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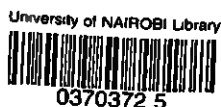
**MARXIST THEORY OF EDUCATION AND ITS
PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS**

BY

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**A PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF
EDUCATION IN EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS
(PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION).**



DECLARATION

This project is my original work and has not been submitted for the award of a degree in any other university

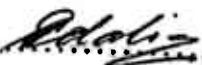


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DEDICATION

**This study is dedicated to my beloved family members and friends
who believe in me.**

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May His Name be held High.

ABSTRACT

This study has as its express purpose shedding light on an important issue of educational concern. The issue is Marxist theory of education. Our interest will mainly be focused on a philosophical search that exposes Marxism and its pedagogical implications in the educational arena. The position we adopt at the onset hold that every theory of education is intended to create a critical consciousness on the individuals, change them with new information and perspectives and increase their capacity to transform and increase their capacity to transform their lives, environment, community and society.

In this study, we adopt Paulo Freire,s concept of education and his contribution on critical consciousness. His definition hold that, education is the intersubjective process of becoming entirely aware of ones' reality in a manner that leads to effective action in a manner that leads to effective action upon it. This adoption serves as the springboard on Marxist view of education, that is, formation of critical mind which leads to action.

In practical terms, the widely- read works of Freire are basically the epistemology of the early Marx writ large and translated in pedagogical practice. In theoretical terms, an epistemology is required in order to ground and criticize much of the current radical critique of schooling.

Marxist approach to education, is broadly constructivist and emphasizes activity, collaboration and critique, rather than passive absorption of knowledge and conformism.

It is a student – centred rather than teacher- centred, but recognizes that education cannot transcend the problems and capabilities of the society in which it is treated.

Thus, Freire's conception allows us to assert that education should be seen primarily, as a humanizing enterprise in which both student and teacher occur as subjects. Granted such a view, we can rightly assert that Marxist theory of education concerns itself with how things could, might and should happen in schools vis – a – vis curricula, relationship with the community and the teacher – pupil relationship. Marxism in its theory of education claims to blend theory and practice and seeks to create need for rational activity and a sense of social responsibility needed for a humane existence. It arises from the conception of the human being as a natural person, whose social nature is determined by the means and modes of economic production. Marx envisioned schooling as consisting of both intellectual and physical development, as well as technological training which was to introduce human persons to the productive process.

The third chapter attempts to look at Marxist educational ideas. Marxism is one of the most controversial thought among the philosophies of education. It developed from other philosophical outlooks which preceded it. Marxism helped launch some of the most far-reaching social and political revolutions in the twentieth century. The origins of Marxism indeed explains its philosophy of education. Although Marx did not write extensively about education, his educational ideas coupled with his general theory greatly influenced other philosophers and educators who gave education a Marxian interpretation.

Chapter Four deals with modern Marxist perspective on education. Here, Marxism is viewed as presenting critical perspectives on capitalism, and the ways that economic

imperatives shape institutions like schooling to correspond to the interests of the ruling class.

In Chapter Five, the implications of Marxist thought on education are expounded with an emphasis on the role of education in society. The role of Marxist educational principles in adult education is given preference, since Marxist educators are particularly concerned with organizing and teaching courses and programmes for working class and other disadvantaged groups in the society.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Marxist theory of education is in the first instance a theory of history, structure, content and functioning of compulsory state schooling. It is a theory about schools and their function in society.

In the second instance, it addresses specific features of schooling, that is, curricula, learning arrangements, authority patterns incorporating Marxist sociology, psychology and history. Marxist theory of education concerns itself with how things could, might and should happen in schools vis- a-vis curricula, relationship with the community and the teacher-pupil relationship.

Marxist approach to education is broadly constructivist and emphasizes activity, collaboration and critique, rather than passive absorption of knowledge, emulation of elders and conformism. It is student- centered rather than teacher- centered, but recognizes that education cannot transcend the problems and capabilities of the society in which it is located.

Nyirenda and Ishumi (2002: 124) state that any educational theory should aim at giving freedom to the individual and society through the conscientization process, that is, education should be a problem posting enterprise pursued in a common search for solutions to problems surrounding both the teacher and the learner whereby all participants are presumed to be creative, with the capacity to contribute towards solving problems and enhancing their environment.

Marxism has had a major impact on the world and its education, but this impact, like the philosophy itself is subject to a variety of interpretations.

Karl Marx (1818- 1883) did not write extensively about education, but his educational ideas coupled with his general theory greatly influenced subsequent Marxist philosophers and educators.

The position taken here implies that to understand Marxist significance to philosophy of education, there must be a recognition not only of Marx's original works, but also of divergent interpretation that may be at odds on key points.

Ozmon and Craver (1986:279) hold that Marxism in its educational theory claims to blend theory and practice and seek to create awareness among the learner about the crucial need for rational activity, and a sense of social responsibility needed for a humane existence.

Marxism has been a major advocate of making resources available for everyone and public education is one of the social goods. It is perhaps one of the most controversial thought among all the modern philosophies and this is due to a number of reasons.

Marx's ideas launched some of the most far-reaching social and political revolutions in the 20th century.

Ozmon and Craver (1986:260) argue that a further complication is the confusing assortment of Marxist doctrines that have developed, such as, structural phenomenological, feminist Marxism and several other varieties. In spite of diversity, there are some basic divisions of Marxist thought that can be focused upon and that which provide insights into Marxist educational principles.

These include the original works of Marx, the theory of Marxism – Leninism and western Marxism or what is also referred to as the critical theory.

Mathews (1980:3) states that Karl Marx in his early writings saw clearly that human practice had to be a key element in any theory of human knowledge. Contrary to rationalists, Marx saw practice and experimentation as the prerequisites of knowledge. According to him, there are no essences of things which are discoverable by process of intellectual abstraction.

Marx was not a systematic philosopher of knowledge and his writings on education per se are scant and dispersed across a number of works. He was involved in creating knowledge and incidentally in providing intimations of a theory of knowledge. His works contains the outlines of an epistemological research programme which has been subsequently developed, that is, a development contributed to by sources outside Marxism .

Marxist epistemology is of great importance to education. In practical terms, the widely-read works of Paulo Freire are basically the epistemology of the early Marx writ large and translated in pedagogical practice (Mathews 1980:78).

In theoretical terms, an epistemology is required in order to ground and criticize much of the current radical critiques of schooling.

The proposed study intends to adopt Paulo Freire's concept of education and his contribution on critical consciousness. Freire's epistemology is central to all his writings and it is the most "worked out" and elaborated part of his educational and social theory .

According to Freire, knowledge is derived from experience and is gained and tested in practice, in the active engagement of human subjects in the transformation of the natural and social world.

Mathews (1980: 89) argue that Freire uses the same term which both Aristotle and Marx use to denote the essential unity between action and reflection in the process of knowledge acquisition – praxis. Freire’s epistemology is basically that of the young Marx and indeed it can be boiled down to Marx famous 1845 theses on Feuerbach.

Paulo Freire has made one of the most significant contributions in recent decades. Features of his epistemological landscape are realism, subjectivism, abstraction, codification, causality, holism and social dimension. These features can be substantiated by seeing Freire in the context of a Marxist theory of knowledge (Mathews 1980:97).

The term education has been defined by different authorities.

Nyirenda and Ishumi (2002 :14) holds that education has its roots in three Latin words : *Educatum* (which means to train or at of teaching), *Educere* (which means to ‘lead out’), and *Educare* (which means to ‘bring up’).

Etymologically, education would thus refer to ‘drawing out’ the inborn tendencies, qualities and powers, and developing them to the full.

Primarily, education is an intentional and purposive activity; it is a human activity which is deliberately organized with spelt out goals. By its very nature, education is an encounter of persons, that is, what Freire has called dialogue.

Freire’s definition of education which we consider to be adequate for the purpose of this study hold that “education is the inter- subjective process of becoming entirely aware of

one's reality in a manner that leads to effective action upon it" (Njoroge and Bennaars 1986:243).

This adoption serves as the springboard on Marxist view of education, that is, formation of a critical mind which leads to action – praxis.

When one talks of education as an inter- subjective process, one elevates the humanizing aspect of education above essentially utilitarian ends. Humanization needs to be the fundamental concern of education although "... both humanization and dehumanization are possibilities for man as an uncompleted being conscious of his incompleteness ... only the first is man's vocation" Freire (1985 : 20).

The inter-subjective process referred to here as education points to the teacher and the learner as subject engaged in dialogue. Dialogue is the tool of awakening awareness and the learner is led to critical awareness of his human reality.

Freire equates awareness with consciousness and he argues that:

Critical consciousness is integrated with reality, naïve consciousness superimposed itself upon reality and fanatical consciousness whose pathological naivette leads to irrational, adopts to reality.

(Freire 1985:44).

Freire attempts to draw our attention to the fact that critical consciousness is integrated with reality, perceives that reality as dynamic and transformable. According to him, man should be seen as a whole since we cannot dichotomize his understanding from his action. Hence, education should be seen to promote understanding by creating critical awareness through dialogue.

Marx maintained that material conditions exert the primary influence on humanity and its institutions. According to him, circumstances are changed only by human thought and practical action and not by passive contemplation. This position is somewhat similar to the pragmatic view of unity of thought and action.

The proposed study will dwell on Marxist educational theory from a normative perspective where we will inevitably make certain value judgments, that is, providing a standard upon which a truly human education should be based which will lead to awakening awareness. The domain of value judgments is to make assertions about what is proper and hence desirable.

When we speak of critical consciousness as an objective in education, we take critical consciousness as the end – in – view to motivate and provide direction for the purpose of education.

1.1 MARXISM: A BRIEF DESCRIPTIVE SURVEY

In this section, the proposed study aims to present a brief descriptive survey on how Marxism as a modern philosophy of education sheds light on the formation of critical consciousness.

McBride (1977 ; 19) states that Karl Marx was most interested in theories of society and social philosophies not so much for their own sakes, but for the light that they might shed on the possibility of changing the quality of day to day social life.

From Marx's own direct experience, apart from all theorizing, he found social life in the western Europe of his day to be radically unsatisfactory driven by extreme inequalities in

wealth, and hence in the capacities of individuals to meet their own needs, material and intellectual. This experience, in combination with the accidents of his educational background and evolution, led him to produce across several decades and through the career uncertainties and intellectual ambiguities the body of thought referred to as Marxism.

Marx invites us to look hard at economic determinations of society for therein, he is convinced and is prepared to argue the best path to enlightenment, that is, critical consciousness.

Marxism is a philosophy that addresses questions of politics, economy and history of society. It is best known for its economic theory, but Marx had began by first developing his theory of history and only later highlighted that capitalism had Within itself the seed of its own destruction.

Nyirenda and Ishumi (2002:30) argue that the ideas and questions raised by Marx also provide an insight into the human situation particularly under the conditions of industrial society and into the prospects of improving man's welfare in the modern world.

Marxism rejects speculative philosophies of idealism and realism because like religion, they contribute to false consciousness of the subordinate class.

It adapts a materialistic view of reality and a result holds that change is an inherent feature of reality.

Barbet (1990:31) states that according to Marx genuine education was one that exposed and eradicated "false consciousness" from the minds of the subordinate classes in the society. Marxist educational theory arises from the conception of the human being as a

natural person whose social nature is determined by the means and modes of economic production.

Marx envisioned schooling as consisting of both intellectual and physical development, as well as technological training which was to introduce the young to the productive process. Industrial or polytechnic education was to be a means of reducing the alienation of workers from their labour and its product. It was to be a generalized industrial operation that by combining theory and practice, prepared by a person to perform a variety of works and to understand the meaning of economically produced social change. Marxism holds that social change must necessarily be directed at the material basis of society, rather than at the super-structural realm in which the ideological phantoms of the mind and the ruling classes ideas dominate.

Marx's conception of ideology was derived from his historical analysis of class society. According to him, consciousness was at first interwoven with the material basis of society.

Ozmon and Craver (1986:280) expounding on Marx conception of consciousness argues that:

Consciousness is at first, of course merely consciousness concerning the immediate sensuous environment and consciousness of the limited connection with other persons and things outside the individual who is growing to self-conscious.

Marx held that due to the development of production and the increase in population, there also developed a division of labour. As a result from the further development of the division of labour, there arose a separation between material and mental labour. Marx had

in mind a specific set of historical circumstances which gave rise to the division of labour, the separation of mental and material labour and the development of ideology. He used these concepts as descriptive categories of the historical analysis of class society. Marx distinguished between the materialist conception of history or real knowledge and science, and the previous abstract, ideological forms of thought. In his view, not all knowledge even in class society was necessarily ideological. The ruling ideas may well be those of the ruling class, but it is precisely these abstract constructs, which attempt to hide the relations between people and their activity, against which real knowledge and science is directed.

According to Marx, real knowledge is based upon and proven in practice. He advocated for revolutionary practice as the solution to the problem of education and the changing circumstances, that is, ideology and ruling class ideas are both overthrown when education is revolutionary.

Marx believed that science at first developing within capitalist production and furthering human alienation strives in a dialectical movement toward a unity of natural science and human science.

Mazlish (1984:117) observes that Marx's real insight was embodied in the materialist or economic interpretation of history, spelled out in the early works such as the German Ideology. This serves as the mainspring of his greatness. Its perception was only made feasible by the events of the industrial revolution.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

In section 1.0, we hinted that our task will be centered on the exposition of Marxist educational theory and how it contributes to the formation of critical consciousness which leads to critical action or praxis.

Marxism in its educational theory claims to blend theory and practice and seeks to create need for rational activity, and a sense of social responsibility needed for a humane existence. This study hopes to shed light on how Marxist theory of education creates a sense of responsibility upon the learner other modern philosophies of education.

Ozmon and Craver (1986:269) argue that any theory of education should aim at giving freedom to the individual and society through the conscientization process.

In the light of this argument, this study intends to show how Marxist theory of education enables the learners to be creative and contribute towards solving problems and enhancing their environment.

Nyirenda and Ishumi (2002:133) hold that every educational theory is intended to create a critical consciousness on the individuals, change them with new information and perspectives and increase their capacity to transform their lives, environment, community and society. This study will attempt to expose how Marxist theory education helps in making learners conscious of their being and their participation in the growth of the wider society.

Marxist educational theory arises from the conception of the human being as a natural person, whose social nature is determined by the means and modes of economic production. Marx envisioned schooling as consisting of both intellectual and physical development, as well as technological training which was to introduce the young to the productive process.

Thus, this study attempts to expound on the conception that Marxism is one of the most controversial thought among the modern philosophies of education. Marx's ideas helped to launch some of the far-reaching social and political revolutions in the twentieth century.

1.3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework of this study is founded on Marx's materialist conception of history, that is, the notion of dialectic between economic conditions and human action. Marxism adopts a materialist view of reality and holds that change is an inherent feature of reality.

Marxism as a philosophy of change has the following proportions; (Nyirenda and Ishumi (2002:30).

Firstly, things are in constant motion or process and change as they move. Marxism defines all things in process terms, that is, moving from one point to another, changing from one state to another.

Secondly, things have to be understood in relation to each other. Therefore, nothing should be seen in isolation from the totality or from its context.

Thirdly, things move and change as a result of inherent contradictory forces within them. These contradictions are not negative to the development process, but are a positive force within it.

Fourthly, things are constantly changing not only quantitatively but also qualitatively. Any change in quantity essentially also results in that of quality.

Marx's dialectical viewpoint included within the sphere of mental production two aspects, namely; the ideological and scientific aspect. Ideological aspect rooted in abstraction while the scientific aspect rooted in the material world. This concept indicates Marx's awareness of the material basis of mental production itself. In real sense, it is only because of the material basis of education that Marx was able to advocate that revolutionary changes are possible through the medium of mental production.

Ozmon and Craver (1986:270) argue that in Marx's conception of science and its material products, and also his view of social relations of mental production, he saw the material aspects of education. This interpretation provides an explanation for Marx's belief that revolutionary activity may take place through mental production.

According to Marx, he argued that if education was only ideological or abstract, there would be no material or practical basis upon which one could direct revolutionary praxis.

A revolutionary educational praxis begins with the changing of the circumstances of education itself, that is; it must begin with a movement to establish the division of labour, at first within the system of education.

Marx argued that education should be classless and freed from all ideological influences including those of the church, state, class and party. He believed that only those subjects which would not differ according to the beliefs, of the instructor such as grammar, physical instruction and technology should be taught to children in public schools.

Marx affirmed that by instituting the curriculum as described and combining education with manual labour, the ruling class hold over education would be abolished.

Thus, education according to Marx is an aspect of material production. The scholar must not simply preach about class consciousness and social change in the classroom. As a

labourer, one must grasp the material conditions directly at hand, that is, those of mental production. As revolutionary scholars, we must evolve a comprehensive strategy aimed at both material production and the production of critical consciousness.

1.4 METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

Being a philosophical research, this study will employ a combination of various philosophical methods, namely; rational (or analytic), critical (or prescriptive) and dialectical approaches.

However due to its concrete and dialectical nature, the study will chiefly be located within the last two approaches, that is, critical and dialectical methods.

CRITICAL METHOD

In its original meaning, the word “critical” implies “judging” having been derived from the Greek verb *Krinein* literally denoting the act of judging.

According to Njoroge and Bennaars (1986:23) this method has been associated with Socrates, an ancient Greek philosopher, hence called Socratic method.

This method lays great emphasis on independent and original thinking that includes but transcends empirical investigation Maritain (1979:88-89).

This approach is adequately expressed by fuller’s definition of philosophy as:

A reflective and reasoned attempt to infer the character and content of the universe taken in its entirety and as a single whole, from an observation and study of the data presented by all its aspects.

Fuller (1955 : 1).

Through the critical approach, the philosopher endeavors to evaluate things in the light of clear and distinct ideas. In this, philosophy seeks to protect man from fanaticism, hypocrisy, intolerance, dogmatism, slogans and ideologies. In short, it aims at liberating man from narrow-mindedness Njoroge and Bennars (1986:23-24).

Thus, the critical method focuses on the need to examine a claim from all possible perspectives, with a view to ascertaining its truth or applicability with the highest degree of objectivity possible within the confines of human finitude and subjectivity.

The philosopher does not criticize for criticism sake since criticism is a positive evaluation of an idea. Criticism is the judgment of things in things in the light of clear and distinct ideas.

The critical method is deemed important in seeking to understand Marxist theory of education and its contribution towards critical consciousness.

ANALYTICAL METHOD

According to Kneller (1964:18) , analytic approach is primarily concerned with analysis of language, statements and concepts used in different contexts. This approach helps in clarification and justification of meanings. It also emphasizes on logical and systematic thinking, calls for thinking that is clear, that makes necessary distinctions between what is essential and what is less important.

Njoroge and Bennaars (1986:24) argue that:

This method requires a thinking that is logical and systematic, must not be haphazard. It should be clear thinking which makes necessary distinctions Separating clearly what is essential, what matters from what is accidental and less important.

Brightman (1957:33) observed that this method requires a complete analysis of perceived concepts, or statements or objects into constituent parts.

It requires an understanding of words or statements to the extent that clarity is achieved as opposed to ambiguity. Through its emphasis on definition, the analytical method focuses on the clarification of basic terms, to clarify something is to elucidate it, explain it, illuminate it, or to spell it out.

Clarification removes the kind of ambiguity and vagueness and thereby facilitates precision in reflection and distinction.

In line with this approach, we shall endeavor to clarify the key concepts in this study.

DIALECTICAL METHOD:

Popkin (1999:98) asserts that the dialectical method is a logical process that proceeds from thesis to antithesis and to a synthesis combining the two, that is, thesis and antithesis. The thesis advances some arguments that are refuted and contradicted by the antithesis. It evolves into a synthesis of the valuable arguments in the thesis and those in the antithesis with the aim of establishing conclusions. The synthesis in turn combines what is of most value in each. Thus, dialectical approach is an inductive method that develops truths and tests them by discussion and logical arguments.

In this study, the arguments proffered by Marxism on education are the thesis, while those proposed by other theories of education will play the role of the antithesis.

From the two there will evolve a synthesis that blends the most plausible arguments in each. The synthesis will indeed be our desired alternative measures.

1.5 PURPOSE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study has its purpose the exposition of Marxist theory of education and its contribution towards critical consciousness. It is based on certain themes developed by Marxists philosophers on education utilizing the critical and dialectical approaches. Marxism in its theory of education claims to blend theory and practice and seek to create awareness among the learners about the crucial need for rational activity and a sense of social responsibility needed for a humane existence.

The awakening of critical consciousness constitutes the primary he primary task of education. This study will attempt to provide this understanding based on a firm philosophical position.

The significance of this study shall be seen in the context of what it hopes to contribute to education. In evaluating how critical consciousness could be achieved as a goal in education, this study will emphasize on the primacy of Marxian dialectics between the teacher and learner as subjects.

The study will also expose on the importance and primacy of this approach in all educational interaction in order to awaken critical consciousness leading to critical action or praxis.

1.6 STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

This study shall consist of five chapters.

In the first chapter, we have the background of the study, a brief descriptive survey on Marxism, statement of the problem, theoretical framework, methodology, and structure of the study, purpose and significance and scope of the study.

Chapter two shall deal with review of related literature. It attempts to review literature that expounds Marxism as a philosophy of education and its principles on education.

In Chapter three, we attempt to tackle on Marxist educational ideas. It addresses on the origins of Marxism, philosophy of Karl Marx, Marxism as a philosophy of education, Methods and curriculum in Marxist education and critique of Marxism in education.

Chapter four deals with the modern Marxist perspective on education. It attempts to expound on the correspondence theory, concept of relative Autonomy, capability approach and teacher development, education in Russia during the communist regime, European Marxism and the university and community education and Paulo Freire.

In chapter five which is the final chapter will attempt to address on the implications of Marxist thought on education. It emphasizes on the role of education in society, and greatly expounds on adult education which is of great importance to Marxist educators.

It ends with a recapitulation and recommendations for future possible research.

1.7 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

This study attempts to expound on Marxist theory of education and its pedagogical implications. It also seeks to examine how Marxist theory of education contributes towards critical consciousness among the learner leading to critical action.

Marxism is very diverse in its outlook and contributes immensely on many fields such as, politics, economics, sociology, law and education. This study will only be limited to Marxist theory of education and will only concern itself in exposing Marxist educational principles.

It will give special preference to adult education which is of great importance to Marxist educators.

CHAPTER TWO : LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 INTRODUCTION

Our concern here shall be with literature that exposes Marxism as philosophy of education and outlines its principles on education. We identify in this connection Marx own ideas and Marxist ideas as presented in various books, notably;

- Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels books on: The Communist Manifesto.
- Karl Marx's book on; Marx, Engels, Lenin on Dialectical Materialism.
- Karl Marx's book on ; Karl Marx, Fredrick Engels collected works Vol. 7
- Henry J. Koren book on ; The Philosophy of Marx and the Anthentic man.
- William L. McBride's book on : The philosophy of Marx.
- Michael R. Mathew's book on : Marxist theory of schooling.
- Howard A. Ozmon and Samuel M. Craver's book on : Philosophical Foundations of Education (3rd Edition).
- Paulo Freire's book on ; Pedagogy of the oppressed.
- Paulo Freire's book on ; Education for Critical consciousness.
- Bowles and Gintis book on : Schooling in Capitalistic America.

2.1 SOCIALIST CONSCIOUSNESS

Karl Marx did not write extensively about education, but his educational ideas, coupled with his general theory greatly influenced subsequent Marxist philosophers and educators. The position taken here implies that in order to understand Marxism's

significance for philosophy of education, there must be a recognition not only of Marx's original works, but also of divergent interpretations that may be at odds on key points. Ozmon and Cravers (1986 : 271) note that the aims of Marxists education are to be found in both the Marxist conception of history and in the critical analysis of existing conditions.

Marxists believe that human society must move from capitalism to socialism and eventually to communism. They view educational aims primarily in terms of this dialectical movement and the immediate goals are to mould a socialist conscious and a socialist society. This effort will be greatly enhanced by providing an education that will develop a new socialist human being.

Marx wanted to overcome human alienation which he felt was the direct result of private property and the control of production by the elites. His aim was to free conscious vital human activity by putting individuals back in control of their own labour. In this sense, it could be argued that Marx saw his role as an educational one.

Ozmon and Craver (Ibid) points out that in 1840s, Marx criticized the education offered to the working classes of England and Germany. He viewed this education as a paternalistic devise used by the ruling classes in order to produce docile and obedient subjects. According to Marx's view, the changing of both circumstances of education can be understood rationally only from the standpoint of purposeful human activity or praxis. At least one approach to changing the world through the establishing of a socialist consciousness can be illustrated by going the orthodox Marxist – Leninist education approach as it has been practiced in Soviet Union and in the German Democratic Republic. Two notable soviet educators who stood out in helping to shape orthodox

Marxist – Leninist education were Nadezhda Krupskaya (1896 - 1939) and Anton Makarenko (1888- 1939) . Both were important in developing an educational approach to help shape socialist consciousness.

Krupskaya thought that this could best be achieved through an education that resulted in conscientious and organized communal instincts and a purposeful and well thought out worldview.

Makarenko advocated for education by means of the collective, that is, one should develop group loyalties and identify oneself within a group context. According to him, he held that “The school serves as the most important collective where each member must realize his dependence on it and subordinate his personal interests to those of collective” (Ozmon and Craver (1986 ; 273).

The de- emphasis of individualism and the emphasis on the collective was drawn from Marx’s distrust of capitalism individualism which he thought was socially irresponsible and based only on self-interests.

Paulo Freire , the Brazilian philosopher cum educator has incorporated elements of both Marx and phenomenology into his philosophy of education.

In the book, *Pedagogy of the oppressed* , Paulo Freire sets forth a view of education based on liberation and dialogue and is critical of traditional education which he claims is based on the ‘banking concept’ . By ‘banking concept’, Freire means the approach to education in which the teacher chooses the content and the student tries to absorb it.

The students are under the power of a depositor or teaches and dependant on the oppressor for knowledge. Freire believes that this approach annuls the learners’ creative potential and deadens their critical faculties.

In the banking concept, effort is made by the oppressor to change the consciousness of the learners without changing the conditions in which they exist.

In the book, education for critical consciousness, Paulo Freire maintains that once an individual perceives a challenge and understands the possible responses, action ensues, that is, critical consciousness leads to critical action or praxis.

2.2 SOCIALIST SOCIETY

Ozmon and Craver (1986 :273) argue that if one aim of Marxist education is building a socialist consciousness, then perhaps an even greater aim is building a socialist society, for social conditions are an important part of the conditions that produce people with the desired consciousness. Contemporary western Marxist scholars have taken pains to point out that this is much more complex than it appears, and they have cautioned against mechanical determinism.

Current practice in former Soviet Union begins political indoctrination as early as nursery school and kindergarten, where children are told stories about Dyadya Lenin and his efforts on behalf of the workers.

In this outlook, collectivism denotes communist morality, and individualism denotes capitalist morality. In effect, moral education and political socialization are inseparable, and the collective serves as the backbone for both. The collective may be one's military unit, workplace, athletic team, or school at the local level, and it extends upward to identify with, for example, the communist party on a national basis or the working class on an international basis.

In theory, every former Soviet citizen identifies strongly with some collective aspect of life. Thus, collectivism is the binding principle of Soviet society and communist morality, although Marx envisioned the new socialist individual as issue-oriented and dedicated to rational principles rather than merely showing allegiance to persons or groups.

Western Marxist philosophy takes a somewhat different approach, and an example of its impact on educational theory can be seen in schooling in capitalistic America, by Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis.

Bowles and Gintis (1976 ;72) take the position that liberal reform efforts have failed , and that equalization of education has not led to a noticeable economic equalization among individuals. This is due to the fact that in capitalist societies, schools produce workers by reproducing the conditions of the workplace. The motivating force of the capitalist economy is profits, since workers must satisfy their own economic needs, the capitalists induce workers to enter the economic structure with their labour to produce profits.

Under such conditions, the school has a dual function, that is, it provides skills and knowledge that make workers more economically valuable, and it socializes people to the existing economic structure by modeling the school after the work place with its rules, lines of authority, and hierarchies.

According to Bowles and Gintis (1976 : 81), under progressive liberalism, education become a panacea for social ills when capitalism was really the root cause. The schooling process turned to changing people rather than changing the economic system. The resulting bureaucratic nature of schooling meant that the schools exerted socializing pressure through requiring obedience to existing norms and values ; therefore , rather

than liberation, the schools promoted conformity to a set of authority relationships existing in the capitalistic economic system.

Furthermore Bowles and Gintis (1976 ; 89) contend that changing schools will not necessarily change existing inequalities; at the most, it changes only peoples' perception of conditions, for the eradication of economic inequalities is ultimately a political and not an educational question. They maintain it follows from this that an equitable and liberating educational system can flow only from a broad- based transformation of economic life brought about by fundamental political changes, such as democratic control of production processes by working people . Their immediate goal for education is to continue the struggle for school reform as a contribution to the development of a democratic, revolutionary socialist movement.

In agreement with Marx, Bowles and Gintis (1976 : 95) hold that a peaceful socialist revolution may be achieved in the United States, and the strategic goal is to create a working class consciousness. The initial phase of the revolution must occur by working through existing capitalistic institutions and to learn how to exercise power and make cooperative decisions. Thus, an equalitarian and liberating educational institution is an essential element of this process.

2.3 MARXIST SOCIAL THEORY

Mathews (1980 : 182) holds that any theory of schooling is dependent upon a theory of society. Schools are locked into a social structure and an understanding of schools will depend upon an understanding of this structure that schools are not independent institutions.

One of the principal claims of Marx's theory is that for a society to continue in existence, it must produce materials and reproduce people. The reproduction and formation of the individual into a human subject is a matter of socialization into language, knowledge, competencies, structures and ideologies of the society.

Mathews (1980 : 184) argues that the theory of social structure is basically an exposition of Marx's famous 1859 preface to his contribution to the critique of political economy, where he contends that modes of production give rise to classes in social formation. These classes are objectively in conflict but their interests are antagonistic. According to him, there are three dimension to class struggle, namely; Economic, political and ideological dimension.

The importance of the recognition of class and class struggle for Marx's social theory is that it avoids the temptation of a mechanical form of functionalism. There is conflict and antagonism in the economic, political and ideological domains.

Thus, Marxism asserts that public schooling has a political , ideological and economic function.

2.4 POLITICS OF SCHOOLING

Mathews (1980: 185) argue that Marxist thesis outlines that schools are primarily concerned with the production and reproduction of labour power in social formation. They ensure the stability of the productive relations and schooling legitimizes the existing system of privilege, power and resources. Schools create competencies, create and procreate a public knowledge which has a political function. The family used to be the site for the reproduction of labour power because production took place within the family

unit , but with the development of productive forces, there is a change in the site of production from the home to the factory.

Consequently, the production of labour power became increasingly a state function highlighted in the 19th century move to universal and compulsory education.

At the same time, a report on public education in Australia was a quite frank in asserting:

An educated community is on the whole more moral, more law-abiding, and more capable of work than an uneducated; and therefore the state is justified in enforcing education that it may economize its revenue and develop its resources ...it holds out to the employer the prospect of an eventual supply of steady and instructed workmen Gallagher (1979; 124).

Thus, the prospect of a supply of steady and instructed workmen certainly has a wide appeal among industrial bosses this appeal strongly to Marxist theory of education and its effects on the society.

2.5 SCHOOLS AND THE PRODUCTION OF LABOUR POWER

Historically, there has been a class connection both in practice and in theory between schools and the production of labour power suited to the capitalist mode of production.

The state both mediates and controls this connection (Mathews 1980: 91).

The development of knowledge, skills, abilities, temperaments and attitude are all part of the school's role in the reproduction of society's productive forces. Productive relations have to be produced and this is largely the ideological function of schooling.

The dominant ideology is expressed, lived and indeed examined in schools. In schools, Marx observed that students are kept ignorant of whole domains of knowledge and

terminology, for example, Americans learn more about the presidents than they do about their own long, blood history of class struggle and this part of the systematic cultivation of social amnesia (Mathew 1980: 191).

In schools only partial connections are formed and only partial analyses are made. In countless ways, students are imbued with respect for authority figures ; They are taught to accept contingent circumstances as being necessary; they learn the appropriate rationalizations and justifications of the social formation they live in.

Schools bring about the reproduction of productive forces in the sense that they reproduce labour power by reproducing in the school the conditions of labour power in the social formation.

Toffler (1970: 361) remarked that:

The most criticized features of education today, the regimentation, lack of individualism, the rigid systems of seating, grouping, grading and marking, the authoritarian role of the teacher, are precisely those features that made mass education so effective an instrument of adoption for its place and time.

Thus, the control of the learning process is largely outside the control of the learner. The learning process is fragmented both socially and technically. Motivations and rewards for learning are in general extrinsic to the learning process, that is, marks, grades, certificates, position in class and teacher approval. Rewards are unequal, that is, for someone to succeed others have to fail and this has to be accepted as a necessary fact of life (Mathews 1980 :193).

Competitiveness, rather than cooperation is the basic type of relationship among pupils. Schools are one of the few social institutions where cooperation is termed as cheating.

Dreeben (1968: 55) holds that rule conformity is highly valued. “The school’s main contribution to learning lies in the area of social norms.” This is not just a didactic matter but equally an osmotic one. The structure of schooling and the tasks that children are engaged in produce normative changes.

In formal schooling, students are placed in the situation of an educational exchange which prefigures the productive relations in which students find themselves. They receive from professional, certificated teachers certain commodities, namely; their own transformation into suitable and appropriate labour power, the type and amount of which is attested to by grades and certificates.

The cost to students is not just monetary but essentially involves willingness to participate in the process and the preparedness to be appropriately transformed. What the students receive has an exchange, that is, at least while there are employment opportunities and it has to varying extent, a use value. The exchange value and use value are determined largely by the market place.

Mathews (1980 : 194) asserts that the importance of conceptualizing school in this manner is that it clearly links intellectual and ideological achievements, to a base in social practices and in particular relations among individuals. These practices are not just confined to schools but are continuous with those of the wider society.

2.6 EDUCATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Marxists hold that capitalists have always exploited technology in order either to eliminate or to weaken the position of labour in production.

The job market has collapsed like a pricked balloon due to technology. For example, in I.B.M's new Australian factory, a mere fifty workers using new computerized assembly procedures will produce 76% of Australian's total market in elective typewriters Mathews (1980 : 197).

Windschuttle (1977 ; 36) argue that one white collar employment agency estimates that the first generation of word processors has displaced 20,000 typists in Sydney alone. One insurance company reduced staff by 30 % in two years and saved 133,000 dollars in wages. The effect translates to less office space is required, fewer desks, and a smaller staff.

There is a fiscal crisis of the state and a structural unemployment crisis. Increasingly, there will be a small percentage of people whose labour time is virtually priceless and a vast percentage whose labour time is basically worthless.

This development in capitalist mode of production has forced a re-orientation of the so-called great educational debate. In the 1950s and 1960s during the period of capitalist expansion and optimism about employment, the British debate was about progressivism and traditionalism and there was a liberal democratic consensus about educational aims. A department of education and science report in 1967 on pupils overcoming the deprivation of family poverty asserted that "Better education is the key to improved employment opportunities for young people in these districts" Windschuttle (1977; 41).

The employment assumptions upon which these reports are based, spells out that there are jobs available if only people could be trained for longer periods hold. These same assumptions lay beneath liberal progressive opposition to the type of work available to school leavers.

In the early 1970s Holt (1973: 163) remarked;

It is a waste of time and money, as well as a cruel deception, to talk of providing good education for children if the central experience of their adult lives is going to be pointless, stupid and stupefying work.

Thus, contradictions within the state over the role of schooling are ample testament to the close links it bears to the economic base. More money spent on schooling diminishes the amount of surplus value available for appropriation. Pressure from the capitalist class and indeed from the working class has always been to make the expenditure efficient in the certain of productive labour power.

Holt (1973 ; 176) holds that in social democracies , the political consequences of eliminating schooling for the bulk of the working class would be too disastrous for the state to contemplate since it flies in the face of a popular conservative explanation of unemployment, namely: the consequence of poor education.

In 1977, the organization of economic cooperation and development produced a study of the Australian education system and its relation to work. It concluded that the “real solution” to the problem of youth unemployment lay in a closer connection between education and job opportunities Mathews (1980: 198).

2.7 EFFECTIVENESS OF SCHOOLING

Mathews (1980; 194) argue that schools are on the whole, effective in doing what they do; namely reproducing a society’s reproductive forces and productive relations.

Marxists hold that schooling is not a vehicle for social mobility; no matter what is done in the school sphere, there is very little change in the overall distribution of power and wealth in society.

In England, Douglas and others concluded that the “middle – class pupils have retained almost intact, their historic advantage over the manual working class” Douglas et al (1968: 76).

Jencks and his collaborators at the Harvard Centre for educational policy studies have shown in a massive study that there is inequality of educational opportunities. Moreover, where there is equality of education, there are still preserved the standards of social and financial inequality Jeneks (1975: 33).

The “boundary conditions” for human life are set by political – economic conditions, such conditions being largely determined by the ongoing struggle between those who create wealth and those who advocate that education should be for life, simply exclude political economy from the sphere of life.

Thus, according to Marxists there is inefficiency in schooling; there are contradictory tendencies in schooling; there are contradictory tendencies within it; it does other things besides carrying out its main function. Nyirenda and Tshumi (2002: 31).

The scientific skills and knowledge required for the maintenance of production also enable the rigorous monitoring and analyses of its exploitation of nature and its pollution of the environment.

MacDonald (1965; 262) argue that in agreement with Marx, education systems are places where battles are waged for the hearts and minds of each generation. The major forces are capital on the one hand and labour on the other, that is, those who appropriate

surplus value and those who create it; those who control the raw materials and means of production in a society and those who control only their labour power.

Schools do and always have systematically reflected the interests of capital. Their primary function is the creation of suitable labour power.

Thus, Marx offered a new version of materialism, that is, historical materialism; a materialism which saw practice or conscious human activity as mediating between mind and matter; between subject and object. It was something which by its mediation altered both society and nature. Hence, critical consciousness arises out of and is shaped by practice and in turn is judged by practice.

CHAPTER THREE: MARXIST EDUCATIONAL IDEAS.

3.0 INTRODUCTION

Marxism is one of the most controversial thought among the modern philosophies of education. It developed from other philosophies outlooks which preceded it. Marxism helped launch some of the most far – reaching social and political revolutions in the twentieth century. The historical Marx and other numerous works reflect his intellectual developments which are divided into an earlier humanist period and a later revolutionary period. The later works greatly influenced communist revolutionaries at the turn of the century while earlier humanistic works were mostly unpublished until the middle decades of the twentieth century.

Marxist doctrines have developed such as; structural Marxism, phenomenological Marxism, feminist Marxism and several other varieties. In spite of the diversity, there are some basic divisions of Marxist thought that can be focused upon which provide insights into Marxist educational ideas.

3.1 THE ORIGINS OF MARXISM

3.1.1 Materialism

Marxism is based on materialistic ideas which are greatly elaborated in the philosophy of materialism. Basically, there are two materialist traditions that lie at the foundation of Marxism namely:

British and French materialism.

British Materialism

Ozmon and Craver (1986:260) hold that one of the chief proponents of British materialism was Sir Francis Bacon (1561 - 1626). He maintained that science is a tool for creating new knowledge that can be used to advance human well being and progress.

Bacon taught that the senses are infallible and are the source of all knowledge if guided by scientific method. He brought in the notion of progress, a society in evolution.

Ideas of Francis Bacon were carried on by Thomas Hobbes (1589- 1679). He systematized Bacon's materialism, but made it more abstract.

According to Hobbes, science is the process of discovering and studying the laws of motion and their effects on material bodies. He viewed moral philosophy as the science of the motion of human minds and he rejected the spiritual dimension, holding that the universe is simply permeated by matter. Ozmon and Craver (1986: 261).

His influence on Marx was on the idea that materialism should be in arranging the practical affairs of humanity and civil society.

John Locke (1632 - 1704) also influenced Marx's thought and his empiricism was one of its key ingredients. He held that human nature can be shaped and formed. French materialism took this view and they reasoned that is human nature can be shaped, then it is possible to shape and direct human society and institutions.

French materialism

French materialism was greatly influenced by Rene Descartes (1596 - 1650). He separated his physics from his highly idealistic metaphysics.

He viewed motion as the driving force of matter and matter as the only basis of being and knowledge.

The two most influential French materialists who influenced Marx's thought were:

Etienne Condillac (1715 - 1780)

Claude Adrien Helvetius (1715 - 1771)

Etienne used Locke's sense empiricism to oppose traditional ideas about a static human nature and an invariant human social order. In his doctrine of sensationalism, Etienne maintained that human activities and thinking processes are matters of experience and habit and as a result, the whole development of humanity depends on education and environment. Marx and Engels (1977 : 81).

Claude pushed this idea even further by proclaiming that education could be used to bring about human perfection.

Both Etienne and Claude argued that an individual's social class is simply as a result of education and circumstance. Claude argued that even individual differences in intelligence could be attributed to these factors.

According to Claude, human nature is neither good nor bad, circumstances particularly education make the individual. The desired cause is to arrange circumstances and education to produce human progress and a more satisfying life for all.

Karl Marx drew from both British and French materialism a number of ingredients; One was the view that science should be used to transform human circumstances and the view that human perception and knowledge is based on the sense experienced of the material world. Materialist's notions of human perfectibility and the possibility of social progress through changes in the material world exerted a heavy influence on Marx's ideas. Marx and Engels (1977: 89).

3.1.2 Socialism

The term socialism first came into use in the late 1820s and was associated with the theories of such people as;

Henri Saint Simon (1760 - 1825)

Charles Fourier (1772 - 1837)

Robert Owen (1771 - 1858)

Saint Simon embraced industrialization and advocated for the scientific study of industry to serve the needs of the society. He viewed industrial labour as the essential form of labour and held that industrialists should govern society.

He called his theory the industrial doctrine and advocated for progress in terms of society, that is, wide improvement rather than simply individual improvement a focus of great importance for Marx. Ozmon and Craver (1986: 262).

Charles Fourier believed in human perfectibility and called for new forms of social organization based on his theory of 'perfection by association' a notion derived from Newton's law of gravitation.

He believed that progress would occur through proper human association. Karl Marx adopted many of Fourier's criticisms of capitalism's lack of social responsibility and its selfish absorption in the accumulation of wealth.

Robert Owen was Marx's leading socialist. Owen started as a child laborer in Manchester, England and eventually became wealthy and important industrialist. In the textile mills of New Lanark, Scotland, he was instrumental in establishing shorter

working hours, schools for child laborers, infant schools for the small children of working mothers and improved housing and health conditions for all employees. Owen tried to spread his ideas among other industrialists but with limited success. Eventually, he came to believe that radical change was needed and that human progress would come about only through widespread fundamental changes in social and environmental conditions.

According to Marx, English communism began with Owen for he took the lead in sowing the seeds of a cooperative social system. Marx (1975: 24).

3.1.3 Political Economy

One of its chief exponents was Adam Smith (1723 - 1790), a Scottish philosopher whose major treatise; 'The wealth of nations' published in 1776, greatly influenced subsequent economic thought, particularly the point of view that promoted minimum government regulation of economic life. Ozmon and Craver (1986: 262).

Smith used the metaphor of the 'invisible hand' to describe the way in which the economy regulates itself if left to private individual initiatives and market competition.

Another leading political economist was David Ricardo (1772 - 1823). Both Smith and Ricardo recognized productive labour as one of the prime bases of wealth, although

Ricardo refined the definition of wages as the labor time it takes to produce a commodity.

According to Marx, he held that both Smith and Ricardo provided a valuable service in formulating new economic laws that advanced the production of wealth. Marx used their ideas on labour as a basis of wealth, but he also added the notion of 'surplus value' that is, a worker produces more than his wage or the cost of production and it is this surplus

value from which profits are gained and by which workers are exploited. Ozmon and Craver (1986: 263).

3.2. THE PHILOSOPHY OF KARL MARX

Karl Marx (1818 - 1883)

Karl Heinrich Marx was born to a comfortable middle class family in Trier German Rhine land. His father was a lawyer and both parents were Jewish.

Although his father encouraged his interest in philosophy, he wanted him to become a lawyer. Marx entered the University of Bonn to study law, but soon transferred to the University of Berlin where he studied history and philosophy.

The first major influence on young Marx's philosophical development came from Hegelianism. Barbet (1990 : 20).

When Marx arrived at the University of Berlin the faculty of philosophy and students were mostly followers of Hegel. Although Marx later broke from it, Hegelianism made a lasting impression.

Marx drew from Hegelianism two ideas namely:

The concept of alienation and the process of the dialectic. According to Hegel thought, alienation from our failure to recognize that truth is intimately connected with human thought. He rejected the realist position that truth is independent of the human mind and argued that alienation is the result of spirit externalizing itself. This alienation will cease when people become self-conscious and realize that they are thinking beings and that truth is a fact of this self-consciousness.

Hegel maintained that reality could be comprehended through the dialectic, that is, a system of logic with its triadic thesis, antithesis and synthesis, where logical contradictions could be dispelled and agreement eventually achieved in the synthesis of absolute idea. Churchie (1990 : 157).

Marx rejected Hegel's idealism but kept both cases the concept of alienation and a dialectical version of history. In both cases Marx retained the Hegelian conceptual apparatus but changed it from an idealistic base to a materialistic philosophical base. Marx maintained that we become alienated from our own creations such as the society and the means of production.

Rather than a dialectic occurring between ideas, Marx adopted the notion of dialectic between economic conditions and human action.

A second major influence on Marx's philosophical development came from Ludwig Feuerbach (1804-1872). .

Feuerbach argued that the 'spirit' of an era is nothing more than the totality of events and material conditions occurring during that era, for history is determined by the material influences on the thoughts and actions of real persons existing in a world of material conditions. This view of Feuerbach greatly appealed to Marx and although he later broke with Feuerbach by adhering to the position that human action does affect the course of history, he did maintain that material conditions exert the primary influence on humanity and its institutions Mathews (1980 : 72).

Feuerbach also held that all ideologies including religion are usually an effort to construct an ideal world as a form of escape from the miseries of the material world. Marx came to interpret religion as the fantasy of the alienated individual. Marx called religion 'the

opium of the people' for like Feuerbach, he felt that religion diverts people's attention from the necessity for reform and revolution. Marx argued that circumstances are changed only by human thought and practical action and not by passive contemplation. Marx position is somehow similar to the pragmatic view of the unity of thought and action. Tucker (1969 : 24).

3.3. MARXISM AS A PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION.

Dupre (1966 : 11) argue that the philosophy of Marx focusses on the society. In Marx's work; preface to a critique of political economy written in 1859, he stated that to really understand the nature of society, one has to go not to the Hegelian general development of the human mind, but to the material conditions of life. It is in the ways that people produce necessities and create institutions that they become entangled in forces beyond their conscious wills.

According to Marx, in order to understand how these forms of control came about, we must examine the way people produce material things, that is, the sum total of the material forces production, agriculture, handicrafts, industrial forms the base.

According to him, all social relations, that is, the class structure, institutional, legal and political authority forms the super structure.

Ozmon and Craver (1986 : 265) argue that Marx believed that humanity had advanced through five great stages of historical development namely:

- The first stage, the original form of ownership was tribal ownership, a kind of naïve communism in which the tribe functioned as an extended family and members cooperated in producing the means of subsistence.

- The second stage was the ancient city – state where several tribes joined together for mutual benefit and where strategy and private ownership became more pronounced.
- The third stage is the feudal kingdom and empires. Feudalism resulted in the division of labor defined by nobles who were land owners and peasants who were serfs the emergence of proletariat, town dwelling merchants and a few great merchant capitalists.
- The fourth stage the modern industrial society which gave birth to the bourgeoisie society who were the controllers of the economy. The bourgeoisie were city dwelling merchant capitalists in the middle Ages, who had their origins in the break down of the feudal order.
- The fifth stage is where we are headed, that is yet to come. Where we would witness the rise of proletariat, the industrial worker in a new socialist era.

Marx held that history could be interpreted as a history of class conflict and he believed his own time would see the advent of the socialist era. Marxian ideas were given flesh by Frederick Engels (1820-1895), whose collaboration with Marx enabled him to gain an eminent position within socialist circles and he interpreted Marxist ideas after Marx's death. Ozmon and Craver (1986 : 269).

Marx did not write extensively about education but his educational ideas coupled with his general theory, greatly influenced other philosophers and educators who gave education a Marxist interpretation. To understand Marxist's significance on philosophy of education, there must be recognition not only for Marx original works, but also of divergent interpretations of other Marxist philosophers that may be at odds on key points.

The aims of Marxist education are to be found in both the Marxist conception of history and in the critical analysis of the existing conditions. Marxists believe that human society must move from capitalism to socialism and eventually to communism. They view educational aims primarily in terms of this dialectical movement and the immediate goals are to would a socialist conscious and a socialist society.

Marxists advocate for providing an education that will develop a new socialist human being. Marx (1975 : 69).

3.4. METHODS AND CURRICULUM IN MARXIST EDUCATION

Marx did not favor the public education provided by the bourgeoisie state primarily because he distrusted the curriculum and the methods in which this curriculum would be taught. In 1869 he came out in favor of compulsory education but was opposed to any curriculum based on class distinctions. According to him, only subjects such as physical science and grammar were fit for schools, since the rules of grammar for example would be the same regardless of who taught them.

Marx spoke against a proposal that children should be taught the laws to regulate the value of the produce of their labor, for he felt that this topic would only uphold bourgeoisie economic theories. Marx (1975 : 27).

He approved of American public schools where local citizens controlled the hiring of the teachers and the curriculum. The only form of state control Marx favored was the idea of school inspectors to see that general school laws were obeyed.

As late as 1875, Marx still found education by the state objectionable on the grounds that state control too often led to indoctrination in the interest of the bourgeoisie, although

Marx's objection referred to education under a bourgeoisie state and not to the state under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Marx advocated for technical and industrial education but not narrow vocationalism. The kind of education advocated by the bourgeoisie was a narrow industrial education that made workers reluctant to challenge bourgeoisie interest. Dupre (1966 : 39).

He approved three part curricular organization that is, mental education, physical educational and technological training. Technological training was meant to compensate for the deficiencies of apprentices who learned only specific, task – oriented things.

There was a need of a thorough understanding of the whole production process so that ignorance would not be used as a way to hold the proletariat in industrial bondage.

Marx's views had a subsequent impact on education in Marxist – Leninist countries particularly with regard to technological education. In the early years after the Russian revolution, Nadezhda Krupskaya advocated 'polytechnic education' as a way of making people masters of industry. As the word polytechnic indicates, the concept refers to preparing broadly in productive processes. Ozmon and Craver (1986 : 273).

In Krupskaya's view, it should include theoretical and practical as well as Marxist. Leninist Philosophy. This is a very inclusive concept and with some extensive modification, polytechnic education is still important in most Marxist Leninist countries today.

Several educational theories have used western Marxist critical theory to analyze educational problems in capitalistic societies. these include; Samuel Bowles, Herbert Gintis, Martin Carnoy, Henry Levin, Basil Bernstein, Michael Apple and Henry Giroux. Henry Giroux's work serves as an example. " In ideology, culture and the process of

schooling” he develops the position that curriculum embodies dominant forms of culture in the way it reproduces the modes of knowing, learning, speaking, style and manners of the dominant social classes. Bowles and Gintis (1976 : 34).

In actual fact, the content of school knowledge reflects the principles of the dominant group particularly with regard to political principles and technical knowledge needed by the dominant group to legitimate its power and enhance its capital accumulation.

According to Giroux, the content of the curriculum and the way it is organized and learned may serve as mediating influences and these influences may be purposefully organized for liberating effects. From Giroux perspective, curriculum theory must become cognizant of the dialectic between socio-cultural conditions and the active nature of human beings. Students must be seen as self-conscious agents who with proper education resulting in heightened awareness of social and cultural realities, are enabled to move beyond a historical consciousness and towards active participation and change.

Ozmon and Craver (1986 : 279).

3.5. NEO – MARXIST THOUGHT ON EDUCATION

Nyirenda and Ishumi (2002 : 30) argue that Neo- Marxists have modified an revised classical Marxist theory and they view capitalism as cultural as well as economic .

Although this new scheme of thought contains a general framework of reference derived from Marxism, they view society and its institutions as the scene of struggle between contending groups for power, prestige and social dominance. For them, cultural control involves among other things the use of social institutions such as schools by the dominant class to control the subordinate class. Cole (2007 : 18).

Neo – Marxists contend that capitalist culture is reflected in schools and other social institutions. Thus, in addition to examining the economic conditions, they go further and make it their major concern a study of the role of schooling in a capitalist society.

Bowles and Gintis (1978 : 38).

They examine how schools have reproduced ideological, social and political relationships that reflect dominant interests. They see the curriculum both hidden and overt, the methodology and the testing procedure as representing the dominance of one group over another, with a connection between what is taught in school and what is apparent in society at large. The symbols and meanings filtered through the capitalist school curricula shape, confirm and maintain the dominant class ideology. Nyirenda and Ishumi (2002 : 31).

The organization of the school, including how children are grouped and the methods of instruction replicate the class divisions within the wider society. School is there to strengthen these divisions by perpetuating them in the young.

Neo- marxists argue that schooling in the capitalist society, rather than being a place where ideas contend in an open market, as liberals propose, is closed to alternative viewpoints that may threaten the hegemony that the dominant class enjoys over the lower class.

Schools in the capitalist society have an economic function by preparing the members of the future workforce. Formal school curricula are designed to respond to the needs of labour by the capitalist. The role of the school is to select future workers for the various levels of the workforce in a capitalistic economy. Through training in specialization, it

prepares them for the division of labour and trains people for specialities that make the division of labour possible. Tucker (1969 : 57).

In addition to preparing the labour force, schools in a capitalist society also prepare people to be consumer of the products of the capitalistic economy by defining specific consumption patterns. Thus, schooling through its different processes, perpetuates economic inequalities and maintains the status quo.

The most significant issue that underlies the Neo- Marxist study of schooling in capitalist societies other than the overt programmes, is the concomitant learning that takes place in schools, frequently referred to as the hidden curriculum. Bowles and Gintis (1976 : 62).

For Neo – Marxists, this curriculum plays an important role by underscoring the norms and values of the dominant group, that is, the characteristics that are said to be of an efficient and effective school are infact the characteristics of a functioning capitalist economy. Nyirenda and Ishumi (2002 : 32).

3.6. CRITIQUE OF MARXISM IN EDUCATION

Cole (2007 ; 16) state that one of the strengths of Marxism as a philosophy is the provision of a perspective of social transformation and the promotion of the view that human action is purposeful. Marxism portrays a world where things are not fixed but subject to change. It provides a positive picture to those in circumstances of oppression that their situation is not predetermined. Thus, it has a strong appeal for those who have lived under regimes that show little regard for the oppressed. Marxism offers a utopia vision of collective destiny, that is, it provides a futuristic orientation of society where all persons are equal.

Marxism has the strength of its critical role for it helps the capitalistic societies to examine themselves. It offers more insight into capitalism than capitalist theory itself. Western Marxist critical theory has issued warnings about alienation, technologist, bureaucratic centralization and mass culture that are timely for most contemporary industrialized consumerist societies. Its scholarly analysis of education offers alternative insights for education in capitalist societies. Burke (2000 : 53).

Marxism has been a major advocate of making resources available to everyone and public education is one of the social goods. In its educational theory it claims to blend theory and practice and to create awareness among learners the crucial need for rational activity and a sense of social responsibility needed for a more humane existence.

In societies where Marxism has gained political control, it has placed a high premium on providing formal education for the population where virtually none existed before except for elites.

A major weakness of Marxism is that in those societies where it has gained the upper hand and adopted the communist ideas, the actual model is presents demonstrate its theoretical ideals. Where it has taken root it has been characterized by an elite party structure, bureaucratic authoritarianism, rigid state control and total absence of personal freedom. Marxism Leninist education shows this rigidity, for its theory and practice have not been combined in appealing ways, that is, it has embraced rampant indoctrination, rigid curriculum control and a disregard for intellectual freedom. Ozmon and Craver (1986 : 279).

The Marxist critical perspective plays a role in helping people see shortcomings and weaknesses in the social systems they have. It also promises to inject new life in its educational theory in its move towards a socialist society and awakening critical consciousness which leads to critical action.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE MODERN MARXIST PERSPECTIVE ON EDUCATION.

4.0 Introduction

Discussions of globalization and education point to the coming relevance of Marxism perspective for educational philosophy and practice today. Critical neo – Marxist pedagogues throughout the world have articulated problematics of gender, race, sexuality, and multiculturalism with Marxism concepts of class and domination, thus pro potential expansion and enrichment of Marxist perspectives. The type of structuralist Marxist theories of capital and schooling that began to circulate in the 1970s have been largely replaced by more poststructuralist versions of Marxism that articulate together gender, race, class and other subject positions. Morrow and Torres (1995 : 37).

Some Marxist critics have argued, however, that the orthodox Marxist focuses on class and capital are often too decentered in more postmodern theories and have called for a return to class as the basis for a Marxist philosophy of education. McLaren (1998 : 433)

Indeed, the continuing viability of Marxian perspectives today are bound up with the continuing expansion of capitalism in a global by economy and growing importance of the economy in every domain of life. Marxism has historically presented critical perspectives on capitalism and the ways that economic imperatives shape institutions like schooling to correspond to the interest of the ruling class. Neo- Marxist theories have sought to overcome a too – narrow focus on class and economics by stressing the importance of developing theories of agency and resistance and incorporating dimensions of gender, race, sexuality and other subject positions into an expanded notion of

multicultural education, democratization, and social justice. They have also developed a wide range of proposals for the reconstruction of education and development of alternative pedagogies and educational practices. These neo – Marxian positions are fiercely contested by conservative positions , however, and the field of education remains today a contested terrain where neo – Marxian positions are part of the force of oppositions.

4.1 Bowles and Gintis : Correspondence Theory

Herbert Bowles and Samuel Gintis (“Schooling in Capitalistic America”, 1976) have proposed a correspondence theory of the relationship between the nature of work and the education system in Capitalist societies. The role of an education system is to intergrate people into various aspects of the Capitalist production process.

Bowles and Gintis show how various aspects of economic production (work) have corresponding features in the education system. The organization of the education system explicitly mirrors the way work is organized in Capitalist societies.

Jane Thompson (‘Sociology’, 1982) sums – up Bowles and Gintis basic theoretical position thus:

The education system exists to produce a labour force for Capitalism. This involves teaching qualities and skills needed and the attitudes and value likely to endorse Capitalistic practices.

The function of education is to anticipate and reproduce the conditions and relationships which exist between employers and workers in the workplace. Education is used to maintain order and control.

Schools are about “inequality” and “repression”. Capitalism does not require everyone to fulfill their educational potential or become highly qualified. Any of these indicators of educational “success” would on a large scale seriously challenge the distribution of employment profit and power in a Capitalist society. Small (2005 : 78).

People have to be educated “just enough” to become dutiful workers, citizens and consumers, but “not enough” to understand, or seriously challenge the prevailing economic and social system.

The education system contains what might be termed a hidden agenda – one that involves the reproduction of docile , “just educated enough” people.

In drawing attention to the correspondence between school and work, Bowles and Gintis note such things as;

The school disciplines students to the demands of work. What they term the “crucial ingredient of job adequacy” involves such things as:

- Personal demeanour,
- Self presentation,
- Self – image,
- Social class identification.

Social relationships within school replicate the relationships found at work:

- Teaching staff arranged in a hierarchy of importance.
- Teachers have authority over pupils.
- Older pupils seen as superior to younger pupils.
- Education of males seen as more important than education of females.

As in the world of work, where the labourer is alienated from the product of his / her labour, so too is the pupil alienated in terms of:

- Lack of control over the educational process as a whole.
- Lack of control over the content of education.
- The motivation for learning is generated through a grading system , rather than through the learning process itself (knowledge and understanding are seen as being less important than gaining of qualifications.) Bowles and Gintis (1976 : 87).

The fragmentation of the production process (where workers have little say or control over their work) is reflected in “destructive, institutionalized, competition” and a “meritocratic” ranking system.

Correspondence is maintained at various levels of the education system. Thus:

- For those destined for the lower levels of work, rule following is emphasized in the classroom (students are given little responsibility, made to do simple, repetitive, tasks and so forth).
- For those destined for middle levels of work, “dependability” and some ability to work independently is emphasized.
- For those destined for the higher levels of work , the emphasis is on making the pupil believe in the significance of what they are doing. The ability to work independently and to take some level of (guided) control over their academic work is also emphasized.

In addition, various forms of streaming, setting and banding reflect the correspondence between education and work:

- Those in the lowest streams – destined for low skill, low- wage, manual work , will be most closely supervised in terms of their work and behaviour.
- For those labeled as “low ability “ or “non – academic” , vocational training, rather than academic education is emphasized. By this, is meant the idea that “lower ability pupils” are trained to do specific types of work, whilst “higher ability pupils” are encouraged to develop theoretical, academic skills that can be applied to a range of higher status occupations. Mathews (1980 : 67).

4.2 The Concept of Relative Autonomy.

As we have seen, one branch of Marxism stresses the idea that the role of education- ranging from what is taught to how it is taught – is determined by the nature and demands of the economic system. Another branch of Marxism, however, argues that there are two main problems we can identify with this theory:

- It underestimates the level of conflict there may be between different classes in the educational system.

Writers such as Bowles and Gintis put forward a basically Functionalist type of argument (from a left – wing perspective) , whereby the needs of the economic system are transmitted directly to the individual through the educational system. There is little sense, therefore, of people resisting or shaping the socialization process. Bowles and Gintis (1976 : 73)

- It does not satisfactorily explain how a Capitalist ruling class is able to ensure that its sons and daughters generally succeed in education whilst the sons and daughters of the working class generally fail.

This type of theory has a conspiratorial approach to the understanding of the relationship between work and education in Capitalist societies. The problem here is how to explain the fact that upper and middle class children are consistently more successful than working class children in a system that, whilst not meritocratic in the Functionalist sense, does seem to allow a certain proportion of working class children to succeed and a certain proportion of middle class to fail.

This form of Marxism (sometimes called Structuralist Marxism to differentiate it from the Instrumental Marxism of writers such as Althusser, Bowles and Gintis and the like), is characteristic of writers such as Nicos Poulantaz and Henry Giroux.

These writers argue that the relationship between institutions such as work and education is more complex than put forward by Bowles and Gintis. In particular both, in their slightly different ways , were concerned to answer the criticism that Marxism overstated the nature of the relationship between work and education in modern Capitalist societies. Giroux (1992 : 23).

Giroux began with an Orthodox Marxist interpretation, namely that there was a relationship between the organization of work and the education system in Capitalist societies. This was a reflection of a standard Structuralist interpretation in those social institutions :

- Are related to one another to produce an overall sense of social structure.
- Set out the basic rules of behavior into which people are socialized.

Giroux saw it as mistaken to argue that :

This relationship was simple and direct. The education system is not consciously designed to enable middle / upper class children to succeed and working class children to

fail. If this were the case only a small minority of working class children would ever succeed educationally – and this is simply not the case.

In Britain, studies such as the Oxford Mobility Study in the 1970's showed that 25% of children whose origins are in the working class can expect to move into middle class at some point in their lives. Sowell (1985 : 69).

A ruling class was somehow able to cautiously impose its specific interests upon both society as a whole and the education system in particular.

For Giroux, this implied a giant conspiracy amongst the ruling class that was :

- Impossible to sustain in democratic societies.
- Unnecessary, since there were ways of explaining this situation that did not need to resort to an unsustainable conspiracy theory.

Thus, we have a situation where, from a Marxist perspective, two things are clear:

- On an objective level, Capitalistic economic systems clearly required an educational system that produced workers who were socialized into an acceptance of inequality, competition and so forth.
- On a subjective level, a ruling class needed to ensure that its members continued to enjoy the fruits of their economic and political domination of other social classes.

The problem, for Giroux was how could a ruling class ensure its continued domination whilst presenting a picture to people generally that the education system was based upon merit. To resolve this problem, Giroux argued that :

- The interests of a Capitalist ruling class were not always the same. There were basic divisions within this class, such as those between Financial Capitalists

(Bankers,) and Industrial Capitalists (manufacturing industry). These divisions, whilst not as wide as those between a ruling class and other classes in society, were nevertheless significant.

- The general interests of a Capitalist ruling class – the need to ensure that the capitalists system continued, for example – were such as to ensure that education system broadly reflected the demands of a Capitalist economy. If these demands were met, therefore, it would automatically follow that the overall interests of a Capitalist ruling class could be safeguarded. Giroux (1992 : 23).

Giroux (1992 : 32) used the concept of relative autonomy to explain how this process could work.

The education system had, in a Capitalist society, to be generally related to the needs of a Capitalist economy. Children had, for example, to be exposed to secondary socializing influences that stressed things such as :

- Competition as an efficient means of organizing society.
- The idea of legitimate authority and power.
- The opportunity to succeed in educational terms.
- The differentiation of pupils on the basis of achievement.

The educational system was structurally constrained by a number of general aims that it had to be fulfilled. Children, for example, had to be socialized to be:

- Literate and numerate.
- Aware of the nature of power and authority in society.
- Competitiveness and so forth.

The behavior of teachers was constrained by the need to follow curriculum objectives (in particular, the need to differentiate pupils).

By tying educationalists (teachers, administrators, etc) into a structure of rules, a Capitalist ruling class did not need to oversee the day – to- day teaching and learning process. It did not really matter what went on in schools – how teachers taught, how pupils responded and so forth – as long as the overall objectives of the educational system were being met. Mathews (1980 : 80).

Teachers were free to teach what and how they wanted as long as they succeeded in meeting the broad ideological objectives of the educational process. They enjoyed a sense of relative autonomy in their day – to – day working lives.

This process, therefore, relied on the idea that if the general objectives of an educational system could be specified and policed, then the participants would be forced to behave in ways broadly favorable to the interests of a ruling class.

While the participants had a measure of choice about how they behaved within the educational system, they would know that any deviation from the general aims of the process would lay them open to social sanction:

- Teachers who failed to teach their pupils the types of knowledge required or who failed to efficiently differentiate between pupils ran the risk of negative sanctions such as lack of promotion, losing their job and so forth.
- Pupils who failed to learn or who were disruptive would ultimately be sanctioned by a probable failure to secure educational qualifications (whether they viewed such sanctions as important is, in terms of this theory, insignificant.)

Although the use of the concept of relative autonomy does provide a more sophisticated way of analyzing the nature of schools as cultural institutions within Capitalist societies, its use also generates a couple of problems:

-Firstly, writers such as Poulantzas and Giroux do not adequately explain the precise relationship between education systems and the economy. When it suits their (Marxist) perspective, for example, they assert that the influences of economic interests is paramount in determining the nature of education. On the other hand, they also argue that whilst economic factors are of primary significance, teachers and pupils have an unspecified degree of freedom to workout their own particular educational solutions within the constraints imposed by the economic system (and the interests of a ruling class).

The main problem that we have here is that we have no real way of testing whether or not such a situation exists in our society. This follows because it is difficult to conceive of a situation which the theory cannot accommodate (short of a complete breakdown of the education system itself).

Thus, pupils who co-operate with the aims of the education system are considered to have been socialized into the dominant (social and educational) ideology.

Similarly, pupils who do not co-operate , those who are unruly, play truant and generally do not conform – are not a problem since their behavior will be contained within the system. They are, in short, likely to be employed in low skill occupations where a lack of qualifications is not a drawback. It is difficult to see how this socialization process , where children basically rebel against their education , serves a useful purpose for a ruling class. Bowles and Gintis (1976 : 83).

Secondly, even though the kind of secondary socialization process this theory proposes is different to that put forward by Bowles and Gintis, it is clear that the education system is still seen as a primary vehicle for the socializing of children into a dominant political and economic ideology, even if this ideology is very general and not particularly well – defined.

This is itself a problem, since it is not clear how people are supposed to be socialized into such an ideology if it is not particularly well – defined.

4.3 The Dominant Ideology Thesis

A second idea that we need to briefly examine is one put forward by Urry, Abernethy and Turner (“The Dominant Ideology Thesis”. 1975) which questions the way Marxists generally have looked at the role of cultural institutions such as education within Capitalist societies. Most Marxists, according to Urry et al, tend to assume that a ruling class maintains its position in society by being able to socialize the members of other social classes into:

- An acceptance of their subordinate position in society.
- The basic ideological beliefs of Capitalist society.

A ruling class is able to impose ideas favorable to itself upon all other classes in society and one effective vehicle for this is the educational system. A ruling class is able to transmit a dominant ideology to all other classes in society.

If schools are agencies of ideological transmission and participants in a system that systematically limits the majority of pupils’ powers of self expression and self realization, there must be a coherent ideology to transmit to pupils. However, the process

may not be as straightforward as Marxists such as Althusser have suggested. When we consider this idea, a number of things become evident.

Few would argue that schools do not transmit ideas. Schools transmit a wide variety of ideas, both intentionally and unintentionally, to their pupils.

What concerns us here, however, is the nature and purpose of ideological transmission – in effect, the question “what did you learn in school today?” takes on a whole new dimension if we can show that “learning” involves not only specific subjects like English and Maths, but also general ways of thinking and behaving. As we have seen, both Functionalist and Conflict sociologists agree that this does – indeed must – occur.

Parsons makes the hidden curriculum a central part of his argument. Schools are first and foremost agencies of secondary socialization. This function of education is justified for reasons of system maintenance (social order) and value consensus.

For Bowles and Gintis, on the other hand, the hidden curriculum is more sinister; its primary purpose seems to be persuade people into accepting, as an unchangeable fact of life, that inequality is both justified and justifiable. Bowles and Gintis (1976 : 89).

Whatever the merits of these two types of answer (and your evaluation will depend on the assumptions you make about the nature of the social world) the question we have to resolve here is the extent to which schools are responsible – as part of a hidden curriculum – for the transmission of values and norms that are fundamental to the continued reproduction of the interests of a ruling class.

That schools transmit some form of culture to their pupils is undeniable. Language, how to behave, what it means to be “British” and so on are all part of the remit of an education system. What we need to know, however, is the extent that schools are:

- Primarily responsible for the transmission of ideas favorable to the interests of a ruling class.

- Guilty of the uncritical transmission of a dominant ideological belief.

For Urry et al, some form of dominant ideology does exist within Capitalist society in the sense that Capitalist economies are characterized by certain roles, statutes, values and norms. However, the purpose of such ideology is not to somehow directly socialize subordinate classes. Rather, it exists to give social cohesion to a ruling Class. That is, such an ideology functions to give members of a ruling class a sense of where their general interests lie. Urry et al (1975 : 24).

As Abercrombie (“Contemporary British Society ”) notes:

“Loosely, the ‘dominant ideology’ refers to a set of beliefs, attitudes and dispositions which presuppose that Britain is the best of all possible worlds. It is argued that the dominant ideology has the effect of persuading subordinate groups and classes that they owe allegiance to existing laws ,institutions and practices. Put another way, schooling legitimizes the existing social order and each individual’s location within that social order.” Urry (1975 : 31).

This thesis notes that, by giving schools primary responsibility for the transmission of such ideology, ignores the fact that children are exposed to many different, contradictory ideas about the nature of society and their place in it.

It is very difficult, if not impossible, to find empirical evidence of a general belief in a single ideological system of beliefs. People, in short , do not seem to subscribe to any clear –cut set of consistent ideological beliefs.

Abercrombie concludes by noting:

“The variety and inconsistency of most people’s beliefs... should make us skeptical of accepting any simple view of the process of the transmission of a dominant ideology. Indeed, it would be surprising if the educational system transmitted the same kind of knowledge and norms to all students when their future lives are likely to be widely different. It might then be argued that the most important ideological effect of the schooling system is to persuade people to accept their own place in the division of labor in an equal society... Those who obtain well – paid jobs or positions of power claim to deserve their privilege. This disguises the social distinctions of class, gender and ethnicity which lie behind examination performance” Urry et al (1975 : 39).

4.4 The Capability Approach (CA) and teacher development

By contrast, the capability approach as developed by Amartya Sen and others (cf in particular articles in the Journal of Human Development) provides policymakers with a somewhat different framework for evaluating and assessing individual well being and for the design of policies to promote that well being in the context of a social justice project like EFA. The Capability Approach provides a way to conceptualize and evaluate both individual and social well being, poverty and inequality. Though the approach is not able to explain these things, applying CA to issues concerning education policy for improved social change will often require additional explanatory theories.

With the capability approach the key focus is with what people are able to do or be (doing and beings). More fundamentally it is concerned with people’s (in this case teacher’s) freedoms to achieve what they have reason to value. The capability approach

is concerned with protecting and facilitating the freedoms that allow for the development of a wide capability set. Central to this are the actual functionings teachers possess that enable them to do or be the things that they have reason to value. This may involve relatively simple functionings at the classroom level, like being able to maintain classroom discipline in order that children might learn cooperatively; to quite complex functionings for example, participating in community projects by playing a significant role in the success of a whole school renovation programmes. The possession of capabilities which facilitate children's cooperative learning may result in a kind of learning we termed "learning as construction" in that it involves the negotiation of meaning rather than the transmission and appropriation of information to be recalled and or applied in some way in order to pass an end of course examination like the KCPE. Sen's development of the capability approach came in response to some of the shortcomings of a preference satisfaction approach and of using real income as a primary measure of well being and justice under HCT approaches

There are a number of reasons why Sen adopted this position. For example, some preferences are adaptive. People hold certain preferences not because holding them is a result of a belief that holding them will fulfill their best interest, but because their circumstances have come to distort what is actually in their true interest. Take the example of a woman teacher who holds a preference for staying at home with her children and being a 'good mother' not because it is her ideal preference, but because it seems to her like the only realistic option, as she cannot get access to the child care which would allow her to go on a residential training course which would take her away from home overnight.

Brighouse (2005 : 18) has explained that we cannot defend a policy that prohibits such a person from developing her professional career on the grounds that she has what she wants (her preferences are satisfied in knowing she is a good mother), if the only reason she wants what she wants, is because the policy is framed in such a way as to prohibit her from having a professional career. Similarly, a capability approach to evaluating the effectiveness of teacher education policies differs from the fulfillment of say a human capital (basic) needs approach e.g. in providing a teacher with a fixed number of years of initial training at a college which they need in order to perform effectively as a teacher in say an isolated rural African school, and measuring their learning gains from that training in terms of the number, range and facility with a particular competency skill set by someone with little understanding or experience of the teaching contexts in which that teacher will eventually practice. This approach is not primarily interested in the learning and skill set of the individual teacher per se – but with the longer term gains to the society as a whole, as a result of the increased productivity of the teacher and those of the learners. By contrast, the capability approach is concerned with enhancing an individual teacher's freedoms to acquire and develop a capability set that enables functionings that they have to reason to value. Or as Sen has put it:

A person's capability refers to the alternative combinations of functionings that are feasible for her to achieve. Capability is thus a kind of freedom: the substantive freedom to achieve alternative functioning combinations(or less formally put the freedom to achieve various lifestyles). Sen(1999 : 75).

We believe the provision of textbooks has been an important strategy in low resource economies for achieving improvements in educational quality over the last couple of

decades. We have suggested that a predominant utilitarian HCT approach to evaluation would focus on measuring the availability of the textbooks in terms of access as measured by the textbook ratio. And further, that such an approach may seek to measure learning gains through proxy measures which serve to focus on learning as a consequence of such specific inputs. However, the capability approach to evaluating outcomes illustrates some of the weaknesses of this outcomes based approach. For example, Robeyns (2005 : 99) explains that the relationship between possessing a 'good' (read textbook) and the functionings to achieve certain beings and doings (read facilitate children's learning to use the same textbook independently to achieve deep learning unaided – through say (homework) is influenced by three groups of conversion factors – that she terms

(i) Personal conversion factors (e.g. teacher's diagnostic skills; ability to be creative) influence how a teacher can convert the characteristics of the commodity into a functioning unit. If the teacher has never been trained in teaching with the use of textbooks, the Multigame classroom setting – then mere access to textbooks may not be much use in facilitating effective children's learning (deep learning) ; (ii) social conversion factors (e.g. education policies) ; norms (attitudes to reading) gender roles, power relationships (parental environment with the school) and (iii) environmental conversion factors (e.g climate, geographical location) all influence the ability of the teacher to convert the characteristics of the 'good'(i.e. textbook) into the achieved functioning (children's deep learning) . If children do not possess satchels or the government/school policy forbids the use off the school premises for homework, or fails to encourage community involvement with the school, then it becomes more difficult for

the good to achieve its functioning. Hence knowing how many teachers and students have access to, or own a textbook in primary science that they can use is not sufficient to reveal what functionings they can achieve. Much more needs to be known about the personal, social and environmental contexts to make worthwhile policy judgements and evaluations.

The capability approach thus takes account of human diversity in two ways: by its focus on the plurality of functionings and capabilities as the evaluative space, and by the explicit focus on personal and socio- environmental conversion factors of commodities into functionings, and on the whole social and institutional context that affects the conversion factors and also the capability set directly. Robeyns (2005 : 101).

4.5 Education in Russia during the Communist Regime.

Many Americans know little about the educational system in the former Soviet Union between 1917 and 1945. In fact, we know little about the former Soviet Union in general because of the Cold War. After the coup that brought down the Soviet empire, Russia released many of its secrets including those involving her education. After 1917, Russia based its entire school system on the teachings of German philosopher Karl Marx.

Marxism states that one should achieve freedom through giving up the self to benefit the state. This Marxist theory created an unpopular form of government from a democratic point of view, however, it made Communism an efficient educator.

During the former Soviet Union's 74 years of existence, it had one of the most centralized and uniform school systems in the world. Before 1917 when the communists came into power, no more than 30 percent of the Russian population could read. Only

105 institutions of higher learning had been established before this time. By 1921 Vladimir Il'ich Lenin had established four years of compulsory primary education in the countryside and seven years of education in the towns. The basic ideas of order, numeracy, and literacy taught in these schools culminated with 81 percent literacy over the age of nine by 1930. In early 1920's, Lenin's wife introduced project work to Russian educators. Around 1930 the head of the Institute of Educational Research in Moscow declared the "metod proektov" or project method to be the one and only "Marxist" and "democratic" method of teaching. The project method encouraged children to go to factories and support workers. Writing reports on laborers, demonstrating against idlers, and showing work pieces and products of their own - were how the students supported workers. However, on September 5, 1931, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the former Soviet Union shot down the project method. They felt that it was not suited for teaching the knowledge and skills necessary to increase industrial production and strengthen communist consciousness McBride (1977 : 42).

Also in the late 1920s and 1930's, Russia encouraged liberal teaching methods. The former Soviet Union's Communist leaders realized the liberal curricula were designed to promote the growth of the individual. Stalin then exercised rigid control over textbooks, curricula, and teaching methods. Schools stressed obedience, industriousness, and loyalty: and they taught just facts. All schools taught the same things in the same way by stressing mathematics, science and technology. Stalin used the schools effectively to shape " the new Soviet man" who thought and acted as instructed by the Party. Ozmon and Craver (1986 : 273) .

During the period of 1917 – 1945, Soviet and American views of education nearly conformed though few Americans would admit the similarity. The objective was to train the youth for a technologically modern state and to be competitive with other nations. In the former Soviet Union this process started from the very beginning of a child's life. Lenin said, "The entire purpose of training, educating, and teaching the youth of today should be to imbue them with communist ethics. The school apart from life, apart from politics, is a lie and hypocrisy". Ozmon and Craver.(Ibid).

Citizens were taught the communist world view of love of labor, patriotism, atheism, and collectivism. Love of labor meant that a person worked not for personal benefit but for the benefit of society, regardless of how difficult or unpleasant it may have been. Patriotism embodied the love of the military and the motherland and the hatred of capitalists. Atheism, the rejection of religious faith, was promoted because Marxism theorized that churches supported the elite classes. Finally, the individual citizen was obligated to spread the communist world view to others. This was known as collectivism. These ethics were instilled in people from the beginning of their lives . Karl Marx (1977 : 53) .

From birth to age six, children were taught by "babushkas" or their grandmothers . The former Soviet Union provided a free nine – year general schools program starting at age six. This general program was divided into two stages, the initial and intermediate. The initial stage taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, elements of theoretical thinking, speech patterns, and basics of personal hygiene over a three- year to four – year period. Students continued their education in the intermediate stage with a higher emphasis on analytical understanding. Secondary education was optional as students were either

selected to attend a vocational trade school or a vocational production training track. Vocational students studied language, mathematics, physical education, and science and became skilled in a trade. Secondary trade schools taught students general studies to qualify for entry into a university or institute. Entrance was determined by highly competitive examinations. Also entrance could be influenced by participation in communist youth organizations, such as the Komsomol, Pioneers, and the Little Octobrists. Universities taught the arts and pure sciences, while the institutes taught a single field such as law, economics, art, agriculture, medicine, or technology. Degrees were earned in four to six years. Lenin's influence assured an intelligent and loyal Soviet citizen through these competitive and rigid schools. Mathews (1980 : 189)

The former Soviet Union's schools were ineffective before the communist government takeover. Lenin established a strict educational process that decreased the growth of the individual and helped the growth of the society. The sole purpose of the former Soviet educational system was to increase socially useful labor rather than the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake.

4.6 Community Education and Freire

In the 1970s, community education became an important means of articulating radical adult education and linking the academy with the deprived communities in its region. Several influences were apparent here, but an underlying adherence to a humanistic Marxism was a common factor to most leading practitioners . Lovett(1988 : 10) .

Although community education had a long history in Britain, stretching back to Henry

Morris's community colleges in Cambridgeshire in the 1920s, renewed impulse came from a number of directions . Martin (1996 : 17) .

One of these was the idea of community development, which had been practiced in India and Africa in the post- war period largely under the auspices of the United Nations and associated non- governmental organization. Although community development could be viewed as another kind of deficit in educational perspective, it had the virtue of taking the needs of communities themselves seriously rather than simply imposing ready – made educational packages. Even so, some of the newly independent nations rejected the paternalism implied in Tanzania, for example, which led to its Ruskin - College – educated Marxist President Julius Nyerere introducing the policy Ujamaa, a kind of community – based approach to 'nation building'. Young adult educators from Britain and America flocked to the newly independent countries of Africa to be involved in these projects and returned, radicalized, to see how the ideas could be applied to their own inner – city 'Hearts of Darkness'.

As Martin (1996 : 23) notes, poverty had recently been 'rediscovered' in Britain, and a variety of schemes were introduced by the Labour Government in the 1970s. These were short- lived Community Development Projects (CDPs) and the Educational priority Areas (EPAs) . Although many regarded these projects as little more than an educational band – aid to disguise the lack of political will for structural economic reform, much innovatory educational work was done and many bureaucratic feathers were ruffled. It was also a rebuke to the WEA for its post – war complacency and failure to respond to working – class needs.

Lovett (1975) , which documented his work in Liverpool, became the bible of radical community educators. Lovett, as Martin again notes, linked 'adult education with social or cultural action' and adopted an explicitly Freirean approach of 'an examination and exploration of communities in all their complexity , in order to encourage the embracing of options which improve peoples' sense of identity, integrity, security and dignity.

When (2000 : 128).

Other local projects followed during the 1970s, including Leeds University's Pioneer Work Ward and Taylor, (1986 : 34) . This was inter – agency work that relied on close ties with the WEA , local education authority (LEA) , social services, the voluntary sector and trade unions. Supported with reservations, by the department of Education and Science (especially after the election of the Conservative government in 1979), Pioneer work which was built on previous project of CDPs in West Yorkshire linked with the LEAs, the voluntary sector in Bradford and Leeds, and the joint Leeds University / WEA political economy classes organized by Ron Wiener.

A significant theoretical aid in this work was the publication by Penguin of translations of Paulo Freire's two major works : Pedagogy of the Oppressed (1972) and Cultural Action for Freedom (1972) .

Freire's work became a beacon for radical educators in Britain and informed a number of key projects for example, the Edinburgh Adult Literacy project (ALP), Kirkwood & Kirkwood, (1989 : 27) . His approach drew on both Marxist and Christian traditions , particularly the existentialist and humanist Marxism of Sartre and Fromn, and the radical Christian humanism of Martin Buber. His attack on what he called 'banking' education in favor of a strategy of 'conscientisation' literacy work that drew on the learner's

experience of oppression introduced a new model and a new political terminology for framing literacy work within poor communities (although a form of dialogism had been familiar to older WEA classes .) Freire's pedagogical approach, anyway, probably owed more to John Dewey's experimental pragmatism than Marxist dialectics, although his centering on class oppression and commitment to liberation are clearly within the Marxist spectrum . Smith (2004 : 54) .

CHAPTER FIVE: IMPLICATIONS OF MARXIST THOUGHT ON EDUCATION

5.0 Introduction.

For Marxist, the overall education system has been seen as an important part of the superstructure which has supported and represented ideologically the interests of the capital. Marx's own formulation – that the State acts essentially as the 'executive committee of the bourgeoisie – may have been too sweeping a characterization, even at the time. However, the contention that the State system is not neutral or objective, but is, at its core, supportive of bourgeois society, economically, politically and ideologically, has remained one of the defining differences of analysis between 'Liberals' and 'Marxist'. Marx & Engels (1978 : 41) Miliband (1969 : 121) .

In the nineteenth century, Marxist tended to argue that the main forces of the State system were coercive, judicial and constitutional: the armed forces, the police and the political and legal system. With the increasing complexity of twentieth century Western societies , much more attention was given to cultural control through socialization processes of various types. And it is here that education – with perhaps the family, the media and the work environment – has a key role to play. McLellan (1973 : 44) .

From within the Marxist 'world view' – which was, of course , strongly contested by others – the pervasive false consciousness among the working classes, which characterized all Western societies and was seen as the key factor in preventing revolutionary consciousness from developing, had to be contested. Political and industrial mobilization was clearly the major means of achieving this (although the endless and

divisive debates about what forms this should take have been as a besetting problem for all Western socialist movements)

5.1 Role of Education in the Society

Mathews (1980 : 84) argue that through education, children and adults of all social classes, but particularly the working class, were 'incorporated' into the existing society and its class – dominated culture. The task of Marxists, educationally, was to counter this by ensuring that alternative, socialist arguments and analyses were put forward.

Marxists argue that education has to play this role in capitalist societies, because each generation has to be socialized into accepting not only particular and 'appropriate' economic positions in the labor market, but also into believing, in Miliband's words, that they are 'prisoners, not of a social system, but of an ineluctable fate' Miliband, (1969 : 241) .

For the large minority of the population, educational experience has played, and continues to play, a class –confirming role. This applies as much to the higher and middle reaches of the social strata as it does to the much larger numbers of people born into the lower social classes. The system of complex inequalities has to be preserved for capitalism to function, and education's role in this process is sociologically as well as substantively crucial.

Of course, as capitalist structures become rapidly more sophisticated and the process of production more automated, so the education levels of the workforce need to rise. This carries with it, as has been well rehearsed by Marxists, an internal contradiction “ as the levels of education and training required by the economy increase, and dissemination of

news and opinion through the media increases similarly, so the population as a whole is certain, to become more and more aware of the irrationality and inequality of the system. (But, of course, other things are not equal! To pursue this, however, would lead us away from the focus upon adult education.)

This is a key consideration in the context of adult education. For example, trade union education, which we discuss in more detail later, has been a site of conflict between those who see its purpose as essentially to improve efficiency and understanding of the necessary processes and legal environment in the industrial context, and those who see it as a particularly important means of opening up different and progressive explanatory frameworks for exploring the arguably oppressive system within which workers and their organizations operate. Holford (1993 : 73).

Adult education has been one of the most important areas for Marxist educators, particularly organizing and teaching of courses and programmes for working – class and other disadvantaged groups in society. However, Marxists have differed widely over the priorities, content and approach to be adopted in such provision, and even over its objectives. For some, an orthodox pedagogy was considered appropriate, even necessary : what needed changing was the curriculum, the replacement of 'bourgeois' approaches with socialist teaching and content. There was little room here for discussion of alternative positions, for any acknowledgment of ' difference' or for intellectual skepticism. This was not a liberal, Socratic approach : the purpose was essentially didactic, analogous to a quasi – fundamentalist religious education. Here were the 'texts' acknowledged to be 'correct' : the task was to give the opportunity to working – class students to engage with them and understand them, and then to move on to political and

industrial action accordingly. This approach, albeit modified on occasion, characterized the 'bolshevised' Communist Party (CP) of the 1920s with its Leninists 'vanguardist' politics . Millar, (1979 : 24), Holford (1993 : 89) .

For others, more liberal and academic in their approach, the task of Marxist education for adults was seen very differently. The problem with the existing system was that it pretended to be objective, value – free and thus academic. The fact that many, probably most , of its adherents and its learners believed it to be so only made the problem worse. Marxist adult educators of this school tried to introduce a breadth of reading – focusing upon Marxist and other socialist texts not normally studied in universities, at least in the earlier years of the twentieth century, let alone in trade unions and other working – class circles. A striking example of this is cited by Margaret Cohen : the Member of Parliament Ellen Wilkison, recalling her first contact with the Labour Colleges, said that although she had taken a degree in history at Manchester University, she was 'astonished to discover how little real history I had been taught' Cohen (1990 : 115, citing Millar, 1979 : 264) .

What place, though, have Marxist perspectives had in the overall context of British adult education? As with politics more generally, Marxism has been a relatively minority force in British adult education, certainly in numerical terms (of learners and tutors) , but its importance as a countercultural and intellectually powerful influence has been considerable. This is evident from the historical record of the relationship.

5.2 The Adult Education Context

Overall adult education has, since the middle of the twentieth century, been dominated by two sorts of provision: leisure and recreational courses, usually under the aegis of local education authorities, colleges of further education or the voluntary sector, and vocational provision across a wide variety of subjects geared towards perceived labor market needs. This latter emphasis has increased remarkably since the 1980s for a variety of reasons, but not least because of dominance of human capital perspectives Chukwu (2007 : 72) .

For our purposes, however, there are two other strands of adult education whose traditions and practice are of central relevance for discussion of Marxist perspectives. To an extent , these have been in tension with each other. On one hand, there has been the provision through the institutions – universities and colleges – of liberal education (and some vocational programmes) for adult learners ‘ on the other hand, there has been a long tradition of ‘independent’ adult education, generated by and provided for working – class communities themselves. Histories of adult education note this duality but have tended to emphasize the role of universities, colleges and leading liberal intellectuals in offering educational opportunities to adult learners, especially working people. Because these sources tend to be better documented, it can often appear as if adult education has been primarily a service provided by socially concerned individuals and institutions for those from the lower orders in society who are crucially in deficit. Thus, Birkbeck and the Mechanics’ Institutes, James Stuart and University Extension, and even Albert Mansbridge and the Workers’ Educational Association (WEA) linked passionate individuals with privately and publicly funded institutions for the education of adults.

Much early nineteenth century adult education was indeed seen as charitable work, involving, as it did, the health and spiritual welfare of mill workers, especially women, who were seen to be especially vulnerable. Even Robert Owen's educational projects at his New Lanark mills were arguably part of this charitable process. But Owen's project also reveals something of the other half of the story : that of popular educational movements which were often self – help in style and radically political in motivation. Ozmon and Craver (1986 : 262) .

All the above examples should not simply be seen as products of the liberal intellectuals and institutions nobly giving of themselves to the 'social problem' of workers' welfare, but equally importantly, as the result of intense upward pressure from social movements for education. Had it not been for the demand of Glasgow artisans for technological and political understanding. Birbeck may never have pursued the idea of Mechanics' Institutes. Without the demand of excluded middle – class women and workers for university education, Sturt might never have persuaded Cambridge to begin its programme of extension lectures. If workers, newly organized into trade unions and fired by socialists ideals, had not demanded intensive study of social, political and economic studies at a high level, Mansbridge may never have persuaded Oxford to support the WEA. However, the contradictory narrative running through all these collaborations is one of containment as well as enlightenment. There is a strong case made by Roger Fieldhouse and others that there was an element of social control in the State's support for 'responsible' adult provision. Given the increasing power of the working class and its institutions in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, it was essential for the State to

ensure that these newly powerful elements were incorporated into the existing social order and its culture. Fieldhouse (1985: 77).

The employers who had funded the Mechanics' Institute forbade discussion of religion and politics – prompting William Cobbett to refuse support them – and University Extension increasingly offered series of lectures that had little space for discussion or critical comment. From its earliest days, Marxism has played the role of the ideological phantom in British adult education, a role closely paralleling its relative marginalization from the institutionalized British Labour movement. The demand for Marxist economic theory, on the other hand, was a feature of the striking adult student at Ruskin College in 1909 and the Scottish Labour College, where John MacLean regularly lectured to hundreds of workers in Glasgow's Central Halls around the time of the First world War, McBride (1977 : 29) .

The formation of the British Communist Party in 1920 institutionalized a form of Marxist ideology that immediately attracted the Labour movement's dedicated hostility. As we shall see, much of the argument to fund and support some forms of British adult education was drawn from the need to combat this ideological threat that might invite Red Revolution, which was linked ever more closely to the perceived interests of the former Soviet Union. The attraction Marxism had for working – class activists was often put down to brainwashing by politically motivated men. But, in reality, the adoption of Marxism was but the most recent of a succession of radical political ideologies that reached back at least to the Diggers and Levellers of the Civil War of the seventeenth century, and perhaps even to the Wycliffean proto- Protestant revolts of the late Middle Ages. It was part of a deep – rooted English radical tradition, famously described and

celebrated by Thompson in the making of the English Working Class (Thompson, 1963 : 66) .

Marx's works were only available in English in cheap pamphlet form at the turn of the century. H.M. Hyndman, founder of the British Social Democratic federation. The first British Marxist party formed in the 1880s, read Capital in the French edition only, the English translation not being available until several years later. Beer, (1953 : 227) Macintyre (1980 : 67) .

Marx was then considered as something of a curiosity and Marxism seen as one of many bizarre continental theories, of little consequence to any but a few enthusiasts. Marxism , of course, became the dominant ideology of the Left in the twentieth century but, in contrast to most other developed societies, Marxism did not become a major force in Britain's intellectual force or political life. The reasons for this are complex and contested, but, as famously argued by Thompson and Miliband; appear to be connected with the absence of a major totalizing sociological tradition in Britain and the peculiar nature of British labourism. Thompson (1963 : 76) Miliband (1973 : 81) .

But Marxist have always formed a small, influential, critical, internal opposition.

Marxism in Britain has been split among a wide variety of tendencies. The two major interwar traditions were located in the former Soviet Stalinised orthodoxy of the CP and its Trotskyite critics. Following the Second World War, a much greater interest was taken in other forms of European Marxism. Translations of Gramsci appeared in the early 1960s. As early as the 1930s, academic exile like Karl Manneheim and Karl Polanyi had introduced a Lukacsian influenced Hegelian Marxism into adult education circles. Whilst these traditions and functions continued and developed in various ways – not least in the

flowering of Trotskyite and quasi – Trotskyite movements from the later 1950s through to the 1970s – it was not until the publication of *History and Class Consciousness* in 1971 that serious study was undertaken. Higgins (2005 : 72).

The Frankfurt School of critical theory also began to be noticed in academic circles and translations of Horkheimer, Adorno, Benjamin and Marcuse appeared in the late 1960s and 1970s. While this abundance of publication – the ‘Moment of Theory’ – was intellectually very fertile, its impact on the Labour movement was slight and remained largely confined to higher education circles. A partial exception to this was the post-1956 first ‘New Left’ which was , significantly , led by adult educators and their academic associates: E.P. Thompson, John Saville, Raymond Williams, Ralph Miliband and others. Thompson (1963 : 94).

These academics and Marxist educators were inspirational in the development of new approaches and new subject frameworks, ‘history from below’, literature and cultural studies, and more radical politics. This produced a much greater interest in Marxist theory in Britain than ever before and many student dissidents subsequently sought careers in adult education and its more radical offshoot, community education.

5.3 History : Marxist Adult Education

Brian Simon locates the decisive change in Labour movement education from the Liberal election victory of 1906. Simon (1974 : 296) . Simon notes how the rapid expansion of cheap, popular reading material, combined with a dynamic Labour movement experiencing a taste of political power for the first time, had created educational expectations. The labour movements’s three main journals, *Labour Leader*, *Justice* and

Clarion, the Rational Press Association's, reprints of secularist and political texts, fed a new appetite for political learning amongst working people. This was one of the reasons underlying the creation of the WEA in 1903 and the Oxford Conference of 1908.

Some of the first works of Marxism were also available in cheap translation by Sonnenschein and, according to contemporary accounts, by socialist pioneers such as Tom Bell, and they were eagerly snatched up in the mining villages of central and southern Scotland. Simon (1974 : 298) .

Similarly, in the valleys of South Wales, the miners established their own libraries in which Marxist economics figured prominently – and fed the discontent of those who went on to Ruskin College and were dissatisfied with the 'imperialist' economics they found dominant there. The great difference from institutional adult education provision was that 'the socialist movement was now producing its own tutors to guide studies and organize classes or study groups of the kind fostered by Tom Mann and others from the 1890s . Simon (1974 : 299) .

Socialist workers learned from and taught other workers in self - help groups , which differed little from those of the corresponding societies of a century earlier, except for the greater availability of texts. This was the continuation of a tradition of workers' self-help ,which had nourished the mutual improvement societies and knowledge of Chartism of the nineteenth century but which, at various times, had been driven underground by the state and clerical forces.

For the whole adult education movement in Britain, education with and for working – class people and their organizations and communities has been a consistent priority. This reflects the persistent inequality in Britain's social structure whereby, inter alia , very

large numbers of people have been effectively excluded from educational opportunity beyond the minimum school leaving age . Thompson (1968 : 99) Taylor et al. (1985 : 83) .

This commitment to working – class adult education has had a different level of centrality for Marxists, however, for virtually all Marxists (at least until the middle years of the twentieth century) the working class – and particularly workers at the point of production – were seen as the key agency for achieving socialist change. To enable a socialist political consciousness to become embedded in the working – class movement and its culture was an educational as well as a political task – ‘Agitate, Educate, Organize! As the old socialist slogan has it.

By the early nineteenth century the working class and its agencies had become, clearly, important factors in the power structure of society. The State, in its various guises, began to take a serious interest in workers’ education. Scholars contest whether this resulted from liberal enlightenment, industrial utilitarianism or as Marxists consistently argue, a desire for ideological social control. Steele (1987 : 34) , Fieldhouse (1996 : 72) .

What is beyond doubt, however, is that for Marxists it was essential to develop independent working- class education – independent, that is, from state control. To an extent this has been true for all socialists in the Labour movements. Jack Jones, the former leader of the Transport and General Workers’ Union , for example, argued that : ‘The striving for clarity of thought and determination in action to advance to working class interests was bound to emphasize independence from orthodox “education” offered by the ruling class, which wanted a cheap and servile labor force’. Holford, (1993 : 7)

Taking this logic further, Brian Simon has argued that there were two conflicting tendencies in workers' education in the early twentieth century: 'independent educational activities, carried out by and for the working class, under its own control' and education via the state, whose "objective" was specifically to influence the thinking of the radical working and artisan classes, to draw them away from ideologies that led directly to radical or revolutionary conclusions, and to persuade the workers that their real interest lay in assisting, or co-operating with, the positive and active development of capitalism' Simon (1974 :16 – 17).

This Manichaeian view of the adult education world is, to say the least, reductive. Anyway, 'independence' is a euphemism for control by socialist organizations, with curriculum, reading and assessment judged on 'socialist' criteria. Arguably, workers' education can be conceptualized as a spectrum of intermediate perspectives. At one extreme was the State bureaucracy, concerned both with social control issues and with 'appropriate' procedures and the setting of standards attaching to grant aid and the employers who wanted a skilled but compliant workforce ; in the middle were the WEA and, increasingly through the twentieth century, the university extramural departments; and on the explicitly socialist Left were the National Council of Labour Colleges (NCLC) and, once the CP had been established in 1920 and had been rapidly 'bolshevised', the educational wing of the CP itself. Sarup (1982 : 113).

The NCLC, established in 1921 and building upon a number of successful Labour College initiatives, was the major focus in the 1920s for explicitly Marxist education provision for working Marxism and Adult Education in Britain class students, predominantly male trade unionists. Initially funded by the South Wales Union of

Mineworkers and the Railway Workers' Union, several trade unions subsequently affiliated to the movement, including the Amalgamated Engineering Union and the Transport and General Workers' Union. Growth in the early 1920s was rapid: by 1923 there were 529 classes were enrolling 12,000 students; by 1925, 1234 classes enlisting over 30,000 students . Hoford (1993 : 87)

5.4 The Role of Marxism in Adult Education in the Twenty – first century.

Mathews (1980 : 98) maintains that Freire is probably the last major educationist claiming adherence to a Marxist tradition to have had a wide impact in Britain, and this was 30 years ago - although this says as much about the sorry state of the academic world of educational studies as it does about the wider territory of the arts and social sciences. The emergence of postmodernism, post – structuralism, and feminist and post colonialist theory has undermined any such simple, clear – cut affiliation and arguably revealed theoretical problems and omissions in Marxism. And, of course, this has reflected the fundamental changes in the wider world: the collapse of the former Soviet Union and associated Communist Parties, and the serious deconstruction of democratic socialism in most developed societies.

Marxists and Marxian influences upon contemporary British adult education, notably Jurgen Habermas ,Connelly(1996 : 33) and Pierre Bourdieu , Jenkins (1991: 24). Habermas's original historical work constructed the very fruitful idea of the bourgeois ' public sphere' and generated wide critical discussion through which alternative spheres of women and workers began to be articulated, with obvious implications for adult

education. He is congenial to adult educators because he provides a narrative through which community – based education can be viewed.

Boudreaux's analysis draws on both Marx and Weber, and reflects on Gramsci's theory of hegemony in trying to understand the mechanisms of social reproduction. As one commentator on Boudreaux put it, his contribution has been systematically to examine the question of 'How does a social system in which a substantial section of the population is obviously disadvantaged and exploited survive without its rulers having to depend on physical coercion for the maintenance of order?' Jenkins (1991 : 25).

Marxist influence upon community education in adult education has been complemented since the 1970s by feminism and feminist theory. The emergence of women's studies in the late 1960s in WEA classes was intimately allied to the feminist movement and, as such, is a prime example of a social movement generating and stimulating a whole new curriculum. Sheila Rowbotham's WEA classes in women's history in Hackney and a series of New Opportunities programmes in most large cities, which were organized by the WEA , universities and education departments, were the first of a wave of adult classes throughout the 1970s that centered on the particularity of women's experience, the construction of patriarchy, the language of subordination and the problem of masculinity. Adult education woke up to the fact that 'normal' relations between men and women were habitually oppressive, and that education offered many women an opportunity to reassess their lives and social roles (and future employment) . Although feminism swiftly became as fissiparous as the Trotskyite movement, many feminists still see the Marxist tradition as a starting place for social analysis . Sowell (1985: 102).

An important criticism – which remains contentious – focused on the centrality of social class in Marxist analysis, which in some feminists' view disguises the specificity of women's oppression within class relations. Although high – profile demands for women's right now appear sometimes to be under attack in face of the rearguard actions of conservative, often male – dominated, faith groups, a kind of masculine emulation by professional women and 'laddishness' by young women, everyday relations between men and women have undergone a profound shift. Undoubtedly, middle- class women have benefited most from the women's movement, since trade union demands for equal pay and conditions have been slower to achieve results and have been pursued with less vigor by middle – class educators. This, of course, mirrors developments elsewhere in education and in the wider society. For example, it is middle – and upper – middle – class young women who have been overwhelmingly the greatest beneficiaries of the rapid expansion of higher education; generally, many hitherto male – dominated programmes have now been 'opened up' to a surprising extent, to women graduates (e.g. medicine). In adult education there is a continuing refrain from (largely middle –class) women students about how far they have been able to transform their lives at all levels through the medium of adult learning. Small (2005 : 63)

So, what has been the significance of Marxism within British adult education, and what is the position in the cotemporary context and the medium – term future?

Marxism, though always a minority force, has been a profound influence upon adult education theory and practice. As with Keynes, in a rather different context, many Marxist approaches have been absorbed wholly into the culture of the Left – reformist as well as revolutionary – and form part of the currency of everyday intellectual debate.

Numerous examples could be cited : two of the most obvious are, firstly, the development of new approaches to central academic disciplines through adult education – ‘history from below’ and cultural studies; and, secondly, the Marxist and quasi – Marxist perspectives derived through the adult learning experiences of many key individuals in the Labour Movement, Social class as an explanatory category and the concept of class conflict are still commonly used even by those who denounce them most. Nyirenda and Tshumi (2002 : 227) .

The contemporary picture is, of course, highly complex. Totalizing perspectives of all sorts – at least in the Western world – are discredited, partly because of postmodernist theorizing, but also because of events in the material, political world. Oppositional social movements are widespread, as are the theoretical analyses underpinning them, but they are fragmented and not as yet capable of mobilizing significant electoral support. Nor, for that matter, are they engaged in revolutionary activity. In sharp distinction to many earlier movements, there is little contact with conventional ‘adult education’, although self –education is widespread through group- learning forums and Internet sites. The Freirean methods of the Latin American popular education movements are also becoming more widely known and emulated. Small (2005 : 89) .

Britain remains a grossly unequal society, in political as well as economic terms; and the deindustrialization and virtual destruction of working – class culture, which derived from the Labour movement and its communities, have severely weakened the links between radical adult education and the organized working class. An individualistic culture permeates society – working – class as much as middle – class – and a trivializing and materialistic media is a powerful socializing force. Yet Marxism and Marxist adult

education remain as relevant as ever – arguably more so. Capitalism depends upon inequality and oppression, nationally and internationally. Marxism is not, as Marx himself emphasized, a text – based fundamentalism, but a dynamic, responsive, intellectual and social framework of analysis. For Marxists, some form of ‘socialism’, or whatever new term is used to describe it, remains the only rational solution to humankind’s predicament. Sarup (1982 : 116) .

The world social forum and its offshoot the World Educational Forum are already suggesting new forms of social learning that may well point the way forward. The task for adult educators in the present context is, through praxis, to find new ways of working with the radical forces now evident in social movements, in the Labour movement (which is bitterly disillusioned with ‘New Labour’) and in the impoverished (and often racially oppressed) communities of the working class.

5.5 A Recapitulation

In Chapter one, we indicated at the very onset that our task centered on Marxist theory of education and its pedagogical implications. We noted that Marxist theory of education is in the first instance a theory of history, structure, content and functioning of compulsory state schooling. In the second instance, it address specific features of schooling, that is, curricula, learning arrangements, authority patterns incorporating Marxist sociology, psychology and history. Marxism has had a major impact on the world and its education, but this impact like the philosophy itself is subject to a variety of interpretations. We emphasized that Karl Marx did not write extensively about education, but his ideological ideas coupled with his general theory greatly influenced subsequent Marxist philosophers

and educators. This position which we took here implied that in order to understand Marxist significance to philosophy of education, there must be a recognition not only of Marx's original works, but also of divergent interpretations that may be at odds on key points.

As a point of departure, we looked at some works that exposes Marxism as a philosophy of education and outlines its principles on education. Here, we identified Karl Marx's own books, Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels articles, books written by Koren, McBride, Mathews, Ozmon and Craver, Bowles and Gintis, Paulo Freire and recent articles in educational journals. Marxists believe that human society must move from capitalism to socialism and eventually to communism. They view educational aims primarily in terms of this dialectical movement and the immediate goals are to mould a socialist conscious and a socialist society. They advocate for an education that seeks to develop a new socialist human being. Marxists argue that, even though a primary aim of Marxists education is building a socialist consciousness, then perhaps an even greater aim is building a socialist society, for social conditions are an important part of the conditions that produce people with the desires consciousness.

Marxists contend that there has been a clear connection both in practice and in theory between schools and the production of labor power suited to the Capitalist mode of production . The development of knowledge, skills, abilities, temperaments and attitudes are all part of the school's role in the reproduction of society's productive forces.

According to them, the dominant ideology is expressed, lived and indeed examined in schools. Schools bring about the reproduction of productive forces in the sense that they reproduce labor power by reproducing the conditions of labor power in social formation.

Marxists hold that capitalists have always exploited technology in order to either eliminate or weaken the position of labor in production. They argue that schooling is not a vehicle for social mobility, since there is very little change in the overall distribution of power and wealth in the society. Thus, there is inefficiency in schooling, that is, there are contradictory tendencies within it, it does other things besides carrying out its main function. Education systems are places where battles are waged for the hearts and minds of each generation. The major forces are capital on the one hand and labor on the other hand.

Thus, Marxism in its theory of education claims to blend theory and practice, and seek to create awareness among the learner about the crucial need for rational activity and a sense of social responsibility needed for a humane existence.

Chapter three concerned itself with Marxist educational ideas. We have noted that Marxism is one of the most controversial thoughts among the modern philosophies of education. It developed from other philosophy outlooks which preceded it. Marxism helped launch some of the far-reaching social and political revolutions in the twentieth century. As a matter of concern, it was worth digging deep into the origins of Marxism so as to get a clear view of its philosophical orientation. We have found out that Marxism is based on materialistic ideas which are greatly elaborated in the philosophy of materialism. Two materialist traditions lie at the foundation of Marxism namely, British and French materialism. Marxism as a philosophy focuses on the society as Marx stated that to really understand the nature of society, one has to go not to the Hegelian general development of the human mind, but to the material conditions of life. According to Marx, all social relations, that is, the class struggle, institutional, legal and political

authority forms the super structure. It is evident that the aims of Marxist education are to be found in both the Marxist conception of history and in the critical analysis of the existing conditions. Marxists view educational aims primarily in terms of this dialectical movement and the immediate goals are to mould a socialist conscious and a socialist society.

In Chapter Four, we dealt with the modern Marxist perspective on education. We have noted that the continuing viability of Marxian perspective today are bound up with the expansion of capitalism in a global economy, and growing importance of the economy in every domain of life. Marxism has historically presented critical perspectives on capitalism, and the ways that economic imperatives shape institutions like schooling to correspond to the interests of the ruling class. Marxism stresses on the idea that the role of modern education ranging from what is taught to how it is taught is determined by the nature and demands of the economic system.

Marxists contend that the education systems exists to produce a labor force for capitalism. This involves teaching qualities and skills needed, and attitudes and various likely to endorse capitalistic practices. The function of education is to anticipate and reproduce the conditions and relationships which exist between employers and workers in the workplace. In this respect, education is used to maintain order and control.

Marxist theory of education lays great emphasis on adult education. Radical approaches to Arts and Social studies courses were already enjoying some popularity in adult education classes during the World Wars. The intention was to make literature , history, philosophy and art relevant to working – class people and as a result produced many

innovative courses, that is, study of international affairs, industrial relations, popular culture and social history which are still relevant and marketable today.

Chapter Five has addressed on the implications of Marxist thought on education. We have pointed out that the overall education system for Marxists has been seen as important part of the superstructure, which has supported and represented ideologically the interests of the capital. In the social sphere, Marxists attests that through education children and adults of all social classes are incorporated into the existing society and its class- dominated culture. For the large majority of the population, educational experience has played and continues to play, a class confirming role. It is clear that as capitalist structures become rapidly more sophisticated and the process of production more automated, so the education levels of the workforce need to rise.

Adult education has been one of the most important areas for Marxist educators, particularly organizing and teaching courses and programmes for working class and other disadvantaged groups in the society.

5.6 A Recommendation for further possible Research

Marxist theory of education is very diverse in its outlook. This study concerned itself in exposing Marxist educational principles and has greatly evaluated its contribution in the adult education context, which is one of the most important areas for Marxist educators. There is need for serious reflection and research to establish whether Marxist educational principles informs the Kenyan system of education.

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