

**SCHOOLING AND THE STATE :**  
**A Study of the Dynamics of Social Control and Social Change**

Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University  
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for  
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**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

**ANAND KUMAR DUBEY**

ZAKIR HUSSAIN CENTRE FOR EDUCATIONAL STUDIES  
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY  
NEW DELHI—110067,

**1988**

To

My Parents





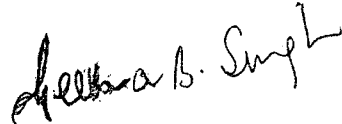
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July 21<sup>st</sup>, 1988

DECLARATION

Certified that the dissertation entitled 'SCHOOLING AND THE STATE : A Study of the Dynamics of Social Control and Social Change', submitted by MR ANAND KUMAR DUBEY in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY, has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other university and is his own work.

We recommend that this dissertation may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.



DR GEETHA B. SINGH  
Supervisor



PROF. S.C. GHOSH  
Chairperson

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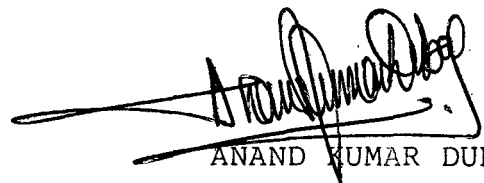
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ANAND KUMAR DUBEY

## INTRODUCTION

A considerable amount of research in the Sociology of Education has focussed on the functions which schooling performs as an institution in society. The focus of research largely remained confined to the functional relationship between schooling and socio-economic structure.

Unfurling the pages of history, it becomes evident that industrialization brought in its wake new roles and values as well as different kinds of problems of inequalities and instability. In such a situation, education was seen as bringing about some congruence between society and newly evolved economic order. Education was expected to maintain a stable and sustained equilibrium in society.

In subsequent research, schooling hence is looked at in two ways :On the one hand, it is seen as an agency for inculcating skills, knowledge and values in children for making them socially mobile; while on the other, some theorists believe that the same values are used to ensure the conformity to the requirements of society. The former view forwards an understanding of the relationship of schooling with social change; whereas the latter looks at schooling as performing the function for the continuance of status quo. Thus schooling is believed to serve as a vehicle of social control and as an instrument of

reproduction of social relations. Therefore, the dynamics of social control and social change becomes important in relation to the role of schooling.

In most societies today, educational policy falls largely within the purview of the state. The usual tendency is to see a benign and powerful state taking responsibility for the education of the masses as part of its welfare policy. However, some radical theorists believe that the state policy itself is guided by the prevalent politico-economic structure along with other socio-cultural factors.

Therefore, the Sociology of Schooling or the Political Economy of Schooling incorporates a wider horizon than a simplistic socio-economic equation; it has to deal with more complex parameters. This is, in essence, what the present research aims to do by studying the nature of the relation between schooling and the state; however, the specific emphasis would be on the dynamics of social control and social change.

At the outset, it is necessarily to define '*social control*', '*social change*' and '*social reproduction*' as used in this study. By '*social control*' is meant the submission to someone else against one's wishes through coercion or the imposition of meaning. Social reproduction is used in the

sense of reproduction of social relations, characteristic of class-based society. Social change is used in the sense of complete transformation of comprehensive social, economic and political order. This is distinct from minor changes which maybe parts of the process of comprehensive transformation.

This is a theoretical study. We have analysed the relationship of education with social control, reproduction and change at two levels: On the one hand we have critically analysed the major theoretical perspectives on the subject, i.e. Functionalist, Interactionist, and Marxist; On the other, we have looked at the historical development of schooling. In that, we have tried to look at the writings of three theorists DDDD Antonio Gramsci, Karl Mannheim and Paulo Freire DDDD who, we feel, differ on understanding in the manner in which schooling can be used as an effective instrument in the process of social change. The dissertation consists of Five Chapters and an Appendix, which contains three tentative models of educational schemes based upon the theoretical positions of Gramsci, Mannheim and Freire.

First chapter covers the liberal and functional positions in terms of the general relationship of schooling with society. Schooling as performing the function of



socialization on the one hand, and selection and role-allocation on the other, have been high-lighted in this chapter. Earlier reforms in schooling were based on this understanding of education. We show that research studies belied the expectations which schooling raised.

Chapter II discusses alternative perspective which focus on control as a function of schooling. The interactionist as well as marxist perspectives are analysed. Social construction of knowledge, hidden curriculum as well as the functions that education plays in reproduction are the important dimensions analysed.

High-lighting the state-intervention in the domain of schooling, we analyse the relationship between the State and Schooling in the Chapter III — 'STATE, IDEOLOGY AND SCHOOLING'. In a capitalist society, the function that education plays as Ideological State Apparatus for social reproduction by concealing its hidden control-dimension is analysed.

Fourth Chapter tries to locate the possibilities of social transformation. An attempt has been made to analyse the writings of Gramsci, Mannheim and Freire, which in our opinion provides an understanding as to how schooling can be a potential instrument of social change even within the rigid and persisting capitalist system. Thus, a possibility

arises that social transformation can be made an important task of educational activity.

In the light of above theoretical understanding, a way out is suggested for bringing the desired changes in the social order in Chapter V DDDD 'TOWARDS A PARADIGM OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION'. In this chapter, we try to explain the possibilities for comprehensive transformation through collective efforts in education. The study is not conclusive, rather it tries to explore the possibilities for social transformation through pedagogical activity.

## CHAPTER-I

### SCHOOLING & SOCIETY

It is difficult to visualize a society devoid of education. Such has been the contention of early educators about the indispensability of education to the society. Education in some form or the other has been present in almost every society at all times. As a social institution education has been assigned certain functions in relation to both individual and society. It is supposed to help in transforming children into adults endowed with intellectual and creative abilities. The domain of education, in the broadest sense of the term, extends over the life-span of individuals beginning from the family to the life-long interaction of the individual with his environment. There is, of course, included a comparatively small but very important period of formal-training, i.e. schooling. This period of schooling tends to coincide with the formative phase of personality, this is the period during which children are susceptible to the ideas, comparatively vulnerable and can be moulded in the desired way. The nature and context of schooling vary in different socio-cultural contexts. In an industrializing and modernizing society, schooling as organized education has become an essential feature. Schools as the places of formal education

are seen to have an important function to perform in the society. This chapter focuses attention on the role that schooling has been traditionally expected to perform. The relationship of education with the individual and society is analysed.

Early educators expressed their concern for education on humanistic grounds. They thought that education would be *socially ameliorating* and *personally fulfilling*. Education was perceived as an instrument for the development of 'reason', and 'rational existence'. It was also necessary for the 'realization of freedom' and the ultimate goal of *enlightenment*. Schools were seen as fertile grounds for bringing about what was innate in children and for their complete development. Education was seen as a *stimulus* in a moral situation, where 'will' serves as the guiding force (This is for instance, the Kantian concept of education). H.H. Horne defines education as a process, which is 'not so much the stimulus shaping the individual, as the individual responding to the stimulus'.<sup>(1)</sup> It is here clear that innate qualities, 'will' and the development of 'reason' in students have primacy over other societal factors. Learning is also not seen as something that is forced; and 'self-realization' is seen as an aim of education. Individualism became the tone of this understanding of education. These educators provided a view which largely considered education

of individuals in isolation from society. Theirs was an idealist and humanist concept of education, where education was seen as a liberating force. They felt that the liberated and enlightened individual would automatically create the desired social order.

Among the early attempts to relate education with social contexts and economic situation was that of John Dewey in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. His work on education was in response to the rapidly changing social, political and economic climate in the wake of industrialization. Dewey saw:

'---- living as an interactive process of learning, education as a process to encourage and enhance learning ---', (2)

While making distinction between education in schools ('intentional') and education in the normal course of life ('incidental'), Dewey analysed the role and scope of schooling in relation to the broader social order. In his work 'The School and Society', (1899), the basic function of education was defined in terms of serving human needs. Schools, for Dewey, were not only important agencies for transmitting desired values; they were also the only means adult really possessed for deliberately educating the young.

The relationship between education and society in the context of the integration of the individuals with society was given prominence by the functionalists. This was largely because of their concern for the 'disequilibrium' that followed economic and other changes taking place in industrializing societies.

#### THE FUNCTIONALIST PERSPECTIVE:

Early sociologists within this tradition hence devoted much of their attention to the question of stability and maintaining equilibrium in society. For the functionalists, society is analogous to an *organism* with interdependent parts working in co-ordination for the survival of the system. Every part or institution of society was seen to have a particular *function* to perform; thus, it contributes to its functional responsibility. Radcliffe-Brown stressed the functional importance of the social institutions for the stability of the society:

'The function of any recurrent activity. Such as the punishment of a crime, or a funeral ceremony, is the part it plays in the social life as a whole and therefore the contribution it makes to the maintenance of the structural continuity'. (3)

Functionalists' logic follows from their concern for the 'continuance of society' and 'maintenance of order'. Functionalists believe that unless members of a society share at least some common sets of social norms, values and social goals, society cannot function and its very survival will be in question. For the maintenance of the social order what is most needed is to recruit new people for taking up the roles and positions of the passing-out generation. There is needed imbuing of proper values and adequate training to the new generation. Unlike the organism, whose parts are biologically programmed by the Nature, human behaviour is purposive, goal-oriented and has a conscious and moral line of thought and action. Therefore, for the effective functioning of the system, people should be trained and prepared in such a way as to carry out their different roles. For that, people should be induced to act out their assigned roles in the society. Here, the concepts of 'culture' and socialization become important. While the internalization of values, norms and beliefs from generation to generation is known as the process of socialization, culture broadly refers to values and norms. It is through the internalization of these core values and norms that individuals come to terms with what is desirable. While the family is the place of primary socialization, schools are also important institution where internalization of values and beliefs takes place.

Schools are considered important social institutions which are entrusted with the 'function' of preparing children to take up their future role in adult society. The major function of educational institutions is conceived as disseminating 'socially worthwhile' knowledge as well as desirable values to an ever-widening range of people. In this context, it is seen as being capable of improving their 'life-styles' and 'life-chances'. Two functions of schooling were emphasized:

- (i) 'Socialization'
- (ii) 'Selection & Role-Allocation'

The early emphasis was on 'socialization' as the major function of education. Later functionalists emphasized 'selection' and 'role-allocation' as the main function of education.

#### Schooling and Socialization :

The process of socialization was seen as important for integrating youths with the society. Schools were considered major institutions for carrying out this function. This integration is seen in terms of the internalization of societal norms and values, whereby the maintenance and continuance of the existing social and moral order did not become problematic.



Durkheim as the main proponent of functionalist school of thought was the first to look at the functional relationship between education and society. His major concern was with the functional integration of the rapidly changing industrial society. In order to avoid a chaotic situation in the changing society, there was needed an agency to direct the behaviour and activities of individual through a regulating mechanism. Education was seen such a regulating mechanism articulated with the moral and social order.

This socialization dimension of education was made clear by Durkheim : Education is ---

'the influence exercised by adult generation on those that are not yet ready to for social life. Its object is to arouse and to develop in the child a certain number of physical, intellectual and moral states which are demanded of him by both the political society as a whole and the social milieu for which he is specifically destined'. (4)

Thus, the purpose of education is the methodical socialization of the younger generation for their smooth transition from home to society. Durkheim argued that the prime function of education was to develop the

potentialities of individuals not for their own sake, but for the sake of society. 'Collective conscience', the cementing force of society, gets its manifestation in the process of education which overcomes individual egoism ('individual conscience'). Thus, education fulfills its function of maintaining and preserving social order by effectively incorporating and newly 'socialized' generation in the system.

This function of education as major 'socialization agency' was later emphasized by Talcott Parsons. Parsons saw the school class as a social system 'in miniature'. According to Parsons, schools make possible the smooth transition of children from home to wider society. From 'particularistic' criteria at home the child is put into the school, which functions on the basis of generalized criteria with a uniform yardstick of evaluation and treatment. This makes children ready to accept relatively more 'universalistic' rules and regulations as well as the criteria of achievement and rewards in the wider society. In both, Durkheim and Parsons as well, education is seen to have assumed the role for socializing the younger generation by developing a spirit of discipline at a very early age when children are often amenable to new values and commands. Therefore, it is clear here that the task of socialization carried out by schools is largely in order to ensure social

stability and harmony. While socialization has always been seen as an important function of education, later theorists tended to place greater emphasis on the function of selection and role-allocation.

Selection and Role-Allocation :

The complex division of labour that evolved in the industrializing West was seen to require individuals equipped with a variety of skills and knowledge.

The role of education was considered important in that it could allocate persons equipped with necessary skills to different positions in the new occupational structure. Parsons for instance looked at the school as fulfilling both functions : socialization as well as role-allocation within occupational structure:

'--- First of how the school class functions to internalize in its pupils both the *commitments and capacities* for successful performance of than future adult roles ['socialization' function], and second of how it functions to *allocate* these human resources within the role structure of the adult society ['selection' and 'role-allocation' function].'(5)

Thus, socialization and role-allocation functions of education are linked together in the schooling situation.

According to Parsons, schools function on meritocratic principles. Schools are the places whereby individuals are 'differentiated', 'rewarded' and 'allocated' to different occupational slots through equipping them with special skills along with the transmission of core-values. This is how Parsons explains the process of occupational selection. He believed that within the schools all children begin from a similar base. However, because of their differential mental abilities and achievements they are placed differentially on the social ladder. The emphasis is on meritocratic criteria. It is argued that the selection mechanism, in the process of educating, helps in seeing that there does not occur any wastage of talent. Therefore, 'equality of educational opportunity' if provided across the cross-section of the society will give individuals chances to improve their social status. Parsons has been criticized for propagating a theory of social and cultural determinism, where the individual is viewed as being passive. (6)

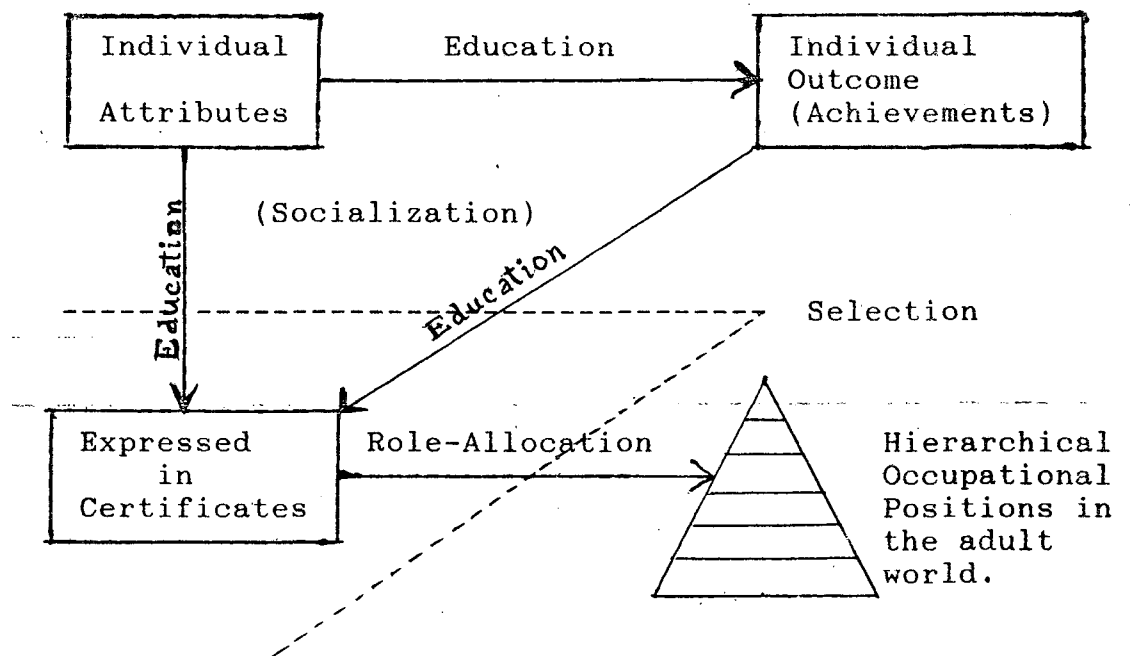
Other functionalists have also focussed attention on the selection function played by schools particularly in the context of the process of social mobility. Ralf Turner for instance looks at two kinds of social mobility : One is *sponsored* mobility and the other is *contest* mobility. These mobilities are based upon sponsored and contested norms which decide the grounds of selection. Contest norms

provide for a more open type of mobility. In relation to the sponsored mobility, Halsey observes that public schools have little to do with mobility in the real sense of the term, rather they sponsor mobility which results in status-differentiation. Hopper, while seeing education as an agency of selection, specified typologies of its ideologies in relation to the social structure. According to him, education as a selection agency simultaneously performs dual functions of 'cooling out' those who are not going to get elite status, and of 'warming up' others so that they try to attain higher positions. For different classes, this selection function of education operates differently. Ioan Davies and Dennis Smith generated a debate on the selection function of education. They held that there was another function of education apart from selection, i.e. 'management of knowledge'. They believed that for understanding these functions of education it is necessary to examine the power-structures in the society. Selection and management of knowledge thus are decided by extra-educational factors. Ioan Davies argues that the concentration on the selective function of education limits a better understanding of the role which education plays in society:

'Selecting people for jobs is one of education's latent function; its manifest function is the "management of knowledge".', (7)

Floud tries to relate education, selection and the technical demands of the industrialized society. She believes that it is through the 'reorganization' of the educational system that a proper relationship can be established between *marketable skills* provided in the schools and individual's chances for social mobility. She stresses, that an industrial economy requires a mobile labour force, if it is to function efficiently.

The relationship between individual ability, success or failure at school and a future position in the adult world can be looked as represented in the form of diagram.



This model attempts to portray the functionalist understanding of the relationship between education and

role-allocation. It shows that children begin from a similar level while entering schools. Selection operates at two levels: One, in the educational process itself; the other at the time of one's allocation to the occupational structure. It is believed that by expanding educational opportunities children from socially disadvantaged groups can get fair chances for moving to the higher-status occupation in pyramidal occupational structure. Thus, it is believed that selection, strictly based upon merit, provides one enough chances to improve upon one's parental status. Here, merit is considered to be a determinant of social mobility. Education here is seen as important for social mobility and thus for social change.

#### RISING SKEPTICISM :

The optimism of the functionalists regarding the role that education could play in bringing about change was not reflected in actual practice. Much of the criticism in this context came from within the liberal-functional tradition itself and was based on evidence from research studies. For instance, no direct correspondence was found between education and the economic structure as was emphasised by analysing relevant data. Randall Collins shows that education cannot be seen as the sole determinant of one's economic position.<sup>(8)</sup> On the other hand he suggests that

the rise in the educational qualifications required for occupations was because of the restrictive practices (by status-groups) that were employed to prevent easy entry into occupations particularly those offered prestige and status.

Schooling was not found to narrow - down differences in 'cognitive ability scores' between different racial groupings, which remained largely unchanged even after similar schooling.<sup>(9)</sup> Very few measures of formal education were found to result in subsequent changes in the individual's occupational status and income level.<sup>(10)</sup> Schooling was also found to be a correlate of one's social origin rather than the determinant of one's success.<sup>(11)</sup> In other words, it was suggested that education tended to further rather than to reduce the degree of social stratification.

The role which education played to bring about social change thus came under severe criticism. While the very efficacy of the criteria of merit was under question, the emphasis on meritocratic criteria by functionalists leads M. Young to the conclusion that a society based on meritocracy would give rise to 'social stratification as intense and as potentially divisive as the social inequality of a rigid class-based society'.<sup>(12)</sup> The functionalists were also criticised for giving the impression that education merely produces an 'over-socialized' mass. In this, the individual



was considered as passive and being shaped and moulded by social forces and social context. Creativity of man was underplayed as this over-socialized man is seen to be inducted into the normative social order by powerful socializing agencies. (13)

On the other hand a growing body of research particularly in the 70s tended to emphasize the role schooling played in maintaining social control and thereby reproducing the inequitable social order. The following chapter deals with the theme of schooling and social control, and focuses on two perspectives in this context. The micro-intraxionist and the macro-structural perspectives.

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## CHAPTER -II

### SCHOOLING, SOCIAL CONTROL AND REPRODUCTION

In late 60s and early 70s criticism of structural-functional position of education forwarded an understanding of schooling as performing functions that were starkly opposed to those publicized. As the 'liberal school-reform balloon burst',<sup>(1)</sup> criticism mounted. This criticism was broadly of two kinds. Some felt that the functionalist perception of an over-socialized mass of pupils did not correspond to reality. The interactionist perspective was used to portray students as active adgents capable of constructing meanings and of defining situations in the course of interaction. Others maintained that instead of bringing about mobility and social change school was used as an instrument of social control and reproduction. Radical criticism of schooling suggests that schooling does nothing to bridge inequalities. Rather, it serves to perpetuate the social order and to legitimate inequalities through the 'ostensibly meritocratic manner by which lthey reward',<sup>(2)</sup> in the educational system and finally in the wider society. Thus, in this way it functions for the 'reproduction of the social relations'.

In what follows we first discuss the interactionist perspective and the way in which it has been used in the

sociology of education. We then, look at the role of education in maintaining control and reproducing the social and economic structure. While the former perspective is usually seen as the 'micro' approach in terms of its focus, the latter is usually referred to as the 'macro structural' approach.

#### THE INTERACTIONIST PERSPECTIVE :

For interactionists, the world out there is not fixed and given to individuals, but is constructed by them by using the clues given to them and interpreted in the light of their previous experiences. Thus, their interaction with others is based on interpretations of signs, gestures, symbols and words those are commonly shared. It becomes clear here that interaction is a dynamic process involving continuous interpretation and *negotiation* by social actors. It involves self-conception, perception about others. 'working consensus' of meanings and negotiated definitions of situations. In this way social realities are actively constructed by individuals through interaction with others and with the environment. Phenomenologists argue for reconstruction of the 'taken-for-granted' meanings of social realities and redefinition of social situations. Ethnomethodologists, like interactionists and phenomenologists, are also concerned with the *actors'*

*construction of social world.* But, they are interested in understanding the methods, the practical activities and procedures which actors use to make the world intelligible.

The social construction of reality involves 'bracketing.'<sup>(3)</sup> of taken-for-granted everyday knowledge, re-examination and reconstruction of meaning, redefinition of social situations and sharing of these through negotiations.

#### SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF EDUCATIONAL REALITY :

In the classroom situation the interaction between teachers and pupils is instrumental in construction of meanings, in defining the situation and in the process of construction of knowledge. Research influenced by international approach focuses on the internal working of the educational system. The meanings constructed by the participants of education - teachers and pupils - are 'as valid on area of study as examination results.'<sup>(4)</sup>

Hargreaves applies interactionist approach to the classroom situation. There exists a state of 'concord' or 'discord' depending upon the congruence or difference in the definitions, aims and goals of teachers and pupils. He finds classroom in a state of 'pseudo-concord' in which students also have some power to resist the imposition of teacher's definition of situation. Thus, there exists a *state of*

*negotiation* which results in the development of shared understanding in a reasonably ordered classroom. It is here suggested that the classroom situation is of conflict, in which students and teachers both try to impose their definitions of situation on one-another. In achieving their separate goals both use different techniques or strategies.

Micheal F.D. Young in 'Knowledge and Control' (1971), used phenomenological perspective and tried to suggest new problematics in the educational research by way of suspending the taken-for-granted concepts in schooling. In this, content of knowledge and curriculum was considered as a problem to be investigated. This heralded 'new directions' in the sociology of education. Rather than seeing knowledge as objective and 'taken-for-granted' or as merely something to be transmitted to the pupils in the form of readymade knowledge, the new sociology of education looks at the social and cultural context of knowledge. For knowledge is to be considered as the product of social and cultural context, all knowledge including educational knowledge depends on the shared meanings of human subjects. In this context, Young says :

'For ordinary discourse, in philosophy or science or every day communication, or interactions in a lesson between teacher and pupils,

these shared meanings are taken for granted as sets of unquestioned assumptions;...', (5)

Domain of new sociology of education is defined by problematics which was characterised by a series of questions :

- What counts as school knowledge?
- How is school knowledge organized?
- What are the underlying codes that structure such knowledge?
- How is what counts as school knowledge transmitted?
- How is access to such knowledge determined?
- What kind of cultural system does school acknowledge?
- Whose interests are served by production and legitimation of school knowledge?', (6)

#### CONSTRUCTION AND MANAGEMENT OF SCHOOL KNOWLEDGE

Phenomenologists of education have taken up the question of curriculum in relation to classroom processes of knowledge construction [YOUNG, (1971); BERNSTEIN, (1967); NELL KEDDIE, (1971) etc]. They were concerned not only with the way knowledge was constructed in the classroom but also with the way in which factors outside the school affected the curricular content. According to Young, educational

knowledge is structured or curriculum is organized through 'social approval'. While exploring the question of 'who gives approval?' and 'how is it done?', Young say that this social approval is guided by political considerations. According to him, those in the positions of power attempt to define what is taken as knowledge and try to impose it on others. In doing this, they define their concept of knowledge as superior and try to legitimize it by making it *the* knowledge to be imparted in school and also by measuring educational success in terms of it. Thus, their concept of knowledge is *institutionalized* and *legitimized* through institutions of education. Young tries to look into the mechanism through which this approval (or imposition) is actually achieved. He finds it essential to explore ...

'relations between the power-structure and curricula, the access to knowledge and opportunities to legitimize it as "superior", and the relation between knowledge and its function in different kinds of society.' (7)

This framework provides an insight in the ways in which the power-structure outside the educational system penetrates and shapes the organization of knowledge and social practices within it. This further create conditions for its continuance. Since, educational knowledge is



socially approved, it is defined at a different level than at the level of schooling only. One subtle example of it is the pre-packaged curriculum which is designed outside the educational process. Curricula, as designed outside the school by the interests other than purely academic, also undermines the role of teacher as an intellectual. Teacher as an intellectual conceptualizes, designs and implements learning experiences suited to the classroom situation. Providing teachers with rigid curriculum and pre-packaged material is seen as an attempt to 'deskill' teachers. According to Micheal Apple :

'Skills that teachers used to need, that were deemed essential .... DDDD such as curriculum deliberation and planning ... are no longer necessary. With the large-scale influx of "prepackaged" material, planning is done at the level of production of both the rules for the use of the material and the material itself. The execution is carried out by the teacher. In the what were previously considered valuable skills slowly atrophy because they are less often required.' (8)

Management of knowledge becomes the task of schooling. In the schooling situation a distinction is made between

*classroom knowledge* and *commonsense knowledge*. Nell Keddie perceives it in terms of a hierarchy of conceptions of knowledge. The teacher's conceptions of 'knowledge' and 'ability' determine how they rank and categorize students.<sup>(9)</sup> This hierarchical conception of knowledge seems to forward the notion of hierarchical levels of personal worth. Therefore, it can be potential source of legitimating inequalities. Nash recognized this dimension of schooling :

'There is a sense, therefore, in which it can be said that schools teach hierarchical levels of personal worth more successfully than anything else.'<sup>(10)</sup>

In this way, the new sociology of education portrays schooling experience as social constructions embodying social, ethical and political interests. What is emphasized is that the 'underlying codes'<sup>(11)</sup>, which constitute the reality of schooling, should be questioned rather than merely be transmitted.

#### THE HIDDEN CURRICULUM

Questioning the underlying codes and content of curriculum revealed a new dimension of curriculum which was found repressive. Apart from the formally laid-down content

curriculum which is explicit in its content, there also exists a 'hidden curriculum', which goes with the package. The 'form',<sup>(12)</sup> of schooling is more powerful than the 'content' (or the explicit curriculum) for the maintenance of the established order. And, it is the hidden curriculum which defines and structures the 'form' of schooling. Hidden curriculum is believed to convey a message of obedience, servile and unrebelling attitude towards the existing system. Roger Dale acknowledges that

'Of central importance in hidden curriculum is the authority-structure of schooling. Specifically, the hierarchical nature of both structure and the process of schooling carries lessons of subordinacy and hierarchy which are essential to the potential worker in an industry or a bureaucracy.'<sup>(13)</sup>

The hiddenness of hidden curriculum makes its functioning efficient without making the purpose public. E. Wallace used the term hidden curriculum to 'refer to those non-academic but educationally significant consequences of schooling that occur systematically but are not made explicit at any level of the public rationales for education'<sup>(14)</sup>. Hidden curriculum operates through false values, myths and beliefs. Ivan Illich makes this clear:

'Everywhere the hidden curriculum of schooling initiates the citizen to the myth that bureaucracies guided by scientific knowledge are efficient and benevolent. Everywhere this same curriculum instils in the pupil the myth that increased production will provide a better life. And, everywhere it develops the habit of self-defeating consumption of services and alienating production, the tolerance for institutional dependence, and the recognition of institutional rankings.' (15)

Hidden curriculum is not always considered hidden. Eggleston says that hidden curriculum is not always covert practices with latent purposes, rather it is intended and consciously obvious in its functioning. He rules out the possibility of its hiddenness: 'hidden curriculum is only hidden, if at all, to the teachers; it is clearly visible to the students' (16), and he further adds that the hidden curriculum 'identifies the students with "their place" in the social system, brings them into compliance with its norms and values and with the structures and sanctions with which they are imposed.' (17)

Whatever be its real nature, whether hidden or visible, the curriculum explicates the repressive nature of

schooling. The very way of transmission of knowledge also high-lights the hierarchical relationship within the classroom. This presents a picture of schooling as the process of imposition of knowledge, meaning and desired behaviour upon the students. In this way schooling is seen to serve as a mechanism of control through its hidden curriculum and the way of teaching. Hidden curriculum refers broadly 'to the *social control* function of schooling.' (18)

#### SCHOOLING AS A MECHANISM FOR SOCIAL CONTROL :

Schooling as an effective institution for social control was recognized by the early functionalists themselves. Their emphasis on socialization was primarily to ensure that the individual conform to the social and moral order. What is important is that the social and moral order was seen as desirable. Functionalists perceived education as a social means through which a society ensured its own survival by the production of moral and social beings in consensus, which was conceived as the ultimate social end. For Durkheim, such control was a social pre-requisite for the generation of 'conscience collective' and for the maintenance and perpetuation of the social and moral order.

Using the interactionist perspective, the new sociologists of education perceive schooling as essentially

repressive in nature reflecting power-relations inside as well as outside the schools. This, according to them, is because the interests, utility and meanings which children experience are subject to the requirements of society. The social relations within the schooling situation is one of control. For instance, as Roger Dale says :

'Education came to be recorded as ... "an investement in social control" through which the values of responsibility, respect for the political order and "desirable" morale codes could be inculcated.' (19)

As descussed earlier, Socially-approved knowledge is imposed upon students at first to contain their recalcitrant attitude and finally to integrate them with the social order. Social control and social needs are linked through the necessity of imposing knowledge and socially desirable values upon individuals. This imposition of meanings and knowledge upon the students is identified as the social control function of schooling. (20) Willard Waller identifies this dimension of schooling :

'Education.....is the art of imposing upon the young the definitions of situation current and accepted in the group which maintains the schools. The school is thus a gigantic agency of social control.' (21)

It is significant that historians of education have overlooked the repressive nature of educational system by presenting history as ever progressive. C. Karier makes the following observations in the American context :

'....the bloody violence and the act of repression committed against minority groups were not part of the mainstream of American history. In a similar vein, expansion of schooling for the masses was usually viewed as a progressive step forward, one generated by humanitarian motives. The possibility that the school was in fact a vehicle of *control* and repression escaped analysis.' (22)

Relationships of authority and control within the schools have also been analysed in the context of the social relations of the work place. In a detailed study of schooling and capitalism Bowles and Gintis comment :

'....the relationship of authority and control between administrators and teachers, teachers and students, students and students, students and their work replicate the hierarchical division of labour which dominates the work-place. Power is organized along vertical lines of authority from administration to faculty

to student body; students have a degree of control over their curriculum comparable to that of the worker over the content of his job.' (23)

Since, relations of authority within the classroom and organization of school knowledge are socially constructed and organized, and are structured by social forces. Hence, they cannot be wished away merely by some sort of 'counter-cultural rebellion' alone. Therefore, any change in social relations within the educational system or in educational knowledge suggests the need for changes in society at large, i.e. the social and economic structure. Among the main criticisms levelled against new sociologists of education is that they remained mostly pre-occupied with the study of constructing knowledge as a result of creative process of interaction in the classroom itself. However, it must be acknowledged that some believed that the classroom could not be seen in isolation from society, i.e. they recognized the need to take both 'micro' as well as 'macro' approaches. For instance, Sharp and Green have attempted to relate educational reality to the wider social reality. The note :

'...the social world is structured not merely by language and meaning but by the modes and forces of material production and the system of domination which is related in some way to material reality and its control.' (24)



The control which new sociologists of education talked about was not a merely coercive and physical control. Rather, this control was found to be operating in the sphere of culture, for instance '*symbolic violence*'<sup>(25)</sup> concealed in the cultural dominance.

Social control is thus believed to be functioning for the maintenance or perpetuation of social and moral order.

#### SCHOOLING AND REPRODUCTION OF SOCIAL RELATIONS :

Underlying the emphasis on social control is the assumption of the necessity for stability, equilibrium and hence perpetuation of the status quo and the role of schooling, in this context. However, there has been in recent years an emphasis on the school's role not merely in social control, but in the actual reproduction of social relations. The reproductive nature of schools can be seen operating at two levels: One, at the level of providing knowledge and skills needed for economic activities, in the labour force : Second, at the level of culture, by providing cultural knowledge, values, language and style as the domain of dominant culture.

In macro-structural perspective, schooling is seen as actively reproducing the pattern of domination in society. The two dimensions of reproduction that have been focussed upon are cultural reproduction and social reproduction :

I. Cultural Reproduction

II. Social Reproduction

In the former, the role of education in the transmission of cultural values and traditions, thereby reproducing class-relations, becomes important. The concept of 'cultural capital' is highlighted. The main theorist whose work has been cited in this context is Bourdieu. In the latter, while analysing social reproduction the attempt has been to see the manner in which schooling creates conditions for the perpetuation of social relations of economic life, 'by facilitating a smooth integration of youth into the labour force.'<sup>(26)</sup> Here, the work of Bowles and Gintis has been considered most important.

SCHOOLING AND CULTURAL REPRODUCTION :

The reproduction of the structure of power-relations and symbolic relationships between social classes has been seen as the main function of educational system by Bourdieu and Passeron.<sup>(27)</sup> It is seen as achieved through the reproduction of the distribution-structure of cultural capital. By cultural capital, it is meant that the accumulated culture of the earlier generations is passed on to the next generation in the form of values and life-style. This provides the '*instruments of appropriation*' to the young generation. And, through these instruments of

appropriation they are able to decipher the codes peculiar to the dominant culture, for instance language, customs, artefacts and status etc. Thus, a particular class comes to have its monopoly on the cultural capital or an exclusive culture which remains unavailable to the common men. Bourdieu refers to education as *pedagogic action*, which facilitates the inculcation of the dominant culture -- more effectively in the cases of those who already possess instruments of appropriation. However, while culture appears to be available to everyone in the society, it is utilized more by the possessors of these instruments of appropriation. Bourdieu argues that schools, though operating on an apparently impartial and formally equitable procedures, serve both to perpetuate and to legitimatise inequalities :

'By awarding allegedly impartial qualifications (which are largely accepted as such) for socially conditioned aptitudes which it treat as unequal gifts, it transforms *de facto* inequalities into *de jure* ones, and economic and social differences into distinctions of quality, and legitimates the transmission of cultural heritage.' (28)

This process of cultural reproduction operates on two levels : One, at the *institutional* level; other, at the *level of personality* (subjective level). Bourdieu clarifies it through the concepts of '*habitat*'<sup>(29)</sup> and '*habitus*'<sup>(30)</sup>. The first defines the social practices of social institution and its institutional aspects - like in schools, building, books, customs, laws, time-table etc. constitute the realm of *habitat*. '*Habitus*' is situated in the realm of unconscious and is constituted of perceptions, thoughts and consequent actions. *Habitus* defines individual's personality disposition. An meaningful interplay between *habitat* and *habitus* determines the process of socialization in the process of schooling. Thus, this socialization does not stop at cultural socialization only, it is not only intellectual 'but also emotional, sensory and physical.'<sup>(31)</sup> The messages, which form part of this process of socialization, go beyond the realm of consciousness and become a part of unconscious; In this manner, they become a part of one's personality disposition.

Thus, Bourdieu and Passeron analyse the cultural reproduction function of schooling through the differential distribution of cultural capital and the covert exercise of 'symbolic violence'. But, in doing so, they seemed to have embraced the extreme of cultural determinism. They have also overlooked the complexities involved in the class-

relationship--like conflict, struggle, counter-culture and resistance on the part of the dominated and the incorporation, accomodation along with control and coercion on the part of dominant class.

#### SCHOOLING AND THE SOCIAL REPRODUCTION :

The analysis of Bourdieu excludes all the important economic and political factors deciding important policies in education. Raymond Williams finds these factors as influencing the domain of culture itself, behaviour and organization of knowledge. Thus, transposition of economic and political factors on the socio-cultural entity is recognised as :

'The pattern of meanings and values through which people conduct their whole lives can be seen for a time as autonomous and as evolving within its own terms, but it is quite unreal, ultimately, to separate this pattern from a *precise political and economic system, which can extend its influence into the most unexpected regions of feeling and behaviour.* The common prescription of education, as the key to change, ignores the fact that the form and content of education are affected, and in some cases determined, by the

actual systems of [political], decision and [economic] maintenance.'<sup>32</sup>

Thus, economic and political-structures have important bearings on education. While answering the same question - 'what functions do schools perform in the society?', Bowles and Gintis recognized the relationship between power and on the one hand and between economy and schooling on the other. They believe that the educational system has a necessary link with the economic system: 'the fundamental function of education being to serve the economy.'<sup>(33)</sup> This link between economy and schooling remains at the core of their analysis. They try to establish 'a prima facie case for the importance of economic structure as a major determinant of educational structure',<sup>(34)</sup> however they rule out the possibility of simplistic relationship between the two. They recognized class-based capitalist economic system 'At the Root of The Problem' (Chapter-3 in 'Schooling in Capitalist America').

In Capitalist system, employer subordinates the interests of the workers and has the control of the production situation. Thus, it maintains a 'hierarchical' relations of production in the wage-labour system under capitalism. Such unequal relationships and unequal ownership of the means of production and the control over it

by owners 'give rise to the relations of dominance and subordination within the confines of the capitalist enterprise.' (35) To maintain permanent control over the otherwise recalcitrant working class, the dominance of capitalists is maintained in various ways as 'the result of explicit mechanism constituted to maintain and extend the dominant patterns of power and privilege.' (36) 'The sum total of these mechanisms and their actions' is called as 'the reproduction process' by Bowles and Gintis. (37)

'The educational system is an integral element in the reproduction of the prevailing class structure. .... the experience of work and the nature of the class-structure are the bases upon which educational values are formed, social justice is assessed.....', (38)

It is believed that education cannot be a force of social change promoting equality and social justice. Rather, educational system reproduces the capitalist system of economic relations and creates conditions for its perpetuation. Schooling, according to Bowles and Gintis has not been able to fill up the dislocations caused by capitalism in the society. They show how paradoxical it is that education has been provided with the task of ensuring equality and justice within capitalist system which itself

is based upon the class-relations of unequal distribution of wealth and access to power and privileges.

Bowles and Gintis say that the reproduction process involves two things : One, a proper justification for this particular social order; and, two, a hierarchical division of labour to ensure that working-class could never exhibit a solidarity, which otherwise could prove a potential danger to the interests of the owners.

'The chosen structure of social relationships is the hierarchical division of labour and bureaucratic authority of corporate enterprise. The system of stratification is by race, sex, education and social class, which often succeeds admirably in reducing the creative power and solidarity of workers.', (39)

This social order is justified on the ground of 'technocratic-meritocratic' principle - a principle on which functionalist understanding of social order is based. According to this principle :

'Earning reflects economic productivity. In a technologically advanced society, an individual's economic productivity depends partly on the level of cognitive skills he or she has attained. Each



year of education increases cognitive skill levels, thus indirectly leading to higher income.,(40)

This is precisely how class relations and power relations are reproduced. 'IQism'(41) present a camouflage to it through creating a justified picture of an unjust order. Education perfectly fits in this picture by playing dual role. On the one hand, education legitimizes the class-structure and prevailing inequalities by creating a myth that it is the ability or one's skills on which one's real success rests. Economic success of individual is determined by his merit, his possession of cognitive skills or broadly the number of years in schools. On the other hand, it prepares individuals for their future productive roles by providing different skills and by socializing them in such a way so that they cannot prove to be a danger to the system, rather they are more likely to accept the values and conditons of the system as justified. The socialization function of education is thus one of shaping the 'consciousness' of the future workers :

'...it is clear that the consciousness of the workers --- beliefs, values, self-concepts, types of solidarity and fragmentation, as well as modes of personal behaviour and development --- are

integral to the perpetuation, validation and smooth operation of economic institutions. *The reproduction of social relations of production depends on the reproduction of consciousness.*' (42)

The politics of educational knowledge here becomes explicit. It is not because society needs personnels endowed with such defined knowledge, rather the main intention is to maintain the established order and to ensure that the power and privileges in the society stay with the dominant class.

The relationship between the educational system and social (including cultural) reproduction has been discussed above. It is however necessary to explore the manner in which the reproduction of the social relations between classes actually take place and how schooling acts as an instrument for this purpose. While there has been references to power-structure, dominance etc. it is surprising that the role of the state has been relatively neglected. This is significant because of the increasing intervention of the state in the sphere of schooling especially in recent decades. The relationship between state and schooling hence becomes pertinent in the context of domination and reproduction. This has been discussed in the next chapter.

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- (4) Karen Chapman: 'Sociology of Schools'; 1986, pp.52.
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- (11) B Bernstein; 1967.
- (12) 'form' is understood in terms of 'messages transmitted as a result of its organisation.
- (13) R Dale in David Gleeson; 1977, pp.46.
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- (15) Ivan Illich: 'Deschooling Society', 1973, pp.77.
- (16) J Eggleston; 1977, pp.18.
- (17) Ibid, pp.117.
- (18) E Wallace as quoted in E 202, 'Mass Schooling', pp.38.
- (19) Roger Dale in E 202, pp.20.
- (20) See Introduction of M F D Young; 1971.
- (21) W Waller: 'Sociology of Teaching'; 1965, Wiley, New York, pp.296.
- (22) C Karier as quoted in E 202, pp.18.

- (23) Bowles & Gintis; 1976, pp.12.
- (24) Sharp & Green; 1975, pp.25.
- (25) Bourdieu in Gleeson; 1977.
- (26) Bowles & Gintis; 1976, pp.11.
- (27) Bourdieu & Passeron; 1977.
- (28) P Bourdieu: 'The School as a Conservative Force' in J Eggleston; 1974, pp.42.
- (29) 'habitat' or 'objectified history' - 'the history which has accumulated over the passage of time in things, machines, buildings, theories, customs, laws,...etc.' [Aronowitz & Giroux; 1986, pp.82].
- (30) 'habitus' or 'embodied history' - 'a matrix of perception appreciations and actions,..... a system of durably acquired schemes of perception, thought and action, engendered by objective conditions but tending to persist even after an alteration of those conditions'. [Aronowitz & Giroux; 1986, pp.82.]
- (31) Aronowitz & Giroux; 1986, pp.83.
- (32) R Williams: 'The Long Revolution'; 1961, pp.119-120.
- (33) E 202, 'Mass Schooling', pp.3.
- (34) Bowles & Gintis; 1976, pp.224.
- (35) Ibid, pp.55.
- (36) Ibid, pp.126.
- (37) Ibid, pp.126.
- (38) Ibid, pp.125-126.
- (39) Ibid, pp.55-56.
- (40) Ibid, pp.109
- (41) 'IQism' means the trend of Psychological testing of one's intelligence, which legitimates one's position in the society. It ignores the biasedness in IQ measurements as Knowledge itself is socially and culturally organized.
- (42) Bowles & Gintis; 1976, pp.126.

## CHAPTER III

### STATE, IDEOLOGY & SCHOOLING

So far, we examined the role which education plays as a mechanism of control and production. We now raise this question of 'why and how this is done?'. If we look into the history of mass-schooling which is very much a nineteenth century development, we find that it evolved along with the industrial revolution. The formative phase of mass-schooling was of Monitorial school movement in the early 19th century, this finally culminated in public compulsory day schooling in 1870s & 1880s. These monitorial schools came into being possibly because of the newly evolving ethos accompanying industrial revolution. This demanded better trained, disciplined and skilled manpower in the new type of economic activities. Through this monitorial system, it was expected to educate a large number of pupils with a very small cadre of teachers. Probably, it was designed to achieve a quick and cost-effective system. Subsequently, efforts were made to make education more meaningful and available to everyone in the society. On the one hand, intellectuals and philosophers put a premium on education as a device creating enlightened individuals as well as to achieve social mobility. On the other, there was a growing popular demand for extension and reform in the existing public provisions. Thus, the world of mass

schooling was shaped not only by capital but importantly enough by 'lesser known socialist, populists, feminists, liberals, and other forgotten citizens',<sup>(1)</sup> in the wake of popular demand for general ameliorative type of educational policy.

The combination of educational demands and philanthropic activities mounted the pressure on the British state to pass Forster's Education Act of 1870, which made public day schooling compulsory. The popular moment continued for free compulsory education, for a secular curriculum and for the extension of educational opportunities. And, years followed saw successive extension of state education. The intervention of the state was part of the expansion of capitalist economy industrialization, mass-scale production and subsequent size in consumerism the state became more active and started intervening in the process of regulating the structure of economic production and distribution. Thus, state assumed a role for generating favourable conditions for greater accumulation of capital.

Before moving on to explain how the state really comes in, we will look at the the meaning of the 'state'. We go on to analyse the role of the 'state' in the process of education.

## THE STATE : CAPITALIST AND WELFARE

It is difficult ~~is difficult~~ to give a general definition to the concept 'state'. The true nature of the state can be understood not in terms of a concrete definition but in terms of the role which it plays in the dynamics of social processes. Here, it should be clarified that the 'state' as a concept should not be confused, which it often is, with the government. 'Government is the most visible, and arguably the most important and the most active, part of the state but it is not the whole of the state'.<sup>(2)</sup> Roger Dale recognized state as 'a set of publicly financed institutions....with one branch (as) the government.'<sup>(3)</sup>

There are two ways in which 'state' has been looked at. Marxists and Liberals see the state differently. Liberals see the state as a governing body 'within-but-above' the society. In this view, state is almost confined to the government. State is here conceived as a balancing mechanism which is *neutral* and fulfills everyone's interests providing 'a set of common social goods- defense, education, law enforcement to a sizeable majority of the society'.<sup>(4)</sup> Liberal view of the state is of welfare oriented guardian state looking after the masses for their general well being.

However, marxist definition of the state is claimed to be much broader and covers the state and the instruments in

the possession of the state (i.e., the state apparatuses). Marxist theory of state claims to take all comprehensive structure of society and the processes within into consideration. State is have essentially seen as tied with the class-structure and dominance-pattern in the socioety and as serving the interests of the capital. This '*no-neutral*' state is inevitable in the capitalist society, so is recognized by Marx :

'The state is nothing more than the form of organization which bourgeo is necessarily adopt .... in the form in which individuals of ruling class assests their common interests.'<sup>(5)</sup>

Marxist's claim to provide a suitable account of the relationship of politics and economy and their bearings on other spheres in the society.

#### THE 'WELFARE STATE' :

The welfare state is essentially seen as a benign state setting out to serve the best interests of its citizens. It is seen as doing away with the worst excess and dislocations caused by prevailing capitalism. Thus the state intervention in every sphere of life is justified in terms of looking after the social processes of production and distribution of social goods to ensure their availability to everyone in the society. Whatever the state



does, from this perspective is seen providing 'state care from cradle to grave.'<sup>(6)</sup> According to T.H. Marshall, if on the one hand the welfare state guarantees individual freedom and equality of opportunity and fair justice, it is on the other a 'responsible promoter and guardian of the welfare of the whole community.'<sup>(7)</sup> Thus the welfare state can be seen as a form of 'social engineering' and a way of meeting the concrete needs in the society.

Ideology of *democratic pluralism* also advocates the state intervention in the form of a guardian agency to take care of everybody's interests in democratic society without referring to the mode of production predominant in the society. It is here assumed that the power is 'dispersed' uniformly throughout the society and nobody can have too much of it. The state is conceived as an independent or neutral entity which uses to compromise between conflicting interests leading to everybody's satisfaction. Thus, in pluralist democracy 'in the end everybody including those, at the end of the queue, gets served'<sup>(8)</sup> alongwith the perception of the state as a welfare one goes a certain understanding of education policy. For instance, here the ideas of 'equality of opportunity and justice' and 'mass-schooling' are brought in to see that the wastage of talent does not occur and that an increasing number of people are able to improve their socio-economic status and are socially mobile. Similarly, pluralist see education as the political

socialisation through which the citizens acquire political culture alongwith rational norms and values.

This approach to the understanding of the state intervention has a major draw-back in that it accepts the existing economic and social inequalities as rational without questioning it. Basically, how so ever much the policies of welfare state may represent concessions wrung from capital, it does not do away with the fundamental concept of inequality. Radicals express their skepticism that the welfare state has humanized capitalism but not changed it. Even the growth of 'nationalization' of private sector has meant that the state has taken over the weaker industries under its control to run them on capitalist lines. The liberal contention that there is no conceptual conflict between the class structure and the achievement of what Adam Smith calls 'the greatest good for the greatest number' does not stand valid. We have already discussed the criticism levelled against the pluralist view of the role of education, in altering the attitudes of individuals in accordance with the political culture and, thus, in changing their positions in economic, political and social structures, holds true if an only if individuals show their allegiance to some interest group or pressure group.

However, this does not explain the continuation of the same unequal order and the repressive nature of social

relations. Marxists try to look at this aspect by enquiring into the relationship of economy and policy.

### The State and Capitalism:

Marxists view the state essentially within the context of capitalism. State is an important characteristic of capitalism. In capitalist society, all-purvasive nature of the state is recognized by Karl Marx:

'The state enmeshes, controls, regulates, supervises and regiments civil society from the most all embracing expressions down to its most insignificant motions, from its most general models of existence to the private life of individuals.' (9)

Relationship of state and capitalism gets its full manifestations in the advanced stage of capitalism, i.e. the 'state monopoly capitalism'. This stage is marked by the predominance of an all-powerful state intervening in every sphere of life. This linkages between state and capitalism has been looked upon in two ways: the '*state in capitalism*', and the '*capitalist state*'. (10) These two views examine the following questions: *How is the economic power of the dominant class translated to the state power?*, and *How far is the state an instrument for the furtherance of their interests?*

In the 'State in Capitalism', view, the state is conceived as an external and independent entity [Miliband, Poulantzas]. Miliband shows that the state is controlled by the capitalist class (directly as well as indirectly, through active participation and through links with those who occupy power positions within the state. This instrumentality of capitalist relations of production in translating economic power into political power is important in articulating interests of capital in the mechanism of the state. Nicos Poulantzas argues that the state functions for maintaining the conditions for the perpetuation of capitalist relations of production fulfilling the structural requirements of capital accumulation. His position becomes clear here:

'What the state protects and sanctions is a set of rules and social relations which are presupposed by the class-rule of the capitalist class. The state does not defend the interests of one class but the common interest of all members of a capitalist society.' (11)

In doing so, the state exercises and imposes its power through the production of 'knowledge', and through defining the 'truth' about education. Poulantzas says that this relationship of power, knowledge and education is inscribed in the texture of the state and ultimately gets manifested in monopolistic knowledge from which popular masses are

eventually excluded. And, this works in separating knowledge from manual work and popular consumption. State's 'intellectuals' and 'experts' function in accordance with state policies.

On similar lines, Goran Therborn stresses that the class-character of the state is expressed through the 'societal content of the actions of the state',<sup>(12)</sup> rather than in from what class come the various members of the state institutions.

While taking 'capitalist state' view, J. Holloway and Sol Picciotto argue that the functions of a state institution (whether law-courts, the police, or the school) are directed for the perpetuation of 'capital relation.'<sup>(13)</sup> They put forward an understanding of the state as a *form* of the capital relation which penetrates in all social institutions stamping them with contradiction. Thus, in every sphere of social activity, economic and political interests of dominant class tell upon the policies of the state. The state does the favour to economically dominant-class even in the spheres of education, culture etc.

#### STATE INTERVENTION IN EDUCATION:

As has been discussed earlier, the schools have been shown to work for capital accumulation by establishing the conditions for it. Here, the state intervenes directly in

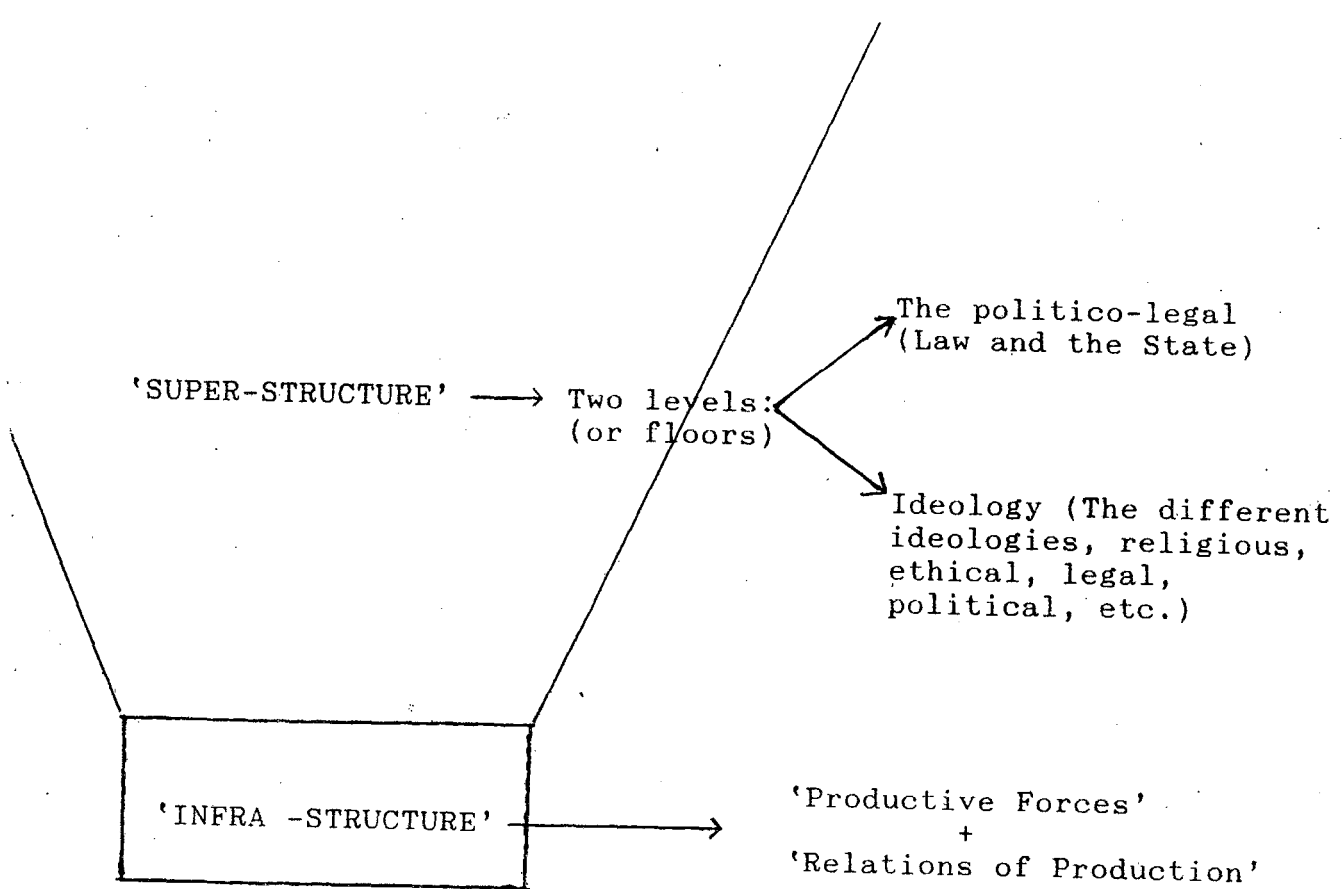
the form of setting rules and regulations. For instances in most cases certification requirement for different jobs fixed by the state. The most obvious of the state intervention is the state-funding for educational research programme which is based on the state-defined distinction between 'high' and 'low' status knowledge. This state funded education usually emphasises competency -based education, systems management, career education for manpower planning and increased efficiency. State intervention in education affects curricula, classroom social relations, and most importantly it affects the process of policy planning which is now done outside the control of teachers and parents. The state also directly intervenes in the form of '*law*' by providing different rules and legislation in the name of regularizing the education system, e.g. the provision compulsory attendance. It is through this kind of intervention that the state exercises control over schooling in terms of its economic, ideological and repressive functions.

State education thus can be perceived in the light of constant attempts by the ruling class for maintaining their economic dominance and the power structure. It serves the interests of capital while reproducing technical and economic requirements of capitalist mode of production, i.e. the reproduction of the labour power. This aspect is analysed by Louis Althusser. According to Althusser,

education cannot simply be considered as being shaped by the imperatives, patterns and logic of the capital. It is rather 'specifically articulated with this system in certain very definite ways',<sup>(14)</sup> so as to reproduce and sustain the structure of capitalist relations of production. These definite ways are defined by the policies of the ruling class explicitly or implicitly favouring their interests. But, before going on to the Althusserian position, it seems important to keep in mind his understanding of 'social formation'. Social formation is conceived as the structure of the society made up of two levels in a *spatial metaphor* a topographical metaphor, to use Althusser's phrase: Base or *Infra-structure* and *Super-structure*. It is clear in Marx:

"The sum total of....relations of production constitutes the economic structure of the society ....the real *foundation*, on which rise legal and political superstructures and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness.",<sup>(15)</sup>

At the infra-structure (economic base) of the social formation, there lies the *unity* of the 'productive forces' and the 'relations of production'. All other elements in the social formation lie in the domain of the superstructure and are determined by the nature of infra-structure.



There are two lines of argument even within the Marxist tradition: One, in which economic base is conceived as the sole determinant of the changes occurring in the superstructure (-'economism'); other, in which a *relative autonomy* or *reciprocal action* of superstructure over the base is recognised.

Althusser and Gramsci, both, refuted the rigid economic determinism, Gramsci is of the view that the superstructure is not an *illusion*, which is always reducible to the hidden economic conflict. Rather it is 'a reality.... objective and operative'; because superstructure is the terrain in which men gain consciousness of their social positions and tasks<sup>(16)</sup> For Gramsci, the relationship between the base and superstructure is necessarily



interactive and reciprocal. (17) Gramsci vividly illustrates the importance of superstructure through an intriguing analogy of a female body:

'What makes a man infatuated with a woman, what stirs him to court her or fight for her or defend her, is not her skeleton, but the "superstructural" features attached to her skeleton....', (18)

Althusser sees whole of the superstructure as 'State Apparatus'. 'State Power' is exercised through state apparatuses. Here one may argue that-what provides basis for the functioning of the state?' The mechanism of statecraft cannot be understood without looking at the guiding force of the state, which is provided by ideology.

#### IDEOLOGY AND EDUCATION

It is the 'state-ideology' complex which determined the matrix of 'dominance-legitimation-socialization-reproduction' in the capitalist mode of production.

Ideology as a concept was first used by Destutt de Tracy in the late 18th century. Ideology is assumed to represent a 'world-view'; a system of beliefs and values which decides a peculiar perception about a social reality. Thus, 'fundamentally divergent thought systems' of different

groups arising out of different life-experiences and situations give those groups their own world view.<sup>19</sup> Generally speaking, ideology is conceptualized in two ways: One, it is related to particular social origin reflecting certain class interests creating false consciousness; Other, as a more generalistic autonomous concept of social practices which tend to reproduce social order. The beliefs and values defining ideology linked to class-interests are reflected in the social practices.

Ideas, according to Marx and Engels are shaped as the superstructural reflection of the base: 'social being.... determines.... consciousness'. (20)

Dominant ideas in the society are seen in relation to the material base and the power structure in the society:

'The idea of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e. the class which is the ruling *material force* of society is at the same time its ruling *intellectual force*. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal has control at the same time over the *means of mental production*, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it.' (21)

Gramsci strongly emphasizes the role of ideology as a force used by dominant class to shape the commonsense views, needs, and interests of subordinate groups. Gramsci's definition of state explicates the relationship between ideology and the state. He defines 'state' as a terrain in which ideological dominance *in the form of consent* is achieved:

'The state is the entire complex of practical and theoretical activities with which the ruling class not only justifies and maintains its dominance, but manages to win the active consent of those over whom it rules'. (22)

Hegemony as ever changing *combination of force and consent*, according to Gramsci, represents the power and ability of a class to assume a moral and intellectual leadership over the other classes without resorting to coercion. It, in other words, represents 'the ability of one class to articulate the interests of other social groups to its own'. (23)

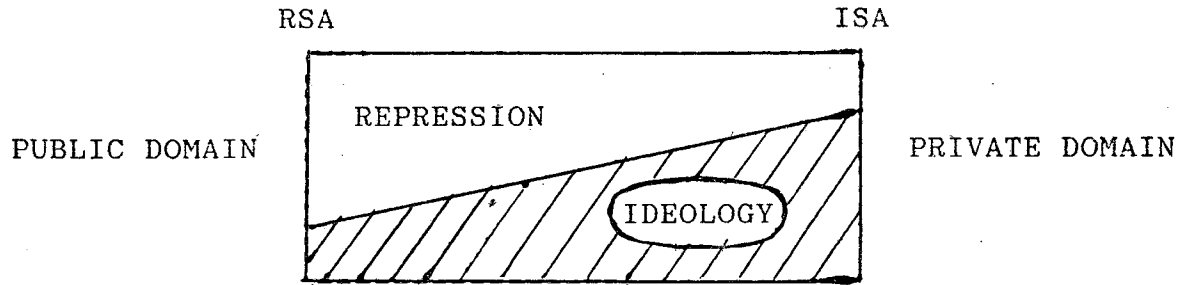
#### IDEOLOGICAL STATE APPARATUS:

The 'State' in the classical Marxist theory of state has been perceived as an apparatus of repression, of coercion or violence. According to Althusser, : Repressive State Apparatus (RSA) and Ideological State Apparatus (ISA).

The RSA, constituting the part of 'public domain', functions *predominantly and massively* by violence (not necessary physical violence) and includes the government, the Army, the Police, the Bureaucracy, the courts, etc. On the other hand, the ISA(s) is the most effective, however comparatively silent and not so easily visible, state apparatus. ISAs belong to the 'private domain' and function through 'ideology': There are a number of ISAs. They include:

- the religious ISA:
- the EDUCATIONAL ISA
- the Family ISA;
- the Legal ISA;
- the Political ISA;
- the trade union ISA;
- the communication ISA (mass media etc.)
- the cultural ISA (Literature, the Arts, Sports, etc.); etc.

However, there is no such thing as purely RSA or ISA; because, RSA functions mainly and primarily by *repression*, while functioning secondarily by *ideology*. Similarly, repression in ISAs is very much concealed, attenuated, even symbolic,<sup>25</sup>. This can better be represented graphically as tried here;



The precise function of any state apparatus is to ensure the reproduction of social order. Althusser's analysis of reproduction in this context starts from the Marxian concern: 'no production is possible which does not allow for the reproduction of the material conditions of production.'<sup>(26)</sup> Here, 'conditions of production' are meant for reproducing not only materially, but also ideologically and socio-culturally. The dimensions of this social reproduction' becomes clear here:

'The reproduction of labour power requires not only a reproduction of its skills, but also, at the same time a reproduction of its submission to the ruling ideology for the workers, and a reproduction of the ability to manipulate the ruling ideology correctly for the agents of exploitation and repression', so that they, too, will provide for the domination of the ruling class "in words".'<sup>(27)</sup>

Each ISA plays a role in this reproduction, For instances, the political ISA subjects individuals to the political state ideology subverting them to the dominant order; the communication ISA feeds every citizen with daily *addictive* 'doses on nationalism' chauvinism, liberalism, moralism, etc.,<sup>(28)</sup> through mass-media (the press, the radio and TV); and same goes for other ISAs. Thus transmitted values are supported with examples from history and great cultural heritage forming the part of cultural reservoir available with the ruling class.

#### SCHOOLING, IDEOLOGY AND REPRODUCTION:

According to Althusser, one ISA functions so silently and effectively that it is difficult to visualize its dominant role in ideological reproduction. This invisible ISA is the *School* as the school is of particular importance because,

'no other ISA has the obligatory and, not least free) audience of the totality of the children in the capitalist social formation, eight hours a day for five or six days out of seven (in a week).'<sup>(29)</sup>

In this way children are picked up at vulnerable infant-age to be 'squeezed' into ISA-couple of 'school-family',<sup>(30)</sup> for years together. Either a certain type of

know-how wrapped in ruling ideology (- history, arithmetic, the sciences and literature etc.) or the ruling ideology as such (- in the form of ethics, civil instructions, discipline, etc) is instilled into them to mould them in a way as is desired in the reproduction of the capitalist social order. This reproduction function is performed by schools successfully by filling different social positions with differentially trained students. Althusser presents it beautifully:

'Somewhere around the age of sixteen a huge mass of children are ejected ' into production': these are the workers or small peasants. Another portion scholastically adapted youth carries on: and, for better or worse, it goes somewhat further, until it falls by the wayside and fills the posts of small and middle technicians, white-collar workers, small and middle executives, petty-bourgeois of all kinds. A last portion reaches the summit, either to fall into intellectual semi-employment, as well as the 'intellectuals of collective labourers', or to provide the agents of exploitation (capitalists, managers), the agents of repression (soldiers, policemen, politicians, administrators, etc.), and the professional ideologists (priests of all sorts, most of whom are convinced 'laymen')',<sup>31</sup>.

Schools are, here, assumed as the places where immature young minds are indoctrinated in such a way so that they accept the existing order as justified and automatically conform to it by consent. In this way, a successful reproduction of dominant order and ideology is achieved within the walls of the schools.

Here education is such as the 'means of mental production.' Thus, the ruling class used schools as state apparatuses to perform the role decided essentially by the state policies. Ideology, according to Althusser, always 'exists in an apparatus and its practice, or practices'.<sup>(32)</sup> — Ideology has a material existence, which in the schooling situation manifests in rituals, routines and social practices structuring the day to day working of the schools. This *institutional materiality* becomes a powerful factor in making educational ideology function effectively as 'a representation of imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence'.<sup>(33)</sup> Thus, the dominant ideology stretches its area of influence to the field of education through the hidden curriculum as has been mentioned earlier. The material aspects of ideology becomes clear in the use of space and time in schools (e.g. school building and time-table etc.).

School, thus, becomes terrain for producing and exercising the hegemony through specific value transmissions



for creating an acceptance for the given order as just. Schools are the places of legitimation of differential social positions of individuals in the society on merit grounds.

It has become clear now, whatever be the true nature of ideology ----- whether it is false - consciousness, illusion, immanent world- view, distorted representation of reality, or social practices and common-consciousness ----- in every way, it is related to the process of socialisation and education; since schools are the places where knowledge and 'truths' are constructed. In a way, ideology finds its manifestation in the teaching learning process in the schooling situation. This is made clear by Nicos Poulantzas that the production of ideologies in schools not only finds its way in the high-status knowledge and in reproducing the prevailing relational pattern in the society, but also in creating the *mental-manual* division and a separation between *conception and execution*:

'The state appropriates, trains, and legitimates "intellectuals" who serve as *experts* in the production and conception of school knowledge, and who ultimately function to separate knowledge from both manual work and popular consumption.' (34)

Thus, schools are not simply the places where the reproduction of dominant ideology is achieved, they are active *institutional agents* in its construction as well. Roger Dale tries to make it clear that there are possibilities of schools being used as the places of resistance, opposition, or so to speak, as the site of struggle. Roger Dale says that:

'..... hegemony is not so much about winning approval for status quo.... Rather what seems to be involved in the prevention of *rejection, opposition* or *alternatives* to the status quo through denying the use of schools for such purposes'. (35)

This implies that, schools can be fertile grounds for growth of rejection, opposition, and alternatives to the status quo, i.e. a counter hegemony is constructed. In other words schools as places of knowledge construction can also be breeding grounds for creating critical perception among students and are also the possible places of 'critical pedagogy'. It can equip student with the power to analyse critically and to construct counter ideology as a mode of resistance to the ruling class-hegemony. Thus, the school can also be potential threat to the existing order and to the status-quo. Hegemony is important for status quoists as a way out for averting a hostile situation.

Althusser, however, sees schools as state apparatuses and thus rules out any such possibility of using schools as instruments for social transformation. Althusser, in much mechanist fashion presents social reproduction as the function of schools. Moreover, in doing so, a high -tone of capitalist relations of production and dominance underplays other important factors like culture, mediation and resistance for the matter of serious considerations. He did make references to these, but could not go beyond '*radical pessimism*', thus left little room for the possibility of resistance and for social change. At the outset, Althusser seems to have given a theory for the 'continuation of the prevailing order' providing weight to the instrumentality of education for legitimation and re-establishment of the predominance of ruling-ideology and consequently for social control. However, it can be argued that his propositions for social change lie within the political strategy for revolution and for destroying state apparatuses. But what, he seems to lack in is a coherent view for the possibility of education playing a role in social changes. For him, the seeds for superstructural changes lie in the politico-economic strategy.

Althusser is also criticized for considering institutions of strictly private domain like family as state apparatus. (36) *Althusser formulates the problematic, captures the revealing points in this reproductive*

*mechanism, though fails in suggesting any alternate programme of education to break the vicious-circle of reproduction in capitalist society.*

The discussion in the chapter has tried to answer the questions raised earlier; but in the process of doing so, it has further generated new problematics which do not necessarily contradict this formulation but come as natural sequel to it. Now questions arise that 'Is education necessarily an instrument of social control?', 'Does education function only in favour of ruling class?', and 'Can schooling also help in bringing about social change, if so, what are the dimensions of education-social change dynamics?'. These questions become important in the context of schooling, social control and social change.

In the following chapter, we try to answer these questions by looking at the writings of the three thinkers - Antonio Gramsci, Karl Mannheim, and Paulo Freire.

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- (19) Manhein; 1960, pp.51.

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- (25) Althusser in B R Cosin; 1972.
- (26) Marx in the preface of 1859.
- (27) Althusser in B R Cosin; 1972, pp.247.
- (28) Ibid, pp.248.
- (29) Ibid, pp.261.
- (30) 'School-Family' couple has replaced previously dominant ISA couple of 'Church-Family'.
- (31) Althusser in B R Cosin; 1972, pp.260.
- (32) Ibid, pp. 265.
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- (34) *Aronowitz and Giroux; 1986.*
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## CHAPTER IV

### SCHOOLING AND SOCIAL CHANGE

The chapter focuses on the writings of Gramsci, Mannheim and Paulo Freire. Though they differ in terms of their individual theoretical understandings, they have a common concern about the role that schooling can play in bringing about social change. They differ from others in that they see this change as a process that has to be consciously brought about and is not.

Education is conceived as an instrument of *ideological mobilization*<sup>(1)</sup> for creating *critical consciousness*<sup>(2)</sup> through *organization of culture and intellectual formation*<sup>(3)</sup> and has a very important function to be played in a *planned democratic society*<sup>(4)</sup>. It is important that these theorists analyse change in the context of the desired society. The common inherent idea is that there lies a social order behind all educational ideologies. The educational system tends to function in keeping with the view of a future society, thus, it functions for social change.

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#### THE FUTURE SOCIETY

Education, through fostering new values, beliefs and knowledge on desirability-criteria, advances a picture of a

future society. Or, to put it otherwise, vision of a future society would define the values, beliefs and knowledge that are desired; and, education is expected to give them proper manifestation. Gramsci, Mannheim and Freire were unhappy with the way society operated along with persisting inequalities, unemployment and chaotic order. Education is seen in the socio-cultural and economic context by them.

Gramsci said that though the revolutionaries were clear about their strategy and knowledge in politico-economic domain, they were not very clear about the type of civilization, which they found *mysterious and unforeseeable*:

'A factory which has passed from capitalist control to the workers' power will continue to produce same material things which it produces today. But in what forms will the works of poetry, of drama, of noble, of music, of paintings, of fashion, of language be borne?' (5)

Here, Gramsci talks of evolving a 'proletarian culture' in this context. He talks of it as a result of historical development leading to socialism:

'At a certain moment in its history and development, the proletariat becomes aware that the totality of its life lacks a necessary



component and it creates for itself, with its own powers, with its will power, for its own ends.'(6)

In this way, the mysterious and unforeseeable character of this culture becomes visible to some extent, because of the *conscious intellectual intervention* in terms of newer valuation, beliefs and a gradual programmatic issue-based action in accordance with the comprehensive manifesto, put up by militant socialists. Gramsci says that militants can visualise at least a possibility, i.e.

'There will exist a proletarian culture (a civilization) completely defferent from bourgeois one. Class distinctions will also be broken down in this field, bourgeois careerism will be shattered. There will exist poetry, novels, theatre, habits, language, paintings, and music which are characteristic of proletarian civilization, the flowering and ornament of proletarian social organization.'(7)

In the process of building up such protetarian culture, it becomes imperative simultaneously to 'destroy'(8) the prevailing bourgeois civilization. Gramsci's concern for social transformation through educational change depends upon his vision for a future society.

Like Gramsci, K. Mannheim also envisions a future society where freedom, liberty, dynamism and democratic values are at their full display. His understanding of society stems from his preoccupation with the problems of capitalist democracies of the West. Mannheim voices similar concern like Gramsci while recognizing crisis in culture and valuation along with politico-economic crisis. He comes even closer to Gramscian comprehensive social analysis while recognizing the true nature of the chaotic social situation, at the same time he refutes the stern 'economism':

' --- no remedy of chaos is possible without a sound economic order, but this is by no means enough, as there are a great many other social conditions which influence the process of value creation and dissemination. '(9)

Through recognizing the need for comprehensive approach to remedy the situation of crisis, Mannheim finds proper valuation and effective planning as important. This, he believes, will help in evolving a new society:

'The new pattern of planned society which although using the techniques of planning, maintains its democratic control, and keeps those spheres of freedom and free initiative which are the genuine safeguards of culture and humanity. '(10)

Mannheim call this the 'THIRD WAY' characterised by *Militant Democracy* based upon democratic ethics and planning for freedom utilizing modern social techniques for the welfare of entire population.

Concern for the welfare of the oppressed led Paulo Freire to envision an egalitarian society free from exploitation ensuring fair and legitimate participation of workers and peasants in political as well as civil society.

What is common to these writers is their understanding that the objective for meeting collective needs of the masses requires the transformation of society itself. Education, in the broader sense of culture, has been conceived as an important agency for achieving the desired kind of society. However, education is more than learning within schools encompassing the internalization of culture in the broad sense. Culture as evolving in the broad sense. Culture as evolving through educational practices can also be 're-organized' in terms of newer valuation and cultural practices.

#### (RE-) ORGANIZATION OF CULTURE :

Culture is broadly a *way of life*. Any change in society has important implications in the sphere of culture. In turn, culture defines the values, beliefs, and thus the social order. Education as an element of cultural process

constructs knowledge and truths, re-defines values and in turn re-organises the culture itself. This again implies re-construction in educational knowledge and social relations which can change social, cultural and moral premises on which society rest.

The importance of culture has been emphasised by Gramsci, Mannheim and Freire. For Mannheim what is necessary is the 'democratization of culture'. In other words, it is to see that culture cannot be monopolised by a few. Thus, democratising trend will have to be extended to the domain of culture also.<sup>(11)</sup> This democratization of culture as the process of re-organization of culture can be an effective way of restructuring the society to ensure freedom, equality, justice and dignity to all.

Gramsci was primarily concerned with radical socio-political changes. These changes could be effected and stabilised only by breaking the hegemony of the ruling class. Towards this end, his aim was for evolving a *counter-hegemonic educational activity* through the 'organization of culture' and 'intellectual formation':

'....every relationship of "hegemony" is necessarily an educational relationship.'<sup>(12)</sup>

According to Gramsci, in order to build up a counter-hegemony and before seizing the *state power*, the working

class must '*establish its claim to be a ruling class in the political, cultural and ethical sense,*'<sup>(13)</sup> And, for this claim, what the working class needs is to generate a 'sense of dominance' among themselves in every sphere of dominance-subordination relationships. Education, as a vital component, is supposed to redefine values and reorganise culture. In this process hegemonic influence of dominant class is broken from the minds of workers. He stresses :

'Instruct yourself because we shall need all our intelligence. Agitate because we shall need all our enthusiasm. Organize ourselves because we shall need all our power.'<sup>(14)</sup>

Gramsci discusses his ideas of socialist education and way in which it is to be used to educate the popular masses. He emphasizes the creation of '*a group of intellectuals specific to the new social group,*'<sup>(15)</sup> This new social group of workers is characterized by a new *mode of thought* and *code of conduct* and by the acceptance of socialist way of life. In this way, concrete expressions of educational relationships manifest in ideological terrain to restructure the 'consciousness'. Gramsci writes :

'The realization of a hegemonic apparatus, in so far as it creates a new ideological terrain,

determines a reform of *consciousness* and of *methods of knowledge*.<sup>(16)</sup> (emphasis added).

This reform of consciousness and of methods of knowledge is done in the realm of culture through (re-)organizing it and through the 'intellectual formation'. Elaborating on a strategy for social transformation, he says :

'The cultural association which socialists should promote should have class goals and class limits. It must be a proletarian institution with clear ends.'<sup>(17)</sup>

The 'world-view' of workers is distorted through the manipulation of social realities by the intellectuals of the ruling class. hence, the working class should 'pose for itself the problem of the conquest of intellectual power' along with economic and political powers for '*organizing itself for [socialist] culture*'.<sup>(18)</sup>

The function of education for this conquest of intellectual power and organization of culture is very important for a socialist society not only after the class-struggle is over but also even after the classes are abolished. The task of building a new society continues in the form of the struggle against 'the brute forces of nature'. Thus, the reorganization of culture is a dynamic

process to be continually achieved through education by taking over intellectual power.

Mannheim sees culture as the planned social order with definitive and rational valuation. Mannheim recognises that the external pre-requisites like full employment, social security, sufficient economic and educational opportunities and peaceful order are important institutional foundations of future society; but, he emphasises that the real culture involves the integration of basic values, institutions with education. This active perception of culture as a dynamic domain of life leads men to construct and reconstruct the social reality :

'.... culture is to ascribed not so much to nature as to the sphere of works; that is, a sphere that people do not simply inhabit and adapt to but form themselves.' (19)

According to Mannheim this organization of culture is done through the construction and expression of new values by those he calls 'marginal men' (20), --- who confront the established order as outsiders. These are artists, poets, intellectuals and youths, who according to Mannheim, have the potential and zeal for bringing new values and changes to social and moral life. They, thus, can act as 'change - agents'. As mentioned earlier, Mannheim when confronted with

the problem of monopolized culture and knowledge takes up the question of democratization of culture in order to shun-off the exclusivity of certain-type of knowledge of elites :

'Elites which are not impelled to make their knowledge generally accessible will not engage in *formalization, analysis, and articulation*. They will content themselves, either with unanalysed intuition, or with sacred knowledge reserved for an elite and handed down among its members *en bloc*'.<sup>(21)</sup> (emphasis added)

This formalization, analysis and articulation will change the once-exclusive knowledge to the generalized knowledge. Thus, monopolized knowledge will become available to all as everybody in the society is able to decipher the now-non-exclusive codes. It is in this context that Mannheim looks at schools as having a '*special function in a democratically planned society to interpret all phases of life in terms of democratic experience.*'<sup>(22)</sup> An educational strategy, according to Mannheim, will create a stock of knowledge which can be shared among the masses and this democratization trend can be extended to the world of symbols and values. The role of the state is given importance by Mannheim. According to Mannheim, the democratic state will take care of education as an instrument of change in order



to make its democratic planning successful and to filter down its benefits to masses. In democratization, Mannheim recognizes that -

'The common fund of knowledge should be presented in different forms of different social groups, taking their background, mentality and varying educational levels into consideration. Democratization does not necessarily mean to level down in order to eliminate differences, but rather to allow for variety in cultural life and to appreciate cultural differences as valuable points of departure in man's quest for knowledge.' (23)

For evolving a new culture Paulo Freire calls for a *dialogical action for cultural synthesis* in which 'it is possible to resolve the contradiction between the world view of leaders and that of people, to the enrichment of both'. (24) The authentic transformation of reality is possible through creating critical consciousness which leads to cultural synthesis. This cultural synthesis between cultures of leaders and the people leads them to represent a common manifesto of interests against oppressors. Education for Freire is the most important and effective agency for evolving critical consciousness, thus effecting a cultural synthesis.

For all the three thinkers, the dialectics between educational system, cultural transmission of values and reconstructed knowledge defines the guiding educational principle. Role of intellectuals in this 'culture-education-social change' matrix along with other factors becomes important. Intellectuals are seen as creators and purveyors of the knowledge at the same time.

#### ROLE OF INTELLECTUALS IN SOCIAL CHANGE

Intellectuals as the purveyors of knowledge, rational values and newer ideas have the potential to redefine social situations, and thus are in a position to interpret and reconstruct the social realities. This role of intellectuals is to be carefully examined as the intellectuals can portray a correct as well as a distorted picture of the society and the mechanisms therein. Regardless of whether the role of intellectuals is positive or negative<sup>(25)</sup>, this role has important bearings on the construction of further knowledge and subsequent reconstruction of society. In this light, intellectuals are perceived in two ways based upon their relationships with ideology.

The 'negative thesis of ideology and intellectuals' suggests that intellectuals create a distorted world-view which is imposed upon subordinate groups. Intellectuals,

while serving the interests of ruling class, create world-view that is based on false consciousness.

Intellectuals are perceived as:

'the thinkers of the [ruling] class (its active, conceptive ideologists, who make the perfecting of the *illusion* of the class their chief source of livelihood), --- [and this illusion represents] ...its interest as the common interest of all the members of society, put in an ideal form; it [ruling class] will give its ideas the form of universality, and represent them as the only rational, universally valid ones'. (26)

On the other hand, the 'positive thesis of ideology and intellectuals' conceptualizes the role of intellectuals as of exposing that distorted world-view and of creating a rational and correct perception of social realities by doing away with delusions, etc.

In this understanding of the role of intellectuals, the prominent idea is that intellectuals are the main force behind knowledge production in society. Thus, they are seen form a group which is responsible for social transformation and subsequent stability. It is they who sustain, modify and redefine the mode of thought and also the code of conduct for the masses.

Gramsci insists that the intellectuals are the purveyors of general consciousness, the real nature of which is rooted in the world of production. Mannheim recognises intellectuals as forming the most important '*connecting link between social dynamics and ideation*' (27). However, Mannheim looks at the role of intellectuals in a different way from the Marxist understanding. He suggests :

'No doubt, intellectuals often are and have been mere purveyors of ideologies of certain classes. This, however, is only one of a variety of functions of ideation, and unless one is prepared to consider all, the study of intellectuals indeed holds little promise.' (28)

Mannheim emphasises the role of intellectuals for winning social-cohesion through the process of 'social-engineering' by following the principles of neutrality and impartiality. The role of intellectuals in the dynamics of social transformation becomes very important in the formulations of both Gramsci as well as Mannheim because ideology is conceived as a product of intellectuals. Gramsci and Mannheim both tried to evolve highly original theses on 'intellectual formation' and on 'intelligentsia' respectively.

In Mannheimian formulation, intelligentsia is expected to play the role of enlightened leadership in a planned democratic society. Intellectuals, as an educated person, keeps *en rapport* with the state of social affairs<sup>(29)</sup>, and thus has a better grasp of the social situation and has a role to perform in the educational activity. Here, education is viewed as fostering appropriate values for a consensual social order, and as creating a resolute sense of purpose and direction in a carefully planned strategy for social change. This view forwards a concept of intelligentsia forming a fluid and open category accessible to individuals of varied social orientations. Ernest Mannheim expressed it clearly in the introduction to the 'Essays on the Sociology of Culture':

'What makes this intelligentsia unique among its historical variants is its multipolarity, its mobility, its exposure to variety of viewpoints, its capacity to choose and change affiliations, and an expanding radius of empathy.'<sup>(30)</sup>

This concept of 'free-floating'<sup>(31)</sup> intelligentsia is not completely devoid of class affiliations. In his later work 'The Problem of the Intelligentsia'<sup>(32)</sup> Mannheim tried to submit an explanation for the criticism invited by his views on '*relatively uncommitted intelligentsia*' in the

'Ideology & Utopia'. He took this term from Alfred Weber 'without any thought of an entirely unattached group free from class liasons.'<sup>(33)</sup> By this he meant that as a cohesive group intellectuals could not react to given issues. He had denied howing given the meaning of 'an exalted stratum above all classes',<sup>(34)</sup> to the intelligentsia.

Gramsci strongly rejects the popular concept of intellectuals as '*crystallized social category*',<sup>(35)</sup> which lives in the history uninterruptedly and has been independent of the class-struggle. This means that in the course of history intellectuals always tried to seek reunion 'in the ideological sphere with a preceding intellectual category through the same conceptual terminology.'<sup>(36)</sup>

According to Gramsci, everyone belongs to a social grouping and this very fact of belonging conditions a particular conception of the world for the individuals.

'Everyone adheres to some kind of conformism, everyone is always a mass-man or collective man'.<sup>(37)</sup>

Gramsci forwards the concept of class-intellectuals, who are the expressions of a specific social groups --- '*the intellectuals are the "clerks" of the dominant group*'.

Here, Gramsci's highly original use of the term 'intellectual' needs some elucidation. He argues, 'all men are intellectuals --- but not all perform the functions of intellectuals in the society',<sup>(39)</sup> According to this view, everyone is an intellectual whatever profession one follows: 'homo faber cannot be separated from homo sapienes'.<sup>(40)</sup> The work in which one is engaged or even outside it, he/she

'exhibits some intellectual activity ...[i.e. he is a 'philosopher, an artist, and a man of taste].. shares a world-view, has a conscious line of moral conduct, and therefore contributes to sustaining or modifying a conception of the world --- [that is to provoke new ways of thinking]'.<sup>(41)</sup>

Gramsci categorizes intellectuals as *organic* (= urban) and *traditional* (= rural) types. Under normal conditions, the organic intellectuals of the 'historically (and realistically) progressive class' are able to dominate the intellectuals of the *subaltern* classes. The rural type of intellectuals are in large part 'traditional' (tied to the rural mass and petit bourgeoisie of minor city-centres), However, the mass of the peasantry does not have its own intellectuals, except as a category which does not remain theirs. In relation to the emerging technologically

advanced society, Gramsci talks of a *new type* of intellectuals (-based on 'technical knowledge'). These intellectuals have an important role in transforming the society in keeping with the time and new technological developments. Here, schools become important as they teach technical know-how and prepare such intellectuals who will be *builders* in the practical life. By builder, here Gramsci means a 'permanent persuader' and a leader, who is a *specialist + politician* at the same time.

Gramsci believes that the working-class needs its own intellectuals in order to encounter the influence of intellectuals of ruling-class and to break the ruling class hegemony. Gramsci goes further that the masses should free themselves from the distortion of intellectuals. And, towards this end, masses will have to educate themselves for precisely political reasons:

'Education, culture, the widespread organization of knowledge and of experience is for the independence of masses from the intellectuals' (42)

This, he proposes as pre-requisites for creating counter-hegemony against the bourgeois distortion of realities. This distortion presents a justified picture of an unjust order, hence becomes a subject to be exposed. Gramsci was concerned with the problem of proletarian education. He



favoured the education of masses and specifically was concerned about the content of education, and. he warned that all this would never be possible as long as the *real power for educating* rested with the ruling class:

'We must wrench the education of the masses from the ruling class.' (43)

Mass schooling is emphasized by all the three thinkers: For Gramsci, it is important for creating counter-hegemony by creating intellectual perceptions among masses; For Mannheim, it is the part of general democratization and for making planning efficient; For Freire, mass schooling is for freeing oppressed from the exploitative relationships. Thus education, as per Gramsci's thinking, will prepare a ground or will create conditions for sweeping changes, when workers and peasants (or masses in general) try to unmask realities through thus generated intellectual perceptions and get united. Here, it is also important to see the relationship between intellectuals and economy in relation to the possibility of intellectual manipulations and mechanizations for change in the social order. This relationship, for Gramsci, is '*not immediate* ---, it is "mediated", in different levels, by the whole social fabric, and by the complex superstructure of which the intellectuals are in fact the "officials".' (44)

Gramsci's working-class intellectuals and Mannheim's marginal men are endowed with the potential for questioning the existing social order and calling for a change in it, so also the educated men (endowed-with critical consciousness) of Paulo Freire.

#### CONSCIOUS EDUCATIONAL PLANNING FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

Discussions, so far, make it clear that education is not socially determined only; rather it has the potential for transforming to society. Education is mainly fosterings new realistic values and an innovative spirit, and thus can try to demystify the world by masking off the realities and removing illusions created by intellectuals of ruling class. A properly directed education therefore, can help in (achieving the desired purpose of) establishing a just and socialist society. Education is entrusted with the task of training the masses so that they cannot be subjected to the will of ruling class. The role of education in building up a new society points towards formulating an effective educational strategy as Gramsci puts it clearly:

'From the moment when a subordinate class becomes really independent and dominant, calling into being a new type of state, the need arises concretely of building a *new intellectual and moral order*, i.e. a new type of society, and hence...

the need to elaborate the most universal concepts, the most refined and decisive ideological weapons.' (45)

Schooling is provided central position in the political strategy for achieving the goal of socialism, (46) in the process of planning for planned democratic society (47), in pedagogical strategy for evolving critical consciousness for creating a exploitation free society. (48) It is in this context, Gramsci considers the political development of socialist society as depending in large parts on an ordered and rational system of education, Gramsci puts premium on the educational strategy while recognizing individual intellectual capabilities and other subjective considerations along with all due importance to politico-economic structure. Hence, he suggests a comprehensive and Genuine strategy for social transformation.

Gramsci's conception of social change can be seen in terms of *material change* through sustained intellectual efforts. Mannheim, while pondering over the crisis in capitalist societies, comes up with *idealist conception of change* in planning a democratically planned society.

Mannheim favours a gradual and stable social change through the regulation and redefinition of values and

culture. The articulation of transformed social ethos in the objective and concrete structure of social dynamics finally results in a well planned and summarily transformed social structure. Education as the part of democratic planning according to Mannheim can serve the purpose of social transformation. Planning is seen by Mannheim as:

'Planning is strategy, and strategy is a process in which an action requires only the means to carry it out during the action itself' (49)

This means is provided by the system of education, which becomes the part of planning process. In comparison to dramatic revolutionary changes, Mannheim prefers planning as a strategy for systematic social change. (50) He assigns all the comprehensibility to the process of democratic planning within the liberal framework as democratic planning is the planning (51) :

- For freedom
- for plenty (for everyone);
- for social justice;
- for abolishing extremes of wealth and poverty;
- for cultural standards;
- for balance in power dispersion;
- for gradual transformation of society (in order to encourage the growth of personality);

- that counteracts the dangers of mass society;

In short, '*Planning but not regimentation*'.

Education as the part of such planning process prepares a ground for social reconstruction. 'Natural process of education works from outside inwardly' (52), in terms of creating external pre-requisites and fostering internal adaptiveness in order to facilitate learning for 'change-agents' for stable social transformation. This concern of Mannheim becomes obvious in the following passage :

'Enlightenment as an all embracing intellectual trend with its obvious social consequences could be integrated into a movement only after social changes penetrating from the outside inward had already prepared the minds of individuals in society to accept certain things.' (53)

Mannheim says that in this context schools should serve to evolve intellectual orientations and dynamic adjustment with the changing social order, In Planned democratic society, schools have a special function of interpreting 'all phases of life in terms of democratic experience' (54). In order to democratize the culture, on both social and intellectual levels, he calls for an educational strategy:

'In social field educational and social opportunities can be broadened systematically and scientifically by better over-all planning of the educational system in connection with *vocational* guidance. On the intellectual level advancement should proceed gradually to progressively higher intellectual and moral levels.' (55)

While Mannheim supports the idea of vocationalization, Gramsci rejects the concepts of vocational schools as the *schools for working class children*. Presence of such schools in the society automatically confirms the existence of class-structure in the society. Moreover, these schools are the places in which the '*career of pupil is predetermined*'. He criticizes vocational schools as it ----

'tends to maintain the traditional differences for ever, but since it tends to produce internal stratification within these differences, it gives the impression of a certain democratic tendency.' (56)

As a better alternate to it Gramsci proposes the concept of *unified* (or *unitary*) schools, the very establishment of which Gramsci looks at as a part of socialist battle. he suggests that for this the socialists will not have to restructure the educational system

completely but can perhaps adopt a large part of the old system. He does not find anything wrong in it as:

'The traditional school was oligarchic because it was intended for the new generation of ruling stratum, which was to rule in its turn; but it was not oligarchic because of its methods of teaching.' (57)

The unitary schools are set to endow the pupils with fundamental values of humanism along with giving them autonomy and self-discipline. In the process of learning, this will allow everyone to be intellectually and morally capable of socializing themselves either in the scholarly field or in the sphere of production (in industry, in the bureaucracy etc.).

Gramsci recognises that creating an infra-structure for unitary schools involves a high expenditure. Therefore he proposes that, to begin with, the new type of schools should be restricted to the young pupils, selected through *competition or nomination*. Here, it seems somewhat ambiguous that on what grounds students are selected/nominated through competition. Questions arise that 'what are the agencies for it'? and, whether through competition inequalities will not be legitimized.

Gramsci suggests the reorganization schools not only in terms of teaching methods and content, but also in terms of structural arrangements. (58) For the sake of fostering originality and innovative spirit among students, 'content of knowledge and method of research' are emphasized rather than the pre-decided programme and content of knowledge.

In suggesting this scheme Gramsci proposes that the schooling should be completed by the age of 16 year, and it should be followed by a stage of activizing one's creativity. In the primary stages, unitary school conditions students to obtain dynamic conformity, through discipline and levelling. The later creative stage seeks to expand personality which has become independent, and responsible but with a solid social and homogeneous moral conscience. (59) This will become, therefore, a place of spontaneous and independent learning for students while teachers stands as a friendly guide. However, he suggests that in the formative years of schooling children should be tackled with a certain authoritative, decisive sternness. (60) This is to facilitate the desired intellectual and moral advancement among pupils. Mannheim seems to have talked about meaningful co-operation among teachers and students in which teachers are considered as active agents of social engineering. Teaching-learnings



situation, for Paulo Freire, is essentially an interactive and *dialogical* process.

Gramsci was not averse to the idea of state intervention, rather he suggested that the state should take care of the expenses of scholars in the unitary schools. The role of the state remains important as he does not look at the state essentially as repressive apparatus. Gramsci suggests for shifting the responsibility of educating the younger generation from *family to the state*. In this way everybody in the society will be given egalitarian treatment and nobody will be discriminated against. In socialist society after the abolition of 'private property' family as a moral organism will resume its pre-destined nature and role of 'an organ of moral life' (- to socialize the future generations)' (61)

Gramsci made some explicit points about language, content and readings habits in a meaningful education. Those who insist on content, according to him, are in reality 'more democratic', and fight for a particular conception of world and culture. He suggests :

'It is necessary to give a real content to the programme of education for masses, drawn from the immediate, direct awareness of their needs, their aspirations, their rights and duties'. (62)

Mannheim and Freire, both emphasize on the content of knowledge along with the method of teaching. To them, it is the content which transforms to conscience and thus affect the process of ideation in the society.

About language, Gramsci asserts that it 'has to try to adapt itself to the average level of readers'. (63) But, it must also be able to rise a little above in order to provide an intellectual stimulus for encouraging some of the readers to go beyond the limits of laymen's understanding into the intellectual rigours. Mannheim and Freire talk of a common language for everyone in the society and a progressive enrichment of that.

Gramsci also talks 'teacher-students' ratio in the schools as he finds a direct correspondence between teacher student closeness and the efficiency of the educational system. This ratio is important in dialogical pedagogy and in free interaction in learning through co-operation as to Mannheim and Freire. Paulo Freire was obsessed with the idea of the pedagogy of the oppressed. He talks of evolving critical pedagogy which activates the critical consciousness among individuals through a dialogical mode of teaching and learning. This will facilitate an 'active' concept of educated man and finally will facilitate the transformation of social order. Education would foster the creative and

purposeful integration of young generation into the society. Thus, the reserves and potentials latent in youth will effectively be channelized in transforming the society.

However, great skepticism was expressed about the viability of schooling in bringing about social transformation, some thinkers had been trying persistently to explore a possibility of social reconstruction, through partial, through a meaningful education.

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- (2) P Freire; 1973.
- (3) A Gramsci; 1971, Especially the First section.
- (4) K Mannheim; 1951, pp.246-265.
- (5) A Gramsci as quoted in Pozzalini; 1970, pp.110.
- (6) Ibid, pp.107-108.
- (7) Ibid, pp.110.
- (8) Unlike in the sense it is used in the political and economic fields, 'destroy', for Gramsci, means here 'to destory spiritual hierarchies, prejudices, idols, rigid traditions'. [Pozzlini, 1970, pp.109].
- (9) Remmling; 1975, pp.109.
- (10) Ibid, pp.109.
- (11) Mannheim; 1951.
- (12) S Aronowitz & Giroux; 1986,pp.10.
- (13) Cammett; 1967, pp.205-206.
- (14) Gramsci in L'Ordine Nuovo, (May 1st, 1919). Quoted in H Entwistle; 1979, pp.16.
- (15) H Entwistle; 1979, pp.16.
- (16) Gramsci; 1951, pp.365.
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- (18) Ibid, pp.109.
- (19) K Mannheim; 1982, pp.270.
- (20) K Mannheim; 1971.
- (21) K Mannheim; 1967, pp.187.
- (22) K Mannheim; 1951, pp.250.

- (23) Ibid, pp.264.
- (24) P Freire; 1973, pp.148.
- (25) Positive or Negative, in relation to the interests of the working class - whether they portray the true picture of society and of inherent social relationships (= positive) or distort it (= negative).
- (26) K Marx; 1965, pp.40.
- (27) K Mannheim; 1967, pp.122.
- (28) Ibid, pp.122.
- (29) Ibid, pp.115.
- (30) Ibid, pp.11.
- (31) K Mannheim; 1940.
- (32) K Mannheim; 1967, pp.106.
- (33) Ibid, pp.106.
- (34) Ibid, pp.106.
- (35) Pozzolini; 1970, pp.113.
- (36) Gramsci as quoted in Pozzolini; 1970, pp.113.
- (37) Ibid, pp.113.
- (38) Ibid, pp.112. Althusser talks of 'agents of exploitation or repression' and 'professional ideologists' in the similar context.
- (39) Gramsci; 1971, pp.9.
- (40) Ibid, pp.9.
- (41) Cammett; 1967, pp.201.
- (42) Gramsci as quoted in Cammett; 1967.
- (43) Gramsci as quoted in Pozzolini; 1970, pp.133.
- (44) Gramsci; 1957, pp. 124.
- (45) Ibid, pp.124.
- (46) Gramscian position.

- (47) Mannheimian position.
- (48) Paulo Freire's position.
- (49) Mannheim; 1971, pp.223.
- (50) Mannheim says that the suddenness of revolutionary changes does not give enough time to people to get adjusted to it through a similar rapid change in the 'mode of thought' and behavioural pattern. And, it might finally result in general mental and moral imbalance among people.
- (51) Mannheim; 1951, pp.29.
- (52) Mannheim; 1971, pp.224.
- (53) Ibid, pp.225.
- (54) Mannheim; 1951, pp.264.
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- (56) Gramsci as quoted in Pozzolini; 1970, pp.133-134.
- (57) Ibid, pp.135.
- (58) Models of educational schemes based on the understandings of Gramsci, Mannheim and Paulo Freire are given separately in APPENDIX.
- (59) Gramsci; 1957, pp.132.
- (60) Gramsci as quoted in Pozzolini; 1970, pp.135.
- (61) Ibid, pp.139.
- (62) Ibid, pp.115.
- (63) Ibid, pp.135.

## CHAPTER V

### TOWARDS A PARADIGM OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

In this study we have attempted to examine the nature of the relationship of schooling with the dynamics of social change. While attempting this, we tried to bring in the role which state played in the sphere of education. This is precisely because of the fact that there is increasing intervention by the state in the field of education. Educational policies for the society are charted in accordance with the state policy.

We have shown that the early optimism of functionalist was belied as education was found to be legitimizing inequalities rather than reducing them, or at the most it was found to have little correspondence with the chances of one's getting socially mobile. Though education was expected to bring about some changes, it tended to function otherwise. It was in this context that we highlighted the role that schooling played as a control mechanism for the maintenance of the system and a reproduction of socio-economic and cultural relations. This control mechanism was found to be operating through socially-approved knowledge, hidden curriculum and the authority-relations within the schools.

The role of the state which was initially seen as a guardian of welfare of people was later seen to be repressive in nature. The increasing intervention of the state in education suggested that the role schooling (under the state policy) was meant to play actively was for the maintenance of domination, of what we called 'ruling class'. Education was an important component of ISA which functioned silently and effectively. Thus, the real purpose of state intervention was to represent the interests of ruling class through education. Thus, it was felt that a change of the world for disadvantaged groups could not be expected to be initiated by the state sponsored education.

However, we found that there was still room for optimism. Analysing the writings of theorists like Gramsci, Mannheim and Freire revealed a possibility of change by reorganization of culture and through a conscious intervention by intellectuals in particular and people in general. Gramsci for instance looked at education in terms of its instrumentality in creating counter-hegemony. The importance of conscious planning was emphasized by Mannheim, while Freire proposed critical-pedagogy for evolving critical consciousness and finally for conscientization a restructuring of social, economic, political and cultural order at every level.



## PREPARING GROUNDS FOR SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

One of the major tasks the schooling can perform is to create conditions to bring about radical change. Intellectual perceptions generated through education enable the masses to unmask the reality and thus to get united. In this way, schooling can help in the process of *ideological mobilization*, which will be setting a common agenda involving identification of the points of crisis, the crucial target and the means to this end. In the absence of a possibility of a radical revolution through dramatic mobilization, a proper strategy can set a ground for comprehensive social transformation through ideological mobilization of which education is a vital and effective instrument. Goran Therborn puts it as:

'The power of ideology operates not only in conjunctures of high drama but in slow, gradual processes as well.'<sup>(1)</sup>

Schooling has been recognized as potential source for creating hegemony. However it is also a fertile ground for building counter hegemony and an effective instrument for doing away with the ideological illusions. Thus, ideological mobilization involves a necessary break from the hegemonic practices of prevailing regime. It makes possible the dismantling of old system of *qualification-subjection*<sup>(2)</sup>

and of *affirmation-sanction* and a reconstruction of a new system at the same time. This intellectual and ideological mobilization sets the stage or creates conditions for a political action. Therborn says:

'A successful ideological mobilization is always translated into or manifested in practices of political mobilization.'<sup>(3)</sup>

Ideological mobilization depends on mass participation and collective will, articulation of which with the objective conditions in the society influences the outcome of the counter-hegemonic practices. These practices find their way to the educational institutions which in turn can infuse these critical-consciousness among students and thus define the content of knowledge in the society. Building up resistance within educational institutions to bring about educational change would also be important, for which there is needed a galvanized collective political struggle by students, teachers, parents and intellectuals. Therefore, a change in the knowledge content and the ideation-process may lead to corresponding changes in social, economic and political structures.

The role of the state is being analysed here in the context of social transformation through education as part

of state policy agenda. Gramsci believed that democratic state was better than an authoritarian regime because it guaranteed at least some democratic rights to people in the form of 'freedom to express', 'freedom to form associations' etc. These rights would in turn prepare grounds for counter hegemony. In Mannheimian understanding, state assumed a greater role in democratically planned society by providing everybody a fair share of social goods. Education as an instrument of 'social-engineering' and as a part of democratization of culture was seen to ensure more egalitarian and peaceful social order. Paulo Freire saw it as a conscious effort by socialists and the supporters of peasants and workers irrespective of the willingness of those controlling the state.

It is not that the changes in the field of unemployment, educational opportunities and social mobility have been brought about by state intervention. But, what seems important is to see the manner in which it is being done. Moreover, there can be no denying of the fact that whatever form the present day schooling has taken till date is not the sole result of intervention by the state at the behest of bourgeoisie; a great part of it has been achieved in the course of an active struggle and resistance by the workers and the people who supported their interests.

## THE NEW PARADIGM:

In this light, schooling is seen as a 'site of struggle' at the same time as a preparatory ground for further knowledge construction. Thus, education as an instrument of social change and reconstruction is the part of wider political strategy.

The struggle for social transformation is to be fought at several levels. In the absence of a possibility of bringing about armed revolution (-which should also be preceded and followed by a similar change in the ideation pattern, or so to speak a mental revolution) a gradual conditioning for a kind of ideological mass mobilization can be most effective strategy. Schooling can take the responsibility for ideological mobilization through a collective action by students, teachers and parents. Students, teachers and parents will become all important actors in deciding '*what do they want to study and for what?*' '*what do they want to teach and for what?*', and '*what do they want their children to be educated thus?*' respectively. Issues like hidden curriculum, achievement - criteria and classroom-relationships are important issues for discussion in this strategy. The *encroachment strategy* of Andre Gorz, which is aimed at capturing the places of decision making, deserves a mention here. This strategy

involves '...the way to attack the class power of the employers and the state is to wrest from each employer (and from the state) a vital piece of his power of decision and control'.<sup>(4)</sup> In schools, it is comparatively easier to carry out such encroachment. It is when the *producers* (-teachers) and the *customers* (-students and their parents) are sure about the form and content of *transaction* (-the type of knowledge), interests of other from outside the field of education cannot intervene in this process beyond a certain limit. In this process critical pedagogy is needed to be evolved - For such a pedagogy to take shape would require considerable change in the nature of relations that characterised the learning context.

This means building-up collective intellectual movement by students and teachers backed by parents and socialists. This will help in breaking the hegemony of the ruling class; and, thus will expose the illusions created through hegemonic practices. This strategy leads to moral, intellectual, and also positional transendence of working - class (-through encroachment), which itself will change the structure of society. This strategy cannot be stopped here as it is primarily aimed at comprehensive transformation of society. Students as a transformed lot will take a constructive line of action for the desired reconstruction of the social order. Politically aware students, teachers

and parents will not be mystified with the concessional policies of bourgeois rule as they know what really goes on underneath. However, generation of such a movement is very difficult and challenging. But, the stakes are too much, the future of the whole new generation and (-the future of society are at the stake -) to ignore this challenge. After all, it is to be started from somewhere.

It is difficult to give a definite programme to this strategy, but this does not mean that this strategy is one of shooting arrows in the dark. It is because the situation varies society-wise depending upon their advancement and the nature of the state in them; and, also because at different stages of implementation of this strategy it is impossible to anticipate the degree of reaction or resistance from the other side.

But, from the foregoing discussion it is for sure that the role of state in the field of education cannot be ruled out outrightly. To our mind, what seems to be important is a conscious effort on the part of masses, students, teachers and intellectuals. Even if, it is the state which takes responsibility for the welfare activities, a whole hearted and consciously active participation of intellectuals, students, parents and teachers will be a catalytic force for a comprehensive social transformation. However, this

strategy can be broadly outlined in certain crucial and important levels:

- Recognising the possible points of action;
- Sustained mobilization;
- Proper co-ordination among students, teachers and parents;
- Resistance through active-participation;
- Curriculum re-design;
- Rational valuation;
- Capturing the places of decision making as a part of encroachment strategy;
- Organized efforts; etc.

Thus, this collective participation can also be called as political but in the sense that '*Political is pedagogical and pedagogical is political*', as Paulo Freire said.

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- (4) M Carnoy & H M Levin; 1976, pp.



## APPENDIX

### 1. GRAMSCIAN MODEL OF EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Unitary schools → Three Stages:   
 ↗ for 3 or 4 years   
 → not more than 6 years   
 ↘ for 3 years

**I Stage: (Elementary Grade)**

Subject Matter (Curriculum):

['Instrumental' notions: reading, writing, history, arithmetic, etc.

'Rights & Duties': Contradictory to tradition.

Parallel to 'Elementary Grade', a complete network of nursery schools and other similar institutions can be created for developing certain attitudes and notions needed in the schools. Even before the school-age, preschooling should be made available for this purpose.

**II Stage: (Remainder of the Course)**

Skill Training is the focus of this stage. It is not for more than 6 years so that education gets completed by 15 or 16 years of age.

**III Stage: (Liceo)**

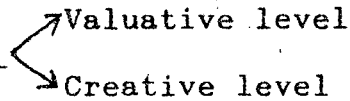
Decisive stage for of 'the fundamental values of humanism, intellectual self-discipline and moral independence, preparatory to the later socialization either of a scholarly (university study) or of immediate practical productive character'.<sup>1</sup>

Note: This organization of unitary schools is suggested on the lime of 24 hours collective life as in colleges. collective study is also suggested outside the classroom hours with the help of teachers and belt pupils.

(1) GRAMSCI-1957: 'MODERN PRINCE'; INTERNATIONAL PUBL., NEW YORK.

## 2. Mannheimian Model of Educational System:

Aim: Social reconstruction & social-engineering through successful integration of youth in the planned democratic society.

School works on two levels: 

### A) Valuative Level:

- Subject Matter - Rational valuation;
- Democratic methods;
- Work ethics, etc.

### B) Creative Level:

- Subject Matter - Skill impartation
- Practical Training
- Providing with the tools of social engineering.
- Training for social planning, Management, etc.

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### Classroom Relationships:

Teachers have an active role as the purveyors of knowledge in the classroom. 'Teaching-learning' remains to be an activity of cooperation.

Method: Learning through experiences while teacher stands as a friendly guide

Note: Schools are the important places where marginal men (teachers and students) construct new values and evolve new knowledge.

### 3. Freire's Model of Educational System

Type of School: 'Schools for peasants and workers,'

Open type of schools: ↗ Cultural valuation  
↘ Meaningful technical knowledge

Objective:

- 'Conscentization' at broader level.

Aims:

- To evolve critical-consciousness
- For new value-construction;
- To evolve '*critical pedagogy*'
- For cultural synthesis to avoid cultural invasion.

Method:

- '*Dialogical*' method
- Essentially interactive approach for learning;
- Learning through interaction with the environment.

Subject Matter:

- Workers' values and culture;
- Meaningful technological knowledge;
- Socialistic ethos.

Classroom Relations:

- Non-authoritative friendly relationship;
- amicably co-operating.

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