ROUTLEDGE STUDIES IN EDUCATION AND NEOLIBERALISM

Hegemony and Education under Neoliberalism

Insights from Gramsci

Peter Mayo

"Neoliberalism from the outset has been an educational project, seeking to form and transform societies in its own impoverished image of market relations and the cold cash nexus. Resistance to its imperatives continues unabated around the globe, with militant student movements and trade union struggles in school and university systems playing a particularly important role in highlighting neoliberalism's ethical and political bankruptcy. But what are the viable alternatives? In this wide-ranging and illuminating study, Peter Mayo dialogues with the educational thought of Antonio Gramsci, seeking to find resources in a classic thinker of the twentieth century in order to confront the political challenges of the twenty-first. Focusing in particular on the relevance of Gramsci's conception of the integral state as a pedagogical relationship, Mayo convincingly demonstrates how Gramsci's philosophy of praxis can both strengthen critical perspectives in the field of education studies, and also helps us to understand the centrality of pedagogical relationships for contemporary hegemonic politics."

—Peter D. Thomas, Brunel University, UK, author of
The Gramscian Moment: Philosophy, Hegemony
and Marxism *(Brill 2009, Haymarket Books 2010).*

"Peter Mayo is a Gramscian scholar of considerable standing. In this persuasive book he points to conceptual and political benefits of understanding the contemporary neoliberal state through a Gramscian lens. He demonstrates how education, understood through Gramsci's signature concepts, is central to the neoliberal project. In doing so he brings Gramsci into dialogue with critics of neoliberalism and capitalism from different parts of the world. Like Gramsci he also illustrates how education is potentially counter-hegemonic and can and should serve subaltern populations and places."

—Jane Kenway, Monash University, AU, co-author of
Haunting the Knowledge Economy *(Routledge, 2006)*

"References to Gramsci are common in critical pedagogy. But usually they never go beyond some superficial evocation of one Gramscian concept or the other. In contrast, Peter Mayo offers at the same time a comprehensive

reading of Gramsci's thought in all its complexity and an attempt to insist on its relevance for critical pedagogy. The result is an impressive theoretical synthesis that treats education as the site of contested hegemony and consequently of a struggle for emancipation. In a period of hegemonic crisis of neoliberalism and of important movements, such an attempt to re-read and to re-think Gramsci is more than welcome. Critical pedagogues and anyone interested in critical social theory must read this book"

—*Panagiotis Sotiris, author of* Communism and Philosophy. The Theoretical Endeavor of Louis Althusser *(in Greek)*

"Peter Mayo reminds us that Gramsci is still relevant, though gone for almost a century. In this much-needed book, Mayo provides a thorough going discussion of Gramsci's relevance for education in a neoliberal world. In Canada, adult educators face challenges of endless cutbacks, limited support for education, and a government culture of anti-intellectualism. Gramsci's understanding of hegemony and resistance provides hope and inspiration in the face of these sources of oppression."

—*Leona English, St. Francis Xavier University, Canada*

"Lifelong philological research into Gramscian theory has permitted Peter Mayo to cogently demonstrate that the Italian thinker's idea of education transcends its traditional meaning and is instead located at the core of his overall political project. Thanks to education, Gramsci introduces intersubjectivity and democratic forms of negotiations in his Marxist theory of state and politics. Peter Mayo's volume vouches a thorough and badly needed critique of neoliberal ideology applied to education, with its obsessive stress on market values and individual needs. His book is a powerful indictment of neoliberal attitudes to civil society and a fundamental challenge to the complacency shown by Western governments towards the social inequalities fostered by current neoliberal politics."

—*Mauro Pala, University of Cagliari, Italy, and editor of* Narrazioni egemoniche. Gramsci, letteratura e società civile *(Il Mulino, 2014)*

"Antonio Gramsci meets education in this lucid and vivid tale of alternative education for critical democracy. Peter Mayo thinks with Gramsci to take the reader on a global ride through the history of revolutionary literacy movements in Latin America, the Mediterranean, and Global South. The book's breath of history, theory, and politics makes it essential reading for anyone interested in modes of emancipatory education and learning in neoliberal times."

—*Linda Herrera, Director of Global Studies in Education, University of Illinois, USA, author of* Revolution in the Age of Social Media *(Verso, 2014), and editor of* Wired Citizenship: Youth Learning and Activism in the Middle East *(Routledge, 2014)*

Hegemony and Education under Neoliberalism

Based in a holistic exposition and appraisal of Gramsci's writings that are of relevance to education in neoliberal times, this book—rather than simply applying Gramsci's theories to issues in education—argues that education constitutes the leitmotif of his entire oeuvre and lies at the heart of his conceptualization of the ancient Greek term 'hegemony' that was used by other political theorists before him. Starting from this understanding, the book goes on to compare Gramsci's theories with those of later thinkers in the development of a critical pedagogy that can confront Neoliberalism in all its forms.

Peter Mayo is a Professor in the Department of Education Studies at the University of Malta. Most recent books include: *Learning with Adults: A Critical Pedagogical Introduction* (recipient of the 2013 Cyril O. Houle award); *Politics of Indignation; Echoes from Freire for a Critically Engaged Pedagogy;* and *Lorenzo Milani, the School of Barbiana and the Struggle for Social Justice*.

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Hegemony and Education under Neoliberalism

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Preface

A quarter of a century has elapsed since the events that culminated, symbolically at least, in the fall of the Berlin Wall. In these turbulent times, even as centennial remembrances of the outbreak of the Great War abound, it is easy to forget—or, perhaps, too discomforting to recall—the euphoria generated by the rapid and relatively bloodless disintegration of the Soviet bloc that inspired many intellectuals to embrace the view that humanity had arrived at the end of history, while politicians confidently greeted the dawning of a new world order. All across the Western world and in other parts of the globe, the rather sudden transformation of the geo-political map was cheered as an epochal milestone in the triumphant march of democracy. For the United States the end of the cold war represented, more specifically, a decisive victory over its only super-power rival that Ronald Reagan had labeled an "evil empire", the death-knell of communism (and Marxism more generally), and a vindication of capitalism as a universal good.

Newspaper headlines, covers of news weeklies, television reporters, political columnists, and countless images of throngs freely crossing previously sealed borders helped make democracy a magical word during that momentous year. It was not quite the right time to enquire what it signified precisely other than the opposite of repressive rule and something vaguely resembling the systems of government in Western Europe and the USA, regardless of how much they differed from one another. Even then, however, a particular ideology that equated democracy with minimal state intervention in the economy and unfettered laissez faire capitalism was in the ascendency. The neoliberal turn led by Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan, with their attacks on labor unions, promotion of privatization, efforts to weaken social welfare programs, disdain for the needy, and exaltation of individualism was well on its way to becoming the new political norm.

As conservative parties moved further to the right and their progressive counterparts maneuvered themselves closer to the center of the political spectrum, resistance to an increasingly aggressive strain of capitalism was further handicapped by the disarray caused by the events of 1989 and their aftermath among the organized as well as independent ranks of the left. Forced to defend themselves—unjustly in many cases—against accusations

of allegiance to a discredited anti-capitalist ideology and of undemocratic tendencies, many leftist parties and allied formations found themselves wracked by self-doubt and painful internal disagreements on how to revalidate their democratic credentials. Even the Italian Communist Party (PCI) that Antonio Gramsci helped found and once led—a party that had played a crucial role in founding the post-Fascist Italian Republic and adhered impeccably to the rules of democracy for over four decades in its parliamentary role as the major opposition party—plunged into an entangled self-critique that generated irreconcilable (re-)interpretations of its past and deep conflicts about its very raison d'etre. The PCI dissolved itself in 1991, when it still had well over a million dues-paying members; enough of its adherents had persuaded themselves that a democratic alternative to capitalism was no longer imaginable or worth striving for.

It is difficult to identify all the reasons why in this climate of widespread renunciation of the Marxist and socialist traditions, in which even oppositional intellectuals of the left often derived their theoretical bearings from non-Marxist poststructuralist thinkers and identified themselves as post-Marxist, Gramsci remained prominent and continued to attract widespread attention from academics and political activists working in a broad array of fields and in markedly different contexts. Two factors, in particular, spring readily to mind. The first is Gramsci's anti-dogmatism and the open-ended character of his work. His heterodoxy was regarded with deep suspicion by the communist officialdom outside of Italy who for a long time resisted publishing his writings and when they finally did only sanctioned carefully selected anthologies of his writing. It is also noteworthy that in the Soviet Union, the first substantive edition of Gramsci's writings—a three-volume anthology—was brought out in 1957, just one year after Nikita Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalinism in his famous speech "On the Cult of Personality and Its Consequences". In short, nothing in Gramsci's work lends itself to associating him with the anti-democratic repressive regimes that used to describe themselves as the embodiment of real, existing socialism. Quite the opposite: his writings were a fundamental point of reference for political activists, most notably in Latin America during the years of military dictatorship, who elucidated the relationship between socialism and democracy.

The second factor is Gramsci's concept of hegemony with which he is most commonly identified. It is a concept that has been adopted and adapted by innumerable critics and scholars working in a broad spectrum of fields of inquiry, but especially in various aspects of cultural studies. The frequency with which the concept of hegemony is invoked or employed, however, is by no means always indicative of comprehension or appreciation of its complex and rich relationship to other major threads of Gramsci's thought and to his extensive analysis and critique of liberal democracy. It is one of the many merits of Peter Mayo's book that it provides a lucid exposition of Gramsci's theory of the integral state that is simultaneously the foundation

and context of the concept of hegemony. In a note on "War of position and war of maneuver, or frontal war" that would have provoked outrage among his party comrades had they read it, Gramsci explains why the revolutionary strategy that toppled absolutist Tsarist rule in Russia would be ineffectual in a liberal democracy: "In the East, the state was everything, civil society was primordial and gelatinous; in the West, there was a proper relation between state and civil society, and when the state tottered, a sturdy structure of civil society was immediately revealed. The state was just the forward trench; behind it stood a succession of sturdy fortresses and emplacements." In classical liberal theory the state and civil society are regarded as separate spheres, whereas for Gramsci the state has two constitutive elements: political society (i.e., what in liberal theory is called the state) and civil society. In other words, as Peter Mayo points out, the distinction between state and civil society is only heuristic. It is in the "equilibrium between political society and civil society" that Gramsci locates "the hegemony of a social group over the entire national society, exercised through so-called private organizations, such as the church, the trade unions, the schools, etc." (See Gramsci's letter to Tatiana Schucht, 7 September 1931.)

The struggle against the prevailing hegemony, then, has to be conducted in the arena of civil society. It entails a detailed analysis and thorough understanding of how the worldview of the dominant social groups penetrates every sphere of society down to the capillary level and acquires universal validity even in the eyes of those who are subordinated by it. In other words, one must lay bare the intricate mechanisms and operations that enable what Noam Chomsky calls the manufacturing of consent. The corollary task is one of critique aimed at revealing that the ruling ideas did not emanate from universal or transcendental laws but are, rather, the products of human history as are the institutions and social structures they legitimize and foster—in other words, they can be changed. This is why Peter Mayo starts his critique of Neoliberalism by recalling Marx and Engels' theory of consciousness and by bringing into sharp relief Gramsci's assertion that "every relationship of 'hegemony' is necessarily an educational relationship." Education in its broadest sense is inseparable from hegemony and, as Peter Mayo amply demonstrates here and in numerous other writings, it occupies a central position not only in Gramsci's political thought but also, and even more overtly, in his political strategy.

Indeed, whereas the concept of hegemony emerges for the first time in the *Prison Notebooks,* Gramsci's conviction that liberation from oppression starts with education—that is, with the acquisition of the ability to think independently and critically—is already glaringly evident in his earliest writings. Gramsci was still a lyceum student in Cagliari when he wrote an essay, "Oppressed and Oppressors" (1911), in which he argued that humans will rebel against their oppression by other humans once they become "conscious of their responsibility and their value." Five years later, in one of his early contributions to *Il Grido del Popolo,* entitled "Socialism and Culture"

(1916), Gramsci found occasion to argue at some length for the primacy of education, or culture more generally, in political struggle. He was provoked by an assertion made by Enrico Leone, a prominent revolutionary syndicalist and professor of economics at the University of Bologna: "There is no salvation except within workerism, within the classes of calloused hands and a brain uncontaminated by culture and by scholastic infection." In his denunciation, Gramsci cites a section in Giambattista Vico's *Scienza Nuova* that attributes the rise of democracy to a radical change of consciousness:

> Vico [. . .] gives a political interpretation of the famous dictum of Solon which Socrates subsequently made his own in relation to philosophy: "Know yourself." Vico maintains that in this dictum Solon wished to admonish the plebeians, who believed themselves to be of *bestial origins* and the nobility of *divine origin*, to reflect on themselves and see that they had the *same human nature as the nobles* and hence should claim to be *their equals in civil law*. Vico then points to this consciousness of human equality between plebeians and nobles as the basis and historical reason for the rise of the democratic republics of antiquity.

Culture, or education, Gramsci goes on to explain in the same article, has little to do with the passive acquisition of knowledge; it is, rather, "the attainment of a higher awareness, with the aid of which one succeeds in understanding one's own historical value, one's own function in life, one's own rights and obligations."

Gramsci's rich elaboration of his early views on education as the acquisition of critical awareness and as the *sine qua non* in any effective political struggle for equality within a democratic society is brought out with exemplary lucidity by Peter Mayo throughout this book and, especially, in his discussions of the factory councils, the insidiousness of the Fascist reform of education, common sense, adult education, and critical pedagogy. Most importantly, Mayo's provides us with a deeper understanding of the ineluctable link between hegemony and education not just as a cornerstone of Gramsci's thought but as a concrete reality that we all inhabit and participate in, often unawares. He does this by drawing the reader's attention to quotidian practices and experiences, to the observable and tangible operations of hegemony, and to actual instances of opposition and resistance. In this respect, Mayo is not only thinking with Gramsci, he is thinking like Gramsci, who was always attentive to the particular and the specific and impatient with theoretical abstraction.

Peter Mayo has made many important contributions to the study of Gramsci, Paulo Freire, educational theory, and the sociology of education, and this new volume will certainly be greatly valued by everyone working in any or all of those fields. Its significance and timeliness, though, stretches far beyond any specific sphere of inquiry. Peter Mayo's book is, more than anything else, a strong intervention in one of the most urgent debates of

the present time: can the rapid rise in inequality and its corrosive effects on democracy be reversed? A quarter of a century ago, the spread of democracy seemed unstoppable; now, it is the growing disparity in wealth that seems to have no limits. Neoliberalism has generated an excess of wealth and power for the few and a deficit of democracy and social justice for the rest. In one of his *New York Times* columns (24 October 2014), the Nobel Prize-winning economist Paul Krugman described the problem in the starkest terms: "a lot of what's going on in American politics is, at root, a fight between democracy and plutocracy. And it's by no means clear which side will win." This is not, of course, just a US problem, for as Peter Mayo makes abundantly clear, Neoliberalism is hegemonic on a global scale—which is, precisely, what makes his analysis and critique pertinent to everyone concerned about the fragile state of democracy worldwide.

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I make no bones about the fact that I consider myself a 'person of faith'. Faith has been a constant struggle and I subscribe to the 'Prophetic Church'. I therefore want to thank God for granting me the grace to live long enough to accomplish this work in the spirit of love, human compassion and social justice, the last mentioned being something which drives me forward in my work. The struggle involved remains an ongoing one, while it constantly throws into relief my many disturbing contradictions.

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1 Introduction

Hegemony and Neoliberalism: A Gramscian Antidote

NEOLIBERALISM AND THE INTENSIFICATION OF GLOBALISATION

In an interview with Roger Dale and Susan Robertson (2004), the Portuguese sociologist, Boaventura de Sousa Santos, stated that "Neoliberalism is the political form of globalization resulting from a U.S. type of capitalism, a type that bases competitiveness on technological innovation coupled with low levels of social protection" (p. 151). He goes on to state that "the aggressive imposition of this model by the international financial institutions worldwide not only forces abrupt changes in the role of the state and in the rules of the game between the exploiter and the exploited . . . but also changes the rules of the game among the other kinds of developed capitalism" (de Sousa Santos, in Dale & Robertson, 2004, p. 151).

Since the early eighties, Neoliberalism provided the dominant hegemonic discourse surrounding economic development and public policy (Burbules & Torres, 2000). Its birth pangs were bloody as it sought its trial run in what is generally regarded in Latin America as the 'First September 11th', that is to say the CIA and multinational backed military coup, led by the Commander of the Armed Forces, General Augusto Pinochet, against the democratically elected socialist government of Salvador Allende. That attack on the presidential palace, La Moneda, in Santiago, Chile, on Tuesday, 11 September 1973, brought an end to one of the longest parliamentary democracies in the region and paved the way for the policies and blueprints developed by the 'Chicago Boys', Chilean economists who were sold on Milton Friedman's and Arnold Harberge's principles, to start being implemented against a reign of fascist terror. This reign led to the execution of thousands of declared or suspected leftists. Among the victims were intellectuals such as the musician Victor Jara, a major exponent of *'la nueva canción'*, killed by death squads in a sports stadium that is now named after him.

Neoliberalism, though the term was hardly used at the time, was very much a feature of the Pinochet regime's ideology in Chile. It has

continued to remain the main ideology in the country until this present day when it has become the target of protests by students backed by trade unions and other organisations and movements against its current manifestation in such areas as education, from primary level to higher education (PoLin So, 2011), and health. Neoliberalism began to be rendered a global ideology through 'Thatcherism', the term coined by the recently deceased Stuart Hall to refer to this type of economic policy—deindustrialisation, financially driven from the 'city'; 'rolling back the frontiers' of the state; turning public goods into objects of consumption (with an emphasis on market driven 'positional goods', as with the case of education at all levels in Chile including state education for which one has to pay); unbridled individualism ("there is no such thing as Society"—Margaret Thatcher); Reaganomics (Pannu, 1996); the IMF's and World Bank's structural adjustment programmes in much of the industrially underdeveloped world (Boron & Torres, 1996; Mulenga, 1996; Pannu, 1996); and the WTO's polices that would also affect educational 'services' (Rikowski, 2002). Furthermore a 'new managerialism' (Lynch et al., 2012) is making its presence strongly felt in education where schools and other educational institutions, including Higher Education institutions, are encouraged to run as corporate entities (Hill et al., 2013) with their leaders conducting themselves more as though they were CEOs than actual education leaders.

BEYOND THE ECONOMIC

Public spaces began to shrink as a result of their being encroached upon by market forces (Giroux, 2001a) through privatisation. So did other outlets such as those associated with youth entertainment, also subject to commodification. The same applies to people who are conditioned to shape their identities as consumers in possession of positional goods and engaging in a lifestyle which, though characterised by economic precariousness, the traditional staple of working and peasant class lives, camouflages this reality, providing the illusion of a middle-class adherence. Many people are gaining more education and working longer hours for less, with the occupational group in question having become déclassé.

Neoliberalism therefore extends beyond the realm of economic policy making by encroaching into the domains of individual and social life. Panagiotis Sotiris articulates this well in the following lines:

> One should never forget that Neoliberalism is not just an economic policy. It is also the attempt towards production of a particular subjectivity centred upon economic self-interest and competition, in sharp opposition to other, more critical forms of subjectivity, such as that of the active citizen or the conscious worker. (Sotiris, 2014, p. 319)

NEOLIBERALISM'S BLOODY BIRTH PANGS RE-ENACTED AND BEYOND

As with Chile, Neoliberalism was occasionally reinforced, in certain countries, not only through electoral means, generating support by appealing to 'common sense' (the sort of popular contradictory consciousness highlighted by Gramsci and which will be explained further on in this volume), but also through military coups. Turkey is a case in point with the coup remarkably staged on a September 12th, this time in 1980 (Mayo, 2014a; Ünlü, 2014). This once again represents a bold attempt, by a US satellite state in the Eastern-Mediterranean spanning from Europe into Asia, to set the conditions for the onset of neoliberal policies[1] in this largely populated nation. As with other countries such as the USA and Britain, Turkey has recently been seen as a country following the 'New Right' pattern.

NEOLIBERALISM AND THE NEW RIGHT

The New Right has often been defined as an amalgam of a commitment to US-driven neoliberal economics with conservative values. We saw this in England where Thatcherism took on the form of neoliberal economics, characterised by de- industrialisation and the all-pervasive rule of the market, and old Victorian conservative values. We had the same situation under Reagan in the USA and the two Bush presidents, the younger one foregrounding a specific form of bigoted Christian politics alongside the well-established neoliberal policies. Turkey seems to be providing another manifestation of this kind of alliance under Recep Tayyip Erdogan's AKP Party, where thousands have taken to the streets in various cities, squares and parks (notably Gezi Park—Gezgin et al., 2014) to oppose the current regime of old Islamic, anti-secularist values sitting comfortably with a large scale US-based neoliberal capitalism. In all cases, the violent nature of capitalism itself, and especially neoliberal capitalism, with its history of bloodshed, well known to Turkey not only with the 1980 coup but also with the 1977 May Day massacre at Taksim Square (unidentified gunmen opened fire on participants in the Labour Day manifestation, killing many and leading to a long ban on this manifestation), has made its presence felt (Mayo, 2014a, p. 308).

Neoliberalism is now also a feature of parties in government that have historically been socialist (see Hill, 2001; Ledwith, 2005 for a discussion of British labour politics on this). The presence of this ideology on either side of the traditional political spectrum in Western democracies, leading to an electoral choice around not ideological issues but simply such questions as 'who is the country's better manager?' (Mayo, 2013b), testifies to the *hegemonic* nature of Neoliberalism. This point is worth keeping in mind with respect to dominant discourses on education and their social-democratic trappings.

The presence of the neoliberal ideology in education, as well as in other spheres of activity, can easily lead one to think and operate within the logic of capitalist restructuring. As a result of this process, once-public goods (education among them) are converted into consumption goods as the 'ideology of the marketplace' takes hold. Neoliberal strategists advocate increasing privatisation and related cuts in public spending on social programmes, leading to the introduction of user charges and cost recovery policies. Popular access to health, education and other social services would therefore be curtailed. As indicated with Chile and the Pinochet regime, everything has to be paid for, including sending one's child to a state primary school. Later Thatcherite mantras such as "there is no such thing as a free lunch" already had their material realisation in Neoliberalism's Chilean 'trial run'.

Neoliberal policies also lead to public financing of private needs. The onus for social and economic survival is placed on individuals and groups. The debate on rights and responsibilities is rationalised, with 'self-help' being advocated for those who end up as the victims of these policies.[2] These policies also lead to a decline in real incomes. The whole question of 'choice' becomes a farce as people who cannot afford to pay for educational and health services are fobbed off with an underfunded and therefore poor quality public service in these areas (Mayo, 1999), if any at all (once more, see the Chile case). Neoliberalism also entails a deregulation of commodity prices and the shift from direct to indirect taxation (Boron & Torres, 1996; McGinn, 1996; Pannu, 1996). Its orthodoxy also includes, as indicated by Mark Olssen (2004, p. 241), the opening of borders, floating exchange rates, abolition of capital controls, liberalisation of government policy, developing integrated private transnational systems of alliances and establishing, within countries, central banks that "adopt a market-independent monetary policy that is autonomous of political interference" (ibid.) With respect to the USA, Henry A. Giroux refers to the economist William Greider who argues that Neoliberalism proponents "want to 'roll back the twentieth century literally' by establishing the priority of private institutions and market identities, values and relationships as the organizing principles of public life" (Giroux, 2004, p. 107).

I would sum up (Mayo, 2009), therefore, by arguing that hegemonic globalisation, with its underlying neoliberal tenets, has traditionally been characterised by the following, each of which having ramifications for educational provision, though not to the same degree in all countries:

- A strong private sector bias—reduced growth of public spending on public education and the pursuit of other sources of funding.
- The transition of education and other formerly public goods to a consumption service (Hill & Associates, 2005), with the blurring of public and private divisions—including the blurring of private and public in education.

- An obsession with developing the countries' 'Human Resources', a euphemism for the term 'Human Capital' (OECD, 2007), as part of re-mantling the state (Pannu, 1996) into a neoliberal or, possibly, as envisaged in certain contexts through a 'Third Way' politics, a Workfare state (Ball, 2007), to create the right infrastructure for investment and mobility.
- Vocationalising many sectors of lifelong learning, including education for older adults (non-sustainability of pension schemes) (Borg & Mayo, 2008).
- Public financing of private needs (Gentili, 2001) through, in certain cases, partly financing, directly or indirectly, a competitor market (Gentili, 2005, p. 143) or facilitating the presence of a business agenda in certain sectors of education, especially Higher Education.
- International quality comparisons—standardisation, league tables, equivalences, harmonisation and specific emphasis on ICT and Maths and Science. The EU, the OECD and even UNESCO have provided quality indicators in this regard, though each with different emphases (see Surian, 2006). Some have gone so far as to argue that what we have, in this context, is an 'evaluator/ive state' (Gentili 2005, p. 141; Neave, 2006).
- State intervention in specific sectors as manifest in recent years owing to the credit crunch and other economic setbacks.

GLOBALISATION FROM BELOW

The foregoing are, in the main, features of one particular kind of globalisation (Carnoy, 1999), often referred to as hegemonic globalisation (Dale & Robertson, 2004, p. 148). This is not the only kind of globalisation in existence. There is also "counter-hegemonic" globalisation (de Sousa Santos, in Dale & Robertson, 2004, p. 150) or "globalization from below" (Marshall, 1997). I prefer the second term given the dynamic nature of hegemony, as the later chapters will indicate, which therefore renders any sort of clear-cut binary opposition between hegemonic and 'counter-hegemonic' problematic. No wonder Gramsci, to whom these terms are attributed, or more accurately, with whom the terms are associated (readers need no reminding that he was not the first to use the term 'hegemony'), never used 'counter-hegemony' in his writings.

Globalisation from below "consists of resistance against hegemonic globalization organised (through local/global linkages) by movements, initiatives and NGO's, on behalf of classes, social groups and regions victimised by the unequal exchanges produced on a global scale by neoliberal globalization" (de Sousa Santos in Dale & Robertson, 2004, p. 150). They include social movements from the South and North playing a major role in monitoring compliance of governments regarding such targets as, for

instance, the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and advocating for more and better aid (in the early seventies, the wealthiest nations had committed themselves to 0.7% of their GDP to be reserved for international aid), 'justice in trade' (fair trade) and debt write-off as key to the attainment of the proposed and alternative goals. It also entails different movements, previously identified with a rather fragmentary identity and specific issue politics, coming together "on a scale previously unknown" (Rikowski, 2002, p. 16) to target global capitalism and the meetings of the institutions that support it, such as the IMF, World Bank and the WTO, thus invoking "an anti-capitalism of real substance and significant scale" (ibid.). The World Social Forum is a classic example of a space in which different progressive movements come together to search for common ground.

As Leona English and I (English & Mayo, 2012) argue, international networking, part and parcel of 'globalisation from below,' often involves the use of technology for progressive ends. It can well involve learning such skills as digital literacy, public speaking and project promotion—an important feature of learning within movements that incorporates the honing of advocacy skills as well as learning effective publicity approaches and how to follow up on issues, identifying the right spaces and persons. The acquisition of digital skills allows for ease of communication. Some activists challenge organisations such as NAFTA in North America by making radically progressive use of the Internet for progressive and social justice purposes; this would always have a learning, through consciousness raising, dimension. Some wage what they would call an 'Internet war'. Clear examples are here provided by the Frente and Ejercito Zapatista in Chiapas or in the democracy uprising in Egypt and Tunisia in 2011 which sought to end decades of oppression from President Mubarak and President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali respectively, although whether they have brought about the desired political change remains a moot point, especially with regard to the Egyptian experience. This has led many, including the present author, to avoid the fashionable term 'Arab Spring', an over-claim in the circumstances.

The foregoing, however, would suggest that 'globalisation from below' consists in the contacts being established between different people and organisations immersed in the recent volume of uprisings, from some of the Arab uprisings, to the *indignados* in Spain and Greece, the student movements in Vienna, Santiago de Chile, London (not to forget the riots there [Mclean, 2011, p. 43] and elsewhere in the UK), the Occupy Movement (Fox Piven, 2012) and the revolts in Turkey (Sotiris, 2014), which are symptomatic of an almost universal dissatisfaction with Neoliberalism and the huge disparities in living conditions it has spawned. Despite the obvious role that the new social media, a feature of the intensification of globalisation, plays in bringing individuals, social movements and groups together and in raising collective awareness, people, in Sotiris' (2014, pp. 316, 317) view, still attempt to own the squares and streets when giving vent to their anger and delivering their protests, turning them into global

squares and streets because of the global media interest they attract. Each Saturday, women converge on Galatasaray Square in Istanbul, Turkey, just like the *Madres* of Plaza 25 de Mayo in Buenos Aires, Argentina (in this case, clamouring for information with regard to the remains of their children and whereabouts of their grandchildren, all victims of the 'dirty war'), to protest and lament the loss of their loved ones during and after the years of the coup which cemented the ushering in of Neoliberal policies. They have been doing this for a number of years. Globalisation from below also involves the 'reinvention' of people's action across frontiers and geographical spaces. People power makes its presence felt in Turkey and has been doing so for quite some time in a variety of sites. This time, though, this manifestation of people power has been marked by an exponential growth in the numbers involved. It adds a new chapter to the volume of uprisings against Neoliberalism.

The task is for the emergence of a national and international 'Modern Prince' (unifying element, party or alliance of movements) capable of providing a unifying political direction to this groundswell with the hope that it stems the process of capitalist encroachment on and commodification of all aspects of our lives and sets the stage for the required deep-rooted changes in the world economic system to ensure a decent life and greater social stability for the world's 99%. And globalisation plays its part, through the media, again including the social media, in rendering these spaces—Syntagma Square in Athens, Zuccotti Park in New York City, Gezi Park or Taksim Square in Istanbul, St Paul's Square in London, Puerta del Sol, Madrid, or Piazza San Giovanni in Rome—global spaces in that events are either televised or streamed across different continents and time zones in real time. 'Globalisation from below' also assumes this dimension.

What renders the unifying tasks difficult is the fact that social movements are quite variegated and become more so depending on context. We might well have to speak in terms of a network of 'Modern Princes', ensconced in different parts of the world. Many of the movements mentioned above, with the exception of the Arab ones, are Western social movements based in Europe or North America. One also comes across what Dip Kapoor (2009) calls Subaltern Southern social movements (SSSMs). As indicated in my book with Leona English (English & Mayo, 2012, p. 120), these differ from Western movements in as much as they speak and operate from the margins of the state, market and even 'civil society'. I am using the term here in the contemporary sense, not the one I shall be using for the most part in the remainder of this volume.

What motivates their action is the precarious condition and immediate suffering resulting from their dispossession and destruction of their habitat by the encroaching forces of neoliberal capitalist globalisation. This strikes me as symptomatic of something fundamentally imperial and older. As Fanon (1963, in Kapoor, 2009) forcefully underlined, the opulence of the West was built on the backs of a number of subaltern, enslaved (in many ways) people,

too numerous to mention. Think here of even the entombed indigenous slaves in Latin America as indicated by Eduardo Galeano and others.

We reproduce in our joint book (English & Mayo, 2012, p. 120) the citation by Kapoor from the *Via Campesina,* the largest peasant, indigenous and landless people's networks*:* "We believe that the new agrarian reform must include a cosmic vision of the territories of communities of peasants, the landless, indigenous peoples, rural workers, fisherfolk, nomadic pastoralists, tribal afro-descendants, ethnic minorities, and displaced peoples, who base their work on the production of food and who maintain a relationship of respect and harmony with Mother Earth and the oceans" (*Via Campesina,* 2006, cited in Kapoor, 2009, p. 71).

ALL-PERVASIVE NEOLIBERAL POLITICS

The foregoing exposition of the two types of globalisation,[3] within the context of an all-pervasive neoliberal politics (one cementing and the other confronting Neoliberalism), is central to the exploration of antidotes to the current dominant discourse in education characterised by the emphasis on technical rationality and marketability and which presents this discourse as having no alternatives (TINA—There Is No Alternative).

GRAMSCI'S ANTIDOTE

The idea of there being no alternative brings us to the concept of hegemony and hence what lies within the parameters of 'acceptable' discourse and what lies outside. Hegemony, to be explained further on in this chapter, is a theoretical concept associated with Antonio Gramsci, the figure I propose as the key subject 'with whom to think' and engage in 'conversation' with respect to educational insights that, collectively, can serve as an antidote to the prevailing hegemonic neoliberal discourse. This book is essentially about Gramsci but, as the title suggests, also in accordance with the focus and scope of the specific book series, the exposition and analyses are couched within a critique of the contemporary hegemonic discourse of neoliberal education.

At this stage, I will introduce Antonio Gramsci to readers of this volume not familiar with his biography, a brief knowledge of which would throw some light on the contexts which helped shape many of his ideas. I shall then return to the notion of hegemony as developed by Gramsci.

ANTONIO GRAMSCI (1891–1937)

Antonio Gramsci, who was born in Ales and raised in Ghilarza, both in Sardinia, is an iconic figure in 20th century social and political theory. His childhood in Sardinia was a rather turbulent one as a disabled child (Pott's disease) in a rather well to do family (Fiori, 1990, p. 9) of Albanian (father's

side) origin.[4] His mother's surname was Marcias and her parents were both Sardinian (Gramsci, 1996, p. 482).[5] He suffered hardship following his father's arrest on charges of petty embezzlement, a situation which forced the young Ninu[6] to interrupt his schooling for work that could well have exacerbated his physical condition given that it involved carrying large registers. Gramsci subsequently resumed his schooling and later embarked on studies, at the University of Turin, through a scholarship for students from the Kingdom of Sardinia. Turin, home of FIAT and the powerful Agnelli family, was renowned for its strong political mobilisation, especially among the industrial working class, and was part of the industrial heartland (the 'industrial triangle') of the Italian North. Despite his great promise as a philologist, having been heralded by one of his teachers, Matteo Bartoli, as "the archangel" set to "defeat the grammarians" (he adopted a decidedly anti-positivist stance), Gramsci never completed his studies, owing to his physical ailments deriving from his spinal problems which were to plague him throughout his relatively short life. After missing exams through illness, he dropped out of university altogether to engage in revolutionary socialist politics, being prominent in workers' education circles and in socialist journalism, among other things.

He made his mark as a leading cultural, including theatre, critic for *Avanti,* the socialist newspaper. He befriended some prominent young intellectuals, such as Piero Gobetti, and at least one leading stage actress, as well as political figures such as Umberto Terracini and Palmiro Togliatti with whom he would lead the group gravitating around the *Ordine Nuovo* review. By then he had become one of the most prominent figures on the radical left of the Italian Socialist Party and later he would serve as the first Secretary General of the then fledgling Italian Communist Party following the split in the former party, which occurred at Leghorn (Livorno) in 1921.

Arrested in 1926 following the Fascist rise to power, he was to be permanently and physically separated from his wife and two sons (one of whom he would never see) who resided in Russia. Gramsci spent the rest of his life in prison, save for the final stages in clinics, including the Rome clinic where he died, and was later buried in the *acattolico* (non-Catholic) Rome cemetery (referred to in Britain as the British-American cemetery) besides the Pyramid in the company of other prominent figures such as Keats and Shelley. The Chief Prosecutor at his trial had announced that Gramsci's brain was meant to be "stopped from functioning for twenty years", in a process later interpreted by Gramsci's successor as PCI Secretary General and a fellow Sardinian, Enrico Berlinguer, as meant to "assassinate" the Communist leader "scientifically".[7]

GRAMSCI'S OEUVRE

The Chief Prosecutor's comment proved to be wide off the mark. In actual fact, though stressful and painful, both physically and emotionally,

Gramsci's ten years of imprisonment were marked by intensive reading, often books procured on his behalf by his friend, the economist Piero Sraffa, first a professor at the University of Cagliari who subsequently moved to Cambridge University. He opened an account for Gramsci at a bookshop in Milan. Gramsci, for his part, was not just a recipient but also a producer of ideas and knowledge in his prison years, bequeathing to posterity a recognised masterpiece of 20th-century political thought. Intended to form the basis of a work *für ewig* (for ever),[8] this work consisted of notes compiled in different Quaderni (notebooks) which, I would suspect, Gramsci would never have expected to make their mark internationally in the state in which he wrote them. These were notes for a work to be polished and completed following his much hoped for release. Some long enough to take the form of essays, or political, economic and social treatises, these notes would have a great influence on a variety of fields including Political Science, Anthropology, Philosophy, Sociology, Literary Theory, Education Studies, History and Cultural Studies. It is not only these notes that would have an international impact but *also* his entire corpus of writings, including newspaper columns, political pamphlets and letters, some of the latter taking on the form of philosophical or educational tracts. In his letters, Gramsci would start off with a conventional expression of intimate friendship or discussion of a matter of family concern and then wander off on some rumination which would furnish the reader with insights to add to her or his sense of Gramsci's overriding philosophical thought. He would occasionally tail off a letter with some request for, say, a small bottle of eau de Cologne or any other accessory (see, for example, the letter to Sraffa of 2 January, 1927—Gramsci, 1996, p. 29).

One moving letter, reproduced and enlarged as an important item on display at the Gramsci Museum (the house where he was raised was converted into a museum, managed by the Fondazione Istituto Gramsci) in Ghilarza, is touching in the manner in which Gramsci takes great pains to comfort his presumably distraught mother with the knowledge that he is charged and will probably be imprisoned for his political ideals which, he underlines, he would never renounce under any circumstances and for which he would be prepared to give up his life. He intimates that his mother knows him well enough to realise this—he states that there is therefore nothing to be ashamed of in this regard (Gramsci, 1996, p. 190). The scar of his father's imprisonment must have been reopened, if it was ever closed, with Gramsci's arrest. Certainly with this in mind, he is at pains to instill in his suffering and aging mother the fact that he is a *detenuto politico* (political prisoner) (ibid.), or what we would call a 'prisoner of conscience'.

Included among these letters are those in which he narrates fables to his children, indicating some of the 'flights of the imagination' which Gramsci frequently took in the solitude of his prison cell. These specific letters to Giuliano and Delio consist, for the most part, of the recounting of well known fairy tales from the Grimm brothers and other writers. They are

narrated in a manner that is highly original. These 'reworked' tales contain peculiar elements, which can be traced back to the original authors, that probably connect with Gramsci's upbringing in Sardinia and his exposure to Sardinian peasant lore, where the 'smooth' is presented with the 'rough'. I am referring here to such violence, in a few fables, as ripping up the bodies of foxes and other carnivorous animals to release people who had been swallowed and therefore imprisoned inside these animals' bellies, replacing them with stones. There is also the self-inflicted physical violence of the two 'Ugly Sisters' in the Cinderella story, who lop off the toes that do not allow their feet to fit the discovered missing shoe (Gramsci, 2008). One ought to be reminded, however, that this type of violence is to be found in the original sources, such as Grimm's fables, and that we have grown accustomed, over the years, and through various media, to sanitized versions of some of them.

These unsavory aspects apart, there is quite a mouthful in these stories to provide the grist for an education that stimulates the imagination, calling for a 'willing suspension of disbelief' in a world of innocence tainted, in the case of some of the fables, by blood. Is this a reflection of the 'rough and tumble' of Sardinian peasant life?

GRAMSCI AND EDUCATION: THOUGHT AND ACTION

Education, in its broadest sense, featured prominently in Gramsci's thinking. He himself was an indefatigable organiser of education courses in a variety of contexts and places, including the island of Ustica, an open 'island prison' at the time (getting there was described by Gramsci as a tortuous experience involving stop starts when attempting to sail from Palermo to the island—Gramsci, 1996, p. 8).[9] The island prison has, according to Gramsci's estimation, an area of three square miles and had a population then of 1,300. Six hundred were ordinary convicts—hardened *(recidivi)* criminals (Gramsci, 1973, p. 61; Gramsci, 1996, p. 8). Gramsci and other political figures, detained on the island while awaiting their trial, would mingle with the locals and even invite them to attend the school, primarily intended for detainees, they set up there—a landmark in the development of education on the island (letter to Piero Sraffa, 2 January 1927, Gramsci, 1996, pp. 27, 28).

Gramsci wrote not only about the Unitarian School but also about different routes to education, such as non-formal education routes—*altre vie* (other routes)—including a short-lived Institute of Proletarian Culture and a 'correspondence school' for the newly set up Italian Communist Party. Correspondence education featured prominently in Gramsci's later life, confined as he was in prison and using letters as a means to help educate young members of his family, as in the case of his retelling of fables and advice given to relatives for his niece's (Edmea) upbringing. He persisted with these

writings, apparently not discouraged by the knowledge that some of the letters might not make it, following censorship, to their destination: pessimism of the intellect, optimism of the will, one might say, borrowing his favourite phrase from Romain Rolland which appeared under the *Ordine Nuovo*'s masthead.

HEGEMONY EXPLAINED

Moving from biography back to a discussion of conceptual tools that can prove useful in the struggle against neoliberal education, I would submit that hegemony is the key concept used by Gramsci throughout the prison notes. And yet one would be hard-pressed to discover any systematic exposition of the concept by Gramsci (Borg et al., 2002b, p. 1). I would interpret this concept as referring to a situation in which most arrangements, constituting a particular social reality, are conditioned by and tend to support the interests of a particular class or social grouping. Hegemony incorporates not only processes of ideological influence and contestation but, as Raymond Williams (1976, p. 205; 1977, p. 110) argues, a "whole body of practices and expectations".

Because the writings in question are notes for a future work, are fragmentary and would probably have been subject to eventual revision, expansion and reorganisation had Gramsci lived longer to bring this work to fruition, one comes across ambiguities regarding 'hegemony'. The ambiguities concern whether hegemony refers solely to the consensual aspect of power or also combines this aspect with the coercive element involved. These inconsistencies have given rise to different uses of this term by different writers and commentators. In short, hegemony is often said to refer to either one of the heads (consent) or both twin heads (coercion and consent) of Machiavelli's Centaur: force (coercion) + consent or else force + hegemony (consent). I personally favour the more comprehensive conception of hegemony, i.e., consent + coercion/force, since it is very much in keeping with Gramsci's notion of the 'Integral State' (Gramsci, 1971a, p. 239), an all-encompassing state which combines aspects of consent and repression at the same time, the separations between the two having been delineated by Gramsci for simply heuristic purposes. In reality one cannot separate the two since there is no 100% repressive apparatus and no 100% ideological apparatus, as Althusser would point out. Schools for instance may appear prima facie to be ideological but they are also repressive at the same time, the degree of repression varying from state to state: e.g., flunking, state-slapped fines for absenteeism, heavy handed approaches by security guards in US schools (Giroux, 2009), reprisals against striking teachers, etc.

Hegemony, a much used word in critical education, that kind of discourse about education that confronts Neoliberalism, is not one of Gramsci's

original concepts. Few of his concepts really are original. Hegemony dates back to the ancient Greeks and was later used by revolutionary political figures such as Lenin and Plekhanov, and in the linguistics debates to which Gramsci was exposed as a student in Turin where 'Philology' was his specialisation (*'indirizzo'* in Italian) in a broad based degree.

MARX AND ENGELS' THEORY OF CONSCIOUSNESS

Gramsci's concept of hegemony is rooted in Marx's (and Engels') theory of consciousness (Allman, 1999, 2010).

> The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships, the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas; hence of the relationships which make one class the ruling one, therefore the ideas of its dominance. (Marx & Engels, 1970, p. 64)

Not only does the ruling class produce the ruling ideas, in view of its control over the means of intellectual production (ibid.), but the dominated classes produce ideas that do not necessarily serve their interests. These classes, which "lack the means of mental production and are immersed in production relations which they do not control", tend to "reproduce ideas" that express the dominant material relationships (Larrain, 1983, p. 24).

After all, as Marx and Engels (1970, pp. 65, 66) had underlined,

> . . . each new class which puts itself in place of one ruling before it, is compelled, merely in order to carry through its aim, to represent its interest as the common interest of all the members of society, that is expressed in ideal form: it has to give its ideas the form of universality, and represent them as the only rational, universally valid ones.

EVERY HEGEMONIC RELATIONSHIP IS AN EDUCATIONAL ONE

Hegemony, involving the exercise of influence and the winning of consent, entails this very same process as described by Marx and Engels. Neoliberal concepts, involving a market driven approach, are hegemonic in this sense, since they are articulated in such a way that renders capitalist interests as purportedly the interests of all. Rule of the market and 'minimalisation' of the state has been given the form of universality and has been represented, in different platforms of political and economic discourse, as the only rational, universally valid ones. Education, in being turned from a public to a consumption good, has moved in this direction. It is this that needs to be

challenged by ideas concerning education which refute some of the dominant doxa or rework them to serve a different purpose, one which, for instance, instead of simply being concerned with the preparation of persons as producers and individual consumers serving the bottom line, helps promote social justice and the democratic participation of many, and not just a select group. This can be attained through the development of social participatory attitudes and skills and the acquisition of 'powerful knowledge' which equips collectivities of people with the right baggage and the knowledge of this baggage's cultural and ideological biases, for them to prove effective as social actors capable of renegotiating the terms of hegemony. And all this is intended to generate a democratic environment not as it is but as it can and should be from a social justice perspective.

Gramsci, I would argue, has much to offer in this regard through his conceptualisation and exposition of the various structures of power that sustain the established hegemony and through his ideas for an all-embracing educational approach intended to renegotiate the relations, including social and human-earth relations, and terms of this hegemony. For him, hegemony is sustained by a series of social relations which operate on the basis of specific pedagogies ('pedagogy' used here in its broadest context). The influencing of ideas, practices and desires, as the basis of consent, entails a broad pedagogical effort. For Gramsci, every relationship of hegemony is an educational relationship.

> Every relationship of "hegemony" is necessarily an educational relationship and occurs not only within a nation, between the various forces of which the nation is composed, but in the international and world-wide field, between complexes of national and continental civilisations. (Gramsci, 1971a, p. 350)

Education plays its part in the various forms of hegemony existing in a globalised world. It can do so either by helping in the creation of individualised atomised subjects given to 'governmentality', as Foucault would say, ready to be governed from a distance or by proxy, something which is central to Gramsci's concept of rule by consent in a process of hegemonic globalisation, or by contributing to 'globalisation from below'. It is interesting to see how education, of the non-formal type, plays an important role in the latter process, not least in the work of the various movements occupying squares, streets and parks. We have had alternative university tents such as Tent University as part of 'Occupy London', alternative lending libraries, revolution markets, museums, 'wish trees', infirmaries, organic gardens, schools, radio broadcasts and TV channels (Gezgin, et al., 2014). Many of these were, for instance, present in Turkey and in New York, Athens and London, to name but three centres of mass protests. Alternative universities were also present in Vienna years ago when students, in alliance with kindergarten assistants and other occupational groups, engaged in sit-ins

to halt the neoliberalisation of the university, with support from fellow students in other parts of central Europe, such as the Hungarian students who stopped a train of education ministers and policy makers proceeding to Vienna. The educational dimension makes its presence felt in such activities (English & Mayo, 2012) in a manner which, I feel, would have made Gramsci proud, given his belief in educational work of all kinds and through different pathways as part of the attempt to generate a process of 'intellectual and moral reform' that can lead to a social and economic revolution. Sotiris (2014) sees the challenge as being that of moving from the 'age of insurrections' to the 'age of revolutions' and indeed quotes Gramsci extensively in this regard.

Gramsci's stature continues to be enhanced in the context of such uprisings and concomitant activities as I had occasion to attest in various workshops with a number of people, from Vienna to Ankara and Istanbul to London, engaged in this kind of action. And what, in my view, makes Gramsci's ideas most pertinent, apart from the reconstructive nature of his concept of hegemony, as opposed to simply 'ideology critique' in the sense of some Frankfurt School exponents, is the following: the quest for the emergence of a national and international 'Modern Prince' (unifying element, party or alliance of movements) capable of providing a unifying political direction (*'direzione consapevole'* [conscious direction] as opposed to simply *'spontaneitá'* [spontaneity], in Gramsci's words) to this groundswell. Gramsci, as I will show later on, had in mind a party which, echoing Machiavelli's 'Il Principe' (the Prince), will unify the country in the shape of a 'national-popular' alliance which might possibly take the form of a deeply entrenched new 'historical bloc' (not to be confused with simply an alliance) (Mayo, 2014a, p. 314; Sotiris, 2014, p. 325). And this unifying element or party had an important educational role. Apart from its role (Gramsci obviously had the Italian Communist Party in mind), under various political circumstances, in clamouring for specific schooling polices (Pruneri, 1999), the party was conceived of as an 'educator' having therefore a strong ethical function, just like the state (a point to be discussed in Chapter 3). Only thus can it lead, guide and help transform.

For Gramsci, therefore, education, in its broadest sense, lies at the heart of hegemony; it is central to its workings. His views cover a broad spectrum of social life. In the following chapters, I shall seek to do justice to Gramsci's concern for the pedagogical element present throughout the broad gamut of social relations involved in the context of hegemony.

BOOK STRUCTURE

In this chapter, I introduced Gramsci, underlining his relevance for discussions concerning hegemonic Neoliberalism and its impact on education,

the topic of the chapter's first section. The next chapter will provide an overview of the literature on Gramsci and education, to be followed, in another chapter, by an exposition and discussion of the broader context in which Gramsci's writings on or of relevance to education can be viewed. It will deal primarily with the question of the state, an integral conception of the state comprising both civil and political society, both of which will be explained. Once again, I shall argue, following Thomas (2009), that the two are conceptually separated by Gramsci only for heuristic purposes.

This chapter will then be followed by a discussion concerning the area in which Gramsci himself was involved as educator, that of adult education conceived of in its broadest sense possible and which will relate initiatives to Gramsci's conceptualisations of the state in its repressive, ideological and relational aspects. I expand the discussion on adult education in Chapter 4 by providing a case study consisting of research I had carried out in the early nineties which served as the basis for a Gramscian analysis of an 'on the ground' adult education/workers' education project at a particular time and in a specific context, my home country. This is to show how Gramsci's ideas can be used as part of a theoretical framework for analysis in a qualitative case study. It will also provide an empirical dimension to an otherwise predominantly theoretical discussion.

Gramsci also wrote about schooling in Notebooks IV and XII, which led to a series of debates and controversies (Entwistle, 1979). A chapter on this aspect of Gramsci's oeuvre would be *de rigueur* in a book such as this. Here I will highlight an important point about education often overlooked in discussions concerning alternative and 'emancipatory' education.

From the conceptualisation of the school discussed in this chapter, I will move to a contextually specific discussion, concerning Gramsci's writing, around the issue of the Southern Question, a topic so dear to Gramsci's heart. I will give this aspect of his writing a contemporary relevance as I deal with some key issues concerning the South in the context of neoliberal globalisation, namely issues of colonial legacies, industrial underdevelopment, the shifting and dislocation of Southern populations to suit neoliberal capitalist ends and some educational strategies, inspired by Gramsci's writings, to combat the levels of exploitation involved. I will subsequently juxtapose Gramsci's ideas against those of important critical pedagogues who are often drawn upon in critiques of neoliberal education and who wrote about Neoliberalism itself, some in book-length studies (e.g., Giroux, 2004). The final two chapters will therefore consist of (a) a revisited version of and hopefully a development on my earlier book-length work (Mayo, 1999) comparing and synthesising ideas by Gramsci and Paulo Freire, the latter one of the most heralded critical pedagogues of the 20th century and in contemporary educational discourse; and (b) the discussion of the impact of Antonio Gramsci on the larger body of critical pedagogy, given that this area has provided ample nuanced discussions on hegemony and education under Neoliberalism.

MATERIAL FOR A COHERENT BODY OF WORK

I have been writing about Gramsci for the past 25 years and most of my writings, save for a book-length piece (Mayo, 1999) comparing his ideas with those of Freire on adult education, consist of papers published in a variety of journals ranging from sociology *(Critical Sociology)* to interdisciplinary ones *(Capital & Class, Das Argument),* education ones *(Encyclopaidea, Educational Philosophy and Theory),* including ones with a regional focus *(Mediterranean Journal of Education Studies),* and highly specialised ones *(International Gramsci Journal)*. I have used, for this book's purpose, material from these scattered pieces that contain most of my ideas, from a Gramscian perspective, on hegemony and education under Neoliberalism. This book project presented me with a unique opportunity to revisit, update, and elaborate on this scattered material and organise it into a hopefully coherent body of work. Gramsci's contemporary relevance in this neoliberal age remains the overriding concern throughout.

NOTES

1. Actually the first introduction of neoliberal policies into Turkey occurred with decisions taken on 24 January 1980, that is, before the coup. The person behind these decisions was Turgut Özal, later to become Prime Minister. He was then Undersecretary of State Planning.
2. I am indebted to Dr Margaret Ledwith for this point.
3. Carlos Alberto Torres (2005) mentions two other types of globalisation: the globalisation of human rights and globalisation linked to the issue of security as the precondition of freedom (p. 205).
4. His ancestors were immigrants from Albania who belonged to the South-East principality of Gramshi, on the border with Greece (Chessa, 2007, p. 14), and who subsequently took the surname of their city of origin, a common feature among migrants from different parts of the world. Gramsci's older brother Gennaro told Giuseppe Fiori that his great grandfather was an Albanian Greek who fled from Epirus after the uprising of 1861 and became Italianised in quite a short time (Fiori, 1990, pp. 9–10). Gramsci himself refers to his Albanian origins in a letter from prison to his sister-in-law, Tania Schucht, dated 12 October 1931 (Gramsci, 1996, p. 481).
5. It is quite common to find Castilian, Aragonese (Aragones) or Catalan (a Catalan speaking community still lives on the island in and around the city of Alghero) sounding surnames in Sardinia from Piras to Virdis to Medas, given the island's historical past with an Aragonese tower existing at the heart of Gramsci's home town Ghilarza, a few metres away from Gramsci's own house which is now a Museum containing some wonderful Gramsci memorabilia.
6. Accounts indicate that this is how he was affectionally called. Ninu (Nino in mainstream Italian) is short for Antonio or Toninu (Tonino in mainstream Italian).
7. Berlinguer made this comment in a televised debate in the sixties (on Italy's state station Rai TV) on Fascism and its legacies. He made this comment about Gramsci in the context of a statement to the effect that had Nazi-Fascism (a frequently used Italian term) had its way it would have turned Europe into one

large concentration camp. See www.youtube.com/watch?v=vHFkQu8VBBM. Viewed 14 August 2014.

8. This is a thought which haunted him for a while, as he states in a letter to Tania from prison. It is something he claims preoccupied Goethe (*für ewig*—forever) and also Giovanni Pascoli in his native Italy (*Per Sempre*—forever) as expressed in the latter's poetry in the 'Canti del Castelvecchio'.
9. In a letter from Milan, dated 12 February 1927, Gramsci states to Giulia, his wife, and Tania, his sister-in-law, that in the space of 19 days, while travelling from Ustica to Milan, he stayed in these prisons: Palermo, Naples, Caianello, Isernia, Sulmona, Castellmare Adriatico, Ancona and Bologna (Gramsci, 1996, p. 41).

2 The 'Turn to Gramsci' in the English Language Education Literature
An Overview

This chapter will provide an overview of the way Antonio Gramsci's work has been taken up in the published literature, in English, on education. The bulk of the literature focuses on adult education but there have been writings focusing on his views about schooling. Writers saw potential in Gramsci's writings and actions primarily because the Italian theorist himself regarded forms of education as having an important role to play in a 'war of position' intended to confront, surround and eventually transform the bourgeois state.

Mario Alighero Manacorda and Angelo Broccoli were among the first Italians[1] to deal with issues of education in Gramsci and had their works translated, the latter into Spanish. Manacorda, as I will explain in detail and in a more systematic way in Chapter 6, regarded Gramsci's notes on the Unitarian School as an epitaph for a school that was but cannot be any longer because times have changed. Indeed, for an explanation of this concept I will ask the reader to follow my argument in Chapter 6 on the 'Unitarian School' since I endorse this view, which I regard as one that accommodates the kind of argument I make. Broccoli (1972), for his part, argued for the establishment of a broad educational base in contrast to the tripartite system, existing in Gramsci's time, of a classical school for the ruling classes, technical schools for the new and emerging urban commercial classes and vocational schools *('scuole professionali')* for the *'classi strumentali'* (the 'instrumental' subaltern classes, mainly workers and peasants). Rather than critique the nature of knowledge, a 'disinterested' and potentially empowering knowledge, Gramsci, in Broccoli's view, argued for the democratisation of access to this kind of knowledge. This is a point that Carmel Borg, Joseph Buttigieg and I made in the introductory chapter to an anthology of writings on Gramsci and education.[2] We proceed: "Broccoli states that, for Gramsci, it was limited or no access to the cultural capital associated with power, rather than the content itself, which was elitist. The accumulation of this type of capital, through a disciplined, rigorous and anti-spontaneous, educational regime, provided the basis for the creative phase of cultural production" (Borg et al., 2002b, pp. 12, 13).

This position, especially fuelled by Gramsci's apparent obsession with discipline and rigour, besides his insistence on working-class children's exposure to certain types of, what I will call, later in this book, following Michael Young and Johan Muller, 'powerful knowledge', has been interpreted in the international, including English language, literature as a conservative agenda with radical ends (see Saviani, in da Silva & McLaren, 1993; Entwistle, 1979; Senese, 1991). Borg, Buttigieg and I argued, in our introduction to the 2002 anthology, that Entwistle, whose book created much controversy and, I would dare say, interest in Gramsci's view of schooling (the book tackled broader areas of Gramsci's educational thought, including adult education), challenged the position adopted by Quentin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith in their edited and translated *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. This selection is arguably the most cited volume on the Sardinian's writings in the English language.[3] Entwistle (1979) contests Hoare and Nowell Smith's contention that "the apparently 'conservative' eulogy of the old curriculum in fact often represents a device which allowed Gramsci to circumvent the prison censor, by disguising the future (ideal system) as the past in order to criticize the present" (p. 24). We argue that "Entwistle dedicated a lengthy chapter to Gramsci and the schooling of children to illustrate how the Italian intellectual's education vision for school-aged children contained all the characteristics traditionally associated with conservative agendas in education" (Borg et al., 2002b, p. 12).

The volume I co-edited (Borg et al., 2002a) contained critiques of this position by Entwistle and similar positions by other writers, notably E.D. Hirsch who used the 'Gramscian argument' to justify the kind of policies with which he is associated, justifying the study of a particular choice of texts said to impart cultural literacy as a reaction to the perceived 'dumbing down' of a too liberal curriculum. The critiques emerge primarily from Henry Giroux (2002), who takes on both Entwistle and Hirsch, acknowledging however the former's research in the field and excellent interpretation of Gramsci in the area of adult education in contrast to Hirsch about whose position and 'falsification' or co-optation of Gramsci he is scathing. Similarly critical of Hirsch's position is Joseph A. Buttigieg (2002b) in an essay which highlights the occlusions in these readings of Gramsci. A similar critique of Entwistle's position is provided in this anthology by Borg and Mayo (2002) who highlight some of the key points explicitly made by Gramsci in his writings on the Unitarian School which are overlooked in the literature arguing for a conservative position for a radical politics. These points will be made in the relevant chapter on the Unitarian School (Chapter 6) in which I revisit parts of this chapter and elaborate on a number of points. The 2002 volume provides other papers, by Aronowitz, Baldacchino and Monasta, dealing with aspects of Gramsci's views of schooling but which extend discussions beyond this theme as the authors derive important insights from Gramsci's views that have implications

for art, representation, history, critical ideology, imagery, education beyond schooling and the role of intellectuals. Many contributors provide more general discussions around Gramsci's broader educational and cultural views, such as the notion of common sense (Diana Coben); popular education in Brazil (Raymond Morrow and Carlos Alberto Torres); the classical origins and foundations of Gramsci's concepts (Benedetto Fontana); the notion of a 'postmodern prince' emerging from a contemporary reading of Gramsci (Kachur); Gramsci's relevance for education in a multicultural society (Ursula Apitzsch); the role of intellectuals (McLaren et al., 2002; to be discussed in detail in Chapter 9); a comparison with Raymond Williams (W. J. Morgan—there is room for a book-length discussion on this subject, on a par with similar studies on Gramsci and Freire, to be referred to in Chapter 8); workers' education (D. W. Livingstone, to be referred to in later chapters); and radical adult education (the late Paula Allman), the last three topics centering around an area (adult education) that deserves more extensive treatment in this chapter, given the quite significant corpus of writings on Gramsci in this regard. The area is therefore given separate treatment in the next section.

The 2002 anthology on Gramsci and education was followed by another, this time centering around the issue of hegemony. The year 2006 saw the publication of a volume, entitled *Rethinking Hegemony,* by and large consisting of empirically driven studies. This volume was edited by Thomas Clayton (2006) and featured studies on hegemony building and educational reform (Daniel Schugurensky); marginalisation of indigenous knowledge in the process of hegemony construction in Somalia (Ahmed Mah); Catholic hegemony in schools in Malta (Carmel Borg); legitimation of inequalities through schooling in the USA (Barbara Burgess and Mark Ginsburg); the politics of rewriting history in Russia (Joseph and Rea Zajda); hegemony and workers' education (Peter Mayo—revisited and updated in Chapter 5); hegemony and the political socialisation of prospective educators in Mexico (Victor Cordova and Mark Ginsburg); negotiating ideologies in Papua New Guinea (Peter Demerath); hegemony/resistance among NGOs in sub-Saharan Africa (Richard Maclure); counter-hegemony and education assistance in the USA (Ryohei Matsuda); hegemony and resistance in the Ottoman Empire (Pamela Young); hegemony and EU assistance in Central and Eastern Europe (Joseph Slowinski); and hegemony and Vietnam in Cambodia (Thomas Clayton). This book is refreshing in that it demonstrates, through empirical and historical case studies, the relevance of Gramsci's elaborated concepts for analysis of 'on the ground' situations, some historical, some contemporary.

Four years later, another anthology appeared, combining theoretical and case study approaches. This volume, *Gramsci and Educational Thought,* which I edited, was based on a special issue of the peer-reviewed journal, *Educational Philosophy and Theory* (Mayo, 2010). For this anthology, I sought to avoid including people who had appeared in the 2002 volume.

In fact guest editing the journal, and subsequently turning the issue into a book, presented me with the opportunity to include scholars with whose work I was not familiar at the time of co-editing the 2002 volume. Some were exciting young academics who had just completed their PhDs around Gramscian themes or who had published work in the intervening years between the 2002 and the 2010 volumes. Papers derived from different parts of the world including New Zealand, Brazil, the United States, Canada, Germany and England.

One paper, by New Zealand academic, Deb J. Hill, author of a book on hegemony (Hill, 2007), provides an in-depth philosophical discussion on the Hegelian and Marxian influence on Gramsci's 'philosophy of praxis', arguably the central phrase in his prison writings. The connections between Gramsci's thought and Marx's theory of consciousness are carefully teased out in this chapter. This piece complements the work of Paula Allman (2002) around the subject.

Gramsci's pre-prison writings were given great relevance by John Holst (to be dealt with in the following section on adult education). Margaret Ledwith provides a chapter on Gramsci's relevance for community development (also relevant for the discussion on adult education). There is also a study on Giovanni Gentile, whose reforms regarding formal education were criticised by Gramsci in the *Notebooks*. Thomas Clayton provides a corrective in this regard seeking to do justice to the Italian idealist philosopher and Minister of Education in the Mussolini regime.

Readers will see from the book at hand that one cannot discuss Gramsci's writings of relevance to education and any other aspect of cultural production without tackling the language issue. Peter Ives is arguably one of the leading contemporary writers on Gramsci's notion of language and hegemony as testified by his two books on the subject (Ives, 2004a, 2004b). I was pleased therefore to be able to include in *Gramsci and Educational Thought* a contribution from him with respect to the hegemony of global English. As Ives maintained, the concept of 'hegemony' featured prominently in the linguistics debate to which the young Gramsci was exposed at the University of Turin as a student of the acclaimed Matteo Bartoli.

Other themes broached in *Gramsci and Educational Thought* include the relevance of Gramsci for social pedagogy, an important area of educational, social and cultural work throughout Germany. A paper on social pedagogy is provided by German scholar Uwe Hirschfeld who, together with Ursula Apitzsch, Armin Bernhard and Andreas Merkens, ranks among the most prominent German scholars writing on Gramsci and education. He works collaboratively with the major German publishing house promoting Gramsci's work: Argument Verlag. Finally, *Gramsci and Educational Thought* also contains a paper focusing on Latin America, specifically Brazil, hardly surprising given Gramsci's great reception in this part of the world, especially in popular education, as we will see throughout this volume. He is also influential in the debates about schooling. Rosemary Dore Soares (2000),

who authored a book on the subject of Gramsci, the State and Brazilian education, provides us with a very revealing and insightful piece on the subject.

The Latin American reception of Gramsci is best documented, in the English language literature by Raymond Allen Morrow and Carlos Alberto Torres (1995), especially in their discussion on the interpretation of his ideas regarding not only schooling but also, and most importantly, popular education. The latter touches the field of adult education, the subject of the next section, though I shall be dealing more specifically with Morrow and Torres' work in Chapter 8. This is where Gramsci's ideas are compared with Freire's, a theme broached by Morrow and Torres.[4]

ADULT EDUCATION

It is, however, in the field of adult education that one constantly finds many writings focusing on Gramsci's ideas. The corpus of writing here is too large to be exhaustive. The writers involved derive inspiration from Gramsci's own writings concerning the Factory Council Movement, conceived of as a politically educative movement (see Livingstone's [2002] work on paid educational leave—PEL—among Canadian Automobile Workers—CAW), and those other writings by the Italian theorist which emphasise the need to generate institutions and associations of proletarian culture (see the work of Holst, 2010). Furthermore, they also stress his role as a committed adult educator, and here one should mention his involvement in workers' education circles, including the *Club Vita Morale,* and in the setting up of an Institute of Proletarian Culture, the PCI's correspondence school and the *scuola dei confinati* (school for prisoners) at Ustica (see Chapter 4). Gramsci must have regarded radical adult education agencies as capable of playing an important part in that process of wide ranging social organisation and cultural influence which is carried out across the entire complex of 'civil society' and which is intended to challenge and provide an alternative to capitalist social relations of production. Gramsci has shown how these relations are sustained and their contradictions concealed by congenial ideas and practices in most spheres of social life, including the most intimate ones.

Because of its flexibility and its potential to be carried out apart from the state and dominant institutions (often in clandestine settings), possibly within the context of a larger movement striving for social change, adult education, as I shall also argue in Chapter 2, constitutes an excellent means of developing views that challenge hegemonic ideas and practices and of unveiling the underlying contradictions within the dominant ideology. It also must have appeared to Gramsci and his followers to constitute an important terrain wherein a social group aspiring to power can generate some of the ideas which can lead to the renegotiation of the terms of hegemony. It constitutes an important terrain wherein a lot of the "intense

labour of criticism" (see Chapter 4)—which, according to Gramsci, must precede a revolution—can take place.

Gramsci's work is often referred to in English language books that contribute to the radical debate on adult education. In a study (or, more precisely, a collation of studies) on non-formal education in Latin America, Carlos Alberto Torres (1990) devotes an entire section to Gramsci's theory of the State as part of the framework for analysis. In another book dealing with the same topic, Thomas J. La Belle (1986) states emphatically that Gramsci is the most cited Marxist theorist in the area of popular education. He then goes on to demonstrate the relevance of Gramsci's ideas, concerning the organisation of workers through the Factory Councils, for the task of organising the masses through popular education (p. 185). Frank Youngman (1986) stresses the importance of research into Gramsci's educational activities in Turin. He argues that research into these activities would be useful for the development of a socialist theory of adult education (pp. 233, 234).

The potential in Gramsci's writings is explored not only in connection with socialism, but also in connection with activities relating to various social movements. In a much cited work, Jane L. Thompson (1983) referred to Gramsci in the course of her review of continuing education provision and the effect of such provision on women. She argued:

> There is one small light amidst the general gloom, however, which, if we are to accept Gramsci's optimism, can be a focus for development. Gramsci was convinced that despite the all pervasive power of ruling groups, which he called hegemony, education has an important part to play in challenging its ubiquity—especially adult education, which he regarded as political education. Gramsci's analysis was formulated in the context of factory councils and working class industrial struggles, but the same conviction that education has the potential to affect political consciousness holds good. For women the opportunity of education can be enormously significant. (p. 97)

These are a few examples of works, within the radical debate on adult education, in which Gramsci and his ideas are taken up. However, it would be most useful, at this stage, to turn to works which deal at length with Gramsci's ideas and their relevance to adult education. One of the earliest articles, in this respect, was probably the one penned by Tom Lovett (1978), who dwelt on community education among the working class in Northern Ireland and who argued that progressive adult education should be developed in the context of social movements of workers (Jackson, 1981, p. 81).

Community development is one area where Gramsci made and has continued to have an impact. Quite instructive are Margaret Ledwith's (1997, 2005) theoretically (she draws on Gramsci, Alinsky and Freire) and practice-informed accounts of her work in community development at the working class locality of Hattersley (Greater Manchester).

Harold Entwistle (1979), as I indicated, made one of the first major contributions in the English language to the literature on Gramsci and adult education. His contribution is a chapter in a well-researched book, which draws on a variety of primary and secondary sources in Italian. In stirring controversy for his views on schooling, the book led to reactions not only in the general literature on education but also in the literature specifically focusing on adult education, notably a couple of articles in the widely circulated but currently suspended *Convergence,* the journal of the International Council for Adult Education (cf. Alden, 1981; Jackson, 1981). However, all this should not obscure Entwistle's detailed chapter on adult education, in the same book, wherein the author stresses that Gramsci insisted that the imparting of knowledge and the creation of educational experiences intimately tied to political and class struggle was to be the domain of politically committed adult education. This chapter deals with Gramsci's writings on political education, the formation of intellectuals, culture, the factory councils and technical and vocational education.

While Entwistle's chapter is the first lengthy study on the subject in English, Timothy Ireland's (1986) monograph, in the University of Manchester monograph series, is the first full-scale publication entirely devoted to the relevance of Gramsci's ideas to adult education. It deals specifically with the influence of Antonio Gramsci on popular education in Brazil. He carried out his study at a delicate moment in Brazilian history as the former Portuguese colony embarked on a period of transition from authoritarian (military) to civilian rule. One of the many points Ireland makes in this monograph is the fragmented nature of the popular education movement. It lacks a 'Modern Prince', a unifying organisation. He asks the following questions:

> Can we assume that a multiplicity of unconnected efforts will eventually, through a kind of 'snowball' effect, contribute to strong and representative working class organisations capable of uniting in a new historic bloc those forces struggling for a transformation of society? Or is the kind of strong revolutionary working class party which Gramsci envisaged central to this process of canalising the struggle and destroying narrow sectarian interests? Is there any one party capable of such a task—the Workers' Party, the Brazilian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Brazil, etc.—or is the multiplicity of sectarian parties of the Left evidence that such a party remains to be created? (pp. 66, 67)

He returns to these questions in the concluding part of the monograph.

Ireland's thorough investigation of the Gramscian influence on Brazilian popular education, an influence which extends to popular education throughout Latin America, would be very useful reading for anyone embarking on a project comparing or synthesising the work of Gramsci and Freire, the latter being the one important adult educator in relation to whose work Gramsci is often analysed (Allman, 1988; Coben, 1992; Leonard, 1993; Mayo, 1999;

Ransome, 1992, pp. 183–185). Freire himself draws on Gramsci in his works and we come across a sustained discussion on the Italian theorist and his influence on Latin American intellectuals in his 'talking book' with the Chilean, Antonio Faundez (Freire & Faundez, 1989). The Gramscian influence in this book with Faundez could be felt in the discussion on the role of intellectuals as mediators between party and masses, the need to convert "common sense" to "good sense" (made in the context of a discussion on popular culture) and the concept of "national-popular".

As regards published works attempting to draw the ideas of Gramsci and Freire together, in relation to adult education, I would direct readers to Chapter 8 in this volume in which I attempt to provide an updated comparative analysis of the two. In another paper, dealing specifically with the relevance of Gramsci's writing and action to radical workers' education, W. John Morgan (1987) provides a comprehensive account of Gramsci's life and central ideas, notably those of hegemony and the state, intellectuals and the role of the party. He underlines their relevance to counter-hegemonic adult education practice. Morgan highlights aspects of Gramsci's own involvement in adult education, with particular emphasis on the Factory Council Movement and the prison school created at Ustica. In his discussion on the issue of intellectuals, Morgan, citing Entwistle, underlines Gramsci's belief that the proletariat is very slow at producing its stratum of organic intellectuals, the reasons for which lie "in the lack of resources and opportunity available to the working class" (p. 303). He argues that the proletariat has few institutions of its own and that education, religion, leisure, etc. are often in the hands of the dominant class—i.e., "segments" of the latter's hegemonic control. In his view, "adult education presents an opportunity to break through this mesh and explains why Gramsci insisted on the conscious, active, educational intervention of the workers' party" (p. 303). This point was echoed in more recent times by John Holst, who analyses Gramsci's exploration of the *'altre vie'* (other ways) for education within the context of party work, the 'Modern Prince' and therefore coordinating force. As Holst (1999, 2001, 2010) underlines, it is fashionable these days, with the emphasis on social movements, to dilute or camouflage this aspect of Gramsci's thinking to render his ideas suitable for contemporary and possibly liberal appropriation.

In a paper published a year after Morgan's, Paul F. Armstrong (1988) dwelt on some of the most popular concepts in Gramsci's and Marxian thought, namely the relationship between the dominant ideas and the ruling class, the non-deterministic relationship between base and superstructure, hegemony, the production of consciousness and praxis. The last section of Armstrong's paper deals specifically with Gramsci and the education of adults. The main point is that Gramsci conceived of adult education "as a significant vehicle" in the process of challenging the "dominant hegemony" (p. 158) and as the means of enabling intellectuals to remain organic to the working class. Since he had little faith in traditional adult education institutions, such as the popular universities, Gramsci primarily conceived

of adult education, in this context, as "informal political education, which happened in the community and in the work place, especially in factory councils" (p. 158). In this respect, the chapters, "Political Education and Common Sense", in Adamson (1980), "Political Consciousness: Education and the Intellectuals", in Ransome (1992), and Federico Mancini's (1973) discussion paper on the Factory Councils become important reading material for anyone interested in this aspect of Gramsci's contribution to adult education theory. Livingstone's (2002) chapter is exemplary in terms of a reinvention of Gramsci's industrial democracy ideas in a contemporary context. More of this aspect of Gramsci's work will appear in Chapter 5, which deals precisely with the task of analysing an industrial democracy education project through a Gramscian theoretical lens.

The issue of "Adult Political Education" was also taken up by Diana Coben (1994) in the context of a discussion on Antonio Gramsci and adult education. It constitutes the penultimate section of a paper in which Coben, quoting Gramsci at source, outlines some of his major concepts, notably those of an "educative politics", hegemony and the intellectuals. She provides a condensed account of Gramsci's own involvement as an adult educator and starts off the section on "Adult Political Education" with Andy Green's description of Gramsci as a "tireless popular educator" and his discussion of the role of popular education, as conceived by Gramsci, in the context of state formation (Green, 1990)—more on this in the chapter that follows. In her 1994 paper, Coben highlighted Gramsci's well known critique of the kind of education for the working class provided by the popular universities. She also highlighted Gramsci's view that, in adult political education, carried out within the context of a revolutionary movement, the task is to facilitate the process whereby learners move from 'common sense' to 'good sense', the theme to which she returned in her chapter in the 2002 anthology (Borg et al., 2002a).

Another paper on Gramsci to appear in an adult education journal is that by Ursula Apitzsch (1993) from the University of Frankfurt. The focus, in this paper, is on Gramsci's writings on migration and the issue of the South. She regards these writings as very relevant to the current debate on multiculturalism in as much as Gramsci:

> views emigration and immigration processes as social phenomena of one and the same Italian society; . . . thinks from the perspective of those countries from which there is high migration, bearing in mind the spread of Italian labour over the whole world; . . . wants to see the culturally particular, in its marginalised and folklorised form, defended as 'collective memory' and integrated into a new, modern form of civil society (*civiltà*). (pp. 137, 138)

Apitzsch argues the point, stressed time and time again in the critical literature on multiculturalism, that as long as the population of wealthy industrial

countries is under-classed by immigrants, the promotion of cultural identity serves the purpose of subordination under the dominant culture. Multiculturalism becomes the means whereby the dominant culture is set up as the invisible norm defined in relation to the marginalised 'other'. And Gramsci's writings on the idea of 'subaltern social strata' and his critiques of totalising terms like 'national culture' would be relevant to a critical consideration of this issue in that they remind us of the contexts which bind the 'many cultures', in a given national society, to the country's structures of domination.

Apitzsch's article, which she revisited and developed as her chapter in the 2002 anthology (Borg et al., 2002a), emphasises, however, the relevance of Gramscian scholarship to some of the most pertinent issues of this day and age. Together with numerous other writings, which relate his ideas to a variety of struggles for social change, this article shows that Gramsci's ideas can be taken up in non-reductionist, non-class-essentialist ways. The majority of the articles cited here, however, do stress the social class factor in the struggle for social change.

GRAMSCI A REFERENCE POINT

As I hope is by now clear from this overview, Gramsci is a key point of reference in the literature on education. He is certainly *de rigueur* when it comes to literature dealing with a radical and socially transformative approach to education. My book is the latest in a whole chain of books and papers concerning interpretations and reinventions of Gramsci's ideas, or rather ideas attributed to him, in different educational contexts. Some studies on Gramsci remain at the level of exegesis while others, such as a number of those cited in this chapter, 'reinvent' these ideas in different contexts. It has to be said, however, that few works deal with the relevance of Gramsci's ideas for contemporary neoliberal-driven policy and action contexts. This is what I attempt to do in this book and I hope to have already provided in the opening chapter a foretaste of what lies ahead.

NOTES

1. Other works on Gramsci and education include Italia de Robbio Anziano (1987), Monasta (1993) and Capitani & Villa (1999).
2. This section of the chapter draws on this introductory chapter in Borg et al. (2002b).
3. At the time of writing Joseph Buttigieg is into his fourth volume of what will be a five-volume English language rendition of Valentino Gerratana's four-volume *edizione critica* of the *Quaderni* (critical edition of the *Prison Notebooks*).
4. The comments on the chapters in the *Gramsci and Educational Thought* volume derive from my introduction to Mayo (2010).

3 The Centrality of the State in Neoliberal Times
Gramsci and Beyond

This chapter[1] is intended to provide part of the theoretical backdrop to an understanding of Gramsci's ideas on education in the context of the current global scenario, with special attention devoted to the question of the state and civil society (Bobbio, 1987). Different conceptions of the state, over the years, are surveyed with major attention focused on the neoliberal state. Given the focus of this book, I attempt to provide a Gramscian analysis throughout.

In my view, one of the greatest myths being propagated in this contemporary neoliberal scenario is that the nation state is no longer the main force in this period characterised by the intensification of globalisation. Deregulation was brought in by governments to expedite the process where various forms of provision, private and formerly public, were left to the market. And yet the credit crunch starkly laid bare the fallacy of this conviction as new forms of regulation are being put in place with the state, the national state, intervening to bail out banks and other institutions in this situation. One other situation, also laying bare this fallacy, concerns the neoliberal economy-induced mobility of 'labour power' across the surface of the globe. There is no global or continental asylum or, more generally, immigration policy. The whole process depends on the laws and procedures of the receiving national state: a *global* situation met by individual *nation-state* solutions. The Bossi-Fini law in Italy is a case in point.[2]

I therefore consider this an opportune moment to look at the function of the state and assess its role within the contemporary scenario of 'hegemonic globalisation', to once again adopt Boaventura de Sousa Santos' term, and its underlying ideology, Neoliberalism.

'The state' is one of the most elusive concepts in social and political theory and major writers often demonstrate this by using the term differently, Gramsci being no exception. I would refer here to the expansive conception of the state, emphasised in certain interpretations of Marx[3] (see Corrigan et al., 1980; Corrigan & Sayer, 1985), namely that of an ensemble of legitimised social relations in capitalist society. This is the sort of conception that cautions us to avoid what Phil Corrigan (1990) calls "thingification" (the state as a 'thing')—a reification of the state. The level of social inequality

varies from state to state. State formation varies from country to country within capitalism, as illustrated by Marx and Engels with regard to England and France, Gramsci regarding England, France, Italy and Germany and, much later, Corrigan and Sayer (1985) regarding England and, specifically concerning education, Green (1990) regarding England, France, Prussia and the USA.

Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1979), who once engaged the Marxist tradition, is on record as having referred to the state, in the context of dependent/peripheral capitalism, as a "pact of domination" to underline the power dynamics that characterise the ensemble of unequal social relations involved (Cardoso, in Morrow & Torres, 1985, p. 350)—a platform that enables disparate elements to operate with some coherence regarding political and economic ends, and strategic visions of power. There are, of course, different conceptions of the state and I intend to take a closer look at some of these theories.

TRADITIONAL, LEGALISTIC-STRUCTURAL CONCEPTUALISATION

It is common knowledge that the most traditional, legalistic-structural conceptualisation of the state is that of a large entity comprising its legislative, executive and judicial powers. This 'separation of powers' thesis can be attributed to the French philosopher of the Enlightenment, Baron de Montesquieu, due to his study of England and the British constitutional system. The liberal democratic state is said to refer to a set of institutions that include the government, the military, the judiciary and representative assemblies including provincial, municipal and other forms of government (see Pannu, 1988, p. 233), such as the 'comune' (municipality) in Italy. However, later theories would underline the complexities surrounding the state and the agencies with and through which it operates.

While the state is conventionally also regarded as the mechanism for regulating and arbitrating between the different interest groups within society (Poggi, 2006), several authors writing mainly from a Marxist perspective emphasise its role in serving the interests of the ruling capitalist class. It does so by producing the social and cultural conditions for a dominant class to reproduce itself, though not in any mechanistic fashion.[4] Education is said to play a key role in this process (see, for instance, the contributions to Michael Apple's compendium [Apple, 1982], or Raymond Williams' discussions of 'cultural reproduction' in his attempt at a sociology of culture [Williams, 1981]). This is the classic Marxist position which lends itself to different nuanced interpretations.

These interpretations and analyses should certainly be more nuanced than the much quoted line from the *Communist Manifesto,* namely that "the executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the

common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie" (Marx & Engels, 1998, p. 5), and indeed they are more nuanced in Marx and Engels own philosophical work (see, for instance, *Contributions to the Critique of Hegel's 'Philosophy of Right'*, or *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*). When taken at face value, this is the sort of assertion, from the *Manifesto,* that lends itself to instrumental conceptions of the relationship between state and capitalist class. It seems to allow, however, for more loosely coupled configurations than Cardoso's notion of 'pact', which accords the state a more deterministic weight. It is the more nuanced conceptions that are of interest to me in this chapter.

Ralph Miliband (1969) famously argued that the state agencies are characterised by the disproportionate presence of civil servants and other senior administrators of capitalist-class background. For the most part, the state acts in the interest of the capitalist class but there are moments when it can extricate itself from this hold during, for instance, times of national crises; it can also intervene to sacrifice short-term ruling-class interests for long-term ruling-class gains (Held, 2006, p. 174). The state, through its institutions or what Althusser calls apparatuses, provides the conditions for the accumulation of capital. Education and training, therefore, have an important role to play here, more so at the present time, when education for the economy, more precisely lifelong learning for the economy, is said to perform a crucial role in attracting and maintaining investment by catering for 'employability' (a key neoliberal catchword).

In the post-war (WWII) period, a welfarist notion of state provision, underpinned by a Keynesian social and economic policy framework, was provided (Pannu, 1988, p. 234) as part of 'the new deal' seen by many as a concession by capital to labour. It was, however, seen within labour politics as very much the result of the struggle for better living conditions[5] by the working class and its representatives, thus underlining an element of reciprocity here. Much of what passed for social programmes had a 'welfarist' ring to it,[6] including education for employment and education conceived of within the traditional parameters of social work. It very much suited a sociological framework, known as structural functionalism, within which the modern state provides the mechanisms, including, for example, 'second chance' education and education combined with social work, as in Germany (see Hirschfeld, 2010), to enable those who fall by the wayside to reconnect with the system or, better still, be integrated into the system. Orthodox Marxists and radical leftists exposed this as a palliative that served to maintain the status quo rather than to provide the means for these programmes to contribute towards social transformation.

Others, such as the then Stanford University researchers, Martin Carnoy and Henry Levin (1985), drawing on the work of James O'Connor (1973, in Pannu, 1988, p. 233) and Claus Offe (1973, 1984) among others, emphasised the dual role of the state. On the one hand it had to tend to the basic function of ensuring the conditions and mechanisms necessary for the

accumulation of capital and, on the other, to legitimise itself democratically by listening to and acting upon the voices emerging from different social sectors (see also Held, 2006). As Raj Pannu (1988, p. 233) argues, drawing on O'Connor, "The State must try to perform two basic but often contradictory functions: (a) to foster capital accumulation and (b) to foster social harmony and consensus." This allowed possibilities for people to operate tactically within the system in a 'cat and mouse' game to channel funds into social programmes meant to transform situations in different aspects of life. This approach was given importance in both 'minority' and 'majority' world contexts (alternative and more encompassing terminology with respect to those of 'first' and 'third' world contexts).

This was especially so in revolutionary contexts such as that in Nicaragua between 1979 and 1990. In this Central American state, the much-publicised revolutionary adult literacy campaign known as the *Cruzada* (the Nicaraguan literacy crusade), more than 30 years ago, served to legitimise the revolution and keep the revolutionary momentum going. More recently, we witnessed another revolutionary literacy effort in Venezuela which, according to UNESCO's special envoy, María Luisa Jáuregui, "is the first and only country to meet the commitments adopted by the region's governments in 2002 in Havana to drastically reduce illiteracy" (Marquez, 2005). The state kept the Bolivarian revolutionary momentum going by teaching one and a half million people to read and write through the support of another revolutionary state, Cuba, who had Venezuelan literacy tutors trained in the *'Yo si Puedo'* (Yes I Can) (Relys Díaz, 2013) pedagogical method created by Cuban educator Leonela Inés Relys Díaz (Marquez, 2005). With regard to Nicaragua, however, Martin Carnoy and Carlos Alberto Torres (1990) indicated that the state's efforts in the literacy and popular education fields had to be reconciled with the more technical rational demands of the economic system which was crucial to Nicaragua's economic development. One wonders whether this also applies to Venezuela today. One million of the newly literate adults in Venezuela were meant to complete the sixth grade of primary school by late 2006 (Marquez, 2005), part of an attempt to usher in, through formal education, the hitherto disenfranchised into the economic and political system which the Chavez government sought to change through his declared attempt at transforming the capitalist state (Cole, 2011).[7]

As far as a more capitalist orientation is concerned, however, the relationship between economic requirements and the state has always been complex. Roger Dale (1982) argued persuasively, in the early 1980s, that state policies do not translate into practice in the manner they are intended for a variety of reasons, foremost among which being that "the State is not a monolith; there are differences within and between its various apparatuses in their prioritizing of demands made on them and in their ability to meet those demands" (p. 134). As with all bureaucratic agencies, the state agencies meant to execute these policies generate their own rules and modus

operandi, as Max Weber's own theories of bureaucracy have shown. Policy agendas are mediated by groups who differ on their tactics. Anyone who has worked in a Ministry or department of education or social policy can testify to this. Dale (1982) mentions numerous other obstacles and, among other things, cites Offe in stating that, to retain control deriving from political power and legitimacy, state agencies can block the "purpose of use value production", which complements capital accumulation, by bowing to pressure and claims emanating from "party competition and political conflict" that do not result from the process of accumulation itself (Offe in Dale, 1982, p. 135).

The process of policy implementation is not as smooth as the ruling class and policy makers (who also follow their own set of procedures) would intend it to be, and this apart from the subversive roles that agents, within a non-monolithic system, such as critical educators or, say, critical health or social workers, have played in pushing actual provisions in a certain direction. The state itself could be stratified, that is to say, those involved in the making of policy and those involved in the policy implementation, can have distinct social class locations. This is one of the contradictions faced by the capitalist state which relies on personnel who belong to the same stratified economic system it supports within a particular mode of production, thus rendering the process of sustaining and implementing policies throughout most difficult.

THE NEOLIBERAL STATE

While much of what has been attributed to bureaucracy and the state still holds, things have changed considerably in recent years. With the onset of Neoliberalism, and therefore the ideology of the marketplace, the social democratic arm of the state, as presented by Carnoy and Levin (1985), seems to have been withdrawn. The state has lost its 'welfarist' function as it plays a crucial role in providing a regulatory framework for the operation of the market; incidentally the European Union, frequently conceived as a supranational state, does likewise (Dale, 2008).

The neoliberal state has a set of important roles to play, as indicated in the first chapter with regard to the discussion around Thatcherism/Reaganomics/Neoliberalism. Some repetition would, I feel, be useful at this stage. The neoliberal state provides the infrastructure for the mobility of capital, and this includes investment in human resource development as well as the promotion of an 'employability-oriented' lifelong learning policy, with the onus often placed on the individual or group, sometimes at considerable expense. We witness a curtailment of social-oriented programs in favour of a market-oriented notion of economic viability also characterised by public financing of private needs. Public funds are channelled into areas of educational and other activities that generate profits in the private sector.

Furthermore, attempts are being made all over the world to leave as little as possible to the vagaries mentioned by Dale in his 1982 paper, a point he himself recognised as far back as that year when he referred to the onset of standardisation, league tables, classifications and, I would add, more recently, harmonisation.

This is to render agencies of the state, or those that work in tandem with the state through a loose network (a process of governance rather than government), more accountable, more subject to surveillance and ultimately more rationalised. And, as indicated at the outset, the state, in certain contexts, depending on its strength, can have no qualms about its role in bailing out the banks and other institutions of capital when there is a crisis. This very much depends on the kind of power the particular state wields. As the Brazilian educator, Paulo Freire, subject of a comparative study in a later chapter, put it so clearly years before the recent 'credit crunch' (he died in 1997):

> Fatalism is only understood by power and by the dominant classes when it interests them. If there is hunger, unemployment, lack of housing, health and schools, they proclaim that this is a universal trend and so be it! But when the stock market falls in a country far away and we have to tighten up our belts, or if a private national bank has internal problems due to the inability of its directors or owners, the State immediately intervenes to "save them". In this case, the 'natural', 'inexorable', is simply put aside. (Freire, in Nita Freire interviewed in Borg & Mayo, 2007, p. 3)

The state is very much present in many ways, a point that needs to be kept in mind when discussing any other form of programme carrying the agenda of corporate business. Once more, the idea of the state playing a secondary role in the present intensification of globalisation (capitalism has since its inception been globalising) is very much a neoliberal myth. As Corrigan, Ramsay and Sayer (1980, pp. 8–9) underlined three decades ago, "State formations are *national* states since capitalism as a global system involves national organization to secure the *inter*nationalization of its production relations."[8]

The state organises, regulates, 'educates' (the ethical state), creates and sustains markets, provides surveillance, evaluates ("the evaluator state" as Pablo Gentili [2005] calls it), legitimates, forges networks and represses. One should reiterate and underscore the role of the repressive factor as manifest by the state during this period, referred to, in the first chapter, as one of Machiavelli's twin heads of the Centaur (coercion and consent). The state also provides a policing force for those who can easily be regarded as the victims of neoliberal policies as well as related 'structural adjustment programmes' in the majority world. These victims include blacks, Latino/as and those regarded by Zygmunt Bauman (2006) as the 'waste disposal' sector

of society. Imprisonment rates have risen in the US, which has witnessed the emergence of the 'carceral state' (Giroux, 2004). The prison metaphor can be applied on a larger scale, and in a different manner, to the situation of migrants from sub-Saharan Africa at the gates of 'Fortress Europe' and who are contained in detention centres displaying features of a penal institution. The same applies, in this context, to Latinos/as in North America attempting to cross *la frontera*. In the Europe case, it is the fortress itself which serves as the prison gate, closing in on itself almost as a besieged state. The carceral function of the state with its manifestly repressive orientation, but not without its dose of ideological support (or moral regulation, as Foucault would put it), takes us back, once again, to the writings of one of the major theorists on education and the state, the structuralist Marxist philosopher, Louis Althusser.

At a more general level we have had Althusser pointing to the existence of the state, within a capitalist economy, having two important apparatuses serving the interest of capital: the repressive state apparatuses (RSA) and the ideological state apparatuses (ISA). As indicated in the first chapter, he, however, provides the important caveat that there is no 100% purely ideological state apparatus and no 100% purely repressive state apparatus, the difference being one of degree. Althusser referred to the school as being the most important ISA. However, I feel that, had he been writing today, he would have probably referred to the media, or what he then termed the communications ISA, as the most important ISA, one that necessitates an effort in the area of critical media literacy (Kellner & Share, 2009).

Douglas Kellner (2005) wrote about 'media spectacles',[9] which have come to dominate news coverage and deviate public attention from substantial public issues. Media politics play a crucial role in advancing foreign policy agendas and militarism. Recall that, echoing Gramsci's writings on hegemony, Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky had much earlier illustrated the way the 'propaganda model' relies on the media to manufacture consent for policies in the public mind (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). Kellner, for his part, argues that political forces such as Al Qaeda and the Bush administration construct or, in the latter case, have developed media spectacles to advance their politics. This theme has also been broached by Henry A. Giroux (2006), among others. These writings highlight the link between the state and the corporate media during the period of US Republican government under George W. Bush. In this regard, therefore, critical media literacy becomes an important feature of a critical engagement within either the interstices of state involvement or social movements. In the latter case, they take on the form of alternative media circulated via YouTube, Twitter and a variety of websites. These have a role to play in public pedagogy in this day and age. Electronic networking has opened up a variety of spaces in this regard. More than this, however, critical media literacy provides an important and vast dimension to the meaning of critical literacy: reading not only

the word but also the world, in Paulo Freire's terms, and I would add, *reading the construction of the world*.

Althusser correctly points to there being no 100% ISA. As mentioned in the first chapter, education has always had a very strong repressive function, more so today. I would here offer the example from Chapter 1 of the US high school model where armed security guards make their presence felt in a heavy-handed manner (Giroux, 2009). And yet it would be no stretch to argue that the apparent violence being perpetrated is itself symbolic because it signals to the students something about their identities, perhaps that of potential criminals who could eventually be incarcerated, a signal that is very much in keeping with the function of an ISA. Commentators have often pointed to the alarming number of black students in penal institutions in the USA in comparison with people of the same age in public schools, a situation perhaps rivalled only by the plight of Palestinian children and youth in their occupied Middle East homeland.

It is Althusser's conceptions regarding state apparatuses that bring me back to Gramsci. It seems *de rigueur* anywhere to mention Gramsci when discussing the state and what is fashionably called 'civil society', let alone in a book focusing on his work. Gramsci conceptually separates political and civil society. This applies to different types of societies, including the 'Western' European societies and 'Eastern' European societies of his time, the difference between them lying in the degree of development of civil society (Thomas, 2009). As Thomas (2009) underlines, Gramsci argued that different historical formations are at different levels in terms of their development of civil society. These formations differ in the quality of the relationship between state and civil society. This applies to both East and West and North and South. The hegemonic apparatuses need to be built and consolidated to become the channels of the ruling class's life-world *(Lebenswelt)*, "the horizon within which its class project is elaborated and within which it also seeks to interpolate and integrate its antagonists" (Thomas, 2009, p. 225). Thomas rightly points out that the ascent of this vision needs to be consolidated daily, if the class project (in Gramsci's view, the proletarian class project) is to continue to assume institutional power (2009, p. 225). The implications for critical educational activity are enormous.

Gramsci, however, does not view 'civil society', in his notion of bourgeois civil society *(bürgerlich gesellschaft)*, the way it is conventionally being used today, as the third sector between the state and industry. Civil society has a long history (Boothman, 2014). In the Gramscian sense, civil society is conceived of as the entire complex of cultural, knowledge, spiritual and social institutions (Pala, 2014) and other agencies, a broad spectrum including agencies ranging from schools, churches, the press and cultural centres to, say, the Red Cross, Oxfam, Caritas and social clubs, which exist alongside (some even interacting with) the repressive forces (army, police, etc.) of

'political society' that sustain the state. As Gramsci argued with respect to the state and civil society in Western countries in his time:

> There was a proper relation between State and civil society, and when the State trembled a sturdy structure of civil society was at once revealed. The State was only an outer ditch, behind which there stood a powerful system of fortresses and earthworks: more or less numerous from one State to the next, it goes without saying—but this precisely necessitated an accurate reconnaissance of each individual country. (Gramsci, 1971a, p. 238)

His relevance is still underlined today despite the fact that much of his analysis focused on Italy and the rest of the world until the first part of the previous century. Gramsci argued that, in terms of the way power operated and was consolidated, in Western capitalist social formations, one has to look at the relationship between the state and civil society. In short, the state cannot be attacked and conquered frontally. There is a long process of transformation to be carried out which involves work among these agencies that surround and prop up the state. This is what he calls a 'war of position' as opposed to a frontal attack or '*guerra manovrata*' (war of manoeuvre).

Gramsci argued that, in terms of the way power operated and was consolidated, there was a great difference between the situation in predominantly feudal pre-1917 Russia, the site of the first socialist revolution, and that obtaining in Western capitalist social formations, although he has been subject to criticism here as Eric Hobsbawm (1987) remarks. In Russia, the locus of power rested with the state army and police. The country was virtually held together by force. Gramsci therefore considered it possible for a revolutionary group to wrest power from the grasp of the Tsar and the aristocracy by means of a frontal attack. The situation in Czarist Russia, site of the Bolshevik Revolution, was quite different from that occurring in the West. *Bürgerlich gesellschaft* (bourgeois civil society) was not strong in this specific historical and geographical context. A frontal attack (war of manoeuvre) on the repressive repositories of the state and its institutions was therefore much more straightforward: "In the East [*meaning Russia*] the state was everything, civil society was primordial and gelatinous" (Gramsci, 1971a, p. 238). The conquest of the state in Russia, however, had to be characterised by the building of civil society and therefore the apparatuses that will consolidate hegemony. Once again, this applies not just to revolutionary Russia but to ALL societies, the difference between them lying in the degree of development of civil society.

A 'war of manoeuvre,' the term used to describe the tactic of engaging in this frontal attack, as in Russia, was not regarded by Gramsci as likely to prove effective in Western capitalist social formations. In these

formations, the state is propped up by the network of cultural and ideological institutions that is 'civil society' (see Buttigieg, 1995). When and where a strong 'civil society' of this type exists, it is futile to attempt to change the state simply by a direct offensive, as this is bound to fail. I can point here to the cases of the *Spartakusbund* uprising in Weimar Germany and more recently the late seventies urban guerrilla warfare in Germany and Italy.

The institutions of civil society, therefore, function behind the state as a "powerful system of fortresses and earthworks" that assert themselves whenever the state "tremble[s]" (Gramsci, 1971a, p. 238). Civil society, as used by Gramsci, is therefore not conceived of primarily as an arena of popular oppositional politics. On the contrary, it is conceived of as a domain comprising institutions which serve as sources of ideological influence as well as sources of repression. For example, the press is a form of 'public pedagogy', a vehicle for ideological influence (providing the illusion of freedom of expression) and contestation (once again, none of these institutions are monolithic, as stressed by Gramsci) but which can also serve as a means of repression: Who gets aired and who is silenced? What gets edited out and what is included? Who is hounded? Whose character is assassinated? The same applies to such areas as social media where blogging plays an important part in disrupting or cementing relations of hegemony (Grech, 2013). Civil society also contains spaces, often within the ideological institutions themselves, where these arrangements can be contested and renegotiated (Hall, 1996, p. 424).

EDUCATION, THE STATE AND HEGEMONY

Gramsci attributed great importance, in this regard, to education conceived of in its largest context and not simply confined to institutions such as schools and universities, even though these two play their part. For Gramsci, it is partly in this sphere that the prefigurative work for a transformation of power must take place. Of course, the process of ideological influence cannot be completed, according to Gramsci, prior to the conquest of the state. As Jorge Larrain explains, "Class consciousness cannot be completely modified until the mode of life of the class itself is modified, which entails that the proletariat has become the ruling class" (Larrain, 1983, p. 82). In Gramsci's own words, expressed in his tract "*Necessita' di Una Preparazione Ideologica di Massa*" (Need for the Masses' Ideological Preparation), the working class can become the ruling class through "possession of the apparatus of production and exchange and state power" (my translation from Gramsci, 1997, p. 161). This having been said, there is important prefigurative work that, according to Gramsci, involves working both within and outside existing systems and apparatuses to provide the basis for an "intellectual and moral reform" (Gramsci, 1971a, p. 132). This work occurs

primarily in the context of social relations, which, according to Gramsci, are established through the process of hegemony. Gramsci shows affinities with Marx (more accurately, the way some have interpreted Marx) in holding a very expansive non-reified notion of the state, emphasising its *relational* aspect and, one can add, its being firmly positioned within the cultural politics of power configurations. This, as I argued earlier, is very much evident in his major contribution to workers' education (Mayo, 1999), namely his Factory Council Theory, and the notion of hegemony itself which is also conceived of as relational and as standing for a wide-ranging, all-pervasive set of pedagogical relationships.

We have seen how Gramsci (1971a, p. 350) regarded every hegemonic relationship as an 'educational' one and that therefore education in its broadest context is central to the working of hegemony itself (Borg et al., 2002b, p. 3). This point is worth emphasising time and time again. Hegemony, therefore, entails the education of individuals and groups in order to secure consent to the dominant group's agenda (Buttigieg, 2002a). Engagement in a war of position to transform the state similarly involves educational work throughout civil society to challenge existing relations of hegemony.[10] For Gramsci, 'intellectuals' are key agents in this war of position, this 'trench' warfare (Gramsci, 1971a, p. 243). And we can include, in this context, critical educators and other social justice-oriented cultural workers. Gramsci did not use the term 'intellectual' in its elitist sense; rather, Gramsci saw intellectuals as people who influence consent through their activities.

The 'organic intellectuals' which Gramsci writes about are cultural or educational workers in that they are "experts in legitimation" (Merrington, 1977, p. 153). They can be organic to a dominant class or social grouping or to a subaltern class or grouping seeking to transform relations of hegemony. In the latter case, their 'intellectual' activities take a variety of forms, including that of working within the state and other capitalist-oriented institutions, or to use the one-time popular British phrase, working 'in and against the state' (possibly also because of what Eric Olin Wright calls their "contradictory class location") and other dominant institutions (see London Edinburgh Weekend Return Group, 1980).

Despite a very strong difference in its underlying politics, Gramsci's theorisation of the state seems to have affinities with some of the modern managerial technical-rational conceptions of the state regarding policy formulation and action. The state and its agencies are nowadays said to work not alone but within a loose network of agencies—governance rather than government in what is presented as a 'heterarchy' of relations (Ball, 2010) and therefore what Martin Carnoy and Manuel Castells call the "network state" (Carnoy & Castells, 2001). A Gramscian perspective would nevertheless underline that, despite appearing prima facie to be heterarchical, such relations under capitalism are, in actual fact, hierarchical and less democratic than they might appear to be. This certainly applies to relations

between the state and NGOs or labour unions characterised by the ever-present threat of co-optation, often within a corporatist framework (Panich, 1976; Offe, 1985 in terms of disorganised capitalism).[11] On the other hand, one encounters situations when NGOs, especially those based in the West, are powerful enough to have leverage over certain states (e.g., Oxfam, during the Brown government in the UK, with respect to African states) (English & Mayo, 2012, p. 32).

Meanwhile, one encounters situations when Multi- or Trans-national corporations (MNCs or TNCs), especially those based in the West, are powerful enough to have leverage over certain states. Structured partnerships between state and business as well as between 'public' and 'private' tend to emphasise the link between the state and the imperatives of capital accumulation. For Gramsci, the agencies, constituting bourgeois civil society, buttressed the state and, while Gramsci focused primarily on the ideological institutions in this network, one must also mention the point made by Nicos Poulantzas (1978) when underlining that the state also engages in economic activities which are not left totally in the hands of private industry.

Poulantzas stated that, under monopoly capitalism, the difference between politics, ideology and the economy is not clear. It is blurred. The state enters directly into the sphere of production as a result of the crises of capitalist production itself (Poulantzas in Carnoy, 1982, p. 97). One might argue that this point has relevance to the situation today.[12] In the first place, industry often collaborates in policy formulation in tandem or in a loose network with the state just like NGOs or labour unions do. Nowhere is the role of the state as economic player more evident than in higher education (see Giroux & Searls Giroux, 2004), an area which, though traditionally vaunting relative autonomy as most education institutions do, constitutes an important domain of hegemonic struggle. The division between public and private in this sector is increasingly blurred. So-called 'public universities' are exhorted to provide services governed by the market and which have a strong commercial basis. Furthermore, the state engages actively through direct and indirect means, and, in certain places, through a series of incentives or 'goal cushions' (see Darmanin, 2009), to create a higher education competitive market as part of the 'competition' state (Jessop, 2002, borrowing from Philip Cerny). Jane Mulderrig (2008, p. 168), drawing on Jessop, states that the competition state was already conceived of in the 1980s with, for instance, OECD documents "on the importance of structural competitiveness for government policy." Here the focus is "on securing the economic and extra-economic conditions for international competitiveness" in a globalising knowledge-based economy (Fairclough & Wodak, 2008, p. 112).

CONCLUSION

The above discussion vindicates Gramsci's position regarding relations between different institutions and agencies constituting what he calls 'civil

society' and the capitalist state. The state regulates these agencies by working in tandem with them. It is certainly no neutral arbiter of different interests, even though it appears to be so, as it also engages in structured partnerships[13] with industry to secure the right basis for the accumulation of global capital. In this regard, one can argue that the state is propped up not only by the ideological institutions of what Gramsci calls "civil society" but by industry itself (of which it is part), while it sustains both (propping both the 'civil society' institutions and industry) in a reciprocal manner to ensure the right conditions, including the cultural conditions, for the accumulation of capital. All this goes to show that the state, the nation state, is an active player and has not receded into the background within the context of hegemonic globalisation. On the contrary, in its repressive, ideological and commercial forms, the state remains central to the neoliberal project.

NOTES

1. An earlier version of this chapter appeared as Mayo, P. (2011) "The Centrality of the State in Neoliberal Times. Gramsci and Beyond", *International Gramsci Journal,* vol. 3, March, pp. 56–70. The paper has been revised for this book's purpose.
2. Italy's Law No. 177, proposed by Gianfranco Fini of the National Alliance and Umberto Bossi of the Northern League *(Lega Nord),* introduced criminal sanctions for persons caught entering Italy illegally or who return following expulsion. Among other things, the law extended the time limit for those secluded in detention centres, as they await extradition, from 30 to 60 days. It also stipulates that asylum seekers are to be held in detention while awaiting asylum review. Source: European Roma Rights Centre, www.errc.org/article/harsh-immigration-law-passed-in-italy/1598. Viewed 5 August 2014.
3. In an electronic exchange, Derek Sayer, University of Lancaster, drew my attention to the fact that it is specific interpretations of Marx that lead to highlighting the 'relational' aspect of the state as indicated in this chapter.
4. Examples of critiques of mechanistic interpretations of 'reproduction' abound in the sociology of education and curriculum studies literature. Willis (1980), Giroux (2001b), Morrow and Torres (1995) are cases in point. If one takes the discussion around the broader domain of culture, one would do well to consider Raymond Williams' point in *Culture & Society* and elsewhere that, whenever there is an appropriation of any cultural form by one social group from another, there occurs a transformation of that cultural product. Williams (1958/1982) refers to poet and critic T. S. Eliot, who argued that the transformation from something traditionally elite to something more widely diffuse entails a dilution, 'cheapening' or 'adulteration'. Williams argued otherwise (p. 239). Like Gramsci (as I will show later in this volume), he must have had faith in the working class' potential for cultural renewal as the appropriated product is made to relate to its 'way of life'.
5. See, for instance, Robert Tressel's novel (Tressel, 1993) on the plight of the English working class in Edwardian England.
6. That is, it is very much tied to the notion of the welfare state.
7. For a recent op-ed piece regarding reforms in higher education in Venezuela see Cole and Motta (2011). As with revolutionary Nicaragua ('turning Nicaragua into one big school'), Chavez-governed Venezuela is referred to as the 'giant school.'

8. For a compelling argument regarding the importance of the state within present day capitalism, see Ellen Meiksins Wood (2003). She argues early in the introduction that "the argument here is not that capital in conditions of 'globalization' has escaped the control of the state and made the territorial state increasingly irrelevant. On the contrary, my argument is that the state is more essential than ever to capital, even, or especially, in its global form. The political form of globalization is not a global state but a system of multiple states, and the new imperialism takes its specific shape from the complex and contradictory relationship between capital's expansive economic power and the more limited reach of the extra-economic force that sustains it" (Meiksins Wood, 2003, pp. 5–6).
9. Shades of Guy Debord's *La Société du spectacle* with its Marxist theses representing the shift from being to having to representing oneself (thesis 17), with images mediating social relationships among people (thesis 4). See translation, available at: www.bopsecrets.org/SI/debord/1.htm. Viewed 17 January 2011. See also Debord (1994).
10. According to the Gramscian conception, 'civil society' constitutes the terrain in which most of the present ideological influence and consensus building takes place. Global civil society is therefore the terrain wherein a lot of the global influence, via global cable networks, information technology etc. occurs. Once again, however, it creates spaces for renegotiation in that it offers the means for progressive groups, located in various parts of the globe, to connect electronically or otherwise. This is in keeping with the notion of 'globalisation from below' (Marshall, 1997).

    Recall that hegemony is characterised by a process of negotiation and renegotiation. Information Technology is a double-edged sword in that it is an important instrument of capitalism but can also offer alternative possibilities in the fostering of international alliances some of which can, in the long term, develop into a firmly entrenched social or historical bloc.
11. These organisations establish formal and informal links, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary, with key agents of the state in return for the advancement of their corporate interests (see Held, 2006, p. 172).
12. One requires a word of caution here. States differ among themselves in their internal coherence, given their historical and other contextual specificities. It would be dangerous to infer that all states are equally positioned in terms of their power to intervene in the economic sphere, especially when one takes into account their own differential location within the global market system. Thanks again to Professor André Elias Mazawi for this point.
13. Let us take higher education as an example, to extend the discussion around the example provided in this section. In 2008, the first European Forum on Cooperation between Higher Education (HE) and the Business Community took place (CEC, 2008). The communication on the modernisation of universities and HE institutes underlines the importance of a "structured partnership with the business community" (CEC, 2006a, p. 6). It is intended to create opportunities for the sharing of research results, intellectual property rights, patents and licenses and allow for placements of students and researchers in business, with a view to improving the students' career prospects. It is also meant to create a better fit between HE outputs and job requirements. It also can help convey, according to the communication, a stronger sense of 'entrepreneurship' to enable persons to contribute effectively to a competitive economic environment (CEC, 2006a; CEC, 2006b; EC, 2006).

4 Gramsci
Adult Education and Learning[1]

Gramsci's writings on 'the state' and 'civil society', at the centre of the discussion in the previous chapter, have ramifications for analyses of the established institutions' roles in society. These would include institutions explicitly concerned with education. Contained in Gramsci's writings are elements for an analysis of the politics of education in the Western capitalist social formation.

Education is perceived as playing an important role in cementing the existing hegemony. It is crucial in securing consent for the ruling way of life, one that is supportive of and is supported by the prevailing mode of production. Compulsory initial learning, mandated by the Capitalist Italian State, during the years of Fascist rule, is problematised by Gramsci in his critique of the *Riforma Gentile* and the kind of streaming (tracking) it was intended to bring about. This is the subject of Chapter 6. Gramsci, however, does not limit himself to criticising the contemporary reforms but offers alternatives that emerge from his vision of society. Some of these alternatives will be explained in the chapter that deals with schooling. Other alternatives constitute the subject of the present chapter, which deals with the other pathways *(altre vie)* that Gramsci identified and explored in either his writings or his political activity within the Italian socialist movement, including his activity as a political prisoner of conscience. All these pathways can be heuristically subsumed under the broad heading of 'Adult Education and Learning.'

FORMAL, NON-FORMAL, AND INFORMAL LEARNING

They account for formal, informal and non-formal learning, to adopt the terminology favoured by UNESCO. A lot of adult education activity in which Gramsci was involved, even at the conception and organisational stages, would fall under the conventional title of non-formal education since these were not incidental learning activities or part of a person's educational development throughout life, as with reading periodicals, listening to political speeches or attending symposia, participating in political action or benefiting from previously learnt skills to engage critically with news coverage,

partake of cultural manifestations of different types, popular or otherwise (all of the informal learning type). These were, to the contrary, activities designed specifically to boost people's learning, often as part of the expressly educational activity of the political party. This was not ad hoc learning, therefore, but one which occurs in the context of a well-set programme with well-set meeting times and venues.

STRUCTURE AND AGENCY

Gramsci was no economic determinist. He was very anti-positivist, a stance that is also reflected in his view of language and linguistics and his criticism, following Bartoli, of the neo-grammarians, mentioned in the biographical data in the introductory chapter (Ives, 2004b, p. 47). As a matter of fact, his work is generally regarded as having marked a decisive break with the official Marxism of the time (cf. Diskin, 1993, p. 18).[2] Cultural and educational ideas and approaches are not epiphenomena, that is to say emanations from the economic base, the sum total of the social relations of production. They can be conditioned by this base but at the same time also react upon the base itself. In short, cultural work can help change the social relations of production.

There is a strong sense of agency in Gramsci's writings. In an early article, entitled "La Rivoluzione Contro *il Capitale*" (The Revolution against *Das Kapital*), the young Gramsci argued that the Bolshevik Revolution called into question the canons of historical materialism, a position he would abandon in his more mature years marked by a deeper understanding of Marx's writings through which he realised that the canons of historical materialism are not so "iron-like" as he had been led to believe in his younger days.[3]

One must bear in mind the particular phase in life in which the pieces by Gramsci that are cited, like the excerpt from "The Revolution against Capital" (often known in English as "Against *Capital*"), referred to earlier, have been written. Nevertheless it would be worth reproducing this quote from a much-cited work to capture his enthusiasm for the news of the October Revolution in Russia and to shed light on his early reception of Karl Marx's theory:

> Facts have overthrown the critical schema within which the history of Russia was supposed to be confined, according to the canons of historical materialism. The Bolsheviks deny Karl Marx, and affirm explicitly by their deeds that the canons of historical materialism are not so iron-like as might be thought, and has been thought . . . (the Bolsheviks) are not Marxists, that's all (Gramsci, cited in Clark, 1977, p. 51; see Italian original in Gramsci, 1997a, p. 43).

With respect to Gramsci's anti-positivism, a key legacy of the Croce-an-influenced Italian humanities milieu, Angelo Broccoli (1972, p. 28) argues

that one of the reasons why the young Gramsci was attracted to the works of Benedetto Croce[4] was simply because the Neapolitan philosopher affirmed human values in the face of the sense of acquiescence and passivity conveyed by positivism and which Gramsci associated with the mechanistic and deterministic theories of the Second International. As Giuseppe Fiori, arguably Gramsci's best-known biographer, writes,

> For Croce, man [*sic*] was the unique protagonist of history. His [*sic*] thought stimulates action—concrete 'ethical-Political' action—which is the creation of new history. (Fiori, 1990, p. 239)

This sense of agency can be discovered in his theoretical formulations concerning hegemony and the state, discussed throughout the first and previous chapters. Recall that, for Gramsci, hegemony has a number of features. It is characterised by its non-static nature (it is constantly open to negotiation and renegotiation, therefore being renewed and recreated). It is incomplete, selective (Williams, 1976) and there exist moments wherein cracks can be detected. All this indicates that there can be room for action to transform the relations involved and specific moments when this action can take place (see Chapter 1). There are also excluded areas of social life that can be explored by people involved in such transformational activities.

We have seen how, for Gramsci, civil society, the terrain which supports hegemony, also constitutes the area where the same hegemony can be contested. The process of transforming the state and its coercive apparatus must, to a large extent, precede, rather than follow, the seizure of power (Lawner, 1973, p. 49) through prefigurative work (Allman, 1988), although, as I hinted at in the opening chapter and elaborated on in the previous one, this process cannot be fully achieved unless power is finally seized.

WAR OF POSITION

It is through the 'war of position', a process of wide-ranging social organisation and cultural influence, that the social group aspiring towards leadership in the process of social transformation forges an alliance or series of alliances with other groups and sectors of society, possibly paving the way, depending on how strong, deeply entrenched and seemingly natural this alliance is, towards the creation of an historical bloc, the term that Gramsci uses to describe the complex manner in which classes or their factions are related (Showstack Sassoon, 1982, p. 14). With regard to the prefigurative work, Gramsci wrote:

> Every revolution has been preceded by an intense labour of criticism and by the diffusion of culture and the spread of ideas among masses of

> men [*sic*] who are at first resistant and think only of solving their own immediate economic and political problems for themselves who have no ties of solidarity with others in the same condition. (Gramsci, 1977b, p. 12; see original Italian quote in Gramsci, 1967, p. 19)

The primacy of cultural activity for the revolutionary process is therefore affirmed by Gramsci, an idea that reflects the influence of a number people, notably Angelo Tasca. As Clark (1977) indicated, Gramsci wrote, in *Il Grido del Popolo*:

> Socialism is organization, and not only political and economic organization, but also, especially, organization of knowledge and of will, obtained through cultural activity. (p. 53)

THE FACTORY COUNCILS AND THE EDUCATION OF ADULTS

As a crucial area of 'civil society', adult education[5] was conceived of by Gramsci as having an important role to play in this 'war of position', both at the level of adult education within movements challenging the established state of affairs, and at the level of individuals and enclaves operating in and against the state.[6]

Gramsci, very much involved in adult education, as part of his work in the Italian Socialist and subsequently Communist parties, wrote of the existence of alternative routes, as explained earlier, for education and learning. Gramsci saw progressive and emancipatory elements within these routes that can complement the Unitarian School he proposed to advance the interests of the Italian working class. Gramsci's *Ordine Nuovo* group directed a lot of its energies, during the revolutionary climate which prevailed in Turin, prior to the Fascist take over, towards the Factory Council Movement, central to the previous chapter's discussion on the *relational* aspect of the state. Recall that the movement can, to all intents and purposes, be regarded as an adult education movement (English & Mayo, 2012) through which workers were 'educated' as producers rather than simply as 'wage earners' (Merrington, 1977, p. 158)—'*salariati*' (salaried employees) (Gramsci, 1967, p. 261)—and initiated into the process of industrial democracy.[7] For Gramsci, the Factory Councils were intended to provide the means whereby the proletariat could "educate itself, gather experience and acquire a responsible awareness of the duties incumbent upon classes that hold the power of the state" (cited in Merrington, 1977, p. 159).

This was to constitute an important step for the working class in the direction of "exercising leadership before winning Government power" (Gramsci, 1971a, p. 57). The emphasis, in these writings, is on the acquisition of industrial democracy, the backbone of the workers' state.

There was to be "collaboration between manual workers, skilled workers, administrative employees, engineers and technical directors" (Gramsci, 1977b, p. 110). Through such collaboration, workers were to experience "the unity of the industrial process" and see themselves "as an inseparable part of the whole labour system which is concentrated in the object being manufactured" (ibid.; Italian original in Gramsci, 1967, p. 261). As such, they were to acquire complete mental control over the production process to "replace management's power in the Factory" (Gramsci, in Mancini, 1973, p. 5). Furthermore, the knowledge acquired at the workplace would, according to Gramsci, lead to a greater understanding of the workings of society:

> At this point the worker has become a producer, for he [*sic*] has acquired an awareness of his role in the process of production at all levels, from the workshop to the nation to the world. (Gramsci, 1977b, p. 111; Italian original in Gramsci, 1967, p. 261)

One assumes that the educational programme which the Factory Councils had to provide, in order to render workers capable of exerting such control, must mirror the spirit of democracy and collaboration it is intended to foster at the workplace and eventually in the envisaged democratic Workers' state (cf. Gramsci, 1977b, p. 66). For the kind of environment generated by the Factory Councils was intended to prefigure that of the socialist state (once again, however, we must keep in mind Larrain's important caveat mentioned in the previous chapter):

> The Socialist State already exists potentially in the institutions of social life characteristic of the exploited working class. To link these institutions, co-ordinating and ordering them into a highly centralized hierarchy of competences and powers, while respecting the necessary autonomy and articulation of each, is to create a genuine workers' democracy here and now. (Gramsci, 1977b, p. 66; see Italian original in Gramsci, 1967, pp. 206, 207)

The Factory Council Movement brought Turin, regarded by Gramsci as "Italy's Petrograd", close to a revolution. The main reason for its ultimate failure was that its activity was not carried out in the context of the alliance called for by Gramsci. In retrospect, Gramsci noted that the insurgents, in Turin, were isolated (Adamson, 1980, p. 60). Yet the Factory Councils, later (after the failure of the factory occupation) intended to work in tandem with unions, (Gramsci, 1978), were not conceived of by Gramsci as the only agencies responsible for the education of adults. In keeping with the idea of a 'war of position', the education of adults involved a cultural offensive on all fronts, across the entire complex of civil society, as discussed previously.

DIFFERENT SITES OF ADULT LEARNING

Gramsci's writings convey the idea that different sites of social practice can be transformed into sites of adult learning. As I have argued, his scattered writings reflect a lifelong effort to engage in political/educational activities in all spheres of social life. Gramsci comes across, in these writings, as an indefatigable organiser and educator who would leave no space unexplored to educate members of the 'subaltern' classes. The area of industrial production becomes an important site of learning. These workplace educational experiences are to be sustained, according to Gramsci, by cultural centres.

The *Club di Vita Morale,* which he helped organise in 1917, and wherein workers read works and gave presentations to each other (De Robbio Anziano, 1987, p. 124), was one such centre. Another centre was the short-lived Institute of Proletarian Culture that drew inspiration from the Russian Proletkult (Gramsci, 1976, p. 216) and the group associated with the French journal *Clarté* that included Romain Rolland and Henri Barbusse (Broccoli, 1972, p. 47).

Some of Gramsci's writings reveal a yearning, on his part, for the creation of a cultural association for workers, one that offers space where workers can debate all that is of interest to the working-class movement. Gramsci wrote that such an institution "must have class aims and limits. It must be a proletarian institution seeking definite goals" (Gramsci, 1985, p. 21; Italian original in Gramsci, 1967, p. 91). He also felt that such an association would cater to the need to integrate political and economic activity with an organ of cultural activity (Gramsci, 1985, p. 22). Gramsci might have been inspired, in this respect, by the writings of Anatoli Lunacarskij, who had an article on the issue translated into Italian and published in *Il Grido del Popolo*. And reference is made, in a piece in *L'Ordine Nuovo,* to the first experiences of a proletarian school. Gramsci glorifies this institute and its participants, extolling the latter's determination to learn, despite their tiredness after a day's work. According to Gramsci, what added to their merit was that they learnt not simply to advance personally, as with the bourgeois schools, but to help realise their dream of a better society (Gramsci, 1967, p. 290). The importance of these circles must have been recognised by Gramsci from the very beginning of his political work. Indeed there is evidence that the young Gramsci had, in 1916, delivered talks to workers' study circles in Turin on a variety of topics, including Marx, the Paris Commune, Romain Rolland and the French Revolution (Buttigieg, 1992, p. 68). His engagement as an adult educator therefore started at an early age during which time he was, as we have seen in the earlier bio-data, also greatly involved in journalism (ibid.).

PRISON SCHOOL

The ongoing commitment by Gramsci to explore opportunities for proletarian adult education is partially reflected, as I already had the chance to

point out, in his efforts, despite obvious physical and external constraints, to help create a prison school *('scuola dei confinati')* at Ustica (De Robbio Anziano, 1987, p. 125) where he would both teach and learn. At this school, which Gramsci helped set up with Amedeo Bordiga and others, different courses relating to different levels of study were held (Lawner, 1973, p. 66). In a letter to Piero Sraffa, dated 2 January 1927, Gramsci indicates the different grades into which the school was organised. It catered for people of different backgrounds, some of whom were semi-literate, even though Gramsci pointed out that they were intellectually well developed. There were two courses in French (lower and superior) and a course in German (Gramsci, 1996, pp. 27, 28). While at Ustica, where detainees were allowed to roam about, Gramsci studied German, Russian, Economics and History, as he discloses in a letter to Tania, dated 9 December 1926 (Gramsci, 1996, p. 10). It is to be assumed, however, that Gramsci studied some of these subjects on his own.

PERIODICALS

This experience, besides the earlier experiences in connection with Gramsci's pre-prison life as a "full time revolutionary", indicates that, for him, transformative education can take place in a variety of sites of social practice. This strikes me as being well within the tradition of radical, non-formal adult education, particularly the tradition which incorporates the efforts of movements seeking structural change. One can infer, from the pre-prison efforts, that the educational activities within the various sites were to be sustained by such media as cultural reviews that Gramsci, no doubt drawing on his own experience as a correspondent, must have regarded as important instruments of informal adult education.

The *Ordine Nuovo* was intended as a review of socialist culture and therefore as an important source of adult learning. It constituted the means whereby cultural productions of the period were analysed from the standpoint of the 'subaltern' class, whose interests the review attempted to represent. Such a review must therefore have been intended as an important means of assisting the Turin workers in the key process of critically appropriating elements of the dominant culture. It also served as a means to develop the more emancipatory aspects of popular culture, with a view to creating a new culture reflecting an alternative *Weltanschauung* (comprehensive conception of the world and the universe).

ADULT EDUCATOR AS ORGANIC INTELLECTUAL

What type of adult educator did Gramsci have in mind? Does agency lie with a potential target-learning group? His conception of the educator is

broad enough to comprise a variety of practitioners, some of whom might not immediately identify themselves as such. His notion of the educator includes party activists working in the field of workers' education, something he himself engaged in even during his early political career. It would include foremen or supervisors in the context of the Factory Councils, as conceived of by him in his writings on industrial democracy. It can include people of different technical and cultural backgrounds being invited as speakers to the *Ordine Nuovo* group (the group surrounding the periodical of socialist culture) or who collaborated at the Club Vita Morale. It can also include any intellectual, whether publically visible or not. One includes here either those we today call 'public intellectuals' or those considered 'subaltern intellectuals'.[8] They would serve as opinion leaders and promoters of particular conceptions of the world through their affirmations, strictures and actions. These fall within the range of Gramsci's broad strata of organic intellectuals, who either support the existing state of affairs and hegemonic bloc (agrarian bloc in the case of the *Mezzogiorno*) or challenge or renegotiate the relations which keep this set of hegemonic arrangements in place. As indicated in the previous chapter, 'organic intellectuals' are cultural or educational workers who are experts in legitimation.

It is worth discussing this concept of 'organic intellectuals' in further detail. They emerge "in response to particular historical developments" (Ransome, 1992, p. 198), as opposed to traditional intellectuals whose "organic" purpose is over as society enters a different stage of development (ibid.). Adult educators engaging in non-hegemonic cultural activity, or activity that contributes to transforming relations of hegemony, are conceived of, according to the Gramscian conception, as intellectuals who are organic to the 'subaltern' groups aspiring to power. This implies that they should be politically committed to those they teach. Unless this occurs, there can be no effective learning. One of the reasons why Gramsci did not believe that the Italian 'popular universities' (adult education centres) operated in the interest of the proletariat was that the intellectuals involved were not committed to this class (Broccoli, 1972, p. 41). More care was taken, in these schools, to impress *("si bada più alla lustra")* than to teach effectively (Gramsci, 1967, p. 36) in a process described by Gramsci as that in which bagfuls of victuals *("sporte di vivere")* were distributed (Gramsci, 1967, p. 34). Gramsci argued that the working class should produce its own intellectuals or else assimilate traditional intellectuals, the process of assimilation being a crucial aspect of the 'war of position' itself. It is most likely that a social group's endeavours, in this regard, would be characterised by a combination of both processes.

The traditional intellectuals also fit Gramsci's conception of the educator. Their organic purpose seems over since they are residual specimens of an earlier and possibly outdated hegemonic set of arrangements and therefore assume the appearance of a 'neutral' category, identified by their immanent features, when in effect they can well serve to maintain and legitimise the status quo. They might also lure potentially progressive intellectuals from

their immediate cultural context with a status and language that renders them alien to that very same terrain.

Ives (2004a) has discussed this with respect to intellectuals and language development. These intellectuals absolutise their activity. Organic intellectuals had an important role to play in elaborating and creating connections between the spontaneous grammars (regional languages and dialects) of the popular classes. This was not happening in Gramsci's time. People who would have otherwise provided intellectual leadership among the subaltern classes were being co-opted partly through their being equipped with a normative grammar (various forms of standard language, including esoteric language) that was alien to the subordinated classes. It therefore served to alienate potential organic intellectuals from these classes, rendering them traditional intellectuals instead—intellectuals whose activity deceptively appeared to be devoid of any social moorings when in actual fact this activity served to consolidate the hegemony of the dominant groups.[9]

EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKING CLASS

In Gramsci's view, is there a specific social class with the responsibility for agency? One can argue that, despite his first-hand knowledge of the peasant-dominated south, it was to the industrial proletariat, located in Turin, that he looked for revolutionary potential. Although he attempted to deal, at some depth, with the Southern Question (cf. Gramsci, 1964, pp. 797–819; Gramsci, 1995b; Verdicchio, 1995), the subject of discussion in a later chapter in this volume, and advocated an historical bloc (see Gramsci, 1995a) characterised by a 'national-popular' alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry, he ascribed to the former the role of leadership or directorship *(direzione)* in the alliance:

> We favoured a very realistic and not at all 'magic' formula of the land for the peasants; but we wanted it to be realised inside the framework of the general revolutionary action of the two allied classes *under the leadership* of the industrial proletariat. (Gramsci, 1957, p. 30; Italian original in Gramsci, 1964, p. 799; Gramsci, 1997, p. 181; my emphasis)

Most of Gramsci's writings, which are relevant to adult education, focus on the educational needs of the industrial working class. Did he share Marx's view of peasants, expressed in 1852, as existing in isolated self-sufficient units, earning "their livelihood more by means of an interchange with nature than by intercourse with society . . . much as a bag with potatoes constitutes a potato-bag" (Marx, 1907, p. 71)?[10] The issue of adult literacy, an important concern for anyone dealing with adult education in the southern Italian regions, where illiteracy was widespread, is given lip service in Gramsci's

writings. There is a very short piece that explains the causes of peasant-class resistance to compulsory education. It is one of the very few extant pieces by Gramsci on this topic, if not the only piece (Gramsci, 1964, pp. 235–236). In short, Gramsci's writings identify a specific adult education clientele. This can be explained by the fact that these writings are the product of his first-hand experience as activist, organiser and adult educator, an experience that was confined to the city of Turin. He therefore wrote specifically about the area in which he was directly involved.

PEDAGOGY

There is also something to be said about the kind of pedagogy that ought to be encouraged. That Gramsci was concerned with mitigating hierarchical relations between those who 'educate' and 'direct' and those who learn can be seen from his writings concerning philosophy, language, culture and hegemony relations. Echoing Marx's "Third Thesis on Feuerbach" ("the Educator must himself be educated"), he advocates a relationship that has to be "active and reciprocal", one whereby "every teacher is always a pupil and every pupil a teacher" (Gramsci, 1971a, p. 350). The same applies to his views concerning educators. We will see in Chapter 6, concerning his long note, and its revisited version, on the Unitarian School, that Gramsci refers to the teacher who limits himself or herself to a straightforward transmission of facts as "mediocre" (Gramsci, 1971a, p. 36; Gramsci, 1975, p. 499). He would yet prefer such a teacher, despite this mediocrity, to one who engages in dialogue in a vacuum. I shall return to this point in Chapter 6.

The implication for adult educators seems to be that a certain degree of instruction needs to be imparted to render any dialogical education an informed one. The pedagogy is directive (it is intended towards a political goal), striking a balance between spontaneity and conscious direction—"*spontaneità*" and "*direzione consapevole*" (Gramsci, 1975, p. 328). Furthermore, the organic intellectual/adult educator is equipped with a body of knowledge and theoretical insight that, nevertheless, needs to be constantly tested and renewed through contact with the learners/masses. This explains Gramsci's advocacy of a dialectical relationship between adult educators/organic intellectuals and the learners/masses. The reciprocal educational relationship that he advocates, and which was cited earlier, "exists throughout society as a whole" and for every individual relative to other individuals. It exists between "intellectual and non-intellectual" sections of the population (Gramsci, 1971a, p. 350).

CULTURAL DIMENSION OF WORKERS' EDUCATION

What constitutes 'really useful knowledge' in this context? Quite often, we come across workers' education programmes that are restricted to production

issues (e.g., labour studies), irrespective of whether they are narrow 'tool' or broader 'issue' courses. This comprises courses in negotiation theory, economics, labour studies and so forth. Seldom included are areas which cover a wider terrain, including areas that featured prominently in the repressed historical tradition of independent working-class education (Waugh, 2009) and which provided the basis for the type of cultural studies developed in adult English education. Gramsci advocated a broader education encompassing all those areas of knowledge that constitute a terrain where certain values are conveyed and subjectivities are shaped. Gramsci focuses, in his writings, on both aspects of the conventional and problematic 'high' and 'low' culture divide.

We shall see in Chapter 6 that Gramsci emphasised the learning of certain subjects such as Greek and Latin not for any present-day functional reasons but to know about those civilisations that were preconditions for our present civilisations. History would play an important role here. So would knowledge about the Arab and Islamic worlds (Gramsci wrote about these and proved to be quite knowledgeable, as Boothman [2007] reveals) and their contributions, via Cordoba and other seats and places of learning, to the development of so-called 'Western Civilisation'. I shall return to this point in the chapter on the Southern Question.

His focus on both aspects of the 'high' and 'low' cultural divide are carried out as part of a constant search for a synthesis between the potentially emancipatory aspects of both. This is done with a view to providing the basis for new cultural forms. It is perhaps for this reason that he expresses great concern, in the *Quaderni,* for the way in which areas of popular culture are incorporated by the dominant culture. For this reason, he expresses great interest in works like Dostoyevsky's novels, which draws on the serial, and therefore popular, fiction to produce "artistic" fiction, and, in so doing, reveals the interplay between the "popular" and the "artistic" (Forgacs & Nowell Smith, in Gramsci, 1985, p. 12). Gramsci also expressed belief in the validity of manifestations of the 'popular creative spirit'. He saw, in this manifestation, the creative energy for cultural transformations, which at the time appeared to exist beyond capitalism's extended and commodifying reach. Many of these forms of the creative spirit were later not immune to commodification by capitalism.

They involved adult learning experiences at the popular level, which fascinated Gramsci, such as the contests which he witnessed in prison between fellow inmates organised in teams according to region. He was also fascinated by this same spirit as manifest in jazz, in the USA, reflecting the popular creative spirit of African Americans.[11] The same would apply to Gospel music and other popular cultural manifestations associated with subaltern groups in different parts of the world.

One can deduce from this the importance of adult learning initiatives or processes connected with forms of popular culture that reflect this popular creative spirit, which might be or might not be tainted by capitalist encroachment.

Gramsci observed how hegemony occurs through different forms of culture including popular culture which, though imbued with this 'popular creative spirit', is, like any other culture, not to be romanticised; it contains potentially disempowering elements. For instance, cultural manifestations of regional identity can be characterised by an eclipsing of the deep class divisions that exist in each territory. This can lead to false alliances between people on both sides of the social class divide, a point to which I shall return in the discussion on the Southern Question.

Gramsci considered several elements of the 'canon' to be relevant to the needs of the working class. This can explain the enthusiasm he shows, in some of his reviews, for plays and writings by established figures which contain themes and moral actions that, he felt, resonate with the experiences of subordinated social group members. For instance, he seems to have seen, in the figure of Ibsen's Nora Helmer, the protagonist in *A Doll's House* (cf. Gramsci, 1976, pp. 246, 247; Gramsci, 1985, p. 72), the basis for the "new feminine personality" about which he wrote in the notes on "Americanism and Fordism" (Notebook 22; cf. Gramsci, 1971a, p. 296; Gramsci, 1975, p. 2149).

The inference that I draw from the foregoing is that such knowledge should feature in a workers' cultural preparation programme developed on Gramscian lines. This knowledge should, however, be treated problematically. The process involved is one of critical appropriation:

> Creating a new culture does not only mean one's own individual 'original' discoveries. It also, and most particularly, means the diffusion in a critical form of truths already discovered, their 'socialisation' as it were, and even making them the basis of vital action, an element of co-ordination and intellectual and moral order. (Gramsci, 1971a, p. 325; Italian original in Gramsci, 1997, p. 1377, 1378)

LANGUAGE

The issue of mastering the dominant culture in order to transform it is also developed in other aspects of Gramsci's work. For instance, Gramsci advocates mastery of the dominant language for members of the 'subaltern' classes not to remain on the periphery of political life.[12] This does not mean that he endorsed the hegemony of this language (the Tuscan dialect so strongly favoured by Manzoni). It constituted, after all, a form of 'passive revolution' (in this case, an imposed process, rather than a process from the bottom up and therefore rooted in popular consciousness)[13] and did not connect with the various languages of subaltern groups.

As with all languages, they reflect specific conceptions of the world. This has implications for adult literacy programmes. Gramsci believed in the

importance of a national standard language but he favoured a process of linguistic hegemony characterised by the presence of a normative grammar that derived from the interactions of the spontaneous grammars found in the peninsula's different regions—a national-popular standard language, if you will, which would be more democratic in that it would reflect the 'collective will' (see Ives, 2004a, p. 100).

Organic intellectuals had an important role to play in elaborating and creating connections between these spontaneous grammars, something which was not occurring in Gramsci's time, since those people with potential for intellectual leadership among the subaltern classes were co-opted partly through their being equipped with a normative grammar that was alien to the subordinated classes. This normative grammar, therefore, served to alienate potential organic intellectuals from these subaltern classes, rendering them traditional intellectuals instead—intellectuals whose activity deceptively appeared to be devoid of any social moorings when in actual fact this activity served to consolidate the hegemony of the dominant groups.[14] In the short piece dealing with illiteracy, referred to earlier, he emphasises the need for peasants to learn a standard language to transcend their insular environment characterised by *campanilismo* (parochialism) (Gramsci, 1964, p. 236):

> If it is true that every language contains the elements of a conception of the world and of a culture, it could also be true that from anyone's language, one can assess the greater or lesser complexity of his [*sic*] conception of the world. Someone who only speaks dialect, or understands the standard language incompletely, necessarily has an intuition of the world which is more or less limited and provincial. (Gramsci, 1971a, p. 325)

Moreover, he also felt that the proletariat would achieve greater unity through the ability to speak one common language, although he refutes the idea that Esperanto can constitute such a language. This unity would not be achieved if various regional groups, within the subaltern classes, confine themselves to merely speaking their own particular dialect.

HISTORICAL DIMENSION

For Gramsci, it is not only the dominant culture that has to be mastered in processes of adult education but also, as indicated earlier, knowledge of history. As with the canon, which has its roots in the past, history too needs to be confronted, mastered and transformed. History should be a feature of working-class adult education. He states:

> If it is true that universal history is a chain made up of efforts man [*sic*] has exerted to free himself [*sic*] from privilege, prejudice and idolatry,

> then it is hard to understand why the proletariat, which seeks to add another link to the chain, should not know how and why and by whom it was preceded or what advantage it might derive from this knowledge. (Gramsci, 1971a, p. 41)

I shall return to this theme later in the volume, especially when discussing the issue of teaching against the grain.

PHILOSOPHY OF PRAXIS

There are, however, other issues, in so far as content is concerned, which are emphasised by Gramsci. The earlier discussion on workplace democracy highlights the importance that Gramsci attached to the workers' sharing of knowledge of the entire production process and of their learning economic and administrative skills. Being first and foremost a Marxist, Gramsci must have considered important a process of education through praxis. In fact, the "philosophy of praxis" (Gramsci, 1975, p. 1437) was central to his work spanning across the *Quaderni*. It is Gramsci's overarching philosophy that he contrasts with 'common sense'.

Gramsci saw ideas that reflect the dominant material relationships as residing in those areas he identifies with 'common sense' which contains elements of 'good sense' but which is, in effect, a distorted and fragmentary conception of the world. It is, according to Gramsci, a "philosophy of non philosophers" (Gramsci, 1975, p. 1396). This is "a conception of the world absorbed uncritically by the various social and cultural environments in which the moral individuality of the average man develops" (literal translation by Carmel Borg from Gramsci, 1975, p. 1396; see Borg & Mayo, 2002). Gramsci draws connections between popular religion, folklore (a specific body of beliefs, values and norms [Salamini, 1981] that is uncritical, contradictory and ambiguous in content) and common sense (Borg & Mayo, 2002, p. 91). The challenge, for Gramsci, is to supersede this common sense through a 'philosophy of praxis', the "conscious expression" of the "contradictions that lacerate society" (Larrain, 1979, p. 81). The 'philosophy of praxis' would undergo a process of elaboration similar to that experienced by Lutheranism and Calvinism before it develops into a "superior culture" (Caruso, 1997, pp. 85, 86) or '*civiltá*'.

The 'philosophy of praxis' is that which enables this common sense to be transformed into 'good sense' and which warrants elaboration to provide the underpinning of an intellectual and moral reform. In contrast to the bifurcation advocated by Benedetto Croce (philosophy for intellectuals and religion for the people), the 'philosophy of praxis' is intended to be a philosophy that welds intellectuals and masses together in a deeply embedded historical bloc (Borg & Mayo, 2002, pp. 89). It is intended to be an instrument for the

forging of a strong relationship between theory and practice, consciousness and action (Hoare & Nowell Smith in Gramsci, 1971a, p. xiii).

EDUCATION AND PRODUCTION

And the notion of praxis often appears in a manner that suggests an absolute fusion between education and the world of production. It is for this reason that Gramsci revealed a fascination for forms of art that stressed the relationship between human beings and industry. In fact, he reveals an albeit short-lived fascination for the Futurist movement (Gramsci, 1967, pp. 396, 397) for its having "grasped sharply and clearly that our age, the age of big industry, of the large proletarian city and of intense and tumultuous life, was in need of new forms of art, philosophy, behaviour and language" (Gramsci, 1985, p. 51). It is this preoccupation that led Gramsci to affirm, somewhat idealistically, the virtues of what Marx would have regarded as a 'polytechnical education', arguing for a strong relationship to be forged between education and production, a notion which Marx had specifically developed in the Geneva Resolution of 1866 (Livingstone, 1984, pp. 186, 187).

> Having become dominant, the working class wants manual labour and intellectual labour to be joined in the school and thus creates a new educational tradition. (Gramsci, 1985, p. 43)

CONCLUSION

To conclude, I would argue that Antonio Gramsci saw in the education and cultural formation of adults a key element that can contribute to the attainment of an intellectual and moral reform. This had to be a lengthy process of education characterised by what Raymond Williams would call the "Long Revolution": Organic intellectuals engaged in this lengthy process of working for social transformation were to explore a number of sites with the potential to serve as sites of transformative learning. Gramsci himself stood as a model in this regard with his unstinting efforts at engaging in projects and carving out spaces for adult learning both during his active years in the public domain and during moments of his incarceration. However, it is not only to his various projects that adult educators need to turn to gain inspiration but also to the various theoretical insights deriving from his own revolutionary praxis, insights through which Antonio Gramsci has made a tremendous contribution to modern social and educational theory. His influence across the adult education field, especially the radical adult education field, has been enormous. Writers constantly make reference to his notion of the organic intellectuals, his own work in workers' education,

the factory council theory, etc. The Gramscian influence on education has affected not only people ensconced in academies or working with adult education agencies producing policy reports but also, and rightly so, those who operate at the grassroots, including the many popular educators engaged in non-formal education in Latin America (Gramsci is very influential in this part of the world—Aricò 1988; Kane, 2001; La Belle, 1986; Mariátegui, 2011; Morrow & Torres, 1995; Torres, 1990) and elsewhere, as I shall show in Chapter 8, where I compare his writings to those of Paulo Freire. Popular education has proven palatable to people clamouring for better education at the World Social Forum, or operating in non-formal and informal education within the contexts of community action and development, and social movements. The Forum is conceived as a coming together of movements, groups and individuals with ideas and narration of projects intended to combat the overwhelming presence of Neoliberalism including its manifestation in education and in the undermining of communities in favour of atomised individuals. Popular education features prominently at the Forum. This is to be expected given the origins of the Forum in a Brazilian context, notably the city of Porto Alegre in Rio Grande do Sul. Gramsci is "probably the most frequently cited Marxist associated with popular education" (La Belle, 1986, p. 185). One important concept, that of "conjunctural analysis", is frequently used. "Conjunctural analysis" is be distinguished from an analysis of what is "organic" and therefore "relatively permanent" (Gramsci, 1971a, p. 177); it is a process from popular education in Latin America which has also been taken up in North America, for instance in the context of the "the Moment" project at the Jesuit Centre for Social Faith and Justice in Toronto. "Naming the Moment" entails "the process of identifying key moments when the conjuncture offers unique opportunities for changing oppressive structures".[15]

> Naming the Moment has, at its core, a process of democratic conjunctural analysis, identifying and examining the movement of key forces (economic, political, cultural and so on) and their impact on various structures of society. The democratic nature of the process allowed participants to advocate for various actions according to the needs of the moment and to also recruit allies. As a popular education process 'Naming the Moment' drew on a wide range of means of dialogue from the common small-group discussions to the use of popular theatre, visual art and song. And, as with popular education, it took more time and resources than more conventional processes of community organizing. (Popular educator, Chris Cavanagh, in Borg & Mayo, 2007, pp. 44–45)

A number of works—notably by Margaret Ledwith in community development (Ledwith 2010) and Budd Hall et al. (2012) with social movements—bridge the different domains, those of popular education, social movements and community activism. Gramsci's ideas feature prominently in all three not

only because of his direct influence on popular education, but also because of his being a highly influential figure for education and adult education in his own right. There seems to be hardly any discussion on radical adult education without reference to Gramsci. He features prominently in theoretical discussions concerning adult education or in the framework for analysis of on the ground examples, in case studies, of this type of educational initiative.

NOTES

1. This is a revised and updated version of a paper which originally appeared as Mayo, P. (2007), "Antonio Gramsci and His relevance for the Education of Adults", *Educational Philosophy and Theory,* vol. 40, no. 3, pp. 418–435. Available at: www.tandfonline.com/toc/rept20/current#.VCm9IKNIE4w.
2. With regard to what is known as the base-superstructure metaphor, a rigid interpretation of which lay at the heart of the official Marxism at the time, it would be worth quoting the famous excerpt from Marx's *Preface to a Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*:

   > In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness. (Marx, in Tucker, 1978, p. 4)

   It would not be amiss to state that this formulation of the connection between ideas and their social basis has led to huge debates regarding the relationship between base and superstructure, often involving crude interpretations. Some have been led to adopt an economic determinist view of social change, and this kind of thinking also made its presence felt in the education field (see Au & Apple, 2009 on this). However, this does not do justice to the complexity and dialectical nature of the relationship as propounded by Marx and Engels, colleagues and co-proponents of communism. A certain element of reciprocity characterises this relationship, with the economic base determining only in the last instance.
3. See, for instance, the following well known clarification by Engels in a letter to Joseph Bloch, London, 21–22 September, 1890 (seven years after Marx's death):

   > According to the materialist conception of history, the *ultimately* determining element in history is the production and reproduction of real life. More than this neither Marx nor I have ever asserted. Hence if somebody twists this into saying that the economic element is the only determining one, he transforms that proposition into a meaningless, abstract senseless phrase. The economic situation is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure: political forms of the class struggle and its results, to wit: constitutions established by the victorious class after a successful

> battle, etc., juridical forms, and then even the reflexes of all these actual struggles in the brains of the participants, political, juristic, philosophical theories, religious views, and their further development into systems of dogmas, also exercise their influence upon the course of the historical struggles and in many cases preponderate in determining their form. . . . We make our history ourselves, but, in the first place, under very definite assumptions and conditions. Among these the economic ones are ultimately decisive. But the political ones, etc., and indeed the traditions which haunt human minds also play a part, although not the decisive one. (Engels, in Tucker, 1978, p. 760)

4. For a study on Croce, see Rizi (2003).
5. For a comprehensive overview of the way Gramsci's ideas have been taken up in adult education see Borg et al. (2002a).
6. See Chapter 5, a revised version of Mayo (2005a).
7. For an empirical study that derives inspiration from Gramsci's Factory Council work, see Livingstone (2002).
8. The public intellectual is that intellectual whose reach is broad enough to incorporate a large viewership, listenership or readership as a result of appearances on or contributions to community, regional or national broadcasting or print media; today this can be even global through the Internet, etc. The public intellectual combines theoretical rigor with accessibility and draws upon a variety of scholarly, popular and interdisciplinary resources to address important social and political issues. Clear examples of progressive public intellectuals nowadays would be Noam Chomsky, the late Howard Zinn, Naomi Klein, the late Edward Said, Carol Becker, the late Pierre Bourdieu, Henry Giroux, Slavoj Zizek, Vandana Shiva, the late Tony Benn and the late Bob Crow, to name but a few. These are intellectuals who cast their nets far and wide. Then there are those subaltern intellectuals such as teachers, priests and local community educators who restrict their operation to specific sites. Gramsci saw priests, lawyers, notaries and doctors as subaltern traditional intellectuals in comparison with those more public intellectuals (on different sides of the political spectrum) of his time such as Giustino Fortunato, Piero Gobetti, Luigi Pirandello, Gaetano Salvemini and Benedetto Croce, whose ideas and widely expressed opinions influenced large sections of the population and helped shape Italy's cultural climate at the time. An example of an organic intellectual to the Italian and international capitalist class today is Sergio Marchionne, CEO of Fiat S.p.A., Chairperson and CEO of Chrysler Group LLC, and Chairman of CNH (California, Nevada, Hawaii) Industrial N.V. and 2012 Chairman of the European Automobile Manufacturers Association.
9. This section owes a lot to the rich discussion on the subject of "Language and Hegemony in the Prison Notebooks" in Ives (2004a), Chapter 3.
10. Although he defends southern peasants to the hilt, especially in denouncing northern attributions of 'inferiority' to them (see forthcoming chapter on the Southern Question), he writes, in the same incomplete tract on the Southern Question, that "the peasants, who make up the largest part of the population [in the south], have no cohesion among themselves" (Gramsci, 1995b, p. 36). He refers to them as a peasant mass that is "amorphous and disintegrated" (ibid.).
11. Reference is made here to the 1994 documentary *New York and the Mystery of Naples: A Journey through Gramsci's World,* produced by G. Baratta, and distributed by Le Rose e I Quaderni. Features, among others, Dario Fo,

Edward Said, Cornel West, Joseph A. Buttigieg, Giuseppe Fiori. Available at: www.internationalgramscisociety.org/audio-video/index.html. Viewed 7 August 2014.

12. For an excellent text on language in Gramsci's writings, see Ives (2004a).
13. There are two, quite related, meanings attached to the notion of 'passive revolution', coined by the 19th-century Neapolitan writer, Vincenzo Cuoco (1806/1980, p. 48 of ebook), of which the Parthenopean Republic (in Cuoco's essay and Gramsci's work) and later the Italian Risorgimento (in Gramsci's thinking) are regarded as good historical examples. As explained by Adam D. Morton (2011), who analysed the Mexican revolution (1910–1920) and modern Mexico's state formation in the context of a 'passive revolution', the term is used "first, with reference to a revolution without mass participation, or a 'revolution from above', involving elite-engineered social and political reform that draws on foreign capital and associated ideas while lacking a national popular base" (p. 38). I would regard Mustapha Kemal Ataturk's 'modernising' (partly anti-Ottoman) revolution in Turkey as a classic example of this. The term is often associated, in this specific meaning, with Caesarism (very popular in Latin American/Brazilian political thought) or Bonapartism. The second, arguably more important, use of 'passive revolution' is "to capture how a revolutionary form of political transformation is pressed into a conservative project of restoration. In this second sense, passive revolution is linked to insurrectionary mass mobilisation from below while such class demands are restricted so that 'changes in the world of production are accommodated within the current social formation' (Sassoon, 1987; see Femia, 1981, p. 260 n.74)" (ibid.) As with the Risorgimento, and echoing Morton (2011) once again, it is undergirded by a process of rupture besides combined and/or uneven levels of capitalist development.
14. This section owes a lot to the rich discussion on "Language and Hegemony in the Prison Notebooks" in Ives (2004a), Chapter 3.
15. This quote is derived from Canadian popular educator, Chris Cavanagh, from the Catalyst Centre, Toronto, who has over the years been involved in leading "Moment" workshops. Email correspondence with author.

5 'In and against the State'
Gramsci, a War of Position and Adult Education[1]

INTRODUCTION

As a follow up to the preceding chapters, including discussions on Gramsci and the state and Gramsci and adult learning, I will now provide an illustrative case study I carried out in the early to mid-nineties. This is specifically intended to show how some of Gramsci's ideas, outlined in the preceding chapters, can serve as a theoretical framework for analysis of an 'on the ground' educational project in a specific context and at a particular moment in time. The study focused on the way a state-funded university, as an important institution of civil society, consolidated existing hegemonic arrangements and, at the same time, offered spaces wherein these arrangements can be contested. Using ethnographic data culled from structured and semi-structured interviews as well as other appropriate documentation, I highlight some of the challenges and contradictions of a university-based workers' education institute advocating for social change 'in and against the state'. The key concept from Gramsci that reverberates throughout the chapter is that of 'war of position'.

The workers' education centre in question has evolved since the study to the extent that it has changed its name from the then Workers' Participation Development Centre (WPDC), which had a particular resonance at the time of the case study research, to that of the Centre for Labour Studies (CLS), and has increased its diploma programmes, including one on Gender and Development, introduced in 1995, and runs an evening BA honours degree programme on Work and Human Resources. While the case study would be dated as an evaluation of the specific educational agency in question and is not intended to shed light on a project of Gramscian inspired adult education in practice, it is being reproduced here as an example of the kind of analytical use to which Gramsci's ideas can be put in empirical work on adult education. Gramsci's ideas provide a framework for analysing situations, policies and projects. They have constituted an important critical lens, just as Foucault's ideas have continued to do in more recent years. Hopefully, this case study will attest to the validity of this lens for evaluating adult education initiatives in a context of hegemonic globalisation and neoliberal

discourse, which was already the context at the time when research for this case study was carried out.

WAR OF MANOEUVRE VERSUS WAR OF POSITION

The previous chapter highlighted Gramsci's argument that, the way power operated and was consolidated, there was a great difference between the situation in predominantly feudal pre-1917 Russia, the site of the first socialist revolution, and that obtaining in Western capitalist social formations. In Russia, the locus of power rested with the state army and police. The country was virtually held together by force. Gramsci therefore considered it possible for a revolutionary group to wrest power from the grasp of the Tsar and the aristocracy by means of a frontal attack. However, we have seen how a "war of manoeuvre" was not regarded by the Italian theorist as likely to prove effective in Western capitalist social formations. Recall that, in Gramsci's view, the state is propped up in these formations, and will have to be propped up even in those formations which carry out a revolution on Bolshevik lines (Thomas, 2009), by a network of cultural and ideological institutions that Gramsci referred to as "civil society".

To recap further, according to Gramsci's conception of the state and civil society, one would first have to engage in a "war of position", which involves social organisation and the development of cultural predominance, for such a seizure of power to occur. A war of position entails, in Stuart Hall's interpretation, the active construction and positive maintenance of hegemonic arrangements (Hall, 1996, p. 424). Issues concerning the state, civil society and hegemony have been discussed in some theoretical detail in the previous chapter and do not warrant any further elaboration at this stage.

EDUCATION AND HEGEMONY

This having been said, there is important prefigurative work that, according to Gramsci, involves working both within and outside existing systems and apparatuses to provide the basis for an "intellectual and moral reform" (Gramsci, 1971b, p. 132), the kind of reform which, Gramsci argued, had to take place for social transformation to occur. Such work occurs primarily in the context of social relations, which, for Gramsci, are established through the process of hegemony. The prefigurative work, including education work, can take a variety of forms, including that of working within the state and other institutions of capitalist domination, or to use the one-time popular British phrase, working 'in and against the state' and other dominant institutions (see London Edinburgh Weekend Return Group, 1980).

Gramsci's educational activities with the Factory Councils and in prisons indicate his willingness to work within existing state and bourgeois institutions (for example, the workplace in capitalist enterprises) in order to contribute to social transformation. In his work in industrial Italy, therefore, Gramsci adopted an attitude of working 'in and against the state' and other systems of domination.

THE STATE AND ADULT EDUCATION

Before exploring the possibilities for engagement in a war of position 'in and against the state', it would be appropriate to survey the terrain of contestation, in this case, state-sponsored adult education. What functions does adult education perform within the context of the state? Carlos A. Torres (1991) partly answers the question:

> Since the capitalist state has a class content reflected in its policy-making, adult education policies constitute an example of class-determined policies oriented to confront the political and social demands of the powerless and impoverished sectors of any capitalist society. (p. 31)

I say "partly" because I would also argue that the state addresses other 'contents' in its policymaking, including those of gender, race and ethnicity. The various contents reflected in policymaking are obviously not acknowledged in the official discourse concerning adult education programmes run by government institutions or financed by them. This discourse is intended to help consolidate the existing hegemony, and it articulates the interests of particular powerful groups as those of society at large. With respect to the functions of state agencies, Corrigan and Sayer (1985) state: "Centrally, state agencies attempt to give unitary and unifying expression to what are in reality multifaceted and differential historical experiences of groups within society, denying their particularity" (p. 4).

What are some of the ideological functions of state-sponsored adult education that lie beneath its "unitary and unifying expression"? These are legion. In this section, I shall focus on a few of them; my selection is conditioned by the case study I present further on.

LANGUAGE, CULTURAL CAPITAL AND CITIZENSHIP

One important ethical function of the state is that of defining what constitutes 'good' citizenship. A state-sponsored adult literacy campaign (an important feature of adult education) can reflect a state-induced language policy for the country and thus can constitute an important vehicle in this

regard. The acquisition of literacy is central to the ability to exercise and make full use of citizenship rights. But literacy means different things in different contexts (Mayo, 1994). In this respect, we can consider: (1) the many postcolonial contexts where bilingualism is encouraged; (2) contexts characterised by regional differentiation, a situation Gramsci (1964) contended with in his writings on standard Italian and dialects; and (3) metropolitan contexts where dominant language education programs can easily conceal ethnocentric, racist, or class assumptions behind the veneer of dealing with the immigrants' 'language problem' (see London Edinburgh Weekend Return Group, 1980).

These contexts (the list is not exhaustive) are characterised by the presence of dominant and subordinate languages. Acquisition and knowledge of the former is a form of cultural capital (see Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977), which serves as an important source of social differentiation in terms of access not only to the status culture but also to a vast array of other material goods. Its widespread use reflects the cultural preferences of the dominant groups whose interests are reflected in public policies. Ultimately, a policy privileging a foreign language may render the educational experience undemocratic for those who have limited access to that language, to the extent that the policy minimises or nullifies people's chances of exercising their democratic citizenship rights.

Use of the subordinate language, on the other hand, may challenge the particular hierarchy encouraged by use of the dominant language, thereby leading to truly democratic social relations. And yet, while use of the subordinate language in certain domains may facilitate people's exercise of their citizenship rights, knowledge of the dominant language may allow them to exercise these rights even more fully, particularly in contexts where a "citizen" is conceived of "as a political agent and social actor" (Martin, 2001, p. 5).

As Gramsci stressed with respect to learning the national language in Italy, lack of knowledge of the dominant language might maintain learners from subordinate groups at the periphery of political life, where their citizenship rights would be restricted. There is, therefore, a complex relationship between dominant and subordinate languages that reflects the complexity of relations of hegemony within society. The issue of language and its association with cultural capital and citizenship will be taken up in this chapter's case study.

WORK

The domain of work allows us to identify other important functions of state-sponsored adult education. Apart from providing opportunities for 'employability' (this does not necessarily translate into employment—Gelpi, 2002), state-sponsored adult education concerning work may have a function not

unlike that frequently attributed to formal schooling—a social or economic reproductive function. Some state-sponsored programmes reproduce capitalist relations of production. In fact, they may do so more effectively than formal schooling in that state institutions often enter into partnerships with industry to ensure that the kind of education provided is one that renders workers adaptable to the latter's requirements (Baldacchino, 1997).

Adult education has, however, another tradition to observe in the sphere of work, that of providing workers with the means of critically understanding different facets of the mode of production. Such workers' education programmes are intended to facilitate worker empowerment, to render workers active beings, rather than objects of the production process and society in general. The politics of this approach to adult education suggests choices of content and pedagogy that contrast with conventional schooling. The content aims to enable workers to negotiate conditions of work with employers and to connect the workplace with society (see Spencer, 1994). The pedagogical approach based on learner participation, dialogue and negotiated curricula is intended to promote democratic, horizontal social relations that challenge the asymmetrical, hierarchical relations associated with the capitalist mode of production.

Granted, a substantial part of workers' education occurs outside the framework of state agencies. Gramsci's work with the factory councils provides an historical case in point. In these educational venues, Gramsci advocated an approach characterised by praxis, that is, by the critical reflection on (gaining critical distance from) one's world of action (including the workplace) for social transformation. This approach also underscores the collective dimension of learning and work that contrasts with the 'ideology of individualism' ingrained in the capitalist approach (for Canadian examples of collective workers' education, see Livingstone, 2002). The themes of participation, democracy, individualism and praxis emerge in this chapter's case study.

CULTURAL REPRODUCTION

A final function attributed to state-sponsored adult education is that of reproducing cultural relations within society. Numerous studies have shown, for example, how state-sponsored adult education plays a role in the reproduction of patriarchy. State-sponsored adult education can be regarded for the most part as "men's studies" in that it privileges patriarchy in its content and organisational structures (Darmanin, 1997a, p. 429).[2] Highet (1991), for example, argues that these programmes reinforce traditional assumptions concerning gender roles by projecting women as "appendages of homes, husbands and children" (p. 154). Thompson (1983) agrees, concluding that "adult education has been slow to respond to the concerns

of its participants, and has continued to reinforce traditional assumptions which [militate] against women's progress towards equality" (p. 64). I have restricted myself here to a brief introductory discussion concerning gender relations since this facet of cultural reproduction will be accorded substantial consideration in the case study.

THE CENTRE FOR LABOUR STUDIES: 'IN AND AGAINST THE STATE'

The foregoing is indicative of the way state-sponsored adult education can support existing hegemonic arrangements concerning a variety of areas, including language, work and culture. And yet, it has been argued that hegemony is never complete; the arrangements involved are constantly open to negotiation and renegotiation. As Gramsci illustrated in his work with the Factory Councils, it may thus be possible to use the master's tools to transform the master's house. From this perspective, civil society becomes a site of struggle, an important terrain on which one can engage in a 'war of position' that entails operating 'in and against the state'.

Under what conditions can the process of operating 'in and against the state' prove successful? It would be pertinent to reproduce here, albeit succinctly, the case of a workers' education centre set up within a publicly funded institution, the University of Malta. The centre in question was known, at the time of the research for this case study, as the Workers' Participation Development Centre (WPDC). It has recently changed its name to the Centre for Labour Studies (henceforth CLS). The case study will focus, for the most part, on the then labour studies diploma programme, which was the main programme provided by the Centre at the time research for this case study was conducted. There was later a shift in focus, with the course leading no longer to the Diploma in Social Studies (Labour Studies) but to the Diploma in Social Studies (Industrial Relations). Other diploma courses were introduced in more recent years, including the Diploma in Social Studies (Gender and Development) and the Diploma in Social Studies (Occupational Health and Safety). More recently a degree programme in Work and Human Resources was introduced as an evening BA course. Analysis of the way the Centre evolved and its subsequent programmes do not fall within the scope of this Gramscian analysis and can well be the subject of a future study.

The data for this specific study derived from structured and semi-structured interviews, class observations, and document analyses that I conducted at what was then the WPDC in the early 1990s. The names of all informants are pseudonyms, and all translations from Maltese language interactions are mine.

THE CENTRE AT THE TIME OF THE STUDY

The Centre was set up as the Workers' Participation Development Centre by the University of Malta in 1981. The political climate was very favourable for such initiatives at that time, as the government headed by the Malta Labour Party, under Prime Minister Dom Mintoff, had introduced worker self-management practices at a number of workplaces, and worker-directors had been named in a number of para-statal firms (state financed companies) in Malta. There was also strong interest in opening the Centre from Malta's General Workers' Union and the Confederation of Malta Trade Unions. The late General Workers' Union General Secretary George Agius, a former student of Plater College, Oxford (a Christian-oriented workers' education residential college), was a member of the University of Malta's Council and had expressed great interest in establishing a workers' education centre to assist in the training of union officials (Mayo, 1997). Finally, a strong recommendation for opening such a centre was made by Gerard Kester of the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague (Kester, 1980). Kester had carried out a study of the Maltese self-management practices, especially those at the Malta Drydocks.

The Centre was set up (among other reasons) to provide workers' education for the establishment of a genuine industrial democracy. Fundamental to this project was the Centre's support for the "empowerment of the person for meaningful participation at work and in society" (WPDC, 1997, p. 7). More specifically, its aims included:

1. The organisation of educational activities which support the development of participation at the workplace and society at large.
2. The execution of research on labour relations and particularly on issues concerning participatory developments, locally and abroad.
3. The provision of consultancy and other services in connection with participatory issues.
4. The dissemination of information through the issuing of books, journals, articles and other publications as well as through other media of mass communication. (WPDC, 1994, p. 15)

In addition to these aims, the Centre was also meant to promote the establishment of worker cooperatives (Kester, 1980; WPDC, 1985, 1994, 1999).

PARTICIPANTS

The Centre has been committed to outreach activities involving participatory experiences in different sectors of Maltese society. Its summary of activities for 1982 (its second year of operation) indicates four three-month-long

applied social science courses for employees at the Malta Drydocks (WPDC, 1987). The bulk of its teaching activities, however, consisted of projects and courses held at the University of Malta's main campus. In these courses, the Centre immediately showed its commitment to an education for the working class by seeking to attract participants from the 'shop floor'. Fifty percent of participants in its first diploma course, for instance, came from the shop floor (Mayo, 1997). Although the percentage of these participants decreased considerably in subsequent courses, with more white-collar workers participating, there remained, for a number of years, a commitment to attracting shop floor workers to the Centre. Along with white-collar workers, women and people from the services sector have become more visible in the Centre's courses in the last 20 years.

By 1993, the majority of people who obtained the Diploma in Social Studies (Labour Studies) were government employees (24%), followed by employees in public and para-statal companies (23%), the now privatised Malta Drydocks (18%), and private enterprises (19%) (WPDC, 1994, p. 24). In the fourth diploma course in labour studies, the "intake included active trade unionists and worker representatives, along with managers, supervisors, teachers, officials from the Employment [and] Training Corporation, Local Council members and a Member of Parliament" (WPDC, 1997, p. 21).

LANGUAGE, CULTURAL CAPITAL AND CITIZENSHIP

Language associates strongly with social class in Malta. The colonial English language is the dominant medium throughout the Maltese educational system, and it plays its part in the reproduction of that class of Maltese society that has the cultural capital to make good use of it and, in so doing, to derive maximum benefit from the educational system itself (Zammit Mangion, 1988). Zammit Mangion (1988) rightly argues, with reference to the Maltese school system, that lack of knowledge of the dominant English language renders a person a second-class citizen and that "a child's ability in the English language often determines what stream he [*sic*] will be put in, what type of education he [*sic*] will be given and what levels of education he [*sic*] will reach" (p. 23). This is yet one other manifestation of the hegemonic status of English in this day and age (see Macedo et al., 2003 for broader discussions on the issue). It has often been suggested that excessive use of the English language in the educational system is one of the means whereby members of the Maltese working class, with whose culture English does not resonate, are programmed for failure (see, for example, Borg & Mayo, 2006).

The state promotes the English language as one of the main vehicles for participation in society and therefore for the exercise of citizenship rights. The University of Malta is an important state-funded institution

that encourages the use of English through its educational language policies, more so in recent years because of the presence of foreign, including EU Erasmus, exchange students. Lectures are, for the most part, delivered in English, and the same language is used in the writing of assignments, test papers and dissertations. Maltese, the language spoken in working-class homes, on the other hand, is assigned a subordinate status in this institution as elsewhere in the country, and those who speak only this language are thus constrained in making full use of their citizenship rights.

Unlike other educational institutions in Malta, the Centre, at least in its initial period, and at the time of the study, chose not to support existing social stratification in Malta through English language policies. Its courses were arguably the first at the university to allow the use of the Maltese language in instruction, writing and assessment (apart, of course, from those offered by the Department of Maltese[3]). Making greater use of Maltese may have been one of the means whereby the Centre sought to appeal to the working class. In an interview, the then Centre's director described the educational experience of one man for whom this language policy did in fact prove attractive:

> One of our learners was a port worker. This individual is highly intelligent. He is not young and is over 50 years of age. He followed the diploma course. One can say that he can read and write in Maltese. However he cannot do so in English. If one were to discover that somebody who cannot read and write in English came to university and obtained one of its diplomas, one would be amazed. We encouraged learners to write in Maltese.

WORK

The choice of a language that is accessible to the working class is one of the means by which the Centre seeks to promote the specific interests of a particular social group. Additionally, the Centre has for years offered a diploma programme with an agenda traditionally associated with the working class: the labour studies diploma program. This program offered its second group of students courses such as "Labour and Trade Union History", "Workers' Participation and Self-Management" and "Industrial Relations" (WPDC, 1989, p. 6). One of the courses that concluded around the time of the research provided credits in the following areas: "International and Comparative Labour Organization", "Social [and] Organizational Accounting Techniques", "Leadership and Public Speaking", "Labour, Unemployment, and New Technology", "Cooperative Management Skills" and "Socio-Economic Development Policy" (WPDC, 1990, p. 7). The diploma course from which students graduated in 1993 included such units as "International Labour Organization" and "Sociology of Development" (WPDC,

1994, p. 8). Courses such as these are rarely offered in the University of Malta's mainstream programmes.

The pedagogical approach favoured by the Centre was participative, meaningful to the learners (in terms of not being culturally alienating), and engaging (in terms of accessing the learners' experience with a view to promoting critical reflection on society and the world of work). These pedagogical preferences must contend, however, with the constraints imposed by the university on all diploma programs. At the time of the research, the university required that all courses must contain a minimum of 25 credits and be constructed around units consisting of 14 instructional hours (this was before the more recent shift to ECTS). The participants' performance in each unit was to be evaluated by the course educator, and a grade was to be assigned. Use was made of university classrooms, few of which were designed in such a way that promoted a dialogical approach to teaching and learning.

Some interviewees described the Centre's pedagogical approach as participatory and democratic, in contrast to the hierarchical approach associated with mainstream courses at the university. For instance, a former student who held a key position in the General Workers' Union, the country's largest trade union, at the time of the interview, stated:

> I would argue that the course, which the Centre is holding, is different [from mainstream education]. I am talking through experience. Whoever did attend had work experience. So when we go there we share our own work experience. And we discovered, in the course I took, that several lecturers who came to deliver their lecture found it difficult at first to convey the message to us. Why? Because we would not accept, as a result of our life experience, what the person said as gospel truth. We questioned everything. And we could be that critical because several times, at the workplace and throughout life in general, that which is being "said" is not to be found in books. (Joe Grech)

Another interviewee, a former Malta Labour Party activist and dock worker, was in a position to make comparisons with mainstream courses at the university, as he had taken up full-time degree studies at the university after having completed the labour studies evening course at the Centre. This man commented:

> The [university mainstream] day-course students rely only on theory. They are not ready to see how this theory can be applied and how this theory affects their work process. On the other hand, when you talk about students who attended the course at the Centre, the first thing they did is see how the theory automatically applied to the workplace. They are not ready to accept the theory per se. In fact, this was the main difference that existed: While the evening students were prepared to

> challenge every theory, everything that was being taught, those following the day course considered that which was being said by the lecturer as sacrosanct and never challenged him. (James Vella)

Other interviewees disagreed with Joe Grech and James Vella, however, describing inconsistencies in the Centre's pedagogical approach. One educator in the program, for instance, admitted:

> Basically, much depends on the lecturer. Sometimes the pedagogy of certain lecturers, even those who believe in participation, runs counter to their own vision. I can say this about practically everyone, including myself. [This is] especially [true] when you bear in mind that you have a certain amount of material which you need to convey. (Silvio Muscat)

One of the labour studies course participants also commented on the dissonance between the Centre's pedagogical philosophy and the teaching approach of certain educators: "Certain tutors that we have are still traditional", Monica Borg commented. "[They think] the student is there [only] to listen". This pedagogical dissonance could partly be explained by the fact that, despite the Centre's intentions, it has to rely on educators from other faculties to staff its classes, and it is difficult to find teachers from these faculties who fully embrace the Centre's philosophy and pedagogical preferences.

Having discussed pedagogy at the Centre, I now focus on the nature of the work carried out by the diploma course participants themselves. A list of dissertations and projects completed by course participants is often provided in the Centre's annual reports. Biennial Reports at the time of the research, for instance, list no fewer than 29 dissertations, all of which were single authored (WPDC, 1994). The report covering the years 1997 and 1998 lists 19 dissertations for the Diploma in Social Studies (Industrial Relations), 14 dissertations for the Diploma in Social Studies (Gender and Development), and 13 long essays for the Diploma in Social Studies (Occupational Health and Safety). Once again, all of these works were single authored (WPDC, 1999).

What may be significant about these statistics is that there is no evidence of collective work in this important course component. One of the reasons brought forward to justify the lack of collaborative work is that there are logistical constraints to such work, owing to the part-time status of the course participants. According to one teacher in the programme, for instance, because course participants work during the day and study on a part-time basis in the evenings, they experience great difficulties in finding extra time to meet with colleagues to work on joint projects. As mentioned earlier in this paper, a collaborative approach to learning and work is widely deemed capable of subverting the 'ideology of individualism' that

characterises capitalist relations of production strengthened by the neoliberal ideology. The ideology of individualism, in the Centre's dissertation component, is thus at odds with the Centre's emphasis on cooperation and participation at work, which was reflected (among other things) in its commitment to promoting cooperatives.

CULTURAL REPRODUCTION

In examining themes of work at the Centre, a key question emerges: Who is being exposed to knowledge about cooperation and participation? In answering this question, one has to explore the degree to which the Centre's programs are inclusive. Gender and specifically the concerns of women came to the fore in discussions and interviews with participants.

The introduction of the Diploma in Social Studies (initially Women and Development and more recently Gender and Development) in 1995 was an attempt by the Centre to render its course provision more inclusive. It was intended to be "of special relevance to those who wish to increase their awareness and broaden their knowledge of the relevance and influence of gender and equality of opportunity" (WPDC, 1999, p. 13). The course included, at the time of the research, such core credits as "Introduction to Women's Studies", "Personality Development", "Women and History", "Women and Health", "Women and the Family", "Women and Law" and "Women and Public Decision Making" (WPDC, 1999, p. 13). Furthermore, the Centre, in collaboration with the Employment and Training Corporation and the Women Returners' Network (London), later launched a "Women Returners' Empowerment Programme". The aim of this programme was to organise short courses for women who would like to return to the labour market after an absence of a number of years spent mainly in unwaged labour in the domestic sphere (WPDC, 1999).

These initiatives notwithstanding, there has been criticism of the way the Centre handled gender relations in the labour studies diploma programme, which traditionally enrolled very few women. One course participant, for instance, indicated that women's issues were conspicuous by their absence in labour studies courses:

> Normally, issues concerning women were introduced only when something regarding men was mentioned, and then we would be told: "We must not forget that there are also women." So women would be mentioned only for the sake of being mentioned! But there wasn't a whole lecture where we would discuss the problems of women and related issues. Such discussions were very much at a minimum. (Esther Attard)

Topics concerning such pertinent issues as 'harassment at the workplace' or 'women on the night shift' did not find their way into courses in the labour studies diploma programme. All the female participants interviewed in this case study confirmed this point. The issues were raised only through individual initiatives by female students, often within the context of their dissertations. Furthermore, little material written by women appears to have been used by teachers. As one former labour studies course participant concluded, "I think that we rarely had any [course materials] written by women" (Anna Zammit).

So while a diploma course focusing first on women's issues and later on the broader gender issues was subsequently introduced, issues of particular relevance to women were conspicuous by their absence in the labour studies diploma programme, to which the Centre devoted the bulk of its resources for the best part of the first 20 years of its history.

LESSONS FROM THIS CASE STUDY

This case study shows that civil society institutions such as universities are not monolithic. Rather, they are sites of contestation in that they serve to cement the present hegemonic arrangements while containing pockets wherein these arrangements can be contested. This contestation, or what many people—not Gramsci, however—refer to as 'counter-hegemonic' action, constitutes a 'war of position' waged primarily by cultural workers/educators acting as organic intellectuals with an ethical commitment to the subordinate groups whose interests and cultures they seek to promote. This war of position is characterised by advances and retreats, victories and losses. It entails being both 'in' and 'against' the system, that is, embedded in and opposed to the state's hegemonic practices. This workers' education centre can easily have been perceived, at the time of the research, as one pocket for action in renegotiating relations of hegemony within an important institution of civil society in Malta, the country's only university. It provided the terrain on which working-class organic intellectuals and other cultural workers, with a commitment to this class and other traditionally subordinated groups, can operate.

The case study has underlined the successes, as well as the failures, in operating 'in and against the state'. I shall now reflect further on the successes and failures of the Centre in relation to language, work and cultural reproduction.

LANGUAGE, CULTURAL CAPITAL AND CITIZENSHIP

The use of the Maltese language in the labour studies diploma programme at the Centre warrants commentary. Recall that English carries cultural

capital in Malta, contributing to social stratification in the country. And yet subordinate-status Maltese has always been the 'national-popular' medium, and certainly the working-class medium. At the time, participants in the Centre's courses could therefore operate in the language they know best, a language that allows them to draw on a larger array of perceptions, ideas and emotions than would probably be the case if they were to speak in a language that does not resonate with their class culture. The use of the subordinate language allows the working-class participants to engage in participatory democratic educational experiences that may constitute the basis for democratic citizenship. In permitting participants to use Maltese, the Centre thus allowed its educators to go some way towards teaching against the grain, towards challenging existing relations of hegemony in education and society. Through their language policy choices and practices, these organic intellectuals may be subverting the terms upon which citizenship is defined by state institutions.

While the importance of using the subordinate language for a democratic class politics cannot be denied, knowledge of the dominant language in any society prevents people from remaining at the periphery of political life, as Gramsci argued in his discussions on dialects and the national language in Italy. The need to learn a dominant language of international currency becomes all the more important in a small, island state like Malta, which has an open economy dependent on international commerce. To make full use of one's citizenship rights, one would therefore need to develop skills in both dominant and subordinate languages. Thus, workers' education programs in Malta must seriously consider introducing optional courses in the English language, in order to provide working-class participants with the opportunity to make fuller use of their rights as citizens who can actively engage in a participatory democracy, that is, as "ordinary people [who] actively and collectively assert their citizenship as a social practice within the politics of civil society [the term 'civil society' is not used in the Gramscian sense here]" (Martin, 2001, p. 5).

WORK

The Centre privileges an ideology of work based on democratic social relations of production. It is an ideology characterised by the exercise of greater worker control at the workplace and in the production process. This partly explains the emphasis that emerges in the Centre's annual reports on worker cooperatives (WPDC, 1985, 1994, 1999). The Centre considered its "all-out support for the establishment and consolidation of worker cooperatives in Malta" as "perhaps the most concrete contribution" it has made "towards the development of workplace democracy" in Malta (WPDC, 1994, p. 33). This emphasis on workplace democracy is also reflected in attempts made by the Centre to encourage a more participatory and democratic approach

to learning. As indicated, however, the Centre must contend with the pedagogical constraints imposed by the University of Malta on all diploma courses.

I sought to examine the extent to which this particular ideology of work manifested itself in the labour studies diploma course. As we saw, several students emphasised their tendency to channel their participation toward testing all that was said against the evidence of their own day-to-day industrial experience. Testing ideas about work against one's own work experience constitutes education through praxis, an important feature of the democratic approach to work promoted by Gramsci and others. It can involve discernment in the adoption of ideas and bring about a shift in one's perspective. Participants noted that the Centre differed from the rest of the university in this respect. Thus, the hegemonic relations of education were being challenged, with those educators who promoted this approach to learning once again acting on lines one would expect of 'organic intellectuals' challenging relations of hegemony. While not all teachers adopted the dialogic, participatory approach to education that encouraged praxis, those who did so advanced the interests of working-class participants, in that their approach challenged the replication of dominant social relations both in education and society.

The other work issue that emerged from the case study concerns the Centre's conformity, in particular aspects of its work, to the 'ideology of individualism', so endemic to neoliberal politics. The Centre's conformity to this ideology emerged most clearly in the lack of collaborative research projects, which indicates that students were encouraged away from collaboration and toward individualism in their project work. Collaborative projects might have underscored the social dimension of adult learning and work and thus challenged the existing hegemony in education and the economy. The lack of collaborative projects, however, implies just the opposite: the ideology of individualism, that pervades the Centre in some aspects of its work, suggests that it can, at times, be supporting existing social relations in education and the economy. It was recommended that ways be found, in later years, to encourage collaborative work, and this might entail struggling, through the trade union lobby, with which the centre has close associations, for the granting of paid educational leave for participants to pursue education full time, thus eliminating the time constraints that militate against collaborative ventures.

CULTURAL REPRODUCTION

The Centre's labour studies diploma course failed to enrol significant numbers of women, although the situation changed in later years with more women participating in the diploma and degree programmes and more women forming part of the academic staff involved, including the

Centre's current director. And the Gender and Development diploma programme contributed significantly to enhancing women participation. Beyond the structural difficulties that women face in pursuing adult education in Malta (bearing primary responsibility for families and children), there could well have been other reasons for low female participation in this course at the time this research was carried out. As many feminist writers argue, patriarchy manifests itself in the kind of messages that organisations, including workers' education agencies, convey. In disseminating such messages, workers' education agencies have been condemned as male bastions, and the education they offer has been labelled "men's education."

This seemed to be the case at the Centre at the time of the research. Interviewees expressed the view, regarding the labour studies course, that there were few if any texts authored by women and that women's issues were hardly addressed. In this omission, the Centre failed to teach against the grain, ultimately supported existing relations of hegemony within Maltese society, and may have discouraged the participation of women in adult education.

The introduction of the Diploma in Social Studies (Gender and Development) requires further comment. This is a welcome development at the Centre and the university in general, the latter having just set up a Department of Gender Studies. It is, however, not enough to develop gender issues, incorporating women's issues only as a separate programme. It is important that a democratic gender politics, governed by the principle of gender equity, expand to characterise all programmes, courses (including outreach courses) and other work at the Centre. Insights from the Gender and Development diploma programme can be used to render other CLS courses and the university itself more genuinely inclusive.

CONCLUSION

Through its focus on the Maltese language and its participatory and democratic pedagogical approach, the Centre attempted, at the time this research was carried out, to challenge the dominant forms of educational practice at the University of Malta and, in turn, to contest the existing relations of hegemony in Maltese society. The case study has indicated, however, that any enthusiasm generated by the transformative potential of this labour studies centre must be tempered with a certain degree of realism. Despite its contestation of dominant forms of practice, of being 'against' hitherto legitimised social relations, the Centre is also 'in' the institution. It is part of the institution whose hegemonic practices it contests.

This situation of being 'in and against' the system or state can lead to strong contradictions, possibly bordering on co-optation. In this case study, we see contradictions in the Centre's support for the ideology of

individualism in particular aspects of its work and in the dominance of patriarchal ways of thinking in course content.

In my view, the later introduction of a degree programme in Work and Human Resources indicates a situation when one has to come to terms with working in an institution, or 'in and against it', on which Neoliberalism, as the dominant international policy discourse, exerts an influence. Developing HR is a major focus within the hegemonic neoliberal discourse on education, where the influence is placed squarely on 'employability'. I am one of those who resist the term 'Human Resources', believing, as I do, that ideology resides in language. I recognise, however, that there are other progressive nuanced ways of looking at the situation. One is that of viewing the area as a site of contestation, which ties in with the notion of 'war of position'. The 'Work' area that constitutes a key segment of this degree programme tends to suggest a more holistic approach to the study of this important area of human activity, broadening the profile of workers beyond that of being simply 'resources' in a neoliberal capitalist framework. One would assume that, as with all contested areas (education being one of them), this process of embracing and reconfiguring HR leads to a set of tensions and possible contradictions, part and parcel of working in institutions, which would be worth exploring in a future study of the project. It would be worth reminding that this chapter was meant to provide an example of how an actual adult education project can be viewed from a Gramscian lens. I feel that the work I carried out in the nineties suffices for this specific purpose.

Organic intellectuals operating in civil society's institutions, as conceived of by Gramsci, will often be caught up in the kind of contradictions just indicated. The more progressive and persevering among them will strive to reach out to one end, the broader, emancipatory end, while being buffeted by neoliberal-conditioned administrative and logistical forces towards the more conservative end. Accepting the tension that this brings about is the mark of persons living and acting critically in a 'war of position'. As an experienced educator at the Centre put it, when I mentioned this tension:

> Living with and within this tension triggers tactical, and perhaps strategic, manoeuvres and considerations by those persons living and acting critically in a 'war of position', cultivating and exploiting spaces where they have more discretionary power . . . classroom conversations? . . . recommended course readings? . . . [And all this] while resisting or minimising the effect of measures and decisions where their influence is more muted or in need of restraint. (Silvio Muscat)

Needless to say, the threat of co-optation is ever present. It is a threat that has to be faced, however, if one is to wage a 'war of position' on the very terrain upon which hegemony is both sustained and contested.

NOTES

1. I would like to thank Professor Thomas Clayton of the University of Kentucky for his suggestions to enhance and tighten the chapter. He provided me with constant feedback. Another word of thanks goes to Professor Godfrey Baldacchino, University of Malta and currently Canada Research Chair, University of Prince Edward Island, for his suggestions regarding earlier drafts of the piece. I want to thank the staff of the CLS, formerly WPDC, for their assistance in providing material, data, etc. Any remaining shortcomings are mine. An earlier version was published in Clayton (2006) and as a paper with the same title: Mayo, P. (2005a), "In and against the State. Gramsci, a War of Position and Adult Education", *Journal of Critical Education Policy Studies*, vol. 3, no. 2. Available at: www.jceps.com/index.php?pageID=article&articleID=49. Viewed 18 September 2014.
2. See also Darmanin (1997b); Miles (1989, 1998); Stromquist, (2004); Taking Liberties Collective (1989); and Thompson, (2000).
3. There is now an Institute of Maltese Studies.

6 Gramsci on Schooling

Adieu to a School That Was but Cannot Be Any Longer?[1]

Following a discussion on the broader conception of education found in Gramsci's body of writings, I now provide an exposition and analysis of Gramsci's conception of the school, or more specifically, the 'Unitarian School'. This is, after all, the longest and most coherent piece on education to be found in Gramsci's oeuvre. The writing in question consists of two long notes, one in *Quaderno* IV (Notebook IV), and the other, a revised version of the same note, in *Quaderno* XII (Notebook XII). It is a criticism of the reform introduced by Fascist Minister of Education, Giovanni Gentile, at the time.

Arguably this is the most controversial piece in Gramsci's writings on education and culture. It has excited the interest of scholars because of its apparent advocacy of a *prima facie* 'conservative' educational system. Harold Entwistle (1979), through extensive and intensive painstaking research yielding an insightful book-length study, argues that, in this piece, Gramsci posits a somewhat paradoxical theory of a conservative schooling for a radical brand of politics—this interpretation drew adverse criticism from a number of writers, namely Apple (1980), Giroux (1980, 1988, 1999, 2002), Holly (1980), Hoare (1980) and Buttigieg (2002b), though not Clayton (2010), who praised this work for its thoroughness and for doing justice to Gentile's writing on education and related subjects.

I shall start by highlighting some aspects of Gramsci's writings on the subject (Gramsci, 1971a, 1971b). I would argue that the concerns expressed by Gramsci, as a result of his ambivalent attitude towards Taylorised production, critical of its dehumanising aspects but somewhat fascinated by the effectiveness of the psycho-physical habits it instills, are very relevant for an age, governed by Neoliberalism, in which, in the words of Gramsci scholar, Joseph A. Buttigieg, "The needs and aspirations of society are nowadays defined in purely economistic terms; education has been reduced to training and the acquisition of marketable skills".[2] And one can take "nowadays" to refer to the neoliberal age. It is very much against this reduction of education for the subaltern classes that Gramsci writes in these two notes, providing insights for a genuinely social justice education in a contemporary

scenario where the main concern throughout is the provision of a mass 'human resource' base serving the needs of capital.

THE UNITARIAN SCHOOL

Gramsci's writings on the school reflect his concerns about genuine democratic access to formal education, primarily including access to and meaningful participation of children from the two broad subaltern classes in Italian life, the industrial working class, primarily but not only in the north, and the peasant class, primarily but not only in the south and islands. Gramsci was concerned about the means whereby working-class children can gain access to the 'cultural baggage', which, he felt, they needed in order not to remain at the periphery of political life. The notes on schooling were written partly in reaction to the *Riforma Gentile* (Gentile Reform) of 1923, the educational measures introduced by the Fascist Education Minister and idealist philosopher, Giovanni Gentile, and which were intended to reform the old *Legge Casati* (Gramsci, 1971a, p. 36). The *Legge Casati* antedated the Italian nation state since it was established in 1859 "as an act of the Kingdom of Sardinia" (Todeschini, 1999, p. 190). The Gentile reforms consisted in the stratification of schools in the following manner: gymnasium (five years), technical school (three years), magisterial schools (preparing elementary school teachers—seven years' duration in all) and the professional school (vocational schools). Not all of these schools could lead to enrolment in a university course, and the professional school did not lead to enrolment at any other school.[3]

Gramsci felt that these reforms would lead to "juridically fixed and crystallized estates rather than moving towards the transcendence of class divisions" (Gramsci, 1971a, p. 41). In short, these reforms would confirm people of a certain class in their social class location, thus assisting in the process of social and cultural reproduction of the class hierarchy in Italian society. The vocational schools were felt, by Gramsci, to be limited in scope (distinctly utilitarian), likely to commit violence on the working class by mortgaging the children's future *("ipotecare il futuro del fanciullo")* at such an early age, rendering them "incubators" of "small monsters" programmed for a specific occupation (Gramsci, in Manacorda, 1970, p. 32). They were therefore likely to deny working-class children and youth access to the kind of knowledge and baggage which would enable them to move in from the margins of political life. This early vocational track could well have been seen as providing the initial steps towards the creation of the Fordist 'trained gorilla' *(gorilla ammaestrato)* (Gramsci 1971a, p. 139). This would be in keeping with Gramsci's ambivalent views on production, derived from the USA, which he expresses in Notebook XXII, the notes on "Americanism and Fordism". Similar concerns are expressed nowadays in the critical education discourse with regard to the 'new vocationalism', or

rather the 'excessive vocationalism', to the detriment of other concerns—social leadership, broad cultural development, critical literacy and critical imagination—concerns that would otherwise help in developing persons as social actors rather than mere passive consumers and producers, the latter typical of the neoliberal age.

In contrast to what Gramsci calls "Chinese complexities" *('le forme Cinesi'),* that is, the strict segmentation and streaming/tracking promoted by the Gentile Reforms, Gramsci advocates the creation of an accessible 'Unitarian School':

> The common school, or school of humanistic formation (taking the term 'humanism' in a broad sense rather than simply in the traditional one) or general culture, should aim to insert young men and women into social activity after bringing them to a certain level of maturity, or capacity for intellectual and practical creativity, and of autonomy of orientation and initiative. (Gramsci, 1971a, p. 29)

The 'Unitarian School' would consist of two phases. During the first phase, the emphasis would be on discipline, rigour, the acquisition of basic skills and exposure to what Gramsci regards as a 'disinterested' (for no immediate practical ends) humanistic education. In the second phase, the emphasis would be placed on creativity, discipline and preparation—not just for university but also for work "of an immediately practical character" (Gramsci, 1971a, p. 32). The school is to be a residential place "with dormitories, refectories, specialized libraries, rooms designed for seminar work, etc." (Gramsci, 1971a, p. 30). It is to make up for the working-class child's lack of an adequately stimulating home environment, with regard to the conventional school culture. This gives the middle-class child a decisive advantage in access to the educational resources. Gramsci's envisaged school suggests affinities with what the children from the School at Barbiana, directed by the livewire don Lorenzo Milani, would call a 'full-time school' *('Scuola a tempo pieno'),* intended to, among other things, bridge the 'cultural capital' class divide (Batini et al., 2014). Because it is intended to be an essentially humanist school, emphasis, in Gramsci's 'Unitarian School', would be placed on traditional academic subjects.

The education provided in the first phase would be rigorous. With regard to this, Gramsci underscores what he regards as having been the virtues of learning such a moribund subject as Latin. He argues that bringing a dead corpse to life—the metaphor he employs to describe the process involved in learning this subject—served the purpose of inculcating certain habits of diligence, precision, poise (even physical poise) and the ability to concentrate on specific subjects (Gramsci, 1971a, p. 37). He also states that, in the process of learning the subject, "logical, artistic, psychological experience was gained unawares, without continual self-consciousness" (Gramsci, 1971a, p. 39). This indicates that Gramsci considered it imperative, regarding

working-class children, to "accustom them to research; to disciplined, systematic reading; to setting out their convictions in a clear and objective manner" (Gramsci in Bellamy, 1994, p. 52).

Paradoxically, for someone who loathed the kind of vocationalism introduced by the Gentile reforms, Gramsci seems to be advocating what some authors in Italy have often referred to as the 'Taylorisation of schooling'. Gramsci's fascination with Taylorisation and its ability to generate socially the psycho-physical-sexual habits necessary for production is well known, and this is why I wrote of an ambivalent attitude towards Fordism on Gramsci's part. It is common knowledge that the general psycho-physical habits that rendered the worker in Fordist production a 'trained gorilla' were satirised by Charles Chaplin in *Modern Times* and by playwrights such as Bertolt Brecht and Dario Fo. This kind of dehumanising robotic appearance is to be found nowadays not only in the remaining (if any, depending on context) factories but in various sectors of the service industry: in pizza parlours, burger joints, market cash counters, etc. They become more pronounced as quotas of production are established in precarious, often contract- based, work in these times, which, if anything, renders the process of intensification of these dehumanising robotic actions most pronounced: 'Produce at fast rate (time on task) or be damned!' And yet Gramsci's fascination leads him to consider the psycho-physical habits that serve different and human ends, especially educational ends. These ends belong to the world of personal and social intellectual development. As Gramsci argues, it takes a person several hours on end, hours of sheer application, developing the physical psychological habits, including the habit of abstaining from instant gratification, to acquire the skills and attitude for rigorous scholarly and strategic political work.

The inculcation of these qualities was, alas, according to Gramsci, not a feature of what he saw as the watered-down education propagated by the Gentile Reform that therefore favoured middle-class children. One can argue that this can also be an indictment of the mass public education developed today according to the 'learn to earn' neoliberal mantra. In a socially differentiated schooling system, middle-class children are still capable of acquiring these qualities from their home environment (some call them 'invisible pedagogies') or exclusive elite schools. This enables them to enjoy a monopoly over the acquisition of these qualities, considered essential by Gramsci for a class aspiring to a position of power as *'classe dirigente'* (ruling class).

The emphasis on 'logic' also reflects a conviction of Gramsci's, namely that the ability to think logically and coherently is not something innate in human beings; it is a skill which has to be mastered, anticipating Edward De Bono's dictum, in recent years, that even thinking is a skill that needs to be learnt. This once again becomes a relevant insight in this period often denounced for its mass 'fast' and 'dumbing down' culture, characterised by Orwellian media 'double-speak' and euphemistic language, and a general anti-intellectualism. Once again, Gramsci criticises the Gentile Reform for

failing to take the need to learn logical thinking into account in his time, a time marked by the spread of populist and nationalistic Fascist propaganda, the kind of propaganda which, once again, don Milani (1988, p. 65) saw as one of the most pernicious elements of his own schooling: "I jumped with joy for the Empire". The implication is that, as a result, working-class children are denied access to qualities and skills, and what much later Paulo Freire would call 'critical literacy', which Gramsci must have considered fundamental for them to be able to convert 'common sense' to 'good sense'. The former is characterised by a mixed contradictory consciousness which *connects with people's quotidian experience* but which is incoherent. One can elaborate on this by stating that it connects, as Stuart Hall put it in relation to Thatcherism in Britain, with people's fears, anxieties, sense of (lost?) identities, collective fantasies, imagined community and the social imaginary (Hall, 1987a).[4]

'Good sense' is, as we have seen, the term used by Gramsci to refer to a more coherent type of consciousness which is divested of its 'false consciousness' elements while retaining and solidifying its potentially revolutionary and socially transformative ones.

Gramsci also regards as detrimental to working-class interests a curriculum that encourages dialogue and participation without the necessary degree of instruction to go with it—in short, a dialogical, participative education devoid of substance (Gramsci, 1971a, p. 36). He argues that whereas, in the traditional school, the pupils acquired "a certain 'baggage' or 'equipment' (according to taste) of concrete facts, now the modern teacher fills the children's head with formulae and words which usually mean nothing to him [*sic*] and which are forgotten at once" (ibid.).

It is fair to assume that Gramsci argued for a pedagogical process characterised by dialogue intertwined with a certain degree of instruction. For Gramsci, if "the nexus between education and instruction is dissolved", the whole would merely constitute an exercise in rhetoric (Gramsci, 1971a, p. 36). In a letter to G. Lombardo Radice, a follower of Giovanni Gentile, Gramsci explains, with respect to the pedagogical strategies adopted by the *Club di Vita Morale,* that:

> The student reads, takes notes and then presents the results of his [*sic*] researches and reflection at a meeting. Then someone—a member of the audience, if someone has prepared, or myself—intervenes to make objections, suggest alternative solutions and perhaps explore the broader implications of a given idea or argument. In this way, a discussion opens up, which ideally continues until all those present have been enabled to understand and absorb the most important results of this collective work. (Gramsci in Bellamy, 1994, p. 52)

With respect to the issue of instruction and facts, Gramsci stresses that there cannot be a passive learner, a "mechanical receiver of abstract notions"

(ibid., p. 34). Information and knowledge are, according to Gramsci, refashioned by children in their consciousness, which, he argues, reflects the social and cultural relations to which they are exposed (ibid., p. 35). All this indicates that Gramsci believed that the transmission of knowledge from educator to educatee is not a mechanistic process but a highly complex one that involves a strong element of mediation and individual appropriation. In Gramsci's view, therefore, people can critically appropriate aspects of the established knowledge (including the 'canon') for their own specific ends.

CRITICAL REACTION

There is no denying the fact that, in these notes, Gramsci attaches great importance to a broad humanistic education. This somehow reflects his experience with respect to the issue of education as a form of empowerment, admittedly a much abused word these days. Gramsci must have been very reluctant to renounce that very same education which had enabled him to transcend his impoverished environment to emerge as a leading intellectual on the Italian left. Lest we forget, Gramsci came from a *meridionale* (southern) background (probably facing all the prejudice and patronising attitudes this generates in the industrialised North, common prejudices he exposes in his notes on Italian history and the incomplete tract on the Southern Question). He also had to endure a variety of hardships. There were the great physical hardships: we have seen that he suffered from what would nowadays be diagnosed as Pott's disease and blamed his parents for giving in to popular superstitions regarding disability, fabricating explanations as to its cause, and not taking the necessary medical measures at the right time.[5] And, of course, we have also seen that the hardships were also social, with his father having been arrested on charges of petty embezzlement (see Germino, 1990; Lepre, 1998), a situation which led him to prematurely enter the world of hard physical labour which must have exacted its toll from his already precarious health condition.

The specific kind of education he acquired, moving through the various *licei* and eventually his interrupted (because of health and financial reasons) studies for a *laurea in lettere,* with a focus *(indirizzo)* on philology, must therefore have meant a lot to him.

These personal, psychological factors should, I feel, be borne in mind when considering his pedagogical views. Why deny working-class members the same cultural capital that enabled him to obtain "by blood, sweat and tears" what came naturally to the sons of the Italian ruling class, whom the Barbiana students would refer to as *"i figli di papa"* (daddy's children)? The *"figli di papa"* are those who, through a class-conditioned process of social and cultural reproduction, occupy dominant positions in the Italian power structure (School of Barbiana, 1996, p. 10).

It is, however, precisely this that highlights what, *prima facie,* appears to be a paradox in Gramsci. Few would need reminding that Gramsci is one of the foremost exponents of the theory of hegemony, which, as expounded on in the first chapter, is based on a recognition of the manner in which dominant forms of thought and practice condition people's consciousness, contributing to the fashioning of their subjectivities. And yet, despite this obvious recognition, Gramsci seems to be, in this particular piece, evoking the virtues of a classical humanistic education, predicated on Eurocentric knowledge, what later would be termed the 'selective tradition' or the 'great books' (see Buttigieg, 2002a, 2002b; Giroux, 2002)—in short, the kind of class-biased curriculum which favours one particular kind of 'cultural capital' at the expense of another. Morrow and Torres (1995) provocatively pose the question: Are there two Gramscis?

They are hinting at a paradox here. Entwistle underlined the paradox in the title of his very controversial study concerning Gramsci's views on schooling: "*Conservative* Schooling for *Radical* Politics". The questions that come to my mind are: How does this tally with Gramsci's widely acknowledged insight into the workings of power and his explanation of how hegemony is developed? Was he singularly unobservant, failing to spot an important contradiction in his work? Or was he, like the seventeenth-century English poet, John Donne, exploring possibilities that can emerge from apparent paradoxes (Borg & Mayo, 2002; 2006)?

Gramsci was partly concerned with the way a particular class develops its own intellectuals. The piece on education strikes me as, again partly, constituting an attempt to explore what the "old school" (Gramsci's own term, not mine) offered the ruling class *(classe dirigente)* to produce its own intellectuals. Are there elements of this school which can prove beneficial for a class or group aspiring to power? Does a new group coming into power require a complete overhaul of the educational system? Should the dominant established culture be ignored—a complete break with bourgeois culture, as some would have it? This kind of thinking had been affirmed in Russia following the Bolshevik Revolution and it was strongly opposed by both Lenin and Trotsky (Morgan, 1987, pp. 47, 48). Lenin stated unequivocally:

> Proletarian culture is not something that has sprung from nowhere, it is not an invention of those who call themselves experts in Proletarian culture. That is all nonsense. Proletarian culture must be the result of the natural development of the stores of knowledge which mankind [*sic*] has accumulated under the yoke of capitalist society, landlord society and bureaucratic society. (Lenin, in Entwistle, 1979, p. 44; Lenin, in Broccoli, 1972, p. 66)

One of the recurring aspects of the radical literature in education is its focus on popular culture as an important terrain wherein hegemony occurs. One might argue that this is as it should be, given the role popular culture

plays in enabling one to come into subjectivity. But, as Dennis Haughey (1998) points out with respect to adult education (and we feel this applies to critical approaches to education in general): "Largely lacking . . . is the ability to function fluently in the language of the dominant culture so as not to be relegated to the periphery of political life" (p. 211). Haughey made this point with reference to what educators—adult educators, in his specific case—can learn from Gramsci. As critical educators, we ignore the dominant culture and intellectual traditions at our peril. Critical appropriation of dominant knowledge and cultural forms must have been considered by Gramsci and other writers (see Batini et al., 2014, on Lorenzo Milani), as important means for members of subaltern groups to enter the corridors of power and begin to negotiate the transformation of the existing hegemonic arrangements. No established institution is monolithic, according to the Gramscian conception of power. The textuality that institutions furnish us with can be read against the grain, an insight which Gramsci himself provides (anticipating later post-structural theories). We have seen how he indicates, in the notes under consideration, that there is never a passive receiver of knowledge or facts. Texts are open to multiple readings and are 'rewritten' or reconstituted in the recipients' minds, according to the specific social and cultural relations to which they are individually and/or collectively exposed (see, once again, Gramsci, 1971a, p. 35).

Furthermore, I would submit that there is nothing really conservative about Gramsci's advocacy of aspects of a humanistic education for working-class children. There is, after all, a long tradition within the international working-class movement of negotiations and struggles, some of which were highly successful, intended to secure for workers access to a humanistic education. Much later in his own country, for instance, the trade unions secured educational leave (known as the 150 hours) precisely to provide workers with a humanistic and scientific education which, they felt, would be empowering, unlike vocational education which, they believed, primarily served capitalist interests (cf. Yarnit, 1980). The same applies to the United Kingdom where the Workers' Educational Association and the trade union movement in general have been instrumental in securing a humanities education for workers via extramurals provided by the universities or through a variety of programmes, including those provided by such residential institutions as Ruskin College, Oxford (Andrews et al., 1999). In the 1990s, we witnessed criticism of the US government on the grounds that a humanities education, or an education in the liberal arts, has "always occupied a subordinate position vis-à-vis the dominant languages" (Giroux, 1990, p. 10)—the dominant languages, in this case, being those that promote "the instrumentalist" view of education (ibid.). To a large extent, this criticism still holds today with an emphasis on 'what works', a point Giroux has been making time and time again.

Gramsci's advocacy of aspects of a humanistic education is therefore well in keeping with a socialist vision which has often found, in this type of

education, elements for a logical alternative to an 'instrumentalist' education, the kind of education that becomes more and more pronounced in this neoliberal age, not only in schools but also in universities in a stratified and racialised system with its elite research-oriented universities, with all the necessary accoutrements, alongside underfunded and under-resourced 'teaching universities'. The latter would have a large percentage of adjunct as opposed to fully tenured faculty and can easily resort to the corporate sector and adopts its agenda to ensure its financial security (Giroux & Searls Giroux, 2004; Mayo, 2009).

The 'instrumentalist' type of education is the handmaiden of capital (it would normally be inspired by Human Capital Theory or a euphemistic version of it). Gramsci tends to suggest that it is the 'instrumentalist' type of education that the Gentile Reform was to make available to working-class children through the separation between 'classical' and 'vocational' schools. Gramsci's critique of this education and the kind of 'streaming' (tracking) which he sees it as bringing about is also well within the radical tradition of repudiating any kind of differentiation in the quality of schooling claimed to be made on the basis of 'meritocracy'. In effect, the whole process is one of social selection on the basis of social class differentiation (see Curtis et al., 1992), the reproduced 'selected' class nowadays making its presence felt through its privileged choice of market. That Gramsci was capable of making such a critique in the thirties, rather than the sixties, shows remarkable prescience.

Harold Entwistle (1979) argues that the emphasis that Gramsci places on the acquisition of a baggage of facts suggests that Gramsci "held a view of learning which is not inconsistent with the notion, now used pejoratively, of education as banking" (p. 47). This would, once again, appear to be quite paradoxical, coming from a man (Gramsci) who, as we have seen, denounced the 'popular universities' precisely because their directors and educators filled the stomach with bagfuls of victuals which could have also caused indigestion but did not leave any trace and did not touch the learners' lives in a way that could have made a difference (Gramsci, 1972, p. 83). He felt that the 'popular universities' emulated the old Jesuitical schools where, in his view, understanding was fixed and not regarded as the culmination of a long process of inquiry (Gramsci, 1972, pp. 84, 85). In short, knowledge was conceived as 'static' and not 'dynamic'.

To say, as Entwistle does, that Gramsci favoured 'banking education' can be somewhat misleading. A close reading of Gramsci's text, one which devotes great attention to his choice of words, would indicate that what he was averse to is the encouragement of uninformed dialogue. For Gramsci, a process of uninformed dialogue is mere rhetoric. It is mere laissez faire pedagogy which, in this day and age, can easily be promoted under the rubric of 'learning facilitation' (*sic*). This is the sort of pedagogical treachery which provoked a critical response from Paulo Freire. In an exchange with Donaldo P. Macedo, Freire states categorically that he refutes the term

'facilitator',[6] which connotes this pedagogy, underlining the fact that he has always insisted on the *directive* nature of education (see, for instance, Freire, in Shor & Freire, 1987, p. 103; Freire & Macedo, 1995, p. 394). He insists on the term 'teacher', one who derives one's authority from one's competence in the matter being taught (see, for instance, Freire, in Freire & Macedo, 1995, p. 378). As I argued elsewhere, laissez faire pedagogy "often results in members of an 'in group' gaining the upper hand, abusing the pseudo-dialogical process and silencing others" (Mayo, in McLaren & Mayo, 1999, p. 402).

One may therefore justify Gramsci's reservations concerning this practice on the grounds that it favours middle-class children who can monopolise the learning activity, silencing other pupils from subordinated groups, by virtue of their possession of the relevant cultural capital. What Gramsci seems to be advocating is a process of education which equips children with the necessary acumen to be able to participate in an informed dialogue. This is why Gramsci writes in terms of a "nexus between instruction and education" (Gramsci, 1971a, p. 36). This immediately brings to mind Freire's statement that there are moments when one must be 50% a traditional teacher and 50% a democratic teacher (Freire, in Horton & Freire, 1990, p. 160).

The emphasis here is on 'authority and freedom', the distinction posed by Freire (see, for instance, Freire, 1998b) but which echoes Gramsci's constant reference to the interplay between *spontaneità e direzione consapevole*—"spontaneity" and "conscious direction" (see, for instance, Gramsci, 1977a, pp. 70–74). In his notes on the Unitarian School, Gramsci calls for a balance to be struck between the kind of authority promoted by the old classical school (without the excess of degenerating into authoritarian education) and the 'freedom' advocated by his contemporary proponents of ideas associated with Rousseau's philosophy as developed in *Emile*. The latter type of education, for Gramsci, had to develop from its 'romantic phase' (predicated on unbridled freedom for the learner, based on her or his spontaneity) and move into the 'classical' phase, classical in the sense of striking a balance (Gramsci, 1971a, pp. 32, 33). This is the balance between freedom and authority (see Gadotti, 1996, p. 53).

That Gramsci despised what Freire would later call 'banking education' can be seen from the language used in the following quote:

> In reality a *mediocre* teacher may manage to see to it that his [*sic*] pupils become more *informed*, although he [*sic*] *will not succeed in making them better educated*; he [*sic*] can devote a scrupulous and bureaucratic conscientiousness to the mechanical part of teaching (Gramsci, 1971a, p. 36; my emphasis in italics)

Although, for Gramsci, it is better to provide children with information than encourage them to engage in dialogue in a vacuum, he nevertheless regards the teacher who engages in this process, one of instruction, as

"mediocre" and one who does not help the children become "better educated", a point made in the earlier discussion on adult educators but which is worth reiterating for the purpose of this argument. And Gramsci seems to have had little time for the mediocre in his life, especially mediocre teachers. He holds some of those who taught him at the *liceo* responsible, through their mediocre teaching, for his moving away, when allowed the choice, from the 'exact sciences' and Mathematics, for which he had a predilection as a boy, towards Greek (Borg et al., 2002b, p. 4).

The association between straightforward instruction and mediocrity reflects Gramsci's views concerning 'banking education'. After all, this is a writer who, elsewhere in his writings of the same period, advocated a reciprocal dialogical relationship between intellectuals and masses. It should be a relationship in which "every teacher is always a pupil and every pupil a teacher" (Gramsci, 1971a, pp. 349, 350). He repudiates the Leninist notion of a 'top-down' 'vanguard' transmission style and emphasises the reciprocal basis of consent.

The issue concerning the merits of Greek and Latin also warrants consideration. Here is another paradox and a point of contrast with a position associated with Lorenzo Milani's pupils from the school of Barbiana. The Barbiana students preferred the learning of a contemporary history (say post-First World War) to the learning of a history concerning earlier periods (School of Barbiana, 1996, p. 26) in that they found in this history a much greater connection with life (ibid., p. 27). And here we have Gramsci apparently advocating the study of two dead languages for the rigour involved in bringing a corpse to life. But is he explicitly advocating the study of Greek and Latin? Alternatively, as part of an inquiry into how the bourgeoisie creates its own intellectuals, is he exploring the benefits this knowledge offered those who studied the two languages? In highlighting what he considers to have been the merits of the two subjects, Gramsci is merely making the point that there is need for an area or areas in the curriculum which would instill in the pupils a sense of rigour, the sort of rigour which will stand working-class children in good stead when in control of their own environment. This should not, of course, be taken to mean that Gramsci literally advocates the inclusion of Latin and Greek in a curriculum intended to be beneficial to the working class. On the contrary, he clearly states:

> It will be necessary to *replace* Latin and Greek as the fulcrum of the formative school, and *they will be replaced*. But it will not be easy to deploy the new subject or subjects in a didactic form which gives equivalent results in terms of education and general personality-formation, from early childhood to the threshold of the adult choice of career. (Ibid., pp. 39, 40; my emphasis in italics)

In an extension to the earlier quote, concerning the need for the pupil to acquire a "baggage" or "equipment of concrete facts" (Gramsci, 1971a, p. 36),

Gramsci states that "it was *right to struggle against the old school* but reforming it was not so easy as it seemed" (ibid.; my emphasis in italics). Once again, as the Marxist figure accredited with having elaborated the theory of hegemony, Gramsci must perforce have been fully aware of the implications of certain practices and 'normalising discourses', to adopt contemporary language from the social sciences, associated with the 'old school'. This explains his being in favour of a struggle against it (Manacorda, in Gramsci, 1972, p. xxix).

What he seems to be doing, in this piece, is highlighting the qualities which the 'old school' managed to instill and which, he felt, one should not overlook when restructuring the schooling system, if this restructuring is to be carried out with the interests of subaltern groups in mind. Critically appropriating elements of the old in order to create that which is new constitutes a recurring theme in Gramsci's writings, as a number of writers pointed out (e.g., Giroux, 1980, 1988; Hoare, 1980; Mayo, 1999). Gramsci, however, makes it clear that the old humanistic school has to be replaced since it no longer serves present realities.

The problem for Gramsci was that the process of reform introduced by Gentile and, as interpreted by Gramsci, was not any better. It struck Gramsci as being more retrograde when measured against the ideal of a fusion between the academic and the technical. The old school had much more merit, Gramsci seems to be saying, with the rider that there are aspects of this institution which can be critically appropriated and, if they are to be replaced, need to be substituted adequately. As Mario Alighero Manacorda argues, with respect to the note on the Unitarian School, what Gramsci has provided is an 'epitaph' which celebrates what the humanistic school was and what it cannot be any longer, since the social reality has changed (Manacorda, in Gramsci, 1972, p. xxix).[7]

My focus on these details will hopefully provide some basis for a careful reading of Gramsci's educational writings. I would argue, however, that, in any attempt to draw sustenance from a writer, for the purpose of a democratising project in education, one should be wary of not engaging in a scriptural reading of the texts in question, a point Coben underscores (1998, p. 201). This becomes even more important when bearing in mind what Gramsci tried to do in this note: extoll the virtues of the old school to show that the Gentile reforms represent, in contrast, a retrograde step and not an improvement regarding the fostering of social justice.

One important point worth registering with regard to this specific discussion concerning knowledge is the question of 'powerful knowledge' raised by Michael Young[8] (2013), ironically that same Michael Young of the 'new sociology of education' group (Young, 1971) critiqued by Entwistle. I will come back to this in the penultimate chapter in which I discuss Gramsci's impact on critical pedagogy. In short, there seems to be a call by Gramsci and others for educators to teach thoroughly and correctly that knowledge which can provide access to power and therefore help foster among

learners the consciousness, skills, depth, breath and attitudes required to operate effectively in the system with a view to collectively transforming it. For this reason, I would add, 'powerful knowledge' should not be transmitted simply in a 'technical-rational' manner but should be taught in a way that also makes the learners aware of its ideological basis and biases. For example, taking the issue of language, so dear to Gramsci's heart, learners should learn a dominant language thoroughly. They should, however, do so in a manner that enables them to recognise the role it played and often still plays in engendering colonial and neo-colonial relations and creating social differentiation, owing to the fact that knowledge of the language is a form of materially rewarding cultural capital.

One important concern, echoed among contemporaries, is that of the tendency, in this age of differentiated learning through the market, towards hybridisation of curricula in non-elite education. This often results in a watered-down version of the kind of knowledge which for years has been the preserve of the ruling classes. They obtain this knowledge and pass it on to their offspring not only through the exclusiveness of elite schools, but also through their cultural milieu, which is very much in tune with the demands of this type of intellectual formation. Working-class children and members of other subaltern groups, such as certain ethnic minorities, do not enjoy the privilege of acquiring this knowledge from sources outside the school, again through 'invisible pedagogies'.

In watering down curricula on the pretext that it renders them closer to life, one is probably shortchanging offspring of subaltern groups, denying them mastery of certain areas that have stood the test of time and proved crucial for economic and political success. Like Lorenzo Milani, who believed that the change should occur in the manner things are taught and schooling is organised, including factoring in longer hours to make up for the cultural capital divide (Milani 1988, p. 54; Milani 1991, p. 31), Gramsci also sought to bridge this divide by proposing a boarding school. This was to have an active component in later years, indicating Gramsci's belief in a participatory and collective kind of education (where education is interactive and older students help the younger ones in a form of peer tutoring, as was to be the case at Barbiana). The school, however, was to still place the emphasis on mastering what, for want of a better term, would be called 'powerful knowledge', to borrow from the work of Michael Young and Johann Muller (2010). This is, once more, core knowledge which, for all its ideological biases and specific cultural arbitrary (class, race and gender induced cultural choices), needs to be mastered for one not to remain on the margins (Mayo, 2014b, pp. 390, 391). It needs to be mastered for people to be empowered to challenge and renegotiate, with others, the relations of hegemony; a case of using the master's tools to help transform the master's house, if I can play around with the late Audre Lorde's famous phrase, turning it on its head.

There are other important issues concerning Gramsci's notion of a Unitarian School that, I feel, ought to be addressed. These issues came to the

fore, in educational debates, in the seventies, that is, 40 years or so following Gramsci's s death. One issue that arises is: What passes for 'humanistic' knowledge? Is it simply 'Western' knowledge? If so, is there recognition of non-Western contributions to this knowledge, something about which Gramsci wrote knowledgeably and which will be addressed in the chapter that follows? Should the standard 'humanistic' knowledge be deemed problematic? To what extent does it embody the dominant ideology? Does it necessitate the school children's acquisition of a particular 'cultural capital' so that those who have access to it possess an advantage over those who do not? Can this problem be overcome simply through the creation of a boarding 'Unitarian School'? As Borg and I asked (Borg & Mayo, 2002), can this Unitarian School co-exist with other private or church-run humanistic schools (a key educational issue in Gramsci's Italy and other Southern European states)?

Furthermore, there is nothing in Gramsci's piece to suggest that aspects of working-class life, or the life of any subordinated group for that matter (e.g., peasants), can be included in any of the two phases of the proposed 'Unitarian School'. If the proposed school was intended to be an important site for the conversion of 'common sense' to 'good sense', then I feel that the potentially emancipatory elements of this 'common sense' (which Gramsci equates with culture), together with elements of the culture of other subordinated social groups, should be part of the curricular debate. This should especially be the case if one regards the curriculum as a site of contestation over which cultures of society are being selected. Gramsci's call for the critical appropriation of dominant knowledge and cultures is one to which it would be worth responding. His non-romanticised view of popular culture would, however, suggest that even aspects of this culture should be an integral feature of the learning process. And I would submit that the choice here should not fall solely on the written word,[9] a limitation in Gramsci's cultural (including popular culture) writings (Forgacs & Nowell Smith, in Gramsci, 1985, p. 345; Mayo, 1999, p. 108). I would suggest that it also falls on aspects of the 'popular creative spirit' that Gramsci found fascinating. This would be in the interest of developing a radically democratic education with a 'national-popular' character. This point becomes ever so pertinent in this day and age when we are constantly witnessing the emergence of multi-ethnic and multi-racial societies, the subject of the next chapter in this book. This might not have been the case with Italy in Gramsci's time but it is certainly the case with his country today and, as this book shows, the rest of Southern Europe. Italy is a major recipient of immigrants from various parts of the globe, notably from Eastern Europe and different areas in Africa and elsewhere, comprising sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). That there is the need for a different and more inclusive school, in these circumstances, is a point which is constantly underlined in the various discussions taking place in Italy with respect to the need for a critical multicultural education

(see Richter Malabotta, 2002). And yet, ironically, it is to Gramsci that certain authors have resorted to obtain insights concerning the current debate on multiculturalism (Apitzsch, 2002), though, for the most part, not to the piece on the Unitarian School.

If one seeks to develop a genuinely multi-ethnic curriculum, then, as I will argue in the next chapter, one must think and act beyond the Eurocentric framework that shapes the ideas of many thinkers in the Marxist tradition, a product of eighteenth-century Cartesian thought, including Karl Marx. As David W. Livingstone has stated: "Marx as well as subsequent orthodox Marxists and most critical Western Marxist intellectuals have operated from a Eurocentric world view which has regarded European civilisation as the dynamic core of global life" (Livingstone, 1995, p. 64). Gramsci is inevitably not immune to this criticism, although as I intend to show, there are writings by him that can prove insightful for moving beyond exclusively Eurocentric thought. I will take this up, in some detail, in the next chapter.

All told, in his 'epitaph' on the old humanistic school and his indication as to what is worth salvaging from it and what needs to be replaced adequately, Gramsci presents us with a formidable challenge. We are prompted to address the issue of what really renders the school a genuinely 'Unitarian' institution, guided by the principles of social justice, equity and inclusion (in its broadest sense).

NOTES

1. This is a substantially revised version of sections written by the author for a joint piece, Borg, C. & Mayo, P. (2002), "Gramsci and the Unitiarian School. Paradoxes and Possibilities", in C. Borg, J.A. Buttigieg & P. Mayo (eds.), *Gramsci and Education,* Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield; reproduced as a chapter (Chapter 6) in Borg, C. & Mayo, P. (2006), *Learning and Social Differences. Challeges to Public Education and Critical Pedagogy,* Boulder, CO: Paradigm. Permission also derived from colleague and co-author, Carmel Borg, to reproduce the parts developed and included in this chapter.
2. Endorsement of Mayo (1999) book.
3. See www.pbmstoria.it/unita/scuola/lariformagentile.
4. According to the late Stuart Hall (1987a), writing soon after the 1987 British Elections, this is partly what rendered Thatcherism most successful as a hegemonic force, enabling the Conservatives to win a third consecutive term of office (to be followed by a fourth under John Major), speaking to a 'reality' which first made its presence felt in the UK around 1975 during the Callaghan government. See also Hall (1987b, 1988) and Gramscian scholar, Anne Showstack Sassoon (2009) on this.
5. See Aurelio Lepre's excellent biography (Lepre, 1998, pp. 4–5).
6. Freire actually stopped using the term since he had used it in his early writings such as the piece on "Learning to Read and Write in São Tomé and Principe".
7. Literal translation from Mario Alighero Manacorda's introduction to his anthology of writings on pedagogy by Gramsci (Gramsci, 1972).

8. I am indebted to my colleague and friend, Mary Darmanin, from the University of Malta, for having exposed me to this theme via the writings of Michael Young, with whom I eventually struck up a friendship.
9. Gramsci made a substantial contribution to the study of popular culture involving the written word, writing numerous pieces on popular literature (see, for example, Gramsci, 1977b, pp. 121–166).

7 Gramsci, the Southern Question and the Mediterranean[1]

INTRODUCTION

Gramsci's discussion of the Southern Question, which runs throughout his *Quaderni* and is therefore not confined to his interrupted essay, "Some Themes Regarding the Southern Question" (*"Alcuni Temi sulla Quistione Meridionale"*, henceforth "The Southern Question"),[2] is that which, probably more than anything else, attracted me to the Sardinian's work in the first place. These writings and notes helped shed light on the geopolitical context in which I was born and raised.[3] It is for this reason that I seek to extrapolate from Gramsci's writings, concerning the Southern Question, insights for a greater understanding of some current dynamics in politics and culture in the Mediterranean region in the context of globalisation and neoliberal policies. I conceive of this region as an expression of that larger construct referred to as the South.

STRUCTURE OF ARGUMENT

The chapter opens with some general considerations regarding different conceptions of the Mediterranean, linking the region with the broader South and highlighting issues of subalterneity connected with the latter. The Mediterranean is viewed in a manner that takes account of both its northern and southern shores. Efforts are made, drawing on Gramsci's own reflections and anecdotal accounts, to avoid romanticising the Mediterranean and the South in general and to capture some sense of the region's complexity. Importance is given, in this context, to the issue of dominant belief systems, with reference to Gramsci's own views on religion. The issue of religion leads to questions concerning the ethnicity and religious beliefs of people with different traditions co-existing in the area, especially Southern Europe—the focus of Gramsci's attention. The chapter foregrounds one of the major challenges for social solidarity facing people of this region in recent times, namely the challenge posed by massive migration from the South to the North in the context of the intensification of hegemonic globalisation and concomitant neoliberal policies.

The Gramscian theme of regional solidarity, for a revolutionary socialist politics based on knowledge and understanding, and the related themes of misplaced alliances and internal colonialism, are taken up. The chapter moves from Gramsci's discussion focusing on North-South solidarity (proletariat and peasantry) in the context of a nation state to a broader and transnational form of North-South solidarity, rooted in political economy and an understanding of colonialism, connected with the issues of migration and inter-ethnic solidarity. Educational strategies, based on Gramsci's insights and fit for this purpose, are identified.

DIFFERENT CONCEPTIONS OF THE MEDITERRANEAN

Like all regions of the world,[4] the Mediterranean can at best be regarded as a construct. This region is conceived of in different ways by different people according to their location in the North-South axis. There are those in Northern Europe, and possibly other parts of the western hemisphere, who conceive of the Mediterranean in a colonial, ethnocentric and Eurocentric manner. They historically seem to have regarded the southern part of the Mediterranean as the target of a 'civilising mission'. They also see the division between the North and South of the Mediterranean in immutable and therefore essentialist terms. They possibly even see this division as representing the battle line between Christianity and Islam. Pride of place is often given, within this conceptualisation, to those traditions that lie at the heart of 'Western civilisation', notably the Greco-Roman tradition, where, explicitly or implicitly, any indebtedness of this tradition to civilisations emerging from the southern Mediterranean is denied. One often finds this conception also among colonised subjects. For as Frantz Fanon wrote:

> The colonialist bourgeoisie, in its narcissistic dialogue, expounded by the members of its universities, had in fact deeply implanted in the minds of the colonized intellectual that the essential qualities remain eternal in spite of all the blunders men [*sic*] may make: the essential qualities of the West, of course. The native intellectual accepted the cogency of these ideas, and deep down in his brain you could always find a vigilant sentinel ready to defend the Greek-Latin pedestal. (Fanon, 1963, p. 46)

This process of cultural invasion leads one to think of the Mediterranean only in terms of those centres in the region which are directly associated with the Greek-Latin tradition. In this respect, the Rome-based Croat scholar, Predrag Matvejevic, writes, "We need to get rid of this European habit of speaking about the Mediterranean and think only of its northern shore: the Mediterranean has another shore, that of Africa and the Maghreb" (Matvejevic, 1997, p. 119).[5]

AVOIDING ROMANTICISING THE SOUTH

Others construct the Mediterranean differently, projecting it as a region having all the characteristics of what can be broadly called the 'South'. Here is a vision of the Mediterranean that connects with a larger and more expansive notion of the South. Needless to say, the South has its contradictions and should therefore not be romanticised. After all, Gramsci, himself a southerner, who reacted strongly to any attempt to caricature the South, criticised even socialists such as Ferri, Nocifero, Sergi and Orano (Gramsci, 1975, p. 47; Gramsci, 1997, p. 183) for their positivist and pathological affirmation of what they perceived as the southerners' 'biological inferiority', never romanticised the region from which he hailed. He regarded most of the unsavoury aspects of life in the South as 'folklore' and did not shy away from underlining the most shocking aspects of his native Sardinia. These included the different forms of superstition from which he, 'Antonu [Ninu] su gobbu', (Nairn, 1982) suffered as a disabled person who, as stated earlier, held his parents responsible for not seeking professional help for what would nowadays be diagnosed as Pott's disease and for giving in to the popular myth that anyone born with a disability has a terrible birthmark which has to be hidden from public sight. This explains his mother's fabrication that he damaged his spine when falling from a helper's arms (Lepre, 1998, p. 4).

I reiterated this point to expose some of the myths prevalent in certain parts of the region. His most shocking depiction of the horrors of Southern life is provided in that much-cited letter to Tania of 30 January 1933, where he discloses that he once witnessed a disabled young man confined to a hovel fit for animals. The 10-year-old Ninu was taken there by the young man's mother, from whom he was to receive payment on his (Gramsci's) mother's behalf:

> She told me to accompany her to a certain place and that on returning she would take the crochet work and give me the money. She led me outside the village to a small clearing cluttered with debris and rubble; in one corner there was a hovel resembling a pigsty, four feet high, without windows or openings of any kind and with one heavy door as an entrance. She opened the door, and immediately one heard an animal-like moan; inside was her son, a youth eighteen years old, of very swarthy complexion, who was not able to stand and therefore remained seated and lunged in his seat toward the door as far as the chain around his waist permitted him to go. . . . He was covered with filth and red-eyed like an animal of the night. His mother emptied the contents of her bag, fodder mixed with leftovers from home, into a stone trough and refilled another container with water. Then she closed the door and we went away (Gramsci, in Germino, 1990, p. 3; original in Gramsci, 1996, p. 674). . . . I did not say anything to my mother about what I had witnessed given the impression this had on me and that I was convinced nobody would have believed me. (Last three lies: my translation from Gramsci, 1996, p. 674)

It can be argued that Gramsci, an atheist who was the son of a deeply religious woman whose strong spiritual beliefs he respected, as manifest in his letters to her, even though he did not share them, also regards the kind of Catholicism that prevailed in the southern regions and islands of Italy as another unedifying aspect of life in the *Mezzogiorno* (the south of Italy). The Catholic religion, as Gramsci shows, is tied to strong material interests in the southern region of Italy. It is connected to land (priests were land administrators, usurers), power structures and folklore. It traditionally served as a buffer against modernising forces. As Paulo Freire (1995, p. 132) would argue with respect to the "traditional church" in "closed societies", such a church would mould the people's 'common sense' along immutable and fatalistic lines.

The arrogance of southern ecclesiastical power was reflected, in Gramsci's time, in the 'morally lax' attitude of priests (in contrast to northern priests who were perceived to be 'morally more correct') who served as subaltern intellectuals and who were viewed cynically by the peasants themselves: "A priest is a priest on the altar; outside he is a man like all others" (Gramsci, 1995b, p. 38; original in Gramsci, 1997, p. 196). These peasants would nonetheless aspire to see their children join the clergy and therefore move upward within the power structure. This strong connection between religion, hegemony and power, in this part of the world, needs to be borne in mind in a context increasingly being characterised by the influx of immigrants, from outside the peninsula, including immigrants from North Africa who cling to a different belief system.

The role of southern intellectuals, including the dominant 'cosmopolitan' type of southern intellectuals (who speak a language that cuts them off from the people) as well as the subaltern intellectuals, including the traditional 'pre-industrial society' intellectuals (notaries, doctors, lawyers, priests, teachers), is also analysed for these intellectuals' part in sustaining the agrarian bloc and hence the subaltern status of the southern regions, vis-à-vis the North, within the contemporary, post-Risorgimento, hegemonic set-up. In short, Gramsci does not romanticise the South. He highlights its major shortcomings which, unlike many socialists of his period, he does not attribute to some 'biological inferiority' established 'scientifically', the sort of perception of biological inferiority, presented as "scientific truth" and "taught in the universities for over twenty years", that Frantz Fanon (1963, p. 296) decries in *The Wretched of the Earth*. On the contrary, Gramsci attributed such shortcomings to the exploitative 'internal' coloniser-colonised dialectical relation that characterised post-Risorgimento Italy.

RELIGION, ETHNICITY AND SUBJUGATED KNOWLEDGE

The alternative conception of the Mediterranean, as an expression of the South conceived of in its broader context, leads to an appreciation of the region's richness and cultural diversity, as well as the many voices and

identities it comprises. One can consider many of these voices and identities marginalised, typical of southern voices and identities. In the Eurocentric centres of cultural and intellectual production, these voices and identities are constructed as forms of *alterity* and they are often rendered 'exotic', if not demonised,[6] being very much subaltern voices engendering, in Foucault's terms, a subjugated body of knowledge (Foucault, 1980, p. 86). And yet, as I shall attempt to show, also drawing from Gramsci's writings in the *Quaderni,* this body has in the past contributed significantly to the development of what is referred to as the Western tradition.

The Mediterranean gave rise to the three great monotheistic religions, many of which have a hegemonic presence in several countries of the region and therefore feature prominently in Gramsci's analyses throughout his work, notably his prison writings. His insights concerning Catholicism,[7] often enhanced by his reading of *Civiltá Cattolica* (Catholic Civilisation) and papal encyclicals, and Islam[8] are of great relevance to the current situation concerning religion and ethnicity in this conflict-ridden and heterogeneous region.

INTENSIFIED GLOBALISATION AND MIGRATION

The link between religion and ethnicity becomes most pronounced in various parts of the region owing to one of the major features (migration by southern populations to the North) of the intensification of globalisation as it has affected this part of the world, a process that, strictly speaking, has always been a feature of the capitalist mode of production characterised by periodical economic reorganisation and an ongoing quest for the exploration of new markets. In fact, it is most appropriate, in the present historical conjuncture, to repeat the term I have just used: the *intensification* of globalisation. This intensification is brought about through developments in the field of information technology. This process "not only blurs national boundaries but also shifts solidarities within and outside the national state" (Torres, 1998b, p. 71).[9]

Mobility is a characteristic of globalisation's 'inner' and 'outer' circuits (Torres, 1998b, p. 92). We can speak of mobility in terms of the threat of the 'flight of capital' in a scenario where the process of production is characterised by dispersal and cybernetic control (outer circuit), and mobility of workers within and beyond the region (inner circuit). Migration is an important feature of the Mediterranean. As underlined at the 1997 Civil Forum EuroMed:

> Immigration represents the emerging aspect, probably the most evident, of the wide process which characterizes more and more the whole planet—globalization. Migrations represent more than a phenomenon, a historical certainty that can be found today, though with different

> features, in all countries and, in particular, in the most developed [*sic. read: industrially developed*]. Migration phenomena are becoming more and more important within the Mediterranean basin. (Fondazione Laboratorio Mediterraneo, 1997, p. 551)

According to Braudel (1992), there was a time when 'exchange' was a prominent feature of life in and around the Mediterranean basin. In this day and age, however, the exchange takes on a different form. Regarding mobility of people,[10] it would be amiss to consider the exchange one that occurs on a level playing field. It can also be argued, with respect to the movement of people from the Southern Mediterranean to the Northern Mediterranean and beyond, that the 'spectre' of the violent colonial process that the 'old continent' initiated has come back with a vengeance to 'haunt' it (Borg & Mayo, 2006, p. 151).

The reasons which compel people from primarily sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) and Middle East and North Africa (MENA) regions to leave their homeland are many and include the effects of Neoliberal Structural Adjustment programmes; civil wars fuelled by a Western-based arms industry; exacerbation of tribal conflicts, often resulting in rape and being disowned by family; the attempt among women to avoid female genital mutilation; evading religious fundamentalism; the negative effects on African farming of subsidies provided to farmers in other continents; the negative effects of climate change; an impoverished environment (the ransacking of Africa); a colonial ideology which presents the West as the Eldorado and a context for the 'good life'; the quest for better employment opportunities . . . and one can go on, perhaps falling prey to Western stereotypes and constructions of 'Africa' (see Kashope Wright, 2012).

There remains, however, one major global reason. We are told that economies in highly industrialised countries require certain types of labour and that these requirements cannot be satisfied by the internal labour market, despite the high levels of unemployment experienced within these countries (Apitzsch, 1995, p. 68). Couched differently, the main reason for massive migration from South to North and East to West is the quest for low-cost labour by corporations and other businesses alike that serves as a "push-and-pull factor". As David Bacon (2008) argues, hegemonic globalisation necessitates migration but it is the same victims of this process who are rendered "illegal" and criminalised as a result, often victims of the "carceral state". By carceral state, as indicated in Chapter 3, I mean the state that punishes as part of its function in dealing with the excesses of hegemonic globalisation, that is, neoliberal capitalist-driven globalisation or "globalisation from above" (Mayo, in Simicevic, 2013).

The shifting of southern populations has been standard European imperialist policy.[11] This has taken the form today of neoliberal capitalist policy in its quest for labour power and driving down labour costs, drawing on and exacerbating (see Boron & Torres, 1996) North-South structural

imbalances, which are a feature of a perennially colonial capitalist system predicated on uneven levels of development, leading to the shifting of populations in the South.

COLONIALISM, HEGEMONY AND MISPLACED ALLIANCES

The legacy of colonialism and its effect on the migratory movements from the South Mediterranean to the North Mediterranean and beyond reflects the similar colonial bind, albeit of an 'internal' nature (Italy's North in a process of colonial domination of the country's southern regions and islands), that Gramsci emphasised in his writings on the Southern Question. His writings focus for the most part on the need for solidarity among subaltern groups across the North-South divide.

The concept of 'national-popular', so much emphasised by Gramsci, takes on a specific meaning in this context. What is 'national' is often tied to the culture of hegemonic ethnic groups and is related to the whole structure of hegemony. Concepts such as 'national identity' and 'national culture' are thus challenged, as part of the process of negotiating relations of hegemony. This applied to relations between different groups within the boundaries of a single nation state, the object of much of Gramsci's analysis. Subaltern groups, involving proletariat and peasants, had to engage in a *historical bloc* to challenge the concept of 'national' and transform the relations of hegemony which it represented. In this regard, one had to challenge misplaced alliances. These included the proposed alliance between exploited Sardinian peasants and their offspring on the island and mainland[12] and the offspring of the exploiting Sardinian gentry, the local (Sardinian) overseers of capitalist exploitation. This is the significance of the episode in "The Southern Question" concerning the effort of the eight communists to thwart the forming of the Giovane Sardegna, a challenge which proved successful and which led to the postponement *sine die* of the setting up of this proposed Sardinian organisation.

The same applies to the episode concerning the role of the *Brigata Sassari* (the Sassari Brigade), with respect to industrial unrest in the North. Here the issue of cultural and ethnic hybridisation is raised by Gramsci, who regarded the process of solidarity between proletariat and peasants as likely to be helped by the fact that the former consist, for the most part, of offspring of the latter, given that much of the industrialisation in Italy's North was predicated on internal migration from the industrially underdeveloped and impoverished South. Gramsci highlights the bonding that emerged from conversations between the soldiers and strikers that led to the realisation that both were victims of the same exploitative process. The themes of solidarity therefore and the struggle against misplaced alliances become two of the most important features of his writings on the South, especially the essay on which he was working at the time of his imprisonment in Rome ("The

Southern Question"). They have great relevance for the Southern Question when viewed in a larger context, the context of North-South/South-North relations on a regional and transcontinental scale.

RENEGOTIATING HEGEMONY AND THE NATIONAL-POPULAR

One major difference, however, is that crossing national borders is more difficult and hazardous than crossing regional ones within the same country. As the Slovenian writer Slavoj Žižek rightly argues, "In the much-celebrated free circulation opened up by global capitalism, it is 'things' (commodities) which circulate freely, while the circulation of 'persons' [*themselves treated as commodities*—author's insertion] is more and more controlled" (Žižek, 2004, p. 34). And I would make a slight amendment to the Žižek quote by stating, as I did in the Simicevic (2013) interview, that only 'things'/goods from certain countries circulate freely. Palestinians are often denied the transfer of goods from one part of Palestine to another. Mobility does not apply to all people. Some are allowed to be, relatively speaking, more freely and comfortably mobile than others in the same way that some are allowed to live while others are simply rendered disposable. And yet, migrants often risk life and limb, being at the mercy of unscrupulous 'coyotes', crossing from the shores of North Africa and also making the hazardous journey through the Sahara. Thousands and thousands of migrants cross the 'New Rio Grande' divide between North Africa and Southern Europe. Many drown in the process. *The Guardian* reported, on 3 October 2013, that over 20,000 people died during the last 20 years, trying to cross from Africa to Southern Europe.

If I can play around with Gramsci's statement concerning the north of Italy in relation to the *Mezzogiorno,* Europe, with its colonial centre, was an 'octopus' (Gramsci, 1975, p. 47) which enriched itself at the expense of the South in its broader context. Long-term victims of the predatory colonial process that led to the ransacking of Africa (see Rodney, 1973), migrants, often from sub-Saharan Africa who travel via North Africa, attempt to reach the centres of Europe (once again a case of the empire striking back) but often end up on the continent's periphery. The intermeshing of cultures that this brings about leads to further questioning of old hegemonic arrangements and the concepts that reflect them. The concept of 'national-popular' takes on a new meaning in this context. Meanwhile, old but still prevalent concepts such as 'national identity' and 'national culture', resorted to by sections of the often self-proclaimed 'autochthonous' population as part of a xenophobic retrenchment strategy, are called into question "by those who derive their inspiration from Gramsci and others (these would include Said, who draws on Gramsci's 'Southern Question' in his work),[13] and *those* who aspire to a society characterised by social justice. The greater the presence of multi-ethnic groups and the stronger their lobby, the greater would

be the struggle to renegotiate relations of hegemony within the countries concerned.

In this respect, there is relevance, for the current situation, in Gramsci's insistence that the Turin communists in the north of Italy, which, I reiterate, largely included people of southern origin, brought the Southern Question to the attention of the workers' vanguard, identifying it as one of the key issues for the proletariat's national-popular politics (Gramsci, 1997, pp. 181, 182). Furthermore, the national-popular alliance of Italian workers and peasants, advocated by Gramsci and also Piero Gobetti (Gramsci, 1997, p. 204), takes on a larger, more global North-South meaning in this age of mass migration from South to North. Any genuinely socialist and anti-neoliberal initiative today must bring to the forefront the issue of the Southern Question in its larger context extending beyond geographical boundaries and territories.

NORTH-SOUTH SOLIDARITY

This must be done in the interest of generating North-South solidarity and confronting misplaced alliances. I would include, among these misplaced alliances, the false alliance between 'labour' and 'management' against 'the competition'. Hegemonic neoliberal globalisation has brought in its wake misplaced alliances based on racist, labour market segmentation strategies. Workers continue to be 'otherised' and segregated on ethnic, national and religious lines, as well as on such lines as those of being refugees, asylum seekers or 'economic migrants'.

Such an anti-racist programme of education and social action can only be successful if rooted in political economy and an understanding of colonialism. These are the elements that Gramsci sought to bring to his analysis of the Southern Question in Italy. He placed the emphasis on political economy and an historical understanding of Italy's 'internal colonialism'. Gramsci's use of political economy is most evident in 'The Southern Question' and the notes concerning Italy's post-Risorgimento state (see Notebook 1 of the *Prison Notebooks*), where he gives economic reasons for the subordination of the South, reasons that are also supported by the work of economic historians such as Luigi De Rosa (2004). Gramsci writes about the northern economic protectionist, 'fortress' strategies ruining the southern economy. These strategies include the Tariff Wars with France that had a deleterious effect on southern agricultural life in Italy (Gramsci, 1975, p. 45). Likewise, as indicated with regard to some reasons why people migrate from South to North, economic power blocs such as the EU and the USA, today, adopt their 'fortress' economic and agrarian policies that impinge negatively on economic development in Africa and elsewhere. With a daily billion-dollar subsidy provided by the wealthy countries to their farmers, people from poor countries that depend on agriculture will find it hard to

feed and educate their children, with migration, often at terrible costs, proving to be their only option.[14]

EDUCATING FOR SOLIDARITY: A LENGTHY PROCESS

Using material from Gramsci with respect to the Southern Question and related themes, such as those concerning Arabs and Islam, one can identify some of the ingredients for the kind of work that genuinely socialist parties and other organisations confronting Neoliberalism can carry out. They would do this to generate the consciousness necessary to foster greater solidarity among different subaltern groups in this situation characterised by massive immigration into Southern European countries. This is one of the greatest challenges facing those committed to a socialist, anti-neoliberal politics in this region. The work involved is unmistakably of an educational nature, as was most of the work in which Gramsci was engaged when attempting to generate a truly revolutionary working-class consciousness in the Italy of his time. After all, education is, for Gramsci, fundamental to the workings of hegemony itself (Borg et al., 2002b, p. 8). And the kind of educational work in which one must engage, in the contemporary context, is a lengthy one.

With local working-class people, living in a state of precariousness, being the ones most likely to suffer from the devastating effects of neoliberal globalisation policies, this work becomes ever so urgent. Unless such an educational strategy is developed, it is more likely that working-class people become attracted to the kind of populist right-wing and often neo-fascist discourse that plays on their fears (see the previous discussion on hegemony and the example of Thatcherism, drawing on Hall, 1987a, 1987b), and leads to further segmentation and antagonism among workers on ethnic lines. This can result in misplaced alliances and the mystification of the fact that both they and the immigrants share a common fate: that of subalterneity and of both being victims of a ruthless process of capitalist exploitation. There have been cases when traditionally socialist parties have been accused of shunning the responsibility of working towards fostering inter-ethnic solidarity among workers. They have been accused of doing so for fear of losing electoral votes, a situation which highlights the limits of bourgeois democracy for a genuinely socialist politics predicated on workers' solidarity across ethnic and national lines.

ELEMENTS FOR AN EDUCATIONAL STRATEGY

My proposal for an educational strategy for greater solidarity in this day and age, inspired by Gramsci's writing on the Southern Question and other issues, includes developing a broad terrain of education and cultural studies

which entails a number of elements. In the first place, educational initiatives, whether formal or non-formal, as well as sources of informal learning such as the media, need to provide a deep understanding of the culture of 'alterity'. In short, one must learn about aspects of the cultures of those traditionally constructed as 'other'. This would include, but of course not be limited to, knowledge of the different religions of the Mediterranean, including the religions which immigrants bring with them from other areas such as sub-Saharan Africa. Once again, as with Gramsci's portrayal of the southern regions and islands in Italy, one must also avoid romanticising these religions (Christianity, Judaism, Islam and African religions). They should be subjected to critical scrutiny. Paradoxically, this process entails a strong element of unlearning. There is a need for learning experiences that serve to demystify the 'other', thus unlearning mistrust and fear and confronting stereotypes or demonisations, through popular culture including mass popular culture, which give one the false perception that she or he is or belongs to a 'race' or ethnic group deemed to be superior to the 'other'. These misrepresentations reflect a sense of 'positional superiority' on the part of those who provide the representation (Said, 1978). This educational and at the same time unlearning approach entails avoiding caricatures and exoticisation of the type which Gramsci decried with regard to Northern conceptions of the Southern Italian's alleged 'biological inferiority' and Northern misrepresentations of legitimate struggles of Southerners who were denied land by the Northern 'liberators'. Those who fought in retaliation were branded brigands and, as Pino Aprile (2010) indicates) in his account of the atrocities caused by the Piedmontese in their colonisation of the South, were treated and disposed of as criminals without any military rights.

Brigand activity, or *brigantaggio,* became the subject of much lore in the North with, as Gramsci indicates, widespread exaggerations surrounding its manifestations. This once again calls for an important approach adopted by Gramsci, which is that of reading history against the grain, eschewing the sanitised accounts of the Italian Risorgimento which were the staple of European history school syllabuses which I was led to follow in my O level and A level studies.

In a 2011 sequel to the text just mentioned, Pino Aprile refers to a Turin museum containing admittedly widely denounced 'scientific' displays (they center around the work of Cesare Lombroso, the 19th-century Italian criminologist and physician) concerning the constructed connection between the mental and physical characteristics of Southerners and their propensity toward criminality and savagery (Aprile, 2011, pp. 375–377), which brings to mind the kind of scientific racism exposed by Frantz Fanon in *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963, p. 296).[15] It goes to show that such atrocities often had or were often accorded a pseudo-scientific basis.

Similar manifestations can occur in this day and age not only with respect to the dislocated Southern 'Terroni', a derogatory term applied to people from the South who work the land and who move up north to

seek employment opportunities. For the Southern Question, or *'Questione Meridionale'*, is not a thing of the past but is ever present in Italian society. They occur these days also with regard to those people who work the land and manage, by luck and dint of perseverance, to cross the Sahara and the Mediterranean and venture into Europe, including both southern and northern Italy, in search of employment and a 'better life'. The perseverance of this racialisation necessitates a widespread anti-racist education challenging (mis) representations/conceptions of this type of 'other', in this case immigrants from the southern shores of the Mediterranean and beyond. The educational approach, inspired by Gramsci's treatment of the Southern Question, would entail analysing seriously the relationship between Islam, traditional African religions (many migrants who cross the Mediterranean come from sub-Saharan Africa) and modernity: Gramsci writes about the existence, before World War I, of a circle of young Christians in Turin, including Dominicans, who drew sustenance from modernising tendencies in Islam and Buddhism, conceiving of religion as a syncretisation of all the major world religions (Gramsci, 1975, p. 2090).[16]

One final point in terms of elements for an educational strategy is the need to challenge essentialist (à la Huntington) notions of immigrants, Islam(s), Arabs, Africans, Blacks, etc.—all are much more variegated than Huntington and his like would have us believe, there being no fixed and static cultures but cultures which, on the contrary, have flourished as a result of hybridisation and cultural cross-currents. Gramsci,[17] for instance, writes about key Arab leaders and how they sought to confront a more universalistic Islam with a sense of national unity and adaptation. And he argues that, in many places, the Islam of his times was already different from what it was earlier—it will continue to evolve but not suddenly. He felt that it cannot be substituted by Christianity, which took nine centuries to evolve while Islam is forced to run vertiginously (Gramsci, 1975, pp. 246–248)—a rather contentious assertion that reflects an 'evolutionary development' model.[18] Does this smack of the Western Marxist Eurocentrism pointed out in the previous chapter?

CULTURAL CROSS-CURRENTS AND THE 'CLASH OF CIVILISATIONS' MYTH

The last point warrants further commentary. Monolithic, essentialist conceptions of Islam are provided by right-wing Westerners as well as Muslim fundamentalists. In his critique of Samuel Huntington's "Clash of Civilisations", Edward Said (2001) wrote:

> Huntington is an ideologist, someone who wants to make "civilizations" and "identities" into what they are not: shut-down, sealed-off entities that have been purged of the myriad currents and countercurrents that animate human history, and that over centuries have made it possible for

> that history not only to contain wars of religion and imperial conquest but also to be one of exchange, cross-fertilization and sharing. This far less visible history is ignored in the rush to highlight the ludicrously compressed and constricted warfare that "the clash of civilizations" argues is the reality.[19]

Said made the point, time and time again, about there being no such thing as 'pure' cultures. What we have are hybrid cultures, a point Gramsci demonstrates forcefully in the *Prison Notebooks* and in such works as "The Southern Question", where he indicates the intermeshing between Southern immigrant workers and Northerners in Italy, with the implication being that there is an intermeshing of cultures in these regions (e.g., Southern immigrants contributing to Northern culture and vice versa). On a broader scale this ought to lead to a consideration of non-European contributions to aspects of what is heralded as 'Western civilisation'.

In this respect, Gramsci echoes many others in highlighting the contributions of Arabs, Islamic culture, and other non-European cultures to the development of so-called 'Western Civilisation'. In a note (§5) in Notebook 16, Gramsci makes reference to the work of Ezio Levi and Angel Gonzales Palencia, the latter outlining Arab influences in cuisine, medicine, chemicals, etc. (see Boothman, 2007, p. 65). Gramsci furthermore reminds us about the Arab post-1000 influence on European culture via Spain. He states that philosophical and theological disputes in France, during that period, betray the influence of Averroes'[20] doctrine (Gramsci, 1975, p. 642). He also underlines what should be commonplace knowledge and yet which, on the evidence of my own teaching experiences, seems to be ignored, namely the Arabs' and Jews' reintroduction of ancient philosophy into European civilisation (Gramsci, 1975, p. 644). Also, in Notebook 5, Gramsci mentions the scientific influence of Arabs on the formation of Germanic-Roman states, specifically on medieval Spain (Gramsci, 1975, p. 574).[21]

Others have also referred to the work of the cleric, Miguel Asín Palacios, in this context, notably the Italy-based Egyptian scholar, Mahmoud Salem Elsheikh, who in an article "Le Omissioni della Cultural Italiana" writes about the "debtor's syndrome":

> The person to whom one is indebted is constantly a hated person; particularly if the creditor, as in this case, is a strange body, rejected by the collective consciousness, hated by the political, social, cultural and religious institutions. If anything, the rage against the creditor, in these circumstances, becomes an almost moral duty and a necessary condition for the survival of that society.[22] (My translation from Elsheikh, 1999, p. 38)

Furthermore, Aziz Hasbi insists:

> The knowledge and technologies which are the shared heritage of humanity were not created ex nihilo, but were built up in a lengthy process of

> accumulation to which every people has made its contribution. Efforts are now being made to give the West credit for a unique and absolute rationality and a creativity, which are seen as consubstantial with it . . . simply demonstrates amnesia and ethnocentricity. (Hasbi, 2003, p. 378)

The importance of these contributions, including the direct and indirect contributions of black African cultures and other cultures (see, for example, Bernal, 1987), cannot be overstressed in an educational process intended to do justice to a culture or cultures (for instance, those of Islam and Arabs, which are not to be used interchangeably[23]) that have often been denigrated in a process of historical and cultural amnesia predicated on ignorance and prejudice. This process should serve to highlight the hybrid nature of cultures, crisscrossed by "contrapuntal" (to use the term Said borrows from music and literature)[24] currents. It would also serve to set the record straight with respect to flawed conceptions of cultures that give one a sense of positional superiority and falsely lead to the construction of cultures and civilisations as being mutually exclusive and antagonistic. In this respect, one must recognise that Christian, Jewish and Muslim fundamentalists are also guilty of a similar historical and cultural amnesia when projecting a fixed notion of their religion and when being reluctant to acknowledge derivations in their religion from other civilisations and philosophical traditions that were in turn indebted to other civilisations and philosophical traditions.

CONCLUSION: CHALLENGING A CONTRIVED WORLD CULTURAL ORDER

Over and above an understanding of colonialism and its political economic basis, one must also understand the long-term effects of the imposition of a contrived world cultural order, which can be partly but certainly not wholly attributed to hegemonic globalisation and Neoliberalism. This work would enable us to foster that sense of solidarity that Gramsci had called for. These are the elements that Gramsci sought to bring to his analysis of the Southern Question in Italy, with his emphasis on political economy, astute cultural analysis and historical understanding of the Risorgimento and the process of 'internal colonialism' it brought about.

NOTES

1. An earlier version of this chapter appeared under the same title in *Mediterranean Journal of Education Studies*, vol. 12, no. 2, pp. 1–17, 2007; an Italian version, "Gramsci, la quistione meridionale ed il Mediterraneo" in G. Schirru (ed.) (2009), *Gramsci, le culture ed il mondo*, Rome: Viella; and a German version, as "Gramsci, die Südfrage und der Mittelmeerraum", *Das Argument*, 287, 2010, pp. 1–9.

2. The interrupted manuscript on the Southern Question was written in response to an article that appeared in *Quarto Stato* (an important neo-Marxian journal whose founding editors were Carlo Rosselli and Pietro Nenni—Verdicchio, in Gramsci, 1995b, p. 16) which refers to Guido Dorso's assessment, in *La Rivoluzione Meridionale* (The Southern Revolution), of the Italian Communist Party's position on the Southern Question.
3. I was born, raised and still live in the Mediterranean and typically Meridionale island of Malta, which has historically shared strong cultural affinities with the Italian *Mezzogiorno* (south) to which it is geographically also very close—96 kilometres off the Sicilian coast.
4. I have reproduced in this section material from Chapter 5 of my book *Liberating Praxis* (Mayo, 2004). Permission granted by Praeger Publishers.
5. Personal translation from Predrag Matvejevic's address, in Italian, at the second Civil Forum, Euromed, Naples, 1997.
6. In the words of Egyptian writer, Nawal El Saadawi: "Perhaps the problem of the world has always been the 'objectification', the nullification, of the 'other'. For the West or the North, the South is the other which exists only as an object to be exploited and oppressed. Christianity or Western culture sees Islam and Arab culture as the other. And in all religions, all that does not belong to God is seen as emanating from the devil. The problem of our world is to ignore, to dismiss, to destroy the other. To do this, the other must be satanised" (El Saadawi, 1992, p. 137).
7. It has a strong presence in the Italian southern regions and other countries such as Spain, Croatia, Malta and Portugal (it strictly speaking lies on the Atlantic but shares a southern European/Mediterranean culture).
8. Islam is very strong throughout the south Mediterranean as well as in Turkey, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (officially recognised only by Turkey), Bosnia-Herzegovina and other parts of Southern Europe, given the strong migratory waves across the Mediterranean basin.
9. This process continues to have a strong influence on identity, especially with regard to communities that have traditionally not been organised along individualist lines, as has been the case with most Mediterranean and non-Western communities. This, together with other previous modernising forces, seems to be at odds with the fundamentally religious way of life experienced in certain regions of the Mediterranean and also tends to destroy that sense of mystery so much cherished in several non-Western societies. I am indebted to Michael Grech for this point.
10. I have been inspired, in discussing the very important contemporary issue of migration across the Mediterranean, by Pasquale Verdicchio's concise and excellent introduction to his annotated translation of *The Southern Question* (Verdicchio, 1995).
11. See Hrvoje Simicevic's interview with me (Simicevic, 2013). As I argued in this interview, "It is a common feature of European imperial politics that persists: Southern and oppressed populations can be moved at will to suit imperial interests. It happened with Africans during the period of slavery and the slave trade; with Palestinians with the 1948 Nakba and later. It happened, for example, with Puerto Ricans during "operation bootstrap"; and continued to happen throughout modern history . . . it happens with people from sub-Saharan and North Africa today." Available at: http://truth-out.org/opinion/item/20474-migration-across-the-mediterranean-how-many-deaths-will-it-take-till-europe-knows-that-too-many-people-have-died. Viewed 8 August 2014.
12. *'Il continente'*—the 'continent', as Sardinians refer to the Italian mainland.
13. See Said (1994, pp. 56–59).

14. I am indebted to the late Professor M. Kazim Bacchus, Professor Emeritus University of Alberta, Canada, for this point.
15. Extracted from Mayo (2013).
16. When discussing the relationship between Islam and liberalism, Palestinian peace activist Nahla Abdo had this to say in an interview: "If and when Islam is conceived of as a religion, I see no reason why one cannot speak of liberal Muslims, the same way they would speak of liberal Christians or liberal Jews. Muslim liberal discourses have firmly been entrenched in the legal system of some Arab/Muslim countries like Tunisia for example. Moreover, Sheikh al-Qaradawi, often featured on Al-Jazeera, and the well-known Sheikh Al-Azhar from Egypt are well known for their liberal interpretations of social and gender phenomena" (Nahla Abdo in Borg & Mayo, 2007, pp. 29–30).
17. Many of Gramsci's considerations concerning Islam and the Arab world, reproduced here, draw from Boothman (2007, pp. 65–66).
18. In this respect, I would refer to an interview by Michael Grech with Antonio Dell'Olio, Coordinator of the Italian branch of Pax Christi International. Dell'Olio refers to a conversation he held with a Muslim Professor from a Cairo university. The latter is reported to have told Dell'Olio: "Give us time . . . in the Islamic world we had neither a French revolution, which led to social reforms as a result of its separation between church and state, and its cry of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, nor a Vatican Council which led to religious reforms. These two important events led to a situation when, after so much resistance, denial of progress by the Church and giving up [on the possibility of reform], the Catholic Church and Catholicism began to renew themselves. When we have events such as these we will make a leap forward" (in Grech, 2006, pp. 64, 65; my translation from Maltese).
19. Posted on *The Nation*, 4 October 2001: www.thenation.com/doc/20011022/said/3. Viewed 10 August 2007.
20. Abū l-Walīd Muhammad ibn Rushd.
21. I am indebted to Boothman (2007) for these points.
22. Available at: www.educational.rai.it/corsiformazione/intercultura/scaffale/approf/approf16.htm. Viewed 11 August 2007.
23. Derek Boothman states that Gramsci uses 'Arab' almost interchangeably with 'Muslim': "In the paragraphs cited here it is always the case that when Gramsci writes 'Arab' the term is also understood to refer to the larger category of 'Muslim'" (my translation from Boothman, 2007, p. 65). If Gramsci does that, then this is unfortunate. Not all Arabs are Muslim. Furthermore, Arabs constitute only one tenth in a billion of Muslims while Islam is a world religion, which therefore knows no ethnic boundaries.
24. See, for instance, Said in Viswanathan (2001, p. 211).

8 Antonio Gramsci and Paulo Freire
Connections and Contrasts

INTRODUCTION[1]

In these next two chapters, I shall attempt to consider parallels between Antonio Gramsci's ideas and those of other more contemporary writers who adopt a critical approach to education and have made Neoliberalism the target of their criticisms and pedagogical counter-strategies. Foremost among these is the Brazilian educator, Paulo Freire, who had been intent on writing a book about education in neoliberal times in the final stages of his life. This project was, however, not to be, as a result of his sudden death on 2 May 1997. And yet pieces he wrote for this work were published posthumously in anthologies of his writings put together by his surviving wife, Ana Maria Araújo (Nita) Freire and collaborators such as Donaldo Macedo. Macedo will feature in the chapter that follows, in which I attempt to show Gramsci's great influence on the critical education field including figures such as Freire, once again, and some of his close collaborators and friends, like Henry A. Giroux, Peter McLaren, Antonia Darder and Michael W. Apple, all of whom directly tackle Neoliberalism and neoliberal tenets in education.

In this chapter, I shall attempt to draw theoretical and, when appropriate, biographical connections between the work of Gramsci and Freire, indicating what Peter Roberts (2013, p. 23) calls "a close intellectual kinship" between them, besides also highlighting some obvious contrasts. In so doing, I shall reproduce key points made in my earlier published work on these two figures, notably my book-length study (Mayo, 1999), in which I sought to derive insights from their respective writings for a process of transformative adult education relevant to contemporary times. In this chapter, I hope to provide fresh comparative insights not found in the earlier work. The current book project offered me an opportunity to re-evaluate some of the points made in the earlier book and update the comparative exercise by taking on board ideas emerging from subsequent readings and re-readings of Gramsci and Freire, especially the latter's posthumously published work.

I also sought to include insights derived from my engagement with recent critical commentaries on the work of both, either separately or conjointly,

and from the feedback I received on my previous book-length study in its original English version and its foreign language versions. In the latter case, I derived fresh ideas from discussions in talks and courses I gave around this text and its non-English versions.[2]

SYSTEMATIC COMPARISONS OF GRAMSCI AND FREIRE

Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937) and Paulo Freire (1921–1997) are certainly two of the most cited figures in the debate concerning critical approaches to education. Their respective cultural and political work occurred in different contexts and at different times (Gramsci in Europe in the first part of the 20th century and Paulo Freire in Latin America, N. America, Europe and Africa in the second half of the century). Nevertheless, a whole generation of writers, positing a critical approach to education, especially those subscribing to what is commonly referred to as critical pedagogy, constantly draw on Gramsci's and Freire's powerful insights into the relationship between education/cultural work and power.[3] The two figures are often accorded iconic status in this literature.

The literature on either Gramsci or Freire is indeed a burgeoning one. I shall confine myself here to that literature which seeks to bring the ideas of the two authors together.[4] Paulo Freire posits this connection between his ideas and those of Gramsci:

> I only read Gramsci when I was in exile. I read Gramsci and I discovered that I had been greatly influenced by Gramsci long before I had read him. It is fantastic when we discover that we had been influenced by someone's thought without even being introduced to their intellectual production. (Freire, 1995, pp. 63–64)

There is some very important work focusing on Latin America that inevitably establishes connections between Gramsci and Freire. A significant literature emphasises the influence of Antonio Gramsci on Latin American left-wing politics (Aricò, 1988; Coutinho, 1995; Fernández Diaz, 1995; Mariátegui, 2011; Melis, 1995) and popular education (Ireland, 1987; La Belle, 1986), the latter being the one area with which Paulo Freire's work and ideas are strongly associated (Kane, 2001; Torres, 1990). La Belle goes as far as to state that Gramsci is the most invoked Marxist theorist in popular education in Latin America; he underscores the relevance of Gramsci's ideas concerning the Factory Councils to the task of organising the masses through popular education (La Belle, 1986, p. 185).[5]

Prominent among the English language works establishing connections between Gramsci and Freire, within the context of popular education, are the writings of Raymond A. Morrow and Carlos Alberto Torres (Morrow & Torres, 1995, 2002a), who argue that there has been a certain degree of

polarisation with respect to the reception of Gramsci in Latin America. One side links him with a "technocratic" perspective which places the emphasis on a critical appropriation of dominant knowledge, a position that is not at odds with the Leninist revolutionary vanguard theory but which has been perceived as contrasting with the position adopted by Freire. The other side, which argues for a confluence between his ideas and those of Freire, stresses the link between Gramsci's specific view of civil society and that of popular education (Morrow & Torres, 2002b), conceived of as an important element in the process of democratisation of Brazilian society (Morrow & Torres, 2002a, p. 79). This polarisation is the result of the apparently paradoxical features of Gramsci's work, mentioned in the chapter on the Unitarian School, features which, I repeat, led Morrow and Torres (1995) to provocatively pose the question: Are there "two Gramscis"?

Across the Atlantic, there have been a number of works combining insights from Gramsci and Freire. In Marjorie Mayo's *Imagining Tomorrow* (M. Mayo, 1997, pp. 23–27), market-led perspectives are contrasted with those centering on adult education for social transformation with the focus, in the relevant chapter, being on the work of Gramsci, Freire and Ettore Gelpi, the last mentioned having been a major figure in the group of writers on lifelong education gravitating around UNESCO in the seventies, having adopted an 'empirical' and radical view of the subject. Less supportive of attempts to bring Gramsci and Freire together is Diana Coben, who, in a book-length study of these two figures' writings, considers their work incompatible and therefore rejects their linkage in the adult education literature (Coben, 1998).

With respect to writings outside the field of education, one must mention the work of Paul Ransome, Peter Leonard and Margaret Ledwith (Ransome, 1992; Leonard, 1993; Ledwith, 1997, 2005). The first of these deals with Gramsci's work in general and brings Freire into the reckoning in the section on intellectuals. The second draws on insights from Gramsci and Freire for a critical approach to social work. Margaret Ledwith advocates transformative action in the area of community development rooted in critical pedagogy and the writings of Gramsci and Freire, to which an entire chapter is devoted.

As far as education is concerned, and specifically a critical approach to education, one must mention the work of my late good friend Paula Allman (Allman, 1988, 1999). In her earlier chapter on education for socialism, Allman (1988) draws on the ideas of Gramsci and Freire, alongside those of Illich, in the context of a sustained discussion on ideology. This is an issue with which Allman and participants in a diploma course she coordinated at the University of Nottingham had to contend as they sought signposts for a socialist approach to adult education. Allman sees adult education as part of the "prefigurative work" which, Gramsci insisted, had to precede every revolution, the point made in Chapter 3 that "Every revolution has been preceded by an intense labour of criticism, by the diffusion of culture and spread of ideas among masses of men" (Gramsci, 1977b, p. 12).

Allman's later book-length work (Allman, 1999) projects a vision for transformed democratic social relations predicated on a pedagogical approach characterised by a revolutionary as opposed to a reproductive praxis, an approach that echoes Marx's dialectical conceptualisation and which is reflected in the writings of both Gramsci and Freire.[6]

MARXIAN UNDERPINNINGS

The reference to Allman immediately leads me to stress one fundamental and obvious point of contact between Gramsci's and Freire's respective works, a point which, by now, must be clear to most readers of this book given the earlier discussion around ideology and hegemony—their being rooted in Marxism and more specifically Marxian thinking.[7] That Gramsci is indebted to such thought goes without saying. In volume four of his edited critical edition of the *Quaderni del Carcere* (Prison Notebooks), Valentino Gerratana provides the list of texts by Marx and Engels that Gramsci cites in the Notebooks. These include *Capital,* the *Theses on Feuerbach,* the *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right (Introduction), The Holy Family*, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon, Critique of the Gotha Programme,* besides numerous letters and articles such as the one on the Spanish revolution in the *New York Tribune,* among others (Gerratana, in Gramsci, 1975, pp. 3062–3063). After all, Gramsci is credited with having "reinvented" some of Marx's concepts when discussing important aspects of his native Italy's post-Risorgimento state. One of his more enduring contributions, as we have seen, is arguably that of having stressed the cultural dimension of revolutionary practice. He has thus made a significant contribution to various aspects of Marxist theory, including the debate around the 'Base-superstructure' metaphor. At the same time, one must not lose sight of his overarching political analysis, lest one lapses into cultural reductionism.

Despite the criticism that Freire is too eclectic in his approach, drawing on a broad range of sources, including Christian-Personalism and Liberation Theology (which generally accommodates Marxist class analysis), one cannot deny the Marxian and Marxist underpinnings of his writing and specific mode of conceptualisation. Freire drew on a wide range of early writings by Marx, notably *The German Ideology, The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844,* the *Theses on Feuerbach* and *The Holy Family.* These early writings by Marx provide important sources of reference for some of the arguments raised in Freire's best-known work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Freire, 1970). Later writings by Marx, however, feature prominently in such works as *Pedagogy in Process* (Freire, 1978), where Freire attempts to come to grips with the social relations of production in an impoverished African country (Guinea Bissau) that had just gained independence from Portugal. In this work, and precisely in letter 11, Freire adopts Marx's notion of a 'polytechnic education',[8] arguing for a strong

relationship to be forged between education and production (Freire, 1978). Marx had specifically developed this notion in the Geneva Resolution of 1866 (Livingstone, 1983, p. 187).

Most importantly, though, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* is written in a dialectical style which, as Allman points out, is not easily accessible to readers schooled in conventional ways of thinking, often characterised by a linear approach (Allman, 1988). She demonstrates clearly that one cannot fully appreciate Freire's work without anchoring it within Karl Marx's dialectical conceptualisation of oppression. The more one is familiar with Marx's "tracking down" of "inner connections" and "relations", that are conceived of as "unities of opposites" (Allman, 1999, pp. 62–63),[9] the more one begins to appreciate *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*'s Marxian underpinning (see Allman, 2001, pp. 39–48). This is not the only book Freire has written, but, to my mind, it is the most compact and consistent as far as the dialectical conceptualisation of power is concerned (Allman et al., 1998, pp. 9–16).

IDEOLOGY

We have seen in the very first chapter how Gramsci's and Freire's respective works are embedded in a Marxian conception of ideology, with relevant quotes from Marx and Engels to boot. Gramsci saw ideas that reflect the dominant material relationships as residing in those areas he identifies with 'common sense'. Recall that 'common sense' contains elements of 'good sense' but is, in effect, a distorted and fragmentary conception of the world. I can elaborate at this stage by saying that it is, according to Gramsci, a "philosophy of non-philosophers", namely "a conception of the world absorbed uncritically by the various social and cultural environments in which the moral individuality of the average man [*sic*] develops" (Gramsci, 1975, p. 1396).[10] This contrasts with 'philosophy' that is "intellectual order, which neither religion nor common sense can be" (Gramsci, 1971a, p. 325).[11] For Gramsci, common sense is "the folklore of philosophy" (ibid.). Gramsci draws connections between popular religion, folklore (a specific body of beliefs, values and norms [Larrain, 1979; Salamini, 1981] that is uncritical, contradictory and ambiguous in content) and common sense (Borg & Mayo, 2002, p. 91).

Religion is, for Gramsci, "an element of fragmented common sense" (Gramsci, 1971a, p. 325). The challenge, for Gramsci, is to supersede this common sense through a 'philosophy of praxis', the "conscious expression" of the contradictions that lacerate society (Larrain, 1979, p. 81). This 'philosophy of praxis' entails that thought connected with 'common sense' undergoes a process of elaboration similar to that experienced by Lutheranism and Calvinism before developing into a "superior culture" (Caruso, 1997, pp. 85–86).

Freire's view of consciousness is also reminiscent of Gramsci's distinction between common sense and good sense. He too sees popular consciousness as being permeated by ideology. In his earlier work, Freire posited the existence of different levels of consciousness ranging from naïve to critical consciousness, indicating a hierarchy that exposed him to the accusation of being elitist and of being patronising towards ordinary people (Kane, 2001, p. 50). Similar accusations can easily be directed at Gramsci with respect to the distinction he draws between common and good sense. In his early work, Freire reveals the power of ideology being reflected in the fatalism apparent in the statements of peasants living in shanty towns who provide "magical explanations" attributing their poor plight to the "will of God" (Freire, 1970, p. 163). While Gramsci regards religion as an element of 'common sense', Freire, a self-declared 'man of faith', is less categorical. He extols the virtues of the 'Prophetic Church', with its basis in liberation theology, and attributes 'false consciousness' to the "traditionalist", "colonialist" and "missionary" church that he describes as a "necrophiliac winner of souls" with its "emphasis on sin, hell-fire and eternal damnation" (Freire, 1985, p. 131). This is the sort of church to which Gramsci is likely to have been exposed in his native Sardinia and that could easily have been a propagator of the kind of 'folklore' that he despised.

Like Gramsci and a host of other writers, including important exponents of Critical Theory, Freire provides a very insightful analysis of the way human beings participate in their own oppression by internalising the image of their oppressor. As with the complexity of hegemonic arrangements, underlined by Gramsci and elaborated on by a host of others writing from a neo-Gramscian perspective, people suffer a contradictory consciousness, being oppressors, within one social hegemonic arrangement, and oppressed within another.[12] This consideration runs throughout Freire's oeuvre, ranging from his early discussion on the notion of the 'oppressor consciousness' to his later writings on multiple and layered identities (Freire, 1997), where he insists that one's quest for life and for living critically is tantamount to being an ongoing quest for the attainment of greater *coherence*. Gaining coherence, for Freire, necessitates one's gaining greater awareness of one's 'unfinishedness' (Freire, 1998b, pp. 51, 66).[13]

RESOURCES OF HOPE

Both Gramsci and Freire accord an important role to agency in the context of revolutionary activity for social transformation. The two explicitly repudiate evolutionary economic determinist theories of social change. Gramsci regards them as theories of "grace and predestination", while Freire sees them as being conducive to a "liberating fatalism" (Gramsci, 1957, p. 75; Freire, 1985, p. 179), a position to which he adhered until the very end, stating, at an *honoris causa* speech delivered at Claremont Graduate University

in 1989, that "When I think of history I think about possibility—that history is the time and space of possibility. Because of that, I reject a fatalistic or pessimistic understanding of history with a belief that what happens is what should happen" (Freire in Darder, 2002, p. x).

The emphasis on voluntarism and on the cultural and spiritual basis of revolutionary activity is very strong in the writings of the young Gramsci (Morrow, 1987). This emphasis is also to be found in Freire's early writings, especially "Education as the Practice of Freedom", a work which also involved ideas connected with his doctoral thesis (included in Freire, 1973). This particular aspect of the two writers' work is generally regarded to have been the product of strong Hegelian influences. In Gramsci's case, however, it would be more appropriate to speak in terms of 'neo-Hegelianism', the kind of idealist philosophy derived from Croce (Broccoli, 1972). In Freire's case, the Hegelianism may have partly been derived via the writings of such Christian authors as Chardin, Mounier and Neibuhr (Youngman, 1986, p. 159). In later writings, however, this idealist position becomes somewhat modified as both Gramsci and Freire begin to place greater emphasis on the role of economic conditions in processes of social change.

Both rejected the view that the conditions of their time determined the limits of what is possible. Both recognised developments within capitalism, witnessed during their lifetime (Taylorisation/Fordism in Gramsci's time and Neoliberalism in Freire's), for what they were—manifestations of capitalist reorganisation to counter the tendency of the rate of profit to fall, owing to the 'crises of overproduction' (Allman & Wallis, 1995; Foley, 1999). In his writings on 'Americanism and Fordism', Gramsci points to the need for capitalism to reorganise itself periodically to counter such a tendency. Taylorisation constituted the earlier means in this regard (Hoare and Nowell Smith in Gramsci, 1971a, p. 280).[14] The intensification of globalisation is the latest form of capitalist reorganisation. (see Foley, 1994, 1999). Understanding the contemporary stages of capitalist development according to what they represented was a crucial step for both writers to avoid a sense of fatalism and keep alive the quest for working to attain a better world driven by what Henry A. Giroux calls an anticipatory utopia prefigured not only by a critique of the present but by an alternative pedagogical/cultural politics (Giroux, 2001a). The fatalism of Neoliberalism (There Is No Alternative), buttressed by the propagation of an "ideology of ideological death" (Freire, 1998a, p. 14), was a key theme in Freire's later writings and was meant to be the subject of the work he was contemplating at the time of his death (Araújo Freire, 1997, p. 10). Like Gramsci, who explored, through a multi-varied analysis of Italy's historical and contemporary conditions, directions to pursue in the quest for an 'intellectual and moral reform', Freire could well have been on the verge of embarking on an exploration of the conditions that the present historical conjuncture, characterised by Neoliberalism, would allow for the pursuit of his dream of a different and better world. Alas, this was not to be.

EDUCATION IN ITS BROADEST CONTEXT

Gramsci's engagement in a broad process of analysis of the historical and contemporary situation of Italy, with a view to exploring the conditions likely to engender an 'intellectual and moral reform' of a scale that would render it the most radical reform since primitive Christianity (Festa, 1976), renders his conception of education quite expansive. We have seen how Gramsci, very much involved in adult education, as part of his work in the Italian Socialist and subsequently Communist parties, wrote of the existence of other routes when it comes to education and learning. Gramsci saw progressive and emancipatory elements within these multiple routes that can complement the kind of Unitarian School he proposed to advance the interests of the Italian working class (Aronowitz, 2002; Baldacchino, 2002; Borg et al., 2002b; Buttigieg, 2002b, Giroux, 2002). Gramsci held a view similar to what Suchodolski would call an "education-centred society" (Suchodolski, 1976), or what is fashionable to call, nowadays, the 'learning society', without its contemporary neoliberal connotations of learning and relearning for employability even during what was conventionally regarded as retirement age now that pensions have become unsustainable (the fear that they are an individual and not a social responsibility). I will reiterate a point from the first chapter, this time provided in the words of Gramscian scholar Joseph A. Buttigieg: "The role of education in Gramsci's thought cannot be properly appreciated unless one recognizes that it resides at the very core of his concept of hegemony. 'Every relationship of "hegemony" is necessarily an educational relationship,' he wrote" (Buttigieg, 2002a, pp. 69–70). Readers will have realised by now that, for Gramsci, therefore, a meaningful process of education must extend beyond schooling and adult education centres to be wide ranging. It is primarily located within the terrain of civil society wherein these educational/hegemonic relationships are consolidated, as is the case with much of contemporary society, and challenged. In the latter case, the challenge can possibly be part of what Raymond Williams would call a "long revolution" (Williams, 1961). Gramsci constantly writes about the need to secure alliances of progressive forces and even encourages (something he himself did) collaboration with progressive individuals such as Piero Gobetti (Gramsci, 1995b, pp. 44–45). He insisted that the name of the Communist Party organ should be *'L'Unità'*, which signifies a unification of all the popular forces, including the Catholic masses, in a deeply entrenched historical bloc (Amendola, 1978, p. 39). Nevertheless, we have seen that he attributed a central role, at the heart of this educational and political action for a moral reform, to the party that he conceived of as the Modern Prince who had the task of unifying these forces in a national-popular bloc, just like Machiavelli's Principe had the task of unifying the country. In the words of John Holst, "the party was to maintain hegemony", and "not allow the other alliance forces to steer the movement into reformism or economism" (Holst, 2001, p. 112).

The idea of a larger terrain for educational action is also at the heart of Freire's work. Throughout his writings, Freire constantly stressed that educators engage with the system and not shy away from it for fear of co-optation (Freire in Horton & Freire, 1990; Escobar et al., 1994). Freire exhorted educators and other cultural workers to "be tactically inside and strategically outside" the system. As with Gramsci, Freire believed that the system is not monolithic. Hegemonic arrangements are never complete and allow spaces for "swimming against the tide" or, to use Gramsci's phrase, engaging in "a war of position" (Freire in Escobar et al., 1994, pp. 31–32). In most of his work from the mid-eighties onward, Freire touches on the role of social movements as important vehicles for social change.

He himself belonged to a movement striving for a significant process of change, of radicalisation, within an important institution in Latin America and beyond, namely the Church. This stands in contrast to Gramsci who, however, saw enough progressive elements in the Catholic masses to stress the need for an alliance with them. When Education Secretary in São Paulo, a position that allowed Freire to tackle education and cultural work in their broader contexts, Paulo Freire and his associates worked hard to bring social movements and state agencies together (O'Cadiz, 1995; O'Cadiz et al., 1998). These efforts on behalf of the *Partido dos Trabalhadores* (PT) continue to be exerted by the party itself at the federal level and in other municipalities.

The last years of Freire's life were exciting times for Brazilian society where the *Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra* began to make a huge impact.[15] The Movement allies political activism and mobilisation with important education and cultural work (Kane, 2001). The movement is itself conceived of as an "enormous school" (Kane, 2001, p. 97). As in the period that preceded the infamous 1964 coup, Paulo Freire's work and thinking must also have been influenced and reinvigorated by the growing movement for democratisation of Brazilian society. In an interview with Carmel Borg and me, Ana Maria (Nita) Araújo Freire states:

> Travelling all over this immense Brazil we saw and cooperated with a very large number of social movements of different sizes and natures, but who had (and continue to have) a point in common: the hope in their people's power of transformation. They are teachers—many of them are "lay": embroiderers, sisters, workers, fishermen, peasants, etc., scattered all over the country, in favelas, camps or houses, men and women with an incredible leadership strength, bound together in small and local organizations, but with such a latent potential that it filled us, Paulo and me, with hope for better days for our people. Many others participated in a more organized way in the MST (*Movimento dos Sem Terra:* Movement of Landless Peasants), the trade unions, CUT *(Central Única dos*

> *Trabalhadores),* and CEBs (Christian Base Communities). As the man of hope he always was, Paulo knew he would not remain alone. Millions of persons, excluded from the system, are struggling in this country, as they free themselves from oppression, to also liberate their oppressors. Paulo died a few days after the arrival of the MST March in Brasília. On that April day, standing in our living-room, seeing on the TV the crowds of men, women and children entering the capital in such an orderly and dignified way, full of emotion, he cried out: "That's it, Brazilian people, the country belongs to all of us! Let us build together a democratic country, just and happy!" (Nita Freire in Borg & Mayo, 2007, p. 3)

Freire insisted that education should not be romanticised and that teachers ought to engage in a much larger public sphere (Freire in Shor & Freire, 1987, p. 37). This has been quite a popular idea among radical activists in recent years, partly also as a result of dissatisfaction with party politics. The arguments developed in these circles are often based on a very non-Gramscian use of the concept of 'civil society'. In his later work, however, Freire sought to explore the links between movements and the state (Freire, 1993; O'Cadiz et al., 1998) and, most significantly, movements and party, a position no doubt influenced by his role as one of the founding members of the PT. Authors such as John Holst (2001) have argued that social movement theorists, writing on the relevance of Antonio Gramsci's ideas for adult education, tend to ignore the central role which Gramsci attributed to the party in the process of social transformation. In view of this criticism, Freire's ideas concerning the relationship between party and movements are quite interesting and suggest a link with Gramsci's conception of the historical bloc involving an entrenched alliance between the party and mass organisations.

Freire argues that the party for change, committed to the subaltern, should allow itself to learn from and be transformed through contact with progressive social movements. One important proviso Freire makes, in this respect, is that the party should do this "without trying to take them over". Movements, Freire seems to be saying, cannot be subsumed by parties, otherwise they lose their identity and forfeit their specific way of exerting pressure for change. Paulo Freire discusses possible links between party and movements. This brings to mind the possible links between such movements as the MST and the PT, the party that, according to the late Carlos Nelson Coutinho, constituted one of the major recent repositories for Gramsci's ideas in Brazil (Coutinho, 1995).

> Today, if the Workers' Party approaches the popular movements from which it was born, without trying to take them over, the party will grow; if it turns away from the popular movements, in my opinion, the party will wear down. Besides, those movements need to make their struggle politically viable. (Freire in Escobar et al., 1994, p. 40)

Both Gramsci and Freire, therefore, explore links between the party and movements within the context of a strategy for social change. While Gramsci is adamant on a directive role for the party in this process, Freire is less categorical in this regard, although events in Brazil have tended to suggest a leadership role for the PT in the process of the democratisation of Brazilian society. The PT enjoyed strong links with the trade union movement, the Pastoral Land Commission, the MST and other movements. It exercised its leadership role when forging alliances between party, state and movements in the municipalities in which it was in power. The Participatory Budget project in Porto Alegre, an exercise in deliberative and participatory democracy, provided some indication of the direction such alliances can take (Schugurensky, 2002).

PRAXIS

The discussion has veered towards a macro-level analysis. It would be opportune now to bring the discussion back to the micro-level with an emphasis on concepts that lie at the heart of the pedagogical relation as propounded by both Gramsci and Freire. The two figures regard *praxis* as one of the key concepts in question.

The kind of philosophy which Gramsci contrasts with 'common sense' and which warrants elaboration to provide the underpinning of an intellectual and moral reform is referred to as the 'philosophy of praxis' which, in contrast to the bifurcation advocated by Benedetto Croce (philosophy for intellectuals and religion for the people), is intended to be a philosophy that welds intellectuals and masses together in a historical bloc (Borg & Mayo, 2002, p. 89). It is intended to be an instrument for the forging of a strong relationship between theory and practice, consciousness and action (Hoare & Nowell Smith in Gramsci, 1971a, p. xiii).

Praxis is also at the center of Freire's philosophical approach and becomes a constant feature of his thinking and writing. It constitutes the means whereby one can move in the direction of confronting the contradiction of opposites in the dialectical relation. For Freire and others, it constitutes the means of gaining critical distance from one's world of action to engage in reflection geared towards transformative action. The relationship between action-reflection-transformative action is not sequential but dialectical (Allman, 1999). Freire and other intellectuals, with whom he has conversed, in 'talking books', conceive of different moments in their lives as forms of praxis, of gaining critical distance from the context they know to perceive it in a more critical light. Exile is regarded by Freire and the Chilean Antonio Faundez (Freire & Faundez, 1989) as a form of praxis, a situation that recalls Gramsci's predicament in prison where, as we have seen, the brain, which was meant to be stopped from working for 20 years, found the space,

albeit for a ten-year-period, for profound critical reflection on the world of the Sardinian's action (Mayo, 1999, p. 91).

The idea of critical distancing is, however, best captured by Freire in his pedagogical approach involving the use of codifications, even though one should not make a fetish out of this 'method' (Aronowitz, 1993) since it is basically indicative of something larger, a philosophy of learning in which praxis is a central concept that has to be 'reinvented' time and time again. This depends on situation and context. Praxis becomes important in this age of neoliberal slogans and mantras which do not provide an accurate fit to reality. Examples of such clichés, mantras and slogans are 'employability', which does not mean 'employment', or 'lifelong learning for better employment', when it is often argued that people are achieving more qualifications and learning more but are earning less. They can only dream of attaining their parents' standard of living. In contrast, praxis involves individual and collective reflection upon action to unveil the contradictions of reality.

AUTHORITY AND FREEDOM

There are connections between Gramsci and Freire also with respect to the teacher-student dynamics. It might appear that Gramsci's view of schooling, as expressed in his two notes on the Unitarian School, contained in Notebooks IV and XII, provides a stark contrast to Freire's pedagogical approach (Borg & Mayo, 2002; Mayo, 1999). We have seen how Harold Entwistle, for instance, argues that the emphasis which Gramsci places, in these notes, on the acquisition of a baggage of facts, suggests that Gramsci "held a view of learning which is not inconsistent with the notion, now used pejoratively, of education as banking" (Entwistle, 1979, p. 47). This would seem to contrast with what Freire advocated. And yet, I have argued that a close reading of Gramsci's text, one which devotes great attention to his choice of words, would indicate that he was averse to the encouragement of an uninformed 'participative', 'interactive' pedagogy which can lead to the kind of laissez faire educational experience that Freire would consider anathema. Like Gramsci, Freire insisted on the *directive* nature of education (see Freire in Freire & Macedo, 1995, p. 394; Freire in Shor & Freire, 1987, p. 103). He insists on the term 'teacher', one who derives one's *authority* from one's competence in the matter being taught, without allowing this authority to degenerate into *authoritarianism* (Freire in Freire & Macedo, 1995, p. 378). "Authority is necessary to the freedom of the students and my own. The teacher is absolutely necessary. What is bad, what is not necessary, is authoritarianism, but not authority" (Freire in Horton & Freire, 1990, p. 181; Freire in Shor & Freire, 1987, p. 91).

A non-authoritarian approach by the educator allows room for collective epistemological investigation by all members of the learning circle

who share views and knowledge acquired in the process of learning or in the 'remote preparation', by all involved (officially designated teacher and learners), at home or in the community. For Freire, education is not an individualising act but a collective one. It is something one carries out with others and a process in which one shares what one knows with others. It is therefore not something one possesses and jealously guards against access and appropriation by others as if it were an object of personal consumption, a positional good, in a competitive environment. In this regard, education has to be accessible to one and all, irrespective of economic means. It also ought to have a collective dimension.

There is nothing in Gramsci to suggest that he believed otherwise. In his notes on the Unitarian School, he advocates a process where the older students help the younger ones (see Chapter 6) in what can easily be called 'peer tutoring', an idea which anticipates don Milani and the School of Barbiana. He also underlines the collective dimension of learning in his accounts of experiences in workers' and adult education, especially those of the *Club Vita Morale* and the Prison School at Ustica, as I indicated in Chapter 4. Members of the learning community are both teachers and students in these activities as they prepare a subject beforehand and share it with the rest. In both cases, the authority of competent educators does not interfere with the democratic, collective endeavour that is education, where knowledge is learnt not for self-enrichment, a point Gramsci makes about workers attending education sessions after work (see Chapter 4), or as a positional good, but to be shared as a public good. Sharing in a collective approach, however, requires preliminary work. This could be provided by the educator who tempers dialogue with instruction or through prior research on the part of all the learners, including the educator. Collective participation ought to rest on a strong foundation, lest it degenerates into 'shared ignorance'.

What Gramsci seems to be advocating, in his notes on schooling, is a process of education that equips children with the necessary acumen to be able to participate in an informed participatory process. There is always the danger, in my view, that we make a fetish out of 'dialogue' and 'participation', if not used properly, in the right context and at the right moment. Recall Freire's crude statement, reproduced earlier with respect to the education-instruction nexus advocated by Gramsci (Gramsci, 1971a, p. 36), that there are moments when one must be "50% a traditional teacher and 50% a democratic teacher" (Freire in Horton & Freire, 1990, p. 160).

Emphasis is being placed, in this context, on 'authority and freedom', the distinction posed by Freire (Freire, 1998b) but which echoes Gramsci's constant reference to the interplay between spontaneity and conscious direction. We have seen how, in the discussion on the Unitarian School, Gramsci calls for a balance to be struck between the kind of authority promoted by the old classical school (without degenerating into authoritarian education) and the 'freedom' advocated by the then contemporary proponents of

ideas associated with Rousseau's philosophy, as developed in *Emile*. It had to evolve from its 'romantic phase', predicated on unbridled freedom for the learner, based on her or his spontaneity, and move into the 'classical' phase (Gramsci, 1971b, pp. 32–33). This is the balance between freedom and authority that has been the subject of much debate in Freire's work (Gadotti, 1996). In *Pedagogy of Hope,* Freire argues that the educator's "directivity" should not interfere with the "creative, formulative, investigative capacity of the educand". Otherwise, the directivity degenerates into "manipulation, into authoritarianism" (Freire, 1994, p. 79). Referring to this aspect of Freire's work, Stanley Aronowitz is on target when stating that "the educator's task is to encourage human agency, not mold it in the manner of Pygmalion" (Aronowitz, 1998, p. 10).

HIGHER ORDER THINKING AND KNOWLEDGE

There is an interesting contrast between Gramsci and Freire also with respect to another curricular issue. In Chapter 6, we saw that Gramsci's piece on the Unitarian School places importance on what he regards as the finer qualities of the 'old' classical school. This school enabled him personally to transcend his formative environment, replete with the 'folklore' he despised, to gain the sense of broadening one's horizons nationally and internationally. He regards this as key to preventing people from remaining on the periphery of political life. Recall Manacorda's point that Gramsci provides an epitaph for the old classical school, an epitaph celebrating what that school was and what it cannot be any longer given that the social reality has changed. It was a school that had to be replaced by one more in tune with the 'reality' of Gramsci's times. And yet we have seen how, for Gramsci, the reforms the Gentile educational administration sought to introduce, based on the stark division between classical and vocational schools, represented a retrograde step and not a progressive one. When highlighting the most salvageable aspects of the 'old school', one ties in with what has been a constant feature of Gramsci's cultural writings. They include writings where he advocates the need for subaltern groups[16] to gain the means to critically appropriate established 'high status' cultural forms and knowledge with a view to moving from the margins to the center.

This represents an important point of contrast with Freire, in whose work emphasis is placed, almost exclusively, on the popular. 'High status' culture hardly features except for discussions concerning standard language as opposed to dialect. This is true not only of his writings on popular education but also of writings by sympathetic researchers, combining theoretical insights with empirical data (O'Cadiz et al., 1998), concerning the school reform he helped carry out in São Paulo when he was Education Secretary there. The schools involved were, after all, designated 'popular public schools'. This is as it should be given the need to strengthen the

school's link with the pupils' immediate culture through which these pupils can experience a sense of school ownership and identify with the culture it fosters. And yet Freire has always insisted that the popular constitutes only the starting point of the educational process. There are echoes of don Milani here, with his insistence on moving from the *'motivo occasionale'* (the occasional motive) to the *'motivo profondo'* (profound motive) (Martinelli, 2007).

We find, in the literature on the São Paulo reforms, ample material regarding the handling of social themes, derived from the pupils' immediate surroundings, which constitute the basis of these schools' curricula. There is, however, little material concerning the learning process occurring with respect to those subjects and their content areas which somehow connect with the dominant culture. The short-lived nature of the reforms, which were, to a certain extent, echoed in Porto Alegre (Gandin & Apple, 2002), denied one sufficient time to temper the initial enthusiasm for a highly innovative and refreshing approach to communal learning with some consideration concerning the effectiveness of this approach in enabling the city's poor children to appropriate the skills and high order knowledge necessary to transcend their state of material impoverishment and powerlessness.

Given Freire's insistence that the popular constitutes only the entry point to knowledge and is not the be all and end all of the learning process, then one would have relished some insightful considerations concerning the 'popular public' curriculum on the lines we have come to associate with Gramsci. On the other hand, as O'Cadiz et al. (1998) demonstrate forcefully, there is much in the reforms carried out in São Paulo that can be of value to a process of curriculum development that draws on Gramscian insights (Buttigieg, 2002b, p. 130). The organisation of knowledge into generative themes gleaned from research by teachers and collaborators carried out in the school's surrounding community can help "render popular culture an integral feature of the learning process where the focus does not lie solely on the written word, a limitation in Gramsci's cultural (including popular culture) writings" (Borg & Mayo, 2002, p. 103). All this would be in the interest of developing a radically democratic 'popular public' education with a national and international character.

CONCLUSION

The last point might help to underscore the often complementary nature of the ideas expressed by Gramsci and Freire that are relevant to education; I had proposed a 'complementarity' thesis with respect to their ideas in my previous book-length study (Mayo, 1999). In sum, I would argue that their complementary views can help provide insights for an anti-neoliberal pedagogical approach. The neoliberal tendency to provide watered-down,

mass public education geared towards satisfying the needs of industry (instrumental knowledge), to the detriment of the students' broader set of subjectivities as persons, citizens and potential social actors, is countered by Gramsci. It is countered by his advocacy of a substantive education with core areas for everyone, recognising as he does the individual and collective advantages to be gained from a broad humanistic education. This humanistic education would cover a wide array of knowledge and include those subjects which, for all their cultural biases, have stood the test of time in enabling persons not to remain on the margins of political and economic life.

This is complemented by Freire's critical literacy approach and emphasis on starting from the learner's existential situation. He thus indicates a pathway to learning which takes account of the student's cultural background as starting point, in contrast with the neoliberal 'one shoe fits all' approach cemented by processes of standardisation, harmonisation and performativity. Gramsci's emphasis on the substantive basis of learning is complemented by Freire's emphasis on learning's collective dimension, something which even Gramsci emphasises, certainly with respect to adult education. This contrasts with the neoliberal emphasis on choice, which is often conditioned by the means to operate successfully in the market, resulting in a differentiated education in terms of outcomes. The collective dimension of learning is based on the democratic view of education as an individual and collective right and public good as opposed to being a 'competitive individualist' consumer good as viewed from a neoliberal perspective. For both Freire and Gramsci, education is neither simply individualistic and neither something to be acquired on the basis of one's economic means. The 'Unitarian School', or 'Common school', as Quentin Hoare and Nowell Smith call it (in Gramsci, 1971a), is precisely that—Unitarian/common—meant to be accessed by everyone. It is not meant to be a consumer education product placed on the market. This stands in contrast to neoliberal policies based on the market, on one's ability to pay and on education being a matter of individual as opposed to social responsibility ('responsibilisation'). The conventional view of lifelong learning centres round this conception. Recall that the most extreme form of this can be found in Chile, the venue for Neoliberalism's 'trial run' in the seventies, where, as indicated in Chapter 1, all state education from pre-primary to higher education is provided at a charge—the Pinochet legacy which students in alliance with others have been vociferously protesting against in recent years.

Gramsci's and Freire's shared notions of learning not simply for self-enrichment, and knowledge not simply for individual possession, but as processes to be shared collectively, are also at odds with the current neoliberal mantra of the possessive individual qua consumer. The latter is one who defines her or his identity according to what is consumed and the brand that gives it its status (once again, positional goods).

By way of a final summary, I would reiterate that there is then the shared major concept of praxis. Neoliberal clichés and myths can also be confronted by an education predicated on praxis, to repeat, the critical reflection on one's world of action. I have argued that this process entails one's obtaining critical distance to unveil the contradictions in society. This distance also helps one unveil the ideologies that mystify these very same contradictions. I have argued that praxis helps challenge, for example, taken-for-granted assumptions concerning 'employability', the major neoliberal 'target' for education, which is equated, in the popular psyche, with 'actual employment'. As I pointed out, this can well prove to be illusory in a scenario where people are learning more but earning less. As student protesters in Vienna argued, they are acquiring more qualifications than their parents but can never enjoy their standard of living (English & Mayo, 2012, p. 119).[17] This is just one example of the kind of myths that can be confronted and problematised through collective and judiciously guided reflection upon action, the process of praxis which lies at the heart of Gramsci's philosophy (the 'philosophy of praxis') and Freire's pedagogical approach and philosophy too.

Finally, to conclude with the obvious, both regarded education as political. Gramsci saw education as lying at the heart of the entire processes of hegemony, while, for Freire, the idea that education is political and not neutral is the basic maxim of his philosophy and runs throughout his oeuvre. This stands in contrast to the contemporary neoliberal approach of separating education from politics, viewing education in instrumental terms and reducing such a complex domain to simply a matter of technical competence (part of the technical-rational fix) devoid of any philosophical, historical and sociological underpinnings.

NOTES

1. An earlier version of this chapter, now revised with significant additions, appeared as Mayo, P. (2005b), "Antonio Gramsci and Paulo Freire. Some Connections and Contrasts", *Encyclopaideia. Rivista di fenomenologia, pedagogia, formazione,* vol. 17, pp. 77–10. The same earlier version was published in Spanish translation in *Dialogos. Educación y formación de personas adultas,* vol. 11, no. 41, pp. 15–31. It was reproduced, with the same title as the *Encyclopaidea* article, in C.A. Torres & P. Noguera (eds.) (2008), *Social Justice Education for Teachers: Paulo Freire and the Possible Dream,* Rotterdam, Boston & Taipei: Sense Publishers.
2. Courses and seminars around the texts that readily come to mind are those given in England (public seminars at Goldsmith's College, London, 2010, 2011), Canada (public talk at the University of Alberta, 2007), Germany (Block seminars at University of Mainz, 2006 and 2007) and Italy (launch of the Italian version of the book at University of Sassari and at the Aragonese Tower in Ghilarza, Gramsci's home town, both in Gramsci's Sardinia, 2007).

3. See the 2002 anthology, in which references to the work of Paulo Freire are constantly made, and which includes the work of leading critical educationists in the USA, Europe and Latin America (Borg et al., 2002b).
4. There is a significant literature consisting of studies on the work of Paulo Freire in relation to the ideas of other major social theorists and/or revolutionary activists. At the third Paulo Freire research conference, held at UCLA in 2002, a preliminary draft for this paper was presented in a panel which also included presentations on Freire and Dewey (Douglas Kellner) and Freire and Rousseau (Danilo Streck). Dewey seems to be an obvious figure with whom to compare Freire's work. Other works on this subject are provided by Feinberg and Torres (2001) and Abdi (2001). This section will also make reference to work discussing Freire's ideas alongside those of the recently deceased Ivan Illich and Ettore Gelpi. Other important studies comparing Freire's ideas with those of others are McLaren (2000), Morrow and Torres (2002a) and Mayo (2013a).
5. See also Borg et al. (2002b, p. 14).
6. This theme constitutes the leitmotif of her most recent work. See Allman (2001).
7. Throughout this section, I reproduce, verbatim, sentences from my review of Allman (1999). See Mayo (2001a).
8. See D. W. Livingstone's (1983, pp. 186–187) reference to Castles and Wustenberg (1979).
9. In a situation characterised by the ongoing struggle for a critical and humanising pedagogy, the actions of educators and learners are guided by the goal of 'negating the negation' of a dehumanising relation, occurring under conditions of 'banking education'. Under 'banking education', the educator supports, deliberately or unwittingly, a dehumanising structure of oppression that can only be solved through the termination of this oppressive and dehumanising relation that denies both teacher and learner their humanity. This, I would argue, remains an ongoing struggle—with no point of arrival. In my view, 'banking education' and 'dialogical education' ought to be conceived of as ends of a continuum. There are several tensions which prevent the 'negation of the negation' in the educational relationship from being realised fully, such as the tension between 'authority and freedom', to which I shall return later.
10. Excerpt translated by Carmel Borg and extracted from Borg et al. (2002b, pp. 87–108).
11. See Larrain (1979, 1983) for an excellent discussion of this distinction within the context of Marxism and ideology.
12. For thorough expositions of Paulo Freire's philosophy, see Taylor (1993); Elias (1994); Gadotti (1994); Roberts (2000, 2013); Darder (2002); and Mayo (2001b, 2004/2009). See also various papers in McLaren and Leonard (1993); McLaren and Lankshear (1994); and Part 2, "The Man with the Gray Beard", in McLaren (2000).
13. As I have argued elsewhere (Mayo, 2001b), this makes nonsense of the criticism, directed at Freire in North America, that he fails to recognise that one can be oppressed in one situation and an oppressor in another and that he posits a binary opposition between oppressor and oppressed. If anything, the relations between oppressor and oppressed have always been presented by Freire as dialectical rather than as binary opposites. Also see Allman (1999, pp. 88–89), for an insightful exposition in this regard.
14. Argument reproduced from Allman and Mayo (1997, p. 8).
15. Literal translation: Movement of Rural Workers without Land. The movement's name is *Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra* (MST—Movement

of Landless Peasants). This is arguably one of the two most vibrant movements in Latin America, the Frente Zapatista in Chiapas being the other.

16. For an insightful discussion on the issue of subaltern groups and subaltern culture with reference to the relevance of the term 'subaltern' to such areas as colonialism, see Chapter 5 in Crehan (2002).
17. See Brown, Lauder and Ashton (2010), who challenge the taken-for-granted notion that the acquisition of greater education will lead to greater individual and national prosperity. They draw on a range of international research indicating the existing tough global competition for rewarding middle-class jobs. They write of an "auction for cut-priced brainpower" backed by a higher education explosion worldwide which leads to a scramble for a few good financially rewarding jobs (see English & Mayo, 2012, p. 80).

9 Gramsci's Impact on Critical Pedagogy[1]

INTRODUCTION

Antonio Gramsci wielded a great influence on the critical education field. The concepts he elaborated and themes he broached such as those of hegemony, the intellectuals' roles, the Factory Council theory and the integral state have had a great impact on educational thought. They continue to do so today as writers in the area of critical educational enquiry increasingly grapple with neoliberal tenets and their translation into policy, conditioning educational practice in a variety of sites and contexts. Gramsci's concepts continue to feature prominently in most discussions on the relationship between education and power. As argued throughout this volume, and perhaps worth underlining once more, education, from a Gramscian perspective, is viewed in its broadest context and not just in the context of the 'Unitarian School' (Gramsci's notes on schooling—see Chapter 6). Gramsci's broad conception of education incorporates all elements of the hegemonic apparatus.

Readers would by now need no reminding that Gramsci's major pedagogical philosophy would be the 'pedagogy of praxis', inferred from his elaboration of the 'philosophy of praxis', referred to in the previous chapter. Other issues concern the role of education and the 'integral state', the latter encompassing the heuristic political/civil society divide.

A number of writers/educators, who engage in a critical approach to education and who underline the political nature of education, subscribe to that movement of educators known as critical pedagogy. Gramsci is included in a major critical pedagogy website as a key source of influence on the area.[2] Focusing on schools, Peter McLaren (1994), who has also authored a piece on Gramsci with Argentinean collaborators (McLaren et al., 2002), defines critical pedagogy as being "fundamentally concerned with the centrality of politics and power in our understanding of how schools work" (McLaren, 1994, p. 167). This definition certainly applies to the broader area of critical education in general and would equally apply to the domain of adult learning, especially of the emancipatory type (English & Mayo, 2012). Critical pedagogy is basically concerned with the relationship of education

and power. It deals with power/knowledge relations. Questions that arise within critical pedagogy include: Whose interests are represented by schooling and formal education? Whose history? Whose future? Whose "cultural arbitrary", to adopt Pierre Bourdieu's term? Broadly speaking, critical pedagogy attempts to:

- Create new forms of knowing, placing emphasis on dismantling disciplinary divisions and creating interdisciplinary knowledge.
- Pose questions concerning relations between margins and centres of power in schools, universities and throughout society as a whole.
- Encourage readings of history as part of a political pedagogical project that tackles issues of power and identity in connection with questions of social class, 'race'/ethnicity, gender and colonialism.
- Refute the distinction between 'high' and low' culture with a view to developing a curriculum that connects with people's life-worlds and everyday cultural narratives and gradually moves beyond that.
- Give importance to a language of ethics throughout the educational process (adapted from Giroux, 2011).

THIS CHAPTER

In this chapter, I shall deal with some of the main ideas, connected with Gramsci's views, which recur throughout the critical pedagogy literature. I will do this with reference to a selection of exponents of this field. The list is by no means exhaustive and the main criterion for selection in this piece is the authors' engagement, and, at times, sustained engagement, with Gramscian concepts and writings. This would be in addition to their identification with the critical pedagogy field or, in the case of some, with the strand of critical education which comes close to critical pedagogy. One cannot work in absolutes in this fluid area.

I include some of those exponents who are among the best known and widely published in critical pedagogy. They have often engaged with Gramsci's ideas in a sustained way and associate themselves with his concepts and influence. The figures to whom I shall be referring are Michael W. Apple, Antonia Darder, Paulo Freire, Henry A. Giroux, D. W. Livingstone and Peter McLaren. This discussion, however, focuses on ideas from Gramsci rather than on individuals. The names and work of these exponents are therefore mentioned only in direct relation to these ideas and conceptual tools. In repeating some of the key Gramscian themes discussed earlier in the book, to see how they are taken up in critical pedagogy, this chapter provides a final recapitulation of Gramsci's main ideas and insights that can serve as an antidote to the all-pervasive neoliberal discourse in education and society. It is precisely because of their usefulness as antidotes to the neoliberal project

that these key ideas are taken up by the selected authors when developing their visions for education.

POLITICS OF EDUCATION

The obvious distinguishing aspect of Gramsci's work and that of exponents of critical pedagogy is the emphasis on the politics of education. We have seen, in Chapter 3 and later, how, for Gramsci, education, viewed in its broader context, incorporates activities carried out across the whole spectrum of 'civil society'. In Gramscian terms, this refers to the complex of ideological institutions and other agencies buttressing the state (recall that the separations between a state's civil and political society, and the ideological and the repressive, are provided by Gramsci only for heuristic purposes). Education, viewed this way, plays an important part in the process of political consolidation and contestation. This naturally lends itself to the work of people engaged in critical education and more specifically in critical pedagogy, as the earlier definitions from McLaren and Giroux would suggest. As Freire and others have argued, education is not neutral and is political.

I am mentioning Freire once again here, given the ample treatment accorded to him in the last chapter, because it is no exaggeration to say that he is the most heralded exponent of critical pedagogy worldwide. And we have seen, in the previous chapter, that he too was strongly influenced by Gramsci (Allman, 1999; Mayo, 1999, 2005b, 2013). Another major exponent, Henry A. Giroux (see interview in Torres, 1998a) heralds Freire as one of the primary exponents of a historically specific understanding of critical pedagogy. In concert with other Freire-inspired critical pedagogues, one must constantly ask: On whose side are we when educating (Freire, 1970)? This brings us to the issue of hegemony, a key concept in critical pedagogy which, as I have argued, lies at the heart of the workings of hegemony itself.

HEGEMONY

In the words of D.W. Livingstone (1986), editor of an important compendium of writings on critical pedagogy, hegemony is "a social condition in which all aspects of social reality are dominated by or supportive of a single class" (Livingstone, 1976, p. 235). My personal choice of language would, however, be more cautious in this context, to avoid giving hegemony an overly deterministic weight ("dominated"), which would then contradict the notion that it is fluid, constantly open to negotiation and renegotiation.[3] We have seen how the Gramscian notion of hegemony, rooted in Marx's theory of consciousness (Allman, 1999, 2001; Morrow & Torres, 1995), is concerned with the exercise of influence and the winning of consent. I also

mentioned that there are *prima facie* ambiguities in Gramsci's writings as to whether hegemony refers solely to this aspect of power or combines this aspect with the coercive elements as well.

Gramsci presented hegemony as the means whereby social forces, manifest throughout not only civil society but also what is conceived of as political society, interrelated facets of an 'integral state', are, as Peter D. Thomas (2009) underlines, transformed into political power within the context of different class projects. I would also reiterate, with respect to this conceptualisation, the view that the integral state has a strong relational dimension.

RELATIONAL ASPECT OF HEGEMONY, PEDAGOGY AND THE STATE

In Chapter 3, I posited that the relational dimension is basically evident in Gramsci's conceptualisation of every relationship of hegemony as a pedagogical relationship. It is this aspect of hegemony, in Gramsci's conceptualisation, which makes this concept ever more powerful for anyone engaging in a critical pedagogy. At its most basic level, it is a notion which deals with the social relations of capitalist production, the understanding being that changing these relations will enable us to go some way towards changing the mode of production itself. Gramsci's early and later writings on the factory councils are instructive here. These factory councils were intended to supersede the trade unions by enabling workers to transcend the capitalist wage relation, to usher in a new conception of workers' control at the workplace. This view led to workers occupying the Turin factories and in so doing brought that part of the Italian peninsula close to a revolution. The factory councils were conceived of as educative agencies intended towards industrial democracy *tout court*. In Gramsci's view, they were to constitute the basis of the new workers' socialist state. In doing so, Gramsci emphasises the relational aspect of that construct called 'the State'.

Transforming social relations of production constitutes an important step towards transforming the relational aspect of the 'state' (Gramsci, 1977b, p. 66; see Italian original in Gramsci, 1967, pp. 206–207). Within critical pedagogy, this aspect of Gramsci's ideas is best taken up by D. W. Livingstone (2002) with respect to his research and that of others in the Work and Adult Learning (WALL) project concerning paid education leave (PEL) involving Canadian automobile workers in Ontario. This research provides insights into, among other things, the sort of learning which workers derive from the plant and from PEL with potential for their empowerment. In another paper (Mayo, 2005a), revised as Chapter 5 in this volume, I focus on the way a state funded university, an important institution of civil society, consolidates existing hegemonic arrangements and, at the same time, offers spaces wherein these arrangements can be contested in a "war of position".

HEGEMONY, THE CURRICULUM AND SCHOOLING

Livingstone's definition of hegemony, on the other hand, indicates its immediate relevance to the issue of schooling as a means of socialisation into the current hegemonic relations and its potential for offering one of those spaces where these relations can be contested. The latter function is even more relevant to education in its broadest context, also in terms of radical adult education, which carves up spaces for people to challenge predominant hegemonic relations. It also offers potential for the work of educators and other cultural workers operating against the grain by being, as Freire and other Brazilians would put it, 'tactically inside and strategically outside the system'.

The work of Freire, Giroux and Apple come to mind here. Freire comes to mind with his notion of non-formal education offering spaces to challenge the status quo. Giroux, for his part, provides us with the notion of the mediating and potentially disrupting/reconstructing influences of cultural workers engaged throughout various institutions (schools, cinema, theatre, youth centres, etc.) that are viewed as agencies of what he calls 'public pedagogy'. Apple comes to mind with his work regarding which knowledge is ordained as 'official knowledge' and which remains subaltern, not least his early influential work on the curriculum as a contested terrain.

Michael W. Apple, a key figure in critical curriculum studies, is a self-declared neo-Gramscian. He also appears as a key figure in critical pedagogy on the Paulo-Nita Freire International Project of Critical Pedagogy website. He was one of the original group who gathered together at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE), University of Toronto, in the 1980s, where the term 'critical pedagogy' is said to have been coined.[4] He would nowadays be more connected with the broader critical education field. His work is, however, a constant source of reference—almost *de rigueur*—among critical pedagogues. Among other things, Apple argued for the democratisation of the curriculum (Apple, 1990, 1995), which he presents as a site of contestation mirroring other sites of struggle, such as the state and the domain of textbook publishing (Apple, 1986). All this relates to the notion of hegemony being constantly in flux and open to negotiation and renegotiation. The curriculum, according to Apple, is one space where dominant groups render their knowledge hegemonic and where also hegemonic contestation and renegotiation take place. He has been detailing the economic, political, and ideological processes that enable specific groups' knowledge to become 'official' (Apple, 2000) while other groups' knowledge is 'popular'. There are clear echoes of Gramsci here, especially with regard to the Italian Marxist's constant fascination with and exploration of the interplay of the popular and 'established' forms of cultural production and how each draw from each other. It would be sufficient to mention here the point made in Chapter 4: Gramsci's fascination with Dostoyevsky's novels, partly because they draw on the popular serial novel.

Over the past two decades, Apple has critically examined those social movements that exercise international leadership in educational reform, viewing them also for their role in challenging existing hegemonic relations and providing possibilities for their renegotiation. His entire oeuvre denotes Gramscian influences, not least his most recent works (Apple, 2006, 2012), as the author uses such conceptual tools as 'hegemonic [social, historical] blocs', 'good sense/bad sense' and 'organic intellectuals', besides discussing religious forms and content, among others. He does this while constantly confronting issues concerning neoliberal hegemonic thinking and practice within the context of New Right politics which, he argued, similar to my statement in the opening chapter, combines free market economics with conservative values.

One aspect worth reiterating here is what I would call the reconstructive nature of hegemony as opposed to simply 'ideology critique', associated with certain authors from the Frankfurt School of critical theory. Gramsci called for an "intense labour of criticism" that must occur both before and following the conquest of the state (Gramsci, 1977b, p. 12; see original Italian quote in Gramsci, 1967, p. 19). This is echoed by Apple through his work on the curriculum and on other aspects of critical teaching. Cultural action plays an important role here, being not an epiphenomenon that is confined to a superstructure and simply an emanation from an economic base constituting the sum total of the social relations of production. That, as we have seen, notably in Chapter 3, would be quite reductionist in its orthodoxy and, in Gramsci's words, can lead to that paralysing sense of "predestination" (Gramsci, 1957, p. 75) which he associated with Maximalism (Gramsci, 1925/2012). To the contrary, cultural action plays an important part in ushering in a new set of social relations and can contribute to creating a different social condition in which more, if not all, aspects of reality are supportive of a new class or social grouping. This has ramifications for a whole array of historically subaltern groups in society.

Despite his tremendous respect for the work of the Frankfurt School, particularly that of Adorno and Marcuse, Henry A. Giroux, a frequent writer of published essays on Gramsci (e.g., Giroux, 2002), as I have shown through my frequent references to his work, subscribes to a clear Gramscian conception of culture. He regards it as providing ample spaces that accommodate multiple agencies for change. In Giroux's work, echoing the Gramscian influence on cultural studies, and in particular, the different waves of the British cultural studies tradition associated with the work of E.P. Thompson, Raymond Williams, Richard Hoggart, Angela McRobbie, Richard Johnson and Stuart Hall, the cultural is political in the same way that the political is cultural. In this regard, he strongly echoes the importance given by Gramsci, influenced by Angelo Tasca, to the cultural within a socialist strategy. Quite relevant, in this context, is Tasca's point, reproduced verbatim in Chapter 4, that socialism consists of an organisation that is not only of a political and economic nature but also of a cultural one.

Giroux echoes Gramsci's notion of every relationship of hegemony being a pedagogical relationship even further by emphasising the political basis of pedagogy and the pedagogical basis of politics.

It is for this reason that Giroux, like Gramsci, scours the broad terrain of cultural politics, including children's beauty pageants, mass media, publicity boards and other advertisements (notably Benetton advertisements), the Disney Empire, films, popular music and art. He examines the way these forms of cultural production provide ruptures in or connect with the dominant discourses of the military-industrial complex (Giroux, 2007) and neoliberal economic thinking (Giroux, 2008). He too presents neoliberal thinking as often being allied with conservative values, thus connecting with Apple's writings on the New Right.

CULTURE AND LANGUAGE

In this respect, the role of language becomes important and this might partly explain why critical pedagogy has attracted people from the language field or who engage with issues concerning the politics of language. They emerge not only from critical pedagogy (e.g., Alastair Pennycook, Jim Cummins) but also from beyond (e.g., Tulio De Mauro, Franco Lo Piparo and Peter Ives). Earlier chapters underlined that language was of primary concern to Gramsci, who studied philology before opting out of university to eventually declare himself a full-time revolutionary instead. He wrote extensively about the notion of linguistic hegemony and the nation state in the quest for a 'national-popular' language.

Antonia Darder's work on biculturalism, within critical pedagogy (she is the co-editor of an important critical pedagogy reader, see Darder et al., 2008), comes to mind. Antonia Darder's writings throughout the last 20 years (Darder, 2011) invite parallels with Gramsci's thinking regarding subaltern ('spontaneous grammar') and standard ('normative grammar') languages, discussed earlier. She does not, however, use these specific Gramscian terms. Darder, who is Puerto Rican and therefore a Spanish/English bilingual, insists on a need for a different way of preparing teachers in their work with bicultural students in the USA. This entails engaging the primary cultures of minority students in a process that does not remain at a superficial level (this has been one of the major critiques of multicultural experiences in education, seen as a form of containment) but which must go deeper.

As Darder (2012) posits, educators must seek to create the conditions in which bicultural students can learn how to navigate critically in both cultures, recognising the dominant/subordinate dialectic and ideological formations inherent in the colonial context. This recognition, however, should not be facile. Colonialism has always been complex and the colonised have often been skilful in appropriating aspects of the dominant culture for their

own ends, something which connects with Gramsci's thinking on wars of position. Instead, this recognition underscores the need for subaltern learners not to remain, as Gramsci would put in, on the margins of political life. What emerges from this kind of work is once again the importance of the cultural in the struggle for social change. Cultural work is perceived as a key element in a 'war of position' involving advances and retreats, transformative and survival strategies, part and parcel, once again, of negotiating relations of hegemony.

FREIRE'S CULTURAL ACTION FOR FREEDOM

Like Gramsci, Apple, Giroux and Darder, Paulo Freire too placed emphasis on the role of cultural work in the process of social transformation, with special emphasis on Latin American-influenced popular education as an important vehicle in this regard. This position is best captured in his term "cultural action for freedom" (Freire, 2000), the sort of action which precedes the seizure of official political power which, as Gramsci would argue, applying this to East and West, must be followed by what Freire calls "cultural revolution". In Gramsci's terms, the latter would entail the consolidation of the revolutionary gains by developing the apparatuses that form civil society, that civil society which buttresses the 'integral state'.

THE ROLE OF INTELLECTUALS

The potential for change lies within these broad terrains. The role of organic intellectuals, including subaltern cultural workers (e.g., the teachers mentioned by Darder) and public intellectuals (quite evident in Giroux's work), is analysed in terms of their function in this regard. This echoes Gramsci's examination, in his prison writings, of the role of intellectuals not for some immanent features they have but for their function in sustaining, consolidating or rupturing the current hegemonic state of affairs. We have seen how this entails an examination of their role in the 'war of position', in which many of them have to engage to be effective. Readers acquainted with Gramsci's ideas need no reminding that the subject of intellectuals was meant to be given a prominent place in the work he had in mind when jotting down notes and elaborating on others in the *Prison Notebooks*.

It would not be amiss to reiterate that Gramsci wrote copiously even before his imprisonment (see, for instance, the inconclusive piece on the 'Southern Question' tackled in Chapter 7) about intellectuals and their role in directly or indirectly sustaining hegemony or modifying it. He wrote about the grand intellectuals and the purposes they serve throughout Italian cultural and political life and in the cementation and disruption of social blocs such as the Agrarian Southern Bloc. Gramsci, however, also looked at

the subaltern intellectuals, namely teachers, notaries, priests, lawyers, medical doctors and literati, on the one hand, and engineers and managers on the other, for their function on their respective sides of the North-South (the latter '*Meridione*' in Italian) Italian divide.

The theme of intellectuals is an important one in critical pedagogy. Freire was among the first to take up a decidedly Gramscian approach in a Third World/Southern context. We see this clearly in his letters to Guinea Bissau (Freire, 1978), and most notably in letter 11, where the notion of the organic intellectual is taken up, a notion which was quite widespread in the kind of popular education found in his native Latin America, especially among popular educators in the Christian Base Communities—'*Comunidades Eclesiales de Base*' (the Spanish term used there).

As in other writings, Freire tackles in this letter the issue of the Portuguese colonial legacy in education, which was very elitist. It restricted the attainment of qualifications to a small cadre of people who served as urban intellectuals having close links with and supporting the colonial powers. He adopts Amilcar Cabral's notion (see Cortesão, 2012) of the elitist intellectual, in this situation, having to commit 'class suicide'. In doing so, the elitist intellectual is 'reborn' as a revolutionary worker who identifies with the aspirations of the people. Freire's Guinea Bissau discussion of intellectuals is set in a context that is far removed from the 'First World' contexts of most critical pedagogy academics. The issue of committing suicide is key to changing one's view of oneself as pedagogue to become a critical pedagogue. One begins to grapple here with the disturbing question, posed earlier, regarding the political stance we take when educating.

This immediately recalls Gramsci's notion of the revolutionary party (the 'Modern Prince') and movement assimilating traditional intellectuals to render them organic to the struggle for social transformation. In Gramsci's view, this struggle takes the form of a lengthy process of 'intellectual and moral reform'. The transformation of traditional intellectuals is an important revolutionary task for Gramsci. He might have seen himself, a product of a classical though incomplete formal education, as someone who could easily have ended up fitting the traditional intellectual category had he not dropped out of university, owing to his physical ailments, which made him miss exams. Of course, his early immersion in radical socialist politics steered him in a different direction. He is, however, under no illusion regarding the task at hand, that of converting traditional intellectuals to ones who are organic to the subaltern cause and the party or movement supporting it. Despite acknowledging the virtues of the classical school, he knew that the intellectual education of the middle class reinforces the class position of its recipients.

As he explained, with regard to the function of southern intellectuals in Italy and the role language plays in this process (see Ives, 2004a), this education can make them 'absolutise' their activity (and make it appear disconnected from its social moorings). They can conceive of this activity as being

superior to that of those who did not benefit from the same opportunity. Once again, his broadening of the concept of the intellectual, which can include foremen, party activists, trade union representatives and adult educators, since they perform the intellectual role of influencing opinions and worldviews, allows him to believe in the potential of subaltern groups in generating, from within their ranks, their own intellectuals.

Freire argues likewise in letter 11 of the Guinea Bissau book, stating that it is also necessary to generate from within the ranks of the subaltern a new type of intellectual whose thinking and activity help generate a new *Weltanschauung,* a new world view. The lines he provides to this effect could easily have been lifted verbatim from translations of Gramsci's notes, in the *Quaderni,* on intellectuals and the organisation of culture.

I would argue, however, that if there is one critical pedagogue who has consistently taken up the issue of intellectuals and has even activated a project in this regard, then that is Henry A. Giroux. To recapitulate at this late stage, Gramsci examines the role of persons engaged in intellectual work. He views them as either being organic to a particular movement or set of relations, within a deeply entrenched 'historical bloc', or being persons whose organic function dates back to a previous historical epoch that has been superseded (traditional intellectuals). This seems to have had a bearing on Giroux's thinking. Giroux's notion of a transformative intellectual (Giroux, 1988) is very much conceived of within the context of subjects who think and act in terms of transforming present unjust social relations. In short, they would be organic with regard to movements for social justice-oriented social change, intellectuals influencing the emergence of a set of more socially just relations, prefiguring a new form of society.

PUBLIC INTELLECTUALS

Henry Giroux goes even further than that. In his more recent work and projects, Giroux calls for the return, in this age of infotainment, neoliberal acquiescence and 'dumbing down', of transformative organic intellectuals who avail themselves of or carve out different democratic public spaces, including social media, print media, broadcasting, in addition to any possible teaching position they might have (unlike Gramsci, Giroux has written a lot on higher education).

As noted, he writes about the 'public intellectual'. In this regard, he is directing a project for one of the main progressive online reviews, *Truthout*. This entails encouraging progressive academics and other writers to share their ideas with a broader public in a manner that is neither too academic nor simplistic—shades here of Gramsci and his commitment to the media of his times, notably such outlets as *Avanti, Il Grido del Popolo, L'Ordine Nuovo* and *L'Unità*.[5] The point to register here, once again, is that education

occurs in a variety of spaces and not just in formal or non-formal learning settings.

The media in the form of community radio, online reviews and blogging spaces offer wonderful opportunities for cultural workers, in their broader role as educators, to act organically to the cause of political and social transformation. They would thus transcend their role as specific and organic intellectuals in a confined space to assume that of public intellectuals targeting a larger audience or readership. Giroux's former colleague at Miami, Ohio, Peter McLaren, undoubtedly one of the most Marxist exponents of critical pedagogy, takes up the issue of intellectuals in his essay on Gramsci, co-authored with Argentineans Gustavo Fischman, Silvia Serra and Estanislao Antelo (McLaren et al., 2002). This essay takes up Gramsci's notion of the organic intellectual, juxtaposing it with post-Marxist and postmodern interpretations of intellectual work and their positing of the non-sutured nature of the social (echoes of Laclau & Mouffe, 1985). The authors do this to discuss committed intellectual work within the context of a totalising view of capital, indicating how "discourses are never immune from a larger context of objective labor practices or disentangled from social relations arising from the history of productive labor" (McLaren et al., 2002, p. 175).

They foreground social class in the contemporary critical education debate, given its disappearance in the voguish postmodern or poststructural literature that tends to throw out the class baby with the class bathwater (Livingstone, 1995). In another piece, McLaren and Fischman also critique the postmodern tendency to faddishly appropriate Gramsci to serve postmodern arguments, prioritising language and representation over class politics and class struggle (Fischman & McLaren, 2005, p. 17).

This is quite an interesting stricture given how much critical pedagogy itself took a postmodern turn in the writings of a number of exponents in the 1990s. McLaren himself produced works in this vein prior to his later revolutionary Marxist orientation. He and his colleagues contend that the various forms of oppression, especially race, class and gender, are refracted through the international capitalist division of labor. What one deduces from these writings is that the committed organic intellectual needs to reconcile the various concerns of social movements with those of the 'old' Marxist movement to which Gramsci belonged, given, once again, the totalising, structuring force of capital.

THE QUESTION OF KNOWLEDGE

One important issue worth dealing with, in a discussion on Gramsci's influence on critical pedagogy, is, once again, the question of knowledge, a recurring theme throughout this volume. Like Gramsci, critical pedagogues draw on a huge terrain of knowledge often focusing on the popular, something which Gramsci did not eschew, certainly with regard to popular literature.

Before one accuses him of restricting himself to the written word (a common criticism), one ought to repeat that Gramsci also saw revolutionary potential in manifestations of what he regards as the 'popular creative spirit'.

This, one ought to remind the reader, includes forms of popular expression, including artistic and folkloristic expression (not to be confused with his more negative notion of folklore), which, in his time, could well have existed outside the sphere of capitalist economic production. It remains to be seen how far these forms of production, for example games played out by political prison inmates involving regional teams during his period of incarceration, besides jazz and blues in the USA (see McLoughlin, 2009), for which he held a fascination, have retained their popular rural or proletarian character in this age.

Critical pedagogues and especially Giroux, once again, have been illustrating how this age is characterised by specific forms of capitalist encroachment on and commodification of different aspects of our lives, focusing on one time public spaces and popular forms of creativity (Giroux, 1999, 2001a). The notion of a cultural war of position, as Gramsci indicated, works both ways. While Gramsci spoke of the need for a critical appropriation of the dominant culture, the capitalist hegemonic class, through its political and cultural think tanks and intellectuals, is ever so ready to prey on popular sensibilities and tastes in its quest for new markets and products and therefore in its fetishisation of new commodities. Nevertheless, the fascination with the contradictory nature of these activities, especially popular activities and leisure commodities, still appears in contemporary critical pedagogical literature where Gramsci's influence, via the impact of cultural studies, has remained strong.

The notion of critical appropriation implies a critical interpretation of established cultural products against the grain. This is very much a recurring feature of cultural studies and other areas such as postcolonial studies—all dear to critical pedagogues. It also has implications for a recurring feature of cultural studies and another Gramsci-inspired area—subaltern studies: reading history against the grain. This connects with the point, adapted from Giroux (2011), made earlier regarding the task of critical pedagogues to "encourage readings of history as part of a political pedagogical project that tackles issues of power and identity in connection with questions of social class, 'race'/ethnicity, gender, colonialism". Cultural studies has provided excellent specimens of this through work emerging from the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, especially works such as Andy Green's (1990) history of education and state formation in various contexts, the subject of a PhD thesis there. There is a subaltern studies group in India (see Guha, 2009) engaged in reading, against the grain, the history of the country, during and especially after the British Raj. The inspiration from Gramsci, in most cases, derives from his own reading, against the grain, of Italian history and especially that of the Risorgimento and its aftermath. The so-called 'unification' of Italy is presented as a form of internal

colonisation leading to a 'Third World' co-existing alongside a 'First World' within the same nation state: the industrialised North and the impoverished 'Meridione'.

Critical pedagogy can do with more work of this type. Non-Gramscian examples of this type of pedagogical approach appear in the work of the recently deceased critical pedagogy exponent, Roger I. Simon (Simon 1992; Simon et al., 1991) and, once more, don Lorenzo Milani (1988). In Milani's case, this is especially so in those letters where he articulates a strong defence of the right to conscientious objection to conscription for military service, an aspect of his work not mentioned thus far (Milani, 1988).

PRAXIS

At the conceptual level, one notion remains prominent in the critical pedagogical field, that of praxis, which, as I argued in the previous chapter, connects Gramsci's work with that of Freire in particular. I stated that Gramsci's major pedagogical philosophy, inferred from his overriding philosophy, is the 'pedagogy of praxis'. This is meant to connect with people's 'common sense'. It would be worth repeating that common sense, as conceived by Gramsci, contains elements of good sense that, however, need to be rendered more coherent, less contradictory. The 'philosophy of praxis' must transcend 'common sense' in a manner, as Thomas (2009) and others explain, that is neither doctrinaire (a definitive system of ideas) nor speculative.

Praxis was also the process with which Gramsci was engaged because of his separation, through incarceration, from the world of direct political action (although political debates with political inmates also occurred within the prison precincts). Incarceration provided him with a critical distance from this world of action just as exile did to Freire, removing the Brazilian from an area which, he felt at the time, was "roused for transformation" (Shor, 1998, p. 75). Gramsci's 'philosophy of praxis' implies a pedagogical approach given, as indicated time and time again, that hegemony is an ensemble of pedagogical relations.

We have seen in Chapter 8 that, as with Gramsci, Freire adopted praxis as his central philosophical concept and key pedagogical tool for the coming into critical consciousness or *'conscientização'*. To repeat, this is the means whereby one can stand back from the everyday world of action to perceive this world in a more critical light. It is the sort of approach from Freire which another critical pedagogue, Ira Shor, calls "Extraordinarily Reexperiencing the Ordinary" (Shor, 1987, p. 93). The common fount of inspiration for both Gramsci and Freire here is Karl Marx and especially Marx's early writings, some of which were not available to Gramsci. It would not be amiss to assume that many critical pedagogues adopted this pedagogical approach not so much from Gramsci, at least not directly so, but from Freire, whose influence even reached fellow Brazilian playwright Augusto

Boal who would also influence critical pedagogy through his forms of communal theatrical representation, especially his 'Forum Theatre'. This theatre provided the means of enabling community learners to re-experience the ordinary extraordinarily.

POWERFUL KNOWLEDGE

I cannot leave the question of knowledge, however, without coming back to the important theme of 'powerful knowledge' since this, in my view, represents another important challenge for critical pedagogy, especially if we bring Gramsci into the equation. While, as stated time and time again, Gramsci's notion of education extends beyond his notes containing discussions on and around the 'Unitarian School', those notes, however, have stirred and continued to stir much controversy and debate. One of the challenges for critical pedagogy inspired by Gramsci is to deal with 'powerful knowledge' (Young & Muller, 2010).

While, as we have seen, Gramsci argued that the old classical school had to be replaced, because time has changed, it imparted skills and a kind of rigour which, if democratised in terms of access, would stand people from a class aspiring to become a '*classe dirigente*' (class which directs) in good stead, even if they might have to be conveyed in a manner different from the traditional one. Recall that Latin had to be replaced, according to Gramsci, but there was need for a different and more culturally relevant body of knowledge that was equally effective to impart rigour, clarity of thinking and logic. The concern, one ought to remember, is with a type of education that does not sell working-class children short in comparison with middle-class pupils who can still obtain these skills, irrespective of whether they are offered by the school or not, through their materially rewarding cultural capital and what are nowadays referred to as 'invisible pedagogies'.

This aspect of the curriculum debate is often conspicuous by its absence or given token presence in the critical pedagogy field. There is a lot of emphasis on popular culture deriving from the influence of cultural studies. This is fair enough and important given its role in hegemony building or disruption. There seems to be little, however, on what, once again, for want of a better term, Young calls 'powerful knowledge'. How do working-class learners acquire this knowledge, which equips them to stand their ground, without allowing this knowledge to become an object of domination? How does one appropriate this knowledge critically to recognise both its strengths and limitations and its historically contingent underpinnings? Freire partly dealt with this in his discussions on language in postcolonial settings. It is here that the challenge remains.

One would do well to follow and repeat Gramsci's argument, reproduced in Chapter 4, with regard to language and other forms of the dominant culture (basic knowledge deemed essential, despite its historical origins and

ideological underpinnings). Mastery of this knowledge, albeit critically, I would add, is key to enabling subaltern groups to avoid remaining on the periphery of social, political and economic life. Disciplinary border crossings, as mentioned in the earlier list of characteristics adapted from Giroux (2011), are important at one level to enable the learner to establish critical connections. In so doing, the learner avoids becoming a 'learned ignoramus', as Donaldo Macedo (1994, p. 21), another critical pedagogy exponent closely connected to Freire, emphasises, borrowing from José Ortega y Gasset.

On the other hand, excessive hybridisation of the curriculum, allowing for little if any in-depth mastery (with strong classification, in Bernstein's terms) of knowledge that is powerful (Young & Muller, 2010, p. 16), would serve to shortchange learners. They can thus be fobbed off with a watered-down curriculum. And this can come across as one of the major pitfalls of critical pedagogy in an age governed by the socially differentiating discourse of Neoliberalism as it impinges on educational policy and practice. It remains a pitfall unless we heed Gramsci's strictures in the notes on the 'Unitarian School', those of others such as Lorenzo Milani in Italy and more recently Michael Young and Johan Muller.

Michael Young and Johan Muller (2010) have been arguing along similar Gramscian lines, having critiqued different forms of progressive discourses on education that, as stated in the Unitarian School discussion (Chapter 6), can easily translate into a watered-down version of education for those who do not obtain the benefits (see Young, 2004), from elsewhere, of 'invisible pedagogies' (learning deriving directly from one's cultural and social capital, both in Bourdieu's sense of the terms). This reflects one of the strongest pedagogical insights from Gramsci to serve as an important antidote to neoliberal educational discourse. I therefore feel it warrants reiteration and some further elaboration at the close of this work.

Excessive emphasis on hybridisation to the detriment of an in-depth study of certain subjects that have stood the test of time, regarding their being key to power, can lead to superficiality. This can therefore deny access to the kind of knowledge that really matters in the real world. Young and Muller (2010, p. 16) argue for a future curriculum scenario, called Future 3, characterised by "boundary maintenance as prior to boundary crossing". Future 1 is marked by strong classification and sharp disciplinary boundaries, while Future 2 entails loose classification of study areas and hybridisation. In Future 3, it is "the variable relation between the two that is the condition for the creation and acquisition of new knowledge" (Young & Muller, 2010, p. 16). This scenario allows for some flexibility in crossing boundaries but retains some fixed ones around key disciplines. Young and Muller argue that "access to powerful knowledge is a right for all not just the few, with a theory of 'powerful knowledge' and how it is acquired and the crucial role of formal education in that process" (Young & Muller, 2010, p. 24). They are somewhat tentative in their proposals,

just as Gramsci is when writing about his proposed 'Unitarian School'. They connect their feelings towards Futures 2, a reaction to Futures 1, with Gramsci's feelings towards the Rousseau-inspired 'child-centred' approach, prevalent in his time and which partly influenced the '*Riforma Gentile*' (Gentile's Reform), and traditional schooling. Recall, as stated in Chapter 6, that Young and Muller end their 2010 article by quoting the famous statement by Gramsci to the effect that the active school is still in its romantic phase as it serves as a logical and radical alternative to the mechanistic Jesuitical school; it must eventually enter the classical phase (Gramsci, 1971a, pp. 32–33). In presenting what they call Futures 3, Young and Muller argue for an attempt at a rational balance between the traditional and the more 'progressive'.

They obviously found in Gramsci what, on Young's admission (Young, 2013, p. 103), they did not find among educationists (and they criticise both 'new sociology of education' and 'critical pedagogy' exponents for this), namely insights for a new curriculum that is promising in preventing alienation and at the same time provides 'really useful' knowledge. It would be useful not in a reproductive sense but in enabling pupils from subaltern sectors to step up to a higher level of education. This education cannot be acquired solely from life itself. While a school can relate to life and make this the starting point of several learning experiences, it ought to do more than that if it is to serve its purpose. It ought to provide the next step that can take "students beyond their experience and enable them to envisage alternatives that have some basis in the real world" (Young, 2013, p. 107). This requires mastery of some potentially powerful skills and knowledge, as foreseen by Gramsci.

Young, as I had occasion to remark earlier, was, ironically, instrumental in the early 1970s in the rise of the 'new sociology of education' (Young, 1971) which so much influenced critical pedagogues. His work has, however, recently taken an obviously very different turn.

CONCLUSION

Critical pedagogy can ill afford to avoid the challenge posed by the need to acquire 'powerful knowledge', which is, after all, the political pedagogical challenge posed in the 1930s by Antonio Gramsci, and much later, in curricular circles, by the likes of Lisa Delpit (1988) with regard to Afro-American schooling in the USA and, as I have shown, Michael Young in the UK. On the other hand, it has much to offer in terms of complementing this rigour and mastery of powerful knowledge through its emphasis on the politics of schooling. One can impart this knowledge differently from the way it has been taught thus far (see Delpit's interview, in Goldstein, 2012).

Gramsci recognised the ideological bases of the very same knowledge he considered 'really useful'. If one takes his example from language in Italy

once again, the challenge is to enable the learner or learners to understand the ideological basis of language while mastering it. Learners thus become aware of the political ramifications of this choice of language. Uncritically imparting and reproducing the dominant forms of knowledge would remain problematic for a democratic education. Gramsci was opposed to this.

Worth reiterating is that, though he preferred teachers who impart facts to simply a laissez faire approach, this does not mean delivering facts constitutes the desired form of alternative teaching. He had no place for the mediocre in his life as confirmed by his letter concerning the dross apparent in his own initial education. He is well aware that, no matter how useful certain subjects are in inculcating rigour, they have to be replaced (Gramsci, 1971a, pp. 39, 40) because times have changed. This connects with his views regarding established forms of culture and emerging or popular ones. The existence of one type does not preclude the other, with 'synthesis' being the desideratum for cultural renewal and development.

The point to register for critical pedagogy, and which was well captured by Gramsci's sense of a classical phase (conceived of as balance) needing to replace the romantic phase in education, is that any change, with a democratic purpose in mind, should be carried out warily. Otherwise it can result in throwing out the knowledge baby with the knowledge bathwater, with calamitous ramifications for democratic access, singularly and collectively, to power. And in doing so, it could well be assisting in the process of social differentiation, on the basis of social class, ethnic background and other forms of social difference, that a specific class-biased neoliberal education seeks to accomplish. Neoliberalism seeks to accomplish this through its emphasis on an unbridled market approach to education and consumer choice (which in itself differentiates in terms of processes and outcomes). It places the onus for success or failure squarely on individuals and their ability or otherwise (often class and ethnically conditioned) to measure up to the ostensibly 'culturally-neutral', positivist criteria chosen for this purpose.

NOTES

1. An earlier version appeared as Mayo, P. (2014c), "Antonio Gramsci's Impact on Critical Pedagogy", *Critical Sociology,* DOI: 10.1177/0896920513512694.
2. See the website of the Paulo and Nita Freire International Centre for Critical Pedagogy: www.freireproject.org/content/antonio-gramsci-1891–1937. Viewed 14 June 2013.
3. I am indebted to Dr. Antonia Kupfer of the University of Southampton for this point.
4. I am indebted to Edmund O'Sullivan, an OISE academic who was present at that meeting, for this information.
5. Gramsci himself chose the name *L'Unità* for the Italian Communist Party's (PCd'I) representing a unity of all popular forces in a new historical bloc. His founding of the daily is recognised in each issue beneath the masthead.

10 In Sum

Some Concluding, Summarising Thoughts[1]

In the following concluding pages, I will try to pull some of the strings together in highlighting the relevance of Antonio Gramsci's writings in an age characterised by the intensification of globalisation and the hegemonic ideology of Neoliberalism. Neoliberalism takes different forms in different places but there seems to be a common underlying pattern, the major characteristics of which were outlined in the very first chapter of this volume.

As somebody who combined strong cultural, historical and political economic analyses, Gramsci strikes me as an important figure who can provide valuable insights for those seeking signposts to counter neoliberal thinking in different spheres of social life, including education. The advantage here is that Gramsci has written directly about education in scattered writings including notes taking the form, in at least two instances, of essays. Despite the wide range of his writing and the fact that he sees education in its broadest sense as central to the workings of hegemony, the key concept throughout his oeuvre, it would be impossible to link a Gramscian thought, substantiated by textual evidence, to every single tenet of neoliberal discourse.

For those seeking such signposts, there is, as I hope to have shown throughout the preceding nine chapters, enough grist for the mill, in Gramsci, who lived and wrote in an era different from the present one. He operated in a milieu where education, though not enjoying the mass explosion it had in, say, the sixties and seventies, was still regarded as a public good over which there was ideological contestation. His views fall squarely within the unmistakably leftist/socialist side of the ideological divide, although his particular version of Marxist thinking was broad and open enough to accord value to what can easily and superficially be labelled 'bourgeois knowledge', 'disinterested knowledge', etc. His writings highlight the complexity of cultural issues and intellectual endeavour, besides reflecting, in the best Marxist tradition, such a sophisticated dialectical view of things to render any crude binary thinking inappropriate.

One of the key points worth underlining is that he valued cultural activity, including education, as a key element in the political project, the long political project intended to bring about that 'intellectual and moral reform' that provides the basis for transforming capitalist relations of production

into socialist ones. Education and culture are not simply emanations from the economic base. They can have a life of their own and provide the context and means for development of the required agency for transformation of the base itself, which determines only 'in the last instance'.

While emphasising the conditioning force of this economic base, Gramsci saw, in educational and cultural activity, important, though not the only, means for the struggle against dehumanising conditions and for the ushering in of genuinely democratic social relations of production and of life in general. Every person is a philosopher for Gramsci, even though not all persons carry out this function. There are thinking and reflecting elements in every activity and thinking and reflecting potential in all persons. These need to be nurtured individually and collectively for the purpose of challenging and transforming hegemonic relations, and I would add today, challenging the hegemonic relations conditioned in no small measure by neoliberal thinking. Once more, praxis is the key concept here, best captured in the way Gramsci defined his entire body of thought, as captured in the *Quaderni* and other outlets—the 'philosophy of praxis'. This, in my view, is a suitable all-embracing term, not, as some have alas suggested, simply a byword for Marxism to circumvent the prison censor.

Furthermore, we have seen how, for Gramsci, education is all pervasive in the same way that capitalism and, nowadays, neoliberal thinking is all pervasive. It would be worth recalling, from the first chapter, Panagiotis Sotiris' contention that Neoliberalism is not just a type of economic policy. It seeks to condition the emergence of a particular subjectivity centred upon economic self-interest and competition (Sotiris, 2014, p. 319). I would add that it encroaches on all domains of life, even the most intimate ones.

To counter this, therefore, one requires the kind of all-pervasive educational strategy that Gramsci provided with his broad range of cultural and economic analysis, addressing a sizeable part of hegemony's set of social relations, all conceived of as pedagogical relations. Capitalism is all pervasive. An educational strategy intended to transform its relations must therefore be all pervasive. The same would apply to Neoliberalism today: neoliberal strategies are all pervasive and so educational strategies, intended to contribute (education is not an independent variable; it does not change things on its own) to the transformation of the relations involved, must likewise be all pervasive.

Henry Giroux's favourite term, 'public pedagogy', seems most useful and appropriate in this context, to which I would add: the 'pedagogy of private lives'. It is for this reason that Giroux, given ample treatment in the previous chapter as a founding figure in critical pedagogy (Giroux, 2011), and an important point of reference throughout the volume, scours a broad terrain in his educational and cultural writings, comprising a variety of pedagogical sites that extend beyond the system of formal education. For Giroux, therefore, educational activity is engaged in by not only professional teachers and academics but also by a broader array of cultural workers that includes

journalists and op-ed columnists, community activists and animators, architects, advertisers, photographers, artists, actors, film directors, social activists, religious ministers, musicians and so forth. This partly explains why Giroux gradually moved from writing mainly about public schooling to engaging in lengthy discussions of broader social issues, such as war and corporate power, and various forms of cultural production such as film, cartoons and media news packages. This represents a marked contrast with Giroux's early work around schooling.

This connects with Gramsci's broadening of the educators' profile and the terrain in which educators of different types function. We have seen that Gramsci's conception of the educator is, however, broad enough to comprise a variety of practitioners, some of whom might not immediately identify themselves as such. His notion of the educator includes party activists working in the field of workers' education, something he himself engaged in even during his early political career. It would include foremen or supervisors in the context of the factory councils, as conceived of by him in his writings on industrial democracy. It would include people of different technical and cultural backgrounds who were invited as speakers to the *Ordine Nuovo* group (the group surrounding the similarly named periodical of socialist culture), or who collaborated at the *Club di Vita Morale*. It can also include any intellectual, whether publically visible or not. This applies to those we today call 'public intellectuals', or those considered subaltern intellectuals. They would serve as opinion leaders and promoters of particular conceptions of the world through their affirmations, strictures and actions. These fall within the range of Gramsci's broad strata of organic intellectuals, who, as pointed out in Chapters 2 and 3, and in various parts of the rest of the volume, either support the existing state of affairs and hegemonic bloc (the agrarian bloc, in the case of southern Italy), or challenge/renegotiate the relations that keep this set of hegemonic arrangements in place.

As for vocationalisation, Gramsci's Factory Council theory, with its emphasis on workers' acquiring a broader and total conception of the production process so as to combat, among other things, the threat of alienation, arising from being only a partial operation in the system, serves as an antidote to the current educational discourse. This includes the lifelong learning discourse concerning 'employability'. The emphasis here is not on 'learning to earn' or 'learning for work' but on learning to engage critically *with* work. This approach has been highlighted in critical education circles in more recent times (e.g., Simon et al., 1991).

Engaging critically with work emerges clearly in those of Gramsci's writings that are relevant to adult education. It is here, in adult education as an important component of lifelong learning, where the contemporary hegemonic discourse of 'employability' prevails, not least in the relevant EU Memorandum on Lifelong Learning and other communications from the European Union (CEC, 2000). The Factory Council theory, which Gramsci juxtaposed against the vision of trade unionism of his time, with its image of

the worker as simply a wage earner bargaining within the given framework, was intended to bring about a transformation in the nature of workers' organisation and education.

Engaging critically with work meant that people begin to learn according to a broader vision of social relations, the basis of a different state, a workers' state (Gramsci 1977b, p. 66). It entailed operating in a manner that was in keeping with an alternative and broader economic and social vision, and which transcended the capitalist wage relation and therefore capitalist social relations in general. This is an antidote to the current widespread hegemonic situation and conventional discourse around Human Resource Development (HRD) and other labour-market training. The discourse, in the neoliberal sense, is that of learning to work within the given capitalist framework.

All these activities are analysed by Gramsci and therefore ought to be viewed, from a Gramscian perspective, against the backdrop of the state. Chapter 3 served as an exposition of Gramsci's theory of the state, which I need not rehearse at this stage. One cannot analyse Gramsci's all-pervasive view of education without analysing the state.

Education in both its formal and broader contexts is, for Gramsci, an essential feature of the 'ethical state', or the state as educator, if you will. It constitutes one of the means by which states "state" in terms of moral regulation and fostering legitimised behaviour, etc., to borrow the apt pun from Corrigan and Sayer (1985, p. 3), which comes with the rider that, in this regard, "'the State' never stops talking" (ibid.). I showed in Chapter 3 that the state and its institutions have a strong educational dimension. I argued, following Thomas (2009), that the separation between the state and civil society, as well as the separation between civil and political society, in Gramsci's work, is made for purely heuristic purposes, as all elements exist within the all-encompassing 'integral state'. They exist without any neat separation since they are, in actual fact, quite intertwined.

I would reiterate, by way of conclusion, the point made forcefully in the discussion on the neoliberal state, that it is against this backdrop, and the nature of relations between state and civil society, force and consent, that education in its various manifestations needs to be seen. This has implications for the situation, under Neoliberalism, in which the social contract, which renders education a public good, is undermined as the bulk of spending shifts towards the private sector and the military-industrial complex. A one-time social provision has instead become a consumer good. I would add, at this volume's concluding stage, that there are those who are denied citizenship in this scenario, especially undocumented immigrants (Pisani, 2012). These immigrants are automatically excluded from the social contract.

Many are those, on the other hand, who obtain a raw deal from this contract as they are fobbed off with an underfunded and often despised public service in many countries. This lends a specific meaning to the term

'subaltern' in this day and age. This applies to the quality of 'free' state/public schools in many contexts (e.g., inner city schools in the USA), and those persons who are marginalised in a context such as Chile for reasons pointed out time and time again in this work. Gramsci's writings on the Unitarian School, with the emphasis placed on rigour and substance and on educational provision being available to all students as a right and therefore a public good, requiring no fees, provide insights for those searching for an antidote to the neoliberal approach. The main proviso here is that one does not transplant Gramsci's ideas but reinvents them according to context in the same way the Sardinian theorist reinvented Marxist and other myriad ideas in the context of his native country with its regional variations and stark North-South contrasts.

Speaking of which, Gramsci's analysis of the Italian context, viewing historical events leading up to and following the Risorgimento, seen as a failed revolution, or more precisely a missed revolutionary opportunity, is instructive in terms of teaching history against the grain. In the last chapter, I wrote of teaching against the grain. Reading history against the grain is a task which applies to various sectors of education and learning and cannot be restricted either to a chapter centering exclusively on schooling or on adult education, the way I structured part of this volume. It extends beyond all this to the all-encompassing domain of learning throughout life.

I repeat the point made earlier, and specifically in the last chapter in connection with the Gramscian influence on cultural and subaltern studies, that it is precisely in the reading of Italian history that Gramsci provides some useful insights in this regard. His reading of Italian history, and specifically the Risorgimento, with its implications for the study and teaching of the subject, was a revelation to me. I repeat that I was exposed to a very conventional standard and sanitised account of the nature of the Italian 'unification' in my schooling years. Gramsci's exposure of the process of 'internal colonisation' that occurred in Italy through the Risorgimento is instructive in terms of engaging with history critically and highlighting 'subjugated' areas of information and knowledge, as Foucault would say. This approach once again approximates Gramscian work on the subject to that of one of Italy's leading critical educators, Lorenzo Milani, at the School of Barbiana. Milani and his students also read history against the grain and echo Gramsci in their exposure of the role of the ruling Northern bourgeoisie in the rise of fascism and the process of colonial expansion not only internally (recall the point made in Chapter 7 that Italy represents a case of 'internal colonialism' involving North and South) but also externally.

These approaches acquired greater critical resonance in 2010, the year that marked the 150th anniversary of the so-called 'Italian Unification'. This was evident in such works as those by Pino Aprile (2010, 2011), who arguably provides an even more damning account than Gramsci's regarding the brutal process of *Piemontese* colonisation that took place, and the massacres in the South it brought about, especially in Gaeta, ironically a city

in which some of Gramsci's ancestors, on his father side, once lived. This reading bears affinities with Gramsci's own account in terms of debunking myths concerning Italian history. It provides a key signpost for a critical engagement with events that underline the complexity and different levels of colonial relations, including internal ones (that is, within the same nation state), that are a feature of the capitalist mode of production, with its uneven levels of industrial development, often accentuated by forms of 'passive revolution'.

It provides signposts for a critical engagement with all kinds of prevailing ideologies since such an engagement would ideally have an historical dimension. This applies to the pervasive neoliberal ideology encouraging historical amnesia regarding events. Analysis of these events and the exposure of myths surrounding them would otherwise stress the historical contingency of concepts and 'invented traditions' that are nowadays taken for granted. They can provide lessons from the past to help us conceive of and imagine alternatives for the present and future, those very same alternatives that exponents of neoliberal thinking deem as not being possible, conveying the idea that the present is "definitive of that which is possible" (Simon, 1992, p. 30).

The debunking of such myths connects with one other major area of inquiry throughout Gramsci's oeuvre. A rigorous education in schools and various sites of learning, including adult learning, entails systematic investigation of different social structures and constructions of reality, as captured in Gramsci's notes on the study of philosophy. Like history, philosophy, or rather systematic investigation and inquiry, serves as the tool to transform 'common sense' into good sense. It would 'work on' common sense, as a fragmented and contradictory form of consciousness. It would draw specifically on its valid elements that connect with people's quotidian experience, therefore seeking to undermine common sense's contradictory nature.

The task, therefore, as argued in this volume, is to render it coherent. The implication for effective teaching to be derived from this is that, through the 'pedagogy of praxis', educators and learners need to start from their existential situation. They then engage critically through praxis to uncover the underlying contradictions of one's reading of the world and its construction through various narratives, history, specific situations, etc. This can help a person develop a more coherent and therefore critical view of things. I would argue that such a critical approach, based on the kind of rigorous education called for by Gramsci, can help uncover the contradictions that lie at the heart of the neoliberal ideology itself, or rather the more embracing New Right ideology that encapsulates it, since, as argued by Stuart Hall (1987a, p. 19), it is very much these contradictions that give this ideology, as initially espoused by Thatcherism, its strength, making it appeal to different people with different class interests, constructing, as opposed to mere reflecting, a unity out of difference.

CONCLUSION

For many of the reasons mentioned in this volume and in this final 'summing up' chapter, Gramsci continues to enjoy quite a following among people searching for signposts to effectively challenge the onset of Neoliberalism, and among educationists analysing and attempting to propose alternatives to its encroachment on education. The Gramscian influence on education has affected not only people ensconced in academies, some of whom were discussed in the penultimate chapter, but also, and rightly so, those who operate at the grassroots, including the many popular educators engaged in non-formal education in Latin America and elsewhere. Popular education has proven palatable to people clamouring for better education at the World Social Forum, where Neoliberalism is the main target. It is the mark of many people operating in non-formal and informal education within the contexts of community action and development and social movements.

The work of many social movements (not all since there are movements and movements, with different political goals) has educational and learning dimensions existing outside the clutches of the neoliberal commodification process. A number of works, notably by Margaret Ledwith in community development (Ledwith, 2010) and Budd Hall et al. (2012) with progressive, social justice-oriented social movements, draw on the different but interrelated domains of popular education, social movements and community activism. Gramsci's ideas feature prominently in all three not only because of his direct influence on popular education, but also because of his being a highly influential figure for education and social activism in his own right.

His emphasis on rigour and the inculcation of self-discipline, as well as the acquisition of 'powerful knowledge', which includes established knowledge such as the standard language, will hopefully ensure that those engaged in these projects will keep their feet firmly on the ground in their attempt to effectively bridge the cultural power divide between the dominant and the subaltern. On the other hand, and this is key, Gramsci was under no illusion regarding the ideological bases of this knowledge. Simply reproducing the dominant forms of knowledge, as though they were a given, would be anathema for any form of critical education. And there is evidence to suggest, from Gramsci's own writings, even on the Unitarian School, with respect to types of teachers and the eventual replacement of subjects such as Latin, that Gramsci was averse to uncritically reproducing the dominant 'cultural arbitrary'. Furthermore, his general discussions concerning artistic expression and different forms of cultural production place the emphasis on the exploration of the revolutionary potential of 'new' emerging or hitherto repressed forms of culture, and at the same time on the critical appropriation of dominant forms of culture.

The language issue, as I had occasion to argue time and time again, remains illustrative of his attitude towards dominant forms of culture that have to be learnt. To give a practical example, I would argue that, in a

country with a strong colonial past, such as the one in which I was born and bred, learning English is a must if one is to avoid remaining on the margins. But the genuine political approach to this, along Gramscian and, I would add, Freirean lines, would be to teach the language in a manner that entails providing awareness of its ideological underpinnings and the role it plays in the process of social stratification. It also means giving equal importance to the subaltern national-popular language, Maltese, my first language, without playing off one language against the other. It is this aspect of Gramsci's work that renders it an appropriate complement to the more ostensibly 'emancipatory' work of Paulo Freire, which I underlined in Chapter 9. Gramsci is calling for a more classical balance between the ideals of what can easily pass nowadays as emancipatory education, as exemplified by Freire in the best traditions of critical pedagogy and in contrast to neoliberal education, and 'old school' values underlined in Chapter 6 and also, with reference to the work of Young and others, in the previous chapter.

His ideas serve as a warning to us critical educators. We would do well to heed his warnings to avoid the overzealous approach. Short of doing so, our quest for an ostensibly 'emancipatory' education might well result in having the contrary effect. The effect can well be that of disempowering students rather than enabling them to develop as self and collectively disciplined subjects, equipped with the broad knowledge, intellectual rigour, critical acumen, social conscience and dialogical/participatory attitude necessary to assume the role of social actors. This lies in sharp contrast to the kind of subjects fashioned by neoliberal policies—consumers/producers, i.e., one- or, at best, two-dimensional persons.

It is to the former kind of subjectivity that Gramsci and his comrades appealed way back in 1919 in the first issue of *L'Ordine Nuovo,* published on 1 May: "Educate yourselves because we'll need all your intelligence. Stir yourselves because we'll need all your enthusiasm. Organize yourselves because we'll need all your strength."

NOTE

1. Though an entirely different chapter, it draws on some material contained in and previously publishd as Mayo, P. (2014b) "Gramsci and the Politics of Education", *Capital & Class,* vol. 38, no. 2, pp. 385–398.

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