light, the WEA and the university extra-mural departments - the dominant feature of liberal adult education in the period between the wars, according to the historian, Kelly [1970:268] - were involved in a project directly descended from the "statism" of the nineteenth century university extension movement. However distasteful such a project might be to the voluntary movement, it seems clear that the WEA continued to attract government funding because it was seen as fulfilling a stabilising, integrationary role as an essential counterbalance to the Labour College movement and the Communist Party.

#### Adult Education in the Armed Forces 1939-45

Just before the outbreak of war in 1939 a plan for forces' education based on the principles of liberal adult education was initiated by Ernest Green, General Secretary of the WEA and George Wigg, then WEA District Secretary for North

Staffordshire, who secured the support of the universities and the YMCA for a system of liberal adult education in the armed forces entailing voluntary attendance, impartial instruction, free discussion and as much continuity as possible. A Central Advisory Council for Education in H.M. Forces (CAC) was established by the WEA, the universities, the YMCA and other organizations, with representation from a wide range of bodies engaged in adult education and military Education Officers attending as observers. In 1940 the Army Council issued a memorandum on Education in the War-time Army accepting the need for education "on a voluntary basis... related to a genuine demand from the men" [War Office 1940:4] and "also on the ground that it contributes directly to the maintenance of morale and military efficiency" [War Office 1940:10]. As a result of the memorandum, classes in a wide range of subjects were established under the auspices of the CAC, organised by Regional Committees in extra-mural areas throughout the country [Kelly 1970:321-6].

This voluntary activity was supplemented in 1941 by the establishment of the Army Bureau for Current Affairs (ABCA), formed as the result of an initiative by the head of the Army Education Corps and the Secretary of the British Institute of Adult Education. The CAC, which had not been consulted, reluctantly agreed to cooperate [6]. Weekly compulsory meetings were organised for the troops with discussion sessions, led by company and platoon commanders, based on

regular bulletins designed to encourage informed and responsible citizenship entitled "War" and "Current Affairs", later augmented by films and other media. ABCA was followed in 1942-3 by the British Way and Purpose Scheme (BWP), which provided an hour's compulsory education in citizenship, based on bulletins issued by the Directorate of Army Education. Meanwhile, mass screening of recruits revealed needs which the WEA had failed to address, including a ten per cent illiteracy rate, and fifteen basic education centres were set up to deal with this [Kelly 1970:327-8].

ABCA and, in their various ways, the other wartime forces' education schemes, aimed to increase military efficiency and raise morale by improving relations between officers and men. ABCA, particularly, aimed to ensure that soldiers understood the need to defend democracy: some officers feared a repetition of the outbreaks of serious unrest in the Army in 1918, caused, as they saw it, by left-wing ideas spread amongst troops whose ignorance made them prey to propaganda. According to the Director of ABCA, "the average citizen in khaki or out of it is an illiterate in citizenship" [Hawkins and Brimble 1947:160]. This forthright view reflected the illiberal perception of education in the Services, a source of chagrin to the liberal civilian adult educators of the CAC [Fieldhouse 1985:74-5].

According to Kelly [1970:331], ABCA was welcomed by all ranks,

despite the misgivings of Churchill and some of the Cabinet, who feared the sessions would foment discontent. Had this happened the outcome could have been serious for the government since by any standards ABCA was a large-scale operation, with around sixty per cent of units operating the scheme. For the first time since the Civil War, a majority of ordinary soldiers was involved in adult education. However, the liberal CAC courses accounted for only 20 percent of Forces education, with ABCA and the BWP accounting for the rest.

ABCA did not outlast the war which had brought it into being and its very transience has contributed to myths about its political significance. For example, it has been assumed that the Labour victory in the 1945 general election was a direct result of the troops voting Labour under the influence of ABCA, although, as Addison has shown, there is no real evidence for this [Addison 1975:149]. Both the myth itself and the impossibility of proving that it is true illustrate a perennial problem for liberal adult education: since the societal and individual gains which it offers are qualitative rather than quantitative, how is its effectiveness to be measured?

#### The 1944 Education Act and the Cold War

With the ending of the war and the return of a Labour government in 1945 it seemed for a time that the pre-war and

wartime policies of the popular front and progressive unity would prevail. Liberal adult education seemed likely to pick up where it had left off before the war, its prestige if anything bolstered by the success of the wartime schemes, whatever their shortcomings for liberal purists. Fieldhouse, who has investigated the fortunes of liberal adult education in this period, states that

In as much as adult education was perceived to be workers' education, it appeared to be a medium for promoting the progressive social changes that were widely anticipated and expected after the war [Fieldhouse 1985:33].

Section 41 of the 1944 Education Act dealt with the education of adults under "Further Education", which was divided into two areas: vocational further education and

leisure-time occupations in such organized cultural training and recreative activities as are suited to their requirements for any persons over compulsory school age who are able and willing to profit by the facilities provided for that purpose [HMSO 1947:32].

The Ministry of Education Pamphlet (No.8), detailing the scope and content of further education under the Act called for "co-operative action by authorities, universities, and voluntary organizations of every kind" and spoke of further education as "a community effort in which the authority must play the leading part", consulting with other statutory and voluntary organizations on an equal basis [HMSO 1947:32]. The RBs retained their grant aid for liberal adult education courses in, for example, "the study of history, economics, political science, literature, philosophy, and the arts" [HMSO

1947:40]. The tone of the Pamphlet was optimistic.

Here is the opportunity for a wide extension of the educational and social resources making for individual happiness and for a civilised community. If a great extension of technical education is essential to the well-being of our common life, so equally is a wide development of general adult education necessary if we are - as individuals or as a nation - to deal competently and democratically with the complex political questions of our time, or to develop those interests and activities which go to the making of a full and satisfying life. [HMSO 1947:32]

In the event, such optimism proved short-lived. The political wind changed sharply to the right and the end of the second world war was followed by a new, cold war, in which liberal adult education with its tradition of open enquiry found itself beleaguered. In the university extra mural departments and the WEA and particularly in the Oxford Extramural Delegacy, "Adult education came to be regarded in some quarters as a suitable instrument to legitimise the cold war consensus and to help induce conformity to its ideology" [Fieldhouse 1985:28]. Thus ended, according to his biographer, Tawney's hopes for an integration of liberal values into a socialist philosophy [Terrill 1974:239].

Pressure to conform came from within adult education as well as from the government. For example, it is evident in the following statement by Raybould, for many years Professor of Adult Education and Director of Leeds University Extra-Mural Department. He wrote in 1959

If... the existing Responsible Bodies use the present situation to strengthen their position, on the one hand by

increasing the contributions of money and effort which they obtain from voluntary sources, and on the other by putting their class-work as far as possible beyond criticism, [my emphasis] it will not be easy for good grounds to be found for attacking them. [Raybould 1959:247]

Raybould was a strong believer in 'university standards', for whom liberal adult education was 'disinterested', 'objective' and 'scientific'.

### The Ashby Report

Against this background the Ashby Committee enquired into The Organisation and Finance of Adult Education in England and Wales [HMSO 1954] for a Conservative Minister concerned about value for money. The Ashby Report was the first government review of adult education undertaken since 1919 and came in the wake of public outcry against a proposed ten per cent reduction in grants-in-aid to adult education. It was widely believed that the WEA was the intended target and Raybould avers [1959:238] that there were good grounds for believing that initially

a considerably larger cut was contemplated, and that a principal reason why the earlier intentions were not even published was that it became realized in Ministry, and Ministerial, circles that if they were proceeded with they would meet with strong resistance from the universities, which were not the principal target and whose opposition might be embarrassing to the Minister.

The enquiry was limited in scope and the Committee specifically pointed out that "it is not our intention to set a course for



adult education over the rest of this century" [Ashby 1954:35]. The existing pattern of provision was described as "remarkable for its diversity and complexity", catering for an important, though minority interest [Ashby 1954:12]. The partnership described between the universities, voluntary organizations and the local education authorities revealed the university extra-mural departments and other Responsible Bodies to be very much the senior partners and major providers of liberal adult education.

The Committee considered whether the time was ripe to end the 'protected' status of university extra-mural activity with its earmarked grants from the Ministry, in favour of transferring responsibility to the universities themselves, but decided that although "sooner or later" extra-mural departments would have to fight for their share of recognition, and funding, with intra-mural departments, "we do not think this is the occasion to precipitate it" [Ashby 1954:39]. The Committee also rejected a proposal by the Association of Education Committees that local education authorities should provide all non-university adult education [Raybould 1959:241].

In the event, the Report recommended only such minor changes in the existing system as tended to confirm the supremacy of the RBs, with the Ministry exercising "a more active but more flexible control of expenditure" [Ashby 1954:48]. The Ministry abandoned plans to reduce funding and the Minister

privately expressed her disappointment at the Committee's conclusions [Ashby n.d.:2].

However, the Ashby Report's endorsement of voluntarism and the status quo masked important changes in perception of the purpose of adult education since 1919. The preoccupation with education for citizenship in a democracy had gone, along with the notion of educational deficit. The purpose of adult education in the 1919 Report was remedial on an heroic scale: when the 1919 Report called for the opportunity for adult education to be spread uniformly and systematically over the whole community it was a call for education to be extended to the working class, from whom it had for too long been withheld. When the Ashby Report maintained that liberal adult education was appropriate for all sections of society, it meant that it was appropriate for the well-educated as well as for those who had had fewest educational opportunities, who are represented in the Report as a dwindling proportion of the whole population. The Report stated that improvements in social conditions, increased earnings and opportunities for entertainment and increased provision of secondary and grant-aided university education meant that there was a diminishing need for a remedial or consolatory role for adult education [Ashby 1954:33], adding, somewhat acidly, that "a person who has had a good deal of formal education is not to be considered as inoculated against any further educational ambitions" [Ashby 1954:34].

Interestingly, it was Winston Churchill's letter to the Trades Union Congress (included as an appendix to the Report) which stated that the remedial role still existed, though the necessity for it was laid at the door of "the disturbance of two destructive wars" [Ashby 1954:66]. Churchill, Prime Minister at the time the Report was commissioned, gave a ringing endorsement of liberal adult education

How many must there be in Britain, after the disturbance of two destructive wars, who thirst in later life to learn about the humanities, the history of their country, the philosophies of the human race, and the arts and letters which sustain and are borne forward by the ever-conquering English language?... The mental and moral outlook of free men studying the past with free minds in order to discern the future demands the highest measures which our hard pressed finances can sustain [Ashby 1954:66].

To Churchill, liberal adult education stood in heroic counterbalance to a debased mass culture

I have no doubt myself that a man or woman earnestly seeking in grown-up life to be guided to wide and suggestive knowledge in its largest and most uplifted sphere will make the best of all pupils in this age of clatter and buzz, of gape and gloat [Ashby 1954:67].

Churchill's concern was echoed in the Report: the Ministry "should be at pains never to subsidise triviality among students or teachers, or in the subjects taught" [Ashby 1954:48]. The Report concludes with an endorsement of liberal adult education, stating that

The whole range of evidence, from the letter which the Prime Minister wrote to the Trades Union Congress to the testimony of those engaged in teaching adult students, is unanimous in the assumption that liberal adult education is still essential. [Ashby 1954:33]

Accordingly, one later commentator, Stephens, maintains that the Ashby Report enabled the priorities of the 1919 Report to be carried forward for a further quarter century [Stephens n.d.:11]. However, this is debatable. The tension inherent in the Liberal Tradition between the decorative and the disturbing, the acquisition of accomplishments and the development of the capacity for analysis and original thought is subsumed in the Report into a concern to guard against the supposed tendencies towards triviality of adult students whose class identity is left unstated. The Ashby Report substitutes concern to encourage serious study by serious students from all walks of life for the concern of the 1908 and 1919 Reports for the education of working class people. The social purpose of adult education had been quietly abandoned in favour of education for personal development.

As E.P. Thompson reported in 1950, at this time some adult educators, including Raybould, were fostering a 'university attitude' "variously described as 'objective', 'tolerant', gentlemanly, calm, equitable, wise or a combination of these" [quoted in Fieldhouse 1985:17]. Such attitudes would no doubt have met with the approval of the Ashby Committee which effectively confirmed and legitimated the "capture" of liberal adult education by the better-educated middle classes. This was a victory won without disturbing the organizational forms established by the Responsible Bodies and the local education

authorities. Liberal adult education had been reclaimed by the gentlemen (and women) for whom a liberal education had always been seen as appropriate.

In the period of parliamentary consensus that developed in the 1950s and early 1960s this situation remained substantially undisturbed until the Russell Committee was set up by the Labour Government in February 1969. In the meantime, the Robbins Report on Higher Education in 1963 [Cmd. 2154], although not directly concerned with part-time higher education, encouraged further development of liberal adult education in university extra-mural departments alongside refresher courses for graduates and courses of further training for "practitioners in many fields" in order to "bring them up to date in their subjects" [Cmd. 2154 1963:167].

Publication of the Robbins Report prompted Raybould to raise again [1964:142] a question he had raised after the publication of the Ashby Report [1959:247]: whether the time had come for funding for university extra-mural work to be subsumed into the universities, leaving the voluntary organizations to fight for funding on their own merits. It was a question which struck at the heart of the characteristic Liberal Tradition partnership between university extra-mural departments, the WEA and other voluntary organizations and the local education authorities. Raybould's argument [1964:246-7] was that

while it is important that the continued existence of

voluntary Responsible Bodies should be secured, the right way to try to achieve this is not to attempt to involve as direct fellow-combatants in the struggle university extra-mural departments whose own proper activity calls for other arrangements.

Furthermore, Raybould [1964:156] quotes Tawney as saying that although he had supported the 1919 Report's recommendation that university extra-mural departments be established, thinking that "if universities had such departments they would be obliged to give serious consideration to their adult education work", he had since decided that "having established the departments, the universities felt that they had discharged their consciences in respect of extramural education, and had thereafter largely left the departments to run themselves".

Although the government did not at this stage propose any change, it cannot have gone unnoticed that the argument came from a senior advocate of liberal adult education, citing the man who was practically its patron saint.

#### Harold Wiltshire and the Great Tradition

Meanwhile the Liberal Tradition underwent a process of mythification. This process had various exponents, including, in their different ways, Tawney [in Hinden (ed.) 1966:86-97], Raybould [1951; 1959; 1964] and Wiltshire. Its apotheosis is a paper written in 1956 by Wiltshire in which he defined five distinguishing characteristics of the "great tradition" of

university adult education as follows

(i) It is committed to a particular curriculum, to the humane or liberal studies (which I take to mean those studies which can reasonably be expected to concern us as men and women, not as technicians, functionaries or examinees).

(ii) Within this curriculum particular concern is shown for the social studies and for those aspects of other studies which illuminate man as a social rather than a solitary being; its interest is not learning for learning's sake but in learning as a means of understanding the great issues of life, and its typical student is not the scholar, the solitary, the scientist or the saint: its typical student is the reflective citizen.

(iii) It demands from these students a particular attitude - the non-vocational attitude - towards their studies, and therefore examinations and awards, which imply and encourage other attitudes, are deplored.

(iv) It combines democratic notions about equality of educational opportunity with what may seem to us to be unwarrantably optimistic assumptions about the educability of normal adults and as a result rejects any attempt to select students for adult education either by examination or by reference to previous education; the only selection used is self-selection, and it is assumed that if you are interested enough to attend the course and competent enough to meet its demands then you are a suitable student.

(v) It adopts what may be called the Socratic method as its characteristic one, and has found in small tutorial groups meeting for guided discussion over a fairly long period its most effective educational technique. [Wiltshire in Rogers (ed.) 1976:31-32].

Wiltshire saw the Liberal Tradition losing its central, determining position in the changed conditions of the post-war period. He considered, firstly, that the major economic and educational objectives from which the great tradition had derived much of its dynamic had been achieved; that the voluntary movement had lost its sense of direction and assurance; that social studies were no longer central and the



reflective citizen was no longer the typical student. Secondly, greater equality of educational opportunity meant that the working class intellectual excluded from a university education would become rare. Thirdly, the rapid 'professionalisation' of almost every occupation had resulted in a corresponding increase in the number of technical and professional courses and examinations available to ambitious young people. He saw a resultant shift in public opinion

the prestige of what used to be called 'education for its own sake' declines and that of 'useful', diploma-producing, vocational courses rapidly rises. Thus the committal to the liberal studies and to non-vocational courses, central to the great tradition, is now no longer deeply felt; we know what Lucky Jim thinks of Plato and of sonatas for the recorder [Wiltshire in Rogers (ed.) 1976:33].

Fourthly, the universities had changed, moving away from the liberal ethos which coincided with the extra-mural vision

Rapid growth has produced rapid change: knowledge becomes more and more fragmented; learning becomes more and more specialised; research and administration take up more time and in some respects are valued more highly than teaching and interpretation; the technologies and the sciences increase in importance and influence. In such universities traditional adult education must have an insecure foothold, for neither its purposes nor its methods are now, as they once were, normal and accepted intra- as well as extra-murally. [Wiltshire in Rogers (ed.) 1976:33].

Wiltshire's elegy charts the decline of an educational movement into an educational service. He sums up prevailing approaches to adult education disparagingly: "No nonsense about liberal studies, a proper respect for vocational training, education for the educated - all this is in the grain of our time" [Wiltshire in Rogers (ed.) 1976:34].



Later, in a paper written in 1967, Wiltshire counterposes a liberal conception of education as a right of the individual to a narrow economic conception of society's needs, and, obliquely, to a more radical re-statement of the social purpose of liberal adult education. He describes adult education as a process of individuation. He emphasises [in Rogers (ed.) 1976:135] the "adulthood of adult education and its reactive and remedial rather than continuative nature", calling for "an emphasis on discontinuity rather than continuity, upon the needs of the individual rather than those of society, upon adult education as a consumption-good rather than an investment-good".

That Wiltshire felt it necessary to re-state the ethos of the Liberal Tradition in adult education in the 1950s and 1960s appears to indicate a malaise, a loss of direction and a diminution of the vision and confidence so noticeable in the 1919 Report. An attack on the WEA by Shaw [1971], who accused it of neglecting the education of the working class, led to a debate in the pages of the NIAE journal Adult Education, with supporters springing to its defence [Barratt Brown 1971; Jackson and Lovett 1971]. For Raymond Williams, describing his own practice in adult education in this period, the problem was not so much a loss of conviction, more a sense that everything had become much more complicated. If the problem before the war had been that some adult educators, arriving with "a

message in the bottle", had had to learn that

even people who agreed that the point of Adult Education was the building of an adequate social consciousness didn't... want messages... they didn't want the conclusions of arguments: they wanted to reach their own conclusions, [now] the whole problem was not whether the message would be accepted or modified but... what the message should be [Williams 1983:21].

In the event the Russell and Alexander Committees took up the challenge of rekindling a vision of liberal adult education, if not, as the 1919 Report had attempted to do, for society at large, at least for the professional adult educators who had arisen in the wake of the earlier Report.

#### The Russell and Alexander Reports

The Russell Report on adult education in England and Wales [7], accepted in 1973 by the Conservative government, was the first major government report on the subject since the 1919 Report. The Alexander Report of 1975 [8] covered the same topic in Scotland and since it came to similar conclusions, this account will focus particularly on the earlier Report.

The Russell Committee commented that they were "struck by the extent to which the principles and values" of the 1919 Report "are still valid" [Russell 1973:1]. The Russell Committee's brief restricted it to examining non-vocational adult education, as had that of the earlier committee. The importance and high academic quality of liberal adult education

was recognised in the Report, which described such provision as

characterised by intellectual effort by the students, the guidance of a tutor with firmly based scholarship, and freedom from externally imposed syllabuses and examinations [Russell 1973:72].

The Russell Report re-stated the central commitment of liberal adult education to individual personal development and peaceful social change, but with a subtly altered focus. The collective, class perspective of the early years of the century was replaced by a focus on the individual presaged in Wiltshire's 1967 paper [see above]. One example of this shift in focus was the encouragement given to courses designed to allow individual "escape" via access to higher education

In an age of occupational mobility adult education should help people to clarify their choices before transferring to a second or third career and should assist the process of preparing for entry to the training needed [Russell 1973:xvii].

This was in stark contrast to the 1919 Report's statement that

emphasis is laid upon social service rather than upon individual self-advancement, and that students both tend, and are encouraged, rather to consider the aid which education may offer to raising the general level of society, than to seek through education opportunities of securing higher payment or greater comfort, or even a wider culture for themselves [Cmd. 321 1919:56].

For the Russell Report, adult education "is an agent changing and improving our society: but for each individual the means of change may differ and each must develop in his own way, at

his own level and through his own talents" [Russell 1973:xi].

This non-hierarchical approach extended to the curriculum

No academic subject or social or creative activity is superior to another provided that those engaged in it develop a greater awareness of their own capacities and a more certain knowledge of the totality of their responsibilities as human beings. [Russell 1973:xi]

With the shift away from the collective aspect of the Liberal Tradition, the Report set the seal on a change which had in reality already taken place: the social sciences had lost their centrality to the adult education enterprise.

The Russell Report recommended the expansion of adult education with the local education authorities playing an increasingly dominant role. The vision was of a "comprehensive and flexible service... broad enough to meet the whole range of educational needs of the adult in our society" [Russell 1973:1] and encompassing "creative, intellectual and physical activities" [Russell 1973:ix]. It was a vision appropriate to the Welfare State and the Russell Report sought to ensure that the adult education service was "readily available to all who wish to take advantage of it" [Russell 1973:103].

The Report was published in the wake of the rediscovery of poverty in Britain in the 1960s, classically illuminated in a study undertaken by an adult education class in Nottingham [Coates and Silburn 1970] and its corollary in educational terms, the rediscovery of illiteracy [BAS 1972]. In this context, the adult literacy campaign, which began in the early

seventies, represented a re-statement of an old definition of educational deficit, remediable through adult education.

Adult education was seen as maximising human potential, as enabling people to cope with a complex and rapidly changing society and as having a remedial role for the disadvantaged. The notion of deficit reappeared, transformed into a notion of social, and hence educational disadvantage. Whereas the framework of social class was taken for granted in the 1919 Report, it was social pathology which permeated the assumptions of the Russell Report. The disadvantaged, such as

the physically and mentally handicapped [and] those who, on account of their limited educational background, present cultural or social environment, age, location, occupation or status, cannot easily take part in adult education as normally provided

were identified as particularly in need of adult education [Russell 1973:92]. Elsewhere the Report spoke of the educational needs of those in prisons or hospitals [Russell 1973:19]. The goal was equality of educational opportunity, defined in anything but class terms [Russell 1973:18] and the growth points were the

large areas of unmet need, especially among those little touched by the present provision of adult education. These include many school-leavers and young adults, older adults whose basic education preceded the developments of the last twenty years, the handicapped and the disadvantaged. The urgency of these unmet needs will be sharpened rather than abated by the current directions of educational advance [Russell 1973:3].

The over-riding concern for education for citizenship in the

1919 Report was differentiated and elaborated in the Russell Report under the general heading of

those needs that are related to the place of the individual in society, for example: "role education";... social and political education of very broad kinds, designed to enable the individual to understand and play his part as citizen, voluntary worker, consumer;... community education, or providing the background of knowledge and understanding upon which effective action for community purposes, including community development in the strict sense, can be founded;... [and] education for social leadership [Russell 1973:19].

The social purpose inherent in the 1919 Report's concern for the quality of individual and community life was echoed in the Russell Report

The value of adult education is not solely to be measured by direct increases in earning power or productive capacity or by any other materialistic yardstick, but by the quality of life it inspires in the individual and generates for the community at large [Russell 1973:xi].

This re-statement of the social purpose of liberal adult education found concrete expression in the priority areas of work defined for the WEA, which allowed a more collective approach

education for the socially and culturally deprived living in urban areas; educational work in an industrial context; political and social education; courses of liberal and academic work below the level of university work [Russell 1973:xiv].

However, the Russell Report's call for "the education of the people" and "the provision of a varied and comprehensive service in every area" echoed the wording of the 1944 Education Act [Russell 1973:xi]. Overall the Report spoke of adult education as a service to the community, not, as in the 1919 Report, of rights to self-determination.

Nevertheless, publication of the Russell and Alexander Reports marked a turning point for adult education in Britain. The Reports came in the period which saw the founding of the Open University in 1969 and an increase in certificated courses which weakened the distinction between vocational and non-vocational courses on which the Liberal Tradition was predicated [Duke and Marriott 1973]. For some, such as the historian Kelly, the dominant Liberal Tradition was vindicated [Kelly 1973]. In some areas, particularly in the WEA and progressive local education authorities, the Reports encouraged a more radical development of the Liberal Tradition, promoting new initiatives and revitalising debate about the social and political purposes of adult education and encouraging a more collective approach [Doyle 1980]. In Scotland, the Alexander Report's recommendations gave official sanction to increasing use of the term community adult education to encompass a wide range of educational activities and social purposes.

#### The Shift to "Continuing Education"

Implementation of the Russell Report's recommendations was hampered by the Oil Crisis of 1973. In the subsequent re-structuring of British capitalism, the perceived need was for training and re-training programmes, at first for school-leavers but increasingly from the early 1980s, also for adults. Accordingly, the impetus passed from liberal adult

education to its antithesis: vocational education. Not everyone welcomed this change; for example, Wilcock [1974] argued that extra-mural departments should restrict themselves to providing liberal adult education and undertaking research and training in the field of adult education. This was reflected in the fact that although the Russell Report recommended the establishment of a development body for adult education, what actually emerged in 1977 was the Advisory Council for Adult and Continuing Education (ACACE). Its remit was "to advise generally on matters relevant to the provision of education for adults in England and Wales", informed by "the concept of education as a process continuing throughout life" [ACACE 1985 frontispiece].

The Advisory Council's title marked a change in terminology which helped to fix "continuing education" as the standard concept-label, a process already aided by the fact that the new (non-RB) universities of the 1960s had in many cases established centres of continuing education and were undertaking market-led programmes of vocational education. The Open University also espoused the term, as the name of a committee chaired by Sir Peter Venables, in whose report, "'continuing education' is understood to include all learning opportunities which are taken up after full-time compulsory schooling has ceased" [Venables 1976:6]. Within this broad area, the Report focussed on "education for adults which is normally resumed after a break or interruption, often involving



a period in employment" and sought to extend the Open University's role in relation to such provision [Venables 1976:6].

The shift in terminology embodied in the Advisory Council's name was not accidental. As the ACACE discussion paper, Towards Continuing Education put it [ACACE 1979:7], with the establishment of the Advisory Committee,

For the first time continuing education has been given a formal status in the statutory educational system... It now remains to decide what is meant by continuing education [which] has gone under a variety of names in different countries: éducation permanente, lifelong learning, recurrent education.

The Advisory Council's definition of the term was embodied in its 1982 Report, Continuing Education: from Policies to Practice [NIACE 1985]. Continuing education, as defined in the Report, was all-encompassing, meaning "anything which follows" initial education [NIACE 1985:1]. The Report stated that

We do not think it useful to draw artificial boundaries between education and training, between vocational and general education, or between formal and informal systems of provision. We include systematic learning wherever it takes place: in libraries, in the work place, at home, in community groups and in educational institutions. [NIACE 1985:2]

In his Chairman's Preface, Richard Hoggart made it clear that the Advisory Council expected that its 1982 Report would be a major contribution to the shaping of national policies in education in the last two decades of the twentieth century

[NIACE 1985:vi]. The Report argued strongly for continuing education for adults to be recognised as an integral part of Further Education and also as part of Higher Education. Echoing Russell, manual workers, women, ethnic minorities, the physically and mentally disabled and the elderly were identified as priority groups [NIACE 1985:62-64]. In his preface to the Report, the Chairman Richard Hoggart advocated a "radical shift of emphasis by the whole post-school education system towards the educational needs of adults" [NIACE 1985:v] and accordingly the Report argued for a re-distribution of funds in favour of post-initial education, to provide the necessary extra resources [NIACE 1985:185].

The low status, fragmentation and relative under-development of post-initial education were seen as a direct result of confusion over the meaning and interpretation of the 1944 Act. The Report pointed out that the term used in the Act, "'Further Education', while comprehensive in intent, is commonly identified with full or part-time vocational courses" [NIACE 1985:177]. Consequently, non-vocational adult education was widely regarded as non-statutory, and although the Report argued that this was incorrect, it had not been tested in the courts. In this context, the definition of "continuing education" adopted by the Report was crucial.

The ACACE Report argued for a balance of provision between vocational and non-vocational education for adults,

acknowledging that the balance was lacking, with vocational education strongly supported by government policy and funding. The Report considered that balance could be achieved by redrafting the relevant section (41) of the 1944 Education Act as follows:

...it shall be the duty of every local authority to secure the provision for their area of adequate facilities for further, adult and continuing education, that is to say full-time and part-time education for all persons over the compulsory school age who are able and willing to profit thereby, such facilities to include general, basic, cultural, physical, social, civic and vocational education. [NIACE 1985:177]

In this formulation, adult general education was equated with non-vocational education in a broad definition which included liberal adult education [NIACE 1985:175]. Elsewhere in the Report adult general education was described as

all the varied educational opportunities offered to adults by local education authorities, university extra-mural departments, and voluntary bodies such as the Workers' Educational Association, in cultural, physical, basic, social and civic education, which have hitherto been negatively classified, and consequently often stigmatised, as non-vocational education [NIACE 1985:vii-viii].

The problem with dividing education for adults into vocational and non-vocational categories is that what is not related to "work" must be related to its opposite "leisure". The Report deplored the shift away from the positive view of leisure advocated in the 1947 Ministry of Education Pamphlet Number 8 as: "a possession to be wisely used in the development of the resources within oneself, and to be shared with other people" [NIACE 1985:172]. However, while acknowledging the problem,

the Report did nothing to solve it

Custom and practice have combined to relegate 'leisure-time activity' to, or beyond, the margin of the educational system and non-vocational adult education has suffered from this equation with leisure-time activity [NIACE 1985:175].

In making the case for adult general education, the Report again stressed the need for

balanced provision, which takes into account the needs of the whole community and which does not assign priority to some forms of education over others in such a way as to meet the needs of one section of the population by excluding the needs of others [NIACE 1985:176].

Adult education was no longer seen as having a specific mission in relation to the working class. The ACACE Report made the equation: continuing education equals adult general education plus vocational education, while advocating that vocational education should be 'balanced' by adult general education. The Report did not specify that this balance should be achieved by equal levels of funding and without this it is hard to see how adult general education could compete with its heavily-subsidised vocational counterpart.

The major problems pre-occupying the writers of the ACACE Report seem to have been those of accessibility, methodology and mode of delivery, not of the funding, organization and content of education for adults, much less questions of how and by whom decisions about organization and content should be made, all of which are issues central to the Liberal Tradition. The absence of comment on content implied that adults should be

offered access to education of the same kind as was available to children. Continuing education would thus take its place in an undifferentiated educational continuum. This was a long way from the 1919 Report's view that adult education should aim at the "development of mind and character rather than at professional equipment" [Cmd. 321 1919:86] and a long way also from the synthesis of liberal and practical education to which the Chartists aspired.

In a trenchant critique of the Report, Goodwin argued that ACACE had not sustained the essential resource base for the work with the "educational have-nots" envisaged in the Russell Report [Goodwin 1983]. Goodwin considered that the Department of Education and Science's 1980 publication, Continuing Education: Post Experience Vocational Provision for those in Employment, [DES 1980] (a process known as PICKUP) provided in its title a more realistic definition of the reality of continuing education. The 1982 ACACE Report was generally well-received in adult education circles but caused no great stir. A profound change in direction away from the ethos of social purpose of the Liberal Tradition had gone almost unnoticed and apparently almost unmourned.

The recommendations of the ACACE Report were not formally adopted by the Government and the Advisory Council was wound up in the year following publication of the Report. Nevertheless, the impact of the shift to continuing education on the nature

of the provision of education for adults has been significant, with qualification-bearing and "access" education for adults developing at the expense of what the Report termed "adult general education". University extra-mural departments enthusiastically continued or took up the role recommended in the DES PICKUP document, further developing qualification-bearing post-experience vocational education courses for adults. While Wiltshire's eulogy of the Great Tradition typifies the high moral and intellectual tone of many defenders of liberal adult education, his warning of the dangers inherent in the shift towards continuing education has gone largely unheeded [Wiltshire 1976:132-135].

Such a shift was welcomed by Crombie and Harries-Jenkins in 1983 who argued that the Liberal Tradition was moribund, providing only "the subsidised recreational learning of a small and educationally privileged group" [Crombie 1983:101]. They argue that a "contextualist" epistemology is superseding the empiricist epistemology of liberal adult education and that outmoded liberal forms of provision should be replaced with comprehensive provision of "continuing education", envisaged as "continuing professional education, role education and renovative education" [Harries-Jenkins 1983:43], in line with the 1982 ACACE Report.

The commitment to individualism exhibited by Crombie and Harries-Jenkins and predominant in some versions of the Liberal

Tradition was challenged by Griffin [1983] and Keddie [1980], whose criticisms are considered in the next chapter. Challenges came also from within the Liberal Tradition, as with that from the philosopher Lawson. He discerned signs of a significant shift away from forms of liberalism in the Greek tradition based on the idea of the pursuit of "the good" and away from liberal ideals of social purpose, social progress and the enhancement of the public good

There has instead been a movement towards a "deontological" type of liberalism which is highly individualistic in character... based upon the ideas of "rights" and "justice". It is a philosophy which denies that there can be a general, as distinct from a private, idea of "the good". [Lawson 1985:219]

For Lawson the "core thesis" of deontological liberalism is the assumption that

society, being composed of a plurality of persons, each with his own views, interests and conceptions of the good, is best arranged when it is governed by principles that do not themselves presuppose any conception of "the good". Therefore, instead of seeking some general criteria for "the good" such as the maximisation of "welfare" or "utility" as the basis of social policy, some independent criterion has to be sought. Such a criterion is the moral and legal category of "rights" and "right" is prior to "the good". Of all rights, the "right to choose" is the most important [Lawson 1985:220].

For Lawson, deontological liberalism is "the dominant political and ethical philosophy underpinning liberal adult education [which] provides much of its theoretical base" [Lawson 1985:219]. As he points out in an interesting reversal of T.H. Green's formulation, "Such a philosophy is essentially a defence of self-interest against State interests" [Lawson

1985:221]. In terms of this philosophy, "'Individuality' and 'self identity' are not simply empirical facts", rather they are ethical concepts, representing implicit claims for a certain kind of status [Lawson 1985:220]. It is a philosophy which refuses to make judgements between different types of learning (a fault, as Lawson rightly points out, of the 1982 ACACE Report Continuing Education From Policies to Practice [NIACE 1985]), it favours process over content and "Its clearest manifestation is in a free enterprise monetary economy" [Lawson 1985:227].

Lawson's analysis sheds an interesting light on the conceptual slippage from liberal adult education to continuing education, presented as an enlargement of social purpose by the 1982 ACACE Report and endorsed as such by many liberal adult educators. The problem is one of a congruence of the deontological liberal and libertarian positions. If the right to choose is considered more important than what is chosen and notions of social purpose are subordinated to the needs of the individual or considered achievable through a process of individuation, as they are in both positions, the way is open for a demand-led, market-orientated adult education service, however alien this outcome might be to left libertarians. The effect has been to disarm many who might otherwise have fought for the retention of liberal ideals. Rather than an integration of liberal values into a socialist philosophy, as Tawney hoped, there has been an integration of neo-liberal values into the



social-democratic ideals of liberal adult education.

### The Defence of Liberal Adult Education

Meanwhile, in the mid-1980s a defence of liberal adult education was mounted in the university sector, for example by Taylor, Rockhill and Fieldhouse [1985]. They argue for a radical revision of liberal adult education as a collective enterprise (in class terms), advocating an approach which is democratic rather than authoritarian, dialectical rather than propagandist, non-utilitarian and non-vocational. They acknowledge that the Liberal Tradition "has acted as a legitimating vehicle for the promulgation of establishment orthodoxies and bourgeois ideology", and has been partially incorporated into the established order [Taylor, R. et al. 1985:228]. Nevertheless, they argue that a revitalised Liberal Tradition remains essential if the drift away from education and towards training is to be resisted, and if university adult education is to contribute to the mitigation of grossly unequal educational structures [Taylor, R. et al. 1985:228-229].

In their enlarged vision, the Liberal Tradition (in England, though not in the USA) embodies a continuum of essentially pedagogic ideological perspectives, including social democratic and Marxist as well as liberal ideologies [Taylor, R. et al. 1985:230]. Such ideological pluralism, coupled with

methodological rigour, they contend, lies at the heart of the theory of liberal adult education [Taylor, R. et al. 1985:231]. The authors challenge the traditional liberal position which has interpreted education for radical social change as a threat to liberal democracy, arguing that "the limitation of the perspective is in tying the ideal to the means, that is, to the idea that the vote is the basis of political change" [Taylor, R. et al. 1985:25].

However, while it is true that other means of peaceful social change are available, the development of liberal adult education has paralleled the extension of the franchise from 1867 onwards, as outlined above in Chapter III. It is therefore not surprising that such a "tie" has come to be assumed.

#### ERA and After

Debate on liberal adult education surfaced again in the wake of the Education Reform Act (ERA) of 1988 [HMSO 1988]. The Act abolished the Responsible Bodies and required university extra-mural departments to bid to the newly-formed Universities Funding Council for funds for continuing education (including liberal adult education), a move foreshadowed by the Ashby Report thirty-four years earlier and consistently argued for by Raybould. The Act also included numerous measures affecting

the education of adults in the local education authority sector including the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority, which was responsible for a large proportion of adult education in the LEA sector [see UDACE 1988].

A series of articles published in Adults Learning in 1990 encapsulates the various positions in the debate on adult education in the wake of ERA and other government initiatives, which are outlined below. The first three writers were all based in universities. In the first article, Groombridge outlines recent changes in university adult and continuing education, warning that such work faces an uncertain future [Groombridge 1990]. In reply, Duke argues that recent changes in university funding have been to the advantage of liberal adult education. He advocates a rigorous critique of liberal adult education, since "the crisis of liberalism is one shared by the whole education system and by colleagues in all sectors" [Duke 1990:242]. In the same issue, Richard Taylor [1990:243-244] proposes a new definition to avoid the "somewhat facile equation between liberal adult education and an undefined, but by implication, static, moribund and irrelevant 'Great Tradition'" as follows:

Individualism. Liberal adult education of all types has acknowledged that individual growth through education is a key objective. This a priori belief is linked to the notion of the good society depending on the self-motivated, free development of individuals in all spheres of social activity.

Critical Faculties. Whilst both knowledge acquisition and cultural understanding are of importance for this individual

advance, the notion of challenging the individual's assumptions and perspectives is an equally fundamental tenet. Liberal adult education is about broadening the individual's understanding of a given subject area by introducing him or her to other often critical conceptual frameworks. Closely related to this broadening function is the development of critical awareness: all positions are open to rigorous questioning - all questions are open questions.

Democracy. In two particular respects liberal adult education entails also a commitment to democratic principles. On the wider political level liberal adult education actively promotes a questioning, informed and participatory citizenry and thus pre-supposes or advocates a democratic institutional structure. (This is not necessarily the same as advocacy of parliamentary democracy per se - and still less of the particular institutional structure and practice of British parliamentary democracy.) In the context of liberal adult education itself there is a commitment to a dialectical form of teaching: a dialogue between tutor and students, between (abstract) education and (practical) life experience, which involves negotiation of curriculum content and an approach of equality and mutual learning.

The debate was then joined by adult educators from outside the university sector. Cousin argued that, for women, the dichotomy between vocational and non-vocational adult education which has long bedevilled liberal adult education is false because the uses to which women put adult education do not divide neatly into such categories. She argues that liberal adult education must address issues of gender transcendence rather than continuing to pivot around issues of class, otherwise the liberal ideal of the rounded individual will be limited to a gendered stereotype [Cousin 1990:39]. McKeon wound up the debate by stating that liberal adult education is not on the agenda of local education authority officers and politicians. Recognising the "diffuse groundswell of thinking about the purpose of adult education which needs to be

articulated" he contends that

It no longer seems possible that "liberal" ideology is adequate to the task and it could still inhibit, though it has already been largely bypassed by 'other discourses' [McKeon 1990:83].

In the debate, the Liberal Tradition is accused of ignoring over half of the adult population by Cousin and dismissed as irrelevant to the local education authority sector by McKeon. Yet each of these positions, except the last, could be described as falling within the parameters of liberal adult education insofar as each writer would probably concur with Taylor's statement [1990:244] that

Ultimately, liberal adult education is about providing the intellectual and educational context in which students can work their own way to their own conclusions on the basis of as wide a knowledge and rigorous an analytical process as possible.

However, at the beginning of the 1990s the signs are that such consensus is crumbling. The influence of liberal adult education is diminishing outside its heartland in the universities and the WEA and there is ambivalence in the universities. Despite a spirited defence, in the absence of any effective cross-sector resistance, continuing education is becoming firmly established as the new orthodoxy, marking the end of consensus on the centrality of the Liberal Tradition which has prevailed for most of the twentieth century.

### Conclusion

The tension between liberal adult education for personal development and social purpose has persisted throughout the twentieth century. While T.H. Green saw the relationship between individuals and society as non-contingent, with each individual's possible self having an intrinsic social dimension, realisable within a moral state and with no necessary division between personal and public good, adult educators struggling to maintain and develop the Liberal Tradition in the intervening century have tried in various ways to resolve this fundamental contradiction and appeared, for a time, to have succeeded. Lawson's philosophical analysis sheds some light on the intractability of the problem and on ways in which the very different ideals of continuing education have come to appear acceptable to some liberal adult educators. Others have called for a re-appraisal of the Liberal Tradition while some have rejected it in favour of radical adult education, an approach which is considered in the next chapter.

## NOTES

1. See Stocks [1953] for a history of the WEA.
2. The campaign is described in detail by Jennings [1987].
3. See Simon [1965:311-342]; McIlroy [1980] and reminiscences in The Plebs [Vol. 27 No.2, February 1935, 1-35] by Rees, Mellhuish and others.
4. The political processes surrounding the establishment of the Committee are described in detail by John Taylor in The 1919 Report [1980].
5. For an analysis of the Regulations from 1924-46 see Raybould [1951] Appendices I and II. See Bibliography for details of these papers.
6. See Adam [in Hutchinson (ed.) 1971:60-65] for a contemporary account of ABCA.
7. United Kingdom, Department of Education and Science, Adult Education: A Plan for Development Report by a Committee of Inquiry appointed by the Secretary of State for Education and Science under the Chairmanship of Sir Lionel Russell C.B.E. London, HMSO, 1973 (The Russell Report).
8. United Kingdom, Scottish Education Department, Adult Education: The Challenge of Change London, HMSO, 1975 (The Alexander Report).

PART TWO

RADICAL CRITIQUES AND RADICAL HEROES



## CHAPTER V

## RADICAL ADULT EDUCATION.

Introduction

This chapter considers the origin and some meanings of concepts of radicalism, radical education and radical adult education in order to shed light on tensions, continuities and contradictions within and beyond the Liberal Tradition which emerged in the wake of the Russell and Alexander Reports in 1973 and 1975, respectively. From this time, radicals challenged the dominance of the Liberal Tradition from a variety of perspectives. These critiques identified new approaches which became known, collectively, as "radical adult education". Definitions of radical adult education are considered together with a brief exposition of a model of Marxist adult education. Finally, some conceptualisations of liberal and radical adult education are considered and an alternative conceptualisation proposed in order to establish a framework within which Gramsci's and Freire's ideas may be compared in relation to liberal and radical approaches to the

education of adults in subsequent chapters.

## Concepts of Radicalism, Radical Education and Radical Adult Education

### Radicalism

The word "radical" is derived from the Latin, radix, meaning root. In the political sense it denotes movements advocating change from the roots. As a political adjective it originated in the late eighteenth century, denoting the reform movement of that period. The term has thus, from the outset, been associated with political movements for change, although until the French Revolution in 1789 the question posed in Britain was almost exclusively one of political rights, rather than a complete change of social system [Silver 1975:3]. As Silver [1975:1] states

At the end of the eighteenth century the "root of the matter" was seen as the need to reform Parliament, though political radicals always saw more or less clearly that other social improvements would flow from successful political reform.

A few years later, in the period after the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, the Tories coined the noun "radical" as "an offensive nickname for the revolutionary democrats" [Halévy quoted in Silver 1975:4]. Radicalism had grown strong

enough to be seen as a threat to the established order, to church and state. From then on, as Silver [1975:3] states, radicalism, as interpreted by its advocates and its enemies, assumed various forms, and what emerged was not a radicalism, but forms of radicalism.

The shifting meanings of the term "radical" in political usage are discussed by Raymond Williams in his Keywords [1976:209-211]. Williams stresses the way in which the term has been used both with pride as a self-description and, pejoratively, of others, a point made also by Silver [1975:4]: "According to one's view of the social order... a radical was either an agitator and a subversive or an upholder of popular and even ancient traditions". The Philosophic Radicals, discussed above in Chapter III, certainly saw themselves in the latter camp. The concept of radicalism also moved across the political spectrum, so that by the late nineteenth century there was a clear distinction between radicals and socialists, with the former regarded as being rather more respectable than the latter.

Williams [1976:210] describes twentieth century usages as "complicated": "radical" has continued as a term used to denote the more vigorous forms of liberalism involving relatively vigorous and far-reaching reforms. As such, as he points out, radicalism has been contrasted with "dogmatic" socialist or revolutionary programmes. This usage has its

counterpart in relation to adult education in Britain: in this sense, radical adult education is a vigorous, reforming variant of liberal adult education. Williams points out that the older, general sense, has also continued, as in "radical re-examination" and this is true of usage in adult education, as in other fields.

Williams identifies two further uses which add to the complications surrounding the term "radical". Firstly, the term is in common use in the phrase "Radical Right", indicating either extreme right-wing politics or active right-wing policies of change, as distinct from a more conventional conservatism. Interestingly, this association with right-wing politics does not seem to have carried over into radical adult education. However, the second usage that Williams identifies has been carried over, as will be seen below. In this usage, Williams [1976:210] points out that "radical" has been re-adopted, especially in the United States in the period from the late 1950s, in a sense that is very close to the early nineteenth century British use; "as such it is often virtually equivalent to socialist or revolutionary, and has gathered the same range of responses as in that earlier period".

The major contest over the term "radical" and the concept of radicalism in adult education is between the first and last of the usages that Williams identifies: the question is whether radicalism in adult education is a variant of liberal

individualism or a collectivist term denoting forms of adult education aiming to encourage revolutionary change in society. Alternatively, does "radical adult education" encompass both usages? This view is advanced by a recent analyst of the politics of adult education, Brendan Evans [1987:6], who has pointed out that in current political discourse the term "radical" is used to encompass reformers and liberals as well as socialists and Marxists. As is shown below, this is reflected in his conception of radical adult education. Overall, it seems more appropriate to speak of "radicalisms" rather than a monolithic "radicalism" and that usage will be adopted in this thesis.

### Radical Education

The association of the term "radical" with education stems from the early political usage, and reflects the schisms in the radical reform movements from "the dawn of radicalism" in the period from the 1760s to the 1790s. Silver argues that the definitions of forms of radicalism came to be associated with a sharpening awareness of social class. He identifies two key concepts of radicalism, one associated with the working-class and one with the middle-class, which emerged in the nineteenth century and became identified with different approaches to education (see Chapter III, above). From this point on, as Silver [1975:4-5] states, "Radicalism, social class and

education became intertwined problems and concepts". Together these constituted a challenge to the established order. As Johnson writes of the nineteenth century: "Radical education was essentially an oppositional movement, gaining energies from contesting orthodoxies, in theory and practice" [Johnson 1988:4]. The oppositional aspect remains, as does the association with Marxist and other movements for social change.

The focus of opposition in "radical education" in the 1970s and 1980s, as distinct from "radical adult education", was the formal education system and in particular, schooling. Radicalism in education was particularly identified with progressive, deschooling and freeschooling movements in North America and Britain [1], with Marxist critiques of the role of schooling under capitalism [2], and with non-Marxist theorists of cultural reproduction such as Bourdieu and Passeron [1977]. In Britain, the "new sociology of education" associated with Michael F.D. Young and others in the 1970s drew on the Marxist, Weberian and Durkheimian traditions to re-orientate the sociology of education towards a focus on the stratified nature of knowledge as a socio-historical construct [3]. In North America, Elias and Merriam [1984:139-173] state that radical educational thought has at least three sources. These they identify as: the anarchist tradition, exemplified by proponents of de-schooling; Marxism, which they claim is exemplified by Freire; the Freudian left, exemplified by

Wilhelm Reich and A.S. Neill.

Apple, Giroux and other radical educationalists, also writing from a North American perspective, have used Marxist, culturalist and structuralist ideas and those of the "new sociology" to analyse the relationship between education and the economy, culture and power and propose a new radical pedagogy [4]. Apple's work effects a shift from a perception of schools as sites of cultural and economic reproduction to a recognition of the centrality of cultural resistance and contestation in the education process [5]. Giroux [1981a:63] identifies two forms of radicalism, "content-focussed" and "strategy-based" which, he argues [1981a:83], should be integrated in a way that is consistent with a radical political vision. "Content-focussed" radicals are those who prioritize the development of critical ideas and the challenge to the dominant ideology, while "strategy-based" radicals challenge the hierarchical nature of interactions in the educational process and aim to develop personal autonomy.

Both Freire and Gramsci are cited in the radical education literature and the association of their ideas is discussed in Chapter VIII. For example, Giroux and Aronowitz, in their Education Under Seige [1985], which is dedicated to Freire, explicitly compare Freire with Gramsci, and Freire and Gramsci with Dewey. Giroux's book, Theory and Resistance in Education [1983] has a Foreword by Freire and several references to both

Freire and Gramsci, and others, especially members of the Frankfurt School. Elias and Merriam devote most of their chapter on radical adult education to Freire. Apple has also used Gramsci's work.

The explicitly oppositional nature of the radical education literature is exemplified in the subtitle of Giroux's 1983 book: A Pedagogy for the Opposition. Meanwhile, opposition has bred opposition. For example, Barrow [1978:2] castigates radical educators

they are all romantics in the sense of idealistic and sentimental: they tend to see the past as a Golden Age... and the future as potentially perfect. The notion that individuals might be responsible for evil and misery because they are selfish and nasty is one that they find difficult to embrace: they prefer to put it all down to circumstances. Towns and industrialisation they hate. They are suspicious of book learning, seeing something more in keeping with human dignity in working with one's hands (outside of industry).

#### Radical Adult Education

The "deschoolers" and "freeschoolers" whom Barrow attacks with such gusto have arguably been more influential amongst radicals in initial education than amongst their counterparts in adult education. However, radical education debates, particularly where these are based on a broad, inclusive concept of education, have been reflected to some extent in the literature of radical adult education. For Illich, for example, "schooling" encompasses the whole formal educational apparatus



of society, including state-subsidised or state-funded adult education. Giroux [1983:241], meanwhile, restricts "schooling" to mean only that which

takes place within [ostensibly educational] institutions that serve the interests of the state. These are formal institutions directly or indirectly linked to the state through public funding or through certification requirements.

In this formulation, "education" takes place elsewhere and "refers to forms of learning and action based on a commitment to the elimination of forms of class, racial and gender oppression" [Giroux 1983:239]. Thus, "education" is by definition radical, while "schooling" is essentially a contested area, potentially reclaimable through radical pedagogy.

Debates in adult education reflect its marginal status in relation to the formal education system, diverse institutional bases and the relative autonomy of its students, by virtue both of their adulthood and the non-compulsory nature of the education process. Criticism of formal schooling is implicit in much of the writing on adult education, not only that written from an avowedly radical perspective, insofar as adult education is perceived as separate from, and potentially able to compensate for, defects of the compulsory education system. Furthermore, while the influence of the "new sociology of education" may be discerned in Westwood's attempt to theorize the middle-class bias of adult education [Westwood 1980] and in Keddie's critique of adult education's "ideology of

individualism" [Keddie 1980], Armstrong's survey of published writing on sociology in relation to adult education reveals how slight that influence has been [Armstrong 1989].

Some themes are common to radicals in both areas, for example, Youngman [1986:5] points out that Yarnit's criticism of much community adult education as obsessed with form at the expense of content is consonant with Giroux's identification of the dichotomy between "content" and "strategy" radicalisms. As we shall see below, Youngman [1986:5] seeks to resolve the dichotomy in his proposal for a socialist pedagogy of adult education. Another commentator, Brendan Evans [1987:23], argues that the work of Illich, together with that of Freire and Gelpi, Director of the Lifelong Education Unit at UNESCO, is seminal and continues to be highly influential amongst radical adult educators. Similarly, Thomas [1982:39] contends that Illich's critique of schooling and the role of the professional in society is as important to adult educators as it should be to schoolteachers, pointing out that even in liberal adult education it is acknowledged that teachers "do not have a monopoly of any category of information (except the narrowly technical)". Allman [1988:92] takes the opposite view, arguing that Illich's critique, while radical in the 1960s, is outdated, simplistic and politically dangerous. She warns [1988:92] that for socialist adult educators in the 1980s,

to seek inspiration and understanding from Illich is to risk

incorporation not just within reformist policy but equally and increasingly within the lair of neo-conservatism.

Radical adult education is clearly a contested concept with as many "radicalisms" as other fields of education. So what is distinctive about radical adult education?

### Dictionary Definitions

A recently published dictionary of adult and continuing education [Jarvis 1990b:284] gives the following entry for radicalism: it is

Related in education especially to those who embrace education for liberation and certain forms of community education and community action.

Radical adult education is

A form of adult education based on the premise that education is not neutral. It endeavours to promote change and liberation. The ideology is usually framed within a critical social science perspective [Jarvis 1990b:284].

These definitions are interesting in several ways. Firstly because the designation of radical adult education as "not neutral" marks a conscious differentiation of radical from liberal adult education. Secondly because radical adult education is seen as actively "endeavouring to promote change and liberation", with all the possibilities of unrealised or subverted intention that such an aim implies. Thirdly, because "radicalism" is located in certain specific forms of adult

education practice, and finally because it emphasises the essentially ideological nature of the concept. Each of these aspects is considered below. The concept of "education for liberation" is associated primarily with Paulo Freire and is thus discussed in Chapter VI, below.

### Radical Adult Education as Not Neutral

Radical adult education came to prominence in the literature of adult education in the 1980s, through the publication of the Croom Helm/Routledge "Radical Forum on Adult Education" series and other writings [6] and in the wake of surveys in the 1970s and 1980s which revealed a middle-class bias in adult education provision [7]. Radical critics attacked conventional forms and outlined new kinds of committed adult education for social change undertaken with the working-class and other deprived and oppressed groups in a wide range of organizational settings, including trade union education, adult education with the unemployed and community adult education.

Radical adult education is thus best understood in relation to that from which its adherents seek to differentiate it: that is, the dominant Liberal Tradition. Campling, Series Editor of the "Radical Forum on Adult Education" series, speaks for many when she says that radical adult education must "challenge the hegemony of the liberal approach to adult education and social

change" [Lovett et al. 1983 np]. The attachment to neutral disinterestedness as a value of liberal adult education is a particular target. For example, Keith Jackson [1980:13] contends that liberal adult education is "bland and neutral" when what is needed is adult education that is "more committed, more objective and more open and truthful", ideally also free from the compromising taint of state funding.

#### Radical Adult Education as Actively Endeavouring to Promote Change and Liberation

Radical adult education is inevitably enmeshed in the ideological tangles of the diverse movements for social justice and radical change with which it is associated. Of these, Marxism, in particular, has been cited as important. For example, a recent study of citations in the literature of adult education placed Marx in the top twenty-five most frequently cited authors [Field et al. 1991:13], although little has been published on the theory and practice of adult education from a specifically Marxist perspective (Youngman's 1986 book is a notable exception). Thompson and other feminists in the 1980s have adapted the Marxist argument, seeing liberal adult education as a betrayal of women [8]. For example, Thompson [1980:24] contends that liberal adult education "contributes to the transmission of values and attitudes which reflect the interests of dominant groups in society" and as such,

conceives of women primarily as consumers and home-makers, denying their full intellectual potential. Other commentators, including Kirkwood and Kirkwood [1989] have stressed socialist, Christian or communitarian values.

Thus, while to some extent "radical" is a euphemism for Marxist, or more loosely, socialist adult education, it is not tied exclusively to any one political ideology or strategy. radical adult educators have been able largely to avoid the mid-twentieth century difficulties in the definitions of socialism and communism to which Williams [1976:210] alludes. Radical adult education is a "broad church" capable of encompassing a range of political priorities and directions, deemed by their proponents to be progressive and regarded as subversive by opponents.

The adoption of a relatively non-committal, if hardly neutral designation has, however, not prevented what Brendan Evans [1987:37] calls the "internecine divisions among radical adult educators" which he sees as impeding the campaign for greater resources and for an improved statutory basis for adult education. As Thompkins has remarked, "Education does not need enemies when its friends turn their guns upon each other" [Costello and Richardson 1982:44]. Certainly, the association of radical adult education with particular individuals has resulted in a highly personalised internal debate, outlined in some detail by Evans [1987:13-44].

Meanwhile, critics, including Lawson [1982:22], have attacked the concept of radical adult education as value-based and reliant on a crude reductive notion of education under capitalism as reflecting capitalist power-relations. Lawson also criticises ideas common to some liberals and radicals alike, such as the commitment to student-centredness (a characteristic of strategy-based adult educators, in Giroux's terms), which he sees as a dereliction of the educator's moral duty. He also decries the "needs-meeting" service orientation which many liberals and radicals share while disagreeing about which needs should be met, and how [Lawson 1979:35-47]. The philosopher Paterson solves the problem by adopting a narrow definition of adult education to signify a particularly disinterested form of liberal adult education. Therefore, he contends [1979:256] "It cannot be part of the purpose of education either to vindicate the status quo or to advocate social change". Paterson here denies a fundamental tenet of radicalism: that education is inherently political and as such cannot help but tend to support or challenge the status quo.

#### Radical Adult Education as Located in Specific Forms of Adult Education Practice

Proponents of radical adult education claim it is located in a variety of forms of practice and there is an element of

competition in what are inevitably subjective claims. Such diverse initiatives as the access movement, some forms of women's education, educational work with the unemployed and with trades unionists and some areas of adult literacy and numeracy practice, as well as the work of organizations such as Highlander Folk School [Glen 1988] in the USA and Northern College in Yorkshire [Field 1984; 1985] may be considered radical, as is any adult education claiming to be influenced by acknowledged radicals such as Freire or Illich.

Adult Community Education As Jarvis's dictionary definition [1990b:284] (quoted above) indicates, one contemporary field in the UK in which radical (not necessarily Marxist) approaches to the education of adults have been important is adult community education. Adult community education has been strongly influenced by Freire's ideas [see chapter VI] and practice developed by Lovett and others in the Home Office Community Development Projects of the 1960s [Lovett 1975; 1982] and other initiatives and critiques since that time [9].

One commentator, Martin [1986; 1987], has developed a typology of models of community education, "traditional" or "universal", "reformist" and "radical", corresponding to consensus, pluralist and conflict models of society respectively. Falken [1988] has challenged this categorisation on the grounds that it reflects a specific white European academic and cultural tradition. He proposes an alternative model based on black



separatism and "radical solidarity" which incorporates elements of Martin's models. Meanwhile, in their study of community education initiatives in Northern Ireland, Lovett, Clarke and Kilmurray have elaborated four models of adult community education which exemplify continuities and tensions between radical and liberal adult education and these are outlined below.

The first is a community organisation/education model entailing the effective co-ordination and delivery of the wide variety of educational resources available to meet local needs and interests by outreach workers whose role it is to link the community into existing adult education provision. This model extends the individualistic dimension of the Liberal Tradition and is criticised in that while it encourages personal development and participation in education and may provide an escape from "deprived" communities, it leaves the position of the general community unresolved [Lovett et al. 1983:37].

The second is a community development/education model. This involves adult educators working in community-based projects providing information, resources and advice, and, when appropriate, systematic education and training in relevant skills and techniques as well as providing a "community" dimension to the training of, for example, social workers, the police and local councillors. Its weakness lies in the fact that the emphasis on tackling social needs through increased

co-operation, co-ordination and understanding at local level distracts attention from root causes of problems by focussing attention on personal deficiencies. The model is characterised as an extension of the liberal/reform tradition [Lovett et al. 1983:38]

The third is a community action/education model: this model emphasises the role of conflict in resolving local problems and the importance of creating alternative institutions and organisations. Adult educators must identify with and commit themselves to groups and organisations as part of their commitment to local working class communities. This model has been criticised as advocating local alternatives rather than broad social movements as solutions to the problems of inequality; for its lack of intellectual content, offering people a second class "informal" education which underestimates their capacity for sustained study; and for its emphasis on "process" rather than content and motivation. Nevertheless, community action is believed by its advocates to offer opportunities for consciousness-raising about those wider arrangements in society which cause local problems, in line with Freire's pedagogy [Lovett et al. 1983:38].

The fourth is a social action/education model. This is more structured and systematic and places greater stress on motivation and content; on hard educational effort; on social rather than community action and on working class rather than

community education. Educators seek to provide specific forms of educational support which illuminate the problems which local people seek to resolve. This model has been criticised for its narrow interpretation of education and as tending to create an educational elite. It

reaffirms certain aspects of the Liberal Tradition found in the trade union education work pioneered by some University Extra-Mural Departments; i.e., hard sustained intellectual study in which workers are given the best that is available and treated as adults who are willing, and capable, of undertaking work of a university level. It differs in its rejection of an "objective" stance by the tutors concerned, and its more open commitment to and links with radical social action [Lovett et al. 1983:40].

Only the last two models would seem to count as "radical" and the authors conclude that the radical potential of even these models is severely curtailed by institutional constraints, "the British genius for... creating various forms of co-optive machinery" and "the lack of any radical sense of social purpose as distinct from a broad sense of social responsibility" [Lovett et al. 1983:158-9]. There is also nothing particularly Marxist about them, although the "radical social action" with which such community adult education might link in the social action/education model could presumably be Marxist in orientation.

Community adult education, like other forms of adult education, has its radicals, its sceptics, its radical critics and its anti-radical critics. For example, Lawson questions the values of community adult education which he believes are incompatible

with adult education's true values of "cultural diffusion and personal development" [quoted by Evans, B. 1987:27]. Cockburn, in her analysis of the "local state", points out that community action often lacks a class perspective since it is "normally focussed not on the working class as such, but on the deprived, or even the 'poor poor'" [Cockburn 1977:160]. She argues that community action assists the local state rather than the community, dividing the working class and setting neighbourhoods against each other. Brendan Evans points out that community educators are employed in an expert-orientated society, and tend, as professionals, to become leaders who are then tempted to find new problems to justify their role. He also points out that many adults in deprived communities use education to escape from poverty in inner cities, an outcome not sought by radical community educators [Evans, B. 1987:27].

Lovett et al.'s models are useful in locating community adult education practices within these tensions and debates and in focussing attention on the gap between radical aim and less-than-radical achievement.

#### Radical Adult Education as an Ideological Concept

If radical adult education is an ideological concept, it is hardly surprising that it is problematic and raises peculiarly

intransigent questions of definition. The concept of ideology is notoriously difficult, indeed it has been described as "the most elusive concept in the whole of social science" [McLellan 1986:1]. Specific problems associated with the claim that Freire's and Gramsci's approaches to the education of adults are ideologically compatible are explored in Chapter VIII, below. Meanwhile, Plamenatz's [1970:2] description of ideology as "a set of closely related beliefs or ideas characteristic of a group or community" is apposite here, since it could be argued that radical adult educators constitute a "group or community" in these terms. Certainly they are explicitly seen as such by their opponents, such as the philosopher of adult education, Lawson [1982]. As one analyst of radical adult education, Thomas [1982:14], points out, radicals challenge the orthodoxies of mainstream liberal adult education and suspicion, tension, even outright antagonism is generated between the two camps:

attacks launched by radicals make non-radicals very angry. In conventional education circles the names of Freire or Illich excite very strong feelings indeed.

One reason for the violence of this response is probably the radical claim to be exclusively concerned with "truth", a claim tantamount to a general accusation of bad faith levelled at all non-radicals. From its inception in the French Revolution, the concept of ideology has included the project of distinguishing between "true" and "false" ideas [Donald and Hall (eds.) 1986:ix] and as an ideological term, radical adult education is

heir to this distinction.

Furthermore, the Marxist critique of the education process under capitalism, outlined above, rests heavily on the concept of "false consciousness", indicating a somewhat crude interpretation of Marxism in which the complex concept of ideology is reduced to the stark over-simplicity of a notion of false consciousness. Although often considered a Marxist term, false consciousness was never used by Marx, originating instead from Engels in a letter to Mehring in 1893. In this he wrote

Ideology is a process accomplished by the so-called thinker consciously, it is true, but with a false consciousness. The real motive forces impelling him remain unknown to him; otherwise it simply would not be an ideological process. Hence he imagines false or seeming motive forces [Engels in McLellan 1986:18].

As McLellan has shown, attempts to equate false consciousness with ideology in Marx are ill-founded, since any such attempt must rely heavily on The German Ideology and ignore Marx's later writings. In addition, MacLellan [1986:18] argues that the notion of false consciousness is both too clear-cut and too general to encompass Marx's meaning

It is too clear-cut in that Marx does not operate with a true/false dichotomy; too vague because it is vital to know what kind of falsity is involved and, indeed, Marx's point is often that ideology is not a question of logical or empirical falsity but of the superficial or misleading way in which truth is asserted.

Nevertheless, the notion of false consciousness has been influential in radical critiques of adult education in direct proportion to their concern with truth. Thomas [1982:16]

points out that the notion of truth has always had a particular significance for radical educators, citing Reimer [1971] and Sarup [1978] in support of his claim. It is a preoccupation they share with British radical adult educators such as Keith Jackson, [see above], and, as will be seen in Chapter VI, with Freire. Certainly, the Plebs believed themselves to be concerned with knowledge that was empirically derived and objectively true, unlike "liberal knowledge". Like J.S. Mill a century earlier, they believed that the capitalist system could not stand against a people educated to know the Truth. This monolithic and simplistic notion of truth as self-evident, revealed exclusively to Marxists and deliberately withheld from the mass of the working class by their masters and their lackeys, the purveyors of liberal education, impeded the development of Marxist alternatives to - or developments of - liberal adult education, by reducing the education process to the inculcation of dogma. Indeed, it has been argued (by Rée [1984] and Macintyre [1986]) that it impeded the development of Marxism itself in Britain.

But what exactly is Marxist adult education? One scholarly attempt at a definition is provided by Youngman, who has identified a set of principles of Marxist adult education and it is to these that we now turn.

### Youngman's Principles of Marxist Adult Education

Youngman undertakes an ambitious analysis of Marxist philosophy, social theory and psychology [Youngman 1986:Chapter 3]. On the basis of this inevitably brief and schematic survey he sets out nine principles of Marxist adult education as follows

#### PRINCIPLE ONE

Marxist materialism is dialectical and historical. It posits the existence of a reality independent of the mind and rebuts the notion of innate ideas and a priori truths. It regards mind as a form of matter but it does not consider that mental activity can be reduced to material processes. Hence although human beings have a biological structure which shares many characteristics with animals, human mental behaviour is different, being distinguished by its social and cultural nature.

#### PRINCIPLE TWO

The neuro-physiological structure of human beings is very plastic and people therefore have an immense capacity for learning. Intelligence is not a static, innate characteristic but is developed during the individual's experience of life.

#### PRINCIPLE THREE

Human cognitive activity is basically a reflection of external reality. This process of reflection is not one of simple stimulus and response because it is mediated by mental tools, especially language, which is a distinguishing feature of the human species. Language enables the transition from perception to conceptual thinking. Other significant mental tools are writing and number systems.

#### PRINCIPLE FOUR

Human nature develops in the process of interaction with the environment. Activity upon the natural surroundings also creates social relationships. This process, conceived in the broadest sense as production, is characterised by labour. The mode of production and its accompanying social



relationships are the context in which consciousness is formed.

#### PRINCIPLE FIVE

Consciousness includes the individual's cognitive powers of perception, attention, memory, understanding, problem-solving and so on. Cognitive behaviour is shaped by the conditions of life because consciousness has a social nature. Changes in these conditions (particularly the mode of production) can therefore change not only what people think but also the ways in which they think, that is, both the content and form of thought.

#### PRINCIPLE SIX

The specific determinant of consciousness is praxis, or activity. Human activity involves purpose and intention, and knowledge arises and deepens within a continuous process of activity, conceptualisation, and renewed activity. Praxis takes place within situations transmitted from the past but can change these situations and create new ones. Thus people are the conscious agents of social change within the constraints of historically constructed objective conditions. All praxis is essentially social.

#### PRINCIPLE SEVEN

Knowledge is a social product and the knowledge held by individuals is influenced by the class structure of society. Ideas and beliefs - ideology - arise out of people's daily experience (especially of production and class struggle) and from the propagation of particular views by the ruling class. Hence individuals of the dominated classes often hold ideas and values which are contrary to their own class interests.

#### PRINCIPLE EIGHT

The processes of hegemony enable the ruling class to exert a dominant influence over the ideas of other classes. To challenge ruling class hegemony, it is necessary to unmask ruling ideas so that people can penetrate surface appearances and see the reality beneath. This is both an intellectual and a practical task, because the transformation of consciousness requires both a change in ideas and a change in the conditions which produce these ideas. The indispensable theoretical guide for this task is provided by Marxism.

#### PRINCIPLE NINE

Socialist revolution requires the development of a counter-hegemony by the working class and its allies. This is a process involving mass activity in cultural and

ideological struggles which are linked to the support of organisations (particularly working class parties) involved in the struggle for economic and political power. In this process, intellectuals have a role to play by helping the dominated classes to develop their intellectual capabilities, technical expertise and political awareness necessary to create a new society. [Youngman 1986:95-7]

Youngman's principles of Marxist adult education will be examined in Chapter VIII in the context of a comparison of Freire's and Gramsci's ideas in relation to liberal and radical adult education. Meanwhile, Youngman [1986:242] emphasises the need for further theoretical work, historical and contemporary analysis in a range of contexts, together with practical experiments to explicate a fuller understanding of Marxist adult education.

### The Origins of Radical Adult Education

While radicals agree that education is political, there is less agreement about exactly what that should mean in practice, or even, in what is acknowledged to be an under-theorised field, precisely what it might mean in theory. The vagueness of the term radical adult education has allowed its proponents the freedom to trace their pedigree from the period, the events and the political position which they regard as appropriate. In the quest for historical roots, many radical adult educators have found inspiration in the educational aspirations and forms of organization which characterised the Chartist and Socialist movements of the nineteenth century and the rise of Marxism in

the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries [see Chapters III and IV].

For example, Thomas [1982:14] discerns the origins of radical critiques of liberal adult education in two roughly contemporary events, the rise and growth of adult education, and the writings of Marx and Marxists, which came together in the early years of the twentieth century as social unrest led to debate about the purpose of adult education in relation to society as a whole. In this perspective, the secession of the Plebs from Ruskin College and the ensuing battle between the Marxist NCLC and the WEA, outlined in Chapter IV, symbolizes the division between radical and liberal adult education and this view is conventional in the literature of radical adult education [10].

Similarly, Simon [1990:9-10] identifies the two forms of adult education which emerged at the beginning of the twentieth century, Independent Working-Class Education (IWCE) and the Liberal Tradition, as stemming from two separate roots: IWCE, from the self-help tradition, which originally developed from the work of the Corresponding Societies; while the Liberal Tradition stemmed from initiatives such as the university extension movement, which he sees as later institutionalised in the WEA. Macintyre makes a similar distinction in his analysis of the ideological differences between Labour Socialism and Marxism after 1917. His schema matches closely the ideological

positions of the WEA (Labour Socialism) and the labour college movement (Marxism), as described by Simon:

Figure 1.

Macintyre's schema of ideological differences between Labour Socialism and Marxism after 1917.

Labour Socialism	Marxism
ethical	scientific
empirical	systematic
constructive	critical
idealist/educationalist	materialist
corporate	oppositional
reformist	revolutionary

[Macintyre 1986:49]

For many radical adult educators and for Simon himself, only the latter tradition counts as radical, a view endorsed by the earlier publication of Simon's edition of writings by Tom Paine, William Lovett, William Morris and others under the title The Radical Tradition in Education in Britain [Simon (ed.) 1972].

By contrast, for Tawney [Hinden (ed.) 1966:79], the university extension movement, the Working Men's Colleges, the educational activities of the co-operative movement and the WEA were all

part of the essentially radical enterprise which is adult education. In other words, for Tawney, liberal adult education was radical. Gaitskell called Tawney "the Democratic Socialist par excellence" [Hinden (ed.) 1966:8] and he certainly saw adult education as "a vital element in the life of a self-respecting democracy" [Hinden (ed.) 1966:87]. Tawney was not a Marxist revolutionary, rather he argued the moral case for socialism, equality and democracy. Nevertheless he argued consistently that new educational developments are carried forward by new classes and economic relationships, and that education is necessarily rooted in social interests.

Whether this makes Tawney a radical or not depends ultimately on a judgement of the political possibilities of his day as these are reflected in the shifting meanings of the term itself. As Brendan Evans points out in his evaluation of adult education of the period [1987:36], what is radical is relative to time and place. Evans contends that both the NCLC and the WEA contributed to the growth of a radical practice in adult education until the NCLC's demise in 1964 and points out [1987:36] that the WEA was considered sufficiently radical for it to come under strong establishment criticism. He contends that it is unhistorical to assert that Tawney, Millar and G.D.H. Cole (WEA tutor, Oxford Professor of Social and Political Theory and a Marxist in the 1930s), were tame establishment liberals in inter-war Britain.

Macintyre reports that Millar was regarded with suspicion by some labour college activists as a power-hungry interloper from outside the working class, but dismisses such criticisms: "it is impossible to deny his commitment to the cause of class-conscious education with a Marxist emphasis" [Macintyre 1986:79]. Macintyre contends that WEA classes "bore the character of their locality, and that in areas where Marxism was strong, the gulf between the labour colleges and the WEA was not great" [Macintyre 1986:89]. Nevertheless, he maintains that despite the best endeavours of some Marxist tutors, as the chief instrument of a state policy which encouraged liberal adult education as an antidote to unrest, the WEA's mission to integrate working class students into a national culture ran directly counter to the explicitly revolutionary Marxism of the labour colleges and the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB).

It has also been argued (by Thomas [1982]) that in its early days the WEA was a radical organization, only later to be irredeemably tainted by its reliance on government grants and the consequent restrictions imposed on its activities (indeed, a similar argument could be made with reference to the subsequent history of the labour college movement, which came to reflect the politics of the unions which funded it [see chapter IV]). Towards the end of his life, Tawney himself became increasingly critical of WEA policies and practices, fearing that it had abandoned its historic mission to lead the

working classes to democratic socialism through adult education [Tawney in Hinden (ed.) 1966:86-97]. Thomas describes the "mature" WEA as a prime example of a reform organization, citing a WEA policy statement of 1966 in support of his claims:

adult education is an instrument of what, in earlier days was described as social or political emancipation and is nowadays known as social or political responsibility. [Thomas 1982:63]

The extraordinary shift from "emancipation" to "responsibility" is explicable, as Thomas remarks, only if one believes that emancipation has been achieved, something which today's radicals would not concede. On the basis of such evidence, Thomas describes the WEA as changing

From a position which echoed much of what radicals proposed, comprising a commitment to developing working class consciousness and channelling it into the main stream of English society and education,... to a remedial, reparative position, a rejection of political ideology, and the development of a liberal education which, in turn, is hardly distinguishable from the conservatism of Newman [Thomas 1982:60].

For Thomas, the WEA's ideological shift is not surprising in the light of Mansbridge's professed admiration of the public schools [Thomas 1982:61] and the fact that he looked to the ancient universities as the model of the new adult education. Ultimately, it was Mansbridge's vision of the organization that he founded that prevailed over Tawney's. However, in Macintyre's terms, any attempt to channel working class consciousness into the mainstream except as a concomitant of a revolutionary change in the nature of English society would be incorporative rather than radical, and certainly not Marxist.

The argument over whether radical adult education is an alternative to or a development of liberal adult education ultimately hinges on the question of which usage of "radical" is employed. Certainly, liberal adult education, as exemplified by the WEA, was a radical departure from what had gone before, and as adult education it was also radical in an educational context dominated by schooling, but was it also politically radical? Indeed, is it possible to speak of liberal - or radical - adult education as a unified whole and hence discern a predominant political orientation? Williams's distinction between educational philosophies or ideologies may be useful in considering these questions, and it is to this that we next turn.

#### Williams's Four Sets of Educational Philosophies or Ideologies

Raymond Williams [1961:145-176] distinguishes four distinct sets of educational philosophies or ideologies which rationalize different emphases in the selection of the content of curricula, and relates these to the social position of those who hold them. Williams suggests that curricula changes over the last hundred years have reflected the relative power of the different groups. His conceptualisation is summarized in the table below by Michael F.D. Young [1971:29]:



Figure 2

Williams's four sets of educational philosophies or ideologies.

<u>Ideology</u>	<u>Social position</u>	<u>Educational policies</u>
1. Liberal/ conservative	Aristocracy/gentry	Non-vocational - the "educated" man, an emphasis on character
2. Bourgeois	Merchant and pro- fessional classes	Higher vocational and professional courses. Education as access to desired positions
3. Democratic	Radical reformers	Expansionist - "education for all"
4. Populist/ proletarian	Working classes/ subordinate groups	Student relevance, choice, participation

Young emphasises Williams's point that the last of the foci was only recognized as legitimate outside the formal educational system, in fact in adult education. As Williams [1961:164-165] states

It was only very slowly, and then only in the sphere of adult education, that the working class, drawing indeed on very old intellectual traditions and on important dissenting elements in the British educational tradition, made its contribution to the modern educational debate. This contribution - the students' choice of subject, the relation of disciplines to actual contemporary living, and the parity of general discussion with expert instruction - remains important, but made little headway in the general educational organization.

Interestingly, in this conceptualisation, "radical reformers" are the only group for whom no class position is indicated.

Williams [1961:162-3] describes the still unfinished argument between three groups: the public educators; the industrial trainers and the old humanists. The public educators were those who, despite widely differing attitudes to the rise of democracy and of working class organization, believed "that men had a natural right to be educated, and that any good society depended on governments accepting this principle as their duty". By contrast, the industrial trainers "promoted education in terms of training and disciplining the poor, as workers and citizens", while the old humanists, who were often deeply opposed to democracy, defended "liberal", "humane" or "cultural" education on the grounds that "man's spiritual health depended on a kind of education which was more than a training for some specialised work". As Williams states [1961:162-163]

The great complexity of the general argument... can be seen from the fact that the public educators... were frequently in alliance with [the industrial trainers], while the defenders of "liberal education" were commonly against both: against the former because liberal education would be vulgarized by extension to the "masses"; against the latter because liberal education would be destroyed by being turned into a system of specialized and technical training. Yet the public educators inevitably drew on the arguments of the old "liberal" education, as a way of preventing universal education being narrowed to a system of pre-industrial instruction.

Williams is discussing education in general, but his analysis could apply equally to adult education. Having established that the picture is highly complex, we turn next to a consideration of models elucidating (or obscuring) the

relationships between liberal and radical adult education.

Some Models and Conceptualisations Relating to Liberal and  
Radical Adult Education

J.E. Thomas

Thomas has undertaken an analysis of the relationship between adult education and the wider society, and the place within that of radical adult education and its relationship to social change [Thomas 1982]. Thomas advocates a restricted use of the term radical adult education, maintaining [1982:2] that the true radical seeks to destroy existing social tenets, both political and cultural, through education. Therefore, for Thomas [1982:13], "radicalism is the expressed intention to attack the foundations of a system complemented by a visible, manifest effort to do so, whether or not that effort is successful". The reaction of those who hold power in society is a further determining factor [Thomas 1982:2].

Thomas identifies two important elements of any educational system [1982:4], which, while analytically separate, merge in concrete situations. The first element consists of the specifically defined goals, purposes and interests which combine to form "a frame of aspirational reference". The

second element consists of the activities thought to be appropriate in varied educational programmes. It is the interaction between these elements which provides Thomas with his theoretical framework.

Thomas envisages adult education as a continuum from conservative to radical, along which it is possible to place any particular concept of adult education

At one extreme is the view that any system of adult education, which is to be effective, must challenge established economic and social assumptions. At the other, is the view that adult education contributes to the preservation of the existing system. [Thomas 1982:6]

The fundamental factor determining position on the continuum is the adult educator's acceptance (as a radical) or rejection (as a non-radical) of a conflict model of society. In the conflict view of society, social systems tend to change. Adult education is consequently seen as a vehicle of social change and a means of augmenting the power, prestige and privilege of the individual. Accordingly, for radicals, as Thomas points out [1982:5], an education programme is only regarded as valid or viable if it seems to challenge basic assumptions about socio-economic structures, value systems, and cultural and aesthetic norms. There is a total rejection of any interpretation which identifies the goals of adult education with the maintenance of the existing social system.

Non-radical supporters of the consensus view of society take

the opposite view, believing that it is not the business of adult education to instigate or support change. They see society as a static framework providing the boundaries within which the activities of adult education should be carried out. From this point of view, it is not the primary task of adult education to challenge the validity of this framework, although Thomas points out that such a challenge may arise as a result of the effect of education on societal interests. However, as he makes clear

If such a challenge does not occur, this does not reduce the intrinsic value of a devised teaching programme, for the essential question is whether the transmitted knowledge has been educationally worthwhile [Thomas 1982:5].

In addition to differentiating between the conflict and consensus models of society, Thomas also differentiates between value-orientated and norm-orientated perceptions of adult education as a second determinant of attitudes. Thomas's radical adult educators are firmly in the revolutionary tradition, although he acknowledges [1982:6] that some reformists do subscribe to social purpose as a goal. Thomas discerns two conceptions here, the dominant one, inspired by such figures as Mansbridge and Tawney, asserts that "the mass of ordinary men and women need a humane education as such" and that this in itself will benefit society through the influence for good of the newly-educated [Thomas 1982:6]. In addition, a second concept "is derived from the belief that the idea of social solidarity has an educational, as well as a political or

economic, base" [Thomas 1982:6].

Thomas [1982:7] groups different forms of relationship between adult education and the wider society as a continuum under the four headings of revolution, reform, maintenance and conservation in relation to the purposes they intimate for adult education. It is presumably no coincidence that these headings read from left to right, symbolising political positions, and in an earlier article with Harries-Jenkins, they are represented diagrammatically in this way [Thomas and Harries-Jenkins 1975].

The first position, revolution, is essentially derived from the conflict model of society and is primarily individual or group orientated. It is thus, for Thomas, radical in the sense of advocating change from the root. However, Thomas's concept of revolution is weak: he states that it has become "an unstructured concept representing an idealized pattern of social relationships" [Thomas 1982:7]. In this context "revolutionary" adult education programmes are those that challenge basic assumptions about society and encourage social dissolution.

The second approach, reform, is broadly-based and rooted in a nineteenth century model of society. While it is also based on awareness of individual or group interests, these are interpreted as a complex symbiotic relationship between members

of interest groups possessing "affinities of interest" arising from diverse sources. Such interest groups reflect the difference in their goals and are dynamic not static. According to Thomas [1982:7], it is this dynamism that is attractive to reformist adult educators, as it offers the possibility of a clear purpose for adult education. In this view, political parties, the military, business groups, trade unions and organised pressure groups are all representative of an amorphous power structure, susceptible to reform through adult education.

Thomas cites Mansbridge and the principles of Christian democracy enshrined in the WEA as an example of the reform approach, lamenting the loss of direction of the reform movement which, he contends, spent too much time on debating problems of organisation and administration, and too little on relating contemporary social developments to traditional areas of concern. The effect has been to blur the boundaries between the reform and maintenance positions [Thomas 1982:8].

At this point in his argument, Thomas acknowledges that serious theoretical problems emerge. For example, reform and maintenance are theoretically incompatible concepts, since the reform approach is based on the conflict theory of society while the idea of maintenance is based on a consensus model. However, in practice, the models may be difficult to separate. Also, there are contradictions inherent in the formulations of

the models themselves. For example, reformers argue that their concern is with society as a whole, not the interests of any specific group, although their thesis is based on the idea of sectional interests. Conversely, the maintenance concept, which is in theory based on the interests of society as a whole, may be interpreted as a wish to create a stable society for the continuing advantages of particular interests or groups [Thomas 1982:8]. Furthermore, consensus does not necessarily imply persistence as opposed to change, there may be consensus on the direction and forms of change as Cohen [1968:271] argues, and the absence of consensus may prevent or inhibit planned change.

A further theoretical problem arises in that the concept of maintenance is based on the idea of social integration, relying on the consensus, solidarity or cohesion which are the characteristics of the consensus model of society. But, as Lockwood argues [Zollschan and Hirsch (eds.) 1964], integration may well be applicable to societies with structured conflict, since the latter ensures the functional interrelationship of the various parts of the social structure. In this sense, Thomas argues [1982:9], the idea of integration cannot be regarded as an exclusive characteristic of the maintenance/consensus model, since it may be found also in the reform/conflict model. As a result, proponents of the concept of maintenance wish to maintain the existence of those norms which are considered to underpin the values of the social



system and are interested not only in ensuring a sense of commitment to those norms, but also in creating consensus on the values which produce them. Thus the most suitable environment for adult education programmes orientated to those ends is found in a stable social system which encourages the maintenance of the status quo. This in turn encourages the creation of teaching programmes which are specifically designed to encourage social integration [Thomas 1982:9].

Change is only valid in this view if it is planned change arising as society as a whole accepts amendments to existing norms and values. This results in a preoccupation with the believed needs of society amongst adult educators, resulting in some controversy, as for example, when it is postulated that there is a need to produce educated specialists for posts as administrators, managers and professionals. Thomas states [1982:9] that it is on this terrain that the liberal versus vocational argument is fought out, although he points out that the arguments on both sides are weakened by a general agreement that there is a need to achieve a synthesis between the conceptions of a literary and a technical culture.

The conservation model entails a total rejection of change including a rejection of renovative courses for retraining individuals as well as anything that may be associated with reform or revolution. Paramount is the need to protect the traditional subjects of study from change, and the need to

uphold an elite tradition in education. This tradition identifies education with training for leadership. Accordingly, the conservation model emphasises the acquisition of mental skills which, it is alleged, are transferable to other academic skills, as well as the mundane problems of professional or managerial life [Thomas 1982:10].

Thomas explains the overlap between these formulations by pointing out that their creation owes a great deal to ideology, and that their importance to adult educators is derived from their ideological persuasiveness rather than their methodological correctness [Thomas 1982:9].

Problems of ideology, however, are also theoretical problems, albeit with practical implications. The difficulty of locating and analysing radical and liberal adult education remains. Thomas is adept at delineating the problems but does not finally offer convincing solutions. His nostalgia for the reform approach of liberal adult education shines through his analysis but he is unable to locate it securely on his schema and it is at this point that serious theoretical cracks appear in his formulation. His tight definition of radical adult education is helpful within the limits outlined above, although weakened by his loose definition of revolution.

A visual representation derived from Thomas's description of his continuum of adult education shows some of the

(see Figure 3 below). By his own admission, conflict and consensus are not necessarily opposite poles, yet Thomas's formulation is based on the assumption that they are. The result is a diagram that looks impressive until one attempts to place examples of practice on it. Where would neo-liberal market-orientated adult education be placed, for example? Thomas himself draws attention to the theoretical difficulties surrounding the "location" of feminist approaches to adult education, and it is unclear how separatist approaches would be differentiated from integrationist forms, both of which may be equally radical in their challenge to patriarchy.

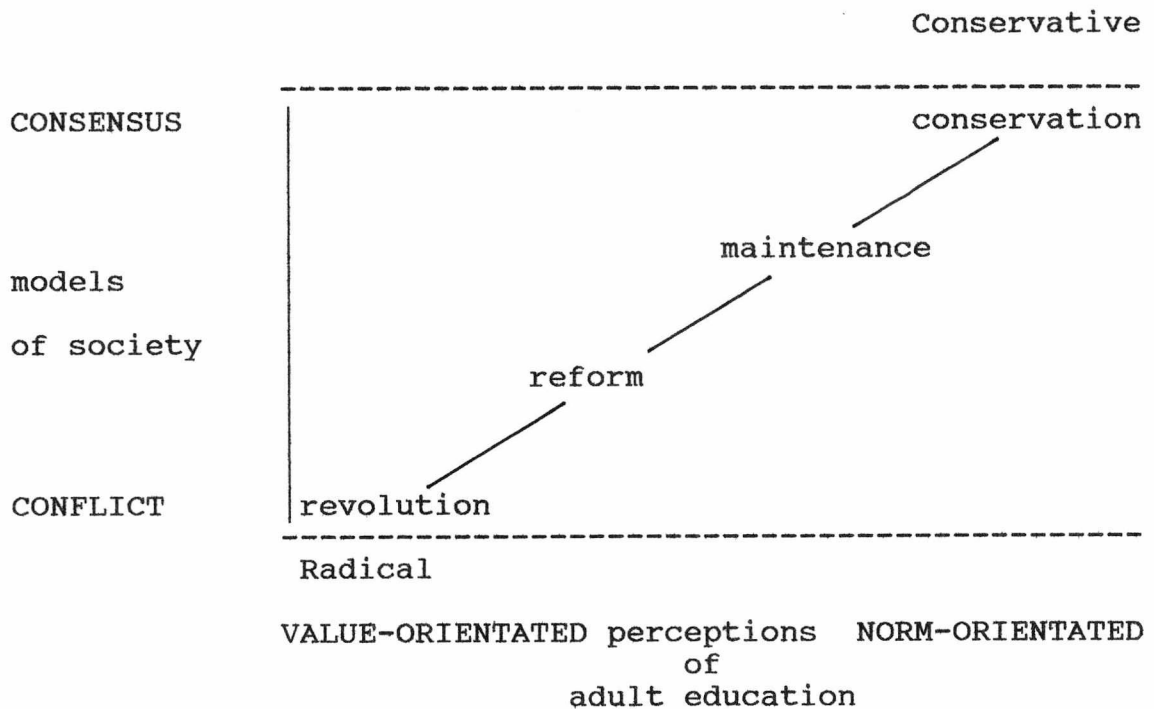
The various forms of adult community education outlined above sit uneasily along a line from revolution to reform: the community organisation/education model equates fairly well with Thomas's "maintenance" position. The community development/education model similarly fits the "reform" position. However, as conflict models, the community action/education model and the social action/education model are both revolutionary on Thomas's scale, differing mainly in their focus on local or national change and on methodological grounds. This is not entirely satisfactory in a schema which purports to show factors determining attitudes towards the relationship between adult education and social change, although it could be argued that the social action/education model is the more revolutionary because of its wider scope and class orientation, and should therefore be placed further along

the continuum.

Figure 3

A visual representation of Thomas's continuum of adult education  
(derived from Thomas 1982:3-12).

Factors Determining Attitudes Towards the Relationship Between  
Adult Education and Social Change



Brendan Evans

By contrast with Thomas, Evans advocates a broad, eclectic conception of radical adult education, encompassing both reformist and revolutionary approaches to education and society

in his exhaustive critique of radical adult education. For Evans [1987:6], any argument for a redistribution of funds in favour of adult education and away from initial education is an unambiguously radical argument. Thus, all advocates of adult and continuing education are radical, given its present marginality in a front-end loaded education system [Evans, B. 1987:35-36]. He also contends [1987:6] that from its origins adult education has been radical in spirit, and that that spirit lives on.

Evans acknowledges [1987:36] that the very breadth of his conception of radical adult education means that it may provide little illumination. Nevertheless, as he points out [1987:4], the conception of radical adult education assumes a contrasting "mainstream" or "normal" adult education and he therefore divides current practice along these lines, into conservative or normal adult education and its radical antithesis.

Within this dichotomy, Evans identifies two versions of adult education radicalism: the traditional and the contemporary, with the transition between the two occurring in the 1960s. Evans maintains that there is no fundamental epistemological break between the two radicalisms, with continuity between pre-1960s radicalism and the more strident forms extant since that date. He relates the shift between the two radicalisms to wider political changes [1987:36] and points out that the apparent discontinuity between the two periods of radicalism

may be accounted for in that the definition of who constitute the educationally deprived has shifted, as have the techniques used to reach them.

Both present-day radicalism and its pre-war counterpart are, for Evans, divided along the same lines into moderates and ultra-radicals, but he identifies a temporal cross-cutting cleavage at the end of the nineteen-sixties, since when a more assertive radicalism has emerged, bolstered by the international influence of the New Left (see figure 4 below). This he claims [1987:8], accounts for the emergence of "gurus" such as Illich, Freire and Gelpi who figure on the "ultra-radical" end of Evans' spectrum. He regards [1987:6] the "primary cleavage among radical adult educators of all periods" as being "between those whose concerns are educational, and those whose purpose is to change society".

Evans claims that the ideological stance of those currently committed to adult education for social change is a synthesis of the liberalism of the English adult education tradition with New Left ideology. While some contemporary radicals purport to reject their predecessors as purveyors of mere liberal establishment values (he cites Keith Jackson in his Foreword to Adult Education for a Change as an example), Evans argues [1987:7] that these values retain more influence than radicals care to admit. Evans argues that superficial differences between the two forms of radicalism are misleading. For

example, while contemporary radicals argue for adult education as an entitlement, their forebears campaigned for the availability of adult education. Evans points out [1987:7] that both positions are based on the liberal philosophy of rights and maintains that "contemporary radical theories are, therefore, developmental not iconoclastic".

Overall, Evans [1987:37] concludes that recent ultra-radicals are adding incrementally to earlier liberal ideas while exaggeratedly claiming theoretical innovativeness. Therefore, he argues that it is correct to adopt an inclusive conception of radical adult education, since it has always been both transformative and problem-solving.

Evans is doubtful about the claim made by Jackson that post-war liberal adult education has failed to draw inspiration from more radical pre-war practice. He reminds us that Tawney continued to approve of the WEA throughout the 1950s (although as we have seen above, he was not uncritical of it in later years); that he condemned universities where the able were excluded by poverty and the stupid admitted through wealth; that he described the absence of equality of opportunity as a gross social insult to be rectified only by the creation of a socialist commonwealth; that he anticipated the demands of the recurrent educationalists by 50 years, and the recent campaign for paid educational leave. Above all, Evans pays Tawney the highest compliment, for him, of describing him as a political

realist, citing the fact that in 1924 he urged increases in grant to adult education over 10 years to a total of £50,000,000. Evans [1987:8-10] also cites the case of G.D.H. Cole: an early advocate of continuous education who urged expansion of education for adolescents to provide a continuous process from school to adult class; urged universities to recruit mature students, provide more scholarships for the entry of WEA and adult class students into universities and equate intra- and extra-mural work.

According to Evans [1987:6], radical adult education can be conceptualised as either "a differentiated unity or as an agglomeration of discrete ideologies" and he places Thomas's conceptualisation in the former camp. Evans, by contrast, maintains that radical adult education is a diverse phenomenon spread across a wide spectrum and points out the fine differences in approach and purpose between radical adult educators in each of the "discrete ideologies" he identifies.

For example, Evans sees some advocates of radical adult education as seeking simply to add to the quantity of existing provision and as uncritical of its social purposes and functions; others are deschoolers or are radical only in so far as they are interested in radical pedagogy; some are interested in promoting their own ideological standpoint, be it Marxist, communitarian and democratic socialist, libertarian or "mere social reform". Others wish to harness adult and



continuing education to technological change in the interests of economic efficiency and social stability and are unconcerned with who benefits from increased economic production. Again, some radical adult educators are mainly committed to particular forms of adult education such as basic education, feminist education, community education or industrial studies, while some are in the business of social, political, economic and cultural transformation in the interests of the working classes [Evans 1987:6]. Despite their diversity of aims and approaches, Evans identifies a common theme uniting radical adult educators in the demand for greater financial resources. He points out [1987:36] that only a tiny minority of ultra-leftists, in the NCLC tradition, are wary of state largesse.

Evans is critical of contemporary radicals [1987:5], who, though a minority of adult educators, are the majority of adult education theorists and "set the tone and create the image" of adult education. He argues that while the Liberal Tradition is perhaps prone to patronage, contemporary radicals are not immune from dogmatic arrogance. Evans warns that politically motivated ultra-radicals propound their ideas in isolation from the circumstances that determine feasibility and fail to engage in effective dialogue with those who allocate local and national resources. He accuses radicals of political naivety, claiming that many are divorced from the daily realities of professionals and the preoccupations of policy makers and it is

therefore incumbent on practitioners to assert their views and demands derived from their daily experiences.

Evans [1987:10] cites the example of the 1944 Education Act, passed at a time when the reform impulse was strong throughout social policy. The standing of education was high at this time, although adult education was overshadowed by the perceived need for commercial and industrial education. While technical education was seen as a necessity, adult education was only "valuable" and the wording of the Act, which subsumed adult education into "further education" notoriously failed to protect adult education. Evans warns [1987:37] that just as in the 1940s the educational and political establishment was able to neutralise liberal theorists by piously adopting their arguments in their rhetoric, some recent radical adult education theorists may suffer the same fate: the most effective weapon deployed against them is clever manipulation of their language. Clearly, this is likely to be particularly effective when the radicalism proclaimed remains at a declamatory and rhetorical level and is not translated into action. Evans urges radicals to ground their arguments in the routine struggles of adult education practitioners and foreswear radical polemic in favour of detailed engagement in the gradualist world of national and local policy makers.

Not represented in Evans's diagram, although included in his list of forms of radical adult education, is feminist

education. Evans cites examples of types of feminist education which straddle the three main types of philosophical feminism: liberal, radical and Marxist. Liberal feminist adult education is exemplified by such initiatives as "New Opportunities for Women" and "Return to Study" courses. These he identifies as liberal because the curriculum is not primarily concerned with women's issues; the concern is that women should enjoy the same opportunities as men. Radical feminism in adult education is exemplified by women's self defence classes, in which the curriculum is only appropriate to women and is implicitly critical of male behaviour in society. Evans's exposition of the Marxist feminist position is less clear. He quotes an advocate of Marxist feminist adult education as stating that working class women have suffered double discrimination on grounds of class and gender, and infers [1987:30-31] that Marxist feminist adult education attempts to address this situation, without saying how this is done.

As with Thomas's schema, the absence of feminist adult education from the diagram is indicative of theoretical problems. For example, are Marxist feminists more or less radical than radical feminist adult educators? Also Evans's realisation of the problems of location largely in terms of the philosophical positions of individuals also raises problems. Where would the different forms of adult community education be placed, for example? Presumably they would appear from left to right towards the bottom of the diagram, with the two extremes

of the community organisation/education model and the social action/education model in the moderate and ultra-radical positions respectively, and the others in between, but it does not make for conceptual clarity to mix forms of provision with philosophical positions of individuals and some organizations on the same diagram. Also, despite his inclusion of a time axis, his representation does not allow for shifts in philosophical orientation over time. Some significant individuals, such as Wiltshire, are omitted, presumably as non-radicals, while Mansbridge is included, although he is clearly identified with the very tradition which Wiltshire eulogised in his conception of the "Great Tradition". In any case, however radical his actions in creating the WEA, philosophically Mansbridge could be seen as more conservative than radical.

Figure 4.  
Evans's representation of the philosophical positions of radical adult educators.

Radical Adult Education

1900

T	MANSBRIDGE	MILLAR
	X	X
I	TAWNEY	COLE
	X	X
M		
E		

Late  
1960s

C			ILLICH
L			X
E			FREIRE
A			X
V	SYMPATHETIC	A.R.E.*	GELPI
A	M.P.'s	X	JACKSON
G	X	A.C.A.C.E.*	X
E		X	EVANS** X GRIFFIN

Late  
1980s

MODERATE	PHILOSOPHICAL CLEAVAGE	ULTRA- RADICAL
----------	---------------------------	-------------------

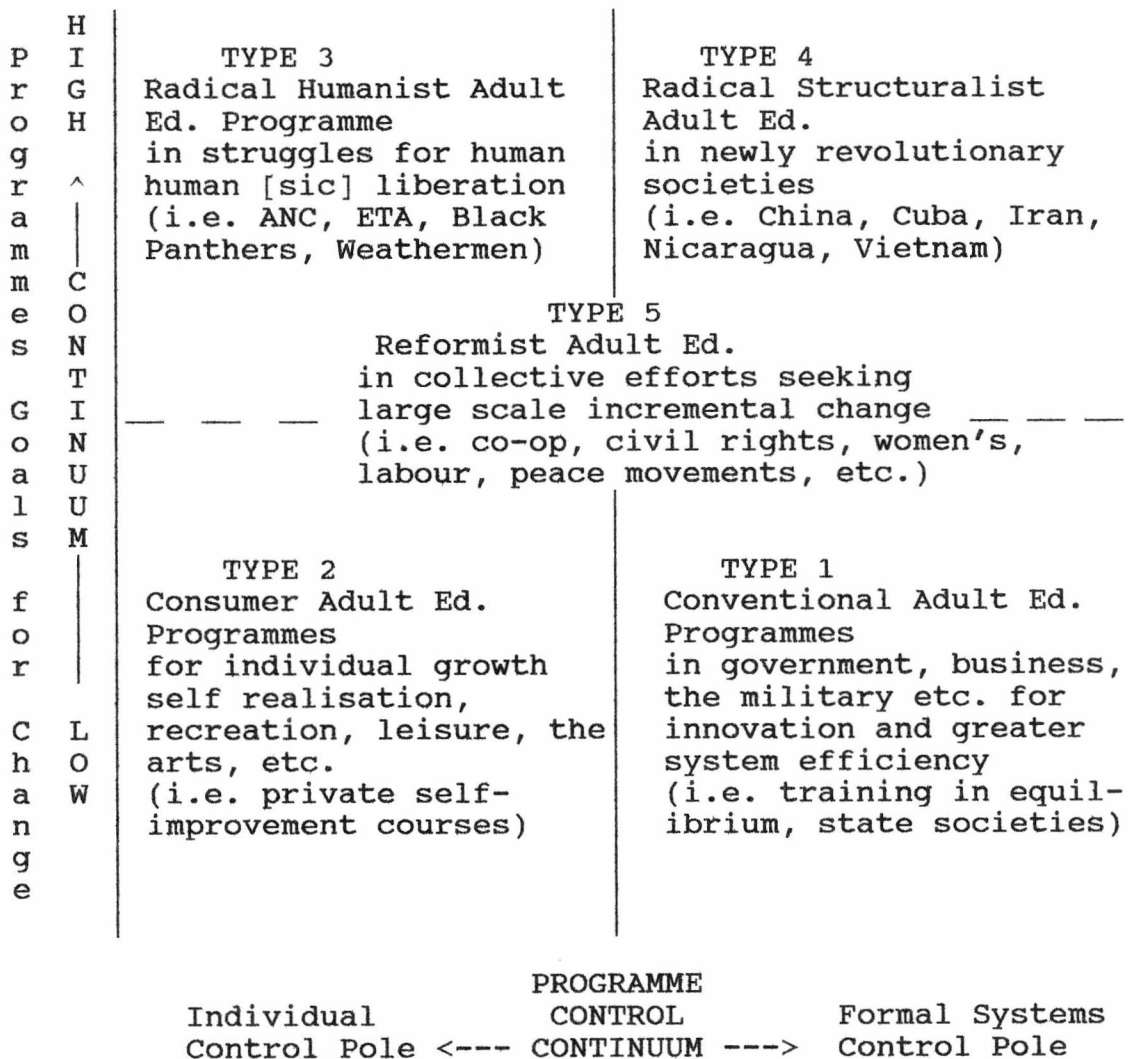
[Evans, B. 1987:8]

\* A.R.E. Association for Recurrent Education  
A.C.A.C.E. Advisory Council for Adult and Continuing Education.  
\*\* Norman (not Brendan) Evans

## Paulston and Altenbaugh

Another attempt to theorise radical adult education is that made by Paulston and Altenbaugh, writing from a north American perspective, who offer a typology outlining five types of adult education programme (see figure 5, below)

Figure 5.  
A typology of adult education programmes.



[Paulston and Altenbaugh 1988:119]

While Paulston and Altenbaugh [1988:117] are careful not to make grandiose claims for their schema in the absence of an adequate theoretical base, it is intended to identify types of programmes "according to their characteristics or "central tendencies" vis-a-vis their orientation to change and control". They summarise these types as follows

Type 1, "Conventional" Adult Education programmes are, for example, low in their change goals and are located at the formal systems pole of the programme control continuum. This is where most traditional adult education takes place in formal educational systems, in business, in the military, and the like. It is training seeking to enhance individual and socio-economic efficiency and productivity. Simply put, it serves the status quo.

In Type 2, "Consumption" Adult Education programmes' change goals are also low or moderate, but control rests with individuals or groups seeking more private goals for self-realisation, creativity, growth, leisure and the like. Both types 1 and 2 are essentially regulatory and seek incremental individual change within the status quo.

In Type 3, "Radical" Adult Education [RAE], both participant control and change orientation reach polar highs. Here groups opposing the status quo and seeking radical change use adult education as anti-structure, as another weapon in their struggle for what they view as social justice. In this cell, we might note two somewhat different contexts for RAE, i.e. in movements seeking human liberation - as in radical religious movements, utopian communities, counter-culture movements and the like: and in radical movements seeking basic restructuring of social and economic systems - as in Marxist or Fascist revolutionary movements, radical populist movements etc.

In Type 4, "Transformational" Adult Education, revolutionary movements have actually taken control and are using state power to transform social, economic and educational systems so as to achieve the ideological goals of the revolution.

In Type 5, we propose something of a hybrid type: "Reformist" Adult Education. Here collective change efforts largely outside of formal systems control use adult education in incremental change efforts seeking greater equity via civil rights movements, labour movements, peace and

environmental movements. [Paulston and Altenbaugh  
1988:117-118]

### A Comparison of Models

Evans [1987:5] challenges Thomas's contention that conservative adult education is posited on consensus or functionalist theories of society because "most adult educators do not consciously subscribe to meta-theories of society" and in any case do not have any problem about maintaining the existing social system. Neither does he agree with Thomas when he states that radical adult education assumes a conflict theory of society and that radical adult educators are radical because they ask new and basic questions. Evans retorts that radical adult educators' questions are neither basic nor new, since they parallel the rise of Marxism.

Evans also challenges Thomas's distinction between two forms of conservatism: "maintenance" and pure conservatism in this respect. Evans believes that this distinction blurs the boundaries between conservative and radical adult education and points out an internal contradiction, acknowledged by Thomas, who illustrates the point with reference to Flude and Parrot [1979]. They regard themselves as radical exponents of recurrent education while their main concern is with technological updating. Evans points out that since Flude and



Parrot are not conservative, the example also illustrates the breadth of the spectrum of radical adult education and its overlap with conservative conceptions. Evans [1987:5] sums up the situation: "Neither conservatives committed to maintenance, nor radicals of a reformist orientation wish to challenge reproductive practice".

The argument here seems to hinge on the difference between a blurred boundary and an overlap. Interestingly, Evans does not attempt to place Flude and Parrot on his schema of radical adult education, and, although Thomas does not represent his conceptualisation graphically, it is difficult to see where they would fit on the diagram derived from his analysis.

A similar problem arises in the case of feminist adult education as indicated above. Both Thomas and Evans include feminist adult education in their analysis, although neither solve the problem of where to locate it in their conceptualisations. Typically, Evans differentiates between feminisms, proposing a set of positions shadowing those of non-feminist radical adult education: liberal, radical and Marxist. Thomas acknowledges the difficulties in placing feminist education since the points that mark off his continuum, including the notion of radicalism itself, are all contested by feminists. He quotes Kate Millett [Thomas 1982:19-20], who challenges the notion of "radical" when it is applied and confined to a male-dominated world. Contrasting

Ruskin and Mill, in particular, she demonstrates how the former, regarded as an educational hero by tradition, spells out clearly the role of education as a subjugator of women.

While acknowledging that there is a relationship between feminist adult education and radical adult education, neither Evans nor Thomas has succeeded in describing the nature of the relationship. There is agreement that at least some forms of feminist education are oppositional, but the nature of the opposition is not yet explained. As Thomas states [1982:20].

The role of what is called, in some ways unsatisfactorily, the "feminist movement", in undermining traditional assumptions, has still not been properly understood. Nor has the education system's means of neutralising it.

These problems (and there are others - the case of Black education in the United States for example [see Thomas 1982:18]) illustrate difficulties in the conceptualisations adopted by Thomas and Evans. Of these, Thomas's is the more sophisticated. While Thomas differentiates between concepts of adult education on his continuum along two axes using the conflict and consensus models of society and value-orientated and norm-orientated perceptions of adult education, Evans has a bi-polar conception of adult education as either radical or conservative/normal which leaves him without a second dimension (other than time itself) through which to indicate conceptual relationships between adult educators. Evans's comprehensive but somewhat pedestrian survey of parties to the contemporary

debate on radical adult education [1987:13-37] underlines the problem. Individual adult educators and organizations are described as more or less radical than each other without reference to the criteria by which this judgement is made: positions are measured against an uncalibrated scale.

In any case, the two conceptualisations focus on different aspects of radical adult education and do so in different ways. Thomas is setting radical adult education in a wider political context in terms of the relationship of adult education to social change, while Evans is looking at the field of adult education within which he compares individuals (and two organisations) with leadership roles in radical adult education, counterposing them to conservative adult educators.

Thomas's crude reductionist presentation of Marxism is a weakness in his conceptualisation, in particular his uncritical presentation of Marx's base/superstructure metaphor. The traditional base/superstructure spatial metaphor of Marx has been described as "profoundly misleading" by McLellan [1986], who describes the efforts of later Marxists to correct it. Thomas's may be an accurate description of the impoverished state of Marxism in early twentieth century Britain, but he does not qualify his account to make it clear that this is a version of Marxism rather than the only one.

A conceptual problem arises also in relation to Thomas's use of

a linear schema. This is useful in that it emphasises continuities, but limited in that it does not allow for contradictory positions: an adult educator might be radical in relation to issues of class but conservative on issues of gender, for example, and what is radical to a feminist may be off the scale altogether for a non-feminist considered radical in other respects.

Perhaps the crux of the problem lies in the fact that both conceptualisations rest ultimately on adult educators' own views of themselves as radicals or non-radicals. Youngman [1986:94] points to a key weakness in Evans's personalised conceptualisation when he contends that "many adult educators operate without a coherent approach to learning and teaching". If this is the case with adult educators in general, might it not also be so with radical adult educators? Even if radical adult educators are more theory-conscious than their non-radical colleagues, they all operate in what is acknowledged to be an under-theorised field [Field et al. 1991].

Evans [1987:4] describes adult educators as "an aspiring profession" and in this context the issue of self-assigned professional reputations is particularly problematic. Apart from raising questions about individuals' honesty and aspirations to professional integrity, a further problem with a personalised approach to analysis is that it focusses on the

published output of professionals. It therefore raises questions about the status of the non-professional (for example the student or volunteer) and that of the practitioner who does not commit his or her experience to paper, let alone publish the results. This in turn raises the difficult question of the relative status of theory and practice. Who are more radical, those who promote fundamental change by word or by deed?

The advantage of <sup>and Altenbaugh's</sup> ~~Paulston's~~ typology is that it gives a basis for differentiating between positions which would be subsumed under the "radical" heading in both Evans's and Thomas's conceptualisations. Of particular interest is the inclusion of Type 4 "Transformational" Adult Education, in which state control has been achieved by the erstwhile oppositional radical revolutionaries. This raises the important question of the relationship between adult education and the state. This is an aspect not covered in either Thomas's or Evans's conceptualisations and it reflects the fact that, for Paulston and Altenbaugh [1988:134], "Radical adult education is perhaps best understood as radical because of its service to radical movements". In other words, radical adult education is primarily extrinsically, rather than intrinsically radical.

However, their rendering of some of the defining characteristics of radical adult education (in somewhat impenetrable prose) does include intrinsic elements. They

include inter alia the incorporation of RAE in collective

change efforts seeking to mobilise popular power to secure radical changes in individuals and/or social structures; and the creation of pedagogical efforts built around a critical assessment of the status quo and the need for people to understand what can be done, and the role of education in preparing people to work effectively for the changes sought" [Paulston and Altenbaugh 1988:134].

As a two dimensional model, Paulston's and Altenbaugh's typology allows for programmes to be situated in the tension between the variables and allows for the comparison of specific adult education programmes using these criteria. Since it is a typology of programmes, rather than a schematization of adult educators' attitudes or self-assigned philosophical orientations, both of which are difficult to compare on the basis of records which may be partial or partisan, it may provide a firmer foundation on which to build meaningful theory than either Thomas's or Evans's models.

The typology would allow for the placing of such important innovations as the various approaches to work with the unemployed [11], trade union education [see McIlroy 1990], peace studies [Taylor 1984] and the different forms of adult community education outlined above. Also, residential adult education, the education of adults in the voluntary sector, in basic education, in education of the elderly, to name but a few of the myriad types of adult education which may be considered radical in one way or another, as well as adults' self-education projects, highlighted by Tough's research [Tight (ed.) 1983] in North America and documented by Rée [1984],

Macintyre [1986], Cohen [Simon (ed.) 1990] and others, in their studies of working-class autodidacts. The Plebs would presumably find themselves in Type 3 in the unlikely, but perhaps ultimately appropriate company of the Basque separatist organization ETA, the revolutionary US Weathermen and the African National Congress. Liberal adult education would be placed in Type 2 insofar as programmes aimed at individual intellectual growth and in Type 5 insofar as they aimed to improve society, although the examples quoted (co-op, civil rights, women's, labour, peace movements etc.) would run counter to the ethos of disinterestedness propounded by such advocates of the Liberal Tradition as Raybould.

Neither Paulston and Altenbaugh's model, nor those of Thomas or Evans, allow for the identification of radicals working within less-than-radical organizations in relation to those organizations, and further biographical research might yet show this to be an important aspect of the relationship between liberal and radical adult education, indicating just how far it has been possible to push the limits of radicalism in different contexts.

All the above models are concerned, amongst other things, with the question of the relationship between liberal and radical adult education: whether radical adult education is an extension of or an alternative to liberal adult education. However, for the reasons outlined above, none offers an

entirely satisfactory conceptual framework for considering this key question.

Also, despite its avowed importance, none of the above models satisfactorily accommodates Marxism as a form of radicalism in adult education, although Marxist adult education figures in each model in one form or another. For Paulston and Altenbaugh it is "type 3 or 4"; Thomas places it at the "revolution" end of his continuum; while for Evans it is identified with a protagonist of Marxist adult education such as Millar, defined as "ultra-radical" and placed (somewhat incongruously) on the far right of his diagram.

Perhaps the most fundamental problem is that while each model is concerned in some way with radical adult education, they are not strictly comparable, since like cannot be compared with like. For example, Thomas's model represents the relationship between adult education and the wider society, the place within that of radical adult education and its relationship to social change, while Evans's model represents the philosophical positions of radical adult educators and organizations, and Paulston and Altenbaugh offer a typology outlining five types of adult education programme.



### Ruddock's Dichotomies

A further framework for analysis is offered by Ruddock [1984] who differentiates three critical political perspectives and examines some implications for education. The perspectives are: liberalism, reformism and radicalism. Liberalism is characterised by an individualist ideology espoused by, for example, the Manpower Services Commission [1984:8-9]. Reformism, together with radicalism, Ruddock regards as derived from socialism. He considers that reformism is more widely supported than radicalism and recognises that "existing institutions are deficient in many respects, and especially in respect of equity" and that measures should therefore be taken to improve their performance [1984:9].

With respect to the radical perspective, Ruddock [1984:13] proposes a series of dichotomies as "tools for a first analysis" with which to locate "radical standpoints with reference to three observable divergences"

1. libertarian diffusionism versus centralism
2. passive resistance versus direct action
3. left versus right

Ruddock's dichotomies offer the possibility of locating ideological positions with respect to radical adult education.

Dichotomy 1 Ruddock suggests [1984:13-6] that Illich's notion of de-schooling may be seen as an anarchist strategy and thus

placed at the libertarian end of Dichotomy 1, opposed by the alternative view held by most radicals who clamour for increased provision from the centre (Ruddock does not give any examples, but the outcry over the proposed ten per cent cut which precipitated the Ashby Report would be a case in point).

Ruddock [1984:16] describes libertarian radicals as tending

towards a far-out individualism, and subjectivist, humanistic positions. They hope for the development of ethical bonds of trust between individuals... [and] call not only for institutional change, but for some degree of cultural development as a necessary accompaniment to it. Ultimately their belief in this possibility is a kind of faith.

They are opposed to "Centralists [who] tend towards an equally emphatic concern with structures, with decisions, programmes and their implementation, to the point where the individual person disappears from view" [1984:16]. The Open University could be placed at this end of the spectrum, (insofar as anything so well-established may be termed a radical organisation) with its centrally-organized curricula at the opposite pole from de-schooling.

Dichotomy 2 Here Ruddock [1984:17] juxtaposes those "who would storm the arsenals of repression in actions of collective heroism" with those

who would work only on the consciousness of the people. They will argue, on phenomenological grounds, that if the way in which a people explain their experience changes, if their perception of the social system changes, it must inevitably follow that their behaviour also changes, that their relationships and values change, and that the old order ceases to be viable.

Although Ruddock states that few would find themselves at the

extremes of Dichotomy 2, the ANC, ETA and the Physical Force Chartists would be appropriately placed at the "direct action" end, and the Knowledge Chartists at the other.

Dichotomy 3 Here Ruddock argues [1984:18] that while left and right are commonly thought of as polar opposites and this is exemplified in such issues as "attitudes to organized labour, large-scale free enterprise, nationalism and policing", there is an apparent convergence between radicals of the left and right "in the identification of problems, in their proposals for dealing with them, and even in their values". He contends [1984:23] that

It appears that radicals of the right and the left employ their different rhetorics to mask their convergence upon three recurring beliefs

- (i) individual liberty is a supreme value;
- (ii) bureaucracy is bad;
- (iii) the Labour Party is bad, because it serves bureaucracy rather than individual liberty.

However, as Ruddock points out, the ethical systems of left and right radicals stand opposed and the points of convergence outlined above are justified on different grounds. For example, individual liberty is conceived as flourishing in a co-operative context by the left and in conditions of open competition by the right; bureaucracy is attacked from the left for its "insensitivity, impersonality and failure to remedy social disadvantage" and from the right for its "high cost, its constraints upon individual institutions and

responsibility, and its trend towards a totally administered society of standardised individuals" [Ruddock 1984:23]. Ruddock contends that a "litmus test" of the deep-lying differences between left and right radicals in relation to social ethics lies in their different attitudes to authority. These differences will be expressed, he claims [1984:24], around the following questions

who is to rule; from which social groupings and by which pathways are they to attain power? And what is to be the function of the police; are they to be made accountable, and to whom? Whose authority shall prevail in the economy? That of government? Or that of private employers and international corporations? What rights shall organised labour have to challenge organised management? Shall local bureaucrats have authority over issues affecting local communities?

In relation to radical adult education, the Plebs League would appear on the left end of Dichotomy 3, with the WEA on the right - at least in the Plebs' view, although Tawney would presumably disagree, particularly with respect to the pioneering phase of the WEA. Ruddock's schema presents difficulties in placing some radical phenomena, for example the early educational initiatives of the CPGB: it is doubtful whether the Party would have agreed that individual liberty was a supreme value, or that bureaucracy was bad if it served the ends of the Party, or even that the Labour Party was always "bad", since the CPGB encouraged people to vote Labour under certain circumstances, for example in parts of the East End of London in the 1930s [see Piratin 1978:54]. Ruddock acknowledges [1984:13] that a simple right-left linear series

will not serve, indeed that is why he introduces his dichotomies, yet each dichotomy inevitably represents the extreme positions in a linear series, as he acknowledges with respect to Dichotomy 2 when he says that few would find themselves at either pole. His third dichotomy between radicals of the left and right is also basically a linear continuum, despite the apparent convergences to which he draws attention (since these are only apparent), and his "litmus test" questions show up the underlying differences between left and right.

For these reasons, Ruddock's "tools for a first analysis" need to be refined. An alternative conceptualisation is proposed which seeks to overcome the problems of a left-right linear series and other conceptual problems outlined in the various models outlined above, and it is to this alternative conceptualisation that we turn next.

#### An Alternative Conceptualisation of Relationships Between Liberalisms and Radicalisms in Adult Education

The proposed alternative conceptualisation is founded in the belief that a fundamental schism between liberal and radical adult education lies in a difference in the perceived relationship to the state, a factor which Green's analysis [1990] poses as significant, which is implied in Ruddock's

"litmus test" questions and which, it is argued, is relevant to the attempt to distinguish different ideological approaches to adult education. Several different approaches are encapsulated in different aims of adult education in relation to the state, each of which may be considered radical. These radicalisms may be summarised as follows, with the political position implied in each indicated in parentheses:

#### Radicalisms

- a) adult education as part of a process of reform of the capitalist state (social democratic);
- b) adult education as part of a process of resistance and opposition to the capitalist state, aiming for the revolutionary overthrow of the state and its replacement by a new form of state (Marxist);
- c) adult education as part of a process of withdrawal from the state (anarchist).

For adherents of each position the significance of adult education is measured by the extent to which it is seen to encourage support for the political strategy and ideological position espoused. Thus a crucial distinction between radical and liberal approaches to adult education is that, for radicals, the mission of adult education is the fulfilment of political aims beyond itself: it is an instrument of political change, in some readings, (such as some of Freire's work, although he is not consistent in this respect, as will be seen in the following chapter) the crucial one.

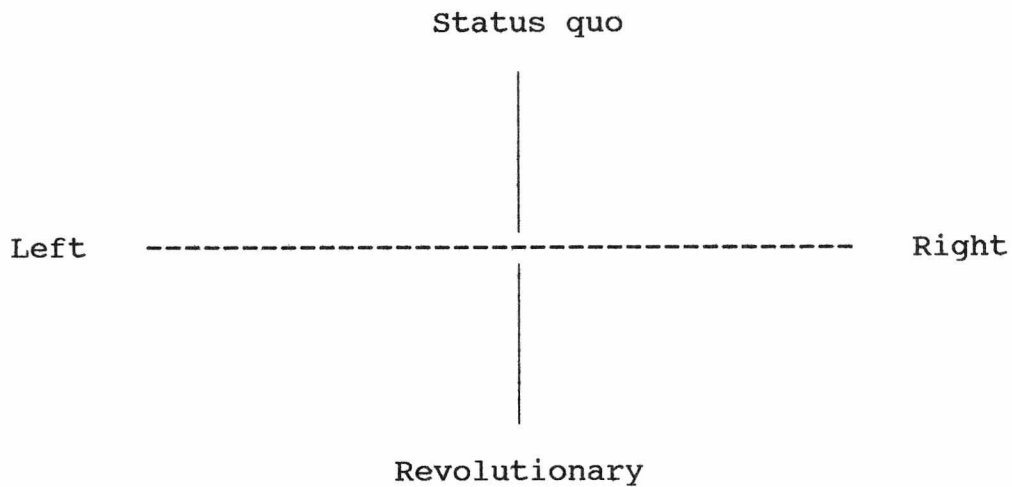
These radical positions are differentiated from liberal

positions on adult education in which educational aims are valued (in some approaches accorded the primary value,) and the capitalist state may be seen as in need of redemption through a rediscovery of its moral purpose, a process which may entail reform but not revolution. Indeed, the liberal idealist philosophy of T.H. Green, which informed much of the thinking which led to the development of the Liberal Tradition in adult education, was explicitly concerned to incorporate into the state those who were perceived to be excluded. In this reading the state is seen as a potentially positive force, although in need of redemption through a rediscovery of its moral purpose. The state's moral role is to redeem "lost souls", and education, in particular adult education, is a means to this end. In the process of adopting this moral role, the state is itself "redeemed".

Figure 6, below, uses the left-right, status quo-revolutionary classification of ideologies conventional in the literature of political science [Jones 1991:113] as a basis for indicating relationships between left and right and between liberalisms and radicalisms in adult education, focussing on the political strategies and ideological bases of the different approaches. The status quo-revolutionary axis allows for the location of ideological positions which are more or less opposed to the existing form of the state, as in the positions outlined above as a), b) and c). Using this framework it may be possible to indicate positions for ideologies of adult education which may

then be compared, thus overcoming some of the conceptual and representational problems outlined above.

Figure 6.  
A classification of ideologies of adult education.

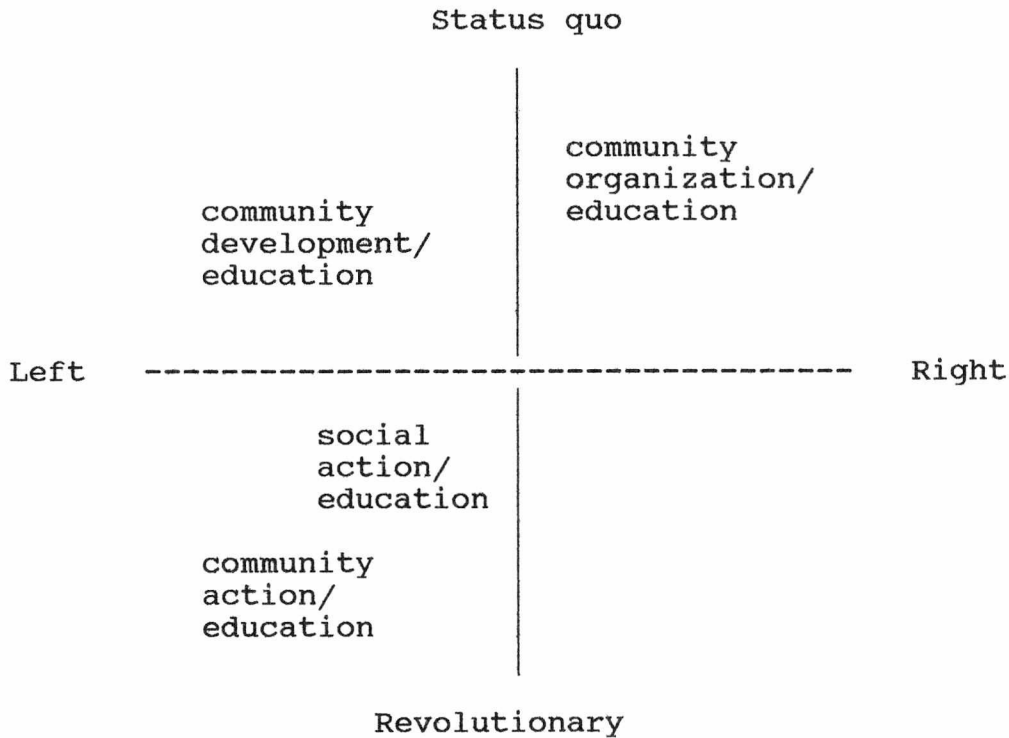


An example of the use of this framework is given in the following representation (Figure 7) of Lovett et al.'s typology of community adult education (outlined above).



Figure 7.

A Representation of Lovett et al.'s Typology of Community Adult Education.



Here the four types of community adult education are placed according to a judgement of the extent to which they reflect a commitment to revolutionary or conservative goals to the left or right of the political spectrum.

### Conclusion

This chapter has explored interpretations of radicalism in adult education and concludes that it is more appropriate to conceive of radicalisms rather than a unified radical position. A range of conceptual frameworks is considered and an

alternative proposed which will be used in Chapter VIII to point up a comparison of the ideas of Freire, Gramsci,<sup>and</sup> three proponents of liberal adult education, Raybould, Tawney and Wiltshire.

## NOTES

1. See Reimer [1971]; Illich [1973]; Neill [1962].
2. See Bowles and Gintis [1976]; Paul Willis [1977]; Sharp [1980].
3. See Young [1971]; Whitty and Young (eds.) [1976]; Beck et al. (eds.) [1976]; Davies [1976]; Young and Whitty (eds.) [1977].
4. See Apple [1979; 1982]; Apple (ed.) [1982]; Giroux [1981a; 1981b; 1983]; Aronowitz and Giroux [1985].
5. See Apple [1982, especially Chapter I, "Reproduction, Contestation and Curriculum"].
6. See Cowburn [1986]; Evans, B. [1987]; Evans N. [1985]; Faith (ed.) [1988]; Griffin [1983]; Lovett [1975], [1982]; Lovett (ed.) [1988]; Lovett et al. [1983]; Mace [1979]; Midwinter [1984]; Molyneux, Low and Fowler [1988]; Senior and Naylor [1987]; Taylor, R., Rockhill and Fieldhouse [1985]; Thomas [1982]; Thompson (ed.) [1980]; Thompson [1983]; Tomlin (ed.) [n.d.]; Ward and Taylor, R. (eds.) [1986]; Youngman [1986].

7. See NIAE [1970]; ACACE [1982b]; Daines, Elsey and Gibbs [1982].
8. See Thompson [1987]; Westwood [1988]; Thompson [1988]; Thompson [1980].
9. See Allen et al. (eds.) [1987]; Falken [1988]; Fletcher [1980]; Kirkwood [1990]; Kirkwood and Kirkwood [1989]; Lovett et al. [1983].
10. See Brown [1980]; Thomas [1982]; Hopkins [1985]; Hamling [1987]; Armstrong [1988]; Lovett [1988]; Simon [1990].
11. See Kirkwood and Griffiths (eds.) [1984]; Forrester and Ward [1986]; Spencer (ed.) [1986]; Senior and Naylor [1987].

## CHAPTER VI

PAULO FREIRE

Introduction

Paulo Freire is a Brazilian adult educator whose fame rests on his theory and methodology of "education for liberation". This is a process through which, it is claimed, oppressed people undergo changes in their consciousness so that they understand that they are oppressed and can act to change their situation. This process he calls conscientização in Portuguese, a term normally translated as 'conscientization'. Furthermore, Freire is well known as the originator of a methodology of adult literacy in the context of conscientization, which, it is claimed, enables poor and illiterate people to learn to read and write in far less time than that claimed for more conventional literacy campaigns. Freire's approach rests upon the belief that education is never politically neutral and that it can help to bring about and sustain the revolutionary transformation of oppressive societies.

Freire's controversial ideas have generated considerable interest in many parts of the world and he is regarded as something of a hero by many radical adult educators in the UK. His work raises many questions which are explored in this chapter. For example, how and in what context did his work develop? What are the major features of his theory and methodology? What does he mean by conscientization? What are the political and educational implications of his analysis and are they consistent with his intentions? What kind of revolution does he intend his work should support?

#### Biographical and Bibliographical Details

Paulo Freire was born into a comfortable middle class family in 1921 in Recife, North East Brazil. His family suffered poverty in the depression, but Freire graduated from high school and studied at Recife University, becoming a teacher of Portuguese. He met his wife, Elza, in 1944 and they worked as teachers and in "Catholic Action", a Christian movement for democracy and social justice, amongst well-off people in Recife, before becoming disillusioned with the moral compromises that that entailed.

Freire turned instead to work with the poor and illiterate and his doctoral thesis on the teaching of adult illiterates was submitted to Recife University in 1959. He was appointed to a

Chair in the History and Philosophy of Education shortly afterwards. Together with graduate students, Freire conducted research into teaching illiterate adults in urban and rural areas of north east Brazil. Through his involvement with the Movement of Popular Culture in Recife in 1960-63, Freire began to develop the methods which he adapted for use in literacy work, exploring such themes as nationalism, remission of profits, development and illiteracy through group discussion using visual aids to schematize the issues [Sanders 1973]. At this time leading Brazilian intellectuals, including Freire, were identifying with "the awakening of the national consciousness, advancing in search of the transformation of Brazil" [EPF:40].

In 1962 Freire was appointed co-ordinator of an adult literacy programme sponsored by Miguel Arraes, Mayor of Recife, and began the work for which he has since become famous. The success of the programme was such that in the following year Freire was invited by the reformist government of President Joao Goulart to become the Director of the Brazilian National Literacy Programme. In that capacity Freire drew up plans for 20,000 "circles of culture" to involve two million people by 1964, extending the pattern of literacy work established in Recife throughout the country. Freire later described the "circles of culture" in terms emphasising how different they were from traditional schools. They embodied equality between learner and teacher and encouraged mutuality in learning

through the creation of an entirely new curriculum and methodology. They were

a new institution of popular culture... since among us a school was a traditionally passive concept. Instead of a teacher, we had a coordinator; instead of lectures, dialogue; instead of pupils, group participants; instead of alienating syllabi, compact programs that were "broken down" and "codified" into learning units. [EPF:42]

The literacy programme was a key element in President Goulart's bid to democratize Brazilian society since under Brazil's constitution literacy was a condition of the franchise. A mass extension of literacy was thus intended to create a corresponding extension of democracy amongst the mass of the people.

When, in April 1964, the military staged a successful coup d'etat, Freire was arrested, removed from his university post and imprisoned for seventy-five days. He was eventually granted political asylum in Bolivia, only to arrive fifteen days before that country also underwent a coup d'etat. Freire left and went to Chile, where he remained until 1969. In Chile Freire took up a university post and became involved with the UNESCO Chilean Agrarian Reform Corporation's Training and Research Institute (ICIRA), which put his adult literacy programme into practice on behalf of the Chilean government's Department of Special Planning for the Education of Adults.

While in Chile, Freire wrote two essays on his experience of

literacy work in Brazil, "Educação como Prática da Liberdade" and "Extensión y Comunicacion", written in 1965 and 1968 and first published in 1967 and 1969 respectively. These were later translated into English and published in Britain under the title Education for Critical Consciousness [1974] and then as Education: The Practice of Freedom [1976]. In 1968 he completed the book which most fully propounds his ideas, Pedagogy of the Oppressed [1972]. This was his first work to be published in English translation, in the United States in 1970 and in Britain in 1972, and with its publication Freire's ideas began to spread to a Western audience. In 1969 Freire left Chile to take up a one year post as Visiting Professor at Harvard University's Center for Studies in Education and Development and became a Fellow of the Center for the Study of Development and Social Change in Cambridge, Massachussets.

While at Harvard in 1970, Freire wrote two essays, "The Adult Literacy Process as Cultural Action for Freedom" and "Cultural Action and Conscientization", published as a monograph by the Harvard Educational Review and then as a book under the title Cultural Action for Freedom (published in Britain in 1972). His period in the U.S.A. also brought him into contact with radical educators, including Ivan Illich and Jonathan Kozol. Freire and Illich collaborated on a series of seminars at the Center for Intercultural Documentation in Cuernavaca, Mexico, during the summers of 1969 and 1970. In 1970 a government led by the Marxist Salvador Allende was elected in Chile. Freire



returned briefly to Chile during Allende's period of office but when Allende's government was overthrown in 1973, Freire was one of those declared persona non grata by the new regime of General Pinochet.

From the United States, Freire moved to Switzerland to take up the post of Special Consultant to the Office of Education at the World Council of Churches in Geneva. There, in 1971, he established the Institute of Cultural Action (IDAC), an organisation dedicated to the establishment of a political pedagogy based on conscientization. The Institute has produced papers on subjects including the liberation of women, political education in Peru and issues surrounding aid programmes in the Third World.

Freire's prolonged period of exile and his position at the World Council of Churches enabled him to disseminate his ideas throughout the world and his ideas, particularly in relation to literacy, have been influential in many developing countries, and particularly in newly-independent nations struggling to educate largely illiterate populations. Freire has worked as educational consultant/participant in many such countries including Nicaragua, Mexico, Peru, Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania, Saõ Tomé and Príncipe and Guinea-Bissau. His book about one such involvement, Pedagogy in Process: the Letters to Guinea-Bissau was published in 1978. He has participated in educational symposia throughout the world, including Iran,

India, Tanzania, Mozambique, Australia, Italy, Angola and Papua New Guinea. Freire himself considers that his world travels through the WCC enabled him to "overcome the risk which exiles sometimes run of being too remote in their work as intellectuals from the most real, most concrete experiences" or of becoming "lost in a game of words" [Freire and Faundez 1989:13]. He has commented on his period with the WCC

the World Council of Churches was offering me a worldwide chair, not the sphere of a university, but of the whole world. It was offering me the largest possible environment, its various experiences, a vision of some of its tragedies, its situations of poverty, its disasters, but also some of its beautiful moments - the liberation of the peoples of Africa, the Nicaraguan revolution, the revolution in Grenada. [Freire and Faundez 1989:13]

An amnesty granted by the President of Brazil in 1979 enabled Freire to return on a visit to his homeland and since 1980 Freire has been once again living and working in Brazil, where he is Professor of Pedagogy at the University of Sao Paulo and Secretary of the local branch of the newly-formed Workers' Party. He organizes literacy work in poor areas of Sao Paulo and continues to write, although little has yet been translated into English [Archer and Costello 1990:199].

In 1985 Freire's The Politics of Education was published, a collection of previously published articles, including the 1970 "Cultural Action and Conscientization" from Cultural Action for Freedom. His most recent books to be published in English are co-authored: with Shor, A Pedagogy for Liberation: Dialogues

on Transforming Education, with Macedo, Literacy: Reading the Word and the World, both published in Britain in 1987 and in 1989 with Faundez, Learning To Question A Pedagogy of Liberation published by the WCC in Geneva. The first is a "talking book", transcribed from taped conversations between Shor and Freire and concentrates on the problems of teaching large classes of recalcitrant full-time students. The second book, written with Ira Shor, is a collection of various pieces of writing including essays by Freire, reproduced from earlier publications and talks in which he elaborates his theory of literacy, together with "dialogues" between Freire and Macedo in which they discuss his work and ideas and Freire responds to his critics. There are also historical accounts of literacy campaigns in Saõ Tomé and Príncipe and a review of the campaign in Guinea-Bissau, the subject of his earlier book, Pedagogy in Process. Learning To Question is another "spoken book", this time recording a conversation with Freire's successor at the Education Sub-unit of the WCC, the Chilean philosopher and follower of Gramsci, Faundez.

### Theory

Freire is an eclectic thinker par excellence. He acknowledges influences from a wide range of sources, including Judeo-Christian thinkers such as Buber and Neibuhr, existentialists such as Sartre, Mounier and Gabriel Marcel, and

the phenomenologist philosopher, Husserl. He also incorporates aspects of Marxism, including ideas from Marx himself, Lukács, Mao Tse-Tung and, to an extent which will be explored in Chapter VII, Gramsci, as well as neo-Marxists such as Althusser, Fromm, Marcuse, and Goldmann. He also uses the writings of humanist Marxists such as Kolakowski and Petrovic from whom may be traced his utopianism and use of the concept of praxis. His work is littered with terms and formulations taken from these and other sources, often used idiosyncratically.

Throughout his work, Freire stresses what he terms the dialectical relationship of action and reflection, which he calls "praxis". For Freire, "Liberation is a praxis: the action and reflection of men upon their world in order to transform it" [PO:52]. The temptation for the reader is to substitute "theory" for "reflection" and "practice" for "action", but does this distort Freire's formulation? If by praxis Freire means that theory should be constantly developed in the light of practice and vice versa, why does he not say so? Perhaps Freire is showing his humility: he is reported to have claimed not to theorize, but instead to "reflect on his experiments" [Furter 1974:119]. Freire has said that his work should be seen as part of a process and not as a finished product and Faundez speaks of his constant need to explain himself [Freire and Faundez 1989:101].

Nevertheless, Freire's thinking is clearly informed by many theories, and it is not unreasonable to seek a theoretical framework in his work, even if only an implicit one. What then is the nature of Freire's theoretical framework and how has it developed since his early work in Brazil?

The key to understanding Freire's theoretical framework would seem to be his concept of the process of conscientization. In 1970 Freire put forward a staged model differentiating levels of consciousness in the process of conscientization. The lowest level he described as semi-intransitive consciousness. This he considered typical of poor people, peasants and bonded labourers, living in the latifundios (large land holdings) and those living in the favelas (urban slums) of Brazil. In this situation people are "submerged in the historical process", concerned only with survival, consequently "they confuse their perceptions of the objects and challenges of the environment, and fall prey to magical explanations because they cannot apprehend true causality" [EPF:17]. If the explanation for their ills is seen by poor and oppressed people as lying in a superior power, or in their own "natural" incapacity, "their action will not be oriented towards transforming reality, but towards those superior beings responsible for the problematical situation, or towards that presumed incapacity" [CAF:63].

Freire states that semi-intransitive consciousness is characteristic of people trapped in the "culture of silence",

unable to discover and articulate their view of the world and therefore unable to act to change it. Freire defines the "culture of silence" as "a superstructural expression which conditions a special form of consciousness... born in the relationship between the Third World and the metropolis" [CAF:57]. This relationship is one of dependence. Describing Brazil as a dependent society, Freire says

The dependent society is by definition a silent society. Its voice is not an authentic voice but merely an echo of the voice of the metropolis - in every way, the metropolis speaks, the dependent society listens. [Freire quoted in Hawthorn 1980:30]

On a wider scale, Freire sees the culture of silence as characteristic of nations in Latin America and other parts of the Third World, as well as "those areas in the metropolises which identify themselves with the Third World as 'areas of silence'" [CAF:57]. Freire makes it clear that for him the Third World is a social, rather than a geographical term, denoting any groups of people who have experienced cultural invasion [PO:121]. It is on the basis of statements such as this that the claim is made by some Western educators that his work is generalisable and applicable to poor people in the United States or the United Kingdom [1].

As people emerge from the semi-intransitive state of consciousness they enter the "naive transitive" stage. Naive transitivity is characterised by

an over-simplification of problems; by a strong tendency to

gregariousness; by a lack of interest in investigation, accompanied by an accentuated taste for fanciful explanations; by fragility of argument; by a strongly emotional style; by the practice of polemics rather than dialogue; by magical explanations. (The magical aspect typical of intransitivity is partially present here also. Although men's horizons have expanded and they respond more openly to stimuli, these responses still have a magical quality.) [EPF:18]

Freire states that progress from the semi-intransitive stage to the stage of naive transitivity is a natural result of the pressures and stimulation of urbanisation on increasing numbers of people [EPF:19]. This implies that there is no role for education in any formal sense during this transition: the environment is the educator.

At the next stage of the process, however, Freire warns that there is a danger people will proceed from the naive transitive stage, not to critical transitivity of consciousness but to fanaticised consciousness, because there is "a close potential relationship between naive transitivity and massification" [EPF:19]. People with a fanaticised consciousness are irrational, defeated, debased and dehumanised, dominated and directed by others while believing themselves to be free, though at the same time fearing freedom. If the descent into fanaticism is to be avoided, what is required is "an active, dialogical educational program concerned with social and political responsibility" [EPF:19]. Freire claims that

An explicit relationship has been established between cultural action for freedom, conscientization as its chief enterprise and the transcendence of semi-intransitive and naive-transitive states of critical consciousness [CAF:78].

By contrast the critically transitive consciousness is characterised by

depth in the interpretation of problems; by the substitution of causal principles for magical explanations; by the testing of one's "findings" and by openness to revision; by the attempt to avoid distortion when perceiving problems and to avoid preconceived notions when analysing them; by refusing to transfer responsibility; by rejecting passive positions; by soundness of argumentation; by the practice of dialogue rather than polemics; by receptivity to the new for reasons beyond mere novelty and by the good sense not to reject the old just because it is old - by accepting what is valid in both old and new. [EPF:18]

Freire asserts that this stage of consciousness is typical of "authentically democratic regimes" [EPF:18].

These then, are the stages of conscientization, but what does Freire mean by the term itself? An early published statement of the concept of conscientization is arguably Freire's most succinct: "Conscientização represents the development of the awakening of critical awareness" [EPF:19]. He stresses that this development is not inevitable

It will not appear as the natural by-product of even major economic changes, but must grow out of a critical educational effort based on favourable historical conditions [EPF:19].

In Pedagogy of the Oppressed written in 1968, Freire elaborates this definition, with his distinction between "banking education" and "problem-posing education" (education for conscientization)

Whereas banking education anaesthetizes and inhibits creative power, problem-posing education involves a constant unveiling of reality. The former attempts to maintain the submersion



of consciousness; the latter strives for the emergence of consciousness and critical intervention in reality. [PO:54]

Education in the banking mode is narrative rather than dialogical in character. Thus, problem-posing education alters the relationship between teacher and student, dissolving the distance between their roles and merging the roles together in a new entity. In Freire's terms, problem-posing education demands a resolution of the teacher-student contradiction so that

Through dialogue, the teacher-of-the-students and the students-of-the-teacher cease to exist and a new term emerges: teacher-student with students-teachers. The teacher is no longer merely the one who teaches, but one who is himself taught in dialogue with the students, who in their turn while being taught also teach. [PO:53]

By contrast, banking education

attempts, by mythicising reality, to conceal certain facts which explain the way men exist in the world; problem-posing education sets itself the task of de-mythologizing. Banking education resists dialogue; problem-posing education regards dialogue as indispensable to the act of cognition which unveils reality. Banking education treats students as objects of assistance; problem-posing education makes them critical thinkers. Banking education inhibits creativity and domesticates (although it cannot completely destroy) the intentionality of consciousness by isolating consciousness from the world, thereby denying men their ontological and historical vocation of becoming more fully human. Problem-posing education bases itself on creativity and stimulates true reflection and action upon reality, thereby responding to the vocation of men as beings who are authentic only when engaged in inquiry and creative transformation. In sum: banking theory and practice, as immobilizing and fixating forces, fail to acknowledge men as historical beings; problem-posing theory and practice take man's historicity as their starting point. [PO:56]

For Freire the issue is simple: the education process mirrors society as a whole, so that banking education mirrors

oppressing society and dialogical, problem-solving, conscientizing education is characteristic of a humane society based on libertarian values. For Freire, "Problem-posing education does not and cannot serve the interests of the oppressor" [PO:58-59].

Freire's subsequent references to conscientization are characterised by attempts to correct misconceptions about its meaning. For example, writing in 1970 he states

Conscientization is more than a simple prise de conscience. While it implies overcoming "false consciousness"... it implies further the critical insertion of the conscientized person into a demythologised reality [CAF:75].

Freire seems here to equate semi-intransitive and naive-transitive states of consciousness with the concept of false consciousness. For Freire, somewhat naively begging a host of questions about the "authenticity" of left-wing politics

The authentic Left cannot fail to stimulate the overcoming of the people's false consciousness, on whatever level it exists, just as the right is incapable of doing so [CAF:78].

Attempting to counter accusations that conscientization was an abstract, intellectual process, unconnected to the real world, Freire asserted in 1970.

The more one acquires conscientização (conscientizes oneself), the more one penetrates the phenomenological essence of the object one has in front of oneself in order to analyse it. For this very reason conscientization is not a falsely intellectual attitude towards reality. Conscientização cannot exist without or outside praxis, that is, outside action-reflection. [Dale et al. (eds.) 1976:224]

The relationship between conscientization and action remained problematic for Freire. The problem triggered a significant theoretical shift in the mid-seventies towards a greater emphasis on the importance of action. Criticising his earlier naive view of conscientization, encapsulated in his assertion in Pedagogy of the Oppressed, that, "to speak a true word is to transform the world" [PO:60], but leaving untouched the fundamental belief in the possibility of knowing the "truth" of reality, Freire commented in 1974

My mistake was not that I recognised the fundamental importance of a knowledge of reality in the process of its change, but rather that I did not take these two different moments - the knowledge of reality and the work of transforming that reality - in their dialectical relationship. It was as if I were saying that to discover reality already meant to transform it. (emphasis in original) [Freire 1975b:15]

The distinction between the two moments is recognised by Brown in her account of Freire's literacy process. She describes conscientization as "a process in which people are encouraged to analyse their reality, to become more aware of the constraints on their lives, and to take action to transform their situation" [Brown 1975:20].

Finally, all Freire's efforts to communicate the meaning of conscientization seem to have struck him as inadequate. In 1979, during a visit to India, Freire stated that he had not used the word for seven years because it was so corrupted in Latin America and the United States [Freire 1979:1].

In 1982 Freire further elaborated his theory of literacy practice, focussing this time on the orientation of the practitioner and differentiating between the "critical practice and understanding of literacy, as opposed to the naive and so-called 'astute' practice and understanding" [Freire and Macedo 1987:37-38]. In this formulation, critical literacy workers eschew the myth of the neutrality of education; they accept the impossibility of separating education from politics and questions of power and they recognise the need to "respect the levels of understanding that those becoming educated have of their own reality" [Freire and Macedo 1987:41]. By contrast, "naive" educators see education as a neutral matter of pure task; they identify with the consciously reactionary educators who Freire designates the "astute", but while, "Both the naive and the astute find themselves marked by the dominant, elitist ideology,... only the astute consciously assume this ideology as their own" [Freire and Macedo 1987:42].

Freire then elaborates this idea still further with the concept of the "astutely naive" educator, who, while aware that education is not neutral, does not affirm that this is so. He differentiates between the "non-malicious naive person and the astute or tactical naive person" on the grounds that the former are able to learn from their own practice and so come to renounce naivety and assume a new critical posture [Freire and

Macedo 1987:43].

### Methodology

What, then, is the "metodo Paulo Freire", known also as the "psycho-social method" [Sanders 1973]? In Pedagogy of the Oppressed Freire states that his methodology rests on two inter-related principles: praxis and dialogue. By praxis he means, "the action and reflection of men upon their world in order to transform it" [PO:52]. Freire argues that action and reflection should occur simultaneously [PO:99]. He elaborates the concept of praxis as follows

Action                    } word = work = praxis

Reflection                }

Sacrifice of action = verbalism

Sacrifice of reflection = activism

[PO:60 f1]

Dialogue has an almost mystical significance for Freire. It is "the encounter between men, mediated by the world, in order to name the world" [PO:61]. It is based on the word, which has two inseparable dimensions: action and reflection, and is "the essence of dialogue itself" [PO:60]. In a passage redolent with Biblical overtones, Freire affirms that dialogue involves communion between leaders and people, teachers and students, a communion which is only possible when there is

love, hope, faith, trust and humility [PO:62]. In this way, he claims, revolution can become an act of love.

On the basis of these principles, Freire stresses the importance of developing an educational methodology in harmony with the situation in the country concerned, rather than imposing a package of measures developed in another context. As he says in the introduction to the Letters to Guinea-Bissau "Experiments cannot be transplanted; they must be reinvented" [LGB:9]. Instead he offers his experience as part of a dialogue with those seeking to engage in (in his terms) authentic educational praxis. He distinguishes between

systematic education, which can only be changed by political power, and educational projects, which should be carried out with the oppressed, in the process of organising them [emphasis in original] [PO:31].

The method Freire developed in Brazil was "systematic" in these terms, and consisted of two stages, a literacy campaign and a post-literacy phase. Both are informed by the anthropological concept of culture, the fundamental distinction between the natural world and the world of human intervention

The point of departure must always be with men in the "here and now", which constitutes the situation within which they are submerged, from which they emerge, and in which they intervene. Only by starting from this situation - which determines their perception of it - can they begin to move. To do this authentically they must perceive their state not as fated and unalterable, but merely as limiting - and therefore challenging. [PO:57]

The literacy campaign stage exploits the fact that Portuguese

words are composed syllabically. This means that all Portuguese words of more than one syllable can be "generative" in the sense of yielding syllables which can be re-assembled to generate new words. "Generative words" are identified through a lengthy investigation of the learners' vocabulary and the circumstances of their lives and a selection is made by the investigators on the basis both of the phonemic complexity and semantic power of the words for the people concerned. These generative words are re-presented in the form of "codifications", visual images on slides prepared by the investigators showing typical existential situations of the learners. The codifications are intended to challenge the learners to "de-code" elements of their own reality. Cards are prepared showing the breakdown of the phonemic families corresponding to the generative words. These are then made into slides.

Freire describes how this is done with the Portuguese word favela (slum)

After analysing the existential situation (a photograph showing a slum), in which the group discusses the problems of housing, food, clothing, health and education in a slum and in which the group further perceives the slum as a problem situation, the coordinator proceeds to present the word favela with its semantic links visually.

- a) First a slide appears showing only the word:  
FAVELA
- b) Immediately afterward, another slide appears with the word separated into syllables:  
FA-VE-LA
- c) Afterwards the phonemic family:  
FA-FE-FI-FO-FU
- d) On another slide:



- VA-VE-VI-VO-VU  
 e) Then:  
 LA-LE-LI-LO-LU  
 f) Now the three families together:  
 FA-FE-FI-FO-FU  
 VA-VE-VI-VO-VU           Discovery card  
 LA-LE-LI-LO-LU

The group then begins to create words with the various combinations. [EPF:82].

Using this method, Freire claims that

Generally, in a period of six weeks to two months, we could leave a group of twenty-five persons reading newspapers, writing notes and simple letters, and discussing problems of local and national interest [EPF:53 f16].

The post-literacy phase, which was never implemented in Brazil because of the 1964 coup, involves the selection of "generative themes" [PO:81] through a similar process of investigation. All aspects of the life of the area are observed and recorded. These observations are then the subject of evaluation meetings of the investigators, designed to bring them closer to a perception of the contradictions with which the lives of the inhabitants are enmeshed. The second stage of the investigation involves the investigators in selecting some of these contradictions to develop the codifications to be used in the thematic investigation. The investigators then return to the area to initiate decoding dialogues in "thematic investigation circles" each of a maximum of twenty people. Freire recommends that there should be enough circles to involve 10 per cent of those living in the area under study. Discussions (during which material prepared in the previous stage is "decoded") are taped and subsequently analysed by the



interdisciplinary team.

The last stage begins as the decoding is completed, when the investigators undertake a systematic interdisciplinary study of their findings, listing the themes explicit or implicit in the affirmations made during decoding sessions. These themes are then classified in a process Freire terms "thematic demarcation" [PO:91]. When the thematic demarcation is completed each specialist (a sociologist or a psychologist) presents to the team a project breaking down the theme into "the fundamental nuclei which, comprising learning units and establishing a sequence, give a general view of the theme" [PO:91]. During the discussions the other specialists add their suggestions which may be incorporated into the project or included in essays written on the themes. Freire acknowledges the need to include what he calls "hinged themes" [PO:92]. These are themes which, though not suggested by the participants in the circles of investigation, are nevertheless felt by the investigators to be necessary, perhaps to fill a gap or to show a general connection.

Codification follows the thematic breakdown. Freire stresses that the codifications must pose questions and not suggest answers. Didactic material, including photographs, slides, film strips, posters, reading texts, and small introductory manuals are produced after the thematics have been codified [PO:93]. Freire acknowledges that the process of thematic

investigation constitutes an expensive project which may be beyond the reach of some of those wishing to follow in his footsteps. He suggests in such cases, that the educators can "with a minimum knowledge of the situation - select some basic themes to serve as 'codifications to be investigated'. Accordingly they can begin with introductory themes and simultaneously initiate further thematic investigation" [PO:94].

The end of the process occurs when "The thematics which have come from the people return to them - not as contents to be deposited, but as problems to be posed" [PO:94]. Freire is here expounding the Maoist principle of the mass line, as he acknowledges in a footnote quoting Mao Tse Tung's dictum: "We must teach the masses clearly what we have received from them confusedly" [PO:66 f6].

Freire draws attention to the difficulty of instructing the teams of coordinators in order to create a new attitude of dialogue which he finds, "so absent in our own upbringing and education" [EPF:52]. Accordingly, while teaching the technical aspects of the procedure is straightforward, Freire recommends that "the period of instruction must be followed by dialogical supervision, to avoid the temptation of anti-dialogue on the part of the coordinators" [EPF:52].

Another safeguard against anti-dialogical attitudes amongst the

educators is the participation of representatives of the inhabitants in all activities of the investigating team [PO:84]. Freire accepts that the educators will be drawn from the middle class (which he sees as allied to and identified with the oppressors of the poor). In order to become dialogical educators, he stresses the need for them to commit "class suicide" [LGB:15]. Through this effort of moral will they may then be reborn, in what Freire terms an "Easter experience", newly-committed to the interests of the poor and oppressed [PO:37].

What, then, are the political and educational implications of Freire's approach and are these consistent with his intentions?

### Politics

At the time that his literacy work in Brazil was developing under the auspices of a relatively progressive national government, Freire was convinced that the Brazilian people "could be helped to learn democracy through the exercise of democracy" [EPF:36]. Education through conscientization in this context was an important adjunct of democratic nationalism because

Nothing threatened the correct development of popular emergence more than an educational practice which failed to offer opportunities for the analysis and debate of problems,

or for genuine participation; one which not only did not identify with the trend toward democratization but reinforced our lack of democratic experience. [EPF:36]

Freire's shift from liberal democratic politics to a more radical stance came about after the overthrow of Goulart's government and Freire's subsequent exile and is reflected in his later writings. Freire is now known as a radical educator who advocates revolution, but what kind of revolution does his work support?

Freire claims to be a Marxist, and one for whom Marxism and Christianity are complementary. As he said in an interview in 1974 "When I met Marx, I continued to meet Christ on the corners of the street - by meeting the people [emphasis in original]" [Freire quoted in Walker 1980:126]. Even allowing that Freire is not alone in finding common ground between Marxism and Christianity (for example, liberation theologians and many Italian communists have shared this view), it is nonetheless difficult to square his claim to be a Marxist with his lack of an adequate class analysis, his idealism and his bizarre notion of a revolutionary leadership composed of free-wheeling charismatic, indeed messianic members of the petit bourgeoisie. It may be significant here that messianic movements were fairly common in Brazil in Freire's youth, as De Kadt describes [De Kadt 1967:197]. Freire has recently stated that he rejects the messianic attitude on the grounds that it is elitist [Freire and Faundez 1989:81], but it is difficult

to know how else to describe his attitude to leaders such as Cabral, Castro and Guevara.

Instead of class, Freire expounds at length on Christian and humanist values of love, trust and humility between revolutionary leaders and people, elevating "authentic" leaders to the status of the risen Christ. Freire himself sees no contradiction between his Christianity and his Marxism and it is certainly possible to find passages in his writing where he expounds Marxist ideas of class antagonism. For example, in Pedagogy of the Oppressed Freire writes of "those who buy and those who are obliged to sell their labour" and of the "unconcealable antagonism which exists between the two classes" [Freire 1972:113]. More recently, Freire continues to insist on the importance of class analysis, stating that even

When a pedagogy tries to influence other factors that could not be strictly explained by a theory of class, you still have to pass through class analysis [Freire and Macedo 1987:52].

The question is whether this commitment to class analysis is carried through in his theoretical work as a whole.

For Freire, the archetypal revolution seems to be an anti-colonial peasant movement of national liberation, pre-eminently cultural and led by petit bourgeois revolutionary leaders in quasi-religious communion with the people. The role of revolutionary leader thus closely parallels the role of educator in Freire's pedagogy. The people cannot become

leaders in their own right and cannot themselves construct a theory of liberating action, since they are victims of cultural invasion "crushed and oppressed, internalising the image of the oppressor" [PO:150]. The moral integrity of the leader in this situation is vital. Freire states that "leaders who deny praxis to the oppressed thereby invalidate their own praxis" [PO:97] and refers with approval to Ernesto "Che" Guevara, Fidel Castro, Amilcar Cabral and Mao Tse Tung. For example, Guevara is described as

an example of the unceasing witness revolutionary leadership gives to dialogue with the people... Guevara did not hesitate to recognise the capacity to love as an indispensable condition for authentic revolutionaries. [CAF:74]

Amilcar Cabral is perhaps the archetypal Freirean educator-political leader and in his Letters to Guinea-Bissau Freire gives the clearest indication in his published work of the kind of revolution of which he approves. Guinea-Bissau is a former Portuguese colony in north west Africa abandoned by Portugal in 1974. The African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC), led by Amilcar Cabral until his assassination by the Portuguese, waged an armed liberation struggle and formed the first government after independence. Cabral was already dead when Freire began work in Guinea-Bissau. He is mentioned frequently and with reverence by Freire

Like Guevara and like Fidel, Cabral was in constant communion with the people, whose past he knew so well and in whose present he was so deeply rooted, a present filled with struggle, to which he gave himself without restriction... In

each of the days that he lived so intensely, there was always a possible dream, a viable history that could begin to be forged on that very day. [LGB:18]

Freire's admiration for Cabral is carried over into identification with the cause of the PAIGC, even to the point of suppressing his disagreement with the party over its strategy in relation to the literacy campaign. In his review of the literacy campaign in Guinea-Bissau, Freire reveals that the decision to use Portuguese as the language of the literacy campaign was one of which he strongly disapproved, since Portuguese was the language of the erstwhile colonizers and was not spoken by the majority of the population, especially outside the towns. Freire's reason for not making his position known publicly at the time was, he says, that "the timing was not appropriate with respect to greater political concerns" [Freire and Macedo 1987:112]. Having revealed that he had compromised himself in this way, he nevertheless defends his method

With or without Paulo Freire it was impossible in Guinea-Bissau to conduct a literacy campaign in a language that was not part of the social practice of the people. My method did not fail, as has been claimed. Nor did it fail in Cape Verde or São Tomé. [Freire and Macedo 1987:112-113]

In an effort to set the record straight, Freire includes as an Appendix in his book with Macedo [1987:160-9] and in his "spoken book" with Faundez [1989:110-6] the text of a previously unpublished letter to Mario Cabral, Guinea-Bissau's Minister of Education, written in July 1977, in which he makes

clear his objections to the use of Portuguese in the literacy campaign. He advocates developing a written form of Creole, the "language of national unity", and using that in literacy work [Freire and Faundez 1989:114]. While the Creole language is being transcribed, literacy education in Portuguese should be confined to

a) the area of Bissau, where the population, which has a perfect command of Creole, is also familiar with Portuguese; here above all, literacy education in Portuguese would be done in the work situation, where reading and writing Portuguese can be of great importance to those who learn and for the effort of national reconstruction;

b) certain rural areas, if and when socio-economic development programmes require the workers to have technical skills which, in their turn, demand the ability to read and write Portuguese; in this case, if Creole is not spoken fluently as it is in Bissau, there will be a further need to restudy the methods used in teaching Portuguese. [Freire and Faundez 1989:114]

The reasons for using Portuguese should be discussed with the literacy students and those populations which do not fall into these categories should be helped

to "read" the reality of their situation in association with projects to act on it, such as collective vegetable gardens and production cooperatives, closely linked with health education campaigns, without the need for the population to read words... not every programme to act on reality initially involves actually learning to read and write words [Freire and Faundez 1989:114-115]

While publication of this letter does go some way to answering Freire's critics, he does not go so far as to acknowledge that the letter should have been included in the Letters to Guinea-Bissau and reiterates "I believe that the broad lines of the proposals I made in Guinea-Bissau still stand" [Freire



and Faundez 1989:118].

A textual note reveals Freire's disenchantment with his hero Amilcar Cabral over the nature of language:

In stating that "language is nothing more than a tool for human beings to communicate with each other", Amilcar Cabral failed lamentably to perceive the ideological nature of language, which is not something neutral... This is one of the rare statements in Cabral's work which Paulo has never been able to accept [Freire and Faundez 1989:142 n22].

Nevertheless, such important concerns would probably not have seen the light of day in the book that Freire planned to write analysing Cabral's role as a "pedagogue of the revolution" since he has stated that he would have allowed the PAIGC the right of veto:

If the project had gone forward, before I published the work I would have submitted the manuscript for review by the party. I would not have published the book without the party's approval... if PAIGC had told me that some of the things I stated were not in the interest of political reform, I would probably have fought with the party to defend my position. But I would also have appreciated the reasons that led the party to conclude that my statements were undermining their goals. [Freire and Macedo 1987:104]

Whatever his misgivings on the issue of language, Freire remains in agreement with Cabral's model of revolutionary change brought about by middle class leaders whose identification with the oppressed amounts to class suicide.

This accords with Cabral's statement that

The colonial situation, which does not permit the development of a native pseudo-bourgeoisie and in which the popular masses do not generally reach the necessary level of political consciousness before the advent of the phenomenon of national liberation, offers the petit bourgeoisie the historical opportunity of leading the struggle against

foreign domination. [Cabral quoted in Walker 1980:135]  
 As Walker argues [1980:136], the concept of class is a material and not a moral or religious one as Freire's insistence on "class suicide" and the necessity of an "Easter experience" implies.

Freire's support for such views has laid him open to the charge of being a populist, rather than a Marxist revolutionary. Freire, however, vigorously denies the charges. He regards populism as a political style characteristic of regimes challenged by the people and responding to some of their demands in order to stay in power, a reactive and insufficiently revolutionary stance for his liking. Nevertheless he is prepared to work with such regimes up to a point, stressing that "One is not necessarily populist because one makes certain contributions to a regime that is regarded as populist" [Freire and Macedo 1987:102].

In essence, populism

mobilizes masses of the poorer sectors of society against the existing institutions of the state, but under the very firm psychological control of a charismatic leader [Robertson 1986:268-269].

There are clear similarities here with Brazil before the 1964 coup as well as with Guinea-Bissau in the struggle for liberation and Freire's eulogies of Castro, Guevara and Mao Tse-Tung support the view that he is not averse to charismatic leaders. Freire's defence of his record misses the point that

it is unease about the idealised relationship of leader to led in his work which is at the crux of the accusation of populism.

Freire distinguishes between pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary politics - the struggle for liberation, (which he calls "cultural action for freedom") and the struggle to maintain the post-revolutionary independent state, ("cultural revolution")

cultural action for freedom is carried out in opposition to the dominating power elite, while cultural revolution takes place in harmony with the revolutionary regime [CAF:82].

Freire draws attention to parallels between his notion of cultural revolution and the Chinese Cultural Revolution of 1966-77 [CAF:83 f28 and PO:31 f9]. Freire states that permanent cultural revolution is necessary lest "the revolution becomes stagnant and turns against the people" [PO:33 f10].

Despite his advocacy of revolutionary change, Freire's work in Brazil and in Guinea-Bissau was possible only because the political agenda had been set by the governments concerned. His first-hand experience has thus been, in his terms, of "cultural revolution", rather than "cultural action for freedom". In his consultancy work in the service of such "cultural revolutions" Freire is concerned that he should not be used as part of a process of cultural invasion. Consequently, when asked to collaborate on a

government-sponsored literacy campaign "As a prerequisite, I always make sure that the government and I share common ground" [Freire and Macedo 1987:64].

Freire has also visited countries in the West where the prospect of revolution is remote and his "common ground" is with educators who may have different goals from those of their governments. Many of those who have most enthusiastically espoused Freire's ideas believe his methodology and ideas are generalizable and applicable in the developed, as well as the "Third" world.

#### Apologias, Critiques and Interpretations

Writing about Freire may be divided into that which supports his ideas and seeks to spread the word to those who may not have heard of him, or who may find his writing impenetrable, and that by friend and foe which takes a more critical view. Freire is a thinker who evokes strong reactions, both positive and negative. He has attracted many devotees, some of them educators who claim to be working in a Freirean framework in literacy, (described by Srinivasan [1977:6]) and other fields. Some of these have reported outstanding success as a result of using his method [2]. Perhaps as a consequence of this, there is a paucity of non-partisan evaluations of his work, or that of his followers.

An early exception to this general rule was comparative research undertaken by Chain, who examined three "Freire-inspired" literacy programmes in Bolivia, Guatemala and Honduras in the early nineteen-seventies [Chain 1974]. She found that in all three countries, the benefits seemed to be greater for the coordinators of the circles of culture than for their students and that the

extent of synthesis or critical consciousness or politicization which results depends on the skills and insights of individual teachers rather than the approach itself [Chain 1974:406].

No independent account of Freire's early practice in Brazil exists. As De Kadt has written in his book about Catholic radicals in Brazil

In the short period of its existence the Metodo Paulo Freire gathered substantial momentum, although at the time of its repression in April 1964, it was still characterised by potential rather than actual achievements, by promise rather than realisation [De Kadt 1970:102-3].

Since his exile began, Freire's writing has been translated into many languages and has generated a significant body of comment [2]. His approach to literacy work has been influential in newly-independent nations such as Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Nicaragua and Cuba. His ideas have been spread to a "metropolitan" audience by writers who are themselves located in societies where projects of, in Freire's terms, "cultural action for freedom" rather than "cultural revolution" are in order. They have focussed on different aspects of his work in

attempts to interpret his ideas for educators in their own societies.

Most of the secondary literature in English concentrates on Freire's writing published in English in the early nineteen-seventies, in particular Pedagogy of the Oppressed, and ignores his Pedagogy in Process [3]. There follows a brief, schematic survey of this literature, followed by a discussion in greater detail of some commentaries and critiques of Freire's work in relation to adult education in the United Kingdom.

Freire's ideas have been variously interpreted by commentators arguing from different, though not entirely mutually exclusive perspectives. There are those who see Freire as a Christian idealist working within the framework of liberation theology [4]. Freire is an acknowledged influence on Illich [Rich 1975:194] and Reimer [Grabowski 1972:108] and other writers on deschooling and freeschooling [5]. Other radical education theorists [6] as well as literacists [7] have sought to understand the implications of his work for their theories. Radical adult educators have also wrestled with the implications of Freire's approach for their work and writers such as Lovett [1975; 1978; 1982; 1983; 1988], Berggren and Berggren [1975] and Allman [1987; 1988] applaud Freire as an inspirational theorist of radical adult education [8].

Critics, including Knudson [1971:110], Boston [1972], Collins [1972:113], Scott [1972:111], Griffith [1974] and Merriam [1977:198], have tended to complain of the obscure, rhetorical style of Freire's writing. For example, Boston [1972:86-7] remarks on the contradiction between Freire's insistence on the "demythologising, demystifying and deobfuscation of society" and the mythologising, mystifying and obfuscating qualities of his own writing. Another critic, Griffith [1974], argues that Freire's approach to adult literacy is neither new nor revolutionary, that his advocacy of revolution is unsound since he fails to provide effective strategies for its achievement and that his popularity in North America reflects a widespread disillusion with public education.

Nevertheless, as Youngman points out

A surprisingly wide range of writers have commented approvingly on Freire, expressing only occasional reservations about the complexity of his writing style or the political implications of his approach [Youngman 1986:152].

However, such widespread commendation brings its own problems of confusion and misappropriation of his ideas. As Mackie comments of contributors to Grabowski's collection, Paulo Freire: A Revolutionary Dilemma for the Adult Educator

The writers consider the political questions posed by Freire and wrestle with ways to denude, domesticate, absorb and eventually nullify the challenge he makes to their functionalism. [Mackie 1980:8-9]

Much of the writing about Freire in English originates from North America, where his reputation as a radical educator has

been fostered by writers such as Giroux, Kozol and Aronowitz. Freire was for a while associated with Illich and the deschooling movement and dialogue between Freire and Illich featured at a WCC seminar in 1974, entitled "An Invitation to Conscientization and Deschooling: A Continuing Conversation" (an account of the seminar is included in the WCC publication Risk [1975]). His work in adult literacy has been popularised by Brown [1974], whose account of Freire's method did much to make it accessible to Western readers and by Kohl [1973] and others. These and other North American writers have used his ideas to develop a critique of education in relation to society and possibilities for social change. Writing in response to the crisis in public provision of education in the United States, they mainly focus on mainstream education in schools and universities rather than adult education. On the basis of Freire's work, they have sought to go beyond what Giroux calls the "polarizing logic of reproduction versus resistance", expounded in the work of such writers as Bowles and Gintis in the United States and Willis in Britain [Giroux in Freire and Macedo 1987:23-24].

The issue of literacy is a bridge between the macrocosmic concerns of many of these writers and the microcosm of adult education practice. For example, Giroux describes the issue of literacy as "a major terrain of struggle for conservatives and liberals" but regrets that "it has been only marginally embraced by radical educational theorists" and, as a result,



it is "gravely undertheorized" [Giroux in Freire and Macedo 1987:4]. Nevertheless, while literacy theory may be inadequate and the practice ill-developed, Giroux argues that it is a key to wider social liberation, since

Literacy in this wider view not only empowers people through a combination of pedagogical skills and critical analysis, it also becomes a vehicle for examining how cultural definitions of gender, race, class, and subjectivity are constituted as both historical and social constructs. Moreover, literacy in this case becomes the central pedagogical and political mechanism through which to establish the ideological conditions and social practices necessary to develop social movements that recognize and fight for the imperative of a radical democracy. [Giroux in Freire and Macedo 1987:6]

What is needed, according to Giroux, is an emancipatory theory of literacy such as Freire offers. Such a theory

points to the need to develop an alternative discourse and critical reading of how ideology, culture and power work within late capitalist societies to limit, disorganize, and marginalize the more critical and radical everyday experiences and common-sense perceptions of individuals [Giroux in Freire and Macedo 1987:6].

Others have not been so keen to evangelise on Freire's behalf. For example, Norman [1978] has accused him of incipient totalitarianism and the neo-conservative Berger launched a scathing attack on Freire in his Pyramids of Sacrifice [1976]. Berger attacks Freire on the grounds that his view of consciousness is hierarchical, despite the fact that it is not possible to prove that any individual's consciousness is superior to anyone else's. For Berger this invalidates Freire's concept of conscientization, although his critique is weakened by the fact that he equates conscientization with the

process of consciousness-raising, as practised, for example in the women's liberation movement. In fact, Freire has made it clear that he believes consciousness-raising, because of its specifically personal focus, can be manipulative and prevent people from seeing the connections between different forms of oppression [PE 1985:159-161]. Berger also takes issue with Freire's blithe and contradictory insistence that he is not elitist, while contending that his own political philosophy is superior to all others and particularly appropriate for the oppressed. Critics on the left are more rare, but Freire has been criticised by Walker [1980] as a liberal populist rather than a Marxist.

The literature relating to Freire's approach that has originated from the United Kingdom has reflected similar concerns of the writers to be evangelists for Freire's message, or to subject his ideas to cool, though not necessarily hostile, criticism.

One commentator who has espoused Freire's ideas more whole-heartedly than most is Allman, who runs the UK's only avowedly Freirean Diploma course in adult education at the University of Nottingham. She sees Freire's Christianity and his Marxism as complementary, as he does himself, arguing that the

assumptions which underpin his approach, and the approach itself, are Marxist but his language, his tone is imbued with the language of possibility which characterises the

theologies of liberation emerging primarily from Latin America during the 1970s [Allman 1987:215].

In Allman's formulation it is Marxism which informs the substance and Christianity the style of Freire's work. This accords with Carr's description [quoted in Benseman 1978:29] of Freire's ideal society as "Marxist in structure and Christian in ethics".

Allman contends that Freire makes three "Marxist" assumptions. The first assumption concerns what it means to be fully human, a condition thwarted by alienation produced by "limiting social and economic formations" and "the relations that arise from them" [Allman 1987:216]. According to Allman [1987:216], Freire and Marx share the same concept of ideology "as a mechanism which makes possible the alienation of people from their real interests" and the same strategy for dealing with ideological domination. This argument is, however, undermined by her elision of Marx's own ideas with those of later Marxists and her attribution of the notion of the process by which people "accept a false ideology" (a reference to the concept of false consciousness [discussed above]) to Marx, rather than Engels.

The second assumption "locates education as a specific form of both pre- and post-revolutionary strategy": education must aim for liberation rather than domestication in either case [Allman 1987:217]. The third assumption is that learners and

teachers must struggle together to overcome the oppressive relations of banking education [Allman 1987:218]. Here Allman contends [1987:219] that Freire's concept of critical thinking involves a "permanent critical approach to reality" which entails "the same method of logic or theorising developed by Marx in his later works, that is dialectic thinking" although later in the same article she acknowledges that Marx does not describe this method in his writing [Allman 1987:224].

Allman describes Freire's concept of dialogue as demanding "the creation of an oppositional form of communication", that is, a form of communication running counter to that normally found in society. Here she contrasts Freirean dialogue with discussion, which she describes as "a form of group communication in which participants engage in a sharing of monologues" [1987:222]. It is his commitment to dialogue which ensures that for Freire education cannot be politically neutral. Allman accepts Althusser's argument that the source of oppressive relations within an educational institution derives from its role as an ideological state apparatus, so that, so long as the state is oppressive, the problem remains

Regardless of where we engage in learning, the real relationship of oppression is that which exists between learners and the framework of ideas that legitimates the interests of the dominant groups who control the state, i.e. their ideologies [Allman 1987:226].

Allman argues that the purpose of transforming institutions prior to social revolution is to prepare people through new

relationships and ways of thinking so that when the revolution occurs it does not simply mean an alteration in the source of domination. As she points out [1987:227-228], "This sort of pre-figurative work is also intended to create a broad-based will and understanding of the need for socialism". Allman is a passionate, if somewhat naive exponent of Freire's ideas, convinced that he is indeed a Marxist.

The hypothesis that Freire is a Marxist is tested in some detail by Youngman using the set of principles he has developed of a Marxist approach to adult education (see above, Chapter V). Youngman's argument will be considered in Chapter VIII in relation to both Freire and Gramsci and hence is not included here.

Mackie argues that Freire is best understood as formerly a liberal democrat, now a revolutionary socialist, whose eclectic frame of reference owes much to Erich Fromm, Albert Memmi and to a lesser extent, Frantz Fanon, as well as to radical Catholic theologians, existentialist philosophers and, in some respects, Marx. For Mackie [1980:109], "the pedagogy of the oppressed can be seen as a struggle against the colonisation of man's mental territory". Mackie believes that Freire is here endorsing the point made by Marx and Engels in The German Ideology.

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

[emphasis in original] [Marx and Engels 1974:64].

For Mackie [1980:115], the fundamental problem with Freire's political analysis is that he

encompasses the necessary, but not the sufficient grounds for political and cultural revolution. His analysis stipulates the necessary conditions as: the dialectical contradiction between oppressor and oppressed, resulting in class antagonism which can only be resolved, under dialogical leadership, by a violent transformation of the oppressive social reality.

By ignoring the economic bases of political struggle, Mackie [1980:115] contends that Freire neglects the sufficient grounds for revolution and runs the risk of "evaporating into mere rhetoric, especially if his seminal notions of conscientization and praxis are deprived of their material base".

By contrast, Walker [1980:150], in his critique of the core of Freire's position considered as political theory and practice, sees Freire as a populist who "stands clearly in the broad catholic tradition of syncretism". Walker [1980:137] points to the role of a petit bourgeois leadership group as advocated by Freire, as profoundly problematic and certainly not Marxist: "For Freire, if the petit bourgeoisie ends up on the side of the oppressed it is a result of dialogics: for Marx, of dialectics". Freire's petit bourgeois leaders "remain pedagogues, but dialogical pedagogues, not monological" [Walker 1980:139]. Like Mackie, Walker notes Freire's lack of concern with the material facts of life. For Freire, the class struggle is "determined mainly mechanically by consciousness of oppression" [Walker 1980:138]. Further, Freire's moral

commitment to the practice of national liberation movements linked to the goal of socialism in one country leads him to regard "the class divisions inherent in class society as obliterated by the nationalist revolution, so that what remains in the struggle is almost entirely cultural" [Walker 1980:131].

While stopping short of accusing Freire of acting in bad faith, Walker believes that Freire is confused: "Freire's praxis does not have the liberating potential it aspires to; rather there are dangers that its potential might be the reverse" [Walker 1980:150].

If Freire's political praxis is confused, what does that mean for his educational praxis, especially since he consistently maintains that education is political? For example, why is the concept of conscientization, at once so significant for Freire and so important for anyone seeking to understand his work, at the same time so elusive? Part of the problem is undoubtedly Freire's writing style, which has been described as having "the quality of concentric ripples in a pool in which a stone has been thrown", with successive publications elaborating a central core of principles or beliefs, sometimes with reference to other authorities or areas of knowledge [Leach 1982:185]. Freire's style is rhetorical and, at worst, prolix and inaccessible. His writing has been translated for a world-wide, anglophone audience and difficulties of translation

may account for some of the obscurity surrounding his key concepts, such as conscientization. Freire's own use of the term has changed, and his undeclared decision to stop using it can only have added to the confusion.

It is likely that Freire began by assuming a shared understanding of "conscientização" amongst his audience. The term emerged from deliberations of the Brazilian Institute of Higher Studies in the 1960s and was popularized abroad by Bishop Helder Amara [O'Gorman 1978:53] and De Kadt [1970:98] points out that the term was in common use amongst Catholic radicals in Brazil during the time that Freire was active there. Since 1964 Freire has come increasingly to address an international audience which cannot be assumed to share the experience, the world view or the terminology of Catholic radicals in South America. Leach [1982:186] considers that although the meditative quality he describes as pervading Freire's writing might lead his readers to suppose that his books were written for his own benefit, his intended audience is composed of educators and administrators such as Mario Cabral, Commissioner of State for Education and Culture in Guinea-Bissau, and the man to whom Freire's letters, published in Pedagogy in Process, were addressed.

Freire's commitment to education as political praxis informs all his work and is reiterated frequently. It is a popular view amongst many radical adult educators in the developed



capitalist world. Education is elevated to the status of a major instrument in securing the success of a socialist revolution, yet at crucial points in the educational/revolutionary process, education has no part to play. For example, in his elaboration of the stages of conscientization, Freire indicates a role for education in the transition from naive transitive to critically transitive consciousness, and possibly in the transition from semi-intransitive to naive transitive consciousness, yet not in tackling the fanaticised stage of consciousness, only in avoiding it. Does this mean that he regards the fanaticised stage of consciousness as a "final" stage, irredeemable through educational action?

Further questions are raised by the fact that Freire does not make clear whether the stages of consciousness are to be understood as mutually exclusive stages of linear development. Can elements of semi-intransitive consciousness persist in the critically transitive stage? Can elements of different stages of consciousness exist simultaneously in one person? Are the stages of consciousness to be understood as stages through which each individual passes, (given appropriate education at the crucial stages) or are they stages of mass consciousness characteristic of a whole society - or both? Is semi-intransitive consciousness characteristic of childhood or do some people never experience it? Once a society or an individual has achieved the higher stages of consciousness, is

it possible to revert to an earlier stage of the process, or, worse, to lapse into fanaticised consciousness?

Freire presents his education process as a linear, guided progression through stages of consciousness from ignorance to enlightenment, defined in advance by the educator. This process enables students to achieve the highest form of consciousness, which Freire calls critically transitive consciousness. In this way they come to recognise themselves as cultured and therefore potential agents of change in society given the presence of good (ie. self-sacrificing, messianic) leadership. It is for this reason that education should be dialogical rather than narrative, problem-posing rather than didactic. While the students are not entirely passive participants in this process (and indeed Freire emphasises their active participation), nevertheless agency is primarily vested in the educator who initiates the process.

For Freire, praxis is "the action and reflection of men upon their world in order to transform it" [PO:52]. However, he does not show how this transformation is to be achieved or what form it might take. In his insistence on the need for transformation, Freire echoes Marx [1974:123] in the eleventh Thesis on Feuerbach: "The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point is to change it".

However, Freire's formulation is weaker in several ways.

Firstly, reflection is not synonymous with theory and action is not synonymous with practice: theory and practice are larger and more profound concepts. Secondly, the Marxist idea of theory dialectically transforming practice and vice versa is lost in favour of action and reflection together informing "men" as they transform "the world". Freire's formulation reduces a dialectical concept to a dialogical one in which praxis is a dialogical relationship between action and reflection in which each informs the other in order to transform reality. Thirdly, as so often throughout his work, Freire sets up a pair of polarities: of action in relation to reflection and man in relation to the world, as if the world and human agency were antithetical.

In so doing he falls into the trap described by Marx in the first of his "Theses on Feuerbach"

The chief defect of all hitherto existing materialism... is that the thing, reality, sensuousness, is conceived only in the form of the object or of contemplation, but not as sensuous human activity, practice, not subjectively. Hence, in contradistinction to materialism, the active side was developed abstractly by idealism - which of course does not know real, sensuous activity as such. Feuerbach wants sensuous objects, really distinct from the thought objects, but he does not conceive human activity itself as objective activity. [Marx 1974:121]

Here, Marx rejects Feuerbach's identification of the theoretical attitude with the human attitude as idealistic. Feuerbach, like Freire, holds up an ideal of the essential man, but since this ideal is not related to the actual needs of

people in real social situations, it can provide no leverage with which to change the existing order. Feuerbach is unable to create a revolutionary practice on the basis of his ideal and consequently makes a religion of it. For Marx, history is the interaction between physical conditions and social organisation, and the religious attitude consists in the belief in or worship of unhistorical abstractions, something which Freire's work also exhibits.

These are fundamental problems of Freire's philosophical framework, but problems exist at other levels. For example, Leach [1982:195] draws attention to the difficulty Freire's concept of semi-intransitivity leaves him in

If this is an "historical" state of consciousness - a starting line from which historical progression is made - rather than a conceptualised abstraction (a kind of extrapolation "backwards" in time from the more fluid state of "naive transitivity" in which inertia and movement towards humanization co-exist), then where is the fertile ground for the first seeds of critical consciousness? Is Freire in fact saying that there are numbers of people who are no better than animals, for their critical faculties are, for all intents and purposes, dormant?

Leach thinks not, but the fact remains that Freire's formulation raises numerous fundamental questions such as these. While he cannot be unaware of such criticisms, Freire has not so far answered them.

Similarly, Freire's powerful idea of a culture of silence is also problematic. On one level it may be seen as a re-working of the image of ignorance associated with darkness, familiar

from Christian teaching. On another level it may be seen as a version of false consciousness, borrowed from Marxism. The vision of the education process as one of liberation is exhilarating and lends a certain glamour to the role of educator. Indeed since the education process renders those participating in it more fully human, it may be seen as a re-working of the myth of creation, with God, through the medium of the educator, imparting the gift of speech-with-understanding to those who had been trapped in the culture of silence.

However, might not the culture of silence which Freire so eloquently evokes equally well be a culture of deafness on the part of those who oppress the poor, or are indifferent to their suffering? Are the poor silent, or are they simply not being heard? Freire writes with delight of the often profound and moving statements made by peasants in the circles of culture. Statements such as "I want to learn to read and write so that I can stop being the shadow of other people" and "I have the school of the world." [EPF:50] have the force of discoveries newly-made. An educational process which calls forth and celebrates such powerfully poetic affirmation has much to recommend it. However, how does Freire know that similarly profound statements could not have been made by the peasants before the investigators were there to record them? If so, the process Freire describes would be one of discovery of the peasants' words by the investigators, rather than discovery by

the peasants of the truth of their own insights.

Freire himself lends credence to this view by his habit of quoting members of the culture circles in Brazil without naming them, (for example, "a man from the backlands of Rio Grande do Norte"; "an illiterate from Recife"), while naming the professionals involved in the educational programme (for example, Professor Jomard de Brito; Professor Jarbas Marciel) [EPF:50-51]. Surely this does not indicate the equality in dialogue that Freire advocates throughout his work? The question is whether the "word" does indeed "equal praxis, equals work" in Freire's formulation [PO:60 f1]. Can even such powerfully evocative words alone really change the world? Where is the link with action? Freire has recognised, but not resolved this problem.

The distinction that Freire draws between banking and problem-posing education also begs some important questions. Firstly, in Freire's delineation of the relationship of teacher-students with students-teachers, how is the reciprocity he advocates to be achieved despite differences in educational experience and social class? Freire does not acknowledge the dangers of incorporation and tokenism that the blurring of the distinction between learner and teacher may entail, with the learners being drawn into a process over which they have little control, and in which they are heavily reliant on the good will and good faith of the educators and subject to the educators'

class and other interests.

Secondly, the dichotomy Freire draws attention to in banking education between the teacher's presentation of the "cognizable object" so that he is "cognitive" at one point and "narrative" at another [PO:53-54] may be hard to avoid in problem-posing education also, given the time and judgement necessary to select the problems to be posed and the fact that selection remains the responsibility of the educator.

Thirdly, the whole question of demythologising reality is problematic. In the first place, Freire treats as one and the same two rather different concepts: reality and the perception or experience of reality. When he writes of reality he assumes the presence of a human being who experiences that reality, since it is the effect of reality on human consciousness with which he is concerned. Secondly, if by reality he means the whole of experience (even if only the experience of one individual) there must inevitably be a selection process employed to determine which aspects of reality are more or less significant.

Freire lays himself open to the charge of naivety for failing to address these problems. More seriously, he lays his methodology open to abuse. Without a clear exposition of the grounds for the selection of aspects of reality it is naive to assume the approach of posing problems will, of itself, lead

oppressed people to identify the causes of their oppression in such a way as to enable them then to act to change their circumstances, as Freire intends should happen, and to do so in ways of which he would approve.

Such concerns are not new: Griffith [1974] launched a blistering attack on Freire's pedagogy in 1974 and others have expressed their doubts and fear that Freire's ideas may be co-opted [9]. Their warnings seem to have been vindicated. For example, Archer and Costello [1990:105], writing of the government literacy agency in Mexico, INEA, describe the co-option and perversion of Freire's ideas which they term "pseudo-Freireanism". This is

sometimes the product of a misreading or misunderstanding of Freire's work, but sometimes it appears as a deliberate attempt to hijack a set of radical ideas and methods. In both cases the effect is the same, giving reactionary literacy programmes a progressive gloss, and taming the methods themselves by inoculating people against Freirean language.

In the USA, James [1990:15-16] deplores, as illusory and idealistic

a pervasive tendency toward literacy for adaptation... Literacy has become so widely embraced that mainstream programs have adopted some of the language of revolutionary literacy theory... [it] is perceived as the sole agent of social change by educators and activists in many contexts... It takes on an almost mystical character, a capability of empowering people.

Similarly, Archer and Costello [1990:105] cite the "bizarre belief" of INEA workers "that generative words have magical properties and that through them some miracle will take place,



whereby illiterate people will become well-motivated and enabled to learn".

Furthermore, although Freire is rightly considered the most influential contemporary radical literacy campaigner and it is undoubtedly his contribution to literacy work in the Third World which is the foundation of his reputation, he has been criticised by Street, a leading British theoretician of adult literacy, for tending to believe that there is only one "western-type literacy" without which people are unable to "read the world" [Street 1991]. By contrast, as Street pointed out in his analysis of literacy in theory and practice, recent literacy research has eschewed the theory of a "great divide" between literacy and illiteracy that dominates public rhetoric and is instead concerned with "literacies" rather than a single, monolithic "literacy" [Street 1984:8].

Street also points to anthropological evidence undermining Freire's assumption that the process of becoming literate is part of a process of critical enlightenment, citing work such as that by Finnegan which shows that self-reflection and critical thought are found in supposedly non-literate societies. Street differentiates between an "ideological" and an "autonomous" ostensibly politically neutral model of literacy (identified with UNESCO), arguing that, while Freire's work represents in some ways a shift towards an "ideological" model, he has not entirely shrugged off the assumptions of the

"autonomous" model. Street points out that Freire's analyses often appear to be rooted in theories of cognitive development which take no account of the social context in which literacy is embedded. Furthermore, applications of Freire's approach in Nicaragua and Cuba [10] seem to show that his work is less radical than is commonly thought [Street 1984:14].

In Freire's defence, Alfred argues that his work is relevant to all societies, including advanced capitalist societies. He cites Apps' list of the alternative roles of adult education, in which the key question is whether adult education

serves as the handmaiden of society by transmitting its culture and socialising the disadvantaged, or to reform it, or to seek major changes of society, or to help individuals to achieve maximum personal growth, or a combination of these [Alfred 1984:110].

He also [1984:110-111] draws attention to McGinnis' belief that the proper function of adult education is

to increase awareness of the political, economic, social and psychological forces affecting the lives of individuals in order that they may attain the freedom and self-respect that a humanist conception of man demands

and points out that there is no reason to suppose that this need is any less urgent in capitalist societies than it is in the Third World.

These are common themes amongst radical adult educators [see Chapter V] and, as Alfred points out [1984:111], the crucial question is, if there is social and political oppression (and Alfred argues that political oppression exists in

liberal-democratic as well as fascist, authoritarian and dictatorial societies) is Freire's educational project an effective and necessary means of overcoming it? According to Alfred, Freire does not argue that even the most radical changes in education can pre-empt social transformation of the kind he promotes. Nevertheless, Freire believes that changes can be made before social revolution, (although only up to a point, and Alfred cites Freire's imprisonment and exile from his native Brazil in 1964 as a case in point). In any case, Alfred reminds us [1984:111] that Freire believes cultural action to be essential if a popular revolution is to avoid betraying the people.

An education can only restore to the people a sense of their own self-worth, as Haviland [1973:285] writes, underlining Freire's point, if it is designed to help them to lead fully human lives rather than moulding them "into usefully shaped cogs".

Alfred concurs with these views, drawing attention to Gleeson's [1974] and Batten's [Fletcher and Thompson 1980] belief in the relevance of Freire's ideas on curricular issues to wider adult education practice, the former stressing the similarities between Freire's use of an underlying phenomenological perspective and Gouldner's concept of "reflexive thinking". Alfred contends that Freire takes Malcolm Knowles's ideas on the andragogical theory of adult learning, as he does also

liberal ideas, to their logical conclusion [Alfred 1984:112].

Alfred further argues that community adult education as practised by Lovett and others in Britain and Northern Ireland proves the relevance of Freire's ideas to capitalist, liberal-democratic societies (although whether Northern Ireland in the years since 1969 could be described as liberal-democratic is a problem Alfred does not address). Batten also contends that non-hierarchical community adult education is the most likely means of achieving conscientization, pointing out that there are

considerable parallels between knowledge-controlling exploitative relationships implied by colonial imperialism, and now by its economic forms and those which exist between teachers and taught in traditional hierarchical systems [Batten 1980:36].

Alfred [1984:112] concludes, with Lister [1973:13-14], that "the problem of applying Freire's work in the West is ours and not his".

An interesting and sympathetic critique of Freire's ideas is offered by Leach [1982], who notes Freire's unsuccessful attempt to make a bridge between two levels of analysis, the "macro" (concerned with the social body as a whole) and "micro" (concerned with the individual and expressed in the language of personal fulfilment). Indeed, Freire's key concepts of dialogue and praxis, reflection and action, problematization and codification all emphasise change in the individual rather than the group. The way in which individual reflection and

action is translated into political activity is not spelt out in Freire's writing. Illustrating his point with an obscure (but hardly unrepresentative) quotation from Pedagogy of the Oppressed, in which Freire eschews criteria of development based on study of per capita or gross income and states that "The basic, elementary criterion... is whether or not the society is a 'being for itself'", Leach asks

Is it not rather naive to assume that once the "contradiction" of dependency has been broken, such a society will emerge into a state of "being for itself", whatever that may mean? [Leach 1982:187].

Freire's mystical, metaphysical bent is evident here and Leach rightly stresses the fundamental importance of religious ideas and the moral assumptions based on them to Freire's theories about the process of conscientization and humanization [Leach 1982:187]. At one level this takes Freire's theories beyond the realm of rational argument: if his approach is grounded in faith it cannot be challenged effectively from a secular standpoint. Leach attempts to resolve this paradox through an examination of Freire's concept of dialogue. He addresses the major criticism of Freire's notion of dialogue: that it is contradictory, arguing that however wrong-headed he may be about material conditions, Freire nowhere implies that all knowledge is equally valuable, but rather that all human beings are intrinsically equal and therefore capable of engaging in a dialogue of equals. Leach sees dialogue as the critical linking concept, the one which brings together in a series of

dialectical relationships the several polarities in Freire's thinking. For Leach [1982:189]

It is the key to his distinction between "communication" and "extension" and to his "models" or "hypotheses" about the actions of "oppressors" and the necessary, corresponding action of "authentic" revolutionaries. One type of action is "antidialogical"; the other must be "dialogical".

However, this does not solve the problem. Leach's (and Freire's) argument is circular: "authentic" revolutionaries engage in dialogue, therefore they are "authentic" revolutionaries. This takes us no further forward. Leach also collapses together Freirean dialogue and Marxist dialectics, in line with his belief that Freire's approach is compatible with Marxism. Leach's analysis of Freire's concept of praxis and the social context implied in his work [1982:189-196], continues this theme of Freire's "characteristically Marxist inclination" [Leach 1982:191].

The problem remains that since people are manifestly unequal in most if not all societies particularly, by definition, in oppressive ones, the implication is that Freire's educative process is necessary to enable them to become more fully human, more equal, of greater intrinsic worth. The corollary is that without the educative process people are less than fully human, less equal, of less intrinsic worth, a point Leach himself makes [1982:195]. It is this which makes Freire's concept of dialogue contradictory, for it envisages dialogue as both the means and the end of the educational process. If this is so,

it is necessary to be able to discriminate between these two types of dialogue: dialogue-as-means or technique and dialogue-as-ends or goal. Are they qualitatively different or different only in degree? Freire nowhere acknowledges the problem exists, or indicates the criteria by which such discrimination might be made.

There is also a more mundane contradiction: Freire's emphasis on dialogue implies a quasi-conversational, discussion-based mode of teaching and learning belied by the highly structured methodology of literacy teaching which is his major contribution to educational theory and practice. In addition, beyond his claims for dialogue as an educational process in the usual sense of the word, Freire claims that "Dialogical relations are the model for social relations in revolutionary societies" in Leach's paraphrase [1982:188].

If Freire's idea of dialogue is contradictory, then this has serious implications for those inspired by his example and seeking to learn from his approach, and it is to a consideration of two such projects that we turn next. These are: the work of the Adult Learning Project, an explicitly Freirean adult community education project in Edinburgh, and an exploration of the relevance of Freire's ideas to notions of industrial democracy.

### Freirean Practice in the UK: The Adult Learning Project

The Adult Learning Project (ALP) in Gorgie-Dalry, Edinburgh, is "a sustained experiment in applying the principles of the Brazilian adult educationist, Paulo Freire, in a Western European post-industrial urban environment" [Bown in Kirkwood and Kirkwood 1989:ix]. According to the authors of a recent book about the project by Kirkwood and Kirkwood [1989], it is an experiment that works. ALP is not and never has been an adult literacy project, so in this respect it is not engaged in the kind of work for which Freire is most famous, although "post-literacy" work was planned for Brazil before the coup and has been an important part of Freire's work in Africa and Latin America. Freire himself, who visited the project in the 1980s, has endorsed its work, which takes many forms, including learning programmes, a skills exchange, photographic workshop, writers' workshop, training and consultation and collaborations with Health Visitors, all of which have developed from the Freirean education process. While an independent evaluation of the project has yet to be undertaken, and is outside the scope of this thesis, this section will explore those elements which the authors, in their final chapter reflecting on the experience of ALP, relate specifically to Freire.

In their section on authority and responsibility, the authors state that

ALP struggles to restore the authority of the educator and of



expert knowledge, while at the same time promoting the authority of the learner as co-educator [Kirkwood and Kirkwood 1989:135].

The choice of the word "restore" is interesting here, since in most educational activity the authority of the educator and of expert knowledge, while they may in practice be in doubt (for example where adolescents resist their schooling), are not so in theory. The issue of leadership and the authority pertaining to leaders, which Freire sees in mystical, quasi-religious terms, is here addressed as a practical problem of the educational process. Because of the non-compulsory nature of adult education it is often thought, naively, that issues of authority and resistance do not arise. Allman [1987:219] takes this view when she writes, "The form which resistance normally takes with adults is non-participation". Furthermore, in adult education, and particularly in adult community education, there is a fairly widely-held view that even to speak of "authority" in this context is elitist and anti-educational, certainly anti-learner, smacking of the worst excesses of traditional, didactic forms of education (Freire's "banking" mode).

The recognition that issues of authority are problematic in adult education as well as in compulsory schooling is an important insight, going beyond Freire's somewhat simplistic formula of the teacher-student engaging in dialogue with the student-teacher. What is being addressed here is the problem of the power differential between educator and learner, between

different kinds of knowledge and different ways of knowing. What is stressed by both the ALP workers and Freire is the responsibility of both parties to the educational process to be both trusting and trustworthy while maintaining and extending their critical awareness.

An ALP worker, Stan Reeves, has made the point [11] that some adult educators in this country had tried to translate Freire's concern for the education of the oppressed into a UK context by going out and looking for the most disadvantaged people they could find in order to work with them. This he regarded as based on a misunderstanding of the position of the poor in countries such as Brazil: the sheer numbers of the poor and their concentration in the favelas means that their poverty is "normal", they are not oppressed and marginalised within their own communities. The situation is very different in urban Scotland where the very poor are dispersed as a result of public sector housing policy, and usually housed in specific streets on large housing estates. The aim of such policies is to ensure that social cohesion can be maintained by avoiding over-concentration of the most destitute on particular estates. Insofar as social cohesion prevails most of the time in most places, it may be that this policy is successful, although clearly there could be other reasons to account for this. The point is that it marginalises those who are subject to it within what might be regarded as their own communities in a way that, Reeves claims, does not happen in the favelas of Brazil.

Similarly, according to Reeves, the experience of those adult educators cited above has been that only a certain number of the very disadvantaged poor can be absorbed in learning groups without loss of social cohesion in the group.

Kirkwood and Kirkwood also recognise that although "dialogue" presupposes a shared language, this does not necessarily exist between parties to the educational process. As they put it [1989:136]

Taking part in the ALP learning process places each participant at a set of interfaces between different languages. There is Paulo Freire's abstract theoretical language, the ALP workers' understanding of it and their attempts to translate it into English, and the language of each member of the group. There are issues of movement from concrete to abstract and from colloquial to formal, to say nothing of the different meanings individuals intend by the words and phrases they use.

However, rather than seeing this multiplicity of languages as a problem, they see it at least potentially as a major source of learning for both parties to the educational enterprise. The notion of dialogue, thus problematised, and removed from the confusions brought about by its association in Freire's work with dialectics, is a useful one.

Dialogue, thus conceived, does not just spontaneously occur and it is in the structures and procedures for enabling it to take place that the ALP workers' commitment to Freire's ideas is most immediately obvious. Their approach is structured into a sequence of stages with clear tasks, which, as they acknowledge is unusual in the informal world of community education.

However

Structure in ALP does not mean rigidity. The structure is held by the worker. At best it creates a sense of being safe for participants to make spontaneous and authentic contributions to the theme being explored [Kirkwood and Kirkwood 1989:136].

Much clearly depends on the authority of the workers and their integrity in not abusing that authority.

An important difference between the work of ALP and Freire's work in Brazil, Chile and the former Portuguese colonies in Africa, is remarked on [1989:137]: in such contexts

the fundamental theme is oppression. In Gorgie Dalry, ALP workers have found that the most prevalent theme is alienation and the increasing privatization of people's lives.

This is significant because one of the difficulties adult educators in the West have found in coming to terms with Freire's ideas has been that liberal democratic societies are not usually regarded, at least by non-Marxists, as oppressive. Over the last twenty years or so, this complacency has been challenged by feminists and others, but it is still the case that oppression is largely seen in the West as a problem of other societies. Alienation, in a sense close to Durkheim's anomie, is rather more familiar, although use of the term is mainly restricted to academic circles: the concept is familiar even if the name for it is not [12]. For Kirkwood and Kirkwood [1989:137], a major task implied by the prevalence of alienation is "to encourage people to contact, communicate and collaborate with each other, and begin to see the possibility

of taking risks and contributing to change in society". The question is, of course, what kind of risks and what kind of change?

While they do not spell out the answers to these questions exactly, Kirkwood and Kirkwood [1989:138] highlight the ethical, religious and political implications of the work of ALP, while acknowledging, with Freire, the limited role of the educator in this respect. Their emphasis is on ethical and religious issues partly as a deliberate attempt to redress the balance, since, as they say [1989:138], "Much writing on Freire has stressed the political dimensions at the expense of the educational work". As a result it is not clear what form of political organization of society is implied by their approach, but the form of morality with which it should be imbued is more clear. As they conclude [1989:138]

Freire's pedagogy is about facilitating people's emergence from their isolated position in the crowd, and their struggle to help create the good society, founded on dialogue and respect for each person as a subject, where people take responsibility for themselves and for others, where being is recognised as more important than having, where the need to have enough is seen as a necessary precondition for being to the full, and where the attempt by the few to accumulate great power and wealth is recognized as a denial of participation to the many.

From the Kirkwoods' account, ALP would seem to exemplify aspects of several of Lovett, Clarke and Kilmurray's models (outlined above in Chapter V), although they do not refer to these models or any other writing by Lovett, an interesting

omission, since Lovett is undoubtedly the best known UK writer/practitioner on community adult education and has frequently acknowledged the influence of Freire on his work.

For example, the project provides local information, resources and advice, as in Lovett et al.'s "community development/education" model, including working with Health Visitors to provide a "community dimension" to their ongoing training [Kirkwood and Kirkwood 1989:17,24] as well as offering training and consultancy to a variety of organizations. It is doubtful, however, whether ALP workers would accept the criticism of work in this model reported by Lovett et al.: that its emphasis on co-operation distracts attention from the root causes of social problems by focussing on personal deficiencies. ALP also falls within Lovett et al.'s third model: community action/education, insofar as ALP workers identify and commit themselves to issues of concern to local people. This they did, for example, in the ALP "Play in the Terraces" project which attempted to improve playspace for children and in the Manifesto Group, which drew up a manifesto of principles and policies for education, housing, employment and the environment [Kirkwood and Kirkwood 1989:17]. Appropriately, since ALP is an avowedly Freirean project, Lovett et al. call attention to the belief that this model is in line with Freire's pedagogy [Lovett et al. 1983:38]. The fourth model, "social action/education", also fits aspects of ALP's activities, in particular the fact that the espousal of

Freire's methods have led to an emphasis on structure and systematic learning that, as the Kirkwoods acknowledge, is unusual in community education. Another feature of model four, hard sustained intellectual effort, is approved at ALP, albeit in a different form from that usually adopted in the example that Lovett et al. give [1983:40], that of trade union education in extra-mural departments.

The range of ALP's activities is impressive, as is the project workers' commitment to an honest interpretation of Freire's ideas and methods. The fact that the project can be seen to fit into three of Lovett et al.'s four models may reflect the flexibility and creativeness of ALP or point to conceptual inadequacies of the models. Certainly, the project does not appear to treat Freire's ideas as "holy writ" and there are other philosophical and practical influences on ALP which are outlined in the Kirkwoods' book.

It is to an exploration of the relevance of Freire's approach to work cited as typical of model four, trade union education, that we turn in the next section.

#### Freire and Notions of Industrial Democracy in Britain

Wilson [1978] has investigated the implication for industrial democracy in Britain of Freire's philosophy and methods.

Basing his argument on his experience of working with workplace union representatives drawn from the Sheffield steel industry, he proposes a Freirean educational programme in which workers and educators explore together, through dialogue, the "limit situations" which effect them and act to transform them.

Wilson contends that

Only in this way will the manager/worker conflict break down and an interdependency be established, an interdependence [sic] based on a functional understanding of work and its organisation. [Wilson 1978:v]

Wilson acknowledges that despite claims that Britain is a "classless society", managers and workers are still divided on the basis of class. While, this division is "more subtle than the old Marxian distinction between capital and labour, between those who bought and those who sold labour, [it] is nonetheless very real" [Wilson 1978:21]. The Marxian distinction will not hold, for Wilson, because managers do not usually own the means of production. However, for the workers, the essential elements of class difference are still present, these being

education, income, security of work, nature of work, perquisites of work and, effective consultation machinery notwithstanding, control of work, and an expected deferential attitude from those of "lower order". [Wilson 1978:21]

Since those in control will not voluntarily give up their power, the workers must free themselves: according to Wilson [1978:22]

It is the case with British industrial workers therefore as with Freire's Chilean peasants, that only they can bring about their own humanization: industrial democracy cannot be brought about by managements nor Governments: it must grow from the developed critical consciousness of the workers.



Using Freire's analysis of the states of developing consciousness, the semi-intransitive, the naive transitive and the fully transitive, Wilson argues that the British worker is already beyond the semi-intransitive state, but that the transition to fully transitive consciousness is "thwarted and undermined sometimes unconsciously, sometimes not, by the propagation of new myths and the retention of old teaching methods" [Wilson 1978:23]. The "new myths" of "science and knowledge, technology and progress, capitalism and freedom, communism and oppression" are assiduously propagated, yet "the majority do not believe", but lack the confidence to "stamp their mind upon reality" [Wilson 1978:23-4]. The "old teaching methods", those proscribed by Freire as "banking" methods, predominate both in employers' training schemes and in those set up by the TUC for workplace representatives. Wilson argues that such courses, and the new-found enthusiasm for industrial democracy manifested by employers and the government are motivated by a desire to "domesticate", rather than "liberate" workers. For Wilson [1978:30],

the true role of industrial education [is] the awakening of consciousness in the industrial worker to the givenness of industrial life, and the development of critical consciousness enabling men to act creatively on their world

Wilson contrasts the British tradition of collective bargaining with Freirean "cultural revolution" [1978:32]

Collective bargaining is reactive, a response to situations already determined: cultural revolution is pro-active, a

continuous critical examination of present reality and the transformation of the "given" into a new common present. Collective bargaining uses negotiation which is rooted in conflict and power, cultural revolution uses dialogue which is rooted in trust and love. Collective bargaining represents the actions of men upon reality, but cultural revolution demands both action and reflection.

For Wilson [1978:33], "Only when collective bargaining is linked to fully transitive consciousness i.e. critical consciousness arising out of dialogical education, is cultural revolution realised". To effect this transformation, Wilson proposes an ambitious scheme to involve all industrial workers, beginning in schools and continuing in the workplace in "groups of praxis" (which he suggests might be called "F Groups" in honour of Freire), meeting for three hours each week with a co-educator for the first two years of work. From these groups, workers' representatives would emerge who would carry forward workers' education and in the process, "an authentic system of industrial democracy would evolve" [Wilson 1978:34].

Wilson suggests [1978:43] that his proposed "F Groups" should draw on the psychological insights underlying "T Groups" and that the two forms are complementary.

Freire begins in the underdeveloped world where passivity is the result of political domination, the "T Group" begins in the developed world where passivity is the result of technological domination. The "T Group" is a response to modern society made inhuman as a by-product of technology, and the emphasis is psychological. Freire's culture groups are a response to a society made inhuman as a direct result of political oppression, and the emphasis is sociological.

Wilson's model would appear to fall within the parameters of Lovett et al.'s model four in its insistence on social rather than community action and on working class rather than community education. However, Wilson's optimism about the prospects for industrial democracy and his Freirean emphasis on moral matters such as love and dialogue in industrial relations look increasingly anachronistic and naive in the face of domestic political changes since his monograph was published. He acknowledges [1978:41] that legislation would be needed "on the lines of the Russell Report" to bring his programme to fruition and such legislation has not been forthcoming. In any case, not only legislation, but finance would be required and it is unclear why government or employers would choose to underwrite a scheme dedicated to cultural revolution. Even if they did, acceptance of government- or employer-funding would compromise Wilson's fundamental principle that the workers must liberate themselves. So what of trade union-funding? Here the decline of the labour college movement shows the pitfalls of relying on funding from individual trades unions and existing TUC courses (which at least avoid the problems of too close an identification with the political expedients of any particular union) are condemned by Wilson because of their commitment to an old-fashioned pedagogic style.

The link Wilson suggests between "F Groups" and "T Groups" is an interesting one, which would bear further investigation, but it seems unlikely that such groups could form the basis of a

transformed democratic society such as Wilson envisages. Whether they would lead to an improvement in industrial relations is another matter: the question is, in the absence of an effective organization working for fundamental political change (something Wilson omits to mention), in whose interests would such an outbreak of industrial harmony be?

### Conclusion

It may be that putting moral and ethical issues back onto the agenda of adult education is Freire's most important contribution to the theory and practice of adult education. While his work does not constitute an ethics of adult education, (rather it assumes incorrectly that a common ethical position exists and is shared between Freire and his readers) this very omission points to the need for an ethical framework. On the macrocosmic political level, Freire's vagueness and eclecticism make such a framework all the more necessary in order to inform a "Freirean" approach which may otherwise be used to support regimes that Freire regards as oppressive. Similarly, on the microcosmic level of relations between individual tutors and students, the ethical stance implied in Freire's work is problematic for the reasons outlined above.

In the West, Freire's books continue to enjoy an educated (if sometimes puzzled) readership. In his books, consultancies and

personal appearances, and through the work of IDAC, Freire reports on the world of the silent to the metropolitan world which, for him, has monopolised the word. He seems unable to resolve the contradiction between reporting and dialogue. Even in his later work, where his style is noticeably less opaque, he falls into the error (for one committed to dialogue) of publishing only one side (his own) of the correspondence with Guinea-Bissau. Freire's rhetoric is seductive, yet his claim that education is political remains a romantic ideal. It is not enough to say that political leaders, or educators, must commit class suicide and devote their lives to the people. Without a clear political framework such action is a sacrifice, but to what end?

One is left with the vision of middle class individuals driven by guilt to atone for the sins of their class through service to the poor and oppressed, and in the process either silencing themselves or silencing those they have imposed themselves on, unbidden, as leaders. In either case, such action is ameliorative at best, and invasive and incorporative at worst. Freire may not have moved very far after all from the Catholic Action movement to which he belonged as a young man. It may be that Christianity and Marxism are capable of synthesis in the formation of a coherent theory of adult education, Freire has not achieved this synthesis in his work so far, but his influence on radical adult educators is nonetheless undeniable.

## NOTES

1. See for example, Giroux [1985]; Jackson [1980:11]; Lovett [1982]; Kirkwood and Kirkwood [1989].
2. See for example, Lloyd [1972:10]; Stanley [1972:41] and Lowe [1977].
3. See Mackie (ed.) [1980]; Elias and Merriam [1980].
4. See Maccin [1972]; Boston in Grabowski (ed.) [1972]; Wright [1973; 1974]; Pryor [1974]; Wren [1974]; Goodwin, B. [1975]; Elias [1976; 1977]; Schipani [1981; c.1984]; Retamal [1981] and numerous articles in the ecumenical journals: Convergence, its Australian counterpart Dialogue and the WCC publication Risk. For liberation theology, see De Kadt [1970]; Gutiérrez [1973]; Gheebrant [1974] and Boff [1985].
5. See Kozol [1972]; Kohl [1973]; Elias [1977].
6. See Reimer [1969]; Kozol [1972]; Reed [1974]; De Oliviera and Dominice [1974]; Giroux [1981; 1983; 1985]; O'Gorman [1978]; Aronowitz and Giroux [1985]; Shor [1980; 1987]; James [1990].
7. See Sanders [1973]; Mashayekh [1974]; Berggren and Berggren [1975]; Srinivasan [1977]; Hoyles [1977]; Mace [1979]; Barndt [1981]; Modrah [1982]; Street [1984].
8. See also Grabowski (ed.) [1972]; Lloyd [1972]; London [1972]; Farmer [1972]; Furter [1974]; Barnes and Bosher [1978]; Wilson [1978]; Jackson [1980]; Mackie (ed.) [1980]; Leach [1982]; Lovett, Clarke and Kilmurray [1983]; Alfred [1984]; Youngman [1986]; Allman in Allen et al. (eds.) [1987]; Lovett [1988]; Alemayehu in Lovett (ed.) [1988]; Allman [1988]; Kirkwood and Kirkwood [1989]. Freire's influence on radical adult education is discussed in Chapter VIII.
9. See Mackie [1980]; Walker [1980].
10. See Freeland [1981]; Bowles [1971]; Kozol [1978].

11. In conversation with the author at ALP, 10th July 1991.

12. The concept of anomie as a social condition characterized by the breakdown of norms governing social interaction, was developed by Emile Durkheim in his work on suicide and enlarged by R.K. Merton into a general theory of deviant behaviour.

## CHAPTER VII

## GRAMSCI

Introduction

Antonio Gramsci was an Italian Marxist who has been described as "an extraordinary philosopher, perhaps a genius, probably the most original communist thinker of the twentieth century in Western Europe" [Hobsbawm, quoted in Davidson 1977:viii]. Gramsci's contribution to Marxist theory has been subject to many interpretations in the years since his death in 1937. Among those seeking inspiration and a theoretical framework for their endeavours in his work are radical adult educators, who have found in Gramsci's work a particularly fertile source of ideas.

After a brief biographical and bibliographical section and a discussion of the different "Gramscisms" which developed after Gramsci's death, this chapter will examine key aspects of Gramsci's work in relation to the education of adults. In particular, these include the centrality of the notion of



politics as educative in his work, his theory of hegemony and the role of intellectuals. The chapter will then consider Gramsci's accounts of two situations exemplifying his concept of politics as educative: the Factory Councils movement and the methods of work of the editorial board of a political newspaper. Gramsci's writing on various aspects of education and on "good sense" and "common sense" are then explored and finally the chapter will consider some interpretations of Gramsci's writing in relation to the education of adults.

#### Biographical and Bibliographical Details [1]

Gramsci was born in Ales, Sardinia in 1891, the fourth of seven children. Sardinia was an extremely poor and backward island and the family subsisted on Gramsci's father's salary as a minor government official. The family was plunged into dire poverty during the years 1898 to 1904 when Gramsci's father was in prison. Gramsci's health was poor throughout his life following an accident in infancy which left him partially crippled and physically weak. What education he received was interrupted by illness and the need to earn money to augment the family income. Nevertheless, Gramsci worked hard at his studies and in 1911 he won a meagre scholarship for poor students to the University of Turin. There he studied Greek, Latin, geography, philosophy, modern history and Italian literature for a humanities degree, specialising in historical

linguistics, the subject of his thesis, while suffering continuing ill-health exacerbated by extreme poverty.

The contrast between Sardinia and Turin could hardly have been greater. Turin in 1911 was a large industrial city, the home of the Fiat works, one of the most modern factories in Italy, with a workforce which was, correspondingly, one of the most advanced, both technically and politically. In and around the university was a group of intellectuals who were active in the political struggles of the Turin proletariat. Gramsci made many friends and important political contacts, joining the Socialist Party of Italy (PSI) around 1913 (the precise date is not known).

On a return trip to Sardinia in the summer of 1913 he supported a Sardinian nationalist movement in the general election of that Autumn, the first in which literacy was not a condition of the franchise. He was moved by the sight of Sardinian peasants voting for the first time, and, as Germino [1990:35] notes in his account of this period in Gramsci's life

What was to become Gramsci's repeated emphasis on the potential of impoverished masses who are powerless individually to become powerful collectively has its origins in his observations of what he called the "palinogenetic" effect of the Sardinian elections.

During the academic year 1914-15, Gramsci took a course in Marxism given by Annibale Pastore, who also gave him private lessons. In the following four years Gramsci studied the

following works by Marx: The Communist Manifesto; Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany [i.e. Address of the Central Committee to the Communist League]; The Holy Family; The Poverty of Philosophy and the Introduction to the Critique of Political Economy; mostly in a French translation [Leonetti quoted in Germino 1990:31].

In 1915 he left the university without completing his thesis (although he continued to work on it until 1918) in order to devote himself to his journalistic and political activities, including adult education. He lectured to workers' cultural circles in 1916 and in the next few years helped to run a discussion group in 1918, a workers' school from 1918 to 1920, and an Institute of Proletarian Culture from 1921 to 1922 [SCW:16]. In 1917 he established the "Club for the Moral Life", comprising himself and three young men who had been forced, by poverty, to leave school early. Despite its name, this was not a puritan organization but a self-help educational and cultural group which Gramsci hoped would be the first of many. A surviving member of the club has described how the club members met and talked informally as they walked in the street, sharing Gramsci's passion for honesty and trust in personal relations and passing round a copy of Marcus Aurelius' Meditations [Germino 1990:34]. The club broke up when two members were drafted into the army in 1918 but, as Germino [1990:34] points out

That ordinary young working people, with no formal education

beyond the fifth grade, could rapidly absorb great ideas of the past can only have impressed Gramsci as a possible model of revolutionary change through the multiplication of such clubs... among the most intellectually alive of the working class.

Gramsci became a leading figure in the organization of the Factory Councils [2] and wrote for and later edited the socialist papers Il Grido del Popolo and Avanti. In April 1919 the weekly review Ordine Nuovo was founded by Tasca, Togliatti, Terracini and Gramsci. After an editorial coup by Gramsci and Togliatti in June of that year it became the crucial organising and theoretical element in the formation of the Factory Councils. Gramsci saw the Factory Councils as instruments both for the maintenance of production and the creation of a counter-hegemonic consciousness. The Councils were modelled on and inspired by the soviets in Russia, and were an attempt to translate the lessons of the Russian Revolution into an Italian context. Together with the territorial soviets, the Factory Councils were to be the basic elements of the political organisation of the post-revolutionary Italian socialist state.

Gramsci's writings of this period were produced in the midst of struggle and reflect the triumphs and setbacks of his political activity. The Communist Party of Italy (PCdI) was formed by Gramsci and others after a split with the PSI in 1921. The same year saw the first period of fascist terror in Italy, followed in 1922 by Mussolini's seizure of power and the

declaration of the world's first fascist state, supported by the monarchy, the army and Italian capitalism and the middle classes. Gramsci left for Moscow as the PCI delegate to the Comintern, where he stayed for 18 months. During his time in Russia he met and married Julia Schucht, with whom he had two children. Meanwhile, a warrant was issued for his arrest in Italy and prevented his return.

In 1923 Gramsci moved to Vienna to head a newly-founded Comintern Bureau for anti-fascist action. In the following year, while still in exile, Gramsci became leader of the PCI. Opinions differ as to Gramsci's attitude to the Comintern - for example, Hoare [SPW II:xx] considers that Gramsci wholeheartedly accepted Comintern policy and was mistaken in so doing, while Germino [1990:145-7] maintains that he was critical of the Comintern, citing Gramsci's comment to Togliatti and others in 1924 "the Communist International is a world party, even if that has to be understood with many grains of salt" and writing to his wife that Stalin's attack on Trotsky and his allies was irresponsible and dangerous. Certainly Gramsci was most anxious that the schisms developing in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) should not weaken the international movement, as is shown by his letter to the CPSU Central Committee [SPW II:426-432].

Gramsci was elected to parliament in Rome despite fascist rigging of the election and returned to Italy only to be

arrested in November 1926 and eventually sentenced to twenty years imprisonment. In prison he suffered physical and mental agony as his health collapsed. His wife had a series of nervous illnesses which confined her for much of the time to clinics in Moscow. Despite his appalling difficulties, Gramsci was able to read books and periodicals in prison, thanks to an open account with a Milan bookshop, opened for him by his friend, the economist, Piero Sraffa. After the first two or three years of his imprisonment he was allowed to write, although only under conditions of strict censorship. Thereafter he continued to develop and record his ideas using coded phrases in order to deceive the fascist censor. He eventually filled more than thirty notebooks [3], and wrote numerous letters to his family and friends [4]. The notebooks gave a focus to his inner life while in prison and he filled them with political ideas, arguments and critiques of the prevailing modes of thought of his time, continuing to work on them up to the time of his death. Although the partially encoded notes are fragmented, incomplete and sometimes repetitive, they undoubtedly contain elements of his mature thought at its most incisive and creative as he reflected on and analysed the lessons of defeat.

Gramsci died of a cerebral haemorrhage in 1937 at the age of 46. He was unable to edit the notebooks and we can never know what his intentions were with respect to their final form, but that he considered the notes important is clear. In a letter

to his sister-in-law written early in his imprisonment, Gramsci told her that his intention was to write something "fur ewig" (for ever) [LP:79]. The Prison Notebooks stand as his political testament but their fragmentary and coded form means that it is a testament peculiarly open to different interpretations. Gramsci's successors have been arguing over the nature of their inheritance ever since.

#### Gramscism After Gramsci

After Gramsci's death his Prison Notebooks were smuggled out of Italy to Moscow. After the Second World War they were published in Italy together with collections of his earlier (pre-1926) political writings and some of his prison letters [Platone 1948-51]. Gramsci's work was not completely unknown in Britain in the immediate post-war period, for example the Times Literary Supplement published two anonymous articles about Gramsci following the publication in Italy of the Einaudi edition of the Prison Notebooks [TLS 28.8.48 and 5.12.52]. However, his work was certainly not widely known and made little impact: as Hobsbawm relates, when he was asked to speak at the first Gramsci conference in Italy in 1958 about Gramsci in Britain, he had to say that while a few people on the Left knew that he was important, very little was actually known about him [Hobsbawm 1987].

It was not until a selection of Gramsci's writing was translated and published in England and in the United States in 1957 that he began to be known to a small circle of active Marxists in Britain and North America [Gramsci 1957]. The timing was fortuitous: as Forgacs put it in his account of Gramsci and Marxism in Britain, "Gramsci was thus conveyed into the culture of the Left on the tide of the post-1956 thaw, destalinization and the formation of the first New Left" [Forgacs 1989:73]. In the French Left, a similar equation between Gramsci and humanism was made so that in both France and Britain Gramsci came to be seen primarily as a humanist Marxist. As Forgacs makes clear, it was this interpretation of Gramsci which was subsequently attacked by Althusser and Poulantzas (both of whom were profoundly influenced by Gramsci) in the mid-1960s [Forgacs 1989:75f].

Forgacs [1989:74] identifies two directions from which "intellectual brokerage" was instrumental in bringing Gramsci's work to the attention of a wider audience in the early 1960s, both of which are still resonant today. These were the work on culture and class by Raymond Williams and E.P. Thompson and theoretically innovative writings on the British state and the labour movement by Perry Anderson and Tom Nairn, published in New Left Review in 1963 and 1964.

Of these, the first set of "brokers" was only indirectly influenced by Gramsci. However, as Forgacs makes clear



their work on culture provided a framework, an intellectual space, within which Gramsci, or at least a certain side of Gramsci, could be made visible and readable, a space which his own work would, in turn, begin to illuminate and reconstruct from within. Gramsci, or a certain way of looking at Gramsci, fitted in very well with the Marxist humanism and the "culture and community" outlook which began gaining ground throughout Western Europe as a reaction to the invasion of Hungary by Soviet troops in 1956. [Forgacs 1989:74]

In his analysis of the theses of the second "brokers", Nairn and Anderson, Forgacs [1989:76] identifies five features delineating their Gramscian character

First, there is their attentiveness to the peculiarities of national history. Second, they take the form of an interweaving of long-period historical analysis, diagnosis of the contemporary situation and an attempt to work out a strategic perspective for the Left. Third, they make a distinct break with economism, manifested at two levels: in their severing of a direct and instrumental connection between the economic base and the political superstructure (the British state did not represent the economically dominant class directly but, as Tom Nairn put it in 1963, by "a system of delegated hegemony") and in their emphasis on the cultural and ideological aspects of political domination. Fourth, they display a peculiar awareness of the process by which historically contingent relations of social domination are eternalized and naturalised as "common sense". Fifth, they launch a critique of the labour movement for its failure to effect a passage from an economic-corporatist to a hegemonic culture, in other words to put itself at the head of a bloc of social forces.

As Forgacs points out [1989:76], Nairn and Anderson's thorough assimilation of Gramsci posed an important alternative both to the culturalism of the Williams/Thompson project and to the economistic Marxism-Leninism of the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB). Nevertheless their Gramscism remained at an abstract level, isolated within a discourse of "professional intellectuals" with no concrete political project through which

it might be tested and developed.

The result of this competition between interpretations of Gramsci was

a situation in which Gramsci was read highly selectively and, in political terms, rather abstractly. Gramsci was used to fill the gaps created by the theoretical and political crisis of Marxism-Leninism around 1956, to correct its economistic and mechanistic simplifications. He was interpreted mainly in a culturalist way, as the theorist of hegemony, the intellectuals, "common sense", or as the "theoretician of the superstructures" [Forgacs 1989:77].

This interpretation of Gramsci set the scene for his reception from the late 1960s on, when a wider selection of his work began to be published in English. In particular, the publication in 1971 of Selections From the Prison Notebooks in English aroused considerable interest and the 1970s and 1980s saw the publication of further key texts in English translation [5]. A critical edition of the Prison Notebooks in the original Italian, edited by Valentino Gerratana and based on a chronological reconstruction of the manuscripts and including rejected drafts as well as revised pieces was published in Italy in 1975. Gramsci's writings are still only available in English in selections, although a complete English translation, edited by Joseph A. Buttigieg, is being prepared for publication by Columbia University Press.

Gramsci is now recognised in the English-speaking world as a major Marxist, and one who was unusual amongst communist

leaders of his period in that he was both a major Marxist theorist and a leader of what was for a time in the 1920s a mass revolutionary party, as Hobsbawm [1987] has pointed out.

Interpretations of Gramsci's work are fought over with as much passion as ever. The issue of the connections between different periods in his work, particularly the question of continuities or disjunctions between the Gramsci of the Prison Notebooks and his earlier writing, is unresolved and likely to remain so, given the fact that the notebooks are, as Stuart Hall [1987] has pointed out, an "open text", one on which the writer himself has not had the final word.

Also open to question is the applicability of his ideas today both within Italy and internationally. In Italy, debates about Gramsci's heritage have been dominated by the development of Eurocommunism in the 1970s, when the PCI adapted (some would say distorted) his ideas, claiming to find in such notions as the formation of historical-cultural blocs and the war of position, guidelines for a non-revolutionary strategy of "historic compromise", electoral pact with the ruling Christian Democrats.

Since the 1970s a host of publications have appeared in English commenting on and analysing Gramsci's work from a variety of points of view. Much of this literature has focussed on Gramsci's contribution to Marxist theory and the relevance of

his ideas to advanced capitalist societies in the late twentieth century. Debates continue concerning the relationship of Gramsci's ideas to those of Lenin and the Comintern and his philosophical position in relation to the idealist philosopher, Croce and the Italian Marxist, Labriola [6]. For example, Piccone [1980:5], while acknowledging that Gramsci cannot be seen as a follower of Labriola since the relationship between the two was mediated by Croce, traces the concept of the educative revolution in Italy back through Eurocommunism and Gramsci to Labriola and "the shipwreck of the traditional Marxism of the Second International". According to Piccone [1980:7], "Labriola's early failure to systematize Marxism and his rejection of it as a philosophy of history redirected the aims of Marxist theory toward pedagogy and the creation of the conditions necessary for self-emancipation"; from then, the aim of Italian Marxism became, "the creation of a critical public able to sustain the Marxist project of social reconstruction".

In Britain, three main Gramscian strands are identified by Forgacs [1989:79] as: firstly the New Left, associated with the journal New Left Review; secondly Gramscian currents in the Communist Party; and thirdly academic studies of culture and the media associated with Stuart Hall and others at the Centre for Cultural Studies at Birmingham University and the Popular Culture group at the Open University.

The New Left strand developed from the Nairn and Anderson analyses of the 1960s and the journal continues to feature articles on Gramsci, including Forgacs' bibliography. In the CPGB in the 1970s, Gramsci's name was associated with the Eurocommunist faction and more recently with the magazine Marxism Today, which pioneered an analysis of Thatcherism and argued for a re-definition of the political in Gramscian terms. The CPGB's Manifesto for New Times [1990] attempts to set a new agenda for the Left, inspired by a reading of Gramsci and engaging critically with post-modernist writers such as Baudrillard, Jameson and Lyotard [7].

While "New Times" politics are more a politics of analysis than of strategy, the implied strategy entails the creation of a Gramscian "historical bloc" composed of disparate elements such as the green movement, anti-nuclear protesters, gay and lesbian activists and feminists. This "politics of difference" entails a diminution in the central role of class in socialist politics and this view has been energetically propounded by Ernesto Laclau, Chantal Mouffe and others, who claim to be inspired by Gramsci in their development of "post-Marxism". Much of the debate has taken place in the pages of New Left Review [8]. Some radical adult educators have attempted to develop a "New Times" analysis of the education of adults and these attempts are examined below.

Academic studies of culture and the media represent a more

recent and highly sophisticated development of the culturalist strand which has been influential in the field of education [CCCS 1981]. Indeed, the dominance of culturalist interpretations of Gramsci in Britain is one factor which may account for his appeal for culturalist adult educators. The "culture and community" outlook has been influential in the world of British adult education and Raymond Williams, himself a former WEA tutor, has been important in bringing such ideas into the forefront of debate in books such as Culture and Society [1958]. Some culturalist interpretations of Gramsci are associated with a version (or perversion?) of Gramscism which casts him as a reformist rather than a revolutionary thinker, a position Sarup [1983:143] equates with Eurocommunism. Reformist adult educators are thus able to cite Gramsci in support of strategies which leave the status quo undisturbed and their own position as state-subsidised cultural workers unthreatened. Revolutionaries, meanwhile, can aspire to emulate Gramsci's strategy of the educative revolution.

Gramsci's conception of politics as educative is also attractive to many radical adult educators who see their professional practice as a form of political activity, whether of a revolutionary or a reformist nature. His notion of hegemony offers insights into the processes through which the social and political cohesion and consensus that radical adult educators wish to challenge through their work is maintained. Furthermore, his broad interpretation of education as a

lifelong process makes his ideas particularly interesting to adult educators, while his theory of intellectuals expresses the belief that is arguably the defining characteristic of the committed adult educator: the belief that everyone is an intellectual, that everyone can and does learn throughout life.

However, reading Gramsci as a theorist of adult education is quite as problematic as reading Gramsci the Leninist, Gramsci the Crocean, Gramsci the Eurocommunist, Gramsci the historicist Marxist or Gramsci the culturalist. In some readings of Gramsci, such as the Nairn-Anderson theses, there is no obvious link with adult education outside the narrow confines of courses for adults in contemporary political science. What then is Gramsci's significance for adult educators in the UK? In order to answer this question we shall first examine Gramsci's concept of hegemony and his theory of intellectuals, before turning to those of Gramsci's writings which explicitly address educational issues.

### Key Concepts in Gramsci's Writing

#### Hegemony

One of Gramsci's key contributions to Marxist theory is his

development and application of the concept of hegemony in his analysis of Italian history in the Prison Notebooks [SPN:52-120]. The notes reflect his lifelong interest in what Green [1990:91], in his analysis of the relationship between the development of education systems (excluding adult education) and state formations has called, "the historical particularities of nation, region and cultural formation which provide the material context in which social leadership is won, consolidated and lost".

In these notes Gramsci develops a strategy for revolution in countries where the state holds power as it were in reserve, through the institutions of civil society, rather than through force alone. This strategy he calls "war of position", by contrast with the "war of movement" or direct assault on the state. The war of position entails a process of the establishment of hegemony during what might be a long period before the seizure of state power by the revolutionaries.

Gramsci was not the first Marxist to use the term hegemony, which was in common use by Russian Marxists, especially Plekhanov, from the early 1880s. In this period hegemony denoted a strategy through which an alliance of non-proletarian groups, including intellectuals and peasants and led by the proletariat, would overthrow Tsarism. Lenin developed the notion in What is to be Done? in 1902, in which he stressed the role of the revolutionary vanguard in developing leadership



based on the most advanced theory [Bocock 1986:25-26]. In his early writing Gramsci stresses the importance of building class alliances [see for example SPW I:66-67, 71-74]. Gramsci was certainly aware of Lenin's usage, which, he said, "gave new importance to the front of cultural struggle and constructed the doctrine of hegemony as the complement to the theory of the state as force" [Gramsci quoted by Buci-Glucksmann 1980:390].

In Gramsci's expanded usage, the concept of hegemony rests on Marx's distinction between base and superstructure, within which Gramsci discerns two major superstructural levels: civil society and the state. The maintenance of hegemony is a major function of the dominant class in relation to civil society, comprising the

"spontaneous" consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group [i.e. class]; this consent is "historically" caused by the prestige (and consequently confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production [SPN:12].

The hegemony of the dominant class pervades all aspects of civil society, including the law, education, morality and culture in the widest sense, encompassing what Sarup [1983:141] calls, "the complete fusion of economic, political, intellectual and moral leadership which will be brought about by one fundamental group, and groups allied to it through ideology".

However, Gramsci was no economic determinist and he rejects the

simplistic idea of a purely instrumental class state. As Green states [1990:92], for Gramsci.

The nature of the state and the forms of political representation which are embodied within it cannot be simply read off from the economic relations and class interests on which they are mounted. Rather they are constituted through complex processes of mediation and alliance which are irreducible to particular economic contradictions. Likewise ideologies and the conflict between ideologies must be understood in their full complexity and cannot be reduced to the expression of the economic interests of particular class subjects.

Gramsci recognises that the state successfully maintains hegemony in so far as it succeeds in presenting dominant class interests as if they were universal

It is true that the state is seen as the organ of one particular class, destined to create favourable conditions for the latter's maximum expansion. But the development and expansion of the particular group are conceived of, and presented as being the motor force of a universal expansion, of a development of all the "national" energies. In other words, the dominant group is coordinated concretely with the general interests of the subordinate groups, and the life of the state is conceived of as a continuous process of formation and superseding of unstable equilibria (on the juridical plane) between the interests of the fundamental group and those of the subordinate groups - equilibria in which the interests of the dominant group prevail, but only up to a certain point, i.e. stopping short of narrowly corporate economic interest. [SPN:182]

For Gramsci, leadership is always contested. As Green points out

A hegemonic order represents a temporary settlement, the ideological balance in favour of the ruling class, not the homogeneous substance of an imposed class ideology. It is won through continual conflict which involves the creation of alliances, the attempted incorporation of subordinate groups and, even, the granting of concessions so long as these do not damage the vital interests of the dominant group. [Green 1990:94]

Accordingly, while a hegemonic order

prescribes the limits within which ideas and conflicts move and are resolved... these limits never attain permanence and within them antagonisms, political, cultural and ideological are never fully eliminated since the contradictions at the level of the economic structure, effective through class, never cease to disrupt and disfigure the temporary unity of cultures and ideologies. [Green 1990:95]

In seeking to maintain hegemony, the state exercises an active, ethical function, an idea Gramsci borrowed from Croce and which, ironically, was also used by Mussolini [SPN:258f]. For Gramsci, "every relationship of 'hegemony' is necessarily an educational relationship" [SPN:350] and

Every State is ethical in as much as one of its most important functions is to raise the great mass of the population to a particular cultural and moral level, a level (or type) which corresponds to the needs of the productive forces for development, and hence to the interests of the ruling classes. The school as a positive educational function, and the courts as a repressive and negative educative function are the most important State activities in this sense: but in reality, a multitude of other so-called private initiatives and activities tend to the same end - initiatives and activities which form the apparatus of the political and cultural hegemony of the ruling classes. [SPN:258]

The state thus wins consent through "a global reconstruction of all class interests and the reformulation of these in a new, more universal, language". Thus, the revolutionary moment "involves the reconstitution of society as a whole on new terms. This involves both moral re-education and the transformation of the economic structures themselves" [Green 1990:95].

Gramsci describes the parliamentary regime as a classical

example of the normal exercise of hegemony. As such, it is

characterised by the combination of force and consent, which balance each other reciprocally, without force predominating excessively over consent. Indeed, the attempt is always made to ensure that force will appear to be based on the consent of the majority, expressed by the so-called organs of public opinion - newspapers and associations [SPN:80 n.49].

Again, Green expresses this well, emphasising the complexity of the modern parliamentary state, in which consent does not displace or diminish the power of coercion, rather coercion is kept in the wings. He argues that the state

must be understood in relation to the ways in which power is exercised in complex social formations. The power of the dominant class, or the class alliance which forms the "historic bloc", is now normally comprehensible only in terms of hegemony... Hegemony represents a form of class power that is maintained not only by coercive means but also by the winning of consent for it in civil society. [Green 1990:94]

In his exploration of ways in which working class hegemony could be established, Gramsci, for the first time, described the ways in which the ideas of the ruling class come to hold sway over subordinate classes to such an extent that they constitute the limits of common sense for most people most of the time - a situation described by Raymond Williams as "saturating the consciousness of a society" [Williams 1973]. Gramsci's concept of hegemony thus appears to echo Marx' and Engels' statement in The German Ideology (quoted above, p.264)

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 [Marx and Engels 1974:64].

However, the German Ideology remained unpublished until 1932 and there is no evidence that Gramsci knew of it. Instead, as

Forgacs [1988:164] reports, Lo Piparo has argued that Gramsci's lifelong interest in historical linguistics may have been an important influence on his conception of hegemony. Lo Piparo's persuasive thesis is that Gramsci extended into the political sphere concepts developed to explain the process by which speakers of one language affect speakers of other languages with whom they come into contact. In other words, as Germino points out [1990:30], Gramsci's theory of hegemony "had its roots prior to his intellectual encounter with Marx".

For Gramsci, the antithesis of hegemony, "political government" or "direct domination", comes into play when consent is lacking. It is the

apparatus of State coercive power which "legally" enforces discipline on those groups who do not "consent" either actively or passively. This apparatus is, however, constituted for the whole of society in anticipation of moments of crisis of command and direction when spontaneous consent has failed [SPN:12].

For a revolution to be successful necessitates victory in both the spheres of hegemony and direct domination and Gramsci is thus able to see the revolutionary process as an intellectual and educational phenomenon, as well as a matter of practical politics. It is a process in which intellectuals play a key role and it is to an examination of the nature of that role that we now turn.

### The Role of Intellectuals

Gramsci uses the term "intellectual" in different ways throughout his writing. For example, he refers early on in his political career to the problem posed by intellectuals in the revolutionary movement, using the term in the commonly-accepted way to describe those who are primarily thinkers rather than practical activists. Writing in this vein in 1917 he states that, "The intellectuals represent a dead weight in our movement because they do not have a specific role in it which fits their capabilities" [SCW:21].

Gramsci developed his solution to the problem of the intellectuals in the context of his analysis of the relationship between the industrial north of Italy and the agrarian south. Gramsci's theory of the intellectuals is outlined in the essay "Some Aspects of the Southern Question", written for the planned re-launch of Ordine Nuovo and unfinished because of his arrest. Gramsci regarded the essay as short and superficial [LP:79] and later, writing in prison with time to reflect, he expanded the concept.

In "Some Aspects of the Southern Question" Gramsci differentiates between "southern" intellectuals and the "new type of intellectual" bred by industry: "the technical organizer, the specialist in applied science" [SPW II:454]. Southern intellectuals comprise most of the state bureaucrats

while the new breed of industrial technocrats is based in the north. Gramsci characterises southern society as made up of three social layers:

the great amorphous, disintegrated mass of the peasantry;  
the intellectuals of the petty and medium rural bourgeoisie;  
and the big landowners and great intellectuals [SPW II:454].

In Gramsci's formulation, the middle layer of intellectuals responds to impulses from the peasant base, while the landowners and great intellectuals, such as Benedetto Croce and Giustino Fortunato, dominate and centralize the whole complex of phenomena through their mastery of the political and ideological fields respectively, defusing a potentially revolutionary situation. As such, they are "the two major figures of Italian reaction" [SPW II:454].

Gramsci describes Croce as fulfilling "an extremely important 'national' function" by detaching the radical intellectuals from the peasant masses and forcing them to take part in national and European culture [SPW II:460]. In her analysis of Gramsci's concept of the state, Buci-Glucksmann comments that in the absence of a great and politically united party of the bourgeoisie, "Croce played the role of ideological federator, a cement between the various liberal groups" [Buci-Glucksmann 1980:393]. Croce is thus, for Gramsci, the "Prince" of the bourgeoisie, just as the communist party is the "modern Prince" of the revolutionary working class. But Croce is a Prince whose weakness Gramsci perceives. As



Buci-Glucksmann points out, Gramsci saw that Croce's idealistic historicism was incapable of promoting a genuinely expansive intellectual and moral reform that would reach the masses,

precisely because it made culture into an "autonomous subject", unable to inspire a "constructive psychology". Conversely, the modern Prince, as organizer of this "intellectual and moral reform", would make culture one of the places where the unity of theory and practice is realized, "a specific dimension of the political struggle" [so that] There is no gap between the gnoseology of politics and the struggle for the philosophy of praxis to be a "mass philosophy", the agent of a cultural transformation and a cultural critique of capitalist civiltà [Buci-Glucksmann 1980:396].

If, as Gramsci maintains, culture and politics are dialectically connected, then the role of philosophy is crucial in the construction of a new relationship between them,

the role of a support for a cultural transformation that undermines the buttresses, trenches and organizational reserves of the dominant class and the state. By putting a certain type of civiltà into crisis in favour of another, effecting that celebrated hegemony on two fronts that is a constant theme in Gramsci's thought, it avoids the simultaneous pitfalls of populism (seeing only the civiltà front) and elitism (locating the struggle only in relation to the most developed scientific and cultural tendencies) [Buci-Glucksmann 1980:396].

However, Gramsci is not only interested in analysing the role of those whose intellectual powers are employed in the service of the dominant forces in capitalist society, he is also essentially concerned with the difficult task of the formation of intellectuals committed to the revolutionary movement. In an important passage, Gramsci reflects that, "Intellectuals develop slowly, far more slowly than any other social group, by



their very nature and historical function. They represent the entire cultural tradition of a people, seeking to resume and synthesize all of its history" [SPW II:462]. It is therefore very difficult for intellectuals en masse to "break with the entire past and situate themselves totally upon the terrain of a new ideology" [SPW II:462].

Nevertheless, what Gramsci calls "a break of an organic kind, historically characterized" is essential in order that the necessary political alliance between the Northern proletariat and the Southern peasant masses may be forged by intellectuals committed to the revolutionary cause [SPW II:462]. For Gramsci, the formation of such an alliance is vital

The proletariat can become the leading [dirigente] and the dominant class to the extent that it succeeds in creating a system of class alliances which allows it to mobilise the majority of the working population against capitalism and the bourgeois State. In Italy, in the real class relations which exist there, this means to the extent that it succeeds in gaining the consent of the broad peasant masses. [SPW II:443]

The alliance would be backed up by a programme of the division of land amongst the peasants, provision of credit, the setting up of cooperatives, guarantee of security of person and property against looters and the establishment of public works of reclamation and irrigation [SPW II:442]. This is in the interests of both workers and peasants because only through such an alliance would it be possible to oust the bourgeoisie from state power.

In the Prison Notebooks Gramsci develops this theme into a fully-fledged theory of the intellectuals. Gramsci starts by rejecting the idea that intellectuals exist as a distinct social category, independent of class. He sees this as an idea born of

a widespread error of method [in which] the criterion of distinction is looked for in the intrinsic nature of intellectual activities, rather than in the ensemble of the system of relations in which these activities (and therefore the intellectual groups who personify them) have their place within the general complex of social relations [SPN:8].

Instead he stresses that, "All men are intellectuals,... but not all men have in society the social function of intellectuals" [SPN:9].

Those who are intellectuals by social function are divided by Gramsci into two groups: organic and traditional. The distinction is, as Hoare [1980:321] reminds us, a conceptual rather than simply an empirical one, the categories not being mutually exclusive. Organic intellectuals are so called because they perform an educational and organisational role on behalf of their class, giving it "homogeneity and an awareness of its own function not only in the economic but also in the social and political fields" [SPN:5]. The working class must produce its own organic intellectuals to perform the task of articulating and disseminating the hegemony of their class over society as a whole. For Gramsci, "Critical self-consciousness means, historically and politically, the creation of an elite of intellectuals" [SPN:334].

In Gramsci's formulation, the working class organic intellectual is an active participator in practical - industrial and political - life "as constructor, organiser, 'permanent persuader' and not just a simple orator" [SPN:10]. These intellectuals must be "'specialised' in conceptual and philosophical elaboration of ideas" [SPN:334]. Technical education, "closely bound to industrial labour even at the most primitive and unqualified level must form the basis of the new type of intellectual" [SPN:9]. In this way, organic intellectuals of the working class would be "the whalebone in the corset", [SPN:340] able to make politically possible the intellectual progress of the mass through working out and making coherent, "the principles and problems raised by the masses in their practical activity, thus constituting a cultural and social bloc" [SPN:330]. In this way

consciousness of being part of a particular hegemonic force (that is to say, political consciousness) is the first stage towards a further progressive self-consciousness in which theory and practice will finally be one [SPN:333].

In a highly condensed passage in the Prison Notebooks [SPN:9], Gramsci outlines the nature of the problem of creating this new stratum of intellectuals: this is a problem which consists

in the critical elaboration of the intellectual activity that exists in everyone at a certain degree of development, modifying its relationship with the muscular-nervous effort towards a new equilibrium, and ensuring that the muscular-nervous effort itself, in so far as it is an element of a general practical activity, which is perpetually innovating the physical and social world, becomes the foundation of a new and integral conception of the world.

The political development of hegemony by working class organic intellectuals.

necessarily supposes an intellectual unity and an ethic in conformity with a conception of reality that has gone beyond common sense and become, if only within narrow limits, a critical conception [SPN:333].

Critical thought means criticising one's own conception of the world in order to make it, "a coherent unity and to raise it to the level reached by the most advanced thought in the world" [SPN:324]. It entails the discovery that one belongs to a fundamental social class, with all the implications of that discovery for one's historical role in society. The starting point for this is

the consciousness of what one really is, and is "knowing thyself" as a product of the historical process which has deposited in you an infinity of traces without leaving an inventory [SPN:324].

Gramsci recognised the difficulty of developing working class organic intellectuals under capitalism. As he wrote in the Prison Notebooks

If our aim is to produce a new stratum of intellectuals including those capable of the highest degree of specialisation, from a social group which has not traditionally developed the appropriate attitudes, then we have unprecedented difficulties to overcome [SPN:43].

Nevertheless, the creation of working class organic intellectuals is essential because

a human mass does not "distinguish" itself, does not become independent in its own right without, in the widest sense, organising itself; and there is no organisation without intellectuals, that is without organisers and leaders [SPN:334].

The relationship between the masses and working class organic intellectuals, leaders and led, must be dialectical and complementary. Gramsci points out that, "The popular element 'feels' but does not always know or understand; the intellectual element 'knows' but does not always understand and in particular does not always feel" [SPN:418].

By contrast, traditional intellectuals are intellectuals of the ruling class, whose intellectual status and power are so great that they constitute an elite, able to assume the mantle of permanence and claim insight into eternal truths. They are

the dominant group's deputies who experience through an "esprit de corps" their uninterrupted historical continuity and their special qualification, they thus put themselves forward as autonomous and independent of the dominant social group [i.e. of the ruling class] [SPN:7].

The working class must "struggle to assimilate and to conquer 'ideologically' the traditional intellectuals" by absorbing ideas and individuals where these are of value to the working class in its struggle for hegemony. This will be achieved more quickly and effectively the more the working class "succeeds in simultaneously elaborating its own organic intellectuals" [SPN:10].

Intellectuals are thus, for Gramsci, not fixed in the social class from which they originated, neither are they an elite somehow detached from the exigencies of political reality. His belief that the intellectual function is common to all humanity and therefore must be developed, like other faculties,

through experience and education, dispels the mystique surrounding intellectuality. His distinction between organic and traditional intellectuals provides a way of thinking about intellectual activity in terms of its political effectiveness: it legitimises intellectual endeavour in the service of the revolution and breaks with sterile debates about the relative value of theory and practice. His insistence that the working class must develop its own organic intellectuals is consistent with his contingent concept of political leadership in the context of the creation and maintenance of hegemony. Leadership, for Gramsci is not a matter of position in a hierarchy, rather it is a matter of analysis and direction in relation to the political situation pertaining at the time.

#### Examples of Political Practice

Gramsci describes two areas of political activity which exemplify his theory of the intellectuals: the Factory Councils and the editorial board of a political journal, and these are considered below.

#### The Factory Councils

Gramsci's concept of politics as educative and his insistence on the dialectical relationship between leaders and led, party

members and the masses, theory and practice was exemplified in his work with the Factory Councils in Turin in the period 1919-1920.

Gramsci emphasises the educational and technical aspects of the Factory Councils. They have an important information-gathering function in the technical field "collecting data and factual material for both the trade federations and the central directive bodies of the new factory organisations" [SPW I:96]. In an article addressed to the workshop delegates of the Fiat Centro and Brevetti plants he asks

Why could you not set up, inside the factory, appropriate instruction departments, real vocational schools, in which every worker, rousing himself from the fatigue that brutalizes, may open his mind to knowledge of the processes of production and so better himself? [SPW I:96]

In this way the technical expertise necessary to ensure the continued development of the production process would be assured and the working class would be equipping itself for the power it must wield after the revolution. A system of education was organised by the commissars of the Factory Councils along the lines Gramsci outlines [Cammett 1967:81]. As Gramsci wrote years later in the Prison Notebooks, this type of education produced organic intellectuals of the working class [SPN:9].

The Factory Councils were independent of the traditional working class organisations such as the trades unions and included non-organised workers as well as union members. This

was regarded as heresy by much of the Italian Left at the time and caused a split with Tasca. For Gramsci, the Factory Councils were just the beginning of a much wider organisation of the working class. Factory council delegates, together with delegates from other categories of workers living in an area, such as waiters, cab-drivers, tramwaymen, railwaymen, roadsweepers, private employees, clerks and others would form the "ward council of workshop delegates, the ganglion co-ordinating and centralising all the proletarian energies in the ward" [SPW I:67]. The ward committees would be an expression of the whole of the working class living in the ward and would grow into urban commissariats, controlled and disciplined by the Socialist Party and the craft federations [SPW I:67]. The commissariats, integrated with the corresponding peasants' organisations, would form the basis of the proletarian state. For Gramsci, "Every industrial or agricultural workers' council that arises around the work unit... is a step on the road to communism" [SPW I:92]. As he wrote in September 1919,

the central organs that will be created for every group of factories, every city and every region, right up to a supreme national Workers' Council, will pursue and broaden and intensify the job of controlling and preparing and organising the whole class for the tasks of conquest and government [SPW I:97].

The political significance of the Factory Councils is made clear in an Ordine Nuovo article of June 1919 written by Gramsci in collaboration with Togliatti: the Factory Councils



were to be the socialist expression of the whole working class in its productive capacity

The electoral system could vary according to the size of the workshops: the aim, however, should be to elect one delegate for every fifteen workers, divided into categories (as is done in English factories) and ending up, through a series of elections with a committee of factory delegates representing every aspect of work (manual workers, clerical workers, technicians). [SPW I:67]

The factory is a fertile ground for the development of a new proletarian hegemony because, as Gramsci points out, "The more the proletarian is specialised in a job, the more he feels the need for order, method, precision..."; society comes to appear as "one immense factory, organized with the same precision, method, order that he sees as vital in the factory where he works" [Cammett 1967:79]. The Factory Councils would establish the hegemony of the working class, as Gramsci states, "a shop floor way of life will be established, initial germ of a true and effective labour legislation, i.e. laws which the producers will enact and lay down for themselves" [SPW I:96]. Such a way of life would stand in relation to legislation under socialism in the same way as bourgeois legislation stands in relation to the bourgeois way of life under capitalism.

The working class must both organise itself and extend its influence over other classes and groups in society through the Workers' and Peasants' Councils. It would then be possible

to make work units aware of their capacity to produce and exercise sovereignty (sovereignty must be a function of production), without need for the capitalist and an

indefinite delegation of political power [SPW I:91].

Gramsci further asserts that

Once they are bonded together in productive communities, the workers will be led automatically to express their will to power in terms of principles which are strictly organic to the relations of production and exchange [SPW I:92].

Gramsci goes on in optimistic vein to predict the educative effect this will have on working people's psychology

All mythical, utopian, religious and petty-bourgeois ideologies will drop away from the average proletarian psychology. A communist psychology will become rapidly and lastingly consolidated, as a constant leaven of revolutionary enthusiasm, tenacious perseverance in the iron discipline of work and resistance against any open or underhand assault of the past [SPW I:92].

Education of the workers was an important task of the Factory Councils. Cammett describes how this worked

The commissars were responsible for organising, within the factory, a school for increasing the workers' skills in their own trades or industrial functions. In addition to these "labor schools", Ordine Nuovo established a "School of Culture and Socialist Propaganda" in December 1919, attended by both university students and workers... This school examined the idea of the Stato dei consigli, a new State completely replacing the liberal State by a "system of councils". Ordine Nuovo itself attempted to further the workers' education with regular features [Cammett 1967:81].

Cammett points out that the educational programme was

directly related to another task of the commissars in the Factory Councils, preparation for the seizure of power. This task was primarily one of preparing workers to become autonomous producers [Cammett 1967:81].

In the event, the Factory Councils were short-lived, broken by a lock-out supported by 50,000 troops in April 1920 [Davidson 1977:129]. Later, in his reflection on this defeat in the Prison Notebooks, Gramsci returned to the theme of the working class as a "collective worker"

The "collective worker" understands that this is what he is, not merely in each individual factory but in the broader spheres of the national and international division of labour. It is precisely in the organisations which represent the factory as a producer of real objects and not of profit that he gives an external, political demonstration of the consciousness he has acquired [SPN:202].

Another manifestation of the "collective worker" is given in Gramsci's description of the methods of work of the editorial board of a newspaper, and this is examined next.

#### The Editorial Board

Gramsci writes in the Prison Notebooks that the weekly Ordine Nuovo "worked to develop certain forms of new intellectualism and to determine its new concepts" and that this was "not the least reason for its success, since such a conception corresponded to latent aspirations and conformed to the development of the real forms of life" [SPN:10]. One of the

ways in which the "new forms of intellectualism" were developed is indicated by Gramsci in his description of the editorial boards of journals such as Ordine Nuovo and Avanti, which "function at the same time both as editorial committees and as cultural groups" [SPN:28].

The work undertaken by such groups is collective and well organised

The group criticises as a body, and thus helps to define the tasks of individual editors, whose activity is organised according to a plan and a division of labour which are rationally arranged in advance [SPN:28].

The group works, "By means of collective discussion and criticism (made up of suggestions, advice, comments on method, and criticism which is constructive and aimed at mutual education)" [SPN:28]. While the activity involved is collective, it is nevertheless organised in a stratified way that acknowledges the need for hierarchies within the group. Gramsci stresses the usefulness of

a certain "stratification" of capabilities and attitudes, and of the formation of work-groups under the guidance of the most highly-skilled and highly developed, who can accelerate the training of the most backward and untrained [SPN:29].

Each member's area of expertise complements that of other members and helps to complete the expertise of the collectivity. In this way, "the average level of the individual editors is in fact successfully raised so that it reaches the altitude or capacity of the most highly-skilled" [SPN:28].

This process benefits the review and creates the conditions for the emergence of

a homogeneous group of intellectuals, trained to produce a regular and methodical "writing" activity (not only in terms of occasional publications or short articles, but also of organic, synthetic studies) [SPN:28].

In this way, such an editorial group contributes to raising the level of the revolutionary movement through its processes and ways of working as well as through its product, the newspaper or review.

Gramsci stresses the seriousness of the endeavour: "Such activity requires an unyielding struggle against habits of dilettantism, of improvisation, of 'rhetorical' solutions or those proposed for effect" [SPN:29]. To counteract these tendencies, work should be written in the form of terse succinct notes. These methods of work mean that, "each task produces new capacities and possibilities of work, since it creates ever more organic conditions of work: files, bibliographic digests, a library of basic specialised works etc." [SPN:28-9]. He points out that intellectual work of this type is necessary, "in order to impart to autodidacts the discipline in study which an orthodox scholastic career provides, in order to Taylorise intellectual work" [SPN:29].

Gramsci also advocated the writing of "political-intellectual autobiographies" as part of a new journalism. These, "if well constructed with sincerity and simplicity" could be "of great

formative efficaciousness" [Gramsci quoted in Germino 1990:248].

Next we turn to a consideration of Gramsci's writings on the educational process itself.

### Gramsci on Education

In his early days as a political activist, Gramsci was often accused of idealism, an accusation that implied the error (for a Marxist) of assigning to education the crucial role in creating the revolution. Writing in this vein in Avanti in 1916, he states that

The history of education shows that every class which has sought to take power has prepared itself for power by an autonomous education. The first step in emancipating oneself from political and social slavery is that of freeing the mind... The problem of education is the most important class problem. [Gramsci quoted in Davidson 1977:77]

However, in his later work, Gramsci made it clear that he had no illusions about the power of education alone to bring about the revolution. Writing in 1924 he states that pedagogic methods cannot resolve "the great historical problem of the spiritual emancipation of the working class" [SPW II:227]. He rejects the idealist and utopian notion that the consciousness of the entire working class could be changed completely before the conquest of the state, stating that class consciousness is

only changed when the way of living of the class itself has been changed, "in other words when the proletariat has become a ruling class and has at its disposal the apparatus of production and exchange and the power of the State" [SPW II:288].

For the mature Gramsci, the notion of revolution is rooted in a broad conception of politics as educative, with the revolutionary party of the working class fulfilling the role of educator. The conception of education as a process of deliberate teaching and learning is encompassed within a larger understanding of the educative potential of political experience in the process of revolution. As Nowell-Smith points out in the introduction to Selections from the Prison Notebooks, for Gramsci, politics is "the central human activity, the means by which the individual is brought into contact with the social and natural world in all its forms" [SPN 1971:xxiii].

Gramsci realised early in his imprisonment the need to study "the conditions and initiatives necessary for any cultural unification, for the formation of a united will" [Gramsci quoted in Buci-Glucksmann 1980:389]. From then on, as Buci-Glucksmann makes clear, he constantly emphasises the two principal aspects of the transmission of a philosophy as, "a general conception of life able to wage a struggle against the dominant ideologies, and the creation of an educational

apparatus with its programmes, methods of teaching, and type of personnel" as well as the establishment of encyclopedias, reviews and so on [Buci-Glucksmann 1980:389].

Throughout his writing, Gramsci emphasises the importance of organisational, cultural and ideological factors in the revolutionary transformation of society. Indeed, Buci-Glucksmann maintains that "what changes with Gramsci is the very form of Marxist theory, its connections with politics and culture" [Buci-Glucksmann 1980:397]. Gramsci sees revolution as a process rather than a single event or even series of events, and one which is, in the broadest sense, educational. Gramsci does not reduce education to the level of ideological transference, rather, his concept of hegemony (never, for Gramsci, solely an ideological construct) expands the notion of the political and assimilates educational to political processes.

As Hall, Lumley and McLennan have pointed out, there is no systematic theory of ideology in Gramsci's work, although there are many extremely suggestive passages and comments [Hall, Lumley and McLennan in WPCS 1977:45]. They point to Gramsci's insistence that ideology should be studied as a superstructure and it is in this context that Gramsci's views on education have substance. If Gramsci is the "theoretician of the superstructures", he is thereby also a theoretician of education, since education, and hence also adult education, is



a phenomenon of the superstructure in Marxist theory. In addition, his own lifelong interest in education makes the assimilation of Gramsci's ideas to discussions about education particularly apt.

However, Gramsci's writings on education are as open to interpretation as his other writings, especially in the Prison Notebooks. As Green points out, Gramsci's writings on education are

often cryptic, prone to misinterpretation, he often slides from the descriptive to the prescriptive without any clear signals as to what he is doing... his comments can at different times appear to apply both to what is and what should be. [Green 1990:97]

Green argues that this is because Gramsci tends in his general passages to concentrate on the process of education in the construction of hegemony rather than on the content. Gramsci's comments on education therefore apply equally both to the role of education in promoting the ends of the existing capitalist state and to the forms of education necessary for the revolutionary movement to prepare the working class for power: "While the content would clearly be different, in both the actual and putative cases, the same processes must be adopted in transforming popular common sense" [Green 1990:97].

Gramsci's concept of revolution as entailing both "war of position" and "war of manoeuvre" means that a crude division into pre- and post-revolutionary stages, before and after a single dramatic revolutionary moment is inappropriate. For

this reason, also, the forms of education Gramsci discusses do not fit neatly into a staged model. Nevertheless, it may be useful to consider Gramsci's ideas on education in relation to the three principal phases he identifies in the political struggle. The first phase entails

the struggle to check the bourgeoisie's power in the parliamentary State, in other words to maintain or create a democratic situation, of equilibrium between the classes, which allows the proletariat to organize; [SPW II:287]

In the first phase Gramsci undertakes a critique of the Italian education system under capitalism and argues for adult political education for the working class as part of the preparation for revolution.

The second phase is one of revolutionary struggle in all areas of political activity, including education, in order

to win power and create the workers' State, in other words a complex political activity through which the proletariat mobilizes around it all the anti-capitalist social forces (first and foremost the peasant class) and leads them to victory; [SPW II:287]

Here Gramsci describes the educative role of the revolutionary party and the design of educational programmes for party cadres.

Finally, Gramsci proposes an alternative education system to be inaugurated in the post-revolutionary era. The third phase entails

the phase of dictatorship of the proletariat, organized as a ruling class to eliminate all the technical and social obstacles which prevent the realization of communism. The economic struggle cannot be separated from the political

struggle, nor can either of them be separated from the ideological struggle [SPW II:287].

The following sections examine the educational processes in relation to each of these phases in turn.

### Adult Political Education

In the first phase, Gramsci analyses the contemporary political situation in Italy, emphasising the need to educate working class people to appreciate the need for revolutionary change and, through the agency of the party, to lead them in revolutionary action. He sees mass ideological preparation as "a necessity of revolutionary struggle and one of the indispensable conditions for victory" [SPW II:290]. In this sense, all Gramsci's political activity is a form of adult political education. In the reflective and analytical writing of the Prison Notebooks, as well as in his polemical journalism and even in his personal relationships as the "Club for the Moral Life" shows, Gramsci strove to explore, to explain, to educate. His style is adversarial and his approach to political and intellectual problems dialectical. His entire intellectual formation, he told his sister-in-law, was of a polemical nature

Only rarely do I lose myself in a particular train of thought and analyse something for its inherent interest. Usually I have to engage in a dialogue, be dialectical, to arrive at some intellectual stimulation. I once told you how I hate tossing stones into the dark. I need an interlocutor, a concrete adversary [LP:193].

Given this cast of mind, it is perhaps not surprising that Gramsci's political activity often took the form of what would now be called adult political education. For example, in the period 1916-1922 he lectured to workers' cultural circles and helped to run a discussion group, a workers' school and an Institute of Proletarian Culture [SCW:16]. He was, as Green [1990:97] describes him, "a tireless popular educator".

Arguing for the creation of a socialist cultural association in Turin in 1917, Gramsci cites the need for long term preparation for the revolution and the new society to come. The task of the cultural association would be to undertake this preparation by developing the ability to analyse situations as they arose and creating the necessary conviction to inform and reinforce action. The cultural associations would be the appropriate fora for the discussion of the moral, religious and philosophical problems posed by political and economic action, which trades unions and political parties are unable to discuss in their own organizations and to which they cannot disseminate proper solutions. For Gramsci

Socialism is an integral vision of life: it has a philosophy, a mystique, a morality. The association would be the proper place to discuss these problems, clarify them and propagate them [SCW:21].

Gramsci goes on to pinpoint a serious deficiency in the revolutionary movement's strategy

we wait for the present moment to discuss problems and to determine the direction of our action. Out of urgency, we

provide hurried solutions to problems, in the sense that not all those who take part in the movement have mastered the exact terms of the problems. Consequently, when they do follow the strategy established, they do so out of the trust which they have in their leaders, more than out of inner conviction, out of a rational spontaneity. The result is that at every important hour of history there occurs a breaking of the ranks, a giving in, internal disputes, personal issues... There is no widespread resolute conviction [SCW:21].

The cultural association is a way of making good this deficiency and so strengthening the revolutionary movement.

Gramsci makes it clear that the cultural association must be a proletarian institution with class aims and limits. Pointing to the well-established proletarian cultural organisations in Germany and Britain, Gramsci calls for the cultural association, with the party and the Labour Confederation, to become "the third organ of the movement for the vindication of the Italian working class" [SCW:23]. Through Ordine Nuovo, Gramsci established just such a "School of Culture and Socialist Propaganda" in December 1919, attended by both university students and workers, which examined the idea of the Stato dei consigli, (State of the councils) to replace the liberal state. Ordine Nuovo itself attempted to further the workers' education with regular feature articles discussing the principles and strategy of the movement for revolution [Cammett 1967:81].

Similarly, the Factory Council movement was vitally concerned with workers' technical and political education and Gramsci

describes the working of the editorial board of a newspaper such as Avanti or Ordine Nuovo in terms which emphasise its educational function for the members of the board (see above). Even while imprisoned on the island of Ustica, Gramsci organised education courses for his fellow political detainees [LP:66]. The "prison school" on Ustica started a movement which spread to other places where political prisoners were confined by the fascist government [LP:68 n2].

#### Common Sense and Good Sense

Political education initiatives such as those outlined above were designed to enable the working class to fulfill its revolutionary role through the development of the ability to distinguish between what Gramsci, following Manzoni, calls "good sense" and "common sense" [9]. Gramsci describes common sense as the, "diffuse, unco-ordinated features of a general form of thought common to a particular period and a particular popular environment" [SPN:330 f]. Despite its incoherence, common sense nevertheless contains "a healthy nucleus of good sense which deserves to be made more unitary and coherent" [SPN:328] and it is good sense which must be created and encouraged. In order to achieve this, Gramsci advocates [SPN:330f]

starting with a philosophy [i.e. Marxism] which already enjoys, or could enjoy, a certain diffusion, because it is connected to and implicit in practical life, and elaborating

it so that it becomes a renewed common sense possessing the coherence and the sinew of individual philosophies.

The connection with "common sense" is essential

in order to demonstrate that "everyone" is a philosopher and that it is not a question of introducing from scratch a scientific form of thought into everyone's individual life, but of renovating and making "critical" an already existing activity. [SPN:331]

Good sense is to be developed in three main ways: through the study of Marxism; through an analysis of common sense in order to retrieve the elements of good sense inherent in it; and through an analysis of the ideas of traditional intellectuals (i.e. intellectuals of the ruling class). Gramsci criticises Bukharin for assuming that

the elaboration of an original philosophy of the popular masses is to be opposed to the great systems of traditional philosophy and the religion of the leaders of the clergy - i.e. the conception of the world of the intellectuals and of high culture [SPN:419].

Instead, such ideas should be rigorously examined and subjected to criticism in order to recover whatever ideas may be useful to the working class in the revolutionary struggle for hegemony.

Gramsci notes that every philosophy has a tendency "to become the common sense of a fairly limited environment (that of all the intellectuals)" [SPN:330 f]. However, outlining the task facing Marxists, he asks

is a philosophical movement properly so called when it is devoted to creating a specialised culture among restricted intellectual groups, or rather when, and only when, in the process of elaborating a form of thought superior to "common

sense" and coherent on a scientific plane, it never forgets to remain in contact with the "simple" and indeed finds in this contact the source of the problems it sets out to study and to resolve? [SPN:330]

In Italy, Gramsci points out that

The principal elements of common sense are provided by religion, and consequently the relationship between common sense and religion is much more intimate than that between common sense and the philosophical systems of the intellectuals [SPN:420].

Even within one religion, however, there is a mass of distinct and contradictory tendencies. Common sense is likewise not monolithic; it is contradictory and difficult to chart and to describe. At one and the same time it is the "seed-bed of the dominant ideology as well as being the battleground of the new ideology in elaboration" [Ireland 1987:72]. How then is common sense to be subjected to criticism?

Gramsci concedes that a history of common sense would be impossible to reconstruct because of the lack of documentary material and in its absence the study of the history of philosophy must be the main source of reference, in order to develop the ability to look critically at ideas

to demonstrate their real value, if any, and the significance they have had as superseded links of an intellectual chain, and to determine what the new contemporary problems are and how the old problems should now be analysed [SPN:331].

As Gramsci wrote in 1916, it is necessary for the working class to "know others, their history, the successive efforts they have made to be what they are, to create the civilisation they have created and which we seek to replace with our own" [SPW



I:13]. After all

If it is true that universal history is a chain made up of the efforts man has made to free himself from privilege, prejudice and idolatry, then it is hard to understand why the proletariat, which seeks to add another link to the chain, should not know how and why and by whom it was preceded, or what advantage it might derive from this knowledge [SPW I:13].

### Critical Education

Reflective, critical education is necessary for adults brought up in the pre-revolutionary society, for whom culture is "encyclopaedic knowledge" and individuals

mere receptacles to be stuffed full of empirical data and a mass of unconnected raw facts, which have to be filed in the brain as in the columns of a dictionary, enabling their owner to respond to the various stimuli from the outside world [SPW I:11].

Gramsci sees this form of culture as divisive and dangerous, serving only to create maladjusted people

who believe they are superior to the rest of humanity because they have memorised a certain number of facts and dates and who rattle them off at every opportunity, so turning them almost into a barrier between themselves and others [SPW I:11].

For Gramsci, culture in the broad, Socratic sense in which he uses the term, means the exercise of thought, the acquisition of general ideas, the habit of connecting causes and effects. Thus

Everybody is already cultured because everybody thinks, everybody connects causes and effects. But they are empirically, primordially cultured, not organically. They

therefore waver, disband, soften, or become violent, intolerant, quarrelsome, according to the occasion and the circumstances [SCW:25].

By contrast, the defining features of an organically cultured person should be

the organisation and discipline of one's inner self, a coming to terms with one's own personality; it is the attainment of a higher awareness with the aid of which one succeeds in understanding one's own historical value, one's own function in life, one's own rights and obligations. [SPW I:11]

Writing in the Prison Notebooks, Gramsci contrasts his model of critical adult political education with that undertaken by an institution of adult education in Italy at that time, the Popular Universities. The Popular Universities were independent institutions of adult education which have been compared with the Workers' Educational Association in Britain [SPN:329 f10]. Gramsci regarded the Popular Universities as "worthy of attention" and points out that they

enjoyed a certain success, in the sense that they demonstrated on the part of the "simple" a genuine enthusiasm and a strong determination to attain a higher cultural level and a higher conception of the world [SPN:329-330].

However, he recognised that a working class constituency of learners does not in itself make for working class adult political education for socialism. The Popular Universities lacked, according to Gramsci, "any organic quality either of philosophical thought or of organisational stability and central cultural stability" [SPN:330]. Gramsci describes the educational transaction involved in a vivid phrase

One got the impression that it was all rather like the first contacts of English merchants and the negroes of Africa:

trashy baubles were handed out in exchange for nuggets of gold [SPN:330].

Instead of the philanthropy and bourgeois base of the Popular Universities, Gramsci called for the revolutionary movement to offer an alternative: solidarity and organization. While acknowledging the good will of many of those involved, Gramsci wrote in 1917, "Let us give the means to good will, without which it will remain sterile and barren" [SCW:25]. Gramsci goes on to indicate his preference for a participatory mode of adult education when he writes

It is not the lecture that should interest us, but the detailed work of discussing and investigating problems, work in which everybody participates, to which everybody contributes, in which everybody is both master and disciple [SCW:25].

For Gramsci, the Popular Universities could only have worked properly if

there had existed the same unity between the intellectuals and the simple as there should be between theory and practice. That is if the intellectuals had been organically the intellectuals of those masses [SPN:330].

#### Gramsci's Critique of the Italian Education System

Gramsci's critique of the Italian education system, of which the Popular Universities were a part, was consistently revolutionary and reflects his longstanding interest in education. In 1920 he writes: "The problem of the school is both a technical and a political problem. Under the

parliamentary democratic state, this problem is soluble neither technically nor politically" [Gramsci, quoted by Buci-Glucksmann 1980:395]. Later, writing in the Prison Notebooks, Gramsci criticises the education system brought in by Mussolini's fascist government in 1923, with its emphasis on "educativity" and "active education" as opposed to "instruction", as rhetorical and empty of meaning. Although he compares the new system unfavourably with the old curriculum which combatted folklore and taught a modern outlook based on the idea of work, nevertheless Gramsci states that "It was right to struggle against the old school, but reforming it was not so simple as it seemed" [SPN:36].

In a key passage in the Prison Notebooks, Gramsci warns that education should not be taken out of its historical and political context. He writes that

the educational efficacy of the old Italian secondary school... was not to be sought (or rejected) in its explicit aim as an "educative" system, but in the fact that its structure and its curriculum were the expression of a traditional mode of intellectual and moral life, of a cultural climate diffused throughout Italian society by ancient tradition. It was the fact that this climate and way of life were in their death-throes, and that the school had become cut off from life, which brought about the crisis in education. A criticism of the curricula and disciplinary structure of the old system means less than nothing if one does not keep this situation in mind. [SPN:36-7]

### The Educative Role of the Party

An essential element in the struggle for power in Gramsci's second phase of political activity is the revolutionary party and here education also plays an important role. For Gramsci, politics is an essentially educative activity and the revolutionary party of the working class is the educator, "the organ of communist education", as he wrote in 1919 [SPW I:66]. Later, in the Prison Notebooks, Gramsci explores the notion of the party as educator in greater depth. The party acts as a "collective intellectual" elaborating and diffusing conceptions of the world, working out the ethics and the politics corresponding to these conceptions and acting as "their historical 'laboratory'... the crucibles where the unification of theory and practice, understood as a real historical process, takes place" [SPN:335].

Education in the broad sense of the diffusion of ideas is an intrinsic part of the ideological struggle which, for Gramsci, must be guided and articulated by the revolutionary party of the working class. Seen in this light, as Gramsci writes:

Study and culture are for us nothing but the theoretical awareness of our own immediate and supreme ends, and the way we succeed in transforming them into action [Davidson 1977:224].

The educative role of the party is manifested in specific terms depending on the historical situation: the party plays a key role in organising the education of party members and others in

the period leading up to the revolution; after the revolution the party would assume responsibility for the education system as a whole. The party is the embodiment and agent of the educational principle of the revolution, leading and inspiring society as a whole through the articulation and exercise of the hegemony of the revolutionary working class. To the extent that the party succeeds in this role, the revolution will be maintained. Thus, for Gramsci, revolution is not an event, but a process; in the broadest sense, it is a process of education.

In the Lyons Theses, prepared for the Third Congress of the PCI in Lyons in January 1926, Gramsci outlines the fundamental tasks of the Communist Party

- (a) to organize and unify the industrial and rural proletariat for the revolution;
- (b) to organize and mobilize around the proletariat all the forces necessary for the victory of the revolution and the foundation of the workers' State;
- (c) to place before the proletariat and its allies the problem of insurrection against the bourgeois State and of the struggle for proletarian dictatorship, and to guide them politically through a series of proletarian struggles. [SPW II:357]

Indeed, Gramsci's insistence on the necessity for the unification of theory and practice presupposes an educational role for the party. The party must be dialectically related to the masses, so that its actions are informed by the experience of the masses, and the actions of the masses are informed by

the analysis and direction worked out by the party. As Gramsci states

one can construct, on a specific practice, a theory which, by coinciding and identifying itself with the decisive elements of the practice itself, can accelerate the historical process that is going on, rendering practice more homogeneous, more coherent, more efficient in all its elements, and thus, in other words, developing its potential to the maximum [Salamini 1981:177].

Gramsci recognises the dangers of a gap developing between the party and the masses and urges that every member of the party must be "an active political element, a leader" in order to undertake the mass ideological preparation necessary for victory in the revolutionary struggle [SPW II:290]. Leadership is essential because "The element of 'spontaneity' is not sufficient for revolutionary struggle; it never leads the working class beyond the limits of the existing bourgeois democracy" [SPW II:228]. Indeed, as Gramsci wrote in 1920

To rely solely on the creative capacity of such oppressed and wretched masses and not work systematically to organise a great army of disciplined and conscious elements, ready for any sacrifice, trained to carry out slogans as one man, ready to assume effective responsibility for the revolution and become its agents - this is complete and utter betrayal of the working class. It is the beginnings of unconscious counter-revolution. [SPW I:189]

In order to go further, to a socialist revolution, as Gramsci wrote in 1925

the element of consciousness is needed, the "ideological" element: in other words, an understanding of the conditions of the struggle, the social relations in which the worker lives, the fundamental tendencies at work in the system of those relations, and the process of development which society undergoes as a result of the existence within it of insoluble

antagonisms [SPW II:288].

It is the educational task of the party to create such an understanding, and the education of party members is therefore of particular importance to Gramsci. It is to the question of the organisation and content of education for party members that we turn next.

### The Education of Party Members

In his early writings, produced at a time of optimism when party membership was increasing, Gramsci does not always distinguish between political education for the masses and that for party members. However, in the grim circumstances of 1924, with fascist repression at its height and many party members dead, in exile or imprisoned, Gramsci recognises new imperatives. He writes, "Our task is limited to the Party... to improve our cadres; to make them capable of confronting the forthcoming struggles" [SPW II:227].

Accordingly, Gramsci proposes the setting up of a correspondence course for party activists as the first phase of a movement to create small party schools. Gramsci sees this as particularly a task for the party members in exile

Wherever there exists a group of ten comrades in a foreign country, a party school should be created. The older and more skilled elements should be the instructors in these schools. They should bring the younger comrades to share in their experience, and thus contribute to raising the



political level of the mass of the members [SPW II:227].

Writing in the introduction to the first set of study notes produced for the correspondence school, Gramsci states that the party must "make it a duty for the militant to know Marxist-Leninist doctrine, at least in the most general terms" [SPW II:289]. It is

an iron necessity for the revolution [that] all members of the party, and everyone in its ambit, will have been rendered capable of orienting themselves and knowing how to derive from reality the elements with which to establish a line, so that the working class will not be cast down but will feel that it is being led and can still fight [SPW II:290].

In his description of the materials the party schools were to use, Gramsci indicates the scope of the curriculum for party members. The proposed publications were to include pamphlets and books, including

1. elementary expositions of Marxism; 2. an explanation of the workers' and peasants' government slogan applied to Italy; 3. a propagandists' manual, containing the most essential data concerning Italian economic and political life, the Italian political parties etc. - in other words, the indispensable materials for simple propaganda to be carried out through collective reading of the bourgeois press. [SPW II:228]

Also planned was an Italian edition of The Communist Manifesto and, "a collection of the most significant passages from Marx and Engels, to give a general picture of the works of these our two great teachers" [SPW II:228].

When these plans came to nothing and Gramsci was imprisoned, he

drew up a programme for a post-revolutionary socialist alternative education system which is outlined below.

### The Education System After the Revolution

In the final stage of political activity, once the revolution has been won, Gramsci envisages a system of education arranged in stages geared to different ages, from early childhood to adulthood. The process would begin with a network of

kindergartens and other institutions... in which, even before the school age, children would be habituated to a certain collective discipline and acquire pre-scholastic notions and attitudes [SPN:31].

The stages of education would comprise.

First, a common basic education, imparting a general, humanistic, formative culture; this would strike the right balance between development of the capacity for working manually (technically, industrially) and development of the capacities required for intellectual work. From this type of common schooling, via repeated experiments in vocational orientation, pupils would pass on to one of the specialised schools or to productive work. [SPN:27]

The "creative" phase of schooling follows on from the "active" phase of the "common school". In the creative phase, characterised by work in seminars, libraries and laboratories, "learning takes place mainly through a spontaneous and independent effort by the student, in which the teacher only acts as a friendly guide, as happens, or ought to happen in the universities" [SPN:33]. This independence on the part of the student is made possible by the habits of self-discipline

inculcated during the earlier stages of schooling and is the hallmark of educational maturity appropriate to the adult student.

The school will rear the new generations who will benefit from the development of international communist democracy. As Gramsci wrote in 1919, the school under socialism will be

one of the most important and essential of public activities. Indeed, to the development and success of the school is linked the development of the communist State... The present generation will be educated into the practice of the social discipline necessary for the realization of communist society, with assemblies and direct participation in deliberation and the administration of the socialist state [SCW:39].

The state itself is an "educator" for Gramsci "in as much as it tends precisely to create a new type or level of civilisation" [SPN:247]. For Gramsci, the state is defined broadly as "the entire complex of practical and theoretical activities with which the ruling class not only justifies and maintains its dominance, but manages to win the active consent of those over whom it rules" [SPN:244]. It is an active, organizing force with an educative and moral role in ensuring the hegemony of the dominant classes.

The state's role is essentially proactive in all spheres, including the superstructure

Because one is acting essentially on economic forces, reorganising and developing the apparatus of economic

production, creating a new structure, the conclusion must not be drawn that superstructural factors should be left to themselves, to develop spontaneously, to a haphazard and sporadic germination. The state, in this field, too, is an instrument of "rationalisation", of acceleration and of Taylorisation. It operates according to a plan, urges, incites, solicits, and "punishes". [SPN:247]

As Anderson [1976-7] makes clear, the boundaries between the state and civil society are always ambiguous in Gramsci's thought. Also, as Green [1990:93] points out, for Gramsci, the state works through civil society, so that its power continually permeates those institutions beyond the boundaries of the state, an insight particularly important in the context of adult education. In some of Gramsci's formulations the school is clearly part of the state. However, as Green makes clear [1990:96], the exact location of the school is ambiguous in Gramsci's writings, sometimes part of the state and sometimes located in civil society, although "it is clear that the school is a site where the state intervenes and through which it attempts to accomplish its objects". This ambiguity extends equally to the location of adult education, as the case of the independent Popular Universities shows.

For adults, the productive and intellectual aspects of life would be reintegrated, exemplifying the hegemony of the working class. In an article written in 1920 on the relationship between work and study under socialism, Gramsci celebrates the post-revolutionary Russian system of education in which

a Marxist principle has been applied in practice: the

dominant class reflects in its social life the relations that characterize its particular modes of existence. The Russian school reflects the way of studying characteristic of the working class. The worker studies and works; his labour is study and study is labour. In order to become a specialist in his work, the worker puts in the same number of years that it takes to get a specialized degree. The worker, however, carries out his studies in the very act of doing immediately productive work... Having become dominant, the working class wants manual labour and intellectual labour to be joined in the schools and thus creates a new educational tradition.  
[SCW:42-43]

### Some Interpretations of Gramsci in Relation to Education

Does Gramsci's work point to a revolutionary role for adult educators? Can his ideas, developed in a very different historical context, be applied in the late twentieth century? Does Gramsci offer insights into the feasibility of pursuing revolutionary goals from within non-revolutionary state-subsidised institutions? To what extent is there agreement amongst so-called radical adult educators about the desirability of a revolution of the kind Gramsci advocates? Is it possible to discern models of practice which may be transferable to adult education in Gramsci's work? Can elements of his approach be extracted from what, for Gramsci, was a total commitment to revolution and applied to adult education in a non-revolutionary context? Is it possible to 'appropriate Gramsci' for non-revolutionary purposes without distorting his ideas beyond recognition?

Gramsci's ideas have been the subject of debate amongst radical educationalists, with most of those citing him with approval [10] while one commentator accuses him of educational conservatism [Entwistle 1979, see below]. For example, the radical educationalist, Apple [1982:18] in his analysis of the relationship between schools and the surrounding social order, cites Gramsci as important in his own "painstaking movement away from a focus on simple reproduction" in education, towards an exploration of the scope for agency in the process of resistance. Similarly, Giroux [1983], applauds Gramsci's dialectical concepts of culture and ideology in his project of moving

from the question of how society gets reproduced in the interests of capital and its institutions to the question of how the "excluded majorities" have and can develop institutions, values, and practices that serve their autonomous interests.

Much of the debate has centred on Gramsci's writing in relation to education in general and on the education of children, but there has also been lively debate amongst writers on adult education, the most important aspects of which are outlined below.

#### Some Interpretations of Gramsci in Relation to the Education of Adults

One group of voices in this debate has been that of adult

educators committed to participatory research, a form of adult education in which educators join with those to be educated to research matters of concern to them and construct an educational programme on the basis of those concerns. In an article written in 1981, one advocate of participatory research, Ted Jackson [1981], has traced the influence of Gramsci on adult education around the world.

Ted Jackson traces Gramsci's influence on North American and British adult educators, highlighting the role of the participatory research movement in attempting to link Gramsci's work to the theory and practice of adult education. He describes [1981:83] the International Forum on Participatory Research convened in Yugoslavia in 1980, at which delegates discussed various aspects of Gramsci's work, including the construction of a "hegemonic proletarian science" and the process of the creation of organic intellectuals of the working class. Jackson ends by pointing to a growing interest in Gramsci amongst adult educators in Latin America, Asia and throughout Europe and identifies the International Council for Adult Education and its journal, Convergence as important in facilitating the exploration of Gramsci's work internationally [Jackson, T. 1981:85].

Jackson traces the beginnings of the literature linking Gramsci to issues in adult education back to an article by Lovett [1978:42-51] entitled "The Challenge of Community Education in

Social and Political Change" which was published in Convergence in 1978. In this article, Lovett stresses the need for progressive adult education to be linked to the social movements of working class people. Adult educators must be aware of working people's culture, he writes [1978:48], paraphrasing Gramsci

In such knowledge, and in contact with the everyday lives of people, can be found the source of the problems, the contradictions, which socially-committed educators seek to resolve.

In this way, Lovett argues in Gramscian terms, adult education may renovate and make critical the "common sense" of working people, so that they constitute a "cultural and social bloc".

Also in 1978, Budd Hall of the International Council for Adult Education in Toronto, Canada (ICAE) [quoted in Jackson, T. 1981:82] used Gramsci's distinction between traditional and organic intellectuals to argue that "one of the functions of those who engage in organizing working class politics should be to make the links between the intellectuals of both types and foster the recognition of workers' right to create philosophy". Hall argues that this should be achieved by a democratic process of knowledge creation, and advocates participatory research (the subject of an ICAE project) as an appropriate model.

1979 saw the publication of the first book to explore the relationship between Gramsci's ideas and issues in adult



education (although only nineteen of its one hundred and seventy-nine pages of text are directly concerned with adult education). This was Entwistle's Antonio Gramsci: Conservative Schooling for Radical Politics [1979]. Entwistle's thesis is controversial: he argues that Gramsci's writing on the education of children is profoundly conservative, while his writing on the political education of adult workers advocates a radical pedagogy with political education integrated with technical education. The book sets out to explain this apparent paradox, while Entwistle's sub-text is to use Gramsci in a polemic against the "new sociology of education".

On this somewhat questionable basis, Entwistle nevertheless presents some aspects of Gramsci's thinking accurately. For example, he correctly emphasises the centrality of the adult world of work in Gramsci's thinking on education, arguing that "the key to his theory of political education lies in the education of adults, especially as workers in an occupational context" [Entwistle 1979:111]. This is so because workers must be educated

with reference both to the technical aspects of work and to its political and cultural implications. Political activity is not a chronological outcome of political education. The two are concurrent [Entwistle 1979:112].

Through this process, organic intellectuals of the working class will develop

contingent upon the performance of an economic role as an adult worker. In this sense, as well as being necessary in

the field of adult education, political education is intrinsic to vocational education, widely conceived [Entwistle 1979:113].

Entwistle also welcomes Gramsci's broad conception of education as a lifelong process, which he likens to éducation permanente [Entwistle 1979:112].

Entwistle also correctly points out that "in denying that an intellectual can be 'socially unattached', he [Gramsci] was focusing upon function rather than on social origins", thus the terms "organic" and "traditional" are not mutually exclusive: in this sense "all intellectuals are organic to some hegemonic class" [Entwistle 1979:115]. The intellectual's function and commitment is more important than the type of intellectual skill he or she happens to possess and Entwistle concludes [1979:117] that it is the

general, directive function which every intellectual performs within the complex of social relationships which is, for Gramsci, the necessary condition for defining an intellectual.

It follows that since intellectualism is defined by function, it is possible for erstwhile traditional intellectuals to change their allegiance and espouse the working class cause, although ultimately

it was important for the working-class movement that organic intellectuals should be generated from within the working class itself, from amongst the ranks of manual workers, and not simply through the conversion of sympathetic intellectuals from other social classes [Entwistle 1979:117].

Entwistle's book met with a mixed reception, with reviewers

united in taking exception to the book as a polemic against the "new sociology" whatever their views of that movement's merits. One reviewer, Alden [1981], rightly criticises Entwistle for presenting Gramsci's doctrine of hegemony as a strategy replacing, rather than complementing that of violent revolution. As he points out, this reduces Gramsci's notion of the "war of position" to a tamely educational affair, a matter of raising the workers' consciousness in order to combat the hold over them of capitalist hegemony. Alden also takes issue with Entwistle's belief that Gramsci advocated a neutral education for children, arguing that, for Gramsci, education could never be neutral. Lastly, Alden points to Entwistle's fundamental omission in failing to recognise the crucial role of the revolutionary communist party in Gramsci's thought.

Another reviewer, Apple [1980], argues that Entwistle has missed the point, failing to recognise the centrality of politics for Gramsci. While agreeing that Entwistle is right on some aspects of Gramsci's thought, for example in recognising the importance Gramsci placed upon rigorous intellectual work, nevertheless Apple states [1980:438] that Entwistle fails to appreciate that such rigorous work

was not a commitment to this ethic in the abstract, but instead was part of a larger commitment to gaining power in the economic, cultural, and political spheres through concerted action on a variety of fronts.

Reviews by Giroux [1980], Holly [1980] and Hoare [1980] were

equally critical. Giroux, for example, accuses Entwistle of using a reductionist methodology, imposing a positivistic, one-dimensional reading on Gramsci and depoliticising the relationship between power and culture. Giroux acknowledges that Entwistle advocates a much more radical programme for adult education but points out that he says nothing new on the subject. Holly finds Entwistle's whole enterprise extremely distasteful and accuses him of a sustained misrepresentation of Gramsci's position, especially in the major part of the book devoted to an undifferentiated concept of "schooling". The section on adult education he finds at least reasonably accurate with regard to Gramsci's theory of the intellectuals, but Entwistle's use of Gramsci to support his contention that "schools should be about information: critical engagement with that information is a matter for adults" he finds indefensible since Gramsci continuously argued that existing knowledge should be treated critically [Holly 1980:318]. Hoare takes a more sympathetic view of Entwistle's book, although he points out that Entwistle largely ignores the political context of contemporary educational controversies and misreads Gramsci in thinking him in any respect a conservative.

In the UK in the 1980s, some radical adult educators, particularly proponents of community adult education, have claimed that Gramsci's writing, in particular on the formation of working class organic intellectuals and the struggle against bourgeois hegemony, is important in the development of a

socialist theory and practice of adult education. For example, Keith Jackson [1980:15] in his "Foreword" to Adult Education for a Change, cites Gramsci's analysis of the educative role of the capitalist state as particularly useful. In the same book, Thompson [1980:26] uses Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemony to argue that the ruling class imposes its ideas on the rest of society, in particular the working class, to prevent them from thinking for themselves. Thompson's thesis is also the thesis of the book: that adult education is party to this deception unless it sets out to be actively counter-hegemonic. Another contributor, the sociologist Westwood [1980:43], argues that Gramsci's concept of hegemony shows how adult education maintains a middle class status quo, "engendering a state of consensus and contributing positively to the mechanisms whereby hegemony is maintained". Using Miliband's terminology, she argues that adult educators should become "cultural workers" as a first step towards a redefinition of adult education [1980:44].

In his review of the book, Barratt Brown is critical of the inflated importance with which community adult education is endowed at the expense of what he describes as the "burgeoning forest" of trade union education [1980:92]. He argues that the enthusiasm for Gramsci shown by contributors to the book is based on a misreading of Gramsci, whose revolutionary practice was rooted in the workplace and the workplace organization. Instead, Barratt Brown argues [1980:91] that the book's

assumptions are much more those of the anti-trade unionist Frantz Fanon, who believed in the revolutionary potential of the wretched and unorganized masses.

While Barratt Brown acknowledges that trade unionists in Britain have not yet developed a hegemonic political consciousness and that they will not do so automatically, he nevertheless claims [1980:90] that

Nearly all of those who have been working in the last two decades in the liberal tradition in adult education as an instrument for social change have, in fact, been working in trade union education.

He concludes that the message of Adult Education for a Change is not relevant to Britain, with its strong tradition of trade union organization.

In fact, the picture is more complicated than Barratt Brown allows. Gramsci was by no means an uncritical supporter of existing forms of workplace organization, criticising trades unions as bureaucratic [SPW:98]. The Factory Councils deliberately cut across trade union organization and Gramsci was criticised for this by syndicalist elements in the Left [see SPW I:98-113]. However, Barratt Brown ends his review on a thoroughly Gramscian note [1980:92]:

The need of the moment is to build links between the old and the new, between organizations of the workplace and organizations where people live, not to deflate one in order to inflate the other nor to set them up as rivals for the concern of adult educators.

Gramsci has also inspired debates in adult community education, in which Lovett is the principal spokesperson (see Chapter V). Another radical community educator, Cowburn [1986], has joined the debate with a Gramscian critique of community education. Cowburn argues that initiatives such as residential adult self-education courses at Northern College and Sheffield Council's Community Work Apprenticeship Scheme are capable of producing organic intellectuals of the working class. Such organic intellectuals would be "capable of challenging taken-for-granted processes and institutions in society" [Cowburn 1986:198], including the education system, which, Cowburn contends [1986:209], "systematically fails the working class as a class".

Timothy Ireland [1987] has applied elements of Gramsci's theory in his perceptive study of popular adult education in Brazil. Writing at a time when political energies were being released after long years of military rule in Brazil, Ireland uses Gramsci's theoretical constructs as analytical tools and undertakes his investigation in the spirit of Gramsci's writing, locating his discussion "within and with reference to a specific context or social formation", that of contemporary Brazil [1987:2].

Ireland focuses particularly on Gramsci's long essay "Some Aspects of the Southern Question" and the "Lyons Theses". He compares the political and economic divisions in Italian

society in Gramsci's day with those of Brazil in the 1980s, where the division between the industrialised South-east and the poor, rural North-east "is symbolic of the Brazilian bourgeoisie's incapacity to achieve hegemony without an alliance incorporating the reactionary sectors of rural society" [1987:13]. Ireland considers that while the clergy's role as mediators between landlords and peasants is diminishing because of internal divisions within the Church reflecting the rise of liberation theology, the Church still plays an important role in the production and formation of intellectuals through the schooling offered in Catholic seminaries. Ireland compares Gramsci's analysis of the reformist "Modernism" movement in the Roman Catholic Church in Italy with the role of the Radical Catholic Movement in Brazil, contending that whereas in Gramsci's Italy the southern clergy were the reactionaries, in Brazil their modern counterparts in the North-east are the more progressive.

Ireland's contention is that Popular Education in Brazil should contribute to the formation of working class cadres capable of directing their own class and creating a new hegemonic force [1987:27]. However, to decide what this means in practice is no more simple in Brazil than it was for Gramsci in Italy. Ireland argues that a reading of Gramsci should lead educators to analyse the working classes in order to understand how Popular Education may best contribute to the creation of proletarian hegemony. His own analysis leads him ultimately to



depart significantly from Gramsci on the question of the persistence of religious belief, and to propose an extension to Gramsci's concept of hegemony "in which Christian and 'secular' humanism fuse to form a new synthesis acceptable to believers and non-believers alike" [Ireland 1987:73].

Ireland [1987:66] outlines three positions in the debate within Popular Education centring on different interpretations of the political nature of education

Should all facets of an issue be expounded and discussed and then those involved left to draw their own conclusions and act accordingly? Should we seek to find common ground, a line upon which all those involved agree? Should or can Popular Education programmes or processes be conducted through political parties or other autonomous organizations pertaining to the popular classes?

The last of these questions is particularly pertinent to adult educators seeking inspiration from Gramsci: as Ireland acknowledges [1987:66], Gramsci sees adult education of the working class as an inherently political enterprise which must be given organizational force and direction by its expression in the party. Popular Education, with its fragmented form and lack of a unifying organization hardly fits this prescription. Furthermore, there is no consensus amongst Popular Educators as to whether the political dimension of their task, which most accept, should be interpreted in party political terms. According to Ireland [1987:70]

This ambiguity often finds expression... in the division of activities into the implicitly political and the explicitly political which frequently goes under the title of "Political

Education".

Ireland [1987:72] divides Popular Educators into two groups: those who favour the spontaneous approach and those who maintain the special function of the educator-agent. Ireland counterposes the first position to that of Gramsci, who, in the Prison Notebooks, points out the limitations of spontaneity in the revolutionary project [SPN:196-7]. Those Popular Educators who favour spontaneity deny the agency of the educator, something Gramsci, with his theory of the organic, revolutionary intellectual, never does. Furthermore, they idealize working class culture and thereby base their educational practice on an inappropriate foundation. While Ireland considers the second position to be the more Gramscian, nevertheless he recognises that in Gramsci's formulation the intellectual's intervention is informed by a clearly defined, though not rigid, framework of political ideas. By contrast, the conceptual parameters of Popular Education are more open-ended. Ireland follows Gramsci in contending that "the degree to which the two perspectives differ or converge will depend upon the concrete historical conditions to which Popular Education seeks to respond" [Ireland 1987:73]. He concludes [1987:78] that greater attention should be paid to the role of the educator or agent and to the question of the need for some unifying organisation, agency or institution for popular education.

Gramsci, "New Times" and the Education of Adults Recently, an attempt has been made to develop a "New Times" analysis of the education of adults, drawing on Gramsci's ideas. In a paper presented to the Standing Conference of University Teaching and Research in the Education of Adults (SCUTREA) in 1990, Westwood argues for the application of a "New Times" analysis to adult education on the grounds that it leads adult educators to an engagement with fundamental questions such as the relationship between knowledge and power in adult education and the relationship between adult education and forms of industrial organization. Using the Gramscian analysis of Fordism popularised in "New Times" thinking, she points to the loss of an important role for adult education entailed in the demise of Fordist "powerful unions and vibrant shopfloor cultures with which adult education could connect" [Westwood 1990:15]. However, she argues that post-Fordist industrial processes and working practices offer at least the possibility of a new role for adult educators, building on the adult education tradition of looking to locality and region in order to develop specific practices appropriate to local areas.

This optimistic view is not shared by fellow-academics Allman and Wallis [1990]. In the same conference papers they argue [1990:240] that "New Times" thinking is seriously flawed because it is based on a mis-reading of Gramsci "without any real comprehension of his understanding and use of Marx's

dialectic". They accuse "New Times" thinkers of locating the struggle "on the terrain of ideas" solely in the cultural domain [1990:240]: this is the old accusation of culturalism in a new guise, levelled not at Gramsci but at his "New Times" (equated by Allman and Wallis with post-Marxist) interpreters. Gramsci, they say [1990:241]

tried to re-inject Marx into 20th century socialism and communism, but through no fault of his own Gramsci's work appears to have moved Marx even further from the "horizon of debate".

Allman's and Wallis's solution [1990:242] is for radical adult educators to "help people acquire a dialectical perspective that will enable them to mentally grasps [sic] the dialectic truth of their real world". This, they claim [1990:242], entails revolutionising adult education practice, joining with others in the investigation of both local and global conditions, collaborating in "the mental penetration of the pseudo-concrete phenomena" of people's lives in order to grasp the dialectic contradictions that cause the world to move and "develop" in the ways it does.

They end by calling for not only

a celebration of difference but a celebration of our common goals and humanity, and the beginning of human history that is critically and creatively shaped by the mass of humankind working in harmony with each other and their natural world [Allman and Wallis 1990:242].

Allman's and Wallis's critique of "New Times" thinking thus culminates in an (unreferenced) endorsement of the

participatory research ethic, expressed with somewhat messianic fervour. However, for all their attention to the relations of production in the first part of their paper, Allman and Wallis make no mention of Gramsci's insistence that politics should be articulated by the political party of the revolutionary working class. For Gramsci, politics is not only a matter for committed adult educators, however radical.

### Conclusion

Throughout his writing, Gramsci advocates a revolutionary politics, organized through the revolutionary party of the working class and informed by rigorous study within an historical and dialectical framework, constantly relating theory and practice. He is concerned to analyse the specifics of the political conjuncture pertaining at the precise historical moment. It may be that Gramsci's political method is his most important bequest to his followers in the field of adult education and elsewhere. In this way it may be possible, as Gramsci puts it, "to find in the ends to be attained the natural source for developing the appropriate methods and forms" [SPN:33]. As Stuart Hall argued at the London conference commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of Gramsci's death, Gramsci cannot supply the answers to our contemporary problems, his work does not contain a model or formula which we can apply to our own times and our own circumstances. Instead,

he gives us the tools to ask the right questions in the light of the specifics of the particular situation.

#### NOTES

1. Except where indicated, biographical information for this section is taken from Giuseppe Fiori's Antonio Gramsci: Life of a Revolutionary [1970]. Bibliographical details are taken from Cozens [1977]; Eley [1984]; Forgacs [1989]. According to Forgacs [1989:71], an international Gramsci bibliography is being compiled by a group based in New York under the direction of John Cammett and Frank Rosengarten.

2. The history of the Factory Councils is described by Martin Clark [1977] and Gwyn Williams [1975].

3. Gramsci's Prison Notebooks are at present available in English only in selections, of which the most comprehensive is SPN [1971]. Other selections are published in The Modern Prince and Other Writings [1957]; SCW [1985]; A Gramsci Reader [1988]. According to Forgacs [1989:71], a complete translation of the prison notebooks on the basis of Valentino Gerratana's 1975 edition, is being prepared by Joseph A. Buttigieg of Notre Dame University for publication by Columbia University Press.

4. Selections of Gramsci's letters from prison are available in English in LP [1973] and in an edition edited and translated by Hamish Henderson [1988].

5. SPW I [1977]; LP [1973]; SPW II [1978]; SCW [1985]; Gramsci [1988].

6. See Boggs [1976; 1984]; Buci-Glucksmann [1980]; Davidson [1977]; Mouffe [1979]; Piccone [1983]; Nemeth [1980]; Showstack Sassoon [1982].

7. For a discussion of post-modernism in relation to "New Times" see Hebdige in Hall and Jacques (eds.) [1989:76-93].

8. See Laclau and Mouffe [1985] and the ensuing debate in New Left Review: Geras [1987]; Laclau and Mouffe [1987]; Mouzelis [1988].

9. Manzoni (1785-1873) distinguishes between good sense and common sense in his historical novel, I promessi sposi (The Betrothed first published 1827; rewritten in a Tuscanized form and published 1840), as follows: "il buon senso c'era; ma se ne stava nascosto, per paura del senso commune" [1958:561]. Colquhoun [1956:446] translates this as "good sense was not lacking; but it was hiding for fear of common sense". Gramsci's habit of enclosing the terms "good sense" and "common sense" in inverted commas would seem to indicate that he is consciously quoting someone - surely Manzoni, a point I have not found recorded in other commentaries on Gramsci's writing available in English. Gramsci made the concept his own, as he did also with hegemony, but it is interesting to note that while the origin and development of the latter concept has inspired considerable comment, the provenance of the distinction between good sense and common sense has not been explored.

If Gramsci is quoting Manzoni, why did he not note the source? The idea first appears in the prison notebooks: there are no references to good sense/common sense in his political journalism published before his imprisonment and available in English (in SPW I or II and Piccone and Cavalcanti's collection [1975]), but many references in SPN and all the references in SCW and The Modern Prince [Gramsci 1957] are from the notebooks. Gramsci may have felt that the source was sufficiently well-known for it to be omitted; in any case, in the prison notebooks he was writing notes rather than final copy for publication. Gramsci certainly knew The Betrothed well, writing about it frequently in the notebooks in the context of his exploration of the national-popular [SCW:112; 116 n41; 153; 159 n14; 172 n7; 288-297]. In the same vein, he wrote extensively about Manzoni's ideas on language [SCW passim], and his outline plan of work to be undertaken while he was in prison includes: "12) The question of the language in Italy: Manzoni and G.I. Ascoli" [SCW:3].

10. See for example, Aronowitz and Giroux [1985]; Apple [1979]; Giroux [1983]; Sarup [1983]; Young in Young (ed.) [1971]; Carnoy in Apple (ed.) [1982]

## CHAPTER VIII

## RADICAL HEROES: GRAMSCI, FREIRE AND THE LIBERAL TRADITION

Introduction

This chapter traces the association of Gramsci's and Freire's ideas in relation to the education of adults and explores the relationship between their ideas and the Liberal Tradition.

Both Gramsci and Freire are amongst the top twenty-five most frequently-cited authors in the literature of adult continuing education according to a recent study of citations. Indeed, Freire (equally with Malcolm Knowles) heads the list of the most frequently-cited authors, and his Pedagogy of the Oppressed, described as "inspirational so far as practice is concerned", is the single most frequently-cited publication [Field et al. 1991:13]. Gramsci is referred to in the study as a "scriptural author", whose influence in a practice-orientated field, together with that of Marx, is thought to reflect a generational, backward-looking academic culture



if they acknowledged any macro-theoretical influences at all, most British CE [continuing education] scholars during the late 1980s were more likely to cite the works of Marx and the more humanistic of his followers (Gramsci in particular) which had influenced them in the 1960s and 1970s than any contributor to contemporary social theory [Field et al. 1991:15].

As well as being cited separately, Gramsci and Freire are also cited together in the literature of radical education [1] and radical adult education of the 1980s [2]. This association implies that Gramsci's and Freire's ideas are compatible in ways that are significant for radical adult educators: but are they? Politically, Gramsci was undoubtedly a Marxist while Freire's political orientation remains ambiguous [see Chapters VI and VII above]. Gramsci's and Freire's formative work had a different focus and purpose reflecting their different political orientations and the different historical, geographical, political and economic contexts in which their ideas originated. Their careers reflect differing approaches to the theory and practice of education.

Nevertheless, there are apparent congruences which have struck a chord with some radical adult educators. For example, both Freire and Gramsci see education as one aspect of a larger political process and both are keenly interested in the education of adults. Beyond these superficial similarities, however, what foundation is there for the claim that Gramsci's and Freire's ideas are compatible? To what extent is there any real congruence between their ideas and if there is, what

significance might that have for adult educators?

In the following sections, the assumption that Gramsci's and Freire's ideas are compatible will be examined through a comparison of the context and purpose of the education of adults, politics and the role of the political party, the relationship between education and the state, the role of the educator and the curriculum, as these appear in Gramsci's and Freire's writing. References to Gramsci in Freire's writing are considered and the claim, made most explicitly by Allman [1988], that Gramsci's and Freire's ideas are compatible, is then examined. Finally, Gramsci's and Freire's ideas and the tenets of liberal and radical adult education are discussed in relation to Youngman's nine principles of Marxist adult education (listed above in Chapter V).

### Gramsci and Freire: Some Points of Comparison

#### Context

Freire's early literacy work in impoverished North-east Brazil spanned the end of a period of rapid growth in the Brazilian economy which lasted from 1945 to 1960 [Wynia 1990:214-248]. During that period, a policy of industrialisation based on import substitution primarily benefitted the south east of the country, exacerbating a division between what Wynia [1990:217]

calls the "two Brazils", and which Ireland [1987:9-37] likens to the division between North and South Italy in Gramsci's time. The policy relied heavily on foreign capital and imported business practices and growth could not be sustained. By the time of the 1964 coup, approximately one third of Brazil's manufacturing industry was owned by foreigners and the economy was in crisis with illiterate peasants and urban poor (Freire's constituency of learners) making up fifty per cent of the population. In the period leading up to the coup, the economic crisis was matched by a political crisis as President Goulart tried to find a way out of the impasse through populist policies including the extension of the franchise to the illiterate and the encouragement of Freire's literacy campaign.

Although the experience of prolonged exile was undoubtedly difficult, as Freire relates in his "talking book" with Faundez [1989:21-24], it was in exile that he became internationally renowned as a "guru" of radical adult education, working as an educational consultant advising mostly newly-independent post-colonial governments in industrially under-developed countries with high illiteracy rates. In this context the improvement of literacy rates was seen as a political and economic imperative, part of the process of nation-building in which Freire played a supporting role. Freire remains a controversial figure. His ideas have been influential in many developing countries and he enjoys a strong following amongst

some radical adult educators in the West.

By contrast, Gramsci's early political work was in Turin, where he worked to give direction to the struggles of the industrial proletariat in order to foment a revolution geared to Italian circumstances. Turin's major industry, the manufacture of motor vehicles, was organised and controlled by a local (Italian) bourgeoisie and its products sold on the expanding European and home markets. Gramsci's knowledge of and interest in the production process is reflected in his analysis of Americanism and Fordism and his discussion of the effects of Taylorisation of the work process and consequent de-skilling on the industrial work-force [SPN:308-310]. Gramsci's immediate concern in the period immediately before his imprisonment, was with the political education of a relatively literate, politically organized industrial proletariat. He was also deeply interested in the relationship between the industrial proletariat and the peasants and the need to forge links between them in the process of creation of a new hegemony. In prison for the last eleven years of his life, Gramsci struggled to develop his thought against a background of political defeat, censorship of his writing and his own physical disintegration, only achieving posthumous recognition as a major twentieth century Marxist.

Despite these differences in the contexts in which they worked, Gramsci and Freire could be said to share a "Southern"

background in the sense in which Gramsci uses the term in his essay, "Some Aspects of the Southern Question" [SPW II:441-462]. Freire originated from the "Southern" setting (in Gramscian terms) of North-east Brazil, arguably the equivalent of the poor, feudal South of Italy in its relationship with the richer and more industrial South-east of Brazil. Gramsci, as a Sardinian, grew up in a similarly poor and remote region. Both were clearly influenced by their early environments.

The "Southern Question" and its Brazilian parallels are explored by Ireland in his monograph [1987:9-37]. Ireland argues convincingly that the economic situation of uneven development that he discerns in contemporary Brazil closely mirrors that in Italy in Gramsci's time. This is borne out by Wynia's [1990:216] description of the Doctrine of National Security which prevailed in Brazil during Freire's period of exile, as resembling the fascist ideology of Italy.

Ireland further contends [1987:26] that cultural domination plays a similar role in the relationship between South-east and North-east Brazil, as it did in Gramsci's North and South Italy, citing the "dearth of periodicals, reviews, newspapers, publishing houses, etc. of truly national circulation" emanating from North-east Brazil. However, Gramsci's point is the opposite: in an extract from "Some Aspects of the Southern Question" quoted by Ireland, Gramsci states that an influential publishing house and review, great intellectuals, academies and

cultural bodies of the greatest erudition do exist in the South. What was missing was "any organization of middle culture" around which dissenting intellectuals might group themselves: such intellectuals had instead grouped themselves around reviews outside the South (as Gramsci himself had done) [SPW I:459]. Gramsci is precisely interested in the contradictory way that Southern intellectuals such as Croce are able to act as hegemonic forces in a state in which economic strength is located in the North.

It is also important not to collapse together Gramsci's analysis of the relationship between the South and North of Italy with the later (and simpler) concept of the Third World which suffuses Freire's work. This is what Ireland tends to do in his otherwise careful analysis of the Popular Education movement in Brazil [1987]. For Freire, the relationship between the First World and the Third is a dependent relationship between centre and periphery, metropolis and margins, between powerful North and dependent South in the world context, between powerful South-east and dependent North-east in Brazil. The relationship between South and North Italy, for Gramsci, is specific, contingent and reciprocal, rather than general and schematic, as the corresponding relationship is for Freire.

### Politics and the Role of the Political Party

Although Gramsci's Marxism and Freire's eclecticism share a humanistic concern for the oppressed, their political orientation is distinctly different, unless Freire's claim to be a Marxist is accepted [3]. Freire claims to be an advocate of revolution, yet, as has been shown in Chapter VI, his work has depended on government encouragement, both in Brazil and in his period of exile, and his writing is not informed by a clear vision of the nature of the revolution. Meanwhile, Gramsci's claim to be a Marxist is unimpeachable, and a sophisticated Marxist concept of class is fundamental to his analysis: Green [1990:91] rightly praises Gramsci's "exceptional grasp of the role of different class fractions and their competing ideologies in the maintenance of class domination".

Gramsci's political vision is highly differentiated: he is concerned with the agency and inter-relationships of workers, peasants and party members in the context of the attempt to create and sustain a communist revolution through a sustained attack on the hegemony of the ruling "historic bloc" and the establishment of revolutionary working class hegemony. By contrast, Freire's vision is universal and humanistic, and at the same time strongly imbued with the Christian values of Liberation Theology. Rather than classes, Freire writes of the oppressed, subsuming workers, peasants and the landless poor into a theoretically undifferentiated mass (a concept which he

has recently acknowledged is too abstract but which he has not yet corrected [Freire and Faundez 1989:101]).

Freire insists on the need to engage in dialogue with the oppressed, but he nowhere addresses the question of who the other party to the dialogue is. Put simply, if the world is divided into oppressed and oppressors, to which camp does the liberator belong? The oppressed are seen as at least initially separate from their liberators, although he says that they must become involved in the struggle for their liberation [PO:40] and do so as subjects not as objects [PO:44]. This fundamental problem is glossed over in Freire's formulation which identifies subject with process: "men are praxis - the praxis which, as the reflection and action which truly transform reality, is the source of knowledge and creation" [PO:73].

Gramsci conceives of revolution as a process rather than a single dramatic event. The revolutionary process continues through and beyond the take-over of power by the proletariat. It is "a continuous process, a never-ending development towards a realm of freedom that is organised and controlled by the majority of the citizens - the proletariat" [SPW I:55]. Freire's model is rather that of the revolution as a war of liberation, ousting a colonial regime and culminating in a declaration of independence, although he maintains that education for conscientization remains essential after the revolution as a means of keeping the people in touch with their



leaders in a state of mutual respect and communion.

Freire is primarily concerned with the quality of the communion between leader and led, rather than with the direction of leadership, or the nature of power. He is ambivalent about the nature of the political changes he and his work support, whether Marxist and revolutionary or reformist and populist. The common factor running through Freire's work is his Christian populism and his religious orientation is that of Catholic syncretism, in common with Liberation Theologists in South America (see Chapter VI for a discussion of this). In fact, this last association represents a link, albeit indirect, between Gramsci and Freire, since some Liberation Theologists claim Gramsci as an important influence [Gutierrez 1973; Boff 1985].

Freire's work does, however, include strong echoes of Marxism, as is shown in Chapter VI, particularly in his insistence on the need to unite theory and practice in "praxis". Both Gramsci and Freire see the relationship between theory and practice as crucial. Gramsci uses the term "praxis" in a similar way: he denotes Marxism the "philosophy of praxis", a term he borrowed from the Italian Marxist, Labriola, and used in the Prison Notebooks partly for its connotations of the "unique nexus... between theoretical and practical activity" and partly as a device to deceive the censor [SPN:xxi].

However, Freire's formulation of action in relation to reflection and man in relation to the world treats the world and human agency as antithetical and thus falls within an idealist framework. Indeed, Freire seems close to making a religion of the education process when he says that "to speak a true word is to transform the world" [PO:60]. Instead of identifying theory with practice as he insists is necessary, Freire dichotomises action and reflection and then stresses the need for coincidence between the two so that they are not divided into separate stages in the educational or political process [PO:99]. He rejects both "mindless activism" and "empty verbalism" and posits instead the somewhat obscure notion that "word = work = praxis" [PO:60 f1]. Even when rejecting one, Freire thinks in dichotomies, consistent with his emphasis on dialogue as an educational and political technique. Although Freire later "corrected" this "coincidental" view in favour of a staged approach, this does not entirely solve the problem, as is shown in Chapter VI. He remains convinced of the power of the "true word" to transform the world, the difference is that in his later work he acknowledges that this will only happen under the right circumstances.

Gramsci's work also contains dichotomies and dualities, detailed by Anderson in his "The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci" [Anderson 1976-7], but he treats these dialectically, placing one element of a paradox in relation to another in a process of

mutual transformation to a new condition. Throughout his work, Gramsci urges that theory and practice must be dialectically related, with political action informed by analysis. Gramsci criticises "Insistence on the practical element of the theory-practice nexus" as symptomatic of "a relatively primitive historical phase" [SPN:335]. Here he is arguing against the tendency in Marxism to subordinate theory to practice, as epitomised in Stalin's maxim that "theory must serve practice" and Luxemburg's argument that theory only develops to the extent that the need for it is created by the practice of the movement [SPN:334 f17]. Instead, the dialectical unity of theory and practice means that

one can construct, on a specific practice, a theory which, by coinciding and identifying with the decisive elements of the practice itself, can accelerate the historical process that is going on, rendering practice more homogeneous, more coherent, more efficient in all its elements, and thus, in other words, developing its potential to the maximum: or alternatively, given a certain theoretical position one can organize the practical element which is essential for the theory to be realised. The identification of theory and practice is a critical act, through which practice is demonstrated rational and necessary, and theory realistic and rational. [SPN:365]

For Gramsci, the identification of theory and practice is brought about by the political party of the working class. A crucial difference between his and Freire's approaches is that, for Freire, education is not based in a political party, whereas for Gramsci, the party's role is vital. Freire does not usually engage with party politics in his writing; when he does, as in the case of his fulsome praise of the PAIGC in

Guinea-Bissau, he reveals a certain naivety.

#### The Relationship between Education and the State

Another key area where Gramsci and Freire appear to have little in common is in their conceptions of the relationship between education and the state. This seems to stem from a crucial difference in their conceptions of the state itself. Indeed, Freire does not elucidate a conception of the state as such, although he acknowledges that the attitude of the government has a major bearing on the possibility of education for liberation [LGB:110-117]. Consequently, Freire does not articulate political and educational strategies in relation to different forms of the state or governments of different political complexions, an odd omission for one for whom education is political.

By contrast, Gramsci's concept of the educative state allows him to differentiate between state formations and to analyse the relationship of institutions to each other and to the state. This is particularly significant in relation to adult education in the UK, which largely takes place in quasi-autonomous or relatively independent institutions of civil society whose relationship to the state is ambiguous.

### The Purpose of the Education of Adults

For both Freire and Gramsci the education of adults transcends strictly educational concerns and is a vehicle for wider political ends. While this is on the one hand an expansion of the educational task, it is also, paradoxically, a diminution of it, subordinating education to the greater good represented by the hoped-for changes in society. Both Gramsci and Freire claim their work has an overt social and political purpose: that of bringing about and sustaining revolutionary change in society, and their writings on education must be seen in that context. Both regard the education process as politically committed rather than politically neutral. Although I have argued that they are not committed to the same political ends (see Chapters VI and VII for a discussion of this), both claim that the role of revolutionaries in bringing about social, economic and political change is an educative one.

Indeed, for Freire, the actual mechanism of social change is a critical educational effort based on favourable historical conditions. For Gramsci, the relationship between education and politics is integral: politics is educative in the widest sense. As Green comments [1990:99], Gramsci's work is a sustained meditation on "the way in which the dominant and the subordinate classes seek to educate society into their own conceptions of the world". The educative process is, for Gramsci, a broad-based and highly differentiated process of the

creation and maintenance of hegemony, undertaken either by the state or its deputies, seeking to maintain control, or by revolutionaries seeking to gain control of society.

However, while Gramsci is himself a revolutionary, Freire's position is that of a professional adult educator concerned to expound and propagate the political nature of his task in the service of revolutionary change. Freire's is a secondary involvement in a supporting role, while Gramsci writes as a prime mover in the revolutionary process. Accordingly, while both stress the interrelationship of education and politics, they do so in different ways and from different starting points: for Gramsci, politics is educative, while for Freire, education is political.

For Gramsci, the purpose of adult education in a revolutionary context is to contribute towards the creation and maintenance of proletarian hegemony. He emphasises agency, with the working class and its political party the agents of revolutionary change. Education in the widest sense is a vehicle for the promulgation of working class and party agency and plays an important role in generating and maintaining support for the party and thus for the revolution, amongst the working class and the peasants. Unlike Freire, Gramsci does not claim to ensure the liberation of the protagonists as a result of the education process itself, rather as a result of education in the context of the political process.

Gramsci sees education, in the broad sense in which he uses the term, as a means of equipping everyone (in theory) to run society. The question for Gramsci is whether the education process helps the individual and the class to take a directive role in the revolutionary struggle. Therefore, in both the pre- and post-revolutionary contexts, adult education cannot be objective or value-free but must have "the character of impassioned militancy" [Gramsci, quoted in Davidson 1977:224]. In this context, Gramsci identifies a key task of education as

the problem of assimilating the entire grouping to its most advanced fraction; it is a problem of education of the masses, of their "adaptation" in accordance with the requirements of the goal to be achieved [SPN:195].

By contrast, Freire's work developed in contexts where reforms were underway and informed popular support was considered necessary to maintain momentum. Freire sees education for conscientization as particularly necessary for oppressed people living under or emerging from domination by colonial and neo-colonial regimes. He stresses the "pedagogical nature of the revolution" through which oppressed people may overcome their oppressors and emerge from the culture of silence in which they are trapped as victims of cultural invasion [PO:43]. I have argued that, for Freire, in such contexts the task of adult education is to create support for progressive leaders through the generation of mass consent [see Chapter

VI].

While consent is one feature of hegemony, it is a somewhat one-dimensional concept implying passive acquiescence by the many to the rule of the few and is not synonymous with Gramsci's concept of hegemony, which encompasses and subsumes consent. Hegemony is exercised by a class or alliance of classes forming a "historic bloc", not an individual leader, as in Freire's model, although an individual, such as Croce, may be a significant bearer of hegemony. Nevertheless, the notion of popular consent is an important one for Freire and is the closest parallel in his work to Gramsci's concept of hegemony. His emphasis on the importance of popular consent partly accounts for the resonances of Gramsci's work in Freire's writing, despite the paucity of direct references. Freire here employs his own version of one of Gramsci's key insights in the service of his project, as he does also with the work of Goldmann, Fanon, Fromm, Marx and many others.

Education can be an instrument of liberation to both Gramsci and Freire. However, to Gramsci it is an instrument of class liberation, that is liberation by the working class as leaders in a revolutionary process with the potential to liberate all oppressed groups and ultimately all society. By contrast, class is a dimension almost entirely absent from Freire's writing. Freire's thesis is that social and political change results, in the right circumstances, from changes in the



consciousness of oppressed individuals, leading to the development in those individuals of "critically transitive consciousness". He aims to bring about such changes through cultural action with the masses.

Marx [1970:181] however, pointed out that: "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness". Gramsci echoes Marx's conception when he writes

when the "subaltern" becomes directive and responsible for the economic activity of the masses, mechanicism at a certain point becomes an imminent danger and a revision must take place in modes of thinking because a change has taken place in the social mode of existence [SPN:336].

Nowell Smith, in a footnote to the English edition of the Prison Notebooks, points out that this conception is very important to Gramsci and constantly recurs in his prison writings [SPN:336 f25]. Freire's failure to recognise this insight, while still claiming to be a Marxist, represents a serious philosophical flaw, and limits the applicability of his method to situations in which "man's social being" is already determining his consciousness along lines of which Freire approves. As a result, Freire's educational method is not so much revolutionary as consensual: not only is it dependent on favourable political and economic circumstances but, for example in the post-colonial situation of Guinea-Bissau or the relatively progressive reformist regime in Brazil in the early 1960's, it also seeks to generate support for the status quo.

### The Educative Process

The educative process for Gramsci and Freire reflects the similarities and differences in purpose outlined above. For Gramsci, the educative process in the context of proletarian revolution is moulded by his conception of revolution as a process rather than a single event. In keeping with his highly articulated conception of the revolutionary process, Gramsci differentiates between types of education appropriate at different historical moments in the revolutionary struggle, and for different groups in society. However, whether it is for the population as a whole, or workers and party members, it is always the party which directs the educational process.

The precise nature of the educational task depends on the historical circumstances pertaining at any given moment and encompasses political activity, personal teaching in formal and informal groups, journalism and political education in the factories as well as the educative activities of the state. Mass ideological preparation is "a necessity of revolutionary struggle and one of the indispensable conditions for victory" [SPW II:290]. Gramsci also describes the form of education that should be organised by and for party members in his "Introduction to the First Course of the Party School" [SPW II:285-292]. Once working class hegemony is established,

Gramsci prefigures a form of education appropriate for society as a whole in his notes on education in the Prison Notebooks [SPN:26-43]. The education of party members and activists is of particular concern in the period of revolutionary struggle, as their leadership is crucial. Gramsci recognised that political activity is highly educative and that education also has a role in developing activists' powers of analysis in order to help them to develop appropriate strategies.

Unlike Gramsci's, Freire's approach is closely identified with a specific modus operandi and methodology. His work has typically involved the initiation of national literacy and post-literacy campaigns, financed and controlled by governments, as in Brazil and Guinea-Bissau. Freire's two-stage model with its literacy and post-literacy phases, involves investigators in prior research amongst those who are to be members of the circles of culture and the construction of a teaching programme based on the research. Freire stresses the need for the investigators and those investigated to come to share a "critical perception of the world, which implies a correct method of approaching reality in order to unveil it... critical perception cannot be imposed" [PO:82-3].

Freire sees the education process as a linear, guided progression through stages of consciousness from ignorance to enlightenment, defined in advance by the educator. Conscientization enables students to achieve the highest form

of consciousness, which Freire calls critically transitive consciousness, and to recognise themselves as cultured and therefore potential agents of change in society, given the presence of good (ie. self-sacrificing) leadership. It is for this reason that education should be dialogical rather than narrative, problem-posing rather than didactic.

However, "dialogue" implies a quasi-conversational mode of teaching and learning belied by Freire's highly structured methodology. While Freire emphasises the active and equal participation of the students in the educative process, nevertheless agency is primarily vested in the educator. Moreover, Freire's key concepts of dialogue and praxis, reflection and action, problematization and codification, all involve individual rather than group responses. He does not spell out the way in which individual reflection might be translated into political action.

For Gramsci education is broad-based. The institutional base, mode of organization and content appropriate in one educational context are not necessarily appropriate in all other contexts. For Freire, the culture circle, wherever it takes place, is the favoured model, his base is both narrower and more specific.

Freire believes the education process should make people critical of received knowledge (because it is knowledge belonging to the oppressor) and aware of themselves as creators

of culture. Freire's concept of the education process as a constant unveiling and demythologising of reality assumes that reality is an absolute, reified entity, capable in the final analysis of only one correct interpretation: an ultimate unveiling. False consciousness is to be overcome through conscientization, by which Freire refers to modes of thinking, not to what is thought about. Conscientization enables people to perceive the economic, social, and political contradictions in society and puts them into a state of mind in which they are capable of taking action in order to transform reality.

Freire appears to believe that critical thought is bound to lead leftwards, perhaps because he perceives the political and philosophical views of the right as without foundation in logic, and therefore as incapable of standing up to reasoned critical argument. His elaboration of the stages of consciousness through which the education process should lead appears to bear this out, since his description of "fanaticised consciousness", a state in which people are irrational, debased and dehumanised, dominated by others while believing themselves to be free, though at the same time fearing freedom, is strongly reminiscent of the state of mind induced in followers of a Hitler or Mussolini. It is the descent into fanaticised consciousness that Freire's education process seeks to avoid.

By contrast, Gramsci never dismisses his opponent's argument, recognising that one needs to know what the arguments are in

order to combat them effectively. His concepts of good sense and common sense are tools for the analysis of the ideas that inform actions, while Freire is concerned rather with the process of thinking itself and the way in which different ways of thinking, characteristic of different stages of consciousness, pre-dispose people to certain ways of acting. There is nothing inherently active in the process of change of consciousness itself, although action may result from it.

#### The Educators

In keeping with his more restricted concept of the educative process, Freire conceives of the educator in narrower, more specific terms than Gramsci, for whom the term encompasses the state in its educative, hegemonic role, the party and the intellectual, as well as the teacher in the conventional sense of the term. Freire does not conceive of the state as educator and there is no place for the political party in his educational process. His references to intellectuals bear some resemblance to Gramsci's theory of the intellectuals but this is not sustained. In the most directly comparable case, that of the teacher, Gramsci defines the role of teacher and the teacher/student relationship in relation to the type, stage and setting of the education concerned and the level of maturity of the student, while Freire conceives of an archetypal dialogical teacher/student common to all situations.

For Freire, the key relationship in the education process is that of the teacher with the student, which symbolises his ideal of the relationship between leader and led in society. In Freire's early work the roles of teacher and student merge and interchange in a kind of mystical communion involving the class suicide of the middle class (oppressor) teacher prior to his or her "resurrection" through identification with the oppressed. However, in his later work Freire recognises that this is not always practicable and advocates using as educators people from the local community. In a letter to the team of educators to which he was consultant in Guinea-Bissau, Freire writes

I am convinced that it is easier to create a new type of intellectual - forged in the unity between practice and theory, manual and intellectual work - than to reeducate an elitist intellectual... The challenge... is not to continue creating elitist intellectuals so that they can commit class suicide, but rather to prevent their formation in the first place. [LGB:104]

Similarly, in an earlier letter to Mario Cabral, Commissioner of State for Education and Culture in Guinea-Bissau, Freire wrote

If it were not possible either to count on peasants who can be rapidly trained in literacy work, as in Chile, nor on urban youths capable of committing "class suicide" and of "knowing how to become integrated into their country and with their people", then I would rather dedicate the necessary longer time to train peasants who might become authentic educators of their comrades, than to use middle-class youth. The latter may be trained more rapidly, but their commitment is less trustworthy. [LGB:82]

To some extent this appears to modify Freire's previous position in Brazil, where his model was of an education process

undertaken by middle class intellectuals working with peasants and the urban poor. However, this only takes the problem one stage further back: the teachers may be peasants but the organisers of the education process are still likely to be the self-sacrificing middle class intellectuals of his earlier formulations.

Gramsci's aim is different: every citizen should be educated so that she or he is formed "as a person capable of thinking, studying and ruling - or controlling those who rule" [SPN:40]. He points out that "democracy, by definition, cannot mean merely that an unskilled worker can become skilled. It must mean that every 'citizen' can 'govern' and that society places him, even if only abstractly, in a general condition to achieve this" [SPN:40]. The notion of a citizenry "controlling" their rulers, or becoming rulers themselves is alien to Freire's model of a middle class "born again" leader dedicated to the interests of the people, whose role is to support rather than to replace or direct the leader.

In a direct reference to Gramsci, Freire cites Gramsci's rejection of the commonly-accepted rigid distinction between manual and mental forms of work in support of his own supposition that

Action is work not because of the greater or lesser physical effort expended in it by the acting organism, but because of the consciousness the subject has of his own effort, the possibility of programming action, of creating tools and using them to mediate between himself and the object of his



actions, of having purposes, of anticipating results. Still more for action to be work, it must result in significant products, which while distinct from the active agent, at the same time condition him and become the object of his reflection. [CAF:56 f10]

Freire gives no page reference to the Spanish edition of Gramsci's Cultura y Literatura but he is presumably referring to Gramsci's insistence that

there are varying degrees of specific intellectual activity. There is no human activity from which every form of intellectual participation can be excluded: homo faber cannot be separated from homo sapiens [SPN:9].

If this is the reference, then Freire is placing a slightly different interpretation on it. Gramsci's point, made earlier in the same passage, is that, "All men are intellectuals... but not all men have in society the function of intellectuals" [SPN:9]. Certainly the predominance of mental to manual effort varies, but the crucial point for Gramsci is the social function of the effort, not whether it is primarily mental or manual.

For Gramsci, the intellectual's role is an organizing and mediating one, undertaken on behalf of one or the other of the major classes in society. Organic intellectuals of the working class must work out and make coherent the principles and problems raised by the masses in their practical activity: they are the "educators". Gramsci was a student of philology and would have been aware of the etymological link between the words "organic" and "organizing" which exists in both English and Italian. For Gramsci education in the broad sense is the

means by which the interchangeability of intellectuals and those who are not intellectuals by social function is ensured. Gramsci's organic intellectuals of the working class are not identical with those who have attained Freire's critically transitive stage of consciousness unless and until such individuals put their organizing abilities at the service of the revolution in the creation of proletarian hegemony.

### Curriculum

In the area of curriculum Gramsci and Freire appear to come together to some extent, although some of the similarities are superficial. For example, both Gramsci and Freire stress the importance of curricula linked to the productive process. Thus, as Cammett [1967:81] points out, in the Factory Councils, "The commissars were responsible for organising, within the factory, a school for increasing the workers' skills in their own trades or industrial functions". The educational programme was

directly related to another task of the commissars in the factory councils, namely, preparation for the seizure of power. This task was primarily one of preparing workers to become autonomous producers [Cammett 1967:81].

The factory was a fertile ground for the development of a new proletarian hegemony because, as Gramsci remarked, "The more the proletarian is specialised in a job, the more he feels the need for order, method, precision..." so that society comes to

appear as "one immense factory, organized with the same precision, method, order that he sees as vital in the factory where he works" [Gramsci quoted in Cammett 1967:79].

Similarly, Freire describes a curriculum in which education is integrated with and indistinguishable from production, when he puts forward the outline of a proposed education system for the newly-independent Guinea-Bissau. He contends that, as the country moves towards socialism, it needs

to structure its education in close relation to production, both from the point of view of the understanding of the productive process and also the technical training of the learners [LGB:105].

This is in the context of the need to overcome the division between manual and mental labour in the new society, something which, as shown above, Gramsci also stresses.

Gramsci stresses the need for political education such as that undertaken at Ordine Nuovo's "School of Culture and Socialist Propaganda", where the idea of a new "State of the councils" was explored. Ordine Nuovo was itself a vehicle for political and cultural education with regular features on a wide range of subjects. In his notes on the study of philosophy in the Prison Notebooks [SPN:331], Gramsci outlines an appropriate curriculum for the political education of adults, based on a criticism of "common sense": "an introduction to the study of philosophy must expound in synthetic form the problems that have grown up in the process of development of culture as a

whole".

Assuming the success of the revolution, something Gramsci by no means takes for granted, especially in his later writings, education as a function of leadership and working class support for the revolution would change as the role of the party and the working class changed. In the post-revolutionary society, working class hegemony in education would be underwritten by "a common basic education" followed by vocational training or productive work [SPN:27]. Adults would continue their vocational and political education through the trades unions and the Factory Councils to enable them to run their factories and other enterprises.

For Freire, "the basic challenge is not simply to substitute a new program for an old one that was adequate to the interests of the colonizers" [LGB:102]. Instead the curriculum must be worked out anew in each situation in order to establish a coherence between the revolutionary society and the education that is to serve it. The starting point is an exploration of people's awareness of the contradictions effecting their lives. Accordingly, Freire proposes an ostensibly open-ended, research-based curriculum, without the backing of "doctrine" of any kind, assuming that critical education will inevitably lead to liberation.

Both Gramsci and Freire decry what Freire calls the "banking"

approach to education in which culture is regarded as a commodity to be acquired and "men as mere receptacles to be stuffed full of empirical data and a mass of unconnected raw facts to be filed in the brain as in the columns of a dictionary" as Gramsci wrote in 1916 [SPW I:10-11]. Gramsci contrasts this spurious approach to culture with culture as

organisation and discipline of one's inner self, a coming to terms with one's own personality; it is the attainment of a higher awareness with the aid of which one succeeds in understanding one's own historical value, one's own function in life, one's own rights and obligations [SPW I:11].

This sounds very like Freire's critically transitive stage of consciousness. However, the reference to "rights and obligations" is a reminder that, for Gramsci, unlike Freire, the attainment of higher awareness leads to the recognition of one's historical role in the furtherance of the communist revolution rather than to an unspecified "liberation".

Freire sees "banking" education as the negation of dialogue. In his detailed exposition of what is meant by the term, Freire describes banking education as mirroring society as a whole. Dialogue prefigures a future society where there is "love, hope, faith, trust and humility between people" [PO:62ff]. Under these circumstances, education will be a matter of dialogue, not of "narration" [PO:45].

However, Freire's distinction between "banking" and "problem-posing" education could be likened to the distinction drawn by idealist educationalists in Italy (Croce, Gentile and

their followers) between "instruction" and "education". As Gramsci points out, excessive emphasis on this distinction has been a serious error of educational idealists.

For instruction to be wholly distinct from education the pupil would have to be pure passivity, a mechanical receiver of abstract notions - which is absurd and is anyway "abstractly" denied by the supporters of pure educativity precisely in their opposition to mere mechanistic instruction [SPN:35].

This is precisely the claim that Freire makes: that banking education, by treating students as passive, turns them into "pure passivity", whereas problem-posing education enrolls students as active participants in the education process.

Accordingly, while both Freire and Gramsci regard a banking approach to education and culture as incorrect, they do so for different reasons. For Freire banking education is manipulative and stultifying, serving the interests of oppressors opposed to the liberation of the people. For Gramsci, the distinction between education and instruction is a false dichotomy: education should include instruction. He argues that for the overwhelming majority of children who are living in an environment steeped in folklore, their individual consciousness "reflects social and cultural relations which are different from and antagonistic to those which are represented in the school curricula" [SPN:35]. Under these circumstances there is no unity between school and life, and it is for this reason that there is no automatic unity between instruction and education.

For the teacher to be able to unite instruction and education

he must be aware of the contrast between the type of culture and society which he represents and the type of culture and society represented by his pupils, and conscious of his obligation to accelerate and regulate the child's formation in conformity with the former and in conflict with the latter [SPN:36].

For Gramsci "a mediocre teacher may manage to see to it that his pupils become more informed, although he will not succeed in making them better educated" [SPN:36]. Nevertheless, this is still preferable to the subjective and rhetorical nature of the education system brought in by the Gentile Reform of the old Italian education system: "A date is always a date, whoever the examiner is, and a definition always a definition. But an aesthetic judgement or a philosophical analysis?" [SPN:36]. Gramsci contends that

The more the new curricula nominally affirm and theorise the pupil's activity and working collaboration with the teacher, the more they are actually designed as if the pupil were purely passive [SPN:37].

The pupil will be sold short, receiving an empty, rhetorical education. This is a danger also inherent in Freire's insistence on the merging of the roles of teacher and student, but it is a danger Freire appears unaware of.

Both Freire and Gramsci agree that education must be a critical process. Gramsci's political and educational methodology is rooted in a critique of opposing viewpoints, as in his critique of Croce. However, the educative process does not begin and end with criticism, as it tends to do with Freire. To Gramsci:

"To criticise one's own conception of the world means therefore to make it a coherent unity and to raise it to the level reached by the most advanced thought in the world" [SPN:324]. Through such a critical process one may become conscious of being "part of a particular hegemonic force (that is to say, political consciousness) [this] is the first stage towards a further progressive self-consciousness in which theory and practice will finally be one" [SPN:333].

For Gramsci, it is the role of the party to "represent this higher consciousness" [SPW II:288]. Accordingly, it is "a duty for the militant to know Marxist-Leninist doctrine, at least in the most general terms" [SPW II:289].

Freire's formulation of the culture of silence may appear at first sight reminiscent of Gramsci's description of the condition of the "subaltern element" in the Prison Notebooks

if yesterday the subaltern element was a thing, today it is no longer a thing but an historical person, a protagonist; if yesterday it was not responsible, because "resisting" a will external to itself, now it feels itself to be responsible because it is no longer resisting but an agent, necessarily active and taking the initiative. [SPN:337]

The "subaltern element" of "yesterday" sounds very much like the submerged "object" of the oppressor's reality of whom Freire writes. Gramsci's analysis is more subtle however: he asks

But even yesterday was it ever mere "resistance", a mere "thing", mere "non-responsibility"? Certainly not. Indeed one should emphasise how fatalism is nothing other than the clothing worn by real and active will when in a weak position... In fact... some part of even a subaltern mass is always directive and responsible, and the philosophy of the



part always precedes the philosophy of the whole, not only as its theoretical anticipation but as a necessity of real life.  
[SPN:337]

The implications for the education process in a revolutionary context are far-reaching: the seeds of revolution are inherent in the working class itself, nurtured by the conditions in which it finds itself. What is needed, says Gramsci, is for the situation to be correctly analysed and action taken on the basis of a thorough understanding of contemporary conditions viewed from within the working class movement.

For Freire, the curriculum should be developed from the learners' position in and perception of the world, but since the learner is initially trapped in the culture of silence, the catalyst can only come from the outside to start the education process. To overcome this problem he advocates research by the educators into the daily life of those to be educated. This takes the form of what he terms "investigation of the learner's thematic universe", which is re-presented as a problem to be solved by the learners in dialogue with the teacher. Choice of content is made by teachers after investigation, based on a reflexive, existential concept of knowledge as the discovery and unveiling of a pre-existing reality. Finally, evaluation is undertaken by the investigating team. This raises problems in that the choice of themes by the educators (and indeed the choice of educators) is crucial: by what right do the educators make this choice and according to what criteria?

Both Freire and Gramsci make use of the anthropological concept of culture, drawing a fundamental distinction between that which is produced by human beings and transmitted to their successors by other than biological means and that which is the result of the action of natural forces. This distinction enables both Freire and Gramsci to differentiate between that which can be changed by human agency and that which cannot. Gramsci states that, "social privileges and differences, being products of society and not of nature, can be overcome" [SPW I:5] and "events should be seen to be intelligent work of men and not the products of chance, of fatality" [SPW I:18]. "Above all, man is mind, i.e. he is a product of history, not nature" [SPW I:11] and "we must form some idea of nature and its laws governing the mind" [SPW I:13].

For Freire, the anthropological concept of culture informs the curriculum: it is "the first dimension of our new programme content" [EPF:46]. Like Gramsci, Freire defines the anthropological concept of culture as "the distinction between the world of nature and the world of culture" and stresses the importance of culture as historical, as "a systematic acquisition of human experience (but as creative assimilation, not as information-storing)" [EPF:46]. The anthropological concept of culture is important to Freire because it forms the basis of the change of consciousness which his education process is designed to effect. He states that

From that point of departure, the illiterate would begin to effect a change in his former attitudes, by discovering that he, as well as the literate person, has a creative and re-creative impulse [EPF:47].

Freire's educational process accordingly seeks to unlock that which is already within individuals but hidden, both from themselves and from others. Culture is therefore a condition of humanity, but one which is unrecognised by individuals in certain stages of consciousness.

For Freire, the consciousness of being cultured is the casualty of oppression. The education process, by developing the consciousness of being cultured beings in oppressed people, enrolls them as equal members of the human race with their oppressors, and thereby puts them in a position to challenge their oppression. The overt moral dimension here is in keeping with the essentially religious quality of Freire's ideas.

Similarly, both Gramsci and Freire recognise the importance of overcoming superstition. Freire gives an example of Amilcar Cabral discussing the magical powers of amulets with some soldiers and remarking

I hope that the sons of our sons, when they hear such stories and when they rejoice that PAIGC was able to direct the struggle in accord with the reality of the country, will say "Our fathers struggled hard but they believed in some very strange things" [LGB:19].

Gramsci was acutely aware of the prevalence of superstition and the need to overcome it through his childhood in Sardinia. He contends that

The discovery that the relations between the social and natural orders are mediated by work, by man's theoretical and practical activity, creates the first elements of an intuition of the world free from all magic and superstition [This discovery] provides a basis for the subsequent development of an historical dialectical conception of the world, which understands movement and change, which appreciates the sum of effort and sacrifice which the present has cost the past and which the future is costing the present, and which conceives the contemporary world as a synthesis of the past, of all past generations, which projects itself into the future [SPN:34-5].

For Gramsci, oppressed people achieve consciousness of their oppression through political struggle, which is itself educative, and through an educational process geared to their advancement as a class. The fact that they are cultured is not in doubt, what is important is to judge which elements of their culture constitute good sense and tend towards progressive historical aims. That judgement is a political one with profound educational implications.

#### Points of Contact: Freire's References to Gramsci

In a dialogue with Macedo, published in The Politics of Education, Freire states, in the context of a discussion of cultural differences, that, "Gramsci has profoundly influenced me with his keen insights into other cultures" [1985:182]. Freire does not claim that his ideas are founded on Gramsci's, although he cites Gramsci approvingly, together with many other writers [see Chapter VI]. The extent to which Gramsci has

influenced Freire may be judged from the following references to Gramsci that appear in Freire's books.

There are some direct references, although none appear in Freire's best-known book, Pedagogy of the Oppressed [1972], or in Education the Practice of Freedom [1976] or Pedagogy in Process: the Letters to Guinea-Bissau [1978]. Gramsci is cited once in Cultural Action for Freedom, in a footnote [CAF:56 n10] quoted above, in which Freire applauds Gramsci's insistence on the impossibility of entirely separating manual from intellectual work. Freire reiterates this point in his "talking book" with Macedo, Literacy: Reading the Word and the World [1987:78], where he states that practical activity never lacks a "technical intellectual dimension", however simple.

In his "talking book" with Shor, A Pedagogy for Liberation [1987:106; 117 n2], Freire cites Gramsci's concept of the relationship between "common sense" and "good sense" (Freire calls the latter "philosophical sense") and the need to make critical an already existing activity: "Science is super-posing [sic] critical thought on what we observe in reality, after the starting point of common sense". Again, with Macedo [1987:78-9], he quotes Gramsci (in a passage from the Prison Notebooks) in support of his argument that people should be challenged and stimulated to exercise their "right to know better what they already know". Freire refers to Gramsci's concept of hegemony when he affirms that such a

"critical reading of reality... constitutes an instrument of what Antonio Gramsci calls 'counterhegemony'" [Freire and Macedo 1987:36]. In his Introduction to the same book, Giroux states that Freire extends and affirms Gramsci's notion of the politicized nature of the issue of language [1987:1-2 and 8] in his contention that literacy can be both hegemonic and counter-hegemonic: both an instrument by which people are silenced and a terrain of struggle for empowerment.

The issue of the language in which literacy campaigns should be conducted (a problem for Freire in Guinea-Bissau [see above Chapter VI]) is also discussed with reference to Gramsci in a chapter later in his book with Macedo. Stating that the issue is still unresolved, they illuminate their point with a quotation from Gramsci (the same quote opens Giroux's Introduction to the book) in which he writes that the fact of the language issue coming to the fore is a sign of a reorganization of cultural hegemony [1987:150]. Freire and Macedo agree: referring to former Portuguese colonies in Africa, they state that

What is hidden in the language debate in these countries is possibly a resistance to re-Africanization, or perhaps a subtle refusal on the part of the assimilated Africans to commit "class suicide " [Freire and Macedo 1987:150]

The most explicit association of Gramsci's ideas with Freire's own comes in his "talking book" with the Gramscian philosopher, Antonio Faundez [1989]. Gramsci is frequently mentioned in the

course of the conversation, although mostly by Faundez rather than by Freire. Nevertheless, Freire makes clear his agreement with points made by Faundez for which the latter cites Gramsci's authority.

However, Freire's purpose is not academic but pragmatic: he is interested in ideas which seem to him useful; he does not attempt theoretical purity. For example, in discussing the Gramscian topic of the role of intellectuals [1989:54], Freire revealingly remarks to Faundez that he agrees that it is important that Latin American intellectuals have a critical understanding of their role, "even independently of whether, as we examine the issue, we are, or are not, following closely the undeniably valuable thought of Gramsci". From that starting point, Freire's contributions to the discussion consist either of unconditional expressions of agreement, or of reiterations of his well-known proscription of intellectuals acting for, rather than with the people.

More interestingly, in a discussion of "national popular culture", Freire refers in passing to Gramsci's treatment of the topic "in the light of Marxist internationalism" [1989:80] before going on to discuss language in ostensibly Gramscian terms in the context of class relationships, economic conditions and power. Instead of two languages, that of the rulers and that of the ruled, Freire proposes "a dialectical synthesis of the two, a transcending of the dominion of one

language over the other and of one syntax over the other, in short, a rediscovery of language" [1989:81]. This is interesting in relation to Gramsci's discussion of the language issue in Italy [see SCW:164-195; SPN passim], in particular his criticisms of the Italian Education Act of 1923 in which no provision was made for the teaching of "normative grammar". As Forgacs points out [SCW:166], Gramsci objected to this because it put working class and peasant children, who spoke dialects rather than "educated" Italian, at an even greater disadvantage. Gramsci argues for measures to expedite the formation of a common national language, including the struggle against illiteracy, but he does not advocate a dialectical mixture of linguistic forms, such as Freire proposes. Instead

If one starts from the assumption of centralizing what already exists in a diffused, scattered but inorganic and incoherent state, it seems obvious that an opposition on principle is not rational. On the contrary, it is rational to collaborate practically and willingly to welcome everything that may serve to create a common national language, the non-existence of which creates friction particularly in the popular masses among whom local particularisms and phenomena of a narrow and provincial mentality are more tenacious than is believed. In other words it is a question of stepping up the struggle against illiteracy. [SCW:182]

Gramsci's approach to the problem is analytical and practical: he recognises the need for a common language in the process of forming a new "common society" and he analyses the tortuous history of Latin and Italian and its dialect forms in order to understand how the present situation has arisen. Meanwhile, Freire's approach is visionary and morally prescriptive: he



describes what he considers ought to happen, while for Gramsci, a common language cannot be created artificially - forced into existence ahead of the conditions which would bring it into being

One will obtain a unified language, if it is a necessity, and the organized intervention will speed up the already existing process. What this language will be, one cannot foresee or establish: in any case if the intervention is "rational", it will be organically tied to tradition [SCW:183]

Freire's unhappiness with the use of Portuguese in the Guinea-Bissau literacy campaign and his belief that the campaign with Miskito people in Nicaragua should be conducted in their English-based creole rather than in Spanish (the majority language in other parts of Nicaragua) [Freire and Faundez 1989:75], indicate that he and Gramsci would not necessarily agree on the use of literacy campaigns to expedite the development of a common language.

#### Gramsci and Freire: the Claim of Compatibility

In the absence of explicit developmental links, the assumption that Gramsci's and Freire's ideas are compatible remains unproved. As already stated, this assumption is implicit in much of the literature of radical adult education, with writers often using, rather than attempting to analyse the association of Freire's and Gramsci's ideas. The result is that a link is often assumed uncritically.

In their critique of the American public school system, Aronowitz and Giroux briefly compare Freire and Gramsci with the American philosopher and educationalist, Dewey, arguing that the three share the goal of "empowerment" of the oppressed [1985:12]

what unites these writers is their understanding that the core of popular democratic power resides in the appropriation, by the vast majority, of past knowledge as well as knowledge of one's own creative powers. In all three positions, the dialectic between education as the transmission of cultural values and knowledge and the new knowledge produced by the creative acts of the people themselves is the guiding educational principle.

One writer who attempts such an exploration in relation to adult education is Allman.

#### Allman

In a collection of writings on radical approaches to adult education, Allman writes, "When conceptualised together, the ideas of Freire and Gramsci offer a socialist approach to education which locates politics in education and education in politics" [Allman 1988:92]. Further, she claims that, considered together, their contributions go a long way towards providing a strategy for education for socialism. She indicates the nature of their complementarity as she sees it

Gramsci, of course, takes us far beyond the specific concerns of organised education yet enables us to understand the need

for an educative relationship in every aspect of political practice. Freire offers us a specific approach by which we can seek to establish an appropriate set of socialist educative relationships. [Allman 1988:105]

In other words, for Allman, Gramsci's ideas set the philosophical framework within which Freire's approach may bear fruit in specifically educational practice. In her formulation [1988:109]

Freire offers us an educational approach which strikes at the heart of the relations which sustain ideology... Gramsci offers us a strategy by which we can begin the conscious struggle to create the ethical political leadership that will lead to a will and a collective understanding of the need for socialist revolution.

This begs several questions. Firstly, what does Allman mean by that notoriously difficult term, ideology? Secondly, in her reading of Freire, what relations sustain ideology? Thirdly, in what ways does Gramsci "offer us a strategy" for socialism? Finally, is her argument that Gramsci's and Freire's ideas are complementary convincing?

Allman places ideology at the heart of her argument that Gramsci's and Freire's ideas complement each other. It is therefore important to know what she means by ideology and she devotes a major section of her paper to an exposition of the term. According to Allman [1988:105-109], neither Freire nor Gramsci takes us far enough in our understanding of ideology. For further clarification she turns to Marx, Althusser, Hall and Poulantzas, arguing that Marx's concept of ideology has

been much misunderstood and misinterpreted.

Allman begins by contrasting "ideology" with "science". This is in line with the approach outlined by McLellan [1986:80] as common to both the French rationalist and Anglophone empiricist traditions. Within this framework, she cites Marx's use of "science" to mean both "a conceptual method" and "knowledge, truth or a fixed body of content"; it is with science as method that Allman is most concerned [1988:105]. Ideology, as non-science, is characterised by processes of displacement and concealment which mask or conceal reality [Allman 1988:108]. Thus, for Allman, ideology as method is contrasted with science as method.

Allman's emphasis on method leads her to propose "dialectic thinking", as opposed to "ideological thinking", as a means of unmasking reality. It follows that "dialectic thinking" is "scientific" in her terms. Allman tells us what dialectic thinking is not, rather than what it is [1988:108]: it is not formal logic because that is imbued with ideology; it is not dependent on a concept of truth because that implies a quest for a finite object. It is difficult to conceive of because

Unfortunately, our epistemological concepts and the social relations within which knowledge is produced and disseminated are so embedded with ideology that it is difficult to envision alternative ways of thinking and relating [Allman 1988:108].

Dialectic thinking is rather "a new form of cognition" which is not yet fully understood and Allman urges socialists to work

together to explicate the dialectic method more fully [1988:109].

Ideology in this sense is a body of ideas rather than a method. Furthermore, it is a misleading body of ideas: a major ingredient in a psycho-social recipe which distorts the thought processes of individual members of subordinate groups, leading them to mistake their own best interests for the interests of their oppressors. This is consistent with the inherently problematic notion of false consciousness, which, I have argued is foreign to Gramsci, although not to Freire. As we shall see below, Allman [1988:99-100] follows Gramsci in condemning the use of ideology in this sense as an error but this does not prevent her slipping into using it in this sense herself.

This usage is also consonant with the dominant ideology thesis, the idea that there exists a coherent set of principles which are generally held in any given society and which serve to legitimate existing power relations. Allman confirms this when she states [1988:103] that "Gramsci takes us a long way forward in understanding the dominant ideology of our own society and how this ideology works". This equation of Gramsci's theory of hegemony with the dominant ideology thesis is seriously misleading. In any case, the dominant ideology thesis has been strongly contested, most comprehensively by the sociologists Abercrombie, Hill and Turner [1980]. They argue that while dominant ideologies may exist, this does not mean

that they are effective means of lending cohesion to a society. Under capitalism the dominant ideology is internally fissured and contradictory and such cohesion as there is is rather the result of a combination of economic pressure to conform and the inability of subaltern groups to unite in opposition. Allman appears unaware of these and other criticisms.

Allman's conception of ideology may be further illustrated by reference to the six different kinds of ideology which Eagleton delineates in progressively sharpening focus before concluding that ideology is a matter of lived relations rather than empirical representations. In Eagleton's six formulations [1991:28-30], ideology is

1. the general material process of production of ideas, beliefs and values in social life - politically and epistemologically neutral;
2. the ideas or beliefs (whether true or false) which symbolize the conditions and life-experiences of a specific, socially significant group or class;
3. the promotion and legitimation of the interests of socially significant groups in the face of opposing interests;
4. the promotion and legitimation of the dominant social power;
5. the ideas and beliefs which help to legitimate the interests of a ruling group or class specifically by distortion and dissimulation;
6. false or deceptive beliefs arising from the material structure of society as a whole.

Eagleton's formulations include both "process" (ideology as method) and "product" (ideology as a body of ideas). Allman's

conception of ideology as a dominant body of ideas is that outlined in Eagleton's fifth formulation, which encapsulates the dominant ideology thesis. She attributes to Gramsci the addition of the material dimension to Marxist notions of ideology, a development of which she approves [Allman 1988:106] and which is contained in Eagleton's sixth formulation. However, while the materiality of ideology is important in Gramsci's thought, the idea did not originate with him: it is contained in Marx's theory of the fetishism of commodities. Eagleton makes the point that the later Marx insisted on the commodity as automatically supplying its own ideology: it is the routine material logic of everyday life, not some body of doctrine, set of moralising discourses or ideological "superstructure", which maintains the status quo [Eagleton 1991:37]. Allman's emphasis on dialectic thinking as the means by which ideology may be overcome places her conception of ideology as method in the realm of "moralising discourse" and belies her approval of a material conception of ideology.

However, if Allman's conception of ideology as manipulative method and dominant body of false ideas is too limited, perhaps Eagleton's is too reductive. If instead, ideology is as McLellan, and, on at least one occasion, Gramsci [quoted below, SPN:328] define it, "an aspect of every system of signs and symbols in so far as they are implicated in an asymmetrical distribution of power and resources" [McLellan 1986:83], then the term is neither predicated on a crude distinction between

base and superstructure, nor reliant on a one-dimensional conception of the relationship between ideas and power in any given society.

As McLellan [1986:82] states, "The ideas of the ruling class do not permeate the whole of society: rather their role is assured by the fragmented nature of opposition to them". Allman's contention is that the ideas of the ruling class do indeed permeate the whole of society. She is thereby espousing what McLellan [1986:82] calls "the pale view of the omnipresence of ideology" while claiming to found her conception in the science/ideology dichotomy. This contradictory notion of ideology leaves her unable to explicate a theory of the relationships between ideology, politics and power and fundamentally weakens her argument that education imbued with "dialectic thinking" is the catalyst without which the ideas of the ruling class and the capitalist system which they support, would go unchallenged.

The second question arising from Allman's claim concerns the ways in which Freire's educational approach attacks the relations which sustain ideology. Allman claims [1988:94] that she and Freire use ideology in the same sense, illustrating this by quoting Freire in a piece written in 1973 in which he speaks of the need to clarify the process of "ideologizing" for militant revolutionary cadres in order to free them from its harmful effects. She claims [1988:95] that Freire's



educational approach, conscientization, "enables us to challenge dominant ideologies as expressed and embedded in our thinking, feelings and actions". Conscientization is thus identified by Allman as the educational enactment of dialectical thinking. It is a pre-figurative process in capitalist societies, but would come into its own as "the means by which conscious human agency would be constantly sustained" after a successful socialist revolution [Allman 1988:95]. The whole is predicated on a simple oppressor/oppressed dichotomy: the "relations which sustain ideology" are those between oppressor and oppressed in a pre-revolutionary society. Allman sees this relationship, as does Freire, as symbolised in the anti-dialogical dichotomy between teaching and learning and between teacher and learner. If, as I have argued, such dichotomies are inadequate, Allman's position is similarly flawed.

Allman contends that Freire's approach is underpinned by two inter-related assumptions, which she shares, one concerning what it means to be fully human and the other concerning the nature of education. To be fully human means to have the potential to overcome one's conditioning through critically conscious agency, while education can serve "either to maintain that conditioning or to enable people to become critically aware of it and critically engaged in transforming the relations which sustain it" [Allman 1988:96]. As I have argued above, these assumptions have a certain closed

circularity: to be fully human one must engage in critically conscious agency, while to engage in critically conscious agency one must at least aspire to become fully human. Allman does not acknowledge the problem. She claims that to use his approach in the radical way Freire intends, one must share these assumptions [Allman 1988:95]. It is as if, once one elects to share Freire's assumptions, one is contained within a closed circle of discourse.

Allman is not entirely blind to Freire's theoretical shortcomings. She acknowledges Freire's vagueness and states [1988:94] that his analyses of ideology "are not comprehensive enough to do more than point us in the right direction". But what if he points us in the wrong direction? What if there were more than one right direction? Allman gives no indication of how one is to distinguish between right and wrong directions. It is as if there were only one goal: a socialism somehow bleached of confusion and controversy, and only one route by which it might be achieved.

The need to inaugurate socialism brings us to Allman's belief that Gramsci offers a strategy leading to socialist revolution. If she is too simplistic in her identification with Freire's approach, her formulation of Gramsci's "strategy" of "education for socialism" is nothing if not complex. The process as she describes it consists of several stages: through using Gramsci's "strategy" we can "begin the conscious struggle to

create the ethical political leadership that will lead to a will and a collective understanding of the need for socialist revolution" [Allman 1988:109]. In essence, Allman here reduces Gramsci's revolutionary politics to a matter of will. In fact, Gramsci is concerned with politics as an ethico-practical activity, not simply a matter of will: particularly in the Prison Notebooks he was only too painfully aware that willing the revolution to happen was nowhere near enough.

In any case, the point is that Gramsci does not offer us a strategy. That is partly the result of the fragmentary nature of his writing in the Prison Notebooks. It could be argued, also, that in his earlier political writing Gramsci was more concerned with immediate tactics than long-term strategy. But it is more than this: the idea of a strategy to be applied goes against the whole spirit of Gramsci's work. In the Prison Notebooks Gramsci's project is rather to analyse each set of circumstances in its historical context and in the light of his development of Marxism, his critique of the philosophies of his day, and, not least, his own and his party's mistakes. He discusses strategies, but nowhere does he offer a definitive strategy. Allman appears partially to recognise this when she writes of Gramsci that

Throughout his prison writings there is an insistence that political strategy must derive from a critical analysis, i.e. an insistence on conceptualising the dialectic movement of material and social forces [Allman 1988:105].

However, to argue the need for critical analysis in the construction of strategy is not the same as offering a strategy. Allman goes at least two stages too far: she imputes a strategy to Gramsci and then declares it to be complementary to Freire's approach.

Allman's misreading of Gramsci in this respect appears to stem from her interpretation of the fact that, for Gramsci, "Hegemony is cemented together by ideology" [Allman 1988:99]. The idea of ideology as "cement" is based on Gramsci's statement in a passage in the Prison Notebooks that includes a definition of ideology "in its highest sense"

the fundamental problem facing any conception of the world which has become a cultural movement, a "religion", a "faith", any that has produced a form of practical activity or will in which the philosophy is contained as an implicit theoretical "premiss". One might say "ideology" here, but on condition that the word is used in its highest sense of a conception of the world that is implicitly manifest in art, in law, in economic activity and in all manifestations of individual and collective life. This problem is that of preserving the ideological unity of the entire social bloc which that ideology serves to cement and to unify [SPN:328].

Ideology is "cement" in the context of the creation and maintenance of a hegemonic unity of social forces. So far so good, but Allman claims [1988:100] that for Gramsci that leadership is exercised through ideological domination, echoing the dominant ideology thesis. Given the problems outlined above in her treatment of ideology, this raises questions also about her understanding of Gramsci's theory of hegemony and in particular, Gramsci's concept of the ideological bloc.

In a pertinent passage in the Prison Notebooks, Gramsci analyses the role of the Moderates as organic intellectuals of the upper classes. He describes them as an "ideological bloc" who exercised a powerful attraction "spontaneously" over the intellectuals of their day, causing the whole society to move forward for a time. Although Gramsci states that "in the last analysis, they end up by subjugating the intellectuals of the other social groups" this is not a permanent victory, since, "As soon as the dominant social group has exhausted its function, the ideological bloc tends to crumble away" [SPN:60-61]. This is not a description of leadership through ideological domination, rather an explication of the way in which a dominant social group exercises hegemony with the support of its "deputies", its own organic intellectuals. Gramsci's use of the "cement" metaphor perhaps misleadingly suggests a static conception of ideology: for Gramsci, the ideological elements of hegemony figure rather as a dynamic, or as Roger Simon puts it [1982:60], "an agent of social unification".

Gramsci quotes Marx on ideology more than once in the Prison Notebooks, in a passage from the Preface to the Critique of Political Economy where Marx says that it is on the level of ideologies that men become conscious of conflicts in the world of the economy [SPN:162, 371]. In places he uses the term to differentiate science from non-science, as when he contrasts

ideology with Marxism: "the philosophy of praxis represents a distinct advance and historically is precisely in opposition to Ideology" [SPN:376]. Accordingly, "'Ideology' itself must be analysed historically, in the terms of the philosophy of praxis, as a superstructure" [SPN:376]. Gramsci distinguishes between

historically organic ideologies, those, that is, which are necessary to a given structure, and ideologies that are arbitrary, rationalistic, or "willed". To the extent that ideologies are historically necessary they have a validity which is "psychological"; they "organise" human masses, and create the terrain on which men move, acquire consciousness of their position, struggle, etc. To the extent that they are arbitrary they only create individual "movements", polemics and so on (though even these are not completely useless, since they function like an error which by contrasting with truth, demonstrates it). [SPN:376-377]

Gramsci's analysis of ideology in the Prison Notebooks reinforces his conception of the historical bloc "in which precisely material forces are the content and ideologies are the form" although he points out this is purely a didactic distinction "since the material forces would be impossible historically without form and the ideologies would be individual fancies without the material forces" [SPN:377].

Allman brings together Gramsci and Freire in relation to ideology in the following way. She contends that Gramsci directs us to two tasks: to replace ideology with a more advanced or developed method of thinking; and (during the struggle to establish hegemony within civil society) to express socialist ideology, a conception of the world and human beings,

through transformed social relationships. This, she says, is Gramsci's major contribution to an educational approach, and she claims that his discussion of the educative relationship is entirely compatible with Freire's emphasis on transforming relations. She believes Freire takes us much further in understanding which relations need to be transformed and in understanding what these transformations would entail.

However, she maintains [1988:103-4] that Gramsci's analysis of the material expressions of ideology enables us to understand more fully what the purpose of Freirean dialogue is and how it relates to an overall struggle for socialist hegemony. "Dialogue", Allman correctly maintains, is, for Freire, "the seal of a transformed epistemological relationship" [Allman 1988:104]. However, she claims [1988:104] it is also "the seal of the educative relationship appropriate for socialist hegemony" which must remain debatable on present evidence and indicates a somewhat restricted notion of hegemony. Allman contends [1988:104] that Freire offers the principles which establish a process of dialogue, while Gramsci provides example after example of dialogue in the Prison Notebooks where he "attempts, in isolation, to dialogue with Marxist and other intellectuals".

Allman goes on to describe Gramsci's use, in the Prison Notebooks, of the dialectical concepts of contradiction and movement to draw out "good sense" as characteristic of group

dialogue: "This is exactly the way in which each participant in a group dialogue must engage with each other's thinking" [Allman 1988:104]. This is an interesting way of looking at the Prison Notebooks, but one that misses the point. Gramsci certainly intended that his notes would form the basis of a publication, but nowhere does he suggest that he intended them to be published as they stand. The dialogue in the notebooks is tragically, and heroically, with himself. Rather than providing a model for group dialogue, they offer a unique insight into the thought processes of a great Marxist who died before he could order and present his ideas in a coherent way for publication.

While Allman is undoubtedly right to point out [1988:105] that Gramsci "enables us to understand the need for an educative relationship in every aspect of political practice", her willingness to accept Freire as a Marxist fundamentally weakens her case that Freire's educational approach complements Gramsci's.

If Gramsci's and Freire's ideas on adult education are not compatible, where does this leave the debate on the relationship between liberal and radical adult education, into which Gramsci's and Freire's names have frequently been drawn? One way of approaching this problem is through an examination of the key ideas associated with each position in the light of Youngman's "Nine Principles of Marxist Adult Education", and it



is to these that we turn now.

Gramsci, Freire, Liberal and Radical Adult Education in  
Relation to Youngman's Nine Principles of a Marxist Approach to  
Adult Education

Principle One

Marxist materialism is dialectical and historical. It posits the existence of a reality independent of the mind and rebuts the notion of innate ideas and a priori truths. It regards mind as a form of matter but it does not consider that mental activity can be reduced to material processes. Hence although human beings have a biological structure which shares many characteristics with animals, human mental behaviour is different, being distinguished by its social and cultural nature. [Youngman 1986:95]

Youngman's first Principle is founded on the dialectical and historical nature of Marxism, something with which Gramsci and Marxist radical adult educators would undoubtedly concur; Freire also concurs at times, although I have argued that in the final analysis his work does not support his claim to be a Marxist. For Marxists working within the Liberal Tradition the position is less clear, although Taylor [1990:243] states that liberal adult education entails a commitment to democratic principles, a position theoretically compatible with Marxism, however much allegedly Marxist regimes may have honoured democracy in the breach rather than the commission.

Youngman [1986:95] goes on to state that Marxist adult

education "posits the existence of a reality independent of the mind and rebuts the notion of innate ideas and a priori truths" and here problems arise both in relation to Freire and to the doctrinal Marxists of the Plebs League and the inter-war years. Freire certainly believes that reality is independent of the mind and that human mental behaviour is distinguished by its social and cultural nature from that of animals (consistent with the anthropological concept of culture on which his methodology is based), but he also holds that reality is imbued with truth so that there is only one correct way to perceive it. As I have argued above, Freire remains convinced of the transforming power of truth despite revision of his earlier statements that implied a "true word" alone was sufficient to change the world.

The liberal approach, by contrast, insists on the openness of debate and holds up all "truths" to critical scrutiny, rather as Gramsci (who is by no means a liberal) does in the Prison Notebooks. While the liberal approach pre-supposes a framework of liberal individualism for such critical enquiry [Taylor 1990:234], Gramsci's major contribution to twentieth century Marxism is to show that a theoretical framework of Marxist collectivism is equally susceptible to openness of mind.

It is unclear whether Freire regards mind as a form of matter, as in Youngman's formulation. Certainly, his "stages of consciousness" have a discrete, almost concrete quality which

could imply this, but this is off-set by his insistence on the need for the educator to undergo an "Easter experience", surely a spiritual rather than a material event. However, Freire, like Marxist adult educators, according to Youngman, does not consider that mental activity can be reduced to material processes. In fact, it is doubtful whether in any of the positions under consideration here this would be considered possible.

### Principle Two

The neuro-physiological structure of human beings is very plastic and people therefore have an immense capacity for learning. Intelligence is not a static, innate characteristic but is developed during the individual's experience of life. [Youngman 1986:95]

Youngman's second Principle emphasises the immense capacity for learning of all human beings, something which, again, is uncontroversial in this context. Certainly, Gramsci's insistence on the inherent intellectuality of humankind is a healthy counterbalance to the elitism of some versions of the "Great Tradition" (such as Raybould's) which tend to equate an appetite for high culture with the possession of intelligence. In Taylor's formulation of liberal adult education, which accords more with Tawney's view, the assumption is the opposite: individual intellectual growth is achievable through an open education process, free from notions of cultural respectability. That "intelligence is not a static, innate characteristic but is developed during the individual's

experience of life" [Youngman 1986:95] is a basic tenet of many adult educators of various political persuasions and one compatible also with Gramsci's and Freire's ideas.

### Principle Three

Human cognitive activity is basically a reflection of external reality. This process of reflection is not one of simple stimulus and response because it is mediated by mental tools, especially language, which is a distinguishing feature of the human species. Language enables the transition from perception to conceptual thinking. Other significant mental tools are writing and number systems. [Youngman 1986:95]

The third Principle contends that human cognitive activity is a reflection of external reality, mediated by mental tools such as writing, number systems and especially language, which enables the transition from perception to conceptual thinking. Again, this is relatively uncontentious, though at an implicit, rather than an explicit level in most of the cases under review.

### Principle Four

Human nature develops in the process of interaction with the environment. Activity upon the natural surroundings also creates social relationships. This process, conceived in the broadest sense as production, is characterised by labour. The mode of production and its accompanying social relationships are the context in which consciousness is formed. [Youngman 1986:95]

Youngman's fourth Principle follows from his third: human nature develops in the process of interaction with the environment, a process which creates social relationships. So

far, so uncontentious. However, he goes on to tie this supposition more closely to the process of production, characterised by labour, stating that for Marxist adult educators, "The mode of production and its accompanying social relationships are the context in which consciousness is formed". This is clearly Gramsci's position and that of Marxist radical adult educators. In his later writing, in particular in Pedagogy in Process The Letters to Guinea-Bissau, it is also Freire's expressed position. For liberal adult educators, the link between production and social relationships is not always explicit and may be mediated in various ways, or even ignored (as by Wiltshire) where the "non-vocational" aspect of the Liberal Tradition is paramount. Nevertheless, not all liberal adult educators eschew connections with working life. As Taylor [1990:244] points out

there has been a strong commitment... to collective, workers' education. Within university continuing education, as with the WEA, trade union and community education have been key areas of development.

#### Principle Five

Consciousness includes the individual's cognitive powers of perception, attention, memory, understanding, problem-solving and so on. Cognitive behaviour is shaped by the conditions of life because consciousness has a social nature. Changes in these conditions (particularly the mode of production) can therefore change not only what people think but also the ways in which they think, that is, both the content and form of thought. [Youngman 1986:96]

In Youngman's fifth Principle, cognitive behaviour is shaped by

the conditions of life as a consequence of the social nature of consciousness. This is Freire's stated position in his letters to Guinea-Bissau. Although clearly a Marxist position, it is not entirely consonant with Gramsci's view in the Prison Notebooks, since it underplays the importance of political agency, something which Gramsci never does. Liberal adult educators would argue that (except under conditions of extreme repression) any conditions of life are susceptible to open critical enquiry, and indeed in some formulations, such as Wiltshire's, this liberal principle is elevated to a moral duty.

#### Principle Six

The specific determinant of consciousness is praxis, or activity. Human activity involves purpose and intention, and knowledge arises and deepens within a continuous process of activity, conceptualisation, and renewed activity. Praxis takes place within situations transmitted from the past but can change these situations and create new ones. Thus people are the conscious agents of social change within the constraints of historically constructed objective conditions. All praxis is essentially social. [Youngman 1986:96]

Here Youngman redresses the balance by stressing the importance of agency. While Gramsci would express it differently, this is essentially his position, although he would surely qualify the statement in the penultimate sentence, since people are not automatically agents of social change, they may indeed act to prevent change.

In Freire's earlier work, he writes as if individuals were curiously abstracted from their social context, and I would

argue this is still the case in his later work, despite his frequent references to the means of production in his letters to Guinea-Bissau. Nonetheless, he clearly believes that "praxis is essentially social", but it remains the case that delineation of the social context is not one of Freire's strengths, for all his insistence on the need for social research to underpin the educative process.

Most radical and liberal adult educators would probably agree that "knowledge arises and deepens within a continuous process of activity, conceptualisation, and renewed activity". Where some liberals would differ from most radicals, however, is in their conceptualisation of the relationship of the individual to society. As Taylor makes clear in his "attempt at a definition" of liberal adult education [1990:243], there is an a priori belief that individual growth is a key objective, "linked to the liberal notion of the good society depending upon the self-motivated, free development of individuals in all spheres of social activity". This is certainly the position embodied in the 1908 and 1919 Reports. A more collective vision inspires many radicals, although the basis for collectivity varies and may be founded on class, gender or other factors.

#### Principle Seven

Knowledge is a social product and the knowledge held by

individuals is influenced by the class structure of society. Ideas and beliefs - ideology - arise out of people's daily experience (especially of production and class struggle) and from the propagation of particular views by the ruling class. Hence individuals of the dominated classes often hold ideas and values which are contrary to their own class interests. [Youngman 1986:96]

The seventh Principle concerns knowledge as a social product, influenced by the class structure of society. Youngman contends that because people's ideas and beliefs arise out of their daily experience (especially of production and class struggle) and from the propagation of particular views by the ruling class, "individuals of the dominated classes often hold ideas and values which are contrary to their own class interests". This is the "false consciousness" argument, which, I have argued above is ill-founded and too simplistic to be a useful analytical tool. It is not a feature of Gramsci's thought, although Freire is in thrall to it. It is popular with some radical and liberal adult educators, probably because of its currency on the Left. Theoretically, there should be no place for the concept in tenets of liberal adult education since if, as Taylor [1990:243] contends, "all questions are open questions" there cannot logically be closed answers.

#### Principle Eight

The processes of hegemony enable the ruling class to exert a dominant influence over the ideas of other classes. To challenge ruling class hegemony, it is necessary to unmask ruling ideas so that people can penetrate surface appearances and see the reality beneath. This is both an intellectual and a practical task, because the transformation of consciousness requires both a change in ideas and a change in



the conditions which produce these ideas. The indispensable theoretical guide for this task is provided by Marxism. [Youngman 1986:96-7]

In Principle Eight Youngman moves onto Gramsci's territory of the processes of hegemony. However, he is still operating with an unGramscian concept of false consciousness: ruling ideas must be unmasked, "so that people can penetrate surface appearances and see the reality beneath" Gramsci would no doubt agree that "the indispensable theoretical guide for this task is provided by Marxism", while conceiving of the task itself rather differently. Freire, however, would have no difficulty in conceiving the educator's task as one of unmasking reality, while it is hard to imagine such an eclectic thinker limiting himself to one "indispensable theoretical guide". Both Gramsci and Freire in his later work would agree that "the transformation of consciousness requires both a change in ideas and a change in the conditions which produce these ideas" [Youngman 1986:96-7], although, again, Youngman's language owes more to Freire than to Gramsci and omits the crucial role of political agency.

#### Principle Nine

Socialist revolution requires the development of a counter-hegemony by the working class and its allies. This is a process involving mass activity in cultural and ideological struggles which are linked to the support of organisations (particularly working class parties) involved in the struggle for economic and political power. In this process, intellectuals have a role to play by helping the dominated classes to develop the intellectual capabilities, technical expertise and political awareness necessary to

create a new society. [Youngman 1986:97]

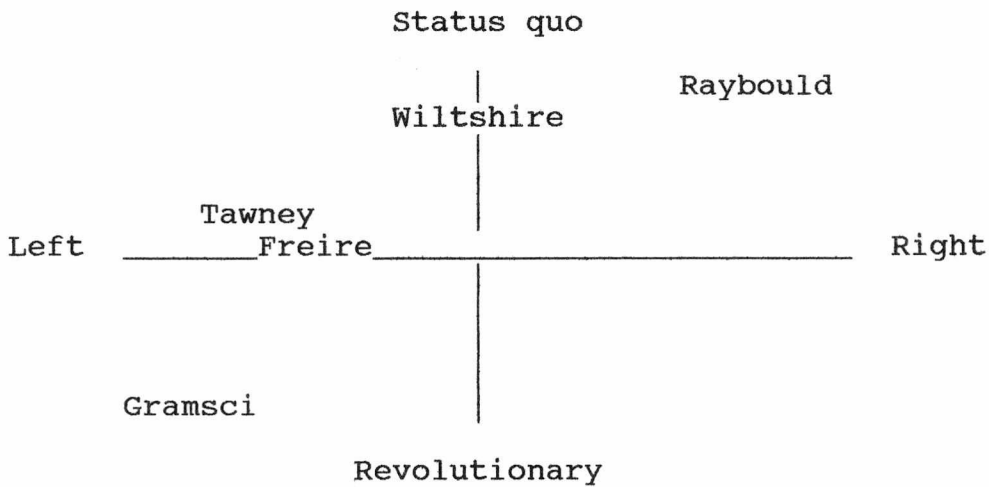
Youngman's Principle Nine is Gramscian in tone, stressing the important organising role of the revolutionary political party of the working class. Youngman [1986:97] also echoes Gramsci's stress on the role of intellectuals. However, Gramsci's conception is stronger. His organic intellectuals of the working class are not "helpers" of the dominated classes (this is more a Freirean concept), they are articulators of revolutionary working class struggles, guided by Marxist principles and organized through the revolutionary party. Freire does not consistently use the concept of counter-hegemony and is ambivalent about the role of political parties, as we have seen. The explicitly Marxist message would put Principles Eight and Nine beyond the pale for non-Marxist radicals and liberal adult educators.

#### A Comparison of Ideological Positions in Adult Education

It may now be possible to return to the conceptual framework proposed in Chapter V, above, in order to indicate schematically ideological positions for Gramsci, Freire and three principal proponents of liberal adult education, Raybould, Wiltshire and Tawney.

Figure 8.

A representation of ideological positions of Gramsci, Freire, Raybould, Wiltshire and Tawney in relation to adult education.



Freire occupies a centre-left position, and is midway also between support for the status quo and revolution because of the ambiguity in his work on this point, while Gramsci is clearly located on the revolutionary left. Raybould, with his insistence on "university values", occupies the opposite, conservative, position, while Wiltshire occupies the centre ground between right and left, tending towards support for the status quo, in that he sees it as no part of the role of adult education to effect radical change in society. Tawney, meanwhile, as a democratic socialist, is placed towards the left, but still above the line separating him from the

revolutionary option.

### Conclusion

Gramsci's and Freire's ideas are significantly different, despite some largely superficial similarities. They do not complement each other, and are best understood as emerging from somewhat separate intellectual and political traditions. The echoes of Gramsci that occur in Freire's writing probably result as much from Gramsci's general influence on Latin American left intellectuals (as evidenced by Faundez in his book with Freire [1989]) and on Liberation Theology, as from any attempt by Freire to use Gramsci's ideas directly and systematically. Freire pays tribute to Gramsci, but does not claim to be a Gramscian. Nevertheless, there are some areas of congruence, particularly in Freire's later writing, where he adopts a more explicitly materialist stance, but these are outweighed by important areas of incongruency. Allman's argument that Gramsci's and Freire's ideas in relation to adult education are fundamentally compatible is thus unconvincing. Rather, many of Freire's concepts accord with those of liberal educators, despite his avowed radicalism, while Gramsci is radical in the original sense of the word: he advocates "change from the root".

The comparison of ideological positions occupied by Gramsci,

Freire and principal proponents of liberal adult education bears this out, and offers a means of distinguishing between different liberal and radical positions.

#### NOTES

1. For references linking Freire and Gramsci in the literature of radical education (other than adult education) see Aronowitz and Giroux [1985]; Giroux [1983].
2. For references linking Freire and Gramsci in the literature of radical adult education see: Jackson, Westwood [1980]; Lovett et al. [1983]; Elsey [1986]; Lovett (ed.) [1988]; Allman [1988].
3. See Chapter VI for a discussion of Freire's ideas in relation to Marxism.

## CHAPTER IX

## CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis has been to analyse the relationship between liberal and radical approaches to adult education and the place within that relationship of Gramsci's and Freire's ideas. As has been shown, that relationship is complex and dynamic rather than simple and static, and the relationship between Gramsci's and Freire's ideas and the tenets of the Liberal Tradition and its radical critiques and developments is correspondingly mobile. As one proponent of the Liberal Tradition declared: "in spite of its marginal place in our educational arrangements adult education can be a troublesome subject" [Raybould 1959:240] and this is as true of adult education as a field of study as it is of the thing itself. Nevertheless, it is possible to draw together themes, attempt some conclusions and suggest areas for further research.

Firstly, the analysis of concepts of liberal education in Chapter II showed continuities between ancient Greek concepts of liberal education, associated with the education of an elite

and with the idea of freedom as a precondition of the education process, and the mid-nineteenth century debate on liberal education between Newman, Huxley and Arnold which revitalised the concept and reaffirmed liberal education as the highest ideal of education. As such, it stood in heroic counterpoint to the limited forms of education available to the poor in the nineteenth century and the question was raised of how such a concept came to be seen as appropriate for them.

That question was addressed in Chapter III in an historical account of the struggle for emancipation, education and political reform by groupings of the "labouring classes" (later the working class) and progressive members of the middle class from the time of the Industrial Revolution to the end of the nineteenth century, and the response of the state and voluntary interests. The importance of education was highlighted, both as a goal and an essential element of radical political activity in organizations which inextricably linked the political with the educational. The state's response was seen to be a contradictory mixture of draconian measures when the level of political unrest appeared dangerous and neglect when it did not, and it was not until the second Reform Act of 1867 widened the franchise to include for the first time a section of the male working class that the need to educate the newly-enfranchised voters (as children) began to be recognised, but as a means of social protection rather than a matter of rights. The lack of a comprehensive state plan for education

reflected the relative weakness of state or public forms in the UK which Green [1990] has shown to be a decisive factor in England's failure to develop a coherent education system in the nineteenth century and this was shown to be reflected in the piecemeal, voluntary nature of efforts to extend liberal education to working class adults. These initiatives reflected the different motives of the proposers, who saw liberal education for the working class variously as a means of social protection, as a philanthropic measure, or, for the liberal idealist, neo-Hegelian followers of the philosopher T.H. Green, as a moral duty of the state.

In the early twentieth century, voluntary impulses, and initiatives by key individuals associated with the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, came together with elements of the organized working class, with state support, to form what has become known as the Liberal Tradition in adult education. In a tradition born of a marriage between the ancient seats of learning and organised labour, a willingness to compromise was clearly necessary from the outset and theoretical purity was sacrificed for expediency: the guiding spirit has been pragmatism rather than doctrinal exclusivity, but never were pragmatism and compromise more nobly expressed than in the "bible" of the Liberal Tradition, the 1919 Report [Cmd. 321]. The "marriage" and the "bible" were discussed in Chapter IV, which traces the fortunes of liberal adult education in the twentieth century up to 1990. The chapter highlights the



continuing tension between liberal adult education for personal development and for social purpose, and traces the decline of the concept of liberal adult education in favour of the broader concept of "continuing education", within which liberal adult education is subsumed, together with subsequent efforts to defend and reinterpret the older concept. It was suggested that Lawson's analysis of deontological liberalism [1985] sheds some light on the willingness of some liberal adult educators to accept the new formulation, so that, rather than an integration of liberal values into socialism, as Tawney wished for the infant Liberal Tradition, there has been an integration of neo-liberal ideas into its social democratic ideals.

The Liberal Tradition was challenged almost from the outset by radical critics, classically in the battle between the WEA and the Marxist Plebs League. The devotion to tolerance and open enquiry for which the Liberal Tradition is renowned did not prevent the eruption of disputes between proponents of liberal adult education and their radical critics, outlined in Chapter V. Nor, during the Cold War period, did the spirit of compromise save Marxists working within the Liberal Tradition from witch-hunts which belied the tolerance and open-mindedness on which the Liberal Tradition is said to be founded. Such disputes are made more painful by the fact that some proponents at least of both radical and liberal adult education claim a common heritage in earlier struggles for emancipation and education. These strands remain to some extent entangled

despite the identification by historians of adult education of largely separate traditions of, on the one hand, independent working class education, and on the other, education for the working class controlled by others. Concepts of radicalism and twentieth century radical critiques were discussed in Chapter V and shown to have followed the schisms and lines of development of the left, with forms of Marxism playing a significant role, while other forms of radicalism, such as feminism, were less prominent. Available conceptualisations of the relationship between liberal and radical adult education were found to be inadequate in various ways and an alternative model was proposed, using the left-right, status quo-revolutionary axes conventional in political science.

Chapter VI looked in detail at Freire's educational approach and political ideas and considered two examples of attempts to apply his ideas and methods to adult education in the UK. The analysis of his ideas and their application cast some doubt on the appropriateness of Freire as a radical hero (an honour in any case unsought by him) though not on his good faith. The chapter concluded that Freire has inspired interesting and worthwhile initiatives in adult education, but that rather than offering useful political insights, his work raises important ethical and moral issues, thereby highlighting the need for further theoretical work in this area.

Chapter VII explored the significance of Gramsci's ideas,

finding in his concepts of hegemony and the role of intellectuals concepts which, as Ireland [1987] shows, offer analytical tools to understand the purpose and content of adult education in a wider political context. Gramsci's essentially humanist Marxism has appealed to radical adult educators' sense of social purpose and concern for cultural issues, while his imprisonment and untimely death prevented him from becoming embroiled in the destructive politics of the Stalin era. Gramsci teaches us the need to analyse the situations in which we find ourselves; to see adult education as part of a wider political strategy requiring organization and direction (for Gramsci, through the political party of the working class) as well as enthusiasm, commitment and hard work; to analyse the state and civil society as a complex set of institutions and forces, rather than as monolithic. This last point is important as long as any adult education is state-funded and in any revolutionary strategy in which education, in the broadest sense, plays a part. The question of the party is a difficult one for radical adult educators: it is hard to see which party could act as the "modern prince" today, although most political groupings do organize forms of education (or training) for their members and supporters in one way or another it is doubtful if many, even on the left, see their role in the educative framework which Gramsci developed. For some feminists, also, the idea of pursuing their aims through a political party would be unacceptable, as too redolent of patriarchal forms of organization.

The association of Gramsci's and Freire's names in the literature of adult education was explored in Chapter VIII and found to be largely inappropriate. The differences outweighed the similarities and the attempt to hail them as mutually compatible "radical heroes" for adult educators did not stand up to detailed scrutiny. Instead, I have argued that Gramsci's ideas hold important lessons for adult educators, while Freire's appeal is less to the intellect than to the emotions of his readers. His notion of the self-sacrificing, charismatic educator is beguiling and even glamorous and no doubt accounts for much of his popularity amongst some similarly-inclined adult educators, but this does not make it any the less politically suspect. For adult educators who feel professionally and politically marginalised, Freire's vision of the educational process is inspirational but inspiration and glamour must surely be open to critical review in the same way that Freire insists all experience should be if his vision of education as liberation is to be realised.

So where does this leave us? The view of the Liberal Tradition and its radical critiques emerging from the foregoing exploration is that of a sometimes uneasy, often creative association - and opposition - of liberal, social democratic and Marxist ideologies, informing approaches to adult education in a field dominated by the ethos of the university extra-mural

departments and the WEA. The complicated links and schisms between socialism, liberal education and the Liberal Tradition, which this thesis has attempted to disentangle, have not always been so opaque. As Ree points out [1987:216]: "For such worker intellectuals as Jackson and Dietzgen,... the ideals of elite humanistic education were identical with those of proletarian socialism". Ideas which may be useful to radicals on the left may originate elsewhere or exist coincidentally in non-left guises. For example, Yeo [1987:235] claims that

New Liberals came near to Gramsci's theory of hegemony in their attempts to explain the subordination of the unorganised working class through mass culture and imperialism in the 1890s and early 1900s.

Yeo also points out that in the period before 1919, Gramsci was "extremely interested in English liberalism in all its varieties" [1987:263 n35]. In this context, Gramsci's critique of Croce could perhaps serve as a model for a critique of T.H. Green, another significant liberal idealist philosopher, and an interesting example of a traditional intellectual somewhat at odds with the state in his day.

In any case, it is important not to read present day understandings into past political formations. Collini [1979:32] has shown how, in the period between 1880 and 1914, collectivism was an antonym of individualism, and socialism was seen as opposed primarily to individualism rather than capitalism. He shows how this led to complicated overlaps between collectivism and socialism which went through many

changes of meaning. For example, in the 1880s and 1890s the term "socialism" was used by working people until "collectivists" (including T.H. Green's followers and the Fabians) appropriated the term and used it to argue for a "socialism" in which the state

as the political expression of the community should embody this "new moral world" in its legislation... Socialism was presented as a moral ideal which bound men together, not as a political programme which set them apart. [Collini 1979:66-7]

It is surely significant that this fluidity in the use of key terms was occurring at the same time that the Liberal Tradition was emerging as a product of the same concerns and debates. It has left a legacy of confusion, suspicion - and a looseness of definition which has been both a positive and a negative feature. On the positive side, it has enabled initiatives to emerge which have stretched the boundaries of the Liberal Tradition in progressive directions. Less positively, it has contributed to the theoretical imprecision which has impeded the development of adult education as a field of study and has weakened it in practice, since no-one is quite sure where the boundaries are in any given situation and the way has been open for highly conservative interpretations (such as Raybould's).

It seems to me that the fault line between liberal and radical approaches to adult education lies in a difference in the perceived relationship of adult education to the state. For radicals, the state requires fundamental change, while for

liberals, change may be needed, but it will not be fundamental, tending instead towards reform. The perceived role of adult education in that process is different in the two positions: for radicals, adult education should be part of the process of radical social change, including revolution, while for liberals a range of degrees of commitment and engagement in efforts for social change is available, short of revolutionary engagement in attempts to change the state fundamentally.

Here Green [1990:260] offers an important insight for adult educators when he draws a distinction between those education systems which are under the control of the central state (such as nineteenth century Prussia) and other schemes for a national education system, financed from public sources but under democratic control (such as those advocated by the Chartist, William Lovett and by Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto). The second, democratic model is not far from that of the WEA - but that begs the question of what kind of state such a model would operate in. As Green [1990:260] reminds us, the debate in the working-class in the nineteenth century was between those

like Lovett, who believed that it was right to campaign for such a system even before the attainment of democracy and others, like George Harney, who believed that this was a utopian diversion from the real political struggle, and that under the prevailing conditions it was best that the working class should pursue its own independent means of education without reference to the state.

This passage encapsulates the continuing division between two radical strategies, both seeking fundamental change, but

differing over the best means of achieving it. It is a division which Gramsci's concepts of the war of position and war of manoeuvre recast: with Gramsci it becomes possible to think of revolution as a process rather than an event and to seek to exploit areas of relative autonomy in the course of that process.

The debate over the role of the state in adult education has been dominated by the need for state-funding on the one hand and the avoidance of state intrusion into curricular and organizational matters on the other. Suspicion of the state and consequent embracing of voluntarism as an alternative to direct state provision has not been restricted to the working class or to the left. As we have seen, similar scruples on the part of powerful interests in government and the Church delayed the course of educational reform throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries. However, in adult education the spirit of voluntarism has been particularly strong, certainly in the WEA and to a lesser extent in the university extra-mural departments and the LEA sector. It has contributed to the much complained-of marginality of adult education, but it has brought with it advantages - of room to manoeuvre - which adult educators have been loathe to give up and which some have exploited as Gramscian terrains of struggle.

Ironically, it is the theoretical and conceptual breadth of the Liberal Tradition which has attracted liberals as well as



open-minded Marxists and other radicals and contributed to its resilience. It is a question of the difference between raising agendas and imposing solutions and here Gramsci's appeal is evident: he insists on an open, questioning, analytical approach rather than a dogmatic application of a pre-ordained theory characteristic of Stalinist perversions of Marxism or the ill-founded Dietzgenist Marxism of the early years of the twentieth century. Of all the major twentieth century Marxists, Gramsci is the most clearly interested in education and the possibilities for struggle on the cultural terrain - two qualities which endear him to adult educators. He is also a humanist Marxist, an attractive combination to humanist adult educators, Marxist or not. Field [1] suggests that Gramsci's humanism might account for his especial appeal to non-aligned leftists involved in cultural politics and adult education in the 1970s, at a time when humanism was under attack from Althusser and his disciples. Gramsci represented a non-Althusserian left position which theorised - and legitimated - their activities, a position taken up in the 1980s in the pages of the magazine Marxism Today. Certainly, Gramsci's Marxism raises interesting questions of the extent to which a Marxist political morality of individual rights realised through collectivities in society is available, by contrast to the atomistic concept of rights in liberal individualism. Gramsci's broad concept of education and his understanding of the state - and the political party - as educator, also offer adult educators an insight into the wider

context in which they work, opening possibilities for a wider engagement: a welcome relief for some in a field which, in practice and as a field of study, can be dominated by mundane preoccupations with organization and funding.

Meanwhile, the status of adult education has remained marginal and, by the end of the 1980s, the very survival of liberal adult education, especially in the local authority sector, appeared uncertain, threatened more by government policy initiatives than by radical adult educators, however vociferous. In an increasingly hostile climate, the radical challenge was symptomatic of a crisis in liberal adult education which may best be understood as a moral crisis, a crisis of conscience, as well as a political and philosophical crisis. The underdeveloped theoretical base of adult education came under scrutiny and attempts were made to underpin the edifice, mainly by means of critiques of the dominant Liberal Tradition. In this project, Gramsci and Freire, amongst others, were hailed as bearers of significant insights, but in their eagerness to distance themselves from the weaknesses of some versions of liberal adult education (its refusal of political commitment, its insularity, its curricular elitism, its sexism), some radical critics overlooked an important insight offered by both Freire and Gramsci - the importance of reconnaissance - of "knowing" the situation in which they are working (for Freire); of analysing the political and cultural terrain (for Gramsci), locally, nationally and internationally.

This left them philosophically open to invasion by neo-liberal ideas, as Lawson [1985] shows. It also contributed to a new insularity which restricted the radical debates of the 1980s to a small band of cognoscenti, consciously differentiating themselves from the less ideologically sound adult educators of the Liberal Tradition and drawing on Gramsci, Freire and others in support of their position.

If instead, adult educators can review the ground on which they stand, consider questions of political organization and direction (a project for which Gramsci offers stimulating guidance) and recognise and develop positive, progressive aspects of the Liberal Tradition, which, because of its dominance over most of the twentieth century cannot be ignored and which still has much to offer, they will perhaps find it easier to make alliances than enemies in the "war of position" raging in civil society.

#### NOTES

1. Personal communication.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS OF WORKS CITED

- CAF      Cultural Action for Freedom, by Paulo Freire, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1972.
- EPF      Education: The Practice of Freedom by Paulo Freire, translated by Myra Bergman Ramos, Writers and Readers, London, 1976.
- LGB      Pedagogy in Process The Letters to Guinea-Bissau by Paulo Freire, translated by Carman St. John Hunter, Writers and Readers, London, 1978.
- LP        Letters from Prison by Antonio Gramsci, selected, translated and introduced by Lynne Lawner, Jonathan Cape, London, 1975.
- OWCE     Oxford and Working Class Education, second edition, revised, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1909 (The 1908 Report).
- PE        The Politics of Education by Paulo Freire, translated by Donald Macedo, Macmillan, London, 1985.
- PO        Pedagogy of the Oppressed by Paulo Freire, translated by Myra Bergman Ramos, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1972.
- SCW      Selections from Cultural Writings by Antonio Gramsci, edited by David Forgacs and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, translated by William Boelhower, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1985.
- SPN      Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci, edited and translated by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1971.
- SPW I    Selections from Political Writings (1910-20) by Antonio Gramsci, edited by Quintin Hoare, translated by John Matthews, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1977.
- SPW II   Selections from Political Writings (1921-26) by Antonio Gramsci, translated and edited by Quintin Hoare, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1978.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

GOVERNMENT AND OTHER OFFICIAL AND SEMI-OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS  
in order of first publication

- (1908) Oxford and Working Class Education. Being the Report of a Joint Committee of University and Working-Class Representatives on the Relation of the University to the Higher Education of Workpeople, Oxford: Oxford University Press (The 1908 Report). Second edition, revised, 1909, reprinted 1951.

The 1908 Report has been reprinted in facsimile, edited by Sylvia Harrop and with Introductory Essays by Bernard Jennings, Roger Fieldhouse, W.E. Styler and Jane L. Thompson as Harrop, S. (ed.) (1987) Oxford and Working Class Education, Nottingham: Department of Adult Education, University of Nottingham. References to the Report and accompanying essays etc. in the text are to this edition, indicated as follows: references to the Report are indicated as [OWCE:(page)]; references to the Foreword and Introductory Essays are cited by author as [(author) 1987:(page)].

United Kingdom, (1913) Regulations for University Tutorial Classes in England and Wales (Cd. 6866), London: HMSO.

"The 1919 Report": United Kingdom, The Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction (1918) Interim Report: Industrial and Social Conditions in Relation to Adult Education (Cd. 9107), London: HMSO.

United Kingdom, The Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction (1918) Interim Report: Education in the Army (Cd. 9225), London: HMSO.

United Kingdom, The Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction (1919) Interim Report: Libraries and Museums (Cd. 9237), London: HMSO.

United Kingdom, The Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction (1919) Final Report (Cmd. 321), London: HMSO.

The 1919 Report is reprinted with Introductory Essays by Harold Wiltshire, John Taylor and Bernard Jennings in The 1919 Report. The Final and Interim Reports of the Adult

Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction 1918-1919, (Nottingham Studies in the Theory and Practice of the Education of Adults), Nottingham: Department of Adult Education, University of Nottingham, 1980. The Final Report is reprinted in facsimile. References in the text are to this edition and are indicated as follows: references to the Final or Interim Reports are indicated as [Cmd.(no.) 1919:(page)]; references to the Introductory Essays are cited by author as [(author) 1980:(page)].

The recommendations of the Adult Education Committee were summarised by Arthur Greenwood in The Education of the Citizen in 1920. A much abridged edition of the 1919 Report was published in 1956 under the title A Design for Democracy with an Introduction by Professor R.D. Waller.

United Kingdom, Board of Education Adult Education Committee Reports (1922-1933), London: HMSO:

1. Report on Local Co-operation between universities, Local Authorities and Voluntary Bodies (1922); 2. Report on the Recruitment, Training and Remuneration of Tutors (1922); 3. The Development of Adult Education in Rural Areas (1922); 4. The Development of Rural Education for Women (1922); 5. British Music (1924); 6. The Drama in Adult Education (1926); 7. Full-time Studies (1927); 8. Natural Science in Adult Education (1927); 9. Pioneer Work in Other Developments in Adult Education (1927); 10. The Scope and Practice of Adult Education (1930); 11. Adult Education and the Local Authority (1933).

United Kingdom: Royal Commission on Oxford and Cambridge Universities, (1922) Report, London: HMSO.

United Kingdom, Board of Education (Adult Education) Regulations (1924) (S.R. and O., 1925, No. 24).

United Kingdom, Army Council (1940) Education in the War-time Army, London: War Office.

United Kingdom, Ministry of Education (1947) Further Education The Scope and Content of its Opportunities under the

Education Act, 1944, Pamphlet Number 8, London: HMSO.

United Kingdom, Ministry of Education (1954) The Organisation and Finance of Adult Education in England and Wales, Report by the Committee appointed by the Minister of Education in June 1953, London: HMSO (The Ashby Report).

The Ashby Report is reprinted with Foreword and Introductory Essays by Lord Ashby, Lord Briggs, Stephens, Professor Michael D. Stephens (n.d.) The Ashby Report (1954), Nottingham: Department of Adult Education, University of Nottingham. The reprint of the Report follows the original pagination. References to the Report and accompanying essays etc. in the text are to this edition, indicated as follows: references to the Report are indicated as [Ashby 1954:(page)]; references to the Foreword and Introductory Essays are cited by author as [(author) n.d.:(page)].

United Kingdom, (1963) Higher Education, (Cmd. 2154) Report of the Committee on Higher Education appointed by the Prime Minister under the Chairmanship of Lord Robbins, London: HMSO (The Robbins Report).

United Kingdom, Department of Education and Science, (1973) Adult Education: A Plan for Development, Report by a Committee of Inquiry appointed by the Secretary of State for Education and Science under the Chairmanship of Sir Lionel Russell CBE, London: HMSO (The Russell Report).

United Kingdom, Scottish Education Department (1975) Adult Education: The Challenge of Change, Report by a Committee of Inquiry appointed by the Secretary of State for Scotland under the Chairmanship of Professor K.J.W. Alexander, Edinburgh: HMSO (the Alexander Report).

The Open University (1976) Report of the Committee of the Committee on Continuing Education, Milton Keynes: The Open University (The Venables Report).

Advisory Council for Adult and Continuing Education (1979)



Towards Continuing Education, Leicester: ACACE.

United Kingdom, Department of Education and Science, (1980)  
Continuing Education: Post Experience Vocational  
Provision for those in Employment, London: HMSO.

Advisory Council for Adult and Continuing Education (1982a)  
Continuing Education: From Policies to Practice,  
Leicester: ACACE.

Advisory Council for Adult and Continuing Education (1982b)  
Adults: Their Educational Experience and Needs,  
Leicester: ACACE.

Advisory Council for Adult and Continuing Education (1985)  
Continuing Education: From Policies to Practice,  
Leicester: National Institute of Adult Continuing  
Education.

First published by ACACE in 1982.

Writings by Gramsci: in order of first publication in English  
translation

Gramsci, A. (1957) The Modern Prince and other writings.  
Translated and with an introduction by Louis Marks. New  
York: International Publishers.

Gramsci, A. (1957) The Open Marxism of Antonio Gramsci.  
Translated and annotated by C. Marzani. New York: Cameron  
Associates.

Gramsci, A. (1971) Selections from the Prison Notebooks of  
Antonio Gramsci. Edited and translated by Quintin Hoare  
and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Gramsci, A. (1975) Letters from Prison by Antonio Gramsci.



Selected, translated and introduced by Lynne Lawner.  
London: Jonathan Cape.

First published in English 1973.

Cavalcanti, P., and Piccone, P. (1975) History, Philosophy and Culture in the Young Gramsci, St. Louis: Telos Press.

Gramsci, A. (1988) Gramsci's Prison Letters Lettere dal Carcere. Selected translated and introduced by Hamish Henderson. London: Zwan in association with the Edinburgh Review.

This selection first published 1974 (translated from 1947 Einaudi edition) in the New Edinburgh Review Nos. 25 and 26.

Gramsci, A. (1977) Selections from Political Writings (1910-20). Edited by Quintin Hoare. Translated by John Matthews. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Gramsci, A. (1978) Selections from Political Writings (1921-26). Translated and edited by Quintin Hoare. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Gramsci, A. (1985) Selections from Cultural Writings. Edited by David Forgacs and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith. Translated by William Boelhower. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Forgacs, D. (ed.) (1988) A Gramsci Reader: Selected Writings 1916-1935, London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Includes some previously unpublished material.

#### Bibliographies of Gramsci's Writing in English

Davidson, A.B. (1972) "The Varying Seasons of Gramscian Studies" Political Studies, Vol. II, No. 4, December 1972, 448-61.

Cozens, P. (1977) Twenty Years of Antonio Gramsci: A Bibliography of Gramsci and Gramsci Studies published in English 1957-1977 London: Lawrence and Wishart, 3-12.

Eley, G. (1984) "Reading Gramsci in English: Observations on the Reception of Antonio Gramsci in the English-speaking World 1957-82" European History Quarterly, Vol. 14, 441-78.

Forgacs, D. (1989) "Gramsci and Marxism in Britain" New Left Review 176 July/August, 70-88.

Kaye, H.J. (1981) "Antonio Gramsci: An Annotated Bibliography of Studies in English" Politics and Society X, 3, 335-53.

Writings by Freire: in order of first publication in English translation

Books by Freire

Freire, P. (1972a) Pedagogy of the Oppressed. Translated by Myra Bergman Ramos. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

First published in English translation, New York: Seabury Press, 1970. First published in Portuguese 1968.

Freire, P. (1972b) Cultural Action for Freedom, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

First published as a monograph in Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 40, No. 2, May 1970.

Freire, P. (1976) Education: The Practice of Freedom. Translated by Myra Bergman Ramos. London: Writers and Readers.

Comprised of two essays: "Education and the Practice of Freedom" (written in 1965, first published 1967) and

"Extension and Communication" (written in 1968, first published 1969). First published in English translation as Education for Critical Consciousness, London: Sheed and Ward, 1974. First published in Portuguese 1967.

Freire, P. (1978) Pedagogy in Process The Letters to Guinea-Bissau. Translated by Carman St. John Hunter. London: Writers and Readers.

First published New York: Seabury Press, 1978.

Freire, P. (1985) The Politics of Education. Translated by Donald Macedo. London: Macmillan.

Comprised of articles and essays first published between 1965 and 1975 and an interview from c.1984.

Freire, P. and Shor, I. (1987) A Pedagogy for Liberation: Dialogues on Transforming Education, London: Macmillan.

Freire, P. and Macedo, D. (1987) Literacy: Reading the Word and the World, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Freire, P. and Faundez, A. (1989) Learning to Question: A pedagogy of liberation, Geneva: World Council of Churches.

#### Articles and Papers by Freire

Freire, P. (n.d.) Letters for a Young Nation Co-ordinating Commission of the Popular Culture Circles of the Republic of São Tomé and Príncipe.

Freire, P. (1970a) "Education for awareness", Risk, Vol. 6, No.4.

Reprinted in Mackie, R. (ed.) (1980) Literacy and Revolution: the Pedagogy of Paulo Freire, London: Pluto Press, 57-69.

Freire, P. (1970b) The Political Literacy Process: An Introduction, World Council of Churches, Geneva.

Freire, P. (1970c) "Development and Educational Demands", World Christian Education, Third Quarter 1970.

Freire, P. (1970d) "Cultural Freedom in Latin America" in Colonese, L.M. (ed.) Human Rights and the Liberation of Man in the Americas, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press.

Freire, P. (1973a) Education, liberation and the church, Geneva: World Council of Churches.

Freire, P. (1973b) Conscientization and Liberation, Geneva: World Council of Churches, Institute for Cultural Action Document 1.

Freire, P. (1974a) "Research Methods", Literacy Discussion, Spring 1974.

Freire, P. (1974b) "When I met Marx I continued to meet Christ on the corner of the street", The Age newspaper, Melbourne 19th April 1974.

Quoted in Mackie, R. (ed.) (1980) Literacy and Revolution: the Pedagogy of Paulo Freire, London: Pluto Press, 126.

Freire, P. (1975a) Education for liberation: Addresses by Paulo Freire and Critical Reflections on Indian Education, Bangalore: Ecumenical Christian Centre Publication.

Freire, P. (1975b) "Pilgrims of the Obvious", Risk, Vol. 11, No. 1, 1975.

Freire, P. (1975c) "Are Adult Literacy Programmes Neutral?", International Symposium for Literacy, Vol. 3, No.8 September 1975, Persepolis, 1-10.

Freire, P. (1976a) "A few notions about the word conscientization". Translated by Manuel Vaquerizo. In Dale, R., Esland, G., MacDonald, M., (eds.) (1976) Schooling and Capitalism London: Routledge and Kegan Paul and Open University, 224-227.

This is an edited version of a translated transcript of a talk given by Freire in Rome in 1970.

Freire, P. (1976b) "Literacy and the Possible Dream", Prospects, Vol. VI, No. 1, 68-71.

Freire, P. (1979) "To Know and To Be", Indian Journal of Youth Affairs, June 1979.

#### OTHER SOURCES

Abercrombie, N., Hill, S. and Turner, B.S. (1980) The Dominant Ideology Thesis, London: Allen and Unwin.

Adam, General Sir R.F. (1971) "Adult Education in the Forces" in Hutchinson, E.M. (ed.) Arms and action in adult education 1921-1971, Leicester: National Institute of Adult Education, 60-5.

Addison, P. (1975) The Road to 1945: British Politics and the Second World War, London: Cape.

Alden, H. (1981) "Antonio Gramsci: Conservative Schooling for Radical Politics", (review article), Convergence, Vol. XIV, No. 3, 91-4.

- Alemayehu, R. (1988) "Adult Education and the Third World: An African Perspective" in Lovett, T. (ed.) Radical Approaches to Adult Education: A Reader (Radical Forum on Adult Education), London: Routledge, 281-99.
- Alfred, D. (1984) "The Relevance of the Work of Paulo Freire to Radical Community Education in Britain", International Journal of Lifelong Education, Vol. 3, No. 2, 105-113.
- Allen, G. et al (eds.) (1987) Community education: an agenda for educational reform, Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Allman, P. (1987) "Paulo Freire's education approach: a struggle for meaning" in Allen, G. et al (eds.) Community education: an agenda for educational reform, Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Allman, P. (1988) "Gramsci, Freire and Illich: Their Contributions to Education for Socialism" in Lovett, T. (ed.) Radical Approaches to Adult Education: A Reader (Radical Forum on Adult Education), London: Routledge, 85-113.
- Allman, P. and Wallis, J. (1988) "Karl Marx's Theoretical Contributions to Radical Education" in Zukas, M. (ed.) Transatlantic Dialogues, Leeds:
- School of Continuing Education, University of Leeds.
- Allman, P. and Wallis, J. (1990) "1992 and New Times: A Critical Reading", Towards 1992: Education of Adults in the New Europe, Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Conference SCUTREA, Sheffield: University of Sheffield, 234-45.
- Allman, P. and Wallis, J. (1990) "Praxis: Implications for 'Really' Radical Education" Studies in the Education of Adults, Vol. 22, No. 1, April 1990, 14-30.

Althusser, L. (1970) For Marx Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Anderson, P. (1976-7) "The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci" New left Review 100 November 1976-January 1977 London, 5-78.

Apple, M.W. (1979) Ideology and Curriculum, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Apple, M.W. (1980) Review of Antonio Gramsci, Conservative Schooling for Radical Politics, by Harold Entwistle, Comparative Education Review, October 1980, 436-8.

Apple, M.W. (1982) Education and Power, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Apple, M.W. (ed.) (1982) Culture and economic reproduction in education. Essays on class, ideology and the State, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Archer, D. and Costello, P. (1990) Literacy and Power: The Latin American Battleground, London: Earthscan.

Armstrong, P.F. (1988) "The Long Search for the Working Class: Socialism and the Education of Adults, 1850-1930", in Lovett, T. (ed.) Radical Approaches to Adult Education: A Reader, (Radical Forum on Adult Education), London: Routledge, 35-58.

Armstrong, P.F. (1989) "Right for the Wrong Reasons: A Critique of Sociology in Professional Adult Education", in Bright, B. (ed.) Theory and Practice in the Study of Adult Education: The Epistemological Debate, (Radical Forum on Adult Education), London: Routledge, 106-20.

- Arnold, M. (1906) "Literature and Science", Discourses in America, New York. Extracted in Sanderson, M. (ed.) (1975) The Universities in the Nineteenth Century, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 138-141.
- Aronowitz, S. and Giroux, H.A. (1985) Education Under Siege The Conservative, Liberal and Radical Debate over Schooling, South Hadley, Mass.: Bergin and Garvey.
- Ashby, Lord E. (n.d.) "Foreword" in The Ashby Report (1954), Nottingham: Department of Adult Education, University of Nottingham, 1-2.
- Bantok, G.H. (1980) Studies in the History of Educational Theory. Vol. I: Artifice and Nature 1350-1765, London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Barnett, S.A. (1921) Canon Barnett, His Life, Work and Friends, London: John Murray.
- Barratt Brown, M. (1971) "In Defence of the WEA", Adult Education, Vol. 44, No.3, 151-60.
- Barratt Brown, M. (1980) "Adult Education and Social Change", in Convergence, Vol. XIII, No. 4, 89-92.
- Barrow, R. (1978) Radical Education: A Critique of Freeschooling and Deschooling, London: Martin Robertson.
- Batten, E. (1980) "Community education: a case for radicalism" in Fletcher, C. and Thompson, N. (eds.) Issues in Community Education, London: Falmer Press.
- Beck, J., Jenks, C., Keddie, N., and Young, M.F.D. (eds.)



(1976) Worlds Apart Readings for a Sociology of Education, London: Collier Macmillan.

Berger, P. (1976) Pyramids of Sacrifice, London: Allen Lane.

Berggren, L. and Berggren C. (1975) The Literacy Process: A Practice in Domestication of Liberation?, London: Writers and Readers.

Bibby, C., (1955-6) "The South London Working Men's College", in Adult Education, Vol. XXVIII, 211-21.

Bibby, C., (1959) T.H. Huxley: Scientist, Humanist and Educator, Watts.

Bocock, R. (1986) Hegemony, Chichester: Ellis Horwood, and London: Tavistock.

Boff, L. (1985) Church, Charism, and Power New York.

Boggs, C. (1976) Gramsci's Marxism, London: Pluto Press.

Boggs, C. (1984) The Two Revolutions: Gramsci and the Dilemmas of Western Marxism, Boston, Mass.: South End Press.

Bourne, R. (1973) "Alternatives to School" in Harding, C., and Roper, C.

(eds.) Latin American Review of Books 1, London, Spring 1973, 75-7.

Boston, B. (1972) "Paulo Freire: Notes of a loving critic", in Grabowski, S.M. Paulo Freire: a Revolutionary Dilemma for the Adult Educator, Syracuse: Eric Clearing House on Adult

Education.

Bourdieu, P. and Passeron, J-C. (1977) Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture (first published in Paris 1970). Translated from the French by Richard Nice. SAGE Studies in Social and Educational Change, Vol. 5, London: SAGE Publications.

Bowers, C.A. (1974) Cultural Literacy for Freedom, New York: Elan Books.

Bowles, S. (1971) "Cuban education and the revolutionary ideology", in Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 41, No.4.

Bowles, S. and Gintis, H. (1976) Schooling in Capitalist America, New York: Basic Books.

Briggs, Lord A. (n.d.) "Looking Backwards and Forwards", in The Ashby Report (1954), Nottingham: Department of Adult Education, University of Nottingham, 3-5.

Briggs, A., and Macartney, A. (1984) Toynbee Hall: the First Hundred Years London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Bright, B. (ed.) (1989) Theory and Practice in the Study of Adult Education: The Epistemological Debate, (Radical Forum on Adult Education), London: Routledge.

British Association of Settlements (1972) A Right To Read, London: BAS.

- Brown, C. (1975) Literacy in 30 Hours: Paulo Freire's Process in North-East Brazil, London: Writers and Readers. First published as Brown, C. (1974) "Literacy in Thirty Hours: Paulo Freire's Process" in The Urban Review, Vol. 7, no.3, July 1974, 245-56.
- Brown, G. (1980) "Independence and Incorporation: the Labour College movement and the Workers' Educational Association before the Second World War", in Thompson, J.L. (ed.) Adult Education For A Change, London: Hutchinson, 109-25.
- Buci-Glucksmann, C. (1980) Gramsci and the State. Translated by David Fernbach. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Bughee, J.A. (1973) "The Freire approach to literacy: Review and reflections", Literacy Discussion, Vol. 4, No. 4.
- Bughee, J.A. (1974) "Reflections on Griffith, Freire and Beyond", Literacy Discussion, Spring 1974.
- Cabral, A. (1974) Revolution in Guinea: An African People's Struggle, London: Stage I.
- Cammett, J.M. (1967) Antonio Gramsci and the Origins of Italian Communism, Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.
- Campbell, F. (1968) "Latin and the Elite Tradition in Education", The British Journal of Sociology, Vol. XIX, No. 3, September 1968, 308-25.
- Carlile, R. (1821) "An Address to Men of Science". Reprinted in Simon, B. (ed.) (1972) The Radical Tradition in Education in Britain, London: Lawrence and Wishart and Berlin: Seven Seas Books, 91-137.

- Carnoy, M. (1974) Education as Cultural Imperialism, New York: McKay.
- Carnoy, M. (1982) "Education, Economy and the State" in Apple, M.W. (ed.) Culture and economic reproduction in education. Essays on class, ideology and the State, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 79-126.
- Carnoy, M. and Levin, H. (1985) Schooling and Work in the Democratic State, Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.
- Cawthorne, H.H. (1928-9) "The Spitalfields Mathematical Society (1717-1845)", Journal of Adult Education, Vol. III, 155-66.
- Chain, B.C. (1974) "An Examination of Three Paulo Freire-Inspired Programs of Literacy Education in Latin America", Literacy Discussion, Vol. 5, No.3, 393-408.
- Chancellor, V.E. (ed.) (1969) Master and Artisan in Victorian England, London: Evelyn, Adams and Mackay.
- Clark, M. (1977) Antonio Gramsci and the Revolution that Failed, New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Clarke, J., Critcher, C., and Johnson, R. (eds.) (1979) Working Class Culture, London: Hutchinson.
- Coates, K. and Silburn, R. (1970) Poverty: The Forgotten Englishmen, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Cockburn, C. (1977). The Local State, London: Pluto Press.

- Cohen, M. (1990) "The Labour College Between the Wars" in Simon, B. (ed.) The Search for Enlightenment: the Working Class and Adult Education in the Twentieth Century, London: Lawrence and Wishart, 137-52.
- Cohen, P. (1968) Modern Social Theory, London: Heinemann.
- Cole, G.D.H. (1948) A Short History of the British Working Class Movement 1789-1947, London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Collini, S. (1979) Liberalism and Sociology: L.T. Hobhouse and political argument in England 1880-1914, London: Cambridge University Press.
- Collins, D. (1977) Paulo Freire: His Life, Works and Thought, New York: Paulist Press.
- Colonese, L.M. (ed.) (1970) Human Rights and the Liberation of Man in the Americas, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Communist Party of Great Britain, The, (1990) Manifesto for New Times: a strategy for the 1990s London: The Communist Party in association with Lawrence and Wishart.
- Costello, N., and Richardson, M. (1982) Continuing Education and the Post-industrial Society, Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Costigan, M. (1980) You Have the Third World Inside You: an interview with Paulo Freire, Edinburgh: Workers' Educational Association, South East Scotland District.

- Cousin, G. (1990) "Women in Liberal Adult Education" Adults Learning, Leicester: National Institute of Adult Continuing Education, Vol. 2, No. 2, October 1990, 38-9.
- Cowburn, W. (1986) Class Ideology and Community Education (Radical Forum on Adult Education), Beckenham: Croom Helm.
- Crombie, A.D. and Harries-Jenkins, G. (1983) The Demise of the Liberal Tradition, Leeds: Leeds Studies in Adult and Continuing Education, Department of Adult and Continuing Education, University of Leeds.
- Curtis, S.J. and Boultonwood, M.E.A. (1964) An Introductory History of English Education Since 1800, London: University Tutorial Press, Third Edition.
- Curtis, S.J. and Boultonwood, M.E.A. (1965) A Short History of Educational Ideas, London: University Tutorial Press, Fourth Edition.
- Daines, J.W., Elsey, B., Gibbs, M., (1982) Changes in Student Participation in Adult Education, Nottingham: Department of Adult Education, University of Nottingham.
- Dale, R., Esland, G., MacDonald, M., (eds.) (1976) Schooling and Capitalism, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul and Open University.
- Davidson, A. (1977) Antonio Gramsci: Towards an Intellectual Biography, London: Merlin Press.
- Davidson, B. (1969) The Liberation of Guinea, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

- Davies, B. (1976) Social Control and Education, London: Methuen.
- De Kadt, E. (1967) "Religion, the Church and Social Change" in Veliz, C. (ed.) (1967) The Politics of Conformity in Latin America, Royal Institute of International Affairs, London: Oxford University Press.
- De Kadt, E. (1970) Catholic Radicals in Brazil, London: Oxford University Press.
- Demaine, J. (1977) "On the new sociology of education", in Economy and Society, Vol. 6, No. 2.
- de Oliveira, R. and Dominice, P. (1974) Freire, Illich: The Pedagogy of the Oppressed, The Oppression of Pedagogy, World Council of Churches, Institute for Cultural Action, IDAC Document No. 8.
- de Oliveira, R. and de Oliveira, M. (1976) Guinea-Bissau: Reinventing Education, Geneva: World Council of Churches, Institute for Cultural Action (IDAC).
- Donald, J. and Hall S. (eds.) (1986) Politics and Ideology, Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Doyle, M. (1980) "Reform and reaction - the Workers' Educational Association post-Russell", in Thompson, J.L. (ed.) Adult Education For A Change, London: Hutchins, 129-40.
- Doyle, M. (1986) "Social Purpose in Adult Education", Adult Education, Leicester: National Institute of Adult Education, Vol. 59, No. 2, 141-6.

- Duke, C. (1990) "Liberal Adult Education A Note from the Epicentre", Adults Learning, Leicester: National Institute of Adult Continuing Education, Vol. 1, No. 9, May 1990, 241-2.
- Duke, C. and Marriott, S. (1973) Paper Awards in Liberal Adult Education, London: Michael Joseph.
- Duke, C. and Moseley, R. (eds.). (1990) Quality and Control: Widening, High Quality University Continuing Education Through the Nineties, Coventry: Universities Council for Adult and Continuing Education.
- Durucan, C. (1986) Continuing Education in British Universities, Nottingham: Department of Adult Education, University of Nottingham.
- Durkheim, E. (1951) Suicide: a study in sociology, Glencoe: Free Press.
- Eagleton, T. (1991) Ideology: An Introduction, London: Verso.
- Eastman, G. (1972) "Freire, Illich and Revolutionary Pedagogy" in Dialogue, Vol. 6, No.1.
- Eccleshall, R. (1986) British Liberalism: Liberal Thought from the 1640s to 1980s, London: Longman.
- Edwards, J. (1986) Working Class Adult Education in Liverpool: a Radical Approach, Manchester: Centre for Adult and Higher Education, University of Manchester.
- Egerton, J. (1973) "Searching for Freire", Saturday Review of Education, Vol. 1, No. 3.



- Elias, J.L. (1976) "Paulo Freire: religious educator", Religious Education, Vol.71, Jan.-Feb. 1976, 40-56
- Elias, J.L. (1977) Conscientisation and Deschooling, Philadelphia: Westminster Press.
- Elias, J.L. and Merriam, S. (1984) Philosophical Foundations of Adult Education, Malabar, Flo.: Robert E. Krieger.
- Ellwood, C. (1976) Adult Learning Today: A New Role for the Universities?, Sage.
- Elsey, B. (1986) Social Theory Perspectives on Adult Education, Nottingham: Department of Adult Education, University of Nottingham.
- Entwistle, H. (1979) Antonio Gramsci, Conservative Schooling for Radical Politics, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Epstein, E.H. (1978) "The social control thesis and educational reform in dependent nations", Theory and Society, Vol. 5, No. 2, May 1978.
- Evans, B.J. (1987) Radical Adult Education: A Political Critique, (Radical Forum on Adult Education), London: Croom Helm.
- Evans, N. (1984) Post-Education Society: recognising adults as learners (Radical Forum on Adult Education), London: Croom Helm.
- Faith, K. (ed.) (1988) Towards New Horizons for Women in Distance Education: International Perspectives, (Radical

Forum on Adult Education), London: Routledge.

Falken, G. (1988) "A black model of community education", Journal of Community Education, Vol. 6, No. 4, 4-6.

Fanon, F. (1967) The Wretched of the Earth. Translated by Constance Farrington. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Femia, J.V. (1981) Gramsci's Political Thought. Hegemony, Consciousness and the Revolutionary Process, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Field, J. (1984) "A New Approach to Second Chance Learning: South Yorkshire's Northern College", Convergence, Vol. 17, No. 1., 9-18.

Field, J. (1985) "Residential Adult Education in the Workless State", Adult Education, Vol. 58, No. 1, 25-32.

Field, J. (1988) "Workers' Education and the Crisis of British Trade Unionism", in Lovett, T. (ed.) Radical Approaches to Adult Education: A Reader (Radical Forum on Adult Education), London: Routledge, 224-41.

Field, J., Lovell, T. and Weller, P. (1991) Research Quality in Continuing Education: A Study of Citations Patterns, Coventry: University of Warwick Research Paper in Continuing Education Number 3.

Fieldhouse, R.T. (1977) The Workers' Educational Association: Aims and Achievements 1903-1977, New York: Syracuse University.

Fieldhouse, R.T. (1981) "Voluntaryism and the state in adult education: the WEA and the 1925 TUC education scheme",

Bulletin of History of Education Society, Vol. 10, No. 1, 45-63.

Fieldhouse, R.T. (1983) "The Ideology of English Adult Education Teaching 1925-50" in Studies in Adult Education, Leicester: National Institute of Adult Education, 15, 11-35.

Fieldhouse, R.T. (1985) Adult Education and the Cold War: Liberal values under seige 1946-51, Leeds: University of Leeds, Department of Adult and Continuing Education.

Fieldhouse, R.T. (1987) "The 1908 Report: Antidote to Class Struggle?" in Harrop, S. (ed.) Oxford and Working Class Education, Nottingham: Department of Adult Education, University of Nottingham, 30-47.

Fieldhouse, R. (1990) "Bouts of Suspicion: Political Controversies in Adult Education" in Simon, B. (ed.) (1990) The Search for Enlightenment: the Working Class and Adult Education in the Twentieth Century, London: Lawrence and Wishart, 153-172.

Fletcher, C. and Thompson, N. (eds.) (1980) Issues in Community Education, London: Falmer Press.

Fletcher, C. (1980) "The theory of community education and its relation to adult education" in Thompson, J.L. (ed.) Adult Education For A Change, London: Hutchinson, 65-82.

Flude and Parrot (1979) Education and the Challenge of Change: A Recurrent Education Strategy for Britain, Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Fonseca, C. (1973) "Paulo Freire in Bombay", New Frontiers in Education, Vol. 3, No. 2.

Forgacs, D. (ed.) (1988) A Gramsci Reader: Selected Writings 1916-1935 London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Forgacs, D. (1989) "Gramsci and Marxism in Britain", New Left Review, 176, July/August 1989, 70-88.

Forrester, K. and Ward, K. (1986) "Organising the Unemployed? The TUC and Unemployed Workers' Centres", Industrial Relations Journal, Vol. 17, No. 1.

Frank, A.G. (1967) Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America, New York: Monthly Review Press.

Frankenstein, M. (1983) "Critical Mathematics Education: An Application of Paulo Freire's Epistemology", Journal of Education, Vol. 165, No. 4, 315-39.

Fraser, D. (1973) The Evolution of the British Welfare State, London: Macmillan.

Freeland, J. (1981) The Literacy Campaign on the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua, World University Service News, Nos. 1 and 2.

Furter, P. (1974) "On the Greatness of Being Utopian" Literacy Discussion Spring 1974.

Gay, P. (1967) The Enlightenment, Vol. 1: The Rise of Modern Paganism, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Geras, N. (1987) "Post-Marxism?" New Left Review, 163, May-June 1987, 40-82.

- Germino, D. (1990) Antonio Gramsci: Architect of a New Politics, Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University.
- Gheebrant, A. (1974) The Rebel Church in Latin America, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Giroux, H.A. (1980) Review of Antonio Gramsci, Conservative Schooling for Radical Politics, by Harold Entwistle, British Journal of Sociology of Education, Vol. 1, No. 3, 307-315.
- Giroux, H.A. (1981a) Ideology, Culture and the Process of Schooling, Sussex, Falmer Press.
- Giroux, H.A. (1981b) "Hegemony, Resistance and the Paradox of Educational Reform", Interchange Vol. 12, Nos. 2 and 3, on Educational Policy, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 3-26.
- Giroux, H.A. (1983) Theory and Resistance in Education: A Pedagogy for the Opposition, London: Heinemann Educational Books.
- Giroux, H.A. (1985) in Freire, P. The Politics of Education. Translated by Donaldo Macedo. London: Macmillan. Comprised of articles and essays first published between 1965 and 1975 and an interview from c.1984, xi-xxv.
- Gleeson, D. (1974) "Theory and practice in the sociology of Paulo Freire", Universities Quarterly, Vol. 28, No. 3, Summer 1974, 362-71.
- Glen, J.M. (1988) Highlander: No Ordinary School 1932-1962, Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.

Goodwin, B.E. (1975) "Education as Liberation: an analysis of Paulo Freire", The Journal of the Interdenominational Theological Center, Vol. 2, 89-99.

Goodwin, H. (1983) "Continuing Education: from Policies to Practice: Some implications for adult education", Adult Education, Leicester: National Institute of Adult Education, Vol. 56, No. 2, September 1983, 98-104.

Gordon, P. and White, J. (1979) Philosophers as Educational Reformers, (International Library of the Philosophy of Education), London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Grabowski, S.M. (1972) Paulo Freire: a Revolutionary Dilemma for the Adult Educator, Syracuse: Eric Clearing House on Adult Education.

Green, A. (1990) Education and State Formation, London: Macmillan.

Greenwood, A. (1920) The Education of the Citizen. (A summary of the recommendations of the 1919 Report). N.A.S.U.

Griffith, W.S. (1974) "Paulo Freire: Utopian Perspective in Literacy Education", Literacy Discussion, Spring 1974.

Griggs, C. (1983) The Trades Union Congress and the Struggle for Education 1866-1925, Lewes: Falmer Press.

Green, T.H. (1941) Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation (1895) London: Longman.

Griffin, C. (1983) Curriculum Theory in Adult Lifelong Education (Radical Forum on Adult Education), London:

Croom Helm.

Griffith, W.S. (1974) "Paulo Freire: Utopian Perspective in Literacy Education", Literacy Discussion, Spring 1974.

Groombridge, B. (1990) "Falling Walls: adults and the university", in Adults Learning, Leicester: National Institute of Adult Continuing Education, Vol. 1, No. 5, January 1990, 140-2.

Gutiérrez, G.A. (1973) A Theology of Liberation, New York: Orbis Books.

Halévy, E. (1949) The Liberal Awakening 1815-1830, Translated by E.I. Watkins. London: Ernest Benn.

Hall, S. (1987) speaking at Gramsci '87 Conference, London: Marxism Today.

Hall, S. and Jacques, M. (eds.) (1989) New Times the changing face of politics in the 1990s, London: Lawrence and Wishart in association with Marxism Today.

Hall, S., Lumley, B., McLennan, G. (1977) "Politics and Ideology: Gramsci" in WPCS (1977) On Ideology, Working Papers in Cultural Studies 10, Birmingham: Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham, 45-76.

Halley, C. (1973) "Paulo Freire - personal impressions" in Dialogue, Vol. 7, No. 1.

Hamling, A.G. "The Role of the National Council of Labour Colleges in the Field of Adult Education". International Journal of Lifelong Education, Vol. 6, No. 1, 3-26.

- Harding, C. and Roper, C. (eds.) (1973) Latin American Review of Books 1, London, Spring 1973, 75-7.
- Harrison, J.F.C. (1954) A History of the Working Men's College, 1854-1954, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Harrison, J.F.C. (1957-8) "Adult Education and Self-Help", British Journal of Educational Studies, Vol. VI, 37-50.
- Harrison, J.F.C. (1961) Learning and Living 1790-1960, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Harrop, S. (ed.) (1987) Oxford and Working Class Education, Nottingham: Department of Adult Education, University of Nottingham.
- Haviland, F.H. (1973) "An Introduction to the Writings of Paulo Freire", Adult Education, Vol. 45, No. 5, 280-5.
- Hawkins, T.H. and Brimble, L.J.F. (1947) The Record of the British Army, London: Macmillan.
- Hawthorn, R. (1980) "Pedagogy, oppression and us", Basic Education, May 1980.
- Hebdige, D. (1989) "After the Masses", in Hall, S. and Jacques, M. (eds.) New Times the changing face of politics in the 1990s, London: Lawrence and Wishart in association with Marxism Today, 76-93.
- Heimer, F.W. (1975) "Education and Politics in Brazil", Comparative Education Review, February 1975.



- Hemmings, R. (1979) "Decodifying Freire", in Libertarian Education, Leicester, No.27, Part 1, Summer 1979, 10-13.
- Hemmings, R. (1979) "Decodifying Freire", in Libertarian Education, Leicester, No. 28, Part 2, Autumn/Winter 1979, 10-13.
- Henderson, W. (ed.) (1985) Teaching Academic Subjects to Adults: Continuing Education in Practice, Birmingham: Department of Extra-Mural Studies, University of Birmingham.
- Hill, B. (1974) "When I met Marx I continued to meet Christ on the corner of the street", in The Age newspaper, Melbourne, 19th April 1974.
- Hill, C. (1969) Reformation to Industrial Revolution, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Hinden, R. (ed.) (1966) The Radical Tradition Twelve Essays on Politics, Education and Literature by R.H.Tawney, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Hoare, Q. (1980) Review of Antonio Gramsci, Conservative Schooling for Radical Politics, by Harold Entwistle, British Journal of Sociology of Education, Vol. 1, No. 3, 319-25.
- Hobsbawm, E.J. (1980) "The Labour Aristocracy: Twenty-five Years After", Society for the Study of Labour History Bulletin, (conference report) no. 40, Spring 1980, 6.
- Hobsbawm, E. (1987) speaking at Gramsci '87 Conference, London: Marxism Today, April 1987.

- Hoggart, R. (1976) After Expansion: A Time for Diversity. The Universities into the 1990s, Leicester: ACACE.
- Holly, D. (1980) Review of Antonio Gramsci, Conservative Schooling for Radical Politics, by Harold Entwistle, British Journal of Sociology of Education, Vol. 1, No. 3, 315-9.
- Hopkins, P.G.H. (1985) Workers Education: an International Perspective, Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Hornung, W.G. (1974) Paulo Freire's contribution to the theological education of the Protestant laity in Chile, Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, VI.
- Horrabin, J.F. and W. (1924) Working Class Education, Labour Publishing Company.
- Horrabin, J.F. "Plebs League" (1981) in The WEA Education Year Book 1918, Nottingham, Department of Adult Education, University of Nottingham, 390-391.
- Horton, M. (1990) We make the road by walking: conversations in education and social change, Myles Horton and Paulo Freire. Edited by Brenda Bell, John Gaventa and John Peters. Philadelphia: Temple University.
- Hoyles, M. (ed.) (1977) The Politics of Literacy, London: Writers and Readers.
- Hughes, H.S. (1958) "Gramsci and Marxist Humanism", pp96-104 of his Consciousness and Society: The Reorientation of European Social Thought, 1890-1930, New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

- Husserl, E. (1969) Ideas - General Introduction to Pure Phenomenology. Translated by Gibson. London: Allen and Unwin.
- Hutchinson, E.M. (ed.) (1971) Arms and action in adult education 1921-1971, Leicester: National Institute of Adult Education.
- Huxley, T.H. (1895) Collected Essays, Vol. 3: Science and Education, London: Macmillan.
- Illich, I. (1973) Deschooling Society, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Inglis, K.S. (1964) Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Ireland, R. (1972) "Paulo Freire in Context", Dialogue, Vol. 6, No. 2.
- Ireland, T.D. (1987) Antonio Gramsci and Adult Education: Reflections on the Brazilian Experience, (Manchester Monographs), Manchester: The Centre for Adult and Higher Education, University of Manchester.
- Jackson, K. (1980) "Foreword" in Thompson, J.L. (ed.) Adult Education For A Change, London: Hutchinson.
- Jackson, K. and Lovett, T. (1971) "Universities and the WEA - an alternative approach", Adult Education, Vol. 44, No. 1, 100-7.
- Jackson, T. (1981) "The Influence of Gramsci on Adult Education", Convergence, Vol. XIV, No. 3, 81-6.

- James, M.D. (1990) "Demystifying Literacy: Reading, Writing, and the Struggle for Liberation", Convergence, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, 14-26.
- Jarvis, P. (1988) Adult and Continuing Education: Theory and Practice, London: Routledge.
- Jarvis, P. (1990a) "Adult Education as a Field of University Study", in Duke, C. and Moseley, R. (eds.). Quality and Control: Widening, High Quality University Continuing Education Through the Nineties, Coventry: Universities Council for Adult and Continuing Education.
- Jarvis, P. (1990b) An International Dictionary of Adult and Continuing Education, London: Routledge.
- Jennings, B. (1975) "The Oxford Report Reconsidered", Studies in Adult Education, Vol. 7, No. 1, April 1975, 53-65.
- Jennings, B. (1977) "'Revolting Students' - the Ruskin College Dispute 1908-9", Studies in Adult Education, Vol. 9, No. 1, April 1977, 1-16.
- Jennings, B. (1980) "The Reception of the Report", in The 1919 Report, 37-44.
- Jennings, B. (1983) "The open-door university: a strategy for continuing education leading to degrees", Studies in Adult Education, Vol. 15, 47-59.
- Jennings, B. (1987) "The Making of the Oxford Report", in Harrop, S. (ed.) Oxford and Working Class Education, Nottingham: Department of Adult Education, University of Nottingham, 11-29.

- Jepson, N.A. (1973) The Beginnings of English University Adult Education - Policy and Problems, London: Michael Joseph.
- Johnson, Richard (1983) "'Really Useful Knowledge': Radical Education and Working-class culture, 1790-1848", in Tight, M. (ed.) Education for Adults Vol. 2.: Educational Opportunities for Adults. London: Croom Helm in association with The Open University, 20-38.
- Jones, B. (1986) "The Teaching of Controversial Subjects in Adult Education" Studies in the Education of Adults, Vol. 18, No. 1, 3-10.
- Jones, B. (ed.) (1991) Politics UK, London: Philip Allan.
- Keddie, N. (ed.) (1973) Tinker, Tailor... The Myth of Cultural Deprivation, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Keddie, N. (1980) "Adult education: an ideology of individualism", in Thompson, J.L. (ed.) Adult Education For A Change, London: Hutchinson, 45-64.
- Kelly, T. (1970) A History of Adult Education in Great Britain. Second edition, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool.
- Kelly, T. (1973) "Two Reports: 1919 and 1973" Studies in Adult Education, Vol. 5, No. 2, 113-25.
- Kendall, W. (1969) The Revolutionary Movement in Britain 1900-21, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- Kirkwood, C. (1990) Vulgar Eloquence: from labour to liberation. Essays in education, community and politics,

Edinburgh: Polygon.

Kirkwood, C. and Griffiths, S. (eds.) (1984) Adult Education and the Unemployed, Edinburgh: WEA S.E. Scotland District.

Kirkwood, C. and Kirkwood G. (1989) Living Adult Education: Freire in Scotland, Milton Keynes: Open University Press in association with the Scottish Institute of Adult Education.

Kohl, H. (1973) Reading, How To, New York: Dutton.

Kolakowski, L. (1968) Towards a Marxist Humanism, New York: Grove Press.

Kozol, J. (1972) Free Schools, Boston: Houghton-Mifflin.

Kozol, J. (1978) "A New Look at the Literacy Campaign in Cuba", in Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 48, No. 3, August 1978, 341-77.

Kozol, J. (1980) Children of the Revolution: A Yankee Teacher in the Cuban Schools, New York: Delta Press.

Kozol, J. (1985) Illiterate America, New York: Doubleday.

Kunzel, K. (1975) "The Missionary Dons - The Prelude to University Extension in England", Studies in Adult Education, Vol. 7, No. 1, April 1975, 34-53.

Labriola, A. (1980) Socialism and Philosophy, St. Louis, Mo.: Telos Press.

- Laclau, E. and Mouffe, C. (1985) Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics, London: Verso.
- Laclau, E. and Mouffe, C. (1987) "Post-Marxism Without Apologies", New Left Review, 166, November-December 1987, 79-106.
- Laqueur, T.W. (1976) Religion and Respectability: Sunday schools and working class culture 1780-1850, New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.
- Lawson, J. (1967) Mediaeval Education and the Reformation, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Lawson, K.H. (1979) Philosophical Concepts and Values in Adult Education. Revised Edition, Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Lawson, K.H. (1982) Analysis and Ideology: Conceptual Essays on the Education of Adults, Nottingham: Department of Adult Education, University of Nottingham.
- Lawson, K. (1985) "Deontological Liberalism: the political philosophy of liberal adult education", International Journal of Lifelong Education, Vol. 4, No. 3, 219-27.
- Leach, T. (1982) "Paulo Freire: Dialogue, Politics and Relevance", in International Journal of Lifelong Education, Vol. 1, No. 3, 185-201.
- Ledwith, M. (1984) Antonio Gramsci and Adult Education: An Introduction, (Occasional Paper No. 13), Manchester: Department of Adult and Higher Education, University of Manchester.

Manchester.

Legge, D. (1982) The Education of Adults in Britain, Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Levy, C. (ed.) (1987) Socialism and the Intelligentsia 1880-1914, (History Workshop Series). London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Levy, C. (1987) "Education and self-education: staffing the early ILP" in Levy, C. (ed.) Socialism and the Intelligentsia 1880-1914, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 135-210.

Liddington, J. (1984) The Life and Times of a Respectable Rebel: Selina Cooper (1864-1946), London: Virago Press.

Lister, I. (1973) "Towards pedagogy of the oppressed", Times Higher Education Supplement, 13 July 1973, 13-14.

Lister, I. (1974) "The Limitations of Paulo Freire: education for critical consciousness" (unpublished).

Lloyd, A.S. (1972) "Freire, Conscientization and Adult Education", Adult Education, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, 3-20.

Lockwood, D. (1964) "Social Integration and System Integration" in Zollschan, G.G.K. and Hirsch, W. (eds.) Exploration in Social Change, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 244-56.

London, J. (1973) "Reflections upon the Relevance of Paulo Freire for American Adult Education", Convergence, Vol. 6, No. 1, 48-60.



- Lovell, D. (1974) "Paulo Freire at Belgrave", Dialogue, Vol.8, No. 2.
- Lovett, T. (1978) "The Challenge of Community Education in Social and Political Change", Convergence, Vol. XI, No. 1, 42-51.
- Lovett, T. (1982) Adult Education, Community Development and the Working Class, Nottingham: Department of Adult Education, University of Nottingham, 2nd edition.
- Lovett, T. (ed.) (1988) Radical Approaches to Adult Education: A Reader, (Radical Forum on Adult Education), London: Routledge.
- Lovett, T. (1988) "Community Education and Community Action", in Lovett, T. (ed.) Radical Approaches to Adult Education: A Reader, (Radical Forum on Adult Education), London: Routledge, 141-63.
- Lovett, T., Clarke, C., and Kilmurray, A. (1983) Adult Education and Community Action Adult Education and Popular Social Movements, (Radical Forum on Adult Education), London: Croom Helm.
- Lovett, W. and Collins, J., (1841) "Chartism; A New Organisation of the People". Abridged version reprinted in Simon, B. (ed.) (1972) The Radical Tradition in Education in Britain, London: Lawrence and Wishart and Berlin: Seven Seas Books, 225-86.
- Lukacs, G. (1971) History and Class Consciousness: studies in Marxist dialectics. Translated from the German by Rodney Livingstone. London: Merlin Press.
- Lukacs, G. (1972) Lenin: A Study on the Unity of his Thought.

Translated from the German by Nicholas Jacobs. London: New Left Books.

McIlroy, J.A. (1980) "Education for the Labour Movement: United Kingdom Experience Past and Present", Labour Studies Journal, Vol. 4, No. 3, Winter 1980, 198-213.

McIlroy, J.A. (1985) "Adult Education and the Role of the Client: the TUC Education Scheme 1929-1980", Studies in the Education of Adults, Vol. 17, No. 1, 33-58.

McIlroy, J. (1990) "The demise of the National Council of Labour Colleges" and "The Triumph of Technical Training?" in Simon, B. (ed.) The Search for Enlightenment: the Working Class and Adult Education in the Twentieth Century, London: Lawrence and Wishart, 173-243.

McIlroy, J. (1990) "Trade Union Education for a Change" in Simon, B. (ed.) The Search for Enlightenment: the Working Class and Adult Education in the Twentieth Century, London: Lawrence and Wishart, 244-75.

Macintyre, S. (1986) A Proletarian Science: Marxism in Britain 1917-1933, London: Lawrence and Wishart.

McKeon, M. (1990) "Winding Up the Liberal Debate", Adults Learning, Leicester: National Institute of Adult Continuing Education, Vol. 2, No. 3, November 1990, 83.

Mackie, R. (1977) "Freire, revolution and education", in Radical Education Dossier, No. 2, March 1977.

Mackie, R. (ed.) (1980) Literacy and Revolution: the Pedagogy of Paulo Freire, London: Pluto Press.

- Mackie, R. (1980) "Contributions to the Thought of Paulo Freire" in Mackie, R. (ed.) Literacy and Revolution: the Pedagogy of Paulo Freire, London: Pluto Press, 93-119.
- McLellan, D. (ed.) (1977) Karl Marx: Selected Writings, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- McLellan, D. (1986) Ideology, Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Maclure, J. S. (1979) Educational Documents England and Wales: 1816 to the present day, London: Methuen.
- Mace, J. (1979) Working With Words: Literacy Beyond School, London: Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative in association with Chameleon.
- Malraux, A. (1968) Antimemoirs, London: Hamish Hamilton.
- Mansbridge, A. (1906) A Survey of Working-class Educational Movements in England and Scotland, London: Workers' Educational Association.
- Mansbridge, A. (1913) University Tutorial Classes, London: Longmans.
- Mansbridge, A. (1920) An Adventure in Working-Class Education: being the story of the Workers' Educational Association, 1903-1915, London: Workers' Educational Association.
- Mansbridge, A. (1944) The Kingdom of the Mind. Edited by L. Clarke. London: Dent.

- Manzoni, A. (1958) I promessi sposi (The Betrothed), Vol.2 of Tutte le opere di Alessandro Manzoni. Edited by Alberto Chiari and Fausto Ghisalberti, Volume 2. Second Edition (7 volumes), Milano: Mondadori.
- Manzoni, A. (1956) The Betrothed. Translated by Archibald Colquhoun. London: Dent.
- Marriott, J.S. (1983) "Oxford and working-class adult education: a foundation myth re-examined" in History of Education, Vol. 12, No. 4.
- Martin, I. (1986) "Ideology and practice in community education", Community Education Network, CEDC, Vol. 5, No. 2.
- Martin, I. (1987) "Community Education: towards a theoretical analysis" in Allen, G. et al (eds.) Community education: an agenda for educational reform, Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 9-31.
- Marx, K. and Engels, F. (1974) The German Ideology. Edited and introduced by Arthur, C.J.. London: Lawrence and Wishart, Second edition.
- Marx, K. (1970) "Preface to 'A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy'" in Marx, K. and Engels, F. Karl Marx & Frederick Engels Selected Works, London: Lawrence and Wishart, 180-4.
- Mathew, G. (1980) A Day with Paulo Freire.
- Maurice, J.F.D. (1855) Learning and Working, London and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Meacham, S. (1987) Toynbee Hall and Social Reform 1880-1914: the search for community, New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.
- Memmi, A. (1965) The Colonizer and the Colonized. Translated by Howard Greenfield. New York: Orion Press.
- Merton, R.K. (1957) Social Theory and Social Structure, New York: Free Press.
- Midwinter, E. (1984) Mutual Aid Universities, (Radical Forum on Adult Education), London: Croom Helm.
- Millar, J.P.M. (1979) The Labour College Movement, London: NCLC Publishing Society.
- Miller, V. (1985) Between Struggle and Hope: The Nicaraguan Literacy Crusade Boulder, Colorado: Westview.
- Millett, K. (1971) Sexual Politics, London: Hart Davis.
- Molyneux, F., Low, G., Fowler, G. (eds.) (1988) Learning for Life: Politics and Progress in Recurrent Education, (Radical Forum on Adult Education), London: Routledge.
- Mouffe, C. (ed.) (1979) Gramsci and Marxist Theory, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Mouzelis, N. (1988) "Marxism or Post-Marxism?", New Left Review, 167, January-February 1988, 107-23.
- Murphy, J. (1977) "Paulo Freire's programme for adult literacy", The Forum of Education, Vol. 36, No. 3.

- Nasan, D. (1974) "Reconsidering Freire", Liberation, Vol. 18, No. 10.
- National Institute of Adult Education (1970) Adequacy of Provision, Leicester: NIAE.
- Neill, A.S. (1962) Summerhill: A Radical Approach to Education, London: Gollancz.
- Nemeth, T. (1980) Gramsci's Philosophy: A Critical Study, Brighton: Harvester Press.
- Newman, J.H. (1852) "Discourses on University Education", Dublin. Extracted in Sanderson, M. (ed.) (1975) The Universities in the Nineteenth Century, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 122-25.
- Nield, K., and Seed, J. (1981) "Waiting for Gramsci" in Social History, Vol. 6, No. 2, May 1981, Hull: Department of Economic and Social History, University of Hull, 209-29.
- Noble, P. (1983) Formation of Freirean Facilitators, Chicago: Latino Institute.
- Norman, E. (1978) "Totalitarianism in the Making", Times Educational Supplement, 24 November 1978, 2.
- O'Gorman, F. (1978) "Conscientization - Whose Initiative Should It Be?" Convergence, Vol. XI, No. 1, 52-58.
- Owen, R.D. (1972) "A New View of Society" Third Essay (1814) reprinted in Simon, B. (ed.) The Radical Tradition in Education in Britain, London: Lawrence and Wishart and

Berlin: Seven Seas Books, 139-176.

Paine, T. (1969) Rights of Man first published 1791-2. Edited by Henry Collins. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Paterson R.W.K. (1979) Values, Education and the Adult, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Paulston, R.G., and Altenbaugh, R.J., (1988) "Adult Education in Radical US Social and Ethnic Movements: From Case Studies to Typology to Explanation" in Lovett, T. (ed.) (1988) Radical Approaches to Adult Education: A Reader, (Radical Forum on Adult Education), London: Routledge, 114-37.

Peers, R. (1972) Adult Education A Comparative Study, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Third edition.

Pelling, H. (1976) A Short History of the Labour Party, London: Macmillan, Fifth edition.

Petrovic, G. (1967) Marx in the Mid-Twentieth Century, New York: Doubleday.

Phillips, A. and Putnam, T. (1980) "Education for Emancipation: the Movement for Independent Working Class Education 1908-1928", in Capital and Class 10, Spring 1980, 18-42.

Piccone, P. (1983) Italian Marxism University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

Plamenatz, J.V. (1970) Ideology, London: Pall Mall Press.

Popper, K. (1962) The Open Society and Its Enemies, 2 Vols., London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Raven, C.E. (1920) Christian Socialism, 1848-1854, London: Macmillan.

Raybould, S.G. (1951) The English Universities and Adult Education, London: Workers' Educational Association.

Raybould, S.G. (1959) Trends in English Adult Education, London: Heinemann.

Raybould, S.G. (1964) University Extramural Education in England 1945-62: A Study in Finance and Policy, London: Michael Joseph.

Rée, J. (1984) Proletarian Philosophers, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Rée, J. (1987) "Socialism and the Educated Working Class" in Levy, C. (ed.) Socialism and the Intelligentsia 1880-1914, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 211-218.

Reimer, E. (1971) School is Dead, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Retamal, G. (1981) Paulo Freire, Christian Ideology and Adult Education in Latin America, Hull: University of Hull Department of Adult Education Newland Papers No. 5.

Reynolds, J. and Skilbeck, M. (1976) Culture and the Classroom, London: Macmillan.

Riesman, D. (1953) The Lonely Crowd, New York: Yale University



Press.

- Robertson, D. (1986) The Penguin Dictionary of Politics, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Roderick, G.W. and Stephens, M.D. (1972) Scientific and Technical Education in Nineteenth Century England, Newton Abbot: David and Charles.
- Rogers, A. (ed.) (1976) The Spirit and the Form, (Nottingham Studies in the Theory and Practice of the Education of Adults), Nottingham: Department of Adult Education, University of Nottingham.
- Rowbotham, S. (1981) "Travellers in a Strange Country: responses of working class students to the University Extension Movement 1873-1910", History Workshop Journal, No.12, Autumn 1981, London, 62-95.
- Rowntree, J.W. and Binns, H.B. (1985) A History of the Adult School Movement, (Nottingham Studies in the Theory and Practice of the Education of Adults), Nottingham: Department of Adult Education, University of Nottingham, (first published 1903).
- Ruddock, R. (1984) Contemporary Political Perspectives: Some Implications for Education, Occasional Paper No.9, Manchester: The Centre for Adult and Higher Education, University of Manchester.
- Salamini L. (1981) The Sociology of Political Praxis, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Sanders, T.G. (1973) "The Paulo Freire Method Literacy Training and Conscientization", Dialogue, Vol. 7, No. 1.

- Sanders, T.G. (1974) "Paulo Freire: his method" in Cold Comfort, Vol. 3, No. 1.
- Sanders, T.G. (1975) "The Freire Method" in Indian Journal of Adult Education, Vol. 36, No. 6, January 1975, 17-18.
- Sanderson M. (ed.) (1975) The Universities in the Nineteenth Century, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Sartre, J.P. (1968) Search for a Method, New York: Vintage Books.
- Sartre, J.P. (1974) Between Existentialism and Marxism, London: New Left Books.
- Sarup, M. (1978) Marxism and Education, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Sarup, M. (1983) Marxism/Structuralism/Education: Theoretical Developments in the Sociology of Education, London: Falmer Press.
- Schipani, D.S. (1981) Conscientization and creativity: a reinterpretation of Paulo Freire, focussed on his epistemological and theological foundations with implications for Christian education theory, Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, VIII.
- Scruton, R. (1983) A Dictionary of Political Thought, London: Pan Books.
- Selleck, R.J. (1972) "Paulo Freire and manipulation" in Dialogue, Vol. 6, No. 3.

- Senior, B. and Naylor, J. (1987) Educational Responses to Adult Employment (Radical Forum on Adult Education), London: Routledge.
- Sharp, R. (1980) Knowledge, Ideology and the Politics of Schooling: Towards a Marxist Analysis of Education, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Shaw, R. (1971) "Universities and the WEA: myths and reality", Adult Education, Vol. 44, No. 1, 7-13.
- Shor, I. (1980) Critical Teaching and Everyday Life, Boston, Mass.: South End Press.
- Shor, I. (1987) Freire for the classroom: a sourcebook for liberatory teaching, Portsmouth, New Hampshire: Boynton/Cook.
- Showstack Sassoon, A. (1982) Approaches to Gramsci, London: Writers and Readers.
- Silver, H. (1975) English Education and the Radicals 1780-1850, (Students Library of Education), London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Simon, B. (1965) Education and the Labour Movement 1870-1920, (Studies in the History of Education), London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Simon, B. (ed.) (1972) The Radical Tradition in Education in Britain, London: Lawrence and Wishart and Berlin: Seven Seas Books.

- Simon, B. (1974) The Politics of Educational Reform 1920-1940, (Studies in the History of Education), London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Simon, B. (1976) The Two Nations and the Educational Structure 1780-1870, (Studies in the History of Education), London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Simon, B. (ed.) (1990) The Search for Enlightenment: the Working Class and Adult Education in the Twentieth Century, London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Simon, B. (1990) "The Struggle for Hegemony, 1920-1926" in Simon, B. (ed.) (1990) The Search for Enlightenment: the Working Class and Adult Education in the Twentieth Century, London: Lawrence and Wishart, 15-70.
- Simon, R. (1982) Gramsci's Political Thought, London: Lawrence and Wishart London.
- Smelser, N.J. (1962) Theory of Collective Behaviour, New York: Routledge.
- Smith, A. (1776) "An Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations". Reprinted in Eccleshall, R. (1986) British Liberalism: Liberal Thought from the 1640s to 1980s, London: Longman.
- Smith, H. (1956) Labour and Learning: Albert Mansbridge, Oxford and the W.E.A., Oxford: Blackwell.
- Smith, W.A. (1976) The meaning of conscientization - the goal of Paulo Freire's pedagogy, Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts School of Education, Center for International Education.

- Spencer, B. (ed.) (1986) Adult Education with the Unemployed, Leeds: Department of Adult and Continuing Education, University of Leeds.
- Spring, J. (1975) A Primer of Libertarian Education, New York: Free Life Editions.
- Stanley, M. (1973) "Literacy: the crisis of a conventional wisdom", Convergence, Vol. 6, No. 1.
- Stephens, M.D. (n.d.) "The Ashby Report" in The Ashby Report (1954), Nottingham: Department of Adult Education, University of Nottingham, 6-11.
- Stocks, M.D. (1953) The Workers' Educational Association - The First Fifty Years, London: Allen and Unwin.
- Street, B. (n.d.) "Literacy and Ideology" in Red Letters, London, Vol. 12, (c.1981).
- Street, B. (1983) "Literacy Campaigns in U.K." Literature, Teaching Politics, Brighton: University of Sussex, Vol. 2.
- Street, B. (1984) Literacy Theory and Practice, (Cambridge Studies in Oral and Literate Culture), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Street, Brian (1991) "Misreading the Signs" Times Higher Education Supplement 25 January 1991.
- Styler, W.E. (1984) Adult Education and Political Systems, Nottingham: Department of Adult Education, University of Nottingham.

- Styler, W.E. (1987) "The Report in Retrospect" in Harrop, S. (ed.) Oxford and Working Class Education, Nottingham: Department of Adult Education, University of Nottingham, 48-64.
- Tawney, R.H. (1953) "The Workers' Educational Association and Adult Education", in Hinden, R. (ed.) (1966) The Radical Tradition: Twelve Essays on Politics, Education and Literature by R.H.Tawney, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 86-97.
- Taylor, B. (1983) Eve and the New Jerusalem: Socialism and Feminism in the Nineteenth Century, London: Virago.
- Taylor, J. (1980) "The Making of the Report" in The 1919 Report, 27-36.
- Taylor, J. (1983) "Continuing Education: from Policies to Practice some implications for the education of adults", Adult Education, Vol. 56, No. 2, Leicester: National Institute of Adult Education, September 1983, 105-7.
- Taylor, R. (1984) "Current Developments in Peace Studies in Adult Continuing Education" Adult Education, Vol. 57, No. 1, 17-22.
- Taylor, R. (1986) "Problems of Inequality: the Nature of Adult Education in Britain" in Ward, K. and Taylor, R. Adult Education and the Working Class Education for the Missing Millions, (Radical Forum on Adult Education), London: Croom Helm.
- Taylor, R. (1990) "University Liberal Adult Education A 'Great Tradition'?", Adults Learning, Leicester: National Institute of Adult Continuing Education, Vol. 1, No. 9, May 1990, 243-5.

- Taylor, R., and Ward, K. (1988) "Adult Education with Unemployed People" in Lovett, T. (ed.) Radical Approaches to Adult Education: A Reader, (Radical Forum on Adult Education), London: Routledge, 242-262.
- Taylor, R., Rockhill, K., and Fieldhouse, R. (1985) University Adult Education in England and the USA, (Radical Forum on Adult Education), London: Croom Helm.
- Tawney, R.H. "An Experiment in Democratic Education" in Hinden, R. (ed.) (1966) The Radical Tradition: Twelve Essays on Politics, Education and Literature by R.H.Tawney, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 74-85.
- Terrill, R. (1974) R.H. Tawney and His Times: Socialism as Fellowship, London: Deutsch.
- Thomas, J.E. (1982) Radical Adult Education: Theory and Practice, Nottingham: Department of Adult Education, University of Nottingham.
- Thomas, J.E. and Harries-Jenkins, G. (1975) "Adult Education and Social Change", Studies in Adult Education, 7.
- Thompson, E.P. (1950) "Against University Standards", Adult Education Papers, Vol. 1, No. 4, Leeds: University of Leeds Department of Extra-Mural Studies, July 1950, 17-20.
- Thompson, E.P. (1968) The Making of the English Working Class, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Thompson, J.L. (ed.) (1980) Adult Education For A Change, London: Hutchinson.

Thompson, J.L. (1980) "Adult Education and the Disadvantaged", in Thompson, J.L. (ed.) Adult Education For A Change, London: Hutchinson, 83-108.

Thompson, J.L. (1983) Learning Liberation - Women's Response to Men's Education, (Radical Forum on Adult Education), London: Croom Helm.

Thompson, J.L. (1987) "The Cost and Value of Higher Education to Working-Class Women", in Harrop, S. (ed.) Oxford and Working Class Education, Nottingham: Department of Adult Education, University of Nottingham, 65-78.

Thompson, J.L. (1988) "Adult Education and the Women's Movement", in Lovett, T. (ed.) (1988) Radical Approaches to Adult Education: A Reader, (Radical Forum on Adult Education), London: Routledge, 181-201.

Thornton, A.H. and Stephens, M.D. (1977) (eds.) The University in its Region: the Extra-mural Contribution, Nottingham: Department of Adult Education, University of Nottingham.

Tight, M. (ed.) (1983) Education for Adults Vol. 1: Adult Learning and Education. London: Croom Helm in association with The Open University

Tight, M. (ed.) (1983) Education for Adults. Vol. 2: Opportunities for Adult Education, London: Croom Helm in association with The Open University.

Times Literary Supplement "Marxism and Culture in Italy" 28.8.48, 492, and "More about Gramsci" 5.12.52, 796.

Tomlin, A. (ed.) (n.d.) The Numbers Game - Issues in Adult Numeracy Work, Hammersmith and Fulham Council for Racial Equality (c.1985).



- Torres, C.A. (1982) "From 'Pedagogy of the Oppressed' to 'A Luta Continua'". An essay on the political pedagogy of Paulo Freire", Education with Production, Gabarone Foundation for Education with Production, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1982, 79-96.
- Tough, A. (1983) "Self-planned Learning and Major Personal Change" in Tight, M. (ed.) Education for Adults, Vol. 1: Adult Learning and Education. London: Croom Helm in association with The Open University, 141-52.
- Turner, H.A. (1951) "The N.C.L.C., the W.E.A. and the Unions" in Plebs, Vol. XLIII, 271-6, and (1952), Vol. XLIV. 16-20.
- UDACE (1988) Adults and the Act. The Education Reform Act 1988 and Adult Learners, Leicester: UDACE.
- UNESCO (1975) Final Report for International Symposium for Literacy, Persepolis, Iran.
- Veliz, C. (ed.) (1967) The Politics of Conformity in Latin America, Royal Institute of International Affairs, London: Oxford University Press.
- Viscusi, M. (1971) Literacy for Working: Functional Literacy in Tanzania UNESCO.
- Walker, J. (1980) "The End of Dialogue: Paulo Freire on Politics and Education" in Mackie, R. (ed.) Literacy and Revolution: the Pedagogy of Paulo Freire, London: Pluto Press, 120-50.
- Walker, P. (ed.) (1979) Between Labour and Capital, Sussex: Harvester Press.

Waller, R.D. (1956) A Design for Democracy: an abridgement of a report of the Adult Education Committee of the British Ministry of Reconstruction commonly called "The 1919 Report". Introduction by Professor R.D. Waller, Leicester, National Institute of Adult Education.

Ward, K. (1983) "A university adult education project with the unemployed", Studies in Adult Education, Vol. 15, 27-35.

Ward, K. and Taylor, R. (1986) Adult Education and the Working Class: Education for the Missing Millions, (Radical Forum on Adult Education), London: Croom Helm.

Westwood, S. (1988) "Domesticity and its Discontents: Feminism and Adult Education in Past Time (1870-1920)", in Lovett, T. (ed.) Radical Approaches to Adult Education: A Reader (Radical Forum on Adult Education), London: Routledge, 59-84.

Westwood, S. (1980) "Adult Education and the Sociology of Education" in Thompson, J. L. (ed.) Adult Education For A Change, London: Hutchinson, 31-44.

Westwood, S. (1990) "Adult Education and 'New Times'" in Towards 1992: Education of Adults in the New Europe Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Conference SCUTREA University of Sheffield, 14-19.

Whitaker, S. (1984) "Extra-mural student: a survey", Adult Education, Vol. 57, No. 3, 220-7.

Whitty G. and Young, M. (eds.) (1976) Explorations in the Politics of School Knowledge, Nafferton: Nafferton Books.

Wilcock, J. (1974) "Adult education in the universities - one

man's view" Adult Education, Vol. 47, No. 1, 17-21.

Williams, G.A. (1960) "Gramsci's Concept of Egemonia", Journal of the History of Ideas, Vol. XXI, No. 4, Oct.-Dec. 1960, 586-99.

Williams, G.A. (1975) Proletarian Order: Antonio Gramsci, Factory Councils and the Origins of Communism in Italy 1911-21, London: Pluto Press.

Williams, R. (1961) The Long Revolution, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Williams, R. (1973) "Base and Superstructure in Marxist Theory", New Left Review, 82, December 1973, 3-16.

Williams, R. (1976) Keywords A Vocabulary of Culture and Society, London: Fontana/Croom Helm.

Williams R. (1983) Adult Education and Social Change, Tony MacLean Memorial Lecture, WEA South Eastern District.

Williams, R. (1990) Culture and Society, London: Hogarth Press, first published Chatto and Windus.

Willis, K. (1977) "The Introduction and Critical Reception of Marxist Thought in Britain 1850-1900", Historical Journal, Vol. 20, No. 2, 417-59.

Willis, P.E. (1977) Learning to Labour: how working class kids get working class jobs, Farnborough: Saxon House.

Wilson, J. Dover (ed.) (1932) Culture and Anarchy, Cambridge

University Press.

Wiltshire, H. (1976) "Second Thoughts on Continuing Education", in Rogers, A. (ed.) The Spirit and the Form, (Nottingham Studies in the Theory and Practice of the Education of Adults, Nottingham: Department of Adult Education, University of Nottingham), 132-135.

Wiltshire, H. (1976) "The Great Tradition in University Adult Education", in Rogers, A. (ed.) The Spirit and the Form, (Nottingham Studies in the Theory and Practice of the Education of Adults), Nottingham: Department of Adult Education, University of Nottingham, 31-38.

Wiltshire, H. (1980) "A General Introduction to the Report" in The 1919 Report, 5-23.

Wiltshire, H. (1983) "The role of the university adult education department" Studies in Adult Education, Vol. 15, 3-10.

Wollstonecraft, M. (1792) A Vindication of the Rights of Woman, Joseph Johnson, London. Reprinted and edited by Miriam Kramnick (Brody) (1978), Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Workers' Educational Association (1966) Unfinished Business, London: WEA.

Workers' Educational Association (1975) Constitution and Standing Orders, London: WEA.

Workers' Educational Association (1981) The WEA Education Year Book 1918 Reprinted and with Introductory Essays by H.D. Hughes and G.F. Brown, (Nottingham Studies in the Theory and Practice of the Education of Adults, Nottingham: Department of Adult Education, University of Nottingham).

- WPCS (1977) On Ideology, Working Papers in Cultural Studies 10, Birmingham: Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham.
- Wright, C. and Wright, J. (1973) "Paulo Freire - Report of a personal encounter" in Dialogue, Vol. 7, No. 1.
- Wright, C. (1974) "Paulo Freire - What is the importance of his pedagogy for Australia" Cold Comfort, Vol. 3, No. 1, April 1974.
- Wynia, G.W. (1990) The Politics of Latin American Development, Cambridge: University Press. Third Edition.
- Yarnit, M. (1980) "Second Chance to Learn", in Thompson, J.L. (ed.) Adult Education For A Change, London: Hutchinson, 174-191.
- Yeaxlee, B.A. (1925) Spiritual Values in Adult Education, (2 volumes), Oxford University Press.
- Yeaxlee, B.A. (1929) Lifelong Education, London: Cassell.
- Yeo, S. (1987) "Notes on three socialisms - collectivism, statism and associationism - mainly in late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Britain" in Levy, C. (ed.) Socialism and the Intelligentsia 1880-1914, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 219-270.
- Yorke, P. (1977) Education and the Working Class: Ruskin College 1889-1909, Oxford: Ruskin College.
- Young, M.F.D., (ed.) (1971) Knowledge and Control: New

Directions for the Sociology of Education, West Drayton: Collier Macmillan.

Young, M.F.D. (1971) "An Approach to the Study of Curricula as Socially Organised Knowledge", in Young, M.F.D., (ed.) Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education, West Drayton: Collier Macmillan, 19-46.

Young, M. and Whitty G. (eds.) (1977) Society, State and Schooling, Ringmer, Falmer Press.

Youngman, F. (1986) Adult Education and Socialist Pedagogy, (Radical Forum on Adult Education), Beckenham: Croom Helm.

Zollschan, G.G.K. and Hirsch, W. (eds.) (1964) Exploration in Social Change, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Zukas, M. (ed.) (1988) Transatlantic Dialogues, Leeds: School of Continuing Education, University of Leeds.