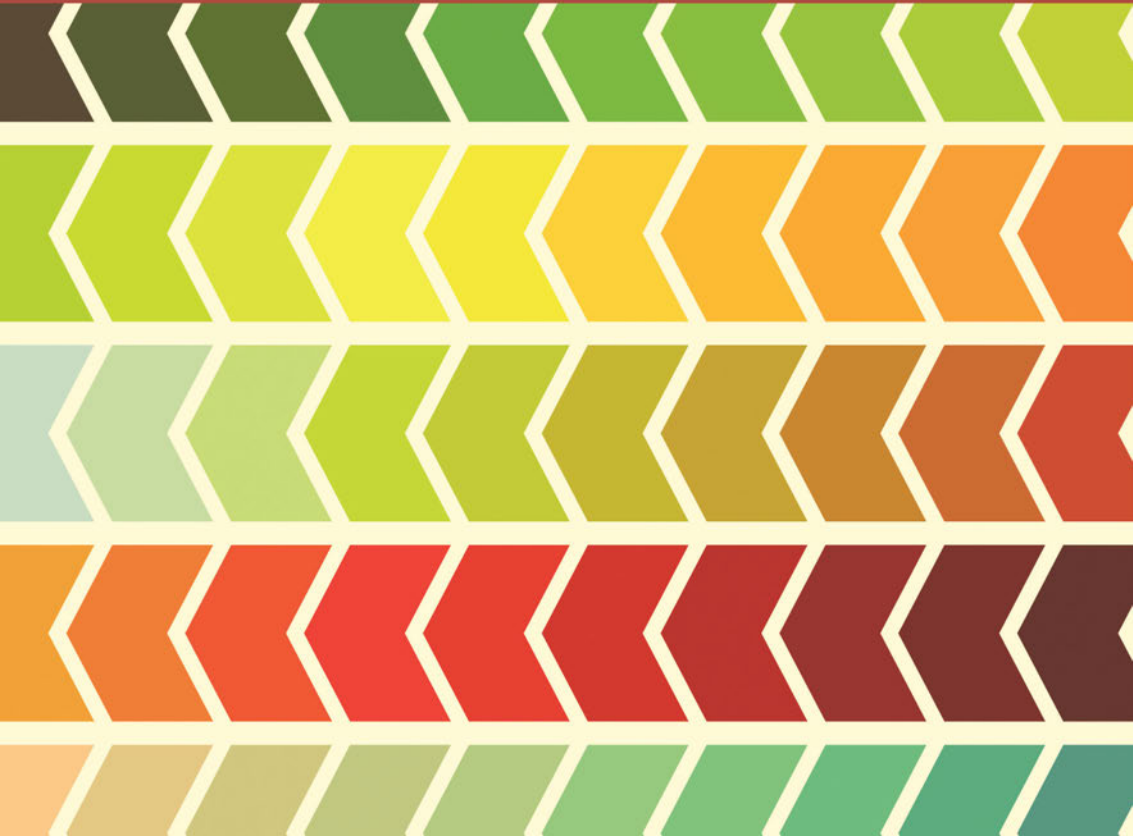# THE CRITICAL TURN IN EDUCATION

From Marxist Critique to Poststructuralist Feminism to Critical Theories of Race

Isaac Gottesman

THE CRITICAL TURN IN EDUCATION

The Critical Turn in Education traces the historical emergence and development of critical theories in the field of education, from the introduction of Marxist and other radical social theories in the 1960s to the contemporary critical landscape. The book begins by tracing the first waves of critical scholarship in the field through a close, contextual study of the intellectual and political projects of several core figures including Paulo Freire, Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Michael Apple, and Henry Giroux. Later chapters offer a discussion of feminist critiques, the influx of postmodernist and poststructuralist ideas in education, and critical theories of race.

While grounded in U.S. scholarship, *The Critical Turn in Education* contextualizes the development of critical ideas and political projects within a larger international history, and charts the ongoing theoretical debates that seek to explain the relationship between school and society. Today, much of the language of this critical turn has now become commonplace—words such as "hegemony," "ideology," and the term "critical" itself—but by providing a historical analysis, *The Critical Turn in Education* illuminates the complexity and nuance of these theoretical tools, which offer ways of understanding the intersections between individual identities and structural forces in an attempt to engage and overturn social injustice.

Isaac Gottesman is an Assistant Professor in the School of Education at Iowa State University.

The Critical Social Thought Series

Edited by Michael W. Apple,
University of Wisconsin—Madison

Act Your Age!
A Cultural Construction of Adolescence
Nancy Lesko

Tough Fronts
The Impact of Street Culture on
Schooling
L. Janelle Dance

**Political Spectacle and the Fate of
American Schools**
*Mary Lee Smith with Walter Heinecke,
Linda Miller-Kahn, and Patricia F. Jarvis*

Rethinking Scientific Literacy
*Wolff-Michael Roth and
Angela Calabrese Barton*

**High Stakes Education: Inequality,
Globalization, and Urban School
Reform**
Pauline Lipman

Learning to Labor in New Times
Nadine Dolby and Greg Dimitriadis, editors

Working Method
Research and Social Justice
Lois Weis and Michelle Fine

Class Reunion
The Remaking of the American White
Working Class
Lois Weis

**Race, Identity, and Representation
in Education, Second Edition**
*Cameron McCarthy, Warren Crichlow,
Greg Dimitriadis, and Nadine Dolby*

Radical Possibilities
Public Policy, Urban Education, and a
New Social Movement
Jean Anyon

Could It Be Otherwise?
Parents and the Inequities of Public
School Choice
Lois André-Bechely

**Reading and Writing the World
with Mathematics**
Eric Gustein

Market Movements
African American Involvement in
School Voucher Reform
Thomas C. Pedroni

Rightist Multiculturalism
Core Lessons on Neoconservative
School Reform
Kristen L. Buras

Unequal By Design
High-Stakes Testing and the
Standardization of Inequality
Wayne Au

Black Literate Lives
Historical and Contemporary
Perspectives
Maisha T. Fisher

Hidden Markets
The New Education Privatization
Patricia Burch

THE CRITICAL TURN IN EDUCATION

From Marxist Critique to Poststructuralist Feminism to Critical Theories of Race

Isaac Gottesman

CONTENTS

This page intentionally left blank

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

SERIES EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Let me begin my Introduction to Isaac Gottesman's fine book with a story. During a series of lectures and some work with critical educators in a country in Asia, I spent a good deal of time with graduate students. Many of them had been or still were teachers in the public schools of that country. We talked about many things and I was deeply impressed with their knowledge of a large array of work in critical educational theory and research. During our conversations, they told me that one of the reasons they were more than a little familiar with some of the core work in critical education was because it was included on the standardized tests that teachers and graduate students had to take as an official part of their program.

This is a paradoxical situation. On the one hand, it clearly shows that what Gottesman calls "the critical turn" in education has been integrated into the formal corpus of official programs in education throughout the world. I am certain that this was not an easy thing to do and it constitutes a victory. On the other hand, as Geoff Whitty has noted, such incorporation may also signify a process of cooptation, of taking insurgent knowledge and turning it into simply one more academic area that needs to be studied for examinations, thereby severing its connections to its political roots (Whitty, 2006). This is something I too have worried about publicly, since rather than politicizing the academic, it academicizes the political (Apple, 2013; Apple et al., 2009).

Thus, like the rest of the world we live in, critical education is caught up in contradictory relations of power. But a realization of these contradictions must not cause paralysis or cynicism. It should drive us to constantly remember and reconnect with the critical impulses and commitments that have led to the critical turn in education. This makes a book like *The Critical Turn in Education*, that traces out the political and intellectual history of some of the major figures and traditions in critical education, an important contribution right now.

Speaking broadly, critical education seeks to expose how relations of power and inequality (social, cultural, economic) in their myriad of forms, combinations, and complexities, are manifest and are challenged in the formal and informal education of children and adults. In its most robust form, it involves a thorough-going reconstruction of what education is for, how it should be carried out, what we should teach, and who should be empowered to engage in it.

This more robust understanding involves fundamental transformations of the underlying epistemological and ideological assumptions that are made about what counts as "official" or legitimate knowledge and who holds it. It also involves a commitment toward social transformation and a break with the comforting illusions that the ways in which our societies and their educational apparatuses are organized currently can lead to social justice. A more robust understanding of critical education is also based increasingly in a realization of the importance of *multiple* dynamics underpinning the relations of exploitation and domination in our societies. Hence, issues surrounding the politics of redistribution (exploitative economic processes and dynamics) and the politics of recognition (cultural struggles against domination and struggles over identity), need to be jointly considered (Apple 2004; 2012; 2013; 2014; see also Fraser 1997).

At the very root of these concerns are two simple principles. First, we must think *relationally*. That is, all of our institutions and sets of social relations—and even our very identities—need to be seen as intimately connected to the inequalities that structure our society and to the movements that seek to interrupt such inequalities. Second, in order to understand and act on education in its complicated connections to the larger society, we must engage in the process of *repositioning*. It will be hard, but we should constantly try to see the world through the eyes of the dispossessed and act against the ideological and institutional processes and forms that reproduce oppressive conditions. This repositioning concerns both political and cultural practices that embody the principles of critical education; but it also has generated a large body of critical scholarship and theory that has led to a fundamental restructuring of what the roles of research and of the researcher are.

In my recent book *Can Education Change Society?* (Apple 2013), I detail a number of tasks in which critical educational research and critical scholar/activists in education should engage. Let me say more about what this implies, since these tasks have major implications for the critical traditions with which Isaac Gottesman deals.

1. It must "bear witness to negativity." That is, one of its primary functions is to illuminate the ways in which educational policy and practice are connected to the relations of exploitation and domination—and to struggles against such relations—in the larger society.
2. In engaging in such critical analyses, it also must point to contradictions and to *spaces of possible action*. Thus, its aim is to critically examine current realities

with a conceptual/political framework that emphasizes the spaces in which more progressive and counter-hegemonic actions can, or do, go on. This is an absolutely crucial step, since otherwise our research can simply lead to cynicism or despair.

3. At times, this also requires a broadening of what counts as "research." Here I mean acting as critical "secretaries" to those groups of people and social movements who are now engaged in challenging existing relations of unequal power.

4. When Gramsci (1971) argued that one of the tasks of a truly counter-hegemonic education was not to throw out "elite knowledge" but to reconstruct its form and content so that it served genuinely progressive social needs, he provided a key to another role that "organic" and "public" intellectuals might play. Thus, we should not be engaged in a process of what might be called "intellectual suicide." That is, there are serious intellectual (and pedagogic) skills in dealing with the histories and debates surrounding the epistemological, political, and educational issues involved in justifying what counts as important knowledge and what counts as an effective and socially just education. These are not simple and inconsequential issues and the practical and intellectual/political skills of dealing with them have been well developed. However, they can atrophy if they are not used. We can give back these skills by employing them to assist communities in thinking about this, learning from them, and engaging in the mutually pedagogic dialogues that enable decisions to be made in terms of both the short-term and long-term interests of dispossessed.

5. In the process, critical work has the task of keeping traditions of radical and progressive work alive. In the face of organized attacks on the "collective memories" of difference and critical social movements, attacks that make it increasingly difficult to retain academic and social legitimacy for multiple critical approaches that have proven so valuable in countering dominant narratives and relations, it is absolutely crucial that these traditions be kept alive, renewed, and when necessary criticized for their conceptual, empirical, historical, and political silences or limitations. This involves being cautious of reductionism and essentialism and asks us to pay attention to what Fraser has called both "the politics of redistribution and the politics of recognition." This includes not only keeping theoretical, empirical, historical, and political traditions alive but, very importantly, extending and (supportively) criticizing them. And it also involves keeping alive the dreams, utopian visions, and "nonreformist reforms" that are so much a part of these radical traditions.

6. Keeping such traditions alive and also supportively criticizing them when they are not adequate to deal with current realities cannot be done unless we ask: "For whom are we keeping them alive?" and "How and in what form are they to be made available?" All of the things I have mentioned above in this taxonomy of tasks require the relearning or development and use of

varied or new skills of working at many levels with multiple groups. Thus, journalistic and media skills, academic and popular skills, and the ability to speak to very different audiences are increasingly crucial. This requires us to learn how to speak in different registers and to say important things in ways that do not require that the audience or reader do all of the work.

7. Critical educators must also *act* in concert with the progressive social movements their work supports or in movements against the rightist assumptions and policies they critically analyze. This is another reason that scholarship in critical education implies becoming an "organic" or "public" intellectual. One must participate in and give one's expertise to movements surrounding actions to transform both a politics of redistribution and a politics of recognition. It also implies learning from these social movements. This means that the role of the "unattached intelligentsia," someone who "lives on the balcony," is not an appropriate model. As Bourdieu (2003, p. 11) reminds us, for example, our intellectual efforts are crucial, but they "cannot stand aside, neutral and indifferent, from the struggles in which the future of the world is at stake."

8. Building on the points made in the previous paragraph, the critical scholar/ activist has another role to play. She or he needs to act as a deeply committed mentor, as someone who demonstrates through her or his life what it means to be *both* an excellent researcher and a committed member of a society that is scarred by persistent inequalities. She or he needs to show how one can blend these two roles together in ways that may be tense but still embody the dual commitments to exceptional and socially committed research and participating in movements whose aim is interrupting dominance. It should be obvious that this must be fully integrated into one's teaching as well.

9. Finally, participation also means using the privilege one has as a scholar/ activist. That is, each of us needs to make use of one's privilege to open the spaces at universities and elsewhere for those who are not there, for those who do not now have a voice in that space and in the "professional" sites to which, being in a privileged position, you have access.

Let us be honest, these are difficult tasks and it will undoubtedly be hard for each of us to be fully successful in all of them. Instead, these are both individual and collective responsibilities, ones that critical education has struggled with for a long time. *The Critical Turn in Education* examines the ways in which the traditions within critical education have sought to come to grips with a number of these tasks. It also points to what needs to be done in the future to take them even more seriously.

Through a series of detailed analyses of key figures and movements, Isaac Gottesman provides us with a nuanced and clear picture of the development of many of the major issues in critical educational theory and research. He documents the increasing sophistication of the field from its early emphasis on education as

only a mechanism of class and economic reproduction to its attention to education as a site of resistance, as an arena of ideological conflict and its role in the production of complex identities and movements, and as an area that has both limits and possibilities in the long-term struggles to build a more just society.

At the same time, he details the ways in which what started out as a powerful critique of the relationship between education and class dynamics has been challenged and reconstituted around not only class but "race," gender, sexuality, and the intersections of each of these. In this way, increasingly both structural and poststructural approaches have come to exist in a sometimes tense but also very productive relationship with each other, a relationship that I certainly support. Class theories, poststructural feminist approaches, critical race theory are all treated with respect in this book. Concepts such as the hidden curriculum, hegemony and counter-hegemony, critical pedagogy, white supremacy, and many more are all set in their historical context in the ongoing debates in a field that is always in motion.

The idea of motion is significant here. Gottesman himself is deeply committed to the multiple critical projects that are associated with these traditions. But he also realizes that this is an unfinished set of projects. These traditions are indeed in constant motion, driven by transformations in the political, economic, ideological, and cultural dynamics and social movements of the larger society and by the continual internal criticisms and debates that are so essential to progressive scholarship and action.

But Gottesman doesn't limit himself to describing the development of the theories and debates that characterize the critical turn in education, though that in itself is a significant contribution made by this book. He also points to the future. He articulates a set of cautions and suggestions that will undoubtedly strengthen the continued development of a robust set of critical traditions and make them more influential actors in the public arena.

It is my hope that Isaac Gottesman's efforts here will provide an impetus for others to engage in the detailed historical work so essential to remind us of how our past shapes who we are. And that it also reminds us that, as long as the society in which we live creates relations of dominance and subordination and necessitates struggles against these relations, critical education will necessarily remain an unfinished, but absolutely essential, set of projects.

Michael W. Apple
John Bascom Professor of
Curriculum and Instruction
and Educational Policy Studies
University of Wisconsin, Madison

References

Apple, M. W. (2004). *Ideology and curriculum* (3rd ed.). New York: Routledge.

Apple, M. W. (2012). *Education and power* (Revised Routledge Classic ed.). New York: Routledge.

Apple, M. W. (2013). *Can education change society?* New York: Routledge.

Apple, M. W. (2014). *Official knowledge: Democratic education in a conservative age* (3rd. ed.). New York: Routledge.

Apple, M. W., Au, W., & Gandin, L. A. (Eds.) (2009). *The Routledge international handbook of critical education.* New York: Routledge.

Bourdieu, P. (2003). *Firing back: Against the tyranny of the market 2.* New York: Verso.

Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the prison notebooks.* New York: International Publishers.

Whitty, G. (2006). Preface. In L. Weis, G. Dimitriadis, & C. McCarthy (Eds.). *Ideology, curriculum, and the new sociology of education* New York: Routledge (pp. vii–xi).

INTRODUCTION

"To the question: 'Where did all the sixties radicals go?', the most accurate answer," noted Paul Buhle (1991) in his classic *Marxism in the United States*, "would be: neither to religious cults nor yuppiedom, but to the classroom" (p. 263). After the fall of the New Left arose a new left, an Academic Left. For many of these young scholars, Marxist thought, and particularly what some refer to as Western Marxism or neo-Marxism, and what I will refer to as the critical Marxist tradition, was an intellectual anchor.[1] As participants in the radical politics of the sixties entered graduate school and moved into faculty positions and started publishing, the *critical turn* began to change scholarship throughout the humanities and social sciences. The field of education was no exception.

The turn to critical Marxist thought is a defining moment in the past 40 years of educational scholarship, especially for educational scholars who identify as part of the political left. It introduced the ideas and vocabulary that continue to frame most conversations in the field about social justice, such as hegemony, ideology, consciousness, praxis, and most importantly, the word 'critical' itself, which has become ubiquitous as a descriptor for left educational scholarship. Initially sequestered in curriculum studies and sociology of education, today critical scholarship is frequently published in the journals of some of the field's most historically conservative areas, such as educational administration and science education. The critical turn radicalized the field.

Since its beginnings in the 1970s and 1980s, critical educational scholarship has also pushed far beyond the Marxist tradition and its focus on political economy and social class. Although the critical Marxist tradition remains a foundation for much of the work that followed, critical educational scholars now engage a range of intellectual and political traditions that help us better understand culture and identity, gender and sexuality, race and ethnicity, constructions of ability,

ecological crisis, and their myriad intersections. Critical scholarship has also radically altered the way we inquire, from the way we conceptualize our research to the way we gather and interpret evidence to support our claims. The critical turn has contributed greatly to educational scholarship. This is something to celebrate.

However, while celebratory of the critical turn and the scholarship and conversations it has fostered in the field, this book is written from a standpoint of concern. Much critical scholarship is insightful, but ubiquity has come with a price. Our theoretical tools are not always sharp; they are often dulled by thin readings of ideas, a failure to consider tensions between theories, and an overzealousness to be all things to all people. Too often our scholarship is sloppy; we too frequently reference texts that don't support our claims, rarely go back to original sources for ideas, and don't spend enough time carefully constructing our arguments and situating them within specific scholarly or activist conversations; and too often we resort to sloganeering and posturing.

These problems have led to a crisis of clarity. As Gloria Ladson-Billings (2014) recently noted, "The word 'critical' has become so much a part of the English lexicon that its academic meaning has begun to lose currency" (p. 259). It is too often unclear what we mean when we call our scholarship critical. And this lack of clarity has come at a cost—we seem to rarely understand what we are trying to communicate with one another much less what we are trying to communicate to the outside world. Critical scholarship may not be in a state of crisis, but it is in a state of dilution and fragmentation—our critical conversation lacks a sense of wholeness, of unity, of solidarity. Critical educational studies too often feels like a blur of articles, books, names, and words. Is there something central, something core? If the name of the game is to publish, we are fine, but if the name of the game is radical social change, we are in trouble.

I am certain this book succumbs to many of the failings that I decry. I am not lobbying for perfection, nor am I claiming to be immune. I am part of the 'we.' My intention is simply to push, and in doing so contribute to a conversation that will help critical scholars develop nuanced and sophisticated social theory and engage in more strategic political advocacy. It is no exaggeration to say the world is on fire. Ego must be put aside and humility embraced. We must ask ourselves difficult questions, such as how we situate our critical educational projects within the broader radical struggle to squelch the inferno. We must ask ourselves if our social analysis is robust enough—can it see the world outside of schooling? We must ask ourselves if our political advocacy is strategic enough—are we acting in concert with other struggles, do we see the intersections? We must ask ourselves if we are moving forward with the thoughtfulness and analytical care that radical social change requires, and if our inquiry and our advocacy, our scholarly publishing and our on-the-ground activism, is helping us realize the world of our radical imaginations.

I think we can rise to the challenge of these questions. In fact, as I will discuss in the conclusion to the book, I believe many in the field already are. But there

is much work to do. If we are going to truly push for a feminist, anti-racist, democratic-socialist society (my advocacy)—one that can forcefully push against the structures and ideologies that support and entrench patriarchy, white supremacy, and capitalism—I believe we have to address these questions honestly, rigorously, and as a critical educational community. We have to engage in debate, be willing to move out of our respective camps and shift our perspectives, and to do all of this I think we have to be clear about our intellectual and political commitments. What are our values and beliefs? Where do they come from?

This is not a call for consensus. There are very real divisions in the critical community and I do not believe our differences of thought and experience should be 'rationally' deliberated away. These differences matter, and we should seek to understand and not erase. However, to the best of our ability I do believe that we should move towards solidarity. I believe we have to if we are going to struggle against social injustice with any success.

Historically Informed Criticism

This book does not attempt to define once and for all time what it means to be 'critical' or what a critical theory is or is not. Rather, the goal is to enrich dialogue in the critical educational community. The book seeks to do this by offering historically informed criticism.

This move to seeing the history of ideas as historically informed criticism is in methodological agreement with recent work by historians Peter Gordon and Warren Breckman. In an opening essay to an edited book on approaches to European intellectual history, Gordon (2014) shapes his approach as a push against contextualism. "Over the past half century, the contextualist imperative has done a great service to intellectual history by deepening its capacities for methodological self-consciousness, but it has also had the unfortunate effect of erecting a barrier against philosophy and political theory (alongside other modes of criticism)." Thus, Gordon argues that the "barrier be dismantled and that we reimagine intellectual history less as a distinctive discipline and more as the eclectic practice that Warren Breckman in this volume calls a 'rendezvous discipline,' that is a trading zone amongst the disciplines that could serve as a space for the flourishing of historically informed criticism" (p. 52). Conceptualized as such, the role of the intellectual historian is not simply to capture and illuminate the context in which ideas are conceived and initially received; rather, the intellectual historian, as a critic participating in the contemporary, must also engage the enduring nature of specific ideas in such a way as to allow for reflection on their meaning and significance in the current historical moment.[2]

As a piece of historically informed criticism focused on critical educational scholarship, this book is intended to: (1) show how, when, and why critical educational ideas emerged, were taken up, pushed and pulled, and developed in relationship to specific socio-historical contexts; and, (2) in the process, illuminate

the enduring nature of critical educational ideas and how reflection on these ideas, and the contexts in which they emerged, may offer insight into contemporary educational and social struggles, including our ability as a critical educational community to develop nuanced, sophisticated, and rigorous critical educational theory.

In particular, I am interested in the role of intellectual and political traditions in the development of radical ideas—the values and beliefs that scholars bring to the table and the ways in which scholars have been and continue to be situated within broad conversations about radical thought. As political theorist Stephen Eric Bronner notes: "Ideas build upon ideas, thinkers upon thinkers, books upon books… tradition defines the terms, or mediates the contexts, in which the 'conversation' between thinkers occurs" (Bronner, 1999, p. 11). Tradition helps us be specific. As we develop our understanding of the sources of our cultural and intellectual values, as well as the tacit assumptions that underlie them, we will be better positioned to advocate skillfully and articulately for our critical educational positions. My focus on what critical educational scholar Ken McGrew (2011) referred to as the "origins and iterations" (p. 257) of the intellectual and political traditions in critical educational scholarship is thus predicated on the assumption that such a focus on historical understanding will help lead to political clarity.

The Details

The book does not offer a sweeping survey of the landscape of critical educational theory. There is probably a place for such a book, but this is not that book. Rather, I attempt to offer sustained attention to significant ideas, individuals, texts, moments, and debates in the field that I see as core to both the history of the development of critical educational studies as a subfield in education, particularly in the United States, as well as to future scholarship in the field. I seek to illuminate some of the central questions raised in the first 40 years of critical scholarship and discuss some of the types of conceptual frames that scholars in the field on the political left have adopted in order to understand the relationship between school and society and the role of schooling, and education more broadly, in radical social change. I also seek to understand the ways in which these conversations intersected with conversations in other disciplines and fields, and I am thus always interested in how educational scholars are situated within broader intellectual and political traditions that are not simply academic but more generally central to radical thought.

Each of these chapters should be thought of as a window into the historical conversation about critical educational scholarship as well as a piece of contemporary analysis. As such, I encourage reading individual chapters alongside the primary texts at the center of the conversation—e.g. read Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* alongside Chapter 1—in order to illuminate the historical contexts in which the ideas emerged and raise questions about how the core ideas

in the primary texts might be understood and engaged in the current historical moment.

Additionally, *all* of the scholars discussed in the book have rich intellectual and political lives that far exceed the small period of time and space I have allotted. Michael Apple and Henry Giroux, for instance, who are the subjects of Chapters 3 and 4 respectively, continue to produce insightful, interesting, and significant work in the field. That I primarily focus on Apple's work in the 1970s and Giroux's work in the 1980s is a sign of the great significance of this older work in the history of the field and is not a commentary on the worth of their later work.

In Chapter 1, I chronicle the history of the reception of Paulo Freire's scholarship in the field of education in the United States. Counter to the dominant narrative, I argue that Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, which was published in 1970, did not launch the critical turn; rather, I contend, Freire's work was revisited in the mid-1980s because of it. Additionally, I argue that critical scholars should read Freire's work with particular attention to his claim, and his core contribution to Marxist political theory, that the process of education must be at the center of radical movement building. If we take this claim to be true, I ask: What does this mean for how we develop and situate our work within broader conversations about radical social change?

In Chapter 2, I situate the work of Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, and particularly their book *Schooling in Capitalist America*, which was published in 1976, within the intellectual and political milieu of an emerging Academic Left in the 1960s and 1970s. I argue that it was Bowles and Gintis's engagement with their radical milieu that facilitated the production and broad dissemination of their scholarship. This type of engagement, I further contend, is necessary for critical scholars in the current historical moment if we are to continue developing meaningful radical educational scholarship. Additionally, I argue that critical scholars must follow the lead of recent scholarship, such as Jean Anyon's *Radical Possibilities* (2005/2014), which is imbued with the tone and scope of Bowles and Gintis's work in the 1970s, and engage in political economic analysis of schooling that pushes against capitalism and seeks to foster the building of mass social movements.

In Chapter 3, I offer a close read of Michael Apple's work in the 1970s and seek to understand how his thinking about a critical approach to education developed over the course of the decade, ultimately resulting in the publication of his landmark book *Ideology and Curriculum* in 1979. In addition to a close, contextual read of Apple's ideas, I also argue for the significance of reading texts alongside the work that led to their production, for example reading Antonio Gramsci's work alongside Apple's in order to engage in conversation about the nuances and details of the meaning of core ideas in the field, such as ideology and hegemony. Further, I argue for renewed focus on Apple's core framing of a critical educational project—examining the dominant and alienating practices of schooling with the explicit intent of changing such practices.

In Chapter 4, I argue that critical pedagogy emerged as a specific post-Marxist project in the work of Henry Giroux in the late 1970s and 1980s. This argument counters the dominant narrative, also discussed in Chapter 1, which centers Paulo Freire in the emergence of critical pedagogy. In recognition of the specificity of Giroux's project, I argue that critical scholars should proceed carefully and judiciously in using the term 'critical pedagogy' as a descriptor of their work.

In Chapter 5, I focus on the emergence in the field in the late 1980s and 1990s of feminist ideas about situated knowledge and standpoint epistemology that coincided with a broader turn in feminist thought towards postmodernism and poststructuralism. I focus particularly on Elizabeth Elsworth's 1989 critique of critical pedagogy's conception of the teacher as intellectual (and the debate that ensued), as well as Kathleen Weiler's 1991 critique of Paulo Freire and Patti Lather's analysis of research methodology in her 1991 book *Getting Smart*. I argue that feminist ideas about situated knowledge and standpoint epistemology, which were pushed into the field because of an engagement with postmodernist and poststructuralist feminist thought, are particularly powerful at illuminating the problems and possibilities of the role of the teacher and researcher in movements for social change.

In Chapter 6, I examine the emergence of critical theories of race in the field, from foundational work in multicultural education in the 1970s up through the landscape of contemporary critical race scholarship. In the process, I also highlight tensions between critical race perspectives, with a focus on the emergence of Critical Race Theory (CRT) in the field in the second half of the 1990s. In particular, I offer a detailed juxtaposition of the CRT approach of Gloria Ladson-Billings and William Tate with the CRT approach of Daniel Solorzano and Tara Yosso. As critical approaches to race in the field of education continue to develop, I argue that it is crucial for critical race scholars, CRT and otherwise, to think through the nuanced similarities and differences in their scholarship.

There are other ideas to focus on, and certainly other ways to frame this text. A range of scholars merit close historical examination. As with any book, one has to make choices. Major scholars whose relative absence might be objectionable include: Jean Anyon, who, while present in every chapter, is deserving of much more sustained attention; C.A. Bowers, who is one of the strongest critics of the critical turn, but is also a foundational figure in eco-pedagogical approaches that many contemporary critical educational scholars draw upon; Peter McLaren, a major figure in critical pedagogy who appears in the book, but, as is the case with Anyon, perhaps not nearly as often as some might feel is warranted; Thomas Popkewitz, one of the first scholars in the field to turn to the ideas of Michel Foucault, and poststructuralism more generally, who is basically absent from this book, which may mean there is at least one counter-history to be written; and, a range of other older and more contemporary scholars working at both the margin and center of critical educational studies. I apologize for the absences.

Contribution to Conversations

The historical analysis offered in this book is a unique contribution to the field. Numerous articles and books make claims about the history of critical educational scholarship (e.g. Apple et al., 2009; Davies, S., 1995; Ladwig, 1996; Leonardo, 2004; Morrow & Torres, 1995; Weis et al., 2011), yet there is minimal scholarship that offers a historical analysis of critical scholarship (e.g. Carnoy, 1984, McGrew, 2011), and certainly no sustained book-length study has been written.

While this book is primarily written as a conversation with critical educational scholars, it contributes to three additional conversations. First, the book significantly contributes to our understanding of the history of education as an academic field of study. Since the formal inception of the field in the early twentieth century there have been radical voices, voices that come from the margins of society in order to push against injustice in the social order. The Social Reconstructionists, who have been written about at length, are the paradigmatic example. However, as Ellen Lagemann (2000) reminds us in her history of the field, *An Elusive Science*, Thorndike won and Dewey lost. It has thus not been until the past 25 years that radical voices exerted deep and sustained influence on the field, including regularly publishing in the field's leading journals, holding office in the field's main professional organizations, and playing a prominent role in conversations at the center of educational research and policy. Unfortunately, as I have described elsewhere (Gottesman, 2009), though Lagemann offers insight into the history of radical voices in the field in the first part of the twentieth century, her text, which remains the only book-length study of the history of educational research, disappoints by offering only a paragraph on the turn to critical scholarship. Just as the Social Reconstructionists are central to the narrative of the history of the field in its first 50 years, the critical turn is central to the history of the field in its second. The story of the critical turn needs to be told.

Second, the book is in conversation with work on radical thought in the academy since the New Left. I do not believe it is mere coincidence that the best history of the emergence of critical scholarship in the field remains Martin Carnoy's chapter in the second volume of Bertell Olman and Edward Vernoff's (1984) two book series, *The Left Academy*. The series, which offers a state of Marxist scholarship in the academy, is one of the first scholarly books to engage in a robust conversation about the role, position, and intellectual history of radical scholarship in the humanities and social sciences. A study of the critical turn in the field of education gives us yet another window into this history by offering a look at a field of study, education, that is almost always absent from the conversation. The individuals, ideas, and texts discussed in this book shed significant light on the history of radical ideas in the academy and the general struggle within the academy to engage in radical theory and practice. As should be clear from the beginning of the introduction, part of the argument in this

book, which is perhaps made most forcefully in Chapter 2, is that critical scholars must be in conversation with radicals elsewhere in the academy.

Finally, the book is also in conversation with intellectual and political moves in the academy and the field of education that have occurred *outside* of the United States. The critical turn in education did not only happen in the U.S.—it was part of a broader international turn that occurred in multiple countries, especially in the United Kingdom, Canada, New Zealand, and Australia. This book does not focus on this international conversation, but it is present in every chapter. In particular, work in the 1970s in the British New Sociology of Education and in British cultural studies has a large presence in the history of critical scholarship in the U.S. At some point, someone needs to write an international narrative of the critical turn. Hopefully this book will aid that project.

Notes

1 While many scholars use the term Western Marxism (e.g. Anderson's classic 1976 book *Considerations on Western Marxism*) to describe twentieth-century Marxist thought that emerged outside the Soviet sphere of influence, and often in reaction to it (i.e., in the "West"), following Bronner (2002), Gouldner (1980) and others, I use the term 'critical' to identify a more specific tradition of Marxist thought. There has always been much debate in Marxist literature about how to define currents in Marxist thought, and thus this choice, intended for purposes of specificity, is certainly debatable. The history of this critical Marxist tradition is discussed in Chapter 1.
2 Gordon and Breckman do not conceive of such a clean division of duties when it comes time to writing a narrative—e.g. contextualizing ideas in the first half of a paper and then offering reflection on said ideas in the second half. Rather, these duties point to the interdisciplinary nature of intellectual history, and thus towards its eclecticism.

1

REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS

In the winter 1985 issue of *Harvard Educational Review* (*HER*), Martha Montero-Sieburth, then an assistant professor in the Harvard Graduate School of Education, published a review of Paulo Freire's new book *The Politics of Education*. "Paulo Freire is known primarily for his contributions to the education of illiterate adults in the Third World," noted her opening sentence. "In his most recent book, *The Politics of Education: Culture, Power and Liberation*, however, his pedagogical philosophy, experiences, and methodology extend far beyond geographic boundaries; they encompass the political realities of the oppressed everywhere" (Montero-Sieburth, 1985, p. 457). Six pages in length, the review is a broad discussion of Freire's life and ideas and a forceful call for scholars in the field to engage his approach to education. "Freire's politics put history back into our hands," she concluded. "Beyond the power of the alphabet is the power of knowledge and social action. This book enlarges our vision with each reading, until the meanings become our own" (p. 463).

For a contemporary reader familiar with scholarship in critical educational studies, which almost always locates the origin of critical educational scholarship in the 1970 publication of Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, the review might be puzzling—Montero-Sieburth's comments read as an introduction of Freire to the educational community. "Now, in *The Politics of Education*," she noted, "Freire sparks further discussion on the major issues in education by bringing his writings before an English-speaking audience…. While much of what is said is not new, the particular collection of articles updates Freire's political and pedagogical message for U.S. audiences" (pp. 457–458). Indeed, the collection of over a dozen loosely connected essays, articles, dialogues, and commentaries consists of work primarily written in the early and mid- 1970s, including two articles Freire originally published in *HER*. This was not new work. However, as the first of a

series of books Freire published in the new Critical Studies in Education Series with publisher Bergin & Garvey, which he co-edited with Henry Giroux, *The Politics of Education* was clearly intended to launch Freire into educational conversations in the United States. At the time, Freire was marginal in the field.

Today, Paulo Freire is invoked, discussed, and cited in a wide range of educational scholarship, from literacy education to school reform. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* is a mainstay in education courses across the country. While John Dewey is likely the most recognized scholar in the field, Paulo Freire is probably not far behind. For radical education scholars in particular, Freire is the touchstone voice—scholarship espousing social justice is almost always in conversation with his critical educational approach. However, as this chapter details, there is a strong dissonance between the dominant perception of Freire's role in the history of the turn to critical scholarship in the field, which is one of instigator if not originator, and the paper trail of evidence that suggests otherwise. In the process of charting an alternative history of Freire's reception in the field, this chapter also demonstrates how the positioning of Freire as the instigator of critical educational scholarship has led to contemporary problems with the way scholars engage his ideas, particularly those articulated in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. As critics such as Rich Gibson (2007) have noted, mere mention of Freire too often substitutes for an engagement with his work. Arguably his core theoretical contribution to revolutionary thought—that critical education should be the central feature of revolutionary movement building—is thus rarely engaged. This chapter helps us understand some of the historical reasons why this might be the case, and concludes by urging critical educational scholars to revisit his work with a close eye to context.

Exile and the Critical Marxist Tradition

Paulo Freire was born in Recife, Brazil in 1921 and raised in a middle-class Catholic family.[1] In 1947, after already having worked as an advocate for workers and as a teacher, Freire completed a degree in law at the University of Recife and began working for the division of Education and Culture of the Social Service of Industry (SESI), an official office of the Brazilian state of Pernambuco, of which Recife is the capital. It is while at SESI that Freire began to focus on adult literacy and the relationships between education and social change. In the mid-1950s, while directing programs at SESI, Freire returned to the University of Recife to complete a doctorate in education, with an emphasis on history and philosophy of education. He received his degree in 1959 and soon after became a faculty member at the university.

In the early 1960s, while teaching at Recife and working with various state agencies and social movements, Freire began to develop a method of literacy education for which he would soon become famous. The method was premised on the idea that literacy best emerges when instruction is grounded in life

experiences, including the political reality of one's own position in society. Freire's method proved so successful in initial implementation that many within the growing national Popular Education Movement, of which Freire was a part, began to believe that it could rapidly increase literacy throughout Brazil. Progressive Brazilian President Joao Goulart agreed, and in 1963 appointed Freire head of a national literacy campaign. With a military coup in 1964, however, imminent plans to feature Freire's method in the national campaign came to an abrupt halt. After being imprisoned twice for a total of over two months because of his political activism, Freire left Brazil for Bolivia, which experienced a military coup of its own only 20 days later. Freire promptly left Bolivia for Chile, where in late 1964 he began working on agrarian reform and adult education for the new populist Christian-Democrat government. Freire also began teaching at the University of Santiago.

As John Holst (2006) has convincingly documented, while in Chile (1964–1969), Freire became thoroughly engrossed in Marxist revolutionary thought, which in the mid-1960s was influencing the ideas of national liberation movements across the globe, including in Latin America (Castaneda, 1993; Prashad, 2007). It is thus unsurprising that in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* and other work of the period, Freire was influenced by the work of classic revolutionary thinkers, such as V.I. Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg, and more contemporary ones, such as Che Guevara and Regis Debray. Freire was participating in a vibrant conversation about leadership and revolutionary movement building that was central to the period's radical thought.

Like many of his contemporaries, in addition to the revolutionary Marxist tradition, Freire also became deeply influenced by the critical Marxist tradition. Emerging in the inter-war years, critical Marxism began as a reaction to a historical determinism and positivism dominant within, first, Second International Marxism, whose chief theorists Karl Kautsky, Eduard Bernstein, and Georgi Plekhanov all read and interpreted Marx through Engels' scientific socialist lens (e.g. reading Marx's *Capital* through Engels' *Anti-Duhring*), and second, within the young Soviet state, which grew increasingly authoritarian after Stalin's quick rise to power following the death of Lenin in 1924.[2] Central figures in this turn were: Georg Lukacs, Karl Korsch, and Ernst Bloch in the early 1920s; Antonio Gramsci in the late 1920s and early 1930s; and, from the 1920s on, Max Horkheimer, Theodore Adorno, Walter Benjamin, Erich Fromm, Herbert Marcuse, and others affiliated with the Institute for Social Research (commonly referred to as the Frankfurt School), which was founded at the University of Frankfurt in Germany in 1923 and went into exile in 1933, first to Geneva, then in 1935 to New York City, to escape the rise of National Socialism. It was Max Horkheimer, who became director of the institute in 1930, who, in a 1937 essay titled "Traditional and Critical Theory," coined the term "Critical Theory."

Though considered connected to a revival of interest in an early 'Hegelian' Marx, it is notable that some of the foundational work in critical Marxist thought

was actually written prior to the publication of most of Marx's early writings, including the *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts,* which were published in 1932. Thus for some, such as Lukacs, whose *History and Class Consciousness* (published in 1923) is often said to have anticipated the *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts*, the publication of Marx's early writings clarified long-held beliefs.[3] For all Marxists who took the critical path, the writings revealed an approach that thoroughly critiqued, in Marx's terms, the scientific dialectical materialism that had become Marxist orthodoxy. In these works, Marx posited a historical materialism grounded in humanism, history as a product of human agency, embraced the Kantian philosophical tradition of critique, wrote about alienation, and held a commitment to dialectical thought as a methodological approach to understanding social relations. As political theorist Stephen Eric Bronner (2002) has noted of this tradition:

> Its objective is to foster reflexivity, a capacity for fantasy, and a new basis for praxis in an increasingly alienated world. Critical theory, in this way, stands diametrically opposed to economic determinism and any stage theory of history. It originally sought to examine the various "meditations" between base and superstructure. It engaged in a revision of Marxian categories and an anachronistic theory of revolution in order to expose what inhibited revolutionary practice and its emancipatory outcome. Critical theory wished to push beyond the stultifying dogma and collectivism of what became known as "actually existing socialism". The ideological and institutional framework of oppression was always thrust to the forefront and made the target of attack.
>
> *(p. 5)*

Although somewhat underground for many years, the critical tradition emerged *en force* in the 1960s. In an effort to rescue Marxian critique from the crude orthodoxy still dominant within the Soviet Bloc and to develop insightful theory that illuminated the ideological structure of the social order, radicals across the globe who were mobilizing against an expanding capitalist social order turned to this critical tradition. Freire participated in this reemergence, with affiliates of the humanist Praxis group in Yugoslavia (e.g. Gajo Petrovic), the Frankfurt School (e.g. Max Horkheimer, Herbert Marcuse, & Eric Fromm), and a range of independent socialist humanists (e.g. Karl Kosik & Lucian Goldmann) being particularly influential on his thinking.[4] As Denis Goulet noted in 1973 about Freire's 1965 book *Education as the Practice of Freedom*[5]:

> Were the piece to be written today, I feel certain that its title would become 'Education as the Praxis of Liberation'. For although Freire's earlier work does view action as *praxis*, the precise symbiosis between reflective action and critical theorizing is the fruit of later works, especially *Cultural Action*

for Freedom and *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Similarly, Freire's notion of freedom has always been dynamic and rooted in the historical process by which the oppressed struggle unremittingly to "extroject" (the term is his) the slave consciousness which oppressors have "interjected" into the deepest recess of their being. Yet in recent years Freire has grown ever more attentive to the special oppression masked by the forms of democratic "freedom" or civil "liberty." Accordingly, he now emphasizes liberation as being both a dynamic activity and the partial conquest of those engaged in a dialogical education.

(Goulet, 1973, pp. vii–viii)

Though participating in a revolutionary Marxist milieu, by the end of the 1960s Freire's "critical theorizing" and more nuanced emphasis on liberation was philosophically grounded in and contributing to the critical Marxist tradition.[6]

Following this tradition, Freire's conceptualization of what it means to be critical emerged out of the ontological position that there is an objective reality that is created and can thus be transformed by humans: Dehumanization is not a historical fact. "Just as objective social reality exists not by chance, but as a product of human action," wrote Freire, "so it is not transformed by chance. If humankind produce social reality (which in the 'inversion of the praxis' turns back upon them and conditions them) then transforming that reality is an historical task, a task for humanity" (Freire, 1970e, p. 36). Once objective reality is acknowledged, dehumanization can be recognized or unveiled, reflected upon, and acted against. This is reflected in Freire's oft cited definition of "praxis: reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it" (p. 36).

For Freire, praxis, which he often referred to as a "critical intervention," must take place between the oppressed and those in solidarity with the oppressed. This is because those of the oppressor class who are in solidarity with the oppressed are uniquely in a position to help the oppressed recognize the objective reality of dehumanization. Thus, although only the oppressed can most fully understand their oppression and, therefore, must be the historical force of their own liberation, dehumanization is so internalized among the oppressed through oppression that it is difficult for the oppressed to recognize that dehumanization is not an historical and unchangeable fact.[7]

The pedagogy of the oppressed is thus a dialogue between the oppressed and those in solidarity with the oppressed meant to help "the oppressed unveil the world of oppression and through the praxis commit themselves to its transformation" (p. 40). For Freire, this "co-intentional" "educational project"—both "teachers and students (leadership and people)" as subjects working to transform the world through "common reflection and action" (pp. 53, 56) in a setting distinct from "systemic education" (p. 40)—was essential for organizing the oppressed and creating a revolutionary theory of liberation, which must always retain an "eminently pedagogical character"

(pp. 53–54).[8] As he wrote in the conclusion to his second *HER* article "Cultural Action and Conscientization": "To be authentic, revolution must be a continuous event, otherwise it will cease to be a revolution, and will become sclerotic bureaucracy" (Freire, 1970a, p. 51).

For Freire, being critical thus meant recognizing oppression, acting against it, doing so in solidarity with others who seek revolutionary change, and doing so continuously. It is this critical educational process that *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* articulates as the most important feature of constructing movements for radical social change.

Ideas, of course, are almost always generated amid a conversation with multiple intellectual traditions. For instance, in addition to Marxist thought, Freire was also deeply influenced by phenomenology and existentialism. Furthermore, as a scholar explicitly writing in and about a post-colonial context, it is unsurprising that Freire's *HER* articles and *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* are written from an anti-colonial standpoint that is indebted to Frantz Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth* (1963) and Albert Memmi's *The Colonizer and The Colonized* (1965). Additionally, there was always a strong Catholic influence in Freire's writing, which is perhaps most clearly seen in his language of love and communion, and in his humanism.[9] However, while Freire had long engaged continental philosophy, by the late 1960s Marxist thought was clearly framing his continental approach, including his reading of existentialism, which was indebted to the Marxist existentialism of Jean-Paul Sartre. Also, like many anti-colonial thinkers of the period, Fanon and Memmi, while positioning themselves variously in relationship to the Marxist tradition, where both very influenced by Marxist thought. Finally, it is during the 1960s and early 1970s that Marxist thought became influential in many Catholic liberation movements in Latin America (Boff & Boff, 1987). Although influenced by multiple intellectual and political traditions, it is the Marxist tradition, with both its revolutionary and critical ideas, that Freire turned to in order to help him articulate his radical educational ideas. It is also this intellectual and political tradition that Freire brought with him in the late 1960s, when he first came to the United States. The historical question, to which this chapter now turns, is how and when scholars of education in the United States began to take notice.

Freire and Illich

In 1967, Father Joseph Fitzpatrick and Monsignor Robert Fox invited Freire, then living in exile in Chile and virtually unknown in the United States, to New York City to observe education and literacy programs that Fox was directing in many of the city's Puerto Rican and Black communities (Freire, 2006, p. 43).[10] This was Freire's first visit to the United States. "In my trips and visits to the various centers that the two priests maintained in areas of New York," wrote Freire many years later in his largely autobiographical *Pedagogy of Hope*:

> I was able to verify, seeing them all over again, behaviors expressive of the "wiliness" or "cunning" demanded of the oppressed if they are to survive. I saw and heard things in New York that were "translations"—not just linguistic ones, of course, but emotional ones, as well of—much of what I had heard in Brazil, and was hearing more recently in Chile. The "why" of the behavior was the same. Only the form—what I might call "trappings"— and the content, were different.
>
> *(Freire, 2006, p. 44)*

The similarity was so striking that Freire used an example he witnessed in Fox's program in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*—the use of a photograph to demonstrate the reality of social conditions in one's community—in order to describe how one's social conditions can be so appalling that when confronted by them they can be difficult to acknowledge as real (Freire, 1970d, pp. 155–156).

Soon after leaving New York, Freire completed the first three chapters of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* in a two-week stretch (48–49).[11] His first visit to the United States made a lasting impression, and in many respects he had Ivan Illich to thank. Illich, a Catholic priest with a notable history of his own, had suggested to his close friend Father Fitzpatrick that he ought to connect with Freire (Freire, 2004, p. 43).

In 1956, Monsignor Ivan Illich, who had been working with the Puerto Rican community in New York City since he immigrated to the U.S. in 1951 (from Austria), was sent by Cardinal Spellman, the Archbishop of New York, to Puerto Rico to become the Vice-Rector of the Catholic University of Puerto Rico and the inaugural director of the Institute of Intercultural Communication. The charge of the institute was to train priests, religious personnel, and layman in the Spanish language and Puerto Rican culture in order to better prepare them to work with the Puerto Rican communities across the Eastern seaboard, a task it primarily undertook through a three-month summer program. Monsignor Robert Fox was among the clergy who attended the institute (Fitzpatrick, 1996, pp. 21–32).

Despite the success of the program, in 1961, pressure from conservative Catholics, particularly Bishop McManus of San Juan, forced Illich to leave Puerto Rico. After a brief return to New York, he moved to Cuernavaca, Mexico, where, with support from the New York Archdiocese and Father Joseph Fitzpatrick, a professor of sociology at Fordham University, Illich founded the Center for Intercultural Documentation (CIDOC) (pp. 21–32).

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s CIDOC was a significant center for radical conversations, regularly hosting seminars that attracted activists and intellectuals from throughout the Western Hemisphere and occasionally Europe. From 1961 to 1968 it was formally affiliated with the Catholic Church, and like the institute in Puerto Rico, offered language and cultural training for priests, religious workers, and laymen, though this time for work throughout Latin America. In

1968, when Illich formally removed himself from clerical duties due to pressure from Church hierarchy in the Vatican and Latin America, CIDOC became a secular institution, opening its typically seminar-based political conversations to a wider audience.[12]

Perhaps the most notable of the secular CIDOC seminars was "Alternatives in Education," which ran in 1969 and 1970. The seminars attracted a range of thinkers, including in the spring and summer of 1970 educational radicals Joel Spring, Paul Goodman, John Holt, and George Dennison, as well as Fitzpatrick and sociologist Peter Berger, all of whom workshopped Illich's *Deschooling Society*, which was published to wide acclaim in 1971. Freire was among those who participated (Illich, 1971, p. v).

Also at CIDOC, Freire met Erich Fromm, who is frequently cited in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, and befriended Jonathan Kozol, who would help Freire network in the United States beginning with his short time at the Center for Studies in Education and Development (CSED) in the Graduate School of Education at Harvard University (HGSE) in 1969 and 1970.

Freire and Harvard

In 1962, CSED was formed with assistance from a Carnegie Corporation grant in order to study the role of education in the economic growth of developing countries, an objective that mirrored a broader move within U.S. foreign policy and social science research in the late 1950s and early 1960s toward the study of modernization (Center for Studies in Education and Development Annual Report 1971–1972, p. 1).[13] From the beginning, CSED supported a number of social scientists conducting research, and later, those doing applied work with a range of countries in Africa, Latin America, and Asia through a variety of institutions such as the World Bank, USAID, United Nations agencies, and national governments. Financially, the biggest boost came in 1965 when CSED begin receiving money from the Ford Foundation, including significant grants in 1966, 1968, and 1970 for training and research in Latin America (pp. 2–3).

However, as a result of rising suspicion and resentment among Third World nations of neocolonialist tendencies within the large-scale economic and educational modernization projects emerging out of the United States and elsewhere, CSED's approach to development changed (p. 3). In 1970, CSED ended their final large-scale project, the Cuidad Guyana Project in Venezuela, and moved toward working with institutions overseas only if "specifically requested by a foreign government or institution" (p. 4). Instead of large-scale projects, CSED moved to micro planning, an interest in information processing that privileged rational choice models of development. Students, now armed with problem-solving skills, were trained to work in a range of positions, such as in higher education and mass literacy projects instead of simply national planning offices. The intent of this shift was to increase equitable resource and power distribution in

developing nations instead of continuing down the path of top-down development that had defined previous rich/poor nation relationships (pp. 4–5).

In this climate of a revised vision of international educational research and engagement, CSED found an alignment of interest with Freire whose popular education and adult literacy work in Brazil and Chile had garnered some attention from scholars of international education and adult literacy in the United States. In 1969, CSED invited Freire to Cambridge for a two-year position as a Research Associate. Soon after receiving CSED's offer, however, Freire received a competing offer from the World Council of Churches in Geneva. Eager to avail himself of both opportunities, Freire negotiated a six-month appointment in Cambridge, MA, beginning in September 1969, before going on to Switzerland in February 1970.[14] While in Cambridge, Freire also received financial and intellectual support as a Fellow at the radical Center for Studies in Development and Social Change (CSDSC), "an independent group of men and women engaged in reflective study and new ways of communicating about 'development' and 'social change'" (Center for Studies in Development and Social Change brochure quoted from Grabowski, 1972, p. 96).

According to his appointment records, Freire came to Harvard to "work in conjunction with existing CSED staff in the design and execution of adult education programs," with a special focus on "the design of the theoretical models to be used" (Recommendation For a Harvard Corporation Appointment 1969). Notably, there is no evidence in the CSED archives that Freire had any involvement in the center's projects, including projects in Venezuela and Chile, both of which contained literacy components. Freire appears to have been recruited as an expert in literacy and adult education, not as an expert on the politics of Latin American educational systems or on social theory.

Though brief, Freire's stay in Cambridge was significant. In addition to teaching a course in the philosophy and methods of adult education (Harman, 1969), Freire further networked with educational activists such as Kozol, whom he had met at Illich's "Alternatives in Education" seminar in Cuernavaca, Mexico the previous summer (Freire, 1996, pp. 124–125). Furthermore, Freire completed a long article for *Harvard Educational Review* (*HER*), his first for a U.S. education journal, which was published in two parts, in May and August of 1970 (Freire, 1970c, 1970d).[15] Freire also oversaw the translation of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, which was published, for the first time in any language, in English in late 1970.[16] *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* and the two *HER* articles, which were republished together by *HER*'s press in September 1970 as the short monograph *Cultural Action for Freedom,* introduced Freire's ideas to English-speaking audiences.[17]

Reception of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*

On October 22, 1970, *The New York Review of Books* published an impassioned letter to the editor by Jonathan Kozol urging readers to engage the ideas of Freire.

Kozol penned the powerfully titled "Coming Up For Freire," in reaction to Ivan Illich's July 2, 1970 essay "Why We Must Abolish Schooling," which, in addition to eventually becoming the first chapter of *Deschooling Society* (1971), offered two paragraphs praising Freire's work. Kozol seized this opportunity. "I am writing to you," wrote Kozol,

> because I believe Freire's ideas to be directly relevant to the struggles we face in the United States at the present time, and in areas far less mechanical and far more universal than basic literacy alone. In the past year Freire has addressed himself often to an analysis of the degrading qualities of public education in the United States and, while he has been obliged to abstain from direct political involvement during his visit here, he has engaged in extensive conversation with many of us concerning the nature of the problems we now face.
>
> *(Kozol, 1970, pp. 53–54)*

Though the letter appeared prior to the publication of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Kozol let readers know that the book was coming out soon, even naming Herder & Herder as the press and November as the anticipated month of publication. And when *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* was finally published, Kozol, along with Illich, was one of two endorsers on its cover—"Brilliant methodology of a highly charged and politically provocative character."[18]

Pedagogy of the Oppressed quickly garnered attention from a broad audience. It received favorable reviews in a range of publications, including the new radical journal *Social Policy* (Berube, 1971), the widely read *Saturday Review* (Harman, 1971), the Catholic journal *Momentum* (Elford, 1971), and the prestigious journal *Science* (Maccoby, 1971). It also had a documented impact on individual activists in the United States. Theressa Hoover, for instance, an African–American activist and chief executive of the National Women's Program of the United Methodist Church was so moved by the book that she titled her 1971 commencement address for Garrett Theological Seminary in Evanston, Illinois, "To Speak a True Word," a title advertised to the audience as being explicitly influenced by *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (*Chicago Daily Defender*, 1971).

By 1972, Freire's work had reached a sufficiently wide audience that he was even receiving effusive praise in the *Washington Post*. "It is fitting that Freire is becoming known in the United States," wrote the noted journalist and activist Colman McCarthy. "Little oppression is found here in comparison with the severity of northeast Brazil, but we share a common culture of silence. Wealth, not poverty, is making objects out of most of us: who can count of, let alone actively resist, all the outrages? Freire speaks of an 'invisible war' against the common citizens. He referred to Brazil but the front lines are here too" (McCarthy, 1972).

Because Freire's work received such a strong reception among activists inside the United States, it is often assumed that his immediate influence on the

academic field of education was equally as intense.[19] A close examination of major journals in the field, however, indicates this was not the case.

From the 1960s through the 1980s, *Harvard Educational Review* (*HER*) was, with *Teachers College Record* (*TCR*) close behind, the central journal in the field of education for cross-field and cross-disciplinary conversations. Regularly publishing a range of work in the social sciences and humanities, including the ideas of prominent scholars outside of the field of education, *HER* was a hub for discussion about educational theory, practice, and policy. It was thus with good fortune that Freire's first two articles in the United States were published in such a highly visible venue. Furthermore, given his role at CSED as a literacy expert, it was appropriate that Freire's first *HER* article was published in a special issue on "Illiteracy in America," which was put together by David Harman (Harman, 1970), a former Director of the Adult Literacy Campaign for the Ministry of Education and Culture in Israel and a doctoral student at HGSE who helped coordinate Freire's time in Cambridge (Harman, 1969).

Harman, who had also written the review of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* for the *Saturday Review*, was not the only one in the field attracted to Freire's ideas about adult literacy education. Freire's writing received a strong reception in the journal *Adult Education* (Lloyd, 1972), and in November 1972, Publications in Continuing Education and the ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult Education at Syracuse University published Stanley Grabowski's edited *Paulo Freire: A Revolutionary Dilemma for the Adult Educator*. The first book in the United States devoted to a close examination of Freire's ideas, the volume contained several essays about Freire as well as an annotated bibliography of writings by and about him. "To be sure, Freire's writings are considerably different from most other writings in the field of adult education," warned Grabowski in the book's introduction:

> Freire's political and philosophical assumptions and references, his impassioned identification with the oppressed, and his anger toward persons, systems, and situations which oppress, permeate his writings and may act as barriers for some adult educators in their attempts to understand Freire's approach to adult education and his potential contributions to the field of adult education.
>
> *(Grabowski, 1972, p. 2)*

In the volume, James A. Farmer Jr., Jack London, William M. Rivera, and Bruce O. Boston wrote celebratory pieces. The reception of Freire's work in Grabowski's edited volume, however, cut both ways. Manfred Stanley and William Griffith, for instance, offered blistering critiques. Stanley argued that Freire's conception of literacy "defined as the awareness that people can make their world, is philosophically an insufficiently explicated legitimation of revolutionary oriented literacy training" (Stanley, 1972, p. 44). In a critique even less generous, Griffith argued that, "Freire's criticisms of education, based primarily on his assumptions

about the relationship between teachers and students, are neither new nor particularly useful in bringing about an improvement in the process" (Griffith, 1972, p. 67).

Significantly, Stanley and Griffith's feelings about Freire were not unusual. Within educational scholarship, reception of Freire was mixed. The most established journal in the field to review *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* was the *Peabody Journal of Education*. While in many ways laudatory, at one point going so far as to suggest it as a book that "every American educator would do well to read," Robert Curries' review ultimately concluded that "Freire is extremely naïve, perhaps, in calling for the renunciation of power" (Currie, 1972, p. 164). Similarly, though from a perspective on the left, activist and scholar Edgar Friedenberg, in his review for *Comparative Education Review*, argued that Freire was rather unhelpful for thinking through social struggle either in the United States or in Brazil: "[T]he Brazilian peasant, considering the oppressive climate, probably needs a Weatherman. Paolo Freire isn't one. And the American reader intent, like Freire, on using education as a subversive activity has an array of sharper and more comprehensive sources at his disposal" (Friedenberg, 1971, p. 380). Rena Foy, in *Educational Studies*, while finding Freire "thought provoking" also found him "often illogical and inconsistent," though the review concluded on a more positive note, mentioning that Freire's method appears to be "effective if not altogether honest" (Foy, 1971, pp. 92–93).

In *HER*, which did not review *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, there was not so much tempered acceptance, ambivalence, or disapproval of Freire's work as much as there was silence. After Harman's laudatory introductory comments in the May 1970 special issue on literacy, a substantive engagement with Freire's ideas does not appear again until an August 1977 article about literacy by Nan Elsasser and Vera P. John-Steiner, which focused on the work of Freire and the then little known Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky. Furthermore, aside from Elsasser and John-Steiner's article, a positive book review of *Pedagogy in Process* by Harman in February 1979, a short piece by Freire himself on his work in Sao Tome and Principe in February 1981, and some positive comments about Freire's literacy work by Kozol in February 1982, there is virtually no conversation about Freire in *HER* until the mid/late 1980s. Even if one scours the footnotes of every *HER* article written from the publication of Freire's "The Adult Literacy Process as Cultural Action for Freedom" in May 1970 to the publication in 1985 of Martha Montero-Sieburth's essay review of Freire's *The Politics of Education* (noted in this chapter's introduction), the number of articles, reviews, and editorial comments that reference Freire amounts to perhaps a dozen.

Unlike *HER*, *Teachers College Record* (*TCR*) initially appeared as though it might publish articles engaging Freire's work. In February 1972, Robert Nash and Russell Agne, in an article focused on accountability politics, eloquently used Freire to frame their social theory conversation, asking:

> Where in the present efflux of literature is there a voice, like Paulo Freire's, which goads educators to be accountable to the oppressed peoples of the world? Where are we being urged to apply Freire's concept of "praxis", which directs us to help our students to reflect upon the social, political, and economic contradictions in the culture and to take a systematic political action against the oppressive power blocs?
>
> *(Nash and Griffin, 1972, p. 367)*

The answer, apparently, was not *TCR*. Maxine Greene, who put together a panel on Freire for the 1972 American Educational Studies Association annual meeting (Grabowski, 1972, p. 96), was certainly a champion of Freire's work, but the engagement in her essays was limited to a few sentences of commentary rather than an in-depth exploration of ideas (Greene, 1971, 1973, 1978). And aside from her essays, and another piece by Nash (with Robert Griffin) in a 1977 essay review of a book by Carl Rogers, *TCR* had virtually no referencing or discussion of Freire. In fact, after the article by Nash and Agnes, the first substantive engagement with Freire in *TCR* is a C.A. Bowers review of a book by Manfred Stanley that was published in fall 1980 (Bowers, 1980). In his book, Stanley, who had published a piece in the Grabowski edited collection in 1972, was still critical of Freire. Bowers remains one of Freire's strongest critics (e.g. Bowers, 1983, 2006). *TCR* never reviewed *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.

The relative silence on Freire was noticeable in other prominent journals as well. *Educational Theory*, for instance, the leading journal in philosophy of education, did not publish a review of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* until fall 1974 (Singer, 1974); not until four years later did the journal publish another substantive discussion of Freire's work, which, notably, was written by an Australian and not a U.S. education scholar (Small, 1978). Furthermore, with one notable exception (Van Manen, 1975), even in the journals that published much of the work that would soon be called critical educational studies, such as *Theory and Research in Social Education* and the Canadian journal *Curriculum Inquiry* (formerly *Curriculum Theory Network*), Freire was not receiving substantive engagement until the very end of the 1970s (e.g. Anyon, 1979; Giroux, 1979).

More sharply to the point, however, is that the *American Educational Research Journal* did not publish a substantive mention of Freire until 1992 (Smyth, 1992), and in *Educational Researcher*, the first article to substantively engage Freire's ideas was not published until 1993 (Greene, 1993). A search limited to the 116 education journals hosted by JSTOR, using the search term "Freire" and limited to an article or review written in English, makes the dramatic delay in the field's reception of Freire's work more clear. For the years 1970–1974 there are 59 entries. From 1975–1979 there are 97. From 1980–1984 there are 129. Then, from 1985–1989 there is a dramatic jump to 268, twice as many as the previous five years. And from 1990–1994 there is another dramatic jump to 402. Freire was certainly known by many in the field of education throughout the 1970s and

early 1980s (285 JSTOR entries in 15 years), but his work clearly had not yet become as popular as it would in the late 1980s and early 1990s (670 JSTOR entries in 10 years), which, notably, was after the turn to critical scholarship was in full swing.[20]

Harvard Educational Review and the Turn to Critical Marxism

In addition to being a central journal in the field, *HER* was the only major journal in the field in the 1960s (again, along with *TCR*) that regularly published political commentary and research by those who were identifiably on the political left (e.g. Chomsky, 1966; Kozol, 1967; Hamilton, 1968; Cuban, 1969). Freire's May and August 1970 *HER* articles were thus not exceptional in their radical interrogation of social injustice. Yet, while publishing radical work was not exceptional, prior to Freire's articles, left commentary in *HER*, and certainly in the field more broadly, rarely noted Marxist thought.

Despite Freire's articles, however, with the exception of Samuel Bowles' 1971 analysis of schooling in Cuba and Herbert Gintis's critique of Ivan Illich (1972c), neither of which mention Freire, the appearance of explicit conversations about Marxist thought within *HER* would take several years. And significantly, it was Bowles and Gintis's *Schooling in Capitalist America*, published in 1976, not Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, that instigated a sustained consideration of Marxian social and political analysis within both *HER* and the field.

At the time of publication, *Schooling in Capitalist America* was the most sustained, developed, and empirically evidenced Marxian analysis of schooling in the United States. Bowles and Gintis, Harvard-trained economists who were at the forefront of a move to Marxian economics within the U.S. academy in the late 1960s and 1970s, argued that schools, as an integral part of broader capitalist social relations, have historically been constructed to deliberately reproduce the social order, socializing students to assume their appropriate place within the capitalist work order. "The educational system, basically, neither adds to nor subtracts from the degree of inequality and repression originating in the economic sphere," argued Bowles and Gintis:

> Rather, it reproduces and legitimates a preexisting pattern in the process of training and stratifying the work force. How does this occur? The heart of the process is to be found not in the content of the educational encounter—or the process of information transfer—but in the form: the social relations of the educational encounter. These correspond closely to the social relations of dominance, subordination, and motivation in the economic sphere. Through the educational encounter, individuals are induced to accept the degree of powerlessness with which they will be faced as mature workers.
>
> *(1976, p. 265)*

Unlike *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, *Schooling in Capitalist America*, which is discussed at length in the next chapter, received a great deal of attention in the field, including a review in the May 1976 issue of *HER*.

In his review, sociologist Randall Collins argued that while the correspondence theory proposed by Bowles and Gintis seemed correct in its conclusion that schooling reproduces the social order—that the description of reproduction seemed true—the correspondence theory itself held little explanatory power. What, in other words, was happening inside the "black box" of reproduction?

Collins followed his review with a February 1977 *HER* article in which he elaborated his critique of Marxist approaches to causation, particularly Bowles and Gintis's correspondence theory and the structuralist work of French Marxist Louis Althusser, who was just beginning to be read in the United States. "What determines the structures and contents of educational systems?" asked Collins. The answer, he argued, requires a Weberian analysis of the "interaction of cultural organization with the material economy" using the "concept of the cultural market" (p. 27).

Bowles and Gintis never responded to Collins, and neither did Althusser. Significantly, however, Michael Apple, who by this time had developed a strong reputation within the curriculum field but had never before published in *HER*, did respond. In November 1977, *HER* published a letter to the editor in which Apple offered a critique:

> [W]hile Professor Collins offers some interesting notions about cultural markets, he neglects the rather long and increasingly systematic work of the Marxists and Neo-Marxist analysts of culture who have contributed to our understanding of the relationship between cultural reproduction and economic reproduction… any theoretically and historically complete appraisal of cultural control needs to include the work of Raymond Williams, Antonio Gramsci, Lucien Goldmann, George Lukacs, and Frederic Jameson, to name but a few. In short, it must be grounded in a tradition which has taken as its root problem the investigation of how the form and content of popular and elite culture are dialectically related to economic power and control.
>
> *(p. 601)*

For Apple, who agreed with Collins that Bowles and Gintis's correspondence theory was crudely mechanistic, seeing inside the black box of schooling required the tools of critical Marxism. And notably, nowhere in the exchanges about *Schooling in Capitalist America* is there mention of Paulo Freire, even despite the fact that Apple's comments were the first substantive advocacy of a tradition that Freire introduced to *HER* readers in 1970. As will be discussed in Chapter 3, Apple, who had been publishing scholarly work in the critical Marxist tradition since the early 1970s, had neither cited nor mentioned Freire in his own work up

to this point. In fact, Freire appears nowhere in Apple's classic *Ideology and Curriculum*, which at the time of publication in 1979 was the most sophisticated critical Marxian analysis of schooling in the United States.

Situating Freire in the Critical Turn

In the 15 years that followed the publication of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, many radical educational scholars in the United States became familiar with and influenced by Freire's work; however, scholars who made the initial turn to the Marxist tradition did not look to Freire for primary theoretical guidance. Of the many possible reasons for the delay in Freire's reception in the field, two are particularly important to note. The first is institutional and the second is theoretical.

In the 1970s and 1980s, Freire did not have strong institutional support in the academic field of education. Jonathan Kozol, Freire's best known and most outspoken champion in the United States., was a journalist and not an academic, and Continuum, which published *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* and *Pedagogy in Process*, was a small press ill-equipped to push Freire's ideas into the academic scene. Freire needed institutional support in the field—a champion of his work and a publisher to consistently promote the dissemination of his ideas.

Enter Henry Giroux, who was first deeply inspired by Freire when he read *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* as a high school teacher in the mid-1970s (Giroux, 2008). Following a few years of correspondence, Freire and Giroux finally met in 1983 and began to forge a strong friendship. This led to Freire increasing his visits to the states and widening his networks with scholars in the field. Giroux and Freire also began co-editing the book series Critical Studies in Education for Bergin & Garvey, which became a central publisher of critical educational scholarship for over two decades. Significantly, the first book in the series, Stanley Aronowitz and Giroux's *Education Under Siege* (1985), was dedicated to "Paulo Freire who is a living embodiment of the principle that underlies this work: that pedagogy should become more political and that the political should become more pedagogical" (unnumbered page in front of book). Freire's critical impulse was central to the series.

More importantly, the series provided a venue for Freire's work. In 1985, the series published *The Politics of Education* (with an introduction by Giroux), which included republication of Freire's *HER* essays from 1970. In 1986, the series published *A Pedagogy of Liberation* (a dialogue with Ira Shor), and in 1987, the series published *Literacy: Reading The World and The World* (a dialogue with Donaldo Macedo). Unlike *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, these books were widely reviewed, including in *HER*, where Peter McLaren cemented Freire's position as the focal point of 'cultural literacy' discussions within the educational left in a 1988 article-length essay review of *Literacy* that pitted Freire against E.D. Hirsch (McLaren, 1988).

With Giroux's help, Freire's ideas reached new audiences. And as indicated by the bump in JSTOR entries from 1985 to 1989, Freire was becoming an established figure in the field. As Rich Gibson (1994) observed following a close examination of Freire's ideas and educational projects, a new academic publishing marketed centered on Freire seemed to emerge in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Indeed, within a couple of years after the 1990 publication of the twentieth anniversary edition of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*—which, as noted on the back cover, included a new forward by the publisher, a new typeset, and a "modified" translation to "reflect the interrelationship of liberation and inclusive language"—Freire had emerged, where he stands today, everywhere.

The institutional support provided by Giroux was clearly important in promoting Freire's ideas; however, there is a second, and perhaps more salient, reason for the delay in engagement by critical educational scholars: distinction of project. Three differences in project are particularly important.

The first difference is context—Freire's work centered on adult literacy education in post-colonial contexts, whereas U.S. scholars focused on K–12 schooling in the United States. The second difference, which is illuminated by the first, is a distinction in political advocacy. Unlike Freire, who advocated revolutionary struggle at least as late as his 1978 book *Pedagogy in Process*, which reflects on his work with Marxist revolutionary Amiral Cabral in Guinea Bissau, the initial wave of critical scholars advocated structural reform. Although there were revolutionary tendencies in the U.S. left, by the late 1970s and 1980s most of the left had abandoned any possibility of sweeping radical reconstruction of the social order (never mind all out revolution), which seemed increasingly unlikely amid the rise of neoconservatism and the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980 (Brick & Phelps, 2015; Elbaum, 2002). The initial wave of critical educational scholars sat in the socialist camp, but they were not revolutionaries in the same way as the Freire of the 1970s and early 1980s.

In addition to differences of context and political advocacy, the third difference was theoretical. Freire's work, including *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, assumed the structural and ideological makeup of the social order to be understood. For Freire, the question was thus: Given an unjust social order, how can and should people build movements to overturn that order? Scholars in the United States, however, did not assume an understanding of the social order. Rather, as will become clear in the coming chapters, the turn to social and cultural reproduction theory was an attempt to deepen understanding about the structure and ideological makeup of the social order and the position of schooling within it. Although questions of agency and resistance were certainly part of this discussion, the broader question of movement building was secondary to the development of nuanced descriptive and explanatory social theory. Giroux noted this distinction in a 1979 *Curriculum Inquiry* essay review of *Pedagogy in Process*, which at the time was by far the most substantive engagement of Freire's work printed in an education journal regularly read and published in by U.S. scholars:

> For him, the fact of domination in Third World nations, as well as the substantive nature of that domination, is relatively clear. Consequently, his analysis of the sociopolitical conditions of domination are confined to both an acknowledgment and a strong, rhetorical indictment. While such a stance may be justifiable for Third World radicals who need spend little time documenting and exposing the objective conditions of domination for the oppressed, the situation is vastly different in North America. The conditions of domination are not only different in the advanced industrial countries of the West, but they are also much less obvious, and in some cases, one could say more pervasive and powerful… Not only the content and nature of domination need to be documented in this case, but the very fact of domination has to be proven to most Americans.
>
> *(Giroux, 1979, p. 267)*

Understandably, as early foundational pieces in critical educational studies demonstrate (e.g. Anyon, 1979a, 1979b, 1980, 1981a, 1981b; Apple, 1979a, 1982a, 1982b, 1982c; Giroux, 1981a, 1983b), the primary theoretical influences on much of the initial critical work came from a previous generation of Marxist thinkers, such as Antonio Gramsci, and contemporary British cultural Marxists, such as Stuart Hall, who were concerned with the relationship between social structure and ideology in modern capitalist states.

In the mid– and late 1980s, however, after the field had already begun a substantive conversation about the structure of the social order and had become acclimated to the language and ideas core to the critical Marxist tradition (e.g. hegemony, ideology, and dialectical thought), it seemed that many critical scholars began to turn to Freire to think about agency (e.g. McLaren, 1988). Freire, after all, argued that education must *always* be central to the theory and practice of building movements for radical social change because, regardless of context, it is through education that consciousness about one's position within the social order is obtained. This is the central feature of his critical educational approach and his unique contribution to Marxist revolutionary theory. Freire's critical work thus became helpful for many in thinking through and passionately articulating how and why schooling, and education more generally, should be harnessed in the push against an (increasingly theorized and understood) unjust social order. As even a cursory glance at literature in the field makes clear, over the past 25 years *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* has become *the* citation for signaling a scholar's belief in education as an emancipatory process within an unjust social order. And, significantly, it is the word 'critical' that tends to trigger the citation.

Conclusion: Renewing a Close, Contextual Read

The practical "what can and are we going to do now?" impulse in the field is one of its most admirable features. Undoubtedly, in addition to the turn to Freire's

work being a sign that the subfield of critical educational studies was ready to more thoroughly think through the question of agency, the fact that such a turn occurred in the mid- and late 1980s probably illuminates much about a general frustration among educational scholars during the Reagan/Bush years. As Giroux noted in the final sentence of his introduction to *The Politics of Education*, "His newest book could not have come at a more important time" (Giroux, 1985, p. xxv). Freire's call for action clearly resonated *en masse* at a time when progressive values, institutions, and policies were under severe attack.

However, although the desire among educational scholars to push back *now* against forces of injustice is certainly one of the field's strengths, it needs to be balanced with a careful examination of the ideas guiding action. This is particularly true when it comes to drawing upon Freire. As Kathleen Weiler noted in a 1996 essay review of books about Freire:

> The complexities of the debate over how Freire should be read reflects one of the most striking qualities of Freire's thought: his tendency toward inspirational but decontextualized generalizations. His pronouncements frequently invoke universal themes such as justice, love, and freedom—terms that can be appropriated by writers from a number of different traditions. When commentators want to appropriate Freire, they frequently "fill in" for Freire, elaborating and explaining what he "really" means, or taking his generalizations as specifics. This can lead to claims for his work that are closer to wishes than they are supported by his actual writings.
>
> *(Weiler, 1996, p. 363)*

There is no question as to the power of Freire's ideas. Unfortunately, in too much educational scholarship mere mention of Freire substitutes for a sustained engagement and articulation of social structure and the position of schooling within it. "To invoke his name," noted Rich Gibson in a tribute and critique following Freire's death in 1997, "is to conjure radicalism, revolution in education—an embryonic phantom image like a Che Guevara t-shirt" (Gibson, 2007, p. 187).

What Giroux made clear in his review of *Pedagogy in Process* in 1979 remains true 35 years later—we cannot rely on Freire for structural understanding, which is something his work does not clearly articulate for his own context, much less for others. This was not his task. One should certainly look to Friere for guidance and inspiration in thinking about how we can build movements for radical social change and the reasons for why education must be central to such a project. At the same time, however, people should also develop a nuanced understanding of their own social conditions. As Gibson further noted in his essay:

> The absence of criticism of his theoretical foundations and social practice allows his complexity and internal contradictions to be ignored, and his

own counsel, to develop a fully critical outlook for social change rooted in the examination of social applications, to be denied.

(Gibson, 2007, p. 187)

As we will see in the pages that follow, the work of the initial scholars who turned to critical Marxism was guided by a commitment to such examination, a commitment that set the foundation for the critical educational scholarship that followed and one that was keenly aware that action lacking such examination was doomed to fail.

Notes

1 There are often inconsistencies in the literature about details prior to Freire's exile from Brazil in 1964. The next two paragraphs defer to A. M. A. Freire and Macedo (1998). This source is preferred because it offers the best documentation of Freire's institutional relationships. For a short, accessible introduction to Freire's life, see Kirylo (2011), which likely replaces Gadotti (1994) as the go-to introductory biographical overview. The best intellectual history of Freire is Schugerensky (2011). See Kirkendall (2010) for an analysis of Freire's literacy work in Brazil and throughout the Cold War era.

2 For a discussion of inter-war Marxist reactions to Second International Marxism and the young Soviet state, see Bronner (2002), Colletti (1975), Jacoby (1981), and Jay (1984).

3 For a discussion of Marx's early writings, see Colletti (1975).

4 The names listed are just some of the Marxist thinkers cited in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.

5 *Education for the Practice of Freedom* and Freire's 1968 essay "Extension or Communication" were republished together in 1973 as *Education for Critical Consciousness*, which included an introduction by Goulet.

6 For discussion of Freire's engagement with the Marxist tradition, see Coben (1998), Irwin (2012), Lakes & Kress (2013), Mayo (2004), Schugerensky (2011), Taylor (1993), and Torres (2014).

7 This argument is made throughout *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, from the first chapter, which I heavily cite in this explication (e.g. pp. 27–28 and 37–39), to the final chapter, which described the means and process of manipulation of the oppressed as an "ideology of oppression" (p. 174). Along similar lines, in other work of the period, such as his *HER* essay "Cultural Action and Conscientization," Freire offers a discussion of how base/superstructure relationships create a "culture of silence" that forms consciousness. In general, Freire's discussion of a 'false' consciousness among the oppressed is in line with work in the Marxist tradition that built off of the work of Lukacs, whom Freire engaged in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (pp. 38–39).

8 While Freire counters the vanguardism of Lenin and Lukacs, he never fully resolves a core tension in Marxist revolutionary theory—between the people/masses leading the revolution and revolutionaries/intellectuals leading the people/masses to consciousness so they can lead the revolution—that perhaps cannot be resolved because of the dialectical nature of the relationship.

 9 For discussion of the influence of Catholicism on Freire's early thinking, see Elias (1976).

10 For a discussion of Fox's program, see Cole (1968).

11 A yearlong "oral period" preceded the writing of the book (Freire, 2006, p. 43). In December 1967, after receiving comments from his friend Ernani Maria Fiori, he let the manuscript sit for two months, after which he realized he needed a fourth chapter (Freire, 2006, pp. 48–49). Presumably Freire completed the fourth chapter sometime in 1968, which is why the English edition has always noted "translated from the original Portuguese manuscript, 1968." However, according to Holst (2006, p. 249), who has seen the original manuscript, Freire's signature at the end of the original Preface read "Paulo Freire, Santiage de Chile, otono de 1969," suggesting that the Preface, and perhaps ultimately the manuscript itself, was completed in fall of 1969. The Preface in English editions simply reads "Paulo Freire." Notably, Freire explicitly indicated that, "I wrote this book on the basis of my extensive experience with peasants in Chile; being absolutely convinced of the process of ideological hegemony and what that meant" (Holst, 2006, p. 249). Freire's visit to the United States was certainly influential, but it was not formative.

12 After it turned secular, CIDOC continued to offer language and cultural training programs for those working in Latin America. For documents detailing Illich's tumultuous relationship with the Church in the late 1960s, see CIDOC (1969), which includes correspondence with Rome and the Archbishop of New York, and *New York Times* articles describing events. See especially 4/111 and 4/112 for Illich's July 2, 1968 letter to Terence J. Cooke, Archbishop of New York in which Illich requests Cooke to "withdraw my faculties in the Archdiocese of New York."

13 For a discussion of modernization theory and U.S. foreign policy in the Cold War Era, see Gilman (2004) and Latham (2000).

14 This narrative is in many secondary sources but is not succinctly explained in any of Freire's own writings/dialogues. However, in *Pedagogy of Hope*, Freire does note that he lived in Cambridge for "nearly a year" (p. 131). According to records available at the CSED archives, Freire's appointment spanned from January 9, 1969 to February 28, 1970 (Recommendation For A Harvard Corporation Appointment 1969).

15 A note on the first page of the August 1970 article states that it is a continuation of the May 1970 article.

16 Freire's friend Myra Ramas translated all or the majority of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* while Freire was living in Cambridge (Freire, 2006, p. 62). Although Freire noted that *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* was "published in New York in September 1970" (p. 103), this is at odds with Kozol's October comments (Kozol, 1970) that the book was to be published in November. Freire is clear that *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* was first published in English. Thus, while some probably read the manuscript in Portuguese prior to its translation, its mass circulation began with the English publication, with translations into other languages, including Spanish, German, and French occurring either simultaneously or immediately following (Freire, 2006, p. 103).

17 Freire had other work published or informally circulated in English in 1969 and 1970; however, the *HER* articles and *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* were by far the most visible of his writings. The most circulated of his other writings was probably Freire (1970d).

For an annotated list of Freire's publications in the 1960s and early 70s, see Grabowski (1972).

18 The phrase "Brilliant methodology of a highly charged and politically provocative character" appears at the end of the first paragraph of Kozol's 1970 *The New York Review of Books* letter to the editor as a reference to Freire's work in Brazil. It is not a reference to *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.

19 For a brief discussion of Freire's influence on activists outside of the United States in the 1970s, see Schugerensky (2011, pp. 124–127).

20 Search conducted on August 10, 2014. JSTOR does not include *HER* or *TCR*. Also, of the education journals currently indexed in JSTOR, several were not yet in publication in 1970. Furthermore, about a dozen are not U.S. journals.

2

POLITICAL ECONOMY AND
THE ACADEMIC LEFT

Studies on the Left, the first major theoretical journal of the New Left in the United States, moved from the academic confines of the University of Wisconsin–Madison to the streets of New York City in 1963, four years after it was founded. The intent, as noted by historian Russell Jacoby, was "to breathe the air, if not partake of urban political ferment" (Jacoby, 1987, p. 119). In 1967, *Studies* folded, torn apart by tensions about its purpose: Was it a journal to theorize and analyze social crises or a journal to strategize and act on those crises (Mattson, 2003; *Studies on the Left*, 1966)? The folding marked a shift in the relationship between the New Left and the academy. Instead of moving away from academic intellectual life, as *Studies* and many activists had done in the early days of the New Left, by 1967 the movement had reversed. The academy, which students at UC Berkeley had so recently damned as a "knowledge factory" churning out elites, was increasingly embraced as a central site for the production of radical ideas (Aronowitz, 1996; Biondi, 2012; Brick & Phelps, 2015; Denning, 2004; Diggins, 1992; Epstein, 1991; Flacks, 1988; Loss, 2012; Rodgers, 2011; Savio, 2005).

In the move back to the academy a cadre of academically centered radical organizations emerged. Some of the initial organizations were interdisciplinary, such as the Socialist Scholars Conference (SSC), which held its first meeting in 1965, and the New University Conference (NUC), which held its first meeting in 1968 (Ericson, 1975; Fischer, 1971). Others, some of which first took shape as radical caucuses within NUC, formed as subgroups within home disciplinary organizations or as new organizations intended to counter conservatism within a dominant disciplinary organization. Many of these groups formed new radical academic journals. For example: In the Modern Language Association, the Radical Caucus in English formed in 1968 and began publishing *Radical Teacher*; in the American Historical Association, two radical caucuses first emerged in

1968, with the more formidable Mid-Atlantic Radical Historians Organization forming in 1973, which soon began publishing *Radical History Review*; and in the American Sociological Association, the Union for Marxist Social Scientists formed in 1974 and was affiliated with *Insurgent Sociologist*, which began publishing in 1971, and *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, which took a radical turn in 1968 (Attewell, 1984; Ericson, 1975; Jacoby, 1987; Wallace, 2001).[1]

Of the new Academic Left organizations, one of the first was Union for Radical Political Economics (URPE), which formed in 1968 and began publishing *Review of Radical Political Economics*. Samuel Bowles, then an assistant professor in the Department of Economics at Harvard, and Herbert Gintis, then a doctoral student in the same department, were founding members (Lee, 2004; Union for Radical Political Economics, 2015). Eight years later, in 1976, Bowles and Gintis published *Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life*. "We owe a particularly great debt," they noted in their preface, "to radical economists around the U.S., and to our organization, the Union for Radical Political Economics" (Bowles & Gintis, 1976, p. xi).

Forty years after its publication, *Schooling in Capitalist America* continues to be a strong influence on thinking about education. One invariably hears echoes, if not explicit reference, to Bowles and Gintis's correspondence theory—that there is an intentional correspondence between the wage labor needs of capitalism and the outcomes of schools—in conversations about the relationship between school and society. In acknowledgement of this influence, for the first time, *Schooling* (Bowles & Gintis, 2011) was reissued in fall 2011. As sociologist Erik Olin Wright, the 2012 president of the American Sociological Association, noted on the front cover of the reissue: "Nearly forty years after its original publication, *Schooling in Capitalist America* remains one of the most trenchant and relevant explorations of the class character of the American education system." And, unlike Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, which, as the previous chapter demonstrates, took a decade and a half to make inroads in scholarly conversations in the field, *Schooling*'s influence was immediate.

Despite *Schooling*'s unquestionable influence, it has received strikingly little historical attention. Ellen Lagemann's (2000) *An Elusive Science*, the only extended study of the history of educational research in the United States, does not even mention *Schooling*. And while Bowles and Gintis are certainly discussed in every notable survey of currents in social theories of education, these works offer little examination of the intellectual and political milieu that shaped their work (e.g. Apple et al., 2009; Davies, 1995; Morrow and Torres, 1995; Weis et al., 2011).

This chapter revisits the scholarship of Bowles and Gintis and the milieu in which *Schooling* was conceived. In particular, it seeks to contextualize the production and reception of *Schooling* in order to illuminate how the emergence of Marxist thought in the field of education in the United States in the 1970s and 1980s was connected to the rise of an Academic Left—an intellectual shift in the academy toward Marxist social and political theory, including work in the critical

Marxist tradition, as a framework to theorize democratic socialist movement-building against capitalism and concomitant state-sponsored oppression in the 1960s and 1970s.

In addition to revealing the significance of cross-field and cross-disciplinary support for the emergence of radical scholarship in the field of education, this inquiry also pushes back against a widespread depiction of *Schooling* as crudely mechanistic.[2] Like the milieu of Marxist scholars they were engaged with, Bowles and Gintis were critics of Marxist orthodoxy and committed to complex social analysis.

Samuel Bowles: An Intellectual Biography

Samuel Bowles grew up in a thoroughly political family. His father, Chester Bowles, was a noted Democratic Party politician whose list of political appointments included a term as governor of Connecticut (1949–1951), a stint as a member of Congress (1959–1961), and many years as ambassador to India, spanning the Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon administrations (1951–1953; 1962–1969). The elder Bowles was also famous for being removed as under secretary of state in the Kennedy administration in late 1961 as a result of his vocal opposition to the Bay of Pigs Invasion (Shaffer, 1993). Samuel Bowles's mother, Dorothy Stebbins Bowles, was similarly active politically and intellectually. She was a Vassar College graduate, a former social worker (with graduate training at Smith College), and committed leftist who, probably much to the dismay of her husband, vocally supported Henry Wallace's Progressive Party run for president in 1948 (Bowles, 1997; *New York Times*, 1989).

As a youth, Bowles spent significant time abroad, which likely contributed to an internationalist sensibility (Bowles, 1997).[3] He was schooled for a couple of years in India during his father's first ambassadorship, and while an undergraduate at Yale he spent significant time in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, where he cultivated an interest in socialism and communism. Following graduation from Yale in 1960, Bowles went to Nigeria, recently independent from Britain, and began working as an education officer for the government of Northern Nigeria. It was while in Nigeria that Bowles became interested in economics and education. "The three years I spent in Nigeria convinced me that economic events and forces were important in the world," Bowles has noted, "while law," which was the career path he assumed he was on, "seemed to me rather irrelevant." "I also learned that I wanted to be a teacher" (p. 47).

Upon returning to the United States instead of enrolling at Harvard Law School, which had admitted him, Bowles began studying in Harvard's Department of Economics (Bowles, 1997). In 1965, at the age of 26, he completed his dissertation, "The Efficient Allocation of Resources in Education: A Planning Model with Applications for Northern Nigeria." In 1969, this developed into his

first book, *Planning Educational Systems for Economic Growth*, a comparative analysis of educational planning and resource distribution in Nigeria and Greece, where he had spent time in 1964.

The Coleman Report

When Bowles returned from Nigeria he immersed himself in left politics, participating in Civil Rights Movement and anti-war activities in Cambridge and Boston (Bowles, 1997). Bowles's scholarship, however, initially engaged the politics of schooling in settings outside of the United States. What appears to have turned his scholarly focus toward education in the states was the publication in 1966 of *Equality of Educational Opportunity*, more famously known as The Coleman Report (Coleman, 1966).

As a result of the War on Poverty inaugurated by the Johnson administration in 1964, social science research increasingly became used to shape federal social policy (Haney, 2008). The Coleman Report was part of this process, emerging as a result of Section 402 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which mandated a study "within two years of the enactment of this title, concerning the lack of availability of equal educational opportunities for individuals by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin in public educational institutions at all levels" (Lagemann, 2000, pp. 197–198). Named after Johns Hopkins University sociologist and lead investigator James S. Coleman, the Coleman Report was the first large-scale statistical analysis of inequality in schooling.

Among its many conclusions, undoubtedly the most famous was that "inputs" such as school buildings, classroom materials, and teacher quality, had a negligible effect on the gap in achievement between Black and white students. To the surprise of many, instead of resource allocation, the report noted that the variable best correlating with achievement was the social background of the student (Coleman, 1966; Lagemann, 2000).

After its publication, a far-reaching debate erupted in the educational research and policy community. Particularly troubling to many was that Coleman's argument seemed eerily similar to Assistant Secretary of Labor Daniel Patrick Moynihan's 1965 federal report *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action*, which located disadvantages in the Black community within the family structure and values of the community itself (Moynihan, 1965). Moynihan himself even recognized the similarity (Lagemann, 2000). In the Coleman Report, as in the Moynihan Report, structural economic inequality appeared off the table as a cause (Mosteller & Moynihan, 1972; *Harvard Educational Review*, 1968).

When the Coleman Report was released, Bowles was a first-year professor at Harvard. Troubled by the report's conclusions and its methodology, Bowles teamed up with Henry Levin, an economist working as a policy researcher for the Brookings Institute, to write a critique (Levin, 1997).

Bowles and Levin argued that everything from extremely poor sample response to problematic statistical analysis undermined virtually every aspect of the report's claims about resource allocation. Thus, while the report concluded that resources do not matter, there was no evidentiary base for the conclusion. To Bowles, who had been studying resource allocation in education, and to Levin, who was researching teacher markets, this seemed counter-intuitive. Bowles and Levin, therefore, issued a scathing critique of the report's suggestion that integration and not resource allocation was the best means for promoting Black student achievement; "the conclusion that Negro achievement is positively associated with the proportion of fellow students who are white, once other influences are taken into account is not supported by the evidence presented in the Report" (Bowles & Levin, 1968a, p. 23).

Initially Bowles and Levin sent the critique to *Harvard Educational Review* (*HER*), which was uncritical of it on technical grounds, but was, according to Levin, "afraid to publish it—two unknown people, from their perspective, against a very famous person" (Levin, 1997, p. 207). *Science Magazine* also rejected the paper. Undeterred, Bowles and Levin sent it to the *Journal of Human Resources*, a new journal publishing work in what would soon be known as the subfield of economics of education, which in 1968 published "The Determinants of Scholastic Achievement: An Appraisal of Some Recent Evidence."

Coleman offered a strong reply, "the Report does not prove the effect of the student body's social composition [but]… it does give evidence of an effect" (Coleman, 1968, p. 243). Bowles and Levin answered:

> No one would suggest that any single survey would provide the evidence sufficient to establish confidence in prescriptions based on this sort of cost-effectiveness approach. Yet if we are correct, then the task of statisticians and educational researchers should be directed towards estimating the structural parameters of an equation representing a learning process, with particular attention given to those variables which are subject to social or individual control. We believe that changes in the structural relations themselves, as well as changes in the variables, will be required before we can approach equality of opportunity.
>
> *(Bowles & Levin, 1968b, p. 400)*

For Bowles and Levin, a focus on structural relations remained critical.[4]

In the summer of 1968, Levin moved to Stanford University's School of Education where he and international education scholar Martin Carnoy, who moved to Stanford from the Brookings Institute in 1969, began working together on the relationships between democracy, schooling, and capitalism (Levin, 1997). That September, Bowles, who stayed in Harvard's Department of Economics, became involved with the newly formed Union for Radical Political Economics (URPE) (Lee, 2004; Mata, 2009). That fall, he helped lead two student-run

courses in the Department of Social Relations—"Social Change in America" and "Perspectives on Radical Social Change," which attracted 750 students. And in the spring (1969), he was one of a group of radical economists who taught a newly created official undergraduate course: "Social Science 125—The Capitalist System: Conflict and Power." The course, which included readings by Karl Marx, Paul Sweezy, James and Grace Boggs, and Juliet Mitchell, among many others, drew 150 students and continued to be offered for several years (Edwards et al., 1972; Mata, 2009).

The Academic Left and the Reemergence of Marxism

The Marxist tradition was central to intellectual and political thought in URPE and throughout the emerging Academic Left. Although Marxist thought had a rich history in American radicalism, the 1950s and early 1960s was a quiet time for Marxist discourse (Brick & Phelps, 2015; Buhle, 2013). Anti-Communism emanating from the McCarthy era had a profound cooling effect on the Marxist intellectual and political culture that had flourished from the 1920s–1940s. As George Fischer noted about the Socialist Scholars Conference, even in December of 1964 when organizing for the first conference began, "it was still a difficult decision to use the socialist label" (Fischer, 1971, p. vii).

One of the most important facilitators of Marxism's reemergence in the early and mid- 1960s was *Monthly Review* (*MR*). An independent monthly that featured an essay by Albert Einstein entitled "Why Socialism?" in its 1949 inaugural issue, *MR* and its founding editors, economists Paul Sweezy and Leo Huberman, had no qualms about proclaiming an affinity with revolutionary Marxist politics. In tandem with its publishing arm Monthly Review Press, *MR* was especially adept at fostering vibrant conversations about imperialism and political economy (Foster, 2004).

Of the many influential essays and books that came out of the *MR* circle, none had quite the same impact as Sweezy and Paul Baran's 1966 book *Monopoly Capital*, which was read widely in the New Left and arguably became the central text for those in URPE (Foster, 2004; Lee, 2004). The book pushed radicals in economics to grapple with a Marxist tradition that was virtually ignored in the field.[5] As Herbert Gintis remarked in an entry on economics for *The Left Academy*, a 1982 collection of essays surveying the turn to Marxist thought in a variety of disciplines: "In 1966, practically the only places the interested reader could turn for an indigenous American Marxist economics lay in the seminal works of Paul Baran and Paul Sweezy" (Gintis, 1982, p. 53). With the help of spaces like *MR*, by the late 1960s Marxism reemerged as a force in American radical intellectual life.[6]

By the time Bowles published his first book on resource allocation and education in Nigeria and Greece in 1969, it was clear that the Marxist conversations within URPE and the rest of the left had radicalized his thinking. As Bowles noted in the conclusion to the book's first chapter:

> The absence in my model of any systematic consideration of issues bearing on the distribution of income and opportunity is certainly the most serious exclusion. This limitation makes the model considerably less interesting than it otherwise might be, particularly to those who share my view that the main economic goal of educational planning ought to be the greater equalization of personal income rather than the increase in total income.
>
> *(Bowles, 1969, p. 10)*

Soon after, in 1971, Bowles published "Cuban Education and the Revolutionary Ideology" in *Harvard Educational Review*, an analysis of state formation and education in an international context that was quite distinct in its explicit political commitments and openly Marxist theorizing from his earlier work on Nigeria. The piece certainly exhibited the influence of *Monthly Review*, which had long been in dialogue with Cuban politics. Additionally, in "Unequal Education and the Reproduction of the Social Division of Labor," an essay published in Martin Carnoy's 1972 edited *Schooling in Corporate America*, Bowles offered a Marxian analysis of schooling in the United States that went far beyond the critique he and Levin had leveled against The Coleman Report a few years prior. As radicals in the academy shifted to Marxism in the late 1960s and early 1970s, so too did Bowles.

Herbert Gintis: An Intellectual Biography

Herbert Gintis was born in working-class Philadelphia and raised in a middle-class Philadelphia suburb. He attended the University of Pennsylvania, which afforded him an opportunity to spend a year studying at the University of Paris. "It was 1959, during the end of the Algerian War and the student protests. Many of my friends were Moroccans, Tunisians, and Algerians, so I had a tremendous introduction to politics. They were shot, actually, by the Algerian police" (Gintis, 1997, p. 108). It is while in Paris that Gintis's radical sensibilities were shaped.

After only three years at Penn, Gintis graduated with a degree in mathematics and went on to Harvard for graduate school. He quickly dropped out, though, in order to participate in the New Left, including the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) Economic Research Action Project in Boston. As Gintis has noted: "I got very much into politics and I quit being a graduate student. I became a sandal maker. I had hair down to my shoulders and wore sandals and dabbled in drugs. I looked like a real hippie. I had a sandal shop in Harvard Square" (Gintis, 1997, p. 108). But Gintis got bored making sandals, so he asked a friend what he should study. "Well, are you a Marxist? You should study economics because Marx said, 'Economics determines everything'" (pp. 108–109). Gintis transferred out of the math department and into the economics department, where Samuel Bowles was a junior faculty member. Once in the economics department, Gintis

began pursuing studies in radical economics. Like Bowles, Gintis became active in URPE upon its founding in fall 1968 and participated in co-teaching Social Science 125 in spring 1969 (Mata, 2009).

Inequality

In 1969, Gintis completed his dissertation on preferences in welfare economics. After his department head disclosed his radical politics to the schools to which he applied, Gintis had a difficult time finding a faculty position. Fortunately, because his dissertation involved research on education—thanks in large part to Bowles, who advised Gintis to write about education—he was offered a job at the Harvard Graduate School of Education (HGSE), where he began to work at a policy institute headed by Christopher Jencks (Gintis, 1997).

Of the many locations for the educational policy debate that ensued after the publication of The Coleman Report, one of the most significant was a seminar held at Harvard in the academic year 1966–1967. The impressive line-up of participants included James Coleman and HGSE Dean Theodore Sizer, as well as influential academics and policy figures outside of the formal field of education, including Moynihan, who was one of the seminar's lead organizers (Lagemann, 2000; Moesteller & Moynihan, 1972). Also included was Jencks, a journalist and fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington D.C., a New Left affiliated think tank he had been working with since 1963. By the end of the seminar Jencks was teaching at HGSE, combing through Coleman's data. In 1968, along with David Cohen, who had recently been staff director of the Civil Rights Commission's study Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, and Marshall Smith, who was then an instructor at HGSE, Jencks formed the Center for Educational Policy Research (CEPR), which HGSE housed (Jencks et al., 1972, p. v).

In 1972, Jencks published *Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America*, the first large-scale report on education and inequality to appear since The Coleman Report. As a research associate at CEPR, Gintis was one of the book's seven secondary authors.[7]

In some respects, the findings in *Inequality* concurred with The Coleman Report: "School resources do not appear to influence students' educational attainments at all" (Jencks, 1972, p. 159). The authors noted, "We have shown that the most important determinant of educational attainment is family background" (pp. 158–159).[8] Unlike The Coleman Report, however, the main purpose of *Inequality* was to inquire into the role of schooling in the creation of social inequality as opposed to inquiring into the causes of unequal outcomes in schools. On this account, Jencks ultimately concluded that: "None of the evidence we have reviewed suggests that school reform can be expected to bring about significant social changes outside the school. More specifically, the evidence suggests that equalizing educational opportunity would do very little to make adults more equal" (p. 255).

While *Inequality* centrally placed structural economic inequality in conversations about schooling, Gintis likely had significant disagreements with Jencks's conclusions. As he and Bowles noted in *Schooling*, Jencks failed to analyze the significant role of schools in the processes of production and hence the creation of inequality (Bowles & Gintis, 1976, pp. 247–248). For Jencks, unlike for Bowles and Gintis, schools were simply a minor player in the economic order and should thus receive less attention by those interested in substantive social reform. While Jencks was critical of the capitalist order, as were Bowles and Gintis, he fell far short of advocating large-scale economic reconstruction, instead suggesting liberal policy reforms around income redistribution (Jencks, 1972, p. 263).

Regardless of substantive differences, the time Gintis spent at CEPR and HGSE allowed him to deepen his understanding of the relationship between inequality and schooling and make significant connections in the field of education. CEPR co-founder David Cohen, for instance, chaired a special panel on *Schooling* held at the 1976 History of Education Society annual conference (Cohen & Rosenberg, 1977).

Socialist Revolution

More significant than CEPR for the development of Gintis's ideas appears to be the intellectual and institutional support he received from the new academic organizations and journals on the left. As previously noted, Gintis, like Bowles, was a founding member of URPE, and by the late 1960s his work in economics, including his dissertation, which offered a Marxist critique of neoclassical welfare economics, was squarely situated in the Marxist tradition (Gintis, 1969; Gintis, 1972a).

Particularly telling of Gintis's alignment with the socialist left (as well as of his differences with Jencks) was an article on youth radicalism published in the third issue of the journal *Socialist Revolution* (*SR*) (Gintis, 1970). Founded in 1970 in San Francisco by former *Studies on the Left* editor James Weinstein, *SR* was in many respects a continuation of conversations begun in *Studies* in 1959. As noted by historian Barbara Epstein, for Marxian socialists within the New Left, *SR* "became the center of an attempt to develop a new analysis of American society and to put forward a more appropriate model of revolution" (Epstein, 1991, p. 53).

Significantly, *SR* was a space where revolutionary Marxist ideas mixed with the European critical Marxist thought of the inter-war years, which was increasingly revisited by radicals in the United States and elsewhere in the late 1960s and 1970s in order to push back against a crude economic determinism that prevailed in the Soviet Bloc and the more orthodox Marxist-Leninist and Maoist movements of the period.[9] As noted in the previous chapter, for guidance, this milieu thus often looked to the socialist humanist work of Karl Korsch, Georg Lukacs, Antonio Gramsci, and affiliates of the Frankfurt School, such as

Max Horkheimer, who inquired into the role of consciousness and human agency in social struggle and offered an analysis of the relationship between ideology and social structure. In this context, *SR*'s revolutionary tendencies signaled an advocacy of radical democratic reconstruction of unjust social institutions and inequitable productive mechanisms as opposed to an advocacy of armed struggle against capital and the liberal–nation state (Epstein, 1991). As such, the journal was deeply engaged in conversations about democratic movement building, including those surrounding the New American Movement (NAM), the primary post-SDS radical organization in the American left, which was formed in 1971 by former SDS members who were not involved in the Maoist and hard-line Marxist-Leninist-oriented New Communist Movements (Elbaum, 2002). In the January–February 1972 issue, *SR* even published the NAM mission statement.

In his *SR* article on youth radicalism, Gintis contributed to the conversation about movement building by arguing that the radicalization of youth was essential for waging this democratic struggle against capital. "Consciousness and solidarity develop through struggle," wrote Gintis, "and the struggle for student power, with the proper political content, could contribute directly to the growth of socialist consciousness, and indirectly creates the preconditions for the extension of struggle to other sectors of society" (Gintis, 1970, p. 37). Many of the article's arguments about the relationship between schools and capitalism found their way into *Schooling*.

Similarly in 1972, Gintis published an essay on the dialectics of consciousness in the new radical philosophy journal *Telos* (Gintis, 1972b), which was founded by philosopher Paul Piccone and other graduate students at SUNY- Buffalo in 1968 in order to reinvigorate conversations about twentieth-century European philosophy on the political left. *Telos*, which Piccone edited until his death in 2004, introduced many U.S. scholars to the work of Kosik, Lukacs, Adorno, Habermas, and a range of other core twentieth-century critical Marxist thinkers.

The Correspondence Theory

The growing infrastructure of the new radicalism within the academy was clearly helping to develop and facilitate the dissemination of Bowles and Gintis's ideas. In addition to Gintis's article on youth radicalism, Bowles and Gintis co-authored a Marxist interpretation of the history of education in the United States that was published in *Socialist Revolution* in 1975.[10] They also published work in other journals emerging as part of the Academic Left, including *Social Policy* (Bowles & Gintis, 1972/1973), *Insurgent Sociologist* (Bowles et al., 1975a), and *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* (Bowles et al., 1975b).

Despite Bowles and Gintis's penchant for publishing in the new radical journals, the piece that most articulately introduced what would become *Schooling*'s primary theoretical intervention was Gintis's 1972 article "Towards a

Political Economy of Education: A Radical Critique of Ivan Illich's *Deschooling Society*," which appeared in *Harvard Educational Review* (*HER*). While not a radical journal, as noted in the previous chapter, *HER* was one of the only journals in the field regularly publishing radical thought, including from people outside of the field (e.g. Chomsky, 1966; Hamilton, 1968).[11] Yet, while having published radical ideas, Gintis's essay was one of the earliest Marxian social analyses to appear in *HER* or in any journal in the field of education in the United States, having only been preceded by Freire's two articles in 1970 and Bowles's 1971 article on Cuba.

In the early 1970s, Illich was probably the most noted radical educational theorist in the United States, having first made a profound impact with his 1969–1970 "Alternatives in Education" seminars at his Center for Intercultural Documentation in Cuernavaca, Mexico, which as noted in the previous chapter, attracted a number of educational activists from the United States, including Jonathan Kozol, John Holt, and Joel Spring (Illich, 1971), as well as many from outside the United States, such as Paulo Freire. In 1971, with the publication of *Deschooling Society*, Illich burst into mainstream conversations. Schooling, Illich argued, not to be confused with learning, is a core social mechanism for the "institutionalization of values," which "leads inevitably to physical pollution, social polarization, and psychological impotence; three dimensions in a process of global degradation and modernized misery" (pp. 1–2). The book was radical, even coming armed with a warning on the back cover endorsement by Kozol—"Illich goes miles beyond everybody else and renders almost every other writer obsolete. *Deschooling Society* is a dangerous book" (back cover of paperback).

Gintis agreed with Kozol: The book was indeed dangerous. "Yet, while his description of modern society is sufficiently critical," wrote Gintis of Illich,

> his analysis is simplistic and his program, consequently, is a diversion from the immensely complex and demanding political, organizational, intellectual, and personal demands of a revolutionary reconstruction in the coming decades. It is crucial that educators and students who have been attracted to him—for his message does correspond to their personal frustration and disillusionment—move beyond him.
>
> *(Gintis, 1972c, p. 71)*

For Gintis, the crux of the problem with Illich's argument was that while he correctly located schooling as "creating docile and manipulable consumers for the larger society," and thus also importantly noted the significance of the "hidden curriculum," Illich mistakenly emphasized consumption over production.

> Rather, the social relations of education produce and reinforce those values, attitudes, and affective capacities which allow individuals to move smoothly into an alienated and class-stratified society. That is, schooling

reproduces the social relations of the larger society from generation to generation.

<div align="right">*(Gintis, 1972c, p. 86)*</div>

Though not yet named as such, Bowles and Gintis's correspondence theory had come to life—the outcomes of schooling correspond with the wage labor needs of the economic base.

The Publication of *Schooling in Capitalist America*

In 1973, amid tenure-denying turmoil associated with their politics—Bowles was denied tenure and Gintis had his own political issues inside Harvard's economics department—Bowles and Gintis moved to the University of Massachusetts-Amherst, where they began building the most noted radical economics department in the country (Mata, 2009). Early in 1976, they published *Schooling in Capitalist America*. The correspondence theory was the book's central feature:

> The education system helps integrate youth into the economic system, we believe, through a structural correspondence between its social relations and those of production. The structure of social relations in education not only inures the student to the discipline of the work place, but develops the types of personal demeanor, modes of self-presentation, self-image, and social-class identifications which are the crucial ingredients of job adequacy. Specifically, the social relationships of education—the relationships between administrators and teachers, teachers and students, students and students, and students and their work—replicate the hierarchical division of labor.
>
> <div align="right">*(Bowles & Gintis, 1976, p. 131)*</div>

Bowles and Gintis went on to describe the hierarchical relations in the vertical authority lines of power, the alienation caused by a lack of student control of their own education, including content, grading systems, and other external rewards, and the competitive academic system which is deceptively spun as a meritocracy. They also noted the hierarchical division of labor in the tracking of students into occupations and in the repressive and arbitrary discipline that dominates in working-class schools that disproportionately affects Black and other minority students. Furthermore, they saw these practices as reflecting "the educational objectives and expectations of administrators, teachers, and parents," which "differ for students of different social backgrounds" (pp. 131–132).

This correspondence, they argued, is necessary. "The economic system," they wrote, "is stable only if the consciousness of the strata and classes which compose it remains compatible with the social relations which characterize it as a mode of production. The perpetuation of the class structure requires that the hierarchical division of labor be reproduced in the consciousness of its participants" (p. 147).

For Bowles and Gintis, schools were simply a part of the broader social relations. Thus, liberal educational reforms attempting to use schooling as a mechanism for egalitarian purposes counter to the social relations of the capitalist order will always fail. As the history of school reform in the United States demonstrates, there is a

> discrepancy between the rhetoric and reality of progressive reform. The popular slogans, and perspectives of reform movements have often imparted to the educational system an enduring veneer of egalitarian and humanistic ideology, while the highly selective implementation of reforms has tended to preserve the role of schooling in the perpetuation of economic order.
>
> *(p. 152)*

Even though moments of disequilibrium in the correspondence theory—hiccups in the history of education—have often resulted in positive reforms such as increased access to educational systems and the introduction of progressive pedagogical practices, ultimately, the correspondence has always reasserted itself. In fact, by 1880, they noted, quoting historian Michael Katz, "American education had acquired its fundamental structural characteristics, they have not altered since. Public education was universal, tax-supported, free, compulsory, bureaucratically arranged, class based, and racist" (p. 153).

The only solution to the education crisis was thus to change the economic underpinnings of the social order. An alternative to a system of wage-labor must be developed.

> Thus we believe that the key to reform is the democratization of economic relationships: social ownership, democratic and participatory control of the production process by workers, equal sharing of socially necessary labor by all, and progressive equalization of incomes and destruction of hierarchical economic relationships. This is, of course, socialism, conceived of as an extension of democracy from the narrowly political to the economic realm.
>
> *(p. 14)*

In order to realize such radical change, Bowles and Gintis argued that radicals must exploit the contradictions inherent in the democratic capitalist state—the contradiction between political democracy grounded in basic civil rights and liberties and an economic system predicated on economic inequality and class stratification. These contradictions, they argued, become increasingly apparent as capitalism reorganizes itself in the face of the increased structural complexity of the social word (technological advancement, etc.) and capital's inherent need to grow. It is in the moments of extreme tension—when there is a disequilibrium in the correspondence between base and superstructure and thus when consciousness of the contradictions of capitalism are at their peak—that social

struggle has historically been able to push against inequality. In these moments, social struggle must be waged.

> In a word, we are impressed by Karl Marx's observation that fundamental social change occurs only when evident possibilities for progress are held in check by a set of anachronistic social arrangements. In such periods, basic social institutions lose their appearance of normality and inevitability; they take on the air of increasing irrationality and dispensability. In these conditions individuals, and especially those groups and class most likely to benefit from progress, consciously seek alternative social arrangements.
>
> *(p. 15)*

While Bowles and Gintis argued in their final two chapters that schooling can and should be a site of struggle, their conclusion about the ultimate role of schooling in the construction of "alternative social arrangements" was clear:

> Revolutionary school reformers must recognize, and take advantage of, the critical role of education in reproducing the economic order. It is precisely this role of education which both offers the opportunity for using schools to promote revolutionary change and, at the same time, presents the danger of co-optation and assimilation into a counterstrategy to stabilize the social order. Nothing in our analysis suggests that equal schooling or open education is impossible in the U.S. But we are firmly convinced that, if these alternatives are to contribute to a better social order, they must be part of a more general revolutionary movement—a movement which is not confined to schooling, but embraces all spheres of social life.
>
> *(p. 246)*

Schools should be sites of struggle for social change, but they cannot be the *only* sites. Social struggle necessitates engaging "all spheres of social life."

Schooling and the Landscape of Marxist Thought in the Field of Education

"The fact that our effort has been widely, and by and large favorably received," Bowles and Gintis noted in the preface to the 1977 paperback edition, "should hardly cause surprise. What we have attempted is a reassessment of the operation of the educational system as a whole in the face not only of the failure of reform movements of the 1960s, but of those that have punctuated the last century and a half of American history" (Bowles & Gintis, 1977, p. vii). After the publication of *Schooling*, Marxist thought soon became a force in the field, with the work of scholars such as Jean Anyon (e.g. 1980), Michael Apple (e.g. 1979a), and Henry Giroux (e.g. 1981a) taking the lead.

Of course, by 1976 critiques of schooling as producing workers for the capitalist social order in the United States were not new. In the early twentieth century, socialists created alternative schooling options as part of an attempt to build an anti-capitalist culture (e.g. Teitlebaum, 1993). In the 1930s, George Counts (1932) and the Social Reconstructionist writers in *The Social Frontier* (Provenzo, 2011) issued the first mass cries for radical social change within the field of education.[12] At the same time, outside of the field, scholarship emerged in the African-American community about education and white supremacy that was deeply critical of capitalism (e.g. Woodson, 1933; Bond, 1939), some of which was in the Marxist tradition (e.g. Du Bois, 1935). In the early days of the Cold War, despite federal and cultural suppression of Marxist thought, critique of the influence of capitalism on schooling continued to be voiced, including in radical children's literature (Mickenberg, 2006). In the 1960s and 1970s, critique of capitalism's effect on schooling once again gained a strong voice, especially among feminist, Black, Chicano, and American Indian movement activists (Acuña, 2011; Davis, 2013; Echols, 1989; Murch, 2010). Also in the 1960s and 1970s, but in the field of education, radical educational historians, such as Michael Katz (1968) began excavating the interests of those who created public schooling in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in order to push a radical agenda back into educational scholarship.[13]

It was at this time, in the 1960s and 1970s, perhaps a decade after many schooling systems in liberal nation-states solidified their contemporary form as P–20 educational systems for the masses, that formative Marxian analyses of schooling began to surface in other countries, such as the structuralist Marxism of Louis Althusser (e.g. 1971) and Nicos Poulantzas (e.g. 1975) in France, the critical Marxist social theory of Paulo Freire (e.g. 1970) in Brazil/Chile, and Marxist tendencies within the New Sociology of Education in Britain (e.g. Young and Whitty, 1977a and b).[14]

Bowles and Gintis do not appear to have been deeply engaged with any of this contemporaneous theoretical work. Althusser and Poulantzas are not cited or discussed anywhere in *Schooling*, and while Bowles and Gintis briefly reference Freire's concept of banking education, they seem relatively uninterested in Freire, who, as we know from the previous chapter, was clearly analyzing the role of education for liberation in post-colonial contexts (Bowles & Gintis, 1976, p. 40). Furthermore, although British scholarship was contemporary in its turn toward a Marxian analysis, as the next two chapters will demonstrate, this work was rarely acknowledged in the United States until Michael Apple and Henry Giroux began engaging British cultural Marxism in the late 1970s and 1980s.

The most notable exception in the field of education in the United States is the work of Apple, who began engaging a Marxian analysis of schooling with his 1971 essay "The Hidden Curriculum and the Nature of Conflict". Yet, as will be detailed more in the next chapter, while Apple continued to develop a Marxian analysis, he was not widely read outside of the curriculum field until after the

publication of *Ideology and Curriculum* in 1979. And notably, in writing *Ideology*, Apple reframed previously published pieces, including "The Hidden Curriculum", in order to frame *Ideology* as a response to *Schooling*. As Apple noted of *Schooling* in 1988, "There have been few books that have had such a major impact on so many areas inside and outside education… And even though critical work in politics, history, and economics of education, in curriculum studies, and in cultural studies of education have largely superseded it, nearly all of this work stands on their shoulders" (Apple, 1988, p. 232).

Thus, when Christopher Jencks (1976) wrote in his *New York Times* book review that *Schooling* was the first socialist critique of inequality in the field of education, he was largely correct. While there had been socialist schools, radical critique, revisionist history, and the beginnings of some Marxian analysis of schools, until the publication of *Schooling in Capitalist America* (1976) there had not been such a detailed Marxist social and political theorizing of the relationship between school and society in the United States. As David Hogan noted at the previously mentioned special panel on *Schooling* at the 1976 History of Education Society annual conference: "Sam Bowles and Herbert Gintis attempt, to paraphrase Marx, to lay bare the economic laws of motion of education in American capitalism. It is an extraordinary and ambitious endeavor to penetrate and interconnect history, political economy, education, social theory, and political strategy" (Hogan, 1977, p. 149). Nothing published prior offered close to the level of theoretical sophistication with which Bowles and Gintis utilized the Marxian metaphor of base and superstructure to frame, describe and explain the position of schooling within the U.S. social order.

The Turn to Cultural Marxism and the Limits of *Schooling*

While a starting point for Marxian social analysis in the field of education and thus central to framing a dialogue among scholars trying to describe and explain the relationship between schools and the social order in the late 1970s and 1980s, the political economic approach and the revolutionary socialist advocacy of *Schooling* quickly went out of vogue.

Beginning in the late 1970s, journals like *Socialist Revolution* stopped preaching revolution; in 1978 *SR* even changed its name—to *Socialist Review*. Bowles and Gintis themselves even shifted their politics; by 1986, when they published *Democracy and Capitalism*, they had moved passed Marxism and were searching for middle ground between socialism and liberalism.[15] The politics of *Schooling*, like the politics of *Socialist Revolution*, were thus very much a product of a period that saw revolutionary democratic socialism as a viable option. As a new body of historical literature on the 1970s makes clear, by the end of the decade, the rise of neoconservativism, the continuing assault on the working class, the beginning of a rollback of civil rights gains, and the eventual election of Reagan in 1980 radically shifted political tone and radical vision among those on the left (e.g.

Brick & Phelps, 2015; Cowie, 2011; Rodgers, 2011). By 1982, the New American Movement completed a turn away from its early revolutionary tendencies and merged with the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee to form Democratic Socialists of America, a socialist group that used what political power it had to push for reform within a struggling Democratic Party (Aronowitz, 1996; Elbaum, 2002).

Thus, while Apple, Giroux, and others in the late 1970s and 1980s wrote in the Marxist tradition and agreed with the basic premise of Bowles and Gintis's assessment of schooling as having a significant reproductive role in capitalist social relations, this work rarely infused the tone of revolutionary tension that permeated the pages of *Schooling*. Rather, as the 1980s rolled on, critical educational scholarship increasingly moved to a political position of radical social reform with a substantive focus on theoretically nuanced cultural critique and an advocacy of strategic resistance in schools instead of a political position of radical social reconstruction with a substantive focus on a macro-critique of capital and an advocacy of mass movement building. Education scholars thus increasingly preferred a cultural Marxist lens that looked at the ideological structure and content of schooling as opposed to the political economic Marxist lens that theorized capital and assessed quantifiable inputs and outcomes of schooling's reproductive tendencies. Clearly poking at Bowles and Gintis in the introduction to the second chapter of *Ideology and Curriculum*, Apple notes:

> Many economists and not a few sociologists and historians of education have a peculiar way of looking at schools. They envision the institution of schooling as something like a black box. One measures input before students enter schools and then measures output along the way or when "adults" enter the labor force. What actually goes on within the black box—what is taught, the concrete experience of children and teachers— is less important in this view than the more global and macro-economic considerations of rate of return on investment, or, more radically, the reproduction of the division of labor. While these are important considerations… by the very nature of a vision of school as a black box, they cannot demonstrate how these effects are built *within* schools. Therefore, these individuals are less precise than they could be in explaining part of the role of cultural institutions in the reproduction they want to describe.
>
> *(Apple, 1979a, p. 26)*

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the field of education, like much work throughout the academy reacting to similar changes in the political landscape, made a cultural turn. Thus, even though *Schooling*, like the *SR* milieu in which it was conceived, was underpinned with the humanist spirit that was newly championed by critical educational scholars (i.e., a belief in the power of human

agency), Bowles and Gintis's structural analysis was frequently brushed off as crudely mechanistic. As Ken McGrew (2011) notes in a review of the field's engagement with Paul Willis's (1977) *Learning to Labor*:

> Just as Willis did not abandon the notion of social reproduction or social structure in his theory, despite many scholars apparently believing that he did, Bowles and Gintis did not ignore human agency in their analysis… In reality, both Bowles and Gintis and Willis were attempting to sort out the complex relationship between agency and structural limitations within the reproductive objective of capitalism.
>
> *(McGrew, 2011, p. 251)*

While *Schooling* carved space in the field of education for a Marxian social analysis of schooling, as the next two chapters will demonstrate, Bowles and Gintis quickly became presented in the work of Apple and Giroux, among others, as scholars to move past instead of scholars to build off of.[16]

Conclusion

The turn to a more explicit 'critical' lens in order to look inside the 'black box' by Anyon, Apple, Giroux, and many others was certainly necessary. This move allowed scholars to see complexity and nuance in the social, structural, and ideological interactions within schools and the relationship between schools and the social order more broadly. Likewise, as will be explored in the book's final two chapters, the push in the late 1980s and early 1990s towards feminist critiques of Marxist work as well as the critical race critiques that emerged in the mid-1990s added yet another necessary layer of questions, concerns, lenses, and possibilities in our understanding of schooling. Yet, as Anyon (2005, 2014) argued in *Radical Possibilities*, a book that echoes the democratic socialist movement-building advocacy of *Schooling*, we must engage in political economic and structural analysis of the relationship between school and society. As the neoliberal assault on public goods continues, including an assault on public education, the need for such analysis is as important as ever. Without such analysis, substantive educational reform will remain elusive.

In addition to a call for the field to more forcefully reengage political economic analysis, this chapter points to a need for educational scholars on the left to pay close attention to how radical ideas emerge and are supported in the field. The network of organizations and journals that fostered and sustained the work of Bowles and Gintis and the early Academic Left in economics, history, sociology, English, and other disciplines and fields rarely converged with the field of education in the 1960s and 1970s. In the field of education there was no URPE and there was no *Review of Radical Political Economics*. While organizations such as the American Educational Studies Association and journals

such as the *Journal of Education*, *Harvard Educational Review*, *Theory and Research in Social Education*, and the Canadian journal *Curriculum Inquiry* frequently provided space for discussion and publication of critical Marxist scholarship in the late 1970s and 1980s, these venues were not specifically designed to support radical educational scholarship.

It was not until the early 1980s that Marxist and other radical scholars from within the field of education began to forge strong connections with an Academic Left outside the field. This connection is perhaps made most visible by the publication of articles by Apple and Giroux in the cultural Marxist journal *Social Text* in 1982. Through these and other connections, Marxist educational scholars, and later critical educational scholars both aligned with and standing in opposition to the Marxist tradition, began to build an infrastructure to facilitate the production and dissemination of their critical educational work, and to increasingly engage broader shifts in social thought outside of the field of education. Giroux and Paulo Freire began editing a series in Critical Studies in Education for Bergin & Garvey. Apple began editing a series in Critical Social Thought with British press Routledge, a core press in the development of cultural studies. Much of the work that facilitated the spread of critical educational studies, and its Marxist approach to educational inquiry in the late 1980s and 1990s, emerged through this interdisciplinary infrastructure. Bergin & Garvey published foundational work by Stanley Aronowitz, Antonia Darder, Freire, Giroux, H. Svi Shapiro, and Kathleen Weiler. Routledge published foundational work by Apple, Daniel Liston, Linda McNeil, Patti Lather, Lois Weis, and Philip Wexler. Notably, Apple's series continues to publish significant work, including Anyon's (2005, 2014) *Radical Possibilities* and Zeus Leonardo's (2009) sophisticated theoretical work on race and education.

The significance of this intersection is more than merely historical. As radical scholarship in the field of education continues to take shape, the question of intersection should remain front-and-center. Just as Bowles and Gintis's publication of *Schooling* could not have happened without the institutional support of its radical milieu, the development of cultural Marxist work in the 1980s and the critical educational scholarship that followed, including the necessary feminist and critical race critiques of Marxist scholarship, could not have occurred without the radical intellectual and publishing network. While this history can not predict the future, it does perhaps suggest that the generation, development, and production of sophisticated analyses of the relationship between schooling and the social order require relationships with radical thought outside of the field and developing systems of support within the field. Revisiting the history of the production of *Schooling in Capitalist America* thus not only contributes to our understanding of the history of radical thought in the field but also offers insight into structural questions about how to sustain radical educational scholarship in the future.

Notes

1 Independent, discipline-specific radical academic journals also appeared at this time, including *Telos* (philosophy) in 1968, *Antipode* (geography) in 1969, *Politics and Society* (political science) in 1970, and *New German Critique* (German Studies) in 1974. For a history of the underground press in the 1960s (mostly nonacademic but New Left affiliated), see McMillian (2011).

2 The bulk of critiques against *Schooling* are grounded in an idea that there is no room for human agency in their correspondence principle. This chapter pushes back against this narrow, mechanist critique of their scholarship by grounding *Schooling* in its intellectual and political milieu. For further discussion, see Brosio (1992) and McGrew (2011). In addition to a critique of *Schooling* being mechanistic, some scholars have noted that Bowles and Gintis do not engage the role of gender and patriarchy in capitalist reproduction, e.g. Arnot (1982), Nicholson (1980), Weiler (1988), and do not attend to a sophisticated analysis of race, e.g Leonardo (2009). Despite these critiques, which are compelling, feminist and critical race critiques of Marxist thought in education have largely been aimed at cultural Marxist scholars aligned with critical pedagogy; these critiques will be discussed in greater depth in the final two chapters. Additionally, there are many critiques of Bowles and Gintis's account of the history of public education, e.g. Beadie (2010) and Kaestle and Vinovskis (1980).

3 Much of the biographical information in this chapter comes from previously published oral histories (Bowles 1997; Gintis 1997; Levin 1997). For a compelling article on the importance of autobiographical accounts (as well as a discussion of some of its limitations) that is specific to the history of radical economics in the 1960s and 1970s and the history of URPE, see Mata and Lee (2007). For additional biographical information, see Bowles and Gintis's self-written entries in Arestis and Sawyer (2000).

4 Bowles also published a short article advocating redistribution of power and resources in schools and in society writ large in a 1968 *Harvard Educational Review* special issue on The Coleman Report.

5 Bowles and Gintis never immersed themselves in the *MR* circle; however, they published an essay in *MR* in 1975.

6 In addition to *MR* and *Studies*, other journals influential on the return to Marxist thought in intellectual and academic circles in the United States in the early/mid-1960s included *New Politics*, the British journal *New Left Review*, and smaller distribution radical publications such as *Root and Branch*.

7 The secondary authors: Marshall Smith, Henry Acland, Mary Jo Bane, David Cohen, Herbert Gintis, Barbara Heyns, and Stephan Michelson. Jencks is clear in the preface that while drawn on group research, *Inequality* is a presentation of his own analysis.

8 Jencks primarily viewed "family background" as social class. Though outside the scope of this chapter, there is an important conversation to be had about the perspective of Coleman, Jencks, Bowles and Gintis, and other educational researchers of the period about race, desegregation, and debates about IQ (e.g. responses to Jensen, 1969).

9 *Studies on the Left* was the first journal of the period in the United States to fully engage the critical Marxist tradition. On revolutionary Marxist–Leninist tendencies of the period in the U.S., including related publications, see Elbaum (2002).

10 Cohen and Lazerson (1972) and Joel Spring (1972) also published articles about education in *SR*.

11 One only needs to look at the publication of Arthur Jensen's (1969) infamously racist IQ analysis in order to pushback against any arguments about *HER* being radical.

12 Not even Counts, hailed by many as the standard bearer of radical thought in the field, ever fully engaged Marx or Marxist theory. The earliest scholar in the field who deeply engaged Marxist thought is probably Theodore Brameld, who from the 1930s on positioned himself as a Reconstructionist and not as a Marxist (e.g. Brameld, 1965). For further discussion of Brameld, see Hartman (2008).

13 Although many claim that Katz and other revisionist historians were Marxists, this claim tends to rest on naming a similar disdain for capitalism as opposed to identifying in Katz et al. an explicit Marxist theoretical grounding. For further discussion, see Carnoy (1984).

14 Notably, Marx's own writings are quite scant on educational inquiry, and although many in the revolutionary Marxist tradition wrote about education, this analysis tended to be reserved for discussions of movement building and the formation of class-consciousness as opposed to analyzing schooling institutionally as part of a web of social relations. A distinction can thus be drawn between a Marxian analysis of schooling that seeks to understand where schooling fits in a base/superstructure paradigm, and socialist pedagogy, which focuses on the teaching and learning relationships involved in movement building and constructing socialist consciousness. Marxists tended not to write about schools, with the most notable exception being the work of Italian communist Antonio Gramsci in the 1920s and 1930s, which did not become noticed in the field of education in the United States until the late 1970s. For a discussion of socialist pedagogy in the 1970s, see Norton and Ollman (1978).

15 For a discussion of how their ideas about capitalism shifted from *Schooling* to *Democracy and Capitalism*, see Bowles and Gintis's self-written biographical entries in Arestis and Sawyer (2000). Also see Brosio (1992). For a retrospective discussion of *Schooling*—written in response to Swartz (2003)—see Bowles and Gintis (2003) and the introduction to the Haymarket reissue of *Schooling* (Bowles & Gintis, 2011).

16 For further discussion of how educational scholars attempted to move past, instead of build off of *Schooling*, see Apple (1988), Cole (1988), and Swartz (2003). For a critique of reductive readings of *Schooling*, see Brosio (1992, 1994), and McGrew (2011).

3

IDEOLOGY AND HEGEMONY

"A corpus of critical knowledge both in and outside the United States has evolved over the past 30 years," noted Greg Dimitradis, Lois Weis, and Cameron McCarthy in the introduction to their 2006 edited volume *Ideology, Curriculum, and the New Sociology of Education: Revisiting the Work of Michael Apple*, "and this corpus can be traced in large part to Apple's initial and continuing formulation of the problem" (p. 1).

Few in the field would argue with the claim that Apple's *Ideology and Curriculum* (hereafter referred to as *Ideology*), published in 1979, helped initiate a broad turn in the field of education in the United States to critical Marxist thought as a lens through which to analyze the relationship between school and society. As Dimitradis, Weiss, and McCarthy's edited volume attests, since *Ideology*'s publication numerous scholars have turned to Apple's work for guidance in formulating increasingly complex and nuanced ways of thinking about the relationship between school and society. *Ideology* has made a significant impact on the field.

While *Ideology* has received considerable attention, less explored is Apple's scholarship that precedes *Ideology*. Structured by a chronological reading of the articles eventually republished in *Ideology*, as well as other formative work of Apple's from the 1970s, this chapter sheds new light on Apple's initial formulation of a critical approach to education.[1] In particular, the chapter reveals a significant shift in Apple's Marxist influences, from the work of Alvin Gouldner, Trent Schroyer, and Jurgen Habermas in the first half of the 1970s to work in the British New Sociology of Education (NSE) and the ideas of Antonio Gramsci in the second half. Gouldner, Schroyer, and Habermas helped Apple develop a Marxist framework for inquiring into the tacit assumptions embedded in schools, especially in the curriculum, and announce a call for a distinctly critical approach

to education. The NSE and Gramsci, however, helped Apple begin to develop a nuanced analysis of the relationship between structure and agency, and foreground the need for political engagement in schools and society. *Ideology* is thus framed by Apple's engagement with the NSE and Gramsci, while the ideas of Gouldner, Schroyer and Habermas, which underpin the original iteration of articles that were revised for inclusion in *Ideology*, recede into the background.

Apple's turn to the NSE and Gramsci is a significant part of the origin story of critical educational scholarship. As Jean Anyon (2011) recently noted: "And Apple brought to our attention the ideas of Antonio Gramsci" (p. 11). While perhaps overstated—others, such as Giroux (1979), who will be discussed at length in the next chapter, also engaged Gramsci in the 1970s—Anyon's straightforward comment points to the significance of Apple's turn to Gramsci. Developing a historical understanding of this turn, which has informed Apple's scholarship ever since (e.g. 1982, 1986, 1993, 1996, 2001, 2013), is an important step in helping us reflect on the field, the theoretical work we draw from, and ultimately our own theoretical work. Indeed, this type of reflection is necessary for us to thoughtfully consider how intellectual tools, such as the idea of hegemony, can be useful in illuminating the relationship between school and society, and the possibilities of social change.

From Paterson to Teachers College

Michael Whitman Apple was born in 1942 and raised in working-class, multiethnic Paterson, New Jersey (Apple, 2007).[2] His father, a printer, and mother, a poet, were deeply political. Apple's political education thus began at a young age, frequenting picket lines with his mother, an active member of the Communist Party and founding member of the local chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and attending the radical Jewish Workmen's Circle with his grandfather, a tailor, who left Russia in political exile. At age 15, Apple took his first political leadership position as the publicity director for the local chapter of CORE, which led to his first "pedagogic work"—traveling in 1959 to Prince Edward County in Virginia to teach reading to Black students who were shut out of public schools because white supremacists closed all of the county's public schools in a mass refusal to desegregate.[3]

As a teacher, Apple's activism continued. In his first full-time teaching job, as a social studies teacher in the town of Pitman in southern New Jersey, he threw out the old, dated textbooks and took his sixth-grade students to the county historical society to find a new curriculum. In the old county newspapers, they discovered a paper trail of lynchings and Klan participation, including photographs. The students started a newspaper that used an old mimeo machine to distribute the area's history to the community. In Pitman, Apple also served as the president of the local teacher's union and participated in legislative politics in Trenton.

Although Apple loved his job in Pitman, meeting a professor from Teachers College at a professional development conference on children's literacy convinced him to attend graduate school. At Teachers College, Apple completed a master's thesis in the philosophy of education under the guidance of Jonas Soltis, and then worked with curriculum theorist Dwayne Huebner for his doctorate. In the mid-and late 1960s, Huebner, whose work at the time was deeply influenced by the phenomenological writings of Maurice Merleau-Ponty and Martin Heidegger, and the theological writings of Martin Buber, was the leading radical voice in the curriculum field. Under Huebner's guidance, Apple began to explore work in twentieth-century continental philosophy and the sociology of knowledge, an immersion that included a year of coursework at the New School for Social Research (also in New York City), which was one of the liveliest places in the United States for such discussions because of the émigrés who populated its faculty (Krohn, 1993).

While Apple's scholarship at Teacher's College displayed an academic interest in the Marxist tradition, which makes sense given his socialist upbringing and was most likely fostered by readings in critical theory at the New School, his dissertation, "Relevance and Curriculum: A Study in Phenomenological Sociology of Knowledge" (Apple, 1970), was clearly engaged with the phenomenological tradition. Particularly influential were the ideas of Alfred Schutz, Peter Berger, Thomas Luckmann, and Harold Garfinkel.[4] Schutz, who passed away in 1959 and never met Apple, was such a strong influence on Apple's thinking that he is one of four people (in addition to his major professors at Teachers College, Dwayne Huebner and Jonas Soltis, and his wife, Rima) thanked in his dissertation (Apple, 1970, p. ii).

Notably, however, one of the few moments in which Marxist thought is present in Apple's dissertation—a three-page discussion of Frankfurt School affiliate Herbert Marcuse—includes a memorable footnote that foreshadowed Apple's future work:

> Scholars in education still shy away from using some of the very fruitful analytic tools and concepts developed by Marx. It is possible to separate fruitful ideas from dogma; the use of the former does not commit one to the latter necessarily. As one of the many types of theorizing which serve to critique each other as they investigate educational concerns, Marxian theories can be helpful conceptualizing tools.
>
> *(Apple, 1970, p. 148, underlining in original)*

Once Apple completed his doctorate in 1970, at the age of 27, his scholarship soon shifted from phenomenology to a deep consideration of the analytical and conceptual tools of the critical Marxist tradition.

The Hidden Curriculum: 1971

In 1971, in his first year as an assistant professor at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, Apple published "The Hidden Curriculum and the Nature of Conflict" (hereafter referred to as "The Hidden Curriculum") in *Interchange*. The article was Apple's first scholarly work grounded in the Marxist tradition. Eight years later it would be republished as chapter five of *Ideology*.

Coined by Philip Jackson in his 1968 book *Life in Classrooms*, the term "hidden curriculum" was meant to describe the ways in which behavior is normalized through school and classroom structures and practices. Apple expanded Jackson's definition to include the ideas normalized in the curriculum itself. Specifically, Apple aimed to unveil "how an unrealistic and basically consensus-oriented perspective is taught through a 'hidden curriculum' in schools" (Apple, 1971, p. 27). "There has been, so far," Apple wrote, "little examination of how the treatment of *conflict* in the school curriculum can lead to political quiescence and the acceptance by students of a perspective on social and intellectual conflict that acts to maintain the existing distribution of power and rationality in a society" (p. 27). Apple argued that science and social studies curriculum present an unrealistic portrayal of how scientific and social scientific communities arrive at ideas about science and society. Instead of engaging the argumentative process at the center of intellectual inquiry and addressing the competing social, economic, and political interests in which such inquiry is always enmeshed, the school curriculum veils the conflict inherent in the construction of scientific and social science knowledge by presenting ideas about science and society as objective facts that are known and agreed upon through consensus. This not only offers students a faulty epistemic understanding of science and social science, argued Apple, but also presents to students "a view that serves to legitimate the existing social order since change, conflict, and man as creator as well as receiver of values and institutions are systematically neglected" (p. 38).

Apple argued that this is deeply problematic because "conflicts must be looked at as a basic and often beneficial dimension of the dialectic of activity we label society" (p. 35). Curriculum that ignores conflict thus masks the reality of the social world to students. "Without an analysis and greater understanding of these latent assumptions," he wrote in the article's final paragraph, "educators run the very real risk of continuing to let values work through them. A conscious advocacy of a more realistic outlook on and teaching of the dialectic of social change would, no doubt, contribute to preparing students with the political and conceptual tools necessary to deal with the dense reality they must face" (p. 39).

Though clearly influenced by debates in the philosophy and sociology of science sparked by Thomas Kuhn's (1962) *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, much of the foundation for Apple's argument came from the Marxist tradition. For instance, Apple turned to Marx to support the claim that "a major source of change and innovation is internal conflict," an ontological position about the

nature of the social order that served as a foundational premise for Apple's advocacy of a dialectical approach to social change and thus curriculum theorizing (Apple, 1971, p. 35). Additionally, Apple turned to Marx as support for his engagement with curriculum theorizing, a move that Apple knew placed him on the margins of a field that had become woefully under theorized due to its fixation on practicality and management principles. "Yet, it is crucial to remind ourselves," wrote Apple, "that while, say, Marx felt that the ultimate task of philosophy and theory was not merely to 'comprehend reality' but to change it, it is also true that according to Marx revolutionizing the world has as its very foundation an adequate understanding of it" (p. 38). Apple believed, following Marx, that there is an existing "reality," one consisting of powerful and competing ideas and institutions that must be understood before social change can occur. Those in the curriculum field, Apple's essay thus argued, need to consider how the curriculum engages students in the shaping of a social world that is rife with injustice.

Alvin Gouldner

In addition to the influence of Israeli philosopher Shlomo Avineri's 1968 book *The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx*, which Apple cited in lieu of citing Marx, the most significant Marxist presence in "The Hidden Curriculum" is the sociologist Alvin Gouldner, whose classic *The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology* was published in 1970. Widely read by radical social scientists searching for ways to curb positivist and functionalist tendencies in Marxist social theory, Gouldner's book sought to reground sociological inquiry by extricating "the liberative potential of modern Academic Sociology from its encompassing conservative structure," and, in turn, extricate Marxism "from its own conservative and repressive components, and in particular from the bureaucratic and totalitarian proclivities to which it is vulnerable" (Gouldner, 1970, p. 12).

Apple, who also sought to "extricate Marxism" (as did Avineri and others newly engaging inter-war Marxist thought), turned to Gouldner for help in articulating a critique of and alternative paradigm to the structural-functionalist idea of consensus that dominated educational scholarship as much as it dominated the field of sociology. From Apple's perspective, there was clearly a crisis in the curriculum field—the field lacked historical perspective, structural understanding, and a desire to actively pursue social change, all features central to inter-war Marxist thought and features that Gouldner believed were crucial for an alternative paradigm in sociology. Furthermore, Apple's push for self-evaluation among those in the curriculum field clearly mirrored Gouldner's well-known advocacy for a "reflexive sociology." "The core of a Reflexive Sociology," wrote Gouldner, "is the attitude it fosters toward those parts of the social world closest to the sociologist—his own university, his own profession and its associations, his professional role, and importantly, his students, and himself… it is a conception

of how to live and a total praxis" (Gouldner, 1970, p. 504). Apple aimed to develop this reflexive stance in the curriculum field.

With Gouldner's aid, during the first part of the 1970s Apple began to embrace Marxist thought as a theoretical alternative to phenomenology. In fact, Schutz is not mentioned anywhere in "The Hidden Curriculum" and rarely appears in Apple's later work.[5] Berger and Luckmann, who also have a place of prominence in Apple's dissertation, remain present in a few footnotes, but they too also begin to recede into the background.[6]

A Critical Science of Education: 1972–1974

In "The Adequacy of Systems Management Procedures in Education" (hereafter referred to as "The Adequacy")—published in *The Journal of Educational Research* in 1972 and originally presented at the 1972 American Educational Research Association (AERA) annual meeting—Apple turned his lens from what is learned in school to the logic underpinning educational reform. The article became chapter six of *Ideology*.

In "The Adequacy," Apple argued that the idea of scientific management dominant in the field of education since the Progressive Era was not only grounded in a philosophically outdated and impoverished view of science and the social world but was also a troublesome legitimizing instrument of "social control" (Apple, 1972a, p. 11). "While change is viewed as important," noted Apple, "it is usually dealt with by such notions as system *adjustment*. The basis of the system itself remains unquestioned…. The lack of quality in education is viewed in terms of only a lack of technical sophistication and can be effectively solved through engineering" (pp. 12–13). An analysis of education, argued Apple, must target the ideas underpinning the system.

Once again, the article owed a great deal to Gouldner, whom Apple looked to for guidance in thinking about legitimation and systems adjustment. Gouldner's notion of a reflexive approach is also palpable. In addition to Gouldner, two other Marxist thinkers are prominently featured—American philosopher Trent Schroyer and German philosopher Jurgen Habermas—both of whom would underpin much of Apple's scholarship over the next couple of years.

Schroyer, who completed his Ph.D. at the New School in 1968 and taught there in the early 1970s, had been an active participant in the Socialist Scholars Conference, one of the principle scholarly groups responsible for pushing a revival in Marxist thought within the American Left in the 1960s.[7] In 1973, Schroyer's *The Critique of Domination*, parts of which were previously published as articles and cited by Apple in "The Adequacy," was nominated for the National Book Award. It is through Schroyer that Apple often cited Habermas, whose late 1960s books *Toward a Rational Society* and *Knowledge and Human Interest* were first translated into English in 1970 and 1971, respectively.

Schroyer's (1973) central objective in *The Critique of Domination* was to begin to "relate the political–economic and cultural forms of critical theory" by transcending the "discontinuity of Marx's materialist critical theory and the evolution of the cultural critiques of the Frankfurt School of Marxism" (p. 33). Schroyer found Habermas a good starting point for this philosophical project. At the time, Habermas's work centered on developing a critical social theory in the tradition of Horkheimer and unpacking the scientific logic underpinning the instrumental reasoning and technocratic rationality of political and economic institutions. Specifically, Schroyer turned to Habermas's work on technocratic rationality as a way to critique "the *technocratic strategy* in which politics and science are related integrally as the means for a more efficient and effective decision-making process," and how we "are now guided only by the 'neutral' standards of purposive rational action, or what could be called *instrumental reason*" (p. 19, italics in original). It is this conversation about "technical" and "social control" that Apple turned to in "The Adequacy" as a way of describing the role of schooling in the social order (Apple, 1972a, p. 12).

While the influence of Habermas and Schroyer is present in the "The Adequacy," their influence is most felt in two other essays of the period in which Apple explicitly calls for a "critical" approach to studying education. Neither of these essays was republished in *Ideology*. The first essay, "Scientific Interests and the Nature of Educational Institutions" (hereafter referred to as "Scientific Interests"), was initially presented at the 1972 AERA annual meeting and published in William Pinar's 1975 edited collection *Curriculum Theorizing: The Reconceptualists* (Apple, 1975b). Drawing from an essay by Schroyer about Habermas, in "Scientific Interests" Apple presented Habermas's taxonomy of types of science—strict science, hermeneutic science, and critical science—as a conceptual foundation for formulating a "critical science" of education. Apple noted that this approach, explicitly grounded in the Marxist tradition, must "have an emancipatory interest" and "raise questions concerning the dominant demands in education and in other institutions for bringing all aspects of behavior under purposive-rational rubrics of technical control so that certainty will be enhanced" (Apple, 1975b, pp. 126-127).

The second essay in which Apple called for a critical approach to education, "The Process and Ideology of Valuing in Educational Settings," was initially presented at a conference in 1973 and published in *Educational Evaluation: Analysis and Responsibility* in 1974 (Apple, 1974). Apple co-edited *Educational Evaluation* with Michael J. Subkoviak and Henry S. Lufler, Jr. In this essay, Apple's "critical" approach sought to "illuminate the problematic character of the commonsense reality most educators take for granted" and engage "other members of the field in the essential argumentation over the role evaluation has played and will play in education" (p. 4). As was the case in "Scientific Interests," foundational to Apple's argument was an embrace of Habermas's notion of "purposive–rational action" as an explanatory tool for understanding "forms of logic that tend to make people

treat their major problems as technical puzzles that can be solved by the application of an engineering rationality" (pp. 21–22).

Several years before the publication of *Ideology*, Apple's critical educational project was taking shape. Apple explicitly sought to develop a "critical science of education" that would help the curriculum field take a reflexive stance that would enable it to, first, understand the relationship between schools and the social order in a theoretically sophisticated, historically conscious manner, and second, ultimately help schools and society move toward radical social change. These core elements of a "critical" approach to education remain central to much work in critical educational studies.

The Reconceptualists: 1975

In 1975, "Scientific Interests" and "The Hidden Curriculum" were reprinted in *Curriculum Theorizing: The Reconceptualists*. Edited by William Pinar, the collection was intended to name a turn in curriculum theory away from the "atheoretical" standpoint of traditionalists such as Ralph Tyler and Hilda Taba and toward work "steeped in the theory and practice of present-day social science" (Pinar, 1975, p. xii). Pinar argued that reconceptualists

> tend to concern themselves with the internal and existential experience of the public world. They tend to study not "change in behavior" or "decision making in the classroom," but matters of temporality, transcendence, consciousness, and politics. In brief, the reconceptualist attempts to understand the nature of educational experience.
>
> *(pp. xii–xiii)*

Though Apple never aligned himself with the term or identified with a reconceptualist movement, by Pinar's standards, because of Apple's nontraditional work in the curriculum field, he was a reconceptualist. "In fact," wrote Pinar, "if I were asked to name one of the two or three most important critics at work in the curriculum field today, I would answer, Michael Apple" (p. 87).

While several of the authors in *Curriculum Theorizing*, such as John Steven Mann, noted the influence of Marx in the book's short personal biographies, and while others such as Apple's mentor Dwayne Huebner and James McDonald were slowly turning to Marxist critical theory, Apple's two essays are the only pieces in the volume that substantively engage the Marxist tradition.[8] As discussed in the previous two chapters, few scholars in the field of education in the 1970s were engaging Marxist thought, especially in the critical tradition. Most radicals in the curriculum field, such as the reconceptualists, were engaging phenomenology, as Apple had done in his dissertation.

Although he was relatively solo in the curriculum field in his turn to Marxist thought, Apple was certainly respected by his peers. For instance, in 1975 he was

asked to include an essay in the Association of Supervision and Curriculum Development's yearbook, *Schools In Search of Meaning* (Apple, 1975a). The essay, "Commonsense Categories and Curriculum Thought" (hereafter "Commonsense Categories"), became chapter seven of *Ideology*.

In the article, Apple continued to unveil "the commonsense assumptions which underpin the curriculum field" (Apple, 1975a, p. 117). For example, Apple targeted the "commonsense" labels placed on students, such as "slow learners," "poorly motivated," and "underachievers," (p. 130), to illustrate the operation of schooling and the social order's "mechanisms" of social control (p. 119). In response to these mechanisms, and building off his adoption of Habermas's idea of a critical science, Apple advocated "critical awareness" and a move towards "critical scholarship":

> The intent of such a critique and of critical scholarship in general, then, is two fold. First, it aims at illuminating the tendencies for unwanted and often unconscious domination, alienation, and repression within certain existing cultural, political, educational, and economic institutions. Second, through exploring the negative effects and contradictions of much that unquestioningly goes on in these institutions, it seeks to "promote conscious emancipatory activity." That is, it examines what is supposed to be happening in, say, schools, if one takes the language and slogans of many school people seriously; and, it then shows how these things actually work in a manner that is destructive of ethical rationality and personal political and institutional power. Once this actual functioning is held up to scrutiny, it attempts to point to concrete activity that will lead to challenging this taken-for-granted activity.
>
> *(p. 126)*

Critical scholarship thus examines dominating and alienating practices in schooling with the explicit intent of changing such practices. Action, argued Apple (and again echoing Gouldner), is part of critical scholarly engagement. This formulation has underpinned critical educational scholarship ever since.

"Commonsense Categories" marks the final time that Gouldner, Schroyer, and Habermas play a prominent role in Apple's scholarship. While they and others, such as Avineri, initiated Apple's scholarly engagement with the Marxist tradition, over the next few years Apple's Marxist intellectual influences would shift and his old influences would recede into the background. Notably, "Commonsense Categories" provides a quick glimpse of how. Appearing for one of the first times in Apple's work is reference to British work in the sociology of education, and specifically the work of Michael Young, one of the lead figures in the early 1970s turn within Britain to the New Sociology of Education (Apple, 1975a, pp. 127, 133).

The New Sociology of Education: 1975–1976

Michael F.D. Young's edited *Knowledge and Control*, published in 1971(b), initiated a move within the sociology of education in Britain to the New Sociology of Education (NSE). As Young noted in the volume's introduction:

> Though it will be obvious to the reader that all the contributors do not share either a common doctrine or perspective, it would be true to say that what they hold in common is that they do not take for granted existing definitions of educational reality, and therefore do "make" rather than "take" problems for the sociology of education. They are inevitably led to consider… "what counts as educational knowledge" as problematic.
>
> *(Young, 1971a, p. 3)*

Though similar in its phenomenological perspective and epistemic pushback against positivism and structural-functionalism, the move in Britain among Young, Basil Bernstein, Geoffrey Esland, and others, developed separately from the reconceptualist work in the United States. As Jerome Karable and A.H. Halsey noted in their article "The New Sociology of Education" in the winter 1976 issue of *Theory and Society*: "Perhaps the most striking feature of the 'new' sociology of education is that it is almost entirely a British creation; it has, as yet, made few inroads into American educational research" (p. 533). The inroads noted are the work of Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, who, as noted in the previous chapter, published widely in the first half of the 1970s prior to the publication of *Schooling in Capitalist America* in 1976, and the work of sociologist Ray Rist, whose Marxist-influenced interpretive work led to the publication of *The Urban School: Factory for Failure* in 1973. Karable, a sociologist in the United States, and Halsey, a sociologist in Britain, seemed unaware of work within the curriculum field, which was much more similar to the NSE than the political economy of Bowles and Gintis and the urban sociology of Rist.

However, despite the similarity in project there was a significant methodological difference between work in the NSE and the reconceptualist and other phenomenological, radical curriculum scholarship in the United States, including Apple's. The reconceptualists were decidedly conceptual whereas the NSE turned to participant-observation. A classic example of the latter is Young's student Nell Keddie's study "Classroom Knowledge," published in *Knowledge*, which became a frequently cited and emulated example of how to use qualitative inquiry to study teacher-student interactions (Karabel & Halsey, 1976).

There was also a significant contextual difference, which, when coupled with the turn to participant-observation, helps explain how Marxist ideas emerged in education scholarship differently in Britain than they did in the United States. The move toward the study of experience promoted a healthy push away from structural-functionalist conceptions of schooling and a body of educational

research dominated by work in the measurement tradition. However, the participant-observation inquiries into how students and teachers were making meaning in their everyday lives, and the conceptual phenomenological work that framed these inquiries, began to demonstrate a serious drawback: They failed to offer a sophisticated analysis of the relationship between personal experience and the structure of powerful social institutions that help shape those experiences. As Ioan Davies (1995), himself one of the scholars published in *Knowledge*, noted about this problem over 20 years later in his history of the cultural studies movement in Britain:

> The problems with social phenomenology, as they were worked out through studying Berger and Luckman (1966) and the readings of Schutz (1964) or Garfinkel (1967), seemed to imply a relativism which, in spite of the excitement generated by the links between the sociology of education and the sociology of knowledge promising something else, might not create a convincing basis for action.
>
> *(p. 45)*

In the mid-1970s, many in the NSE turned to Marxist thought in order to "create a convincing basis for action" (p. 45). Unlike in the United States, Britain sustained a Marxist intellectual presence in the 1940s and 1950s and had a vibrant Marxist intellectual community in the early 1960s. Out of this community emerged an intellectual hub focused on the intersection of politics and culture, the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (BCCCS), which was founded in 1964 and came under the direction of Stuart Hall in 1968 (Dworkin, 1997). For radical sociologists of education, many of whom were engaged in the BCCCS milieu, the turn to Marxist thought was a natural intellectual move (Whitty, 1985). By the mid-1970s, just a few years after the publication of Young's edited volume initiated the NSE on largely phenomenological grounds, the NSE began to make an overwhelmingly Marxian turn. Young himself helped announce this turn in his 1977 book *Society, State, and Schooling*, which he co-edited with Geoff Whitty, who would quickly emerge as a leading Marxist sociologist of education in Britain. As Young and Whitty noted in their introduction to the volume:

> Studies of what happens to pupils in school and the nature of the curriculum to which they are exposed are beginning to be given more significance than the sort of input-output analyses which until recently constituted the bulk of work within this field. Unfortunately, however, many of these studies about the minutiae of classroom interaction, or analyses of the assumptions underlying prevailing definitions of curricular knowledge, seem to present education as being carried in a social vacuum, and whilst they often tell us a great deal about "how" schools perpetuate social

inequalities, their failure to discuss "why" this may be so helps to obscure the difficulties in change. In other words, while the sociology of education has increasingly focused upon "cultural" aspects of schooling, it has failed to locate them in their broader historical and political contexts.

(Young & Whitty, 1977a, pp. 7–8)

To connect a focus on culture with historical and political context, concluded Young and Whitty, "a more adequate theory of ideology" was necessary (p. 8).

In search of such a theory, many British Marxists initially turned to French philosopher Louis Althusser. Scholars were particularly attracted to Althusser's notion of the Ideological State Apparatus (ISA), a loosely networked group of social institutions that serves the interests of the ruling class.[9] However, by the late 1970s many moved to a decidedly Gramscian position (I. Davies, 1995, pp. 35-49). In particular, many British scholars felt Althusser's theory failed to allow space for human agency (e.g. Erben & Gleeson, 1977).[10] In Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci, whose work in the late 1920s and 1930s was becoming increasingly known in the 1970s as a result of the 1971 publication of *Selections from Prison Notebooks*, many of these same scholars found a combination of structural analysis and humanism, one that conceived of cultural and political struggle waged at the super-structural level (counter-hegemony) as both necessary *and* possible. Gramsci's conception of hegemony allowed for a fluid yet structured analysis of the control of knowledge in the social order.

Particularly influential on this interpretation of Gramsci's work among British cultural Marxists was a 1973 essay in *New Left Review* by Marxist cultural critic Raymond Williams. Widely read and frequently cited, the essay succinctly articulated Gramsci's conception of hegemony and its significance in Marxist cultural theory:

> It is Gramsci's great contribution to have emphasized hegemony… For hegemony supposes the existence of something which is truly total, which is not merely secondary or superstructural, like the weak sense of ideology, but which is lived at such a depth, which saturates the society to such an extent, and which, as Gramsci put it, even constitutes the limit of common sense for most people under its sway, that it corresponds to the reality of social experience very much more clearly than any notions derived from the formula of base and superstructure… This notion of hegemony as deeply saturating the consciousness of a society seems to be fundamental.
>
> *(p. 8)*

Notably, Apple's opening chapter in *Ideology* drew heavily from Williams's interpretation of Gramsci—Apple quoted the essay at length (Apple, 1979a, pp. 4–5).[11]

While Apple and British scholars distanced themselves from phenomenology for similar epistemic reasons, Apple, unlike those in Britain, was not part of a

cohort allured to Marxist thought as an alternative. There was nothing quite like the NSE in the United States. It is thus not surprising that after beginning a conversation with British scholars as a result of sending some of his work to Young and others in 1975 that Apple became increasingly associated with NSE scholars (Apple, 2007). For instance, in 1976 "Commonsense Categories" was republished in Roger Dale, Geoff Esland, and Madeleine MacDonald's *Schooling and Capitalism: A Sociological Reader*, and a second essay of Apple's, a Marxian critique of Ivan Illich, was reprinted in Young and Whitty's *Schools, State, and Society*.[12] Also in 1976, Apple published an essay review of Young's *Knowledge and Control* and Michael Flude and John Ahier's 1974 edited *Educability, Schools, and Ideology*. Finally, Apple visited Britain around this time and brought Geoff Whitty to the University of Wisconsin–Madison as a visiting professor from 1979 to 1980 (Apple, 2007; Whitty, 1998).

Over the course of the late 1970s and well into the 1980s, Apple would become a key bridge between U.S. and British critical educational scholarship.[13] Furthermore, the relationships that Apple forged during this time led to professional opportunities that allowed him to impact the field in ways beyond his own scholarship. For instance, as noted in the previous chapter, the book series in Critical Social Thought that Apple began editing in the early 1980s for British publisher Routledge, which published *Ideology*, remains central to the development of critical educational studies.

Setting the Stage for *Ideology*: 1977–1978

Apple published several essays between 1977 and the publication of *Ideology and Curriculum* in 1979. One of the first was "What Do Schools Teach?" (co-authored with his student Nancy King), which was published in *Curriculum Inquiry* in 1977 and republished as chapter three of *Ideology*. The essay revealed the NSE influence on Apple's scholarship.

In the article, Apple made three scholarly moves that signaled the NSE influence. First, Apple and King followed Keddie and Young by using empirical data collected through participant-observation to show examples of how dominant social and economic ideas frame "the curriculum-in-use," that is, "how social norms, institutions, and ideological rules are continually sustained by the day-to-day interaction of commonsense actors, as they go about their normal practices" (Apple & King, 1977, p. 347). Although Apple had been engaging a structural conversation about "the curriculum-in-use" for several years, he had only done so at the conceptual level. This was the first time that Apple moved beyond a conceptual, phenomenological exposition of life in classrooms and toward a qualitative, structural analysis of how the experiences of students (in this case in a kindergarten) are connected to broader social and economic life. Second, Apple and King followed the NSE by framing the formulation of the problem with the language of ideology, which is prominent throughout the text. Third,

Apple and King followed the NSE by using Gramsci to think through the function of ideology and the control of knowledge within the social order—"the dominance of one group of people or one class over less powerful groups of people or classes" (p. 355).

Significantly, "What Do Schools Teach?" marked the first moment Apple (with King's aid) placed his earlier work on the hidden curriculum within an NSE framework (p. 354). Although his initial essay on the hidden curriculum relied on Gouldner, Gouldner is never mentioned in the article. Furthermore, Schroyer and Habermas are only mentioned in a footnote, even though the language of "critical" Apple adopted from each remains. Certainly, Apple's core interest in acquiring a deeper understanding of school as a system of social control within the social order had not shifted. Equally as clearly, though, Apple was engaging a new language and a new set of intellectual influences.

Apple's article with King displayed the influence of the NSE; however, the NSE-inspired formulation that appeared a year later in *Ideology* first appeared in his article "Ideology, Reproduction, and Educational Reform," which was published in *Comparative Education Review* in 1978.[14] The article became chapter two of *Ideology*.

In "Ideology, Reproduction, and Education Reform," Apple (1978a) made five moves in five successive paragraphs that set the stage for his conceptual framing of *Ideology*. First, clearly poking at Bowles and Gintis, whose *Schooling in Capitalist America* was gaining widespread attention in Britain and the United States, Apple positioned himself as adding necessary nuance to ideas about social reproduction by looking inside "the black box" of schooling in order to explain how unequal "effects are *built within* schools" via cultural reproduction (p. 368, emphasis original). Second, Apple used Gramsci to frame a conversation about how to obtain nuanced understanding of the control of knowledge within the "black box" of schooling (p. 368). Third, Apple turned to Geoff Whitty to critique the phenomenological "social construction of reality" as an approach to understanding the role of culture in schooling (p. 369). Fourth, Apple drew from Raymond Williams in order to develop a materialist analysis of culture (pp. 369–370). Finally, Apple brought Whitty and Williams together to advocate for an analysis in the United States similar to the British analysis of "the relationship between ideology and school knowledge." In particular, Apple sought to speak back to "the ahistorical nature of most educational activity and the dominance of an ethic of amelioration through technical models in most curriculum discourse," both of which he believed prevented a similar discussion about ideology and schooling in the United States (p. 370).

Strangely, Apple failed to note that he had already been engaged in a project analyzing "the relationship between ideology and school knowledge" for almost a decade. While the NSE framing was certainly new, many of the core ideas were not. Apple was still investigating, as he was in 1971, "the tacit assumptions being taught" (Apple, 1971, p. 27). Yet, the intellectual influences on this earlier work,

such as Gouldner and Schroyer, are absent in the article, and Habermas, who influenced much of his work soon after, appears only in a footnote.

Ideology and Curriculum: 1979

In 1979, British publishing house Routledge and Kegan Paul published *Ideology and Curriculum* as part of its Routledge Education series, which was edited by British scholar John Eggleston. Consisting of eight chapters, six of which had previously been published, *Ideology* was the first book in the series published by a U.S. scholar. The dust jacket on the inside portion of the front cover (British edition) clearly articulated Apple's most recent intellectual influences: "In this analysis, Professor Apple draws on the work of Gramsci, Williams, Bourdieu and the British sociologists of the curriculum to illuminate clearly the complex role of educational institutions in creating and perpetuating the conditions which support ideological hegemony" (Apple, 1979a). [15]

    Ideology was in many respects framed as a response to Bowles and Gintis' 1976 book *Schooling in Capitalist America*, which, as discussed in the previous chapter, ignited a conversation about social reproduction theory among radical education scholars in the United States and was also influential in Britain. As Apple noted on the second page of the introduction for the book:[16]

> Others, especially Bowles and Gintis, have focused on schools in a way which stresses the economic role of educational institutions…. While this is important, to say the least, it gives only one side of the picture… It cannot illuminate fully what the mechanisms of domination are and how they work in the day–to–day activity of school life…. Thus, I want here to look at the relationship between economic and cultural domination, at what we take as given, that seems to produce 'naturally' some of the outcomes partly described by those who have focused on the political economy of education.
>
> *(Apple, 1979a, p. 2)*

While insightful, contended Apple, the closed system that "naturally" produces inequity required further investigation. Thus, with the help of Gramsci's conception of hegemony, Apple proceeded to describe *Ideology* as an inquiry into the "organized assemblage of meanings and practices, the central, effective and dominant system of meanings, values and actions which are *lived*" in schools and the social order more broadly (p. 5, emphasis original), and to an analysis of the role of the "educator him or herself within the real social conditions which 'determine' these elements" (p. 13). As Apple advocated on the final page of the book's concluding chapter, which was also written for the book, educators ought to follow the lead of Gramsci and engage in "political praxis" as an "organic intellectual who actively participates in the struggle against hegemony." "One has no choice," Apple noted in his final sentence, "but to be committed" (p. 166).

All six of the previously published chapters in between the new introduction and conclusion were, as one would expect, altered to meet the new framing. For instance, Gramsci appears at least within the footnotes of every chapter, with one exception, and the word *hegemony*, which signals Gramsci's presence even when his name is not invoked, is present in the texts of all of them.[17] Gouldner and Habermas appear nowhere in either *Ideology*'s introduction or conclusion. Schroyer appears in a couple of footnotes.

The alterations to "The Hidden Curriculum" are particularly illustrative of how Apple's early Marxist influences receded deep into the background. The first noticeable change is that a new two-page introduction situates the article within the book, with explicit Marxist language of class struggle, which was not present in the original, now front-and-center:

> What was often in the past a conscious attempt by the bourgeoisie to *create* a consensus that was not there, has now become the only possible interpretation of social and intellectual possibilities. What was at first an ideology in the form of class interest has now become *the* definition of the situation in most school curricula. We shall look at this by examining some aspects of that formal corpus of school knowledge as see how what goes on within the black box can create the outcomes the economic theorists have sought to describe.
>
> *(Apple, 1979a, p. 82, emphasis original)*

In addition to this new framing, there are smaller changes, such as subtle shifts of language meant to increase correspondence with the new framework. For example, in the first sentence of the article's original second paragraph, the phrase "critiques of the world-view" (Apple, 1971, p. 27) is now "critiques of the ideological world-view" (Apple, 1979a, p. 84), and later in the same sentence, the phrase "maintenance of the same dominant world-view" (Apple, 1971, p. 27) is now simply "maintenance of hegemony" (Apple, 1979a, p. 84).

Other changes between the original and the republished essay show a change of tone as well as language. For example, in the original essay, after the sentence—in the third to last paragraph—about Marx's belief that "revolutionizing the world" required "an adequate understanding of it," Apple wrote in the parenthetical notation "(After all, Marx spent most of his lifetime *writing Das Kapital*—Avineri, 1968, p.137)" (Apple, 1971, p. 38, emphasis original). In *Ideology*, the parenthetical comment, which no longer requires in-text notation because of the use of footnotes, reads: "(After all, Marx spent a good deal of his lifetime writing *Das Kapital* while he also engaged in political and economic action which served to clarify the correctness of that understanding. Action and reflection merged into praxis.)" (Apple, 1979a, p. 103). Avineri is still the footnote, but the voice is not Avineri's. Also, in addition to the emergence of the word "praxis," in the new line, the intellectual exercise of writing *Das Kapital* is

minimized in favor of making sure the reader knows that Marx was engaging in action, as should, one would assume Apple is trying to say, the reader. In his revisions, Apple seemed intent on emphasizing the need for structural engagement. While his politics do not appear to have become more radical (Apple had been an activist since his youth), his tone, clearly reflecting the tone of British scholarship at the time (and not as far removed as some might think from the tone of Bowles and Gintis's call for democratic socialist revolution in *Schooling*), certainly acquired a new edge.

Finally, the last paragraph in the new version was extended to emphasize the new framework. The final sentence from the original article—"A conscious advocacy of a more realistic outlook on and teaching of the dialectic of social change would, no doubt, contribute to preparing students with the political and conceptual tools necessary to deal with the dense reality they must face"—was omitted (Apple, 1971, p. 39). In its place Apple wrote:

> However, can we accomplish the same for curricularists and other educators? Can we illuminate the political and conceptual tools needed to face the unequal society in which they also live? The most fruitful way to begin this task is to document what their conceptual and political tools do now: Do they again maintain a false consensus? How do they act as aspects of hegemony? What are their latent ideological functions? With a firmer grasp on the way schools assist in the creation of hegemony through the 'socialization' of students, it is this task—how hegemony operates in the heads of educators—to which we shall now turn.
>
> *(Apple, 1979a, p. 104)*

Notably, the chapter "to which we shall now turn" is the republication of the 1972 article "The Adequacy" (in *Ideology* it is "Systems Management and the Ideology of Control"). The original article never used the word *hegemony*.

As this analysis shows, the articles republished in *Ideology*, especially the three written in the first half of the 1970s—"The Hidden Curriculum," "The Adequacy," and "Commonsense Categories," which became chapters five, six, and seven, respectively—read differently in their second iteration. There is a new tone, new language, new intellectual influences, and, of course, a new framing.

Does the new framing substantively shift Apple's arguments? While language, tone, and influences change, the arguments themselves develop more than shift. For instance, in "The Hidden Curriculum," while the urgency is turned-up a notch and Gramsci's idea of hegemony offers Apple a conceptual apparatus to structurally locate struggles over the curriculum in a broader social landscape of ideological struggle, Apple is still centrally concerned with making explicit in the curriculum the contestation inherent in the social production of ideas. Furthermore, while the new framing places the reflexive sociological stance of Gouldner in the background, *Ideology* as a whole is an example of the type of

work Gouldner's stance would probably advocate. Thus, while *Ideology* is clearly a culminating text in a decade-long project, the turn to the NSE and Gramsci significantly shifted the way the project was framed. It is this shift in framing that turned *Ideology* into *Ideology*—it is the reframing that helped introduce the field to the NSE and Gramsci's conception of hegemony.

Conclusion

In the opening paragraphs of *Ideology*, Apple briefly reflected on the shifts in his thinking in the 1970s:

> A few years ago I was asked to write a personal statement for a volume that was reprinting a number of my papers… I argued strongly that education was not a neutral enterprise, that by the very nature of the institution, the educator was involved, whether he or she was conscious of it or not, in a political act… Since writing that statement, the issues have become even more compelling to me... In essence, the problem has become more and more a *structural* issue for me. I have increasingly sought to ground it in a set of critical questions that are generated out of a tradition of neo-Marxist argumentation, a tradition which seems to me to offer the most cogent framework for organizing one's thinking and action about education.
>
> *(Apple, 1979a, p. 1, emphasis original)*

The personal statement Apple references appeared in Pinar's 1975 book *Curriculum Theorizing*, which reprinted "The Hidden Curriculum" and "Scientific Interests." Those few years between the writing of the statement for Pinar's book and the writing of the introduction for *Ideology* mark a moment of intellectual transition for Apple. Prior to 1975, his engagement with "neo-Marxist argumentation" was grounded in the work of Gouldner, Schroyer and Habermas. After 1975, Apple began engaging "neo-Marxist argumentation" through an intellectual relationship with British scholarship in the sociology of education that led him to frame his structural and ideological analysis of schooling through Gramsci's conception of hegemony.

   Of course, this was not the only intellectual shift Apple would make. Over the course of his career, which includes numerous books, journal articles, edited books, commentaries, and much more, Apple has continued to develop as a scholar, regularly engaging new ideas that strike a chord, as well as revisiting old ones. This is one reason why his scholarship has remained so vibrant and influential.

   In the 1980s, while Apple continued to use the NSE and Gramscian-influenced approach that framed *Ideology*, he continued to push his analysis beyond "too functional a level" (Apple, 1982a, p. 23). As he noted of his earlier work in the introduction to his second book *Education and Power* (1982b):

> It saw schools, and especially the hidden curriculum, as successfully corresponding to the ideological needs of capital; we just needed to see how it was really accomplished. What was now more obviously missing in my formulations at this time was an analysis that focused on contradictions, conflicts, mediations and especially resistances, as well as reproduction.
>
> *(p. 24)*

Apple undertook this analysis by exploring everyday practices in schools, particularly the skilling, deskilling, and control of teachers. This analysis appeared in a range of work in the 1980s, including *Education and Power*, an essay published in his edited book of Marxist approaches to educational analysis, *Cultural and Economic Reproduction in Education* (1982a), an essay in a second edited book (with Lois Weiss), *Ideology and Practice in Schooling* (1983), and in his third single authored text *Teachers and Texts* (1986). In all of this work, Apple continued to increase the range of Marxist (and non-Marxist) thinkers he was drawing upon, such as Manuel Castells, Paul Willis, and Erik Ollin Wright; engaging in conversation with recent scholarship has always been a hallmark of his work.

In the 1990s, Apple was once again drawn to the work of Stuart Hall and other British cultural studies scholars who helped him make meaning of and push against the growing neoconservative and neoliberal attack on public goods, including public education. How, he asked, in a series of books beginning in 1993 with *Official Knowledge: Democratic Education in a Conservative Age*, are the "the politics of *accords* or *compromises*" that form school policies and practices forged and maintained (p. 10, emphasis original). "These, of course, are not compromises among equals," he noted. "Those in dominance almost always have more power to define what counts as a need or problem and what an appropriate response to it should be. But, these compromises are never stable" (p. 10). Apple's work inquired into this terrain of instability —what Gramsci might describe as a site for a war of position—in order to locate "space for a more democratic cultural politics in education and elsewhere" (p. 11).

In the process of trying to understand this space, Apple interrogated the many ways in which hegemony maintains itself, including the cultural production and political economy of texts, and, as discussed at length in his 1996 book *Cultural Politics and Education*, the hyper focus on the psychology of individual learners, which has resulted in a near loss of "any serious sense of the social structures and the race, gender, class, and religious relations that form these individuals in powerful, and at times contradictory, ways" (p. 97). Even though the political right had almost completely taken over the educational landscape, in both policy and practice, by the publication of *Educating the "Right" Way: Markets, Standards, God, and Inequality* in 2001, Apple still saw space to push. His book was a challenge to "map" the business models, accountability measures, right-wing religious movements, and other neoconservative and neoliberal projects in order to help us better understand the complex landscape of injustice that educators and

activists, scholars and teachers, and communities and families had to struggle against on a daily basis in schools. "Let me end with something that I always want to keep in the forefront of my own conscious when times are difficult," he wrote in the book's conclusion. "Sustained political and cultural transformation are impossible 'without the hope of a better society that we can, in principle and in outline, imagine'" (p. 229).

Over the past 15 years, Apple has continued to call on scholars to imagine a better world. *Can Education Change Society?* The only way to find out, he says, in response to the title to his 2013 book, is "by joining in the creative and determined efforts of building a counter-public. There is educational work to be done" (p. 166). While Apple's scholarship continues to interrogate the nuance and complexity of the politics of schooling by analyzing the role of the state, the role of markets, the role of cultural institutions, and the role of other structures and ideas that shape everyday life in schools, he has remained steadfast in the claim that social change does not happen in the abstract. Instead, as Apple has always argued, our analysis and our action must be concrete.

While perhaps not Apple's only intellectual shift, his turn to Gramsci and the NSE, both of which helped him articulate the concrete, paved the way for his future work, and also made a notable impact on the field writ large. It helped carve a path for the emergence of critical educational scholarship by offering critical educational studies a language (e.g. hegemony and the word 'ideology' itself), providing it with one of its most revered theoretical guides (Gramsci), and helping it develop a sharp tone of political engagement. As Jean Anyon (2011) noted about *Ideology*, "Apple strongly urged us to challenge curricular and organizational forms in education that legitimate and reproduce hegemony. His challenge was an important step in the development of critical pedagogy by U.S. scholars working in a neo-Marxist tradition" (pp. 34–35).

Now in its third edition, which includes two new chapters, *Ideology* continues to make a mark on the field (Apple, 2004). It is still read in courses on curriculum theory and social theories of education, and it remains frequently cited in educational scholarship. Examining the intellectual history of *Ideology* is thus important. Not only does it offer insight into the contexts and traditions that underpin many of the ideas our current critical scholarship both embraces and struggles with, it offers us a reflective window into our own theoretical work. For instance, what might we see if we read Williams alongside *Ideology*'s introduction or if we read Gramsci alongside both? What if we read Gouldner alongside the reframed version of "The Hidden Curriculum" or Schroyer alongside the reframed "The Adequacy"? This type of engagement with ideas— one that looks at "origins and iterations," to borrow a phrase from Ken McGrew (2011, p. 257)—might illuminate what we continue to find powerful about *Ideology*. And more importantly, this type of reading might also help us develop rigorous theory and nuanced analytical tools that enable us to critically examine the social order and push toward radical social change.

Notes

1 Articles are not always published in the order in which they are written. Comments are made where there is a clear question of order. The one article turned chapter that is not discussed is "Curricular History and Social Control," which Apple wrote with his student Barry Franklin (Apple & Franklin, 1979). The article became chapter four of *Ideology*. Unlike the other republished material, this historical piece—focused on early curricularists such as Bobbitt, Charter, and Thorndike—does not explicitly engage in a Marxian analysis of schooling. However, while not speaking to Apple's shift to Marxist thought, it does speak to his interest in curricular history, which is also evident in Apple (1973). In many respects, the article is more reflective of Franklin's dissertation than Apple's earlier scholarship (Franklin, 1974). Notably, Habermas is substantively engaged in the dissertation.

Furthermore, while the chapter engages some of Apple's work that was not republished in *Ideology*, it does not engage all of Apple's work during the 1970s. Instead, the focus is on work that sheds light on his intellectual path, particularly with regard to his engagement with Marxist thought leading up to the publication of *Ideology*. Particularly notable is that this chapter does not engage a few pieces published at the very end of the 1970s that are contemporaneous with *Ideology*, including an essay review covering the New Sociology of Education in *Harvard Educational Review* in 1978 (Apple, 1978b) and a couple of pieces that were republished in Apple's *Education and Power* (1982b).

2 Biographical information in this section of the chapter—"From Paterson to Teachers College"—is from Apple (2007).

3 It is unclear what year Apple went to Virginia, but it was likely 1959, when white county officials closed all public schools in a refusal to obey court orders to desegregate. Black students had no schools to attend unless they attended schools outside of the county, which a few did. During the school closure white students attended privately funded schools. The public schools in Prince Edward County were not reopened until 1964. For further discussion, see Titus (2011).

4 On the emergence of phenomenology in social theory in the United States, see Gross (2007).

5 A significant exception is a 1972 article in the Kappa Delta Pi journal *Educational Forum* (Apple, 1972b). The piece draws from his dissertation research and is grounded in Schutz's work.

6 A significant exception is an article published in 1973 in Nobuo Shimahara's edited *Educational Reconstruction: Promise and Challenge*. Even here, however, while Berger and Luckman are drawn upon, the article, which draws on "The Hidden Curriculum," argues for "the utility of accepting, if only partially, a Marxist interpretation of consciousness" (p. 179). The article appears to have been written in between "The Hidden Curriculum" and "The Adequacy." Like "The Hidden Curriculum," it offers a strong critique of the field and ultimately advocates a Marxist approach. Unlike "The Adequacy," it does not begin to show what such an approach might look like.

7 For a discussion of the Socialist Scholars Conference, see Fischer (1971), which includes an essay by Schroyer about Habermas that was initially presented at the fifth annual conference in 1969. Apple met Schroyer while he was taking coursework at the New School.

8 Huebner advocated a Marxist approach in Huebner (1976).

9 Althusser (1970/2001) wrote: "To my knowledge, *no class can hold State power over a long period without at the same time exercising its hegemony over and in the State Ideological Apparatuses*" (p. 98, italics in original). Schools, as an ISA consisting of an "obligatory (and not least, free) audience of the totality of the children in the capitalist social formation, eight hours a day for five or six days out of seven," were thus an especially important site of ideological control to understand (p. 105). Because Althusser argued that there was relative autonomy at the superstructural level, many education scholars initially believed that Althusser's framework offered both a way to better understand the school as a repressive ideological institution as well as the school as a space for potential resistance.

10 For a rich historical discussion of debates in British cultural Marxism about the ideas of Althusser and Gramsci, see Dworkin (1997).

11 In *Ideology*, Apple cites the essay as it appeared in Dale et al. (1976).

12 Apple's essay on Illich was originally published in Nobvo Kenneth Shimahara and Adam Scrupski's edited book *Social Forces and Schooling* in 1975. Like much of Apple's other work during the first half of the 1970s, it draws from Schroyer. There is no discussion of British cultural Marxist scholars in the essay.

13 In the mid-and late 1970s, there was also a movement in Canada toward critical Marxism via British cultural studies. This conversation was centered at the Ontario institute for Studies in Education, with the journal *Curriculum Inquiry* playing a significant role. While Apple was more engaged with British scholarship than Canadian scholarship, as will be discussed briefly in the next chapter, Henry Giroux developed a strong relationship with Canadian scholars such as former *Curriculum Inquiry* editor Roger Simon. For further discussion of the critical turn in Canadian educational scholarship, see Livingstone & Contributors (1987).

14 A note on the bottom of the first page of the article claims that a deeper exploration of its contents will be present in *Ideology and Curriculum*.

15 The one curious claim in the blurb is an overstatement about the centrality of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu in Apple's work. The dust jacket comment appears to be playing to a British audience that was engaged with Bourdieu's ideas.

16 "On Analyzing Hegemony," *Ideology*'s introduction/first chapter was published with the same title, though in abridged form, as the lead article in the first issue of *The Journal of Curriculum Theorizing* (Apple, 1979b). The acknowledgement section for article republication in *Ideology* makes no reference to the piece, which strongly suggests that it was written for the book and later paired down as an article.

17 The one chapter that does not mention Gramsci in the text or in a footnote (though the word *hegemony* is sprinkled throughout) is the chapter co-written with Barry Franklin.

4

CRITICAL PEDAGOGY

Critical pedagogy has a reader (Darder et al., 2008), a primer (Kincheloe, 2008), introductory texts (Wink, 2010), critical overviews (Cho, 2013; McLaren & Kincheloe, 2007), critical interrogations (Leonardo, 2005), and advocates in many of the leading colleges and schools of education across the country. Countless books have critical pedagogy in the title or subtitle, and hundreds of articles in education journals either hammer it with criticism or lavish it with praise. The idea has followers in activist communities, to say nothing of schools, and it even has a punk rock compilation that boasts the name as its title—*Critical Pedagogy*.[1] Practitioners are often called critical pedagogues; that can be either sneering or endearing. There are also subfields of critical pedagogy, such as critical revolutionary pedagogy (e.g. McLaren, 2015; McLaren and Farahmandpur, 2005). In the world of cultural capital, critical pedagogy has currency. If there is one term associated with critical educational scholarship writ large, critical pedagogy is that term.

Critical pedagogy also has a common origin narrative, which is frequently retold by leading critical scholars, including by the term's most prolific user, Henry Giroux. For Giroux, the narrative is deeply personal. In 1983, after a few years of correspondence, Giroux met Paulo Freire.[2] For Giorux, the meeting was especially meaningful because several years prior, while struggling as a teacher in the upper-middle-class suburb of Barrington, Rhode Island, Giroux read *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. The book transformed his thinking about education.[3]

> I was a high school teacher and I found myself in a class trying to do all kinds of innovative things and the vice principal came up and he said I don't want the students sitting in a circle, I want them, you know, in a straight line and blah blah blah, and I didn't have an answer for that. I

> didn't have the theoretical language, and ironically, a week earlier somebody
> had given me a copy of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, and I was so frustrated that
> I went home, read the book. I stayed up all night, got dressed in the
> morning, went to school. I felt my life had literally changed. And it's fair
> to say that certainly Paulo Freire, for me, to talk about the origins of this
> movement in the United States, while you can talk about Dewey and the
> social reconstructionists, who talked about critical democracy and education
> but really did never really talk about critical pedagogy, Paulo's work is
> really the first to mark that moment. The archive really should begin there.
>
> *(Giroux, 2008)*

In Giroux's eyes, Freire is *the* primary influence on both his thinking and the
development of critical educational studies. Freire wrote *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*,
goes the common narrative, and critical pedagogy was born. The narrative is
powerful, as is Freire's work, and it is also grounded in much truth. But the
narrative is also overly simplistic and not altogether accurate.

   This chapter challenges the common narrative of Freire as the originator of
critical pedagogy. Instead, the chapter charts how critical pedagogy gradually
emerged as a specific educational project in Giroux's work in the 1970s and
1980s. A term that Giroux popularized, if not coined, critical pedagogy was
distinct from Freire's critical educational project in two significant ways. First, as
noted in Chapter 1, Freire's approach focused on the role of education in building
social movements in post-colonial contexts. Giroux, however, attempted to
theorize the relationship between schools and society and the possibilities of
schools as sites of radical democratic social reform in Western nation-states.
Second, as also noted in Chapter 1, Freire was politically grounded in Marxist
revolutionary thought. Giroux, however, adopted a distinctly post-Marxist
political position; he was deeply influenced by the radical scholarship of the 1970s
and 1980s that, though retaining Marxist language (e.g. ideology and hegemony),
embraced liberal conceptions of the public sphere, citizenship, and the
nation-state.

   Locating the emergence of critical pedagogy in Giroux's scholarship has
significant implications for how we understand both the history of critical
educational scholarship and our contemporary critical work. Giroux's post-
Marxist position became the norm for critical scholars in the United States.
Though Marxist in intellectual orientation because of the continued grounding
in critical Marxist thought, in the 1980s and 1990s, the politics of critical pedagogy
moved away from the call for radical reconstruction, if not revolution, that
permeated Marxist thought in the 1960s and 1970s. Additionally, during the
1980s and 1990s the social analysis of critical pedagogy moved away from an
engagement with political economy and toward cultural critique and post-
structuralist conversations about power that centered more on discursive
deconstructions than structural interrogations. Acknowledging this historical shift

in educational theory and radical thought more generally is an important step in clarifying our own political positions and our understandings of how context pushes and pulls our thinking about possible and desirable political action. It is also a necessary theoretical move because it forces us to reflect on the intellectual and political traditions, and thus core commitments and ideas, that underpin our critical analytical tools. Marxist thought may be an intellectual and political foundation for critical pedagogy, but it is by no means the only one, and, for work labeled critical pedagogy from the late 1980s to the present, it may not even be the most significant.

From Providence to Boston

Henry Giroux was born in 1943 in Providence, Rhode Island. Raised in the working-class neighborhood of Smith Hill, Giroux's early years were marked by family instability and a desire to escape.[4] Eventually landing a basketball scholarship from Gorham State College in southern Maine, Giroux left Rhode Island, completing degrees in secondary education and history and receiving a teaching certificate. After next completing a master's degree in history at Appalachian State University in Boone, North Carolina in 1968, Giroux moved to the classroom, first in a racially divided small town outside Baltimore, and then to an upper-middle-class high school in Barrington, Rhode Island. In addition to reading Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, while a teacher in Barrington, Giroux attended a social studies conference where he met Edwin "Ted" Fenton. An historian at Carnegie Mellon University, Fenton was a leading figure in the "new social studies" in the 1960s, a movement that followed the post-Sputnik curricular movements in math and science toward discipline-specific, inductive approaches to teaching and learning, including the use of primary source documents in history classrooms (Evans, 2004). Fenton invited Giroux to pursue a doctorate in the history department, and in 1974 Giroux moved to Pittsburgh.

Giroux's work at Carnegie Mellon reflects a deep engagement with social theory. For instance, in 1976 he published three short pieces on alienation, one each for the film quarterlies *Film Criticism* and *Cineaste* and another for the radical art and culture journal *Left Curve*. Furthermore, his dissertation, "Themes In Modern European History: A Study in the Process of History" (Giroux, 1977), demonstrates a strong interest in the work of Marxist theorists such as Erich Fromm, Jurgen Habermas, Louis Althusser, and Herbert Marcuse, all of whom were just beginning to be read by scholars in the United States. However, while his dissertation provides evidence of his future work in social theory, it is notable that his dissertation was a curriculum project, not a theoretical one. Giroux's dissertation presented four curricular units focused on revolutionary moments in 20th-century European history that placed emphasis on teaching historical and critical thinking through writing—two units focused on the Russian Revolution,

and one each focused on the French student revolts of May 1968 and revolts in Hungary in 1956.

The emphasis in Giroux's dissertation on creating curriculum as opposed to more fully engaging in curriculum (or social) theorizing was probably more the result of institutional logic than of intellectual interest. Giroux received a D.A. and not a Ph.D. The Doctorate of Arts degree, which became available at a handful of institutions in the late 1960s, was not intended as a research degree; rather, it was intended to prepare teachers for two- and four-year colleges. The programs were thus highly interdisciplinary, with particular emphasis on teaching, learning, and curriculum. D.A. programs were also designed to be three years in length (White & McBeth, 2003). The D.A. program in the Department of History at Carnegie Mellon was thus designed to prepare college-level history instructors and not scholars. Nonetheless, Giroux went the scholarly route, taking a tenure-track position as an assistant professor in the School of Education at Boston University following completion of his dissertation in 1977.

In Boston, Giroux fully immersed himself in social theory and began positioning critical thinking, which was the conceptual focus of his dissertation, as the centerpiece for a radical theory of education. This focus was most clearly articulated in his article, "Writing and Critical Thinking in Social Studies," which appeared in the winter 1978 issue of *Curriculum Inquiry*, a journal that while published out of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) at the University of Toronto in Canada, was becoming (and remains) one of the central journals in the curriculum field for scholars in the United States. While much of the article continues along the lines of his dissertation in focusing on methods of writing instruction, the middle of the article contains a section entitled "Toward a Pedagogy of Critical Thinking" that frames a broader intervention into the connection between classroom thought, classroom practice, and the social order. In these pages, Giroux offered a critique of positivism through an interrogation of the relationship between theory and facts that would become a foundation for much of his work.

Students, argued Giroux, "need to learn how to be able to move outside of their own frame of reference so that they can question the legitimacy of a given fact, concept, or issue" (Giroux, 1978, p. 299). Furthermore, he contended, marshaling the support of Marxist literary theorist Frederic Jameson, students "have to learn how to perceive the very essence of what they are examining by placing it critically within a system of relationships that give it meaning. In other words, students must be taught to think dialectically rather than in an isolated and compartmentalized fashion" (p. 299). For Giroux, it was important that "contextualization of information" be embedded in a pedagogy that takes seriously the social relationships of the classroom:

> Crucial to the development of progressive classroom social relationships is the opening of channels of communication in which students use the

> linguistic and cultural capital they bring to the classroom. If students are subjected to a language as well as a belief and value setting whose implicit message suggests that they are culturally illiterate, students will learn very little about critical thinking, and a great deal about what Paulo Freire has called the "culture of silence".
>
> *(p. 300)*

The development of a critical theory of education that focused on both the content of education and the process of education would become a hallmark of Giroux's scholarship.

Moving Beyond Freire

As noted in this chapter's introduction, Freire was clearly a central influence on Giroux's early educational scholarship. For instance, though never mentioned by name in his first publication in the field—"Schooling as a Process: The Role of Dialogue in Education,"(Giroux, 1976d) which appeared in the practitioner journal *The Clearing House* in 1976—Giroux's advocacy for seminars that bolster "faculty-administrator relations" that focus on "dialogue, critical consciousness, and humanization," clearly drew from Freire (p. 22).[5] By the late 1970s, however, Freire necessarily receded into the background of Giroux's scholarship.

Giroux's reasons for moving beyond Freire are best articulated in his essay review of Freire's *Pedagogy in Process*, "Paulo Freire's Approach to Radical Educational Reform," which appeared in *Curriculum Inquiry* in 1979. Upon its publication, Giroux's review was arguably the richest engagement with Freire's work yet printed in a major education journal read by scholars in the United States. As Giroux fondly notes, when the editors sent his dense piece to Freire to read prior to publication, Freire responded: "this should have been published the day before yesterday" (Giroux, 2008).

The essay begins with praise. Giroux argued that Freire's approach and ideas can be helpful in thinking about education in "North America," a term he most likely used because *Curriculum Inquiry* was published in Canada. "In essence," Giroux noted, "all pedagogy, according to him, is essentially a political issue and all educational theories are political theories. Inherent in any educational design are value assumptions and choices about the nature of humankind, the use of authority, the value of specific forms of and, finally, a version of what constitutes the good life" (Giroux, 1979, p. 260). Freire's approach, Giroux thus wrote, "can be useful to educators in North America… It not only serves to politicize the notion of schooling, but reveals the normative and ideological underpinnings that exist at the various levels of the classroom encounter" (p. 266).

Giroux, however, also offered a strong critique. The central problem, he noted, is that Freire does not offer a clear conception of ideology, which

accentuates the contextual issues involved with using Freire's post–colonial political project as a lens to think about schooling in the United States:

> For him, the fact of domination in Third World nations, as well as the substantive nature of that domination, is relatively clear. Consequently, his analysis of the sociopolitical conditions of domination are confined to both an acknowledgment and a strong, rhetorical indictment. While such a stance may be justifiable for Third World radicals who need spend little time documenting and exposing the objective conditions of domination for the oppressed, the situation is vastly different in North America. The conditions of domination are not only different in the advanced industrial countries of the West, but they are also much less obvious, and in some cases, one could say more pervasive and powerful… Not only the content and nature of domination need to be documented in this case, but the very fact of domination has to be proven to most Americans. In North America, technology and science have been developed so as to create immeasurably greater conditions for the administration and manipulation of individuals.
>
> *(p. 267)*

For Giroux, this contextual distinction highlighted the need to develop a critical theory of education, a "radical pedagogy," that would specifically address the complex relationship between structure and agency within the United States. Thus, although Giroux shared Freire's critical Marxist impulse, Giroux's project necessitated developing theoretical tools capable of illuminating the context of schooling in the United States. As noted in his essay's conclusion: "It would be misleading as well as dangerous to extend, without qualification, Freire's theory and methods to the industrialized and urbanized societies of the West" (p. 270). Moving beyond Freire was necessary in order to think through the "industrialized" societies of the West, a context in which the 20th-century European critical Marxist tradition, which Giroux was increasingly thinking through, was grounded.

Ideology

In 1981, Giroux published his first book, *Ideology, Culture and the Process of Schooling,* which included a republication of his review of *Pedagogy In Process.* In the book's introduction, which only offers passing mention of Freire, Giroux stated his project: "At the core of this project is an attempt to lay bare the ideological and political character of the dominant rationality on which the basic premises of the educational field have been developed, particularly in the sociology of education and curriculum studies" (Giroux, 1981a, p. 7). These basic premises, Giroux argued, are characterized by a "culture of positivism" that "cannot reflect upon meaning and value, or, for that matter, upon anything that

cannot be verified in the empirical tradition. Since there is no room for human vision in this perspective, historical consciousness is stripped of its critical function and progress is limited to terms acceptable to the *status quo*" (p. 46).

Unfortunately, contended Giroux, the culture of positivism had not been sufficiently engaged by radical educational theory: "content-focused radicals," whose reproduction theory focused on how the content of school knowledge legitimized the existing social order, and "strategy-based radicals," whose interpretive focus was on the process of the "development of 'healthy', non-alienating classroom social relationships," (Giroux, 1981a, pp. 63–64) had not been able to mediate the relationship between schooling and the culture of positivism because they were equally trapped in a "mechanical relationship between content and process" (p. 67). Of "reproductive rationality," Giroux noted, in clear reference to Bowles and Gintis's correspondence theory, the deficiencies include "its one-sided determinism, its simplistic view of the mechanisms of social and cultural reproduction in schools, its ahistorical view of human agency and, finally, its profoundly anti-utopian stance toward radical social change" (p. 14). Of scholars engaged in an "interpretive rationality," Giroux noted that they have "ignored the structural landscape against which meanings were formed, negotiated, or sustained… and questions concerning power, ideology, and the ethical nature of the existing society disappeared in a metaphysical mist fuelled by a rather naïve optimism in the power of consciousness to change social reality" (p. 13). The task of *Ideology* was thus to "lay the theoretical groundwork for developing a radical pedagogy that connects critical theory with the need for social action in the interest of both individual freedom and social reconstruction" (pp. 7–8).

Ideology is a wide-ranging exploration of the connections between critical theory, education, and social reconstruction that reads as a collection of essays (which it is) rather than a clearly threaded book. However, while not fully developing a cohesive radical theory of education, *Ideology*'s exploration of the limits of reproductive and interpretive theories forcefully positioned Giroux's critical project on the landscape of radical educational theory. Giroux was clearly attempting to take the lead in developing a new approach.

Furthermore, in addition to simply calling for a new radical theory, Giroux offered conceptual direction for the development of a nontechnocratic radical theory of education. Specifically, Giroux argued that the most important tasks for a new radical educational theory were developing a rich conceptualization of ideology that would help radical educational theorists think through the complex relationship between structure and agency in schooling, and sophisticated conceptions of hegemony and culture that would enable radical educational theory to explore how and where opposition to the dominant order could emerge. "In order to move beyond the false notion that schools are merely sites that impose dominant hegemonic meanings and values upon relatively passive students and teachers," argued Giroux,

a notion of ideology has to be developed that provides an analysis of how schools sustain and produce ideologies as well as how individuals and groups in concrete relationships negotiate, resist, or accept them. This means analyzing the way in which domination is concealed at the institutional level. It suggests looking at the way a dominant ideology is inscribed in (1) the form and content of classroom material; (2) the organization of the school; (3) the daily classroom social relationships; (4) the principles that structure the selection and organization of the curriculum; (5) the attitudes of the school staff; and (6) the discourse and practices of even those who appear to have penetrated its logic. This points to two different but related ideological elements. The first is situated in the relationship of schools to the state and other powerful institutions in the process of social control and class domination. The second exists in the practice and consciousness of individuals and social groups who produce and experience their relationships to the world in structures that are only partly of their making.

(Giroux, 1981a, p. 22)

For Giroux, the deep complexity of how ideas, values, and beliefs are embedded within "powerful institutions" and the "practice and consciousness of individuals and social groups" required an additional theoretical lens that cultivated a richer understanding of the means of ideological control, something Giroux contended reproduction theorists such as Bowles and Gintis and Althusser failed to investigate adequately. Instead, Giroux turned to Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci's conception of hegemony, a turn already made by many in the British sociology of education, whom Giroux was reading, and Michael Apple, whom Giroux, interestingly, rarely engaged. In Giroux's interpretation, Gramsci conceived of hegemony in two ways, both of which were necessary frames for considering how ideology plays out in schooling. "First, it refers to a process within civil society whereby a fundamental class exercises control through its moral and intellectual leadership over allied classes." And, second "hegemony refers to the successful attempt of a dominant class to utilize its control over the resources of state and civil society, particularly through the use of the mass media and the educational system, to establish its view of the world as all inclusive and universal" (Giroux, 1981a, p. 23).

Armed with a rich view of ideology and a robust conception of hegemony, Giroux, following the work of British cultural Marxist scholars such as Raymond Williams and Stuart Hall, argued that radical educational theorists must also develop a more nuanced sense of culture. This nuanced conception saw "cultures" instead of a singular culture to allow for the articulation of "not only the experiences and practices that are distinctive to a specific group or class, but also to link those experiences in both their transformative and passive relationships to the power exercised by the dominant class and the structural field over which the

latter exercise control" (Giroux, 1981a, pp. 27–28). There was always contestation, struggle, and negotiation, including in the cultural sphere. Thus, argued Giroux, a radical pedagogy needs to take seriously how the cultures of students and schools, which are always engaged in a process of formation, negotiation, and struggle, interact and are mediated by broader institutional power relations. It is here, in the school itself, in the lives of students and teachers, and the dialectic of structure and agency, where counter-hegemonic activity will emerge.

> The conditions for a new mode of pedagogy as well as a more humane society begin when we as educators can reveal how the self-constituting nature of individuals and classes is not something that can be subsumed within the rationality that legitimizes the existing society. For at the heart of praxis is that first moment when the human subject truly believes that he or she can begin to make history.
>
> *(p. 32)*

Resistance is not futile. The seeds of it, argued Giroux, reside in the contradictions embedded within the social order and thus in the cultural contestation and struggle that already brews within schools. The task of radical pedagogy is to undertake the difficult task of theorizing the relationship between structure and agency so that existing micro struggles can be harnessed into mass social struggle.

Backlash

Ideology, Culture and the Process of Schooling placed Giroux alongside Michael Apple as the preeminent critical Marxist voice within the field. "The value of the nature of Marxian analysis," wrote Giroux in *Ideology*, "is that it starts from the assumption that men and women are unfree in both objective and subjective terms, and that reality must not only be questioned but that its contradictions must be traced to the source and transformed through praxis" (Giroux, 1981a, p. 17).

Notably, even scholars outside of the field of education recognized this critical turn. In 1982, for instance, both Apple and Giroux published essays in the fifth issue of the new critical theory journal *Social Text*. This marked the first time since the 1972 publication of essays by Marvin Lazerson and David Cohen, and Joel Spring in the left theoretical journal *Socialist Revolution* that radical scholarship from within the field received prominent display in the radical academic journals that over the course of the 1970s and early 1980s became the backbone of the Academic Left. Situating the critical Marxist work of Apple and Giroux within a broader theoretical and political response to the neoconservative counterrevolution of the 1970s and the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980, *Social Text*'s editors noted that Giroux and Apple's work "aims at clarifying the political stake of the struggle over education, a struggle that ultimately involves the learning process itself and the capacity for a critical understanding of the social conditions of

experience" (The Editors, 1982, p. 86).[6] The critical turn was in full swing, not only in the field of education but within the academy writ large. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, scholars in a range of fields were engaging the work of critical Marxist thinkers in an attempt to theorize opposition to the neoconservative onslaught.

The increased production of critical Marxist work in the field, however, was not always met with favorable attention. Giroux, in particular, received a great deal of pushback, especially within the field. Many found his work to be incomprehensible gibberish, which seemed to be the position of Philip Jackson, who in 1983 got into a heated argument with Giroux at a conference in San Francisco (Connelly, 1984). Others believed Giroux's work was too divorced from the everyday experience of schooling. This was the position of Linda McNeil, who's strong critique of Giroux in *Curriculum Inquiry* in 1981 argued that Giroux needed to spend more time in schools in order to understand the detailed complexity of radical engagement, which she charged Giroux of masking in, ironically, too deterministic a model of ideology and too vague of language about emancipation.[7]

Outside of the field, the greatest pushback came from notoriously problematic Boston University President John Silber, who was not a fan of Giroux's politics.[8] In 1983, despite a unanimous recommendation for tenure at all levels and unwavering support from his dean, Silber put together an ad hoc review committee to decide Giroux's fate. With the blessing of neoconservative education scholars Nathan Glazer and Chester Finn, who served on the new committee, Silber declined Giroux's tenure. Silber, however, was kind enough to offer a compromise. As noted by Giroux, "Once the reviews came back, I had a meeting with Silber. He made the following offer to me: If I didn't publish or write anything for two years and studied the history of logic and science with him personally as my tutor he would maintain my current salary and I could be reconsidered for tenure" (Giroux, 1997a, p. 132). Giroux declined Silber's offer and took a faculty position at Miami University in Ohio, where he was granted tenure and stayed until 1992.[9]

Thus, while Giroux and other critical educational scholars were increasingly pushing out their work, it was a push that required considerable effort. Finding a publisher for books in the United States, for instance, proved particularly difficult. Apple published his first three books—*Ideology and Curriculum* (1979), *Education and Power* (1982) and *Teachers & Texts* (1986), and an edited volume of essays, *Cultural and Economic Reproduction in Education* (1982)—with the British press Routledge. A second edited volume of Apple's, *Ideology & Practice in Schooling* (1983), which was coedited with Lois Weiss, was published by Temple University Press, which published Giroux's *Ideology* only after Giroux could not find another academic publisher. Instead of turning to Routledge, Temple, or Falmer, which published *Ideology* in Britain, for his second book Giroux turned to the small (and relatively radical) academic press Bergin & Garvey. In 1983, he also began

co-editing, with Freire, a book series in Critical Studies in Education with Bergin & Garvey that was intended to offer a space for the publication of critical educational scholarship in the United States, a task it carried out successfully for nearly two decades (Giroux, 2008). In 1988, for instance, the series published Kathleen Weiler's widely read *Women Teaching For Change,* one of the earliest feminist engagements with critical educational theory. And as noted in Chapter 1, the series also published three books that helped push Freire into the educational spotlight in the United States: *The Politics of Education* (with an introduction by Giroux) in 1985, which republished his *Harvard Educational Review* essays from 1970; *A Pedagogy of Liberation* (a dialogue with Ira Shor) in 1986; and, *Literacy: Reading The World and The World* (a dialogue with Donaldo Macedo) in 1987. Not only is it likely that the publication of these works introduced a generation of U.S. education scholars to Freire's work, but it is also likely that the subsequent engagement with Freire's ideas led to the publication and mass marketing of a 20th anniversary edition of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, published in 1990 by Continuum, that was newly translated to "reflect the interrelationship of liberation and inclusive language."[10]

Theory and Resistance

On the back of the paperback edition of Giroux's second book, *Theory and Resistance in Education: A Pedagogy for the Opposition,* which was published in 1983, appears the praise of Jonathan Kozol: "Perhaps the most important book (and the most regenerating to the pedagogic struggle) that I've read since 1975. Even the most complex sections glint and gleam with brilliance."[11] Though the ideas and arguments presented in *Theory and Resistance* are similar to those expressed in *Ideology*, the book offers a cleaner, more structured presentation of Giroux's critique of the reductionist and functionalist tendencies of social and cultural reproduction theory and a more fleshed out theory of resistance. *Theory and Resistance* also includes a rich theoretical discussion of cultural struggle that demonstrates Giroux's increased engagement with British cultural Marxism's conception of culture as emergent from human experience within concrete material conditions. As Giroux comments near the end of his chapter "Ideology, Culture, & Schooling": "In the Gramscian sense, culture becomes the raw material for either domination or liberation, while ideology is seen as the active processes human subjects exercise in producing, mediating, and resisting the moral, political, and intellectual leadership that characterize the interests of the dominant classes" (Giroux, 1983b, p. 164).

In addition to subtle refinement of ideas, *Theory and Resistance* introduces Giroux's engagement with the liberal language of citizenship education and the liberal conception of the public sphere. In the fifth chapter "Critical Theory & Rationality in Citizenship Education," for instance, Giroux argues for the adoption of an ancient Greek conception of citizenship education as the

cultivation of an "ongoing quest for freedom," that "was always something to be created… that informed the relationship between the individual and society," and "was based on a continuing struggle for a more just and decent political community" (Giroux, 1983b, p. 168). This conceptualization, which he argued ought to replace the technocratic rationality dominant within schooling, is meant to help students "display civic courage, i.e., the willingness to act as if they were living in a democratic society" (p. 201). Specifically, continued Giroux, this means that students should: (1) be active participants in the learning process, (2) be "taught to think critically," (3) develop reasoning that helps them "appropriate their own histories, i.e., to delve into their own biographies and systems of meaning," (4) "learn not only how to clarify values," but also "learn why certain values are indispensible to the reproduction of human life," and (5) "learn about the structural and ideological forces that influence their lives" (pp. 202–203).

This move towards viewing citizenship education as a way to push the system from within the system heightened the need for a belief in a space where grievances, dialogue, and social change can occur without radical reconstruction. Enter the liberal conception of the public sphere:

> radical pedagogy needs a discourse that illuminates the ideological and material conditions necessary to promote critical modes of schooling and alternative modes of education for the working class and other groups that bear the brunt of political and economic oppression. The starting point for such a discourse, I believe, centers around the notion of the public sphere and the implications this has for radical pedagogy and political struggle both within and outside schools.
>
> *(Giroux, 1983b, p. 235)*

Turning to Jurgen Habermas, Giroux argued for the realization of the ideal of the public sphere as "a set of practices, institutions, and values" that provide "a mediating space between the state and private existence" that is "rooted in an interest aimed at promoting emancipatory processes through collective self-reflection and discourse" (Giroux, 1983b, p. 236). Giroux argued that teachers and other radical educators should work to realize the school as a public sphere by establishing "organic connections with those excluded majorities who inhabit the neighborhoods, towns, and cities in which schools are located," and by getting "working-class people, minorities of color, and women actively involved in the shaping of school policies and experiences" (pp. 237–238).

Significantly, the move to a language of citizenship, an advocacy of the liberal public sphere, and a heightened focus on cultural struggle signaled Giroux's increasingly tense relationship with Marxism. While Giroux was continuing to write from within the critical Marxist tradition, he was moving further away from the concrete economic analysis that was the hallmark of Marxian thought. In fact, Giroux began more frequently to refer to such economic analysis with

disdain, often characterizing it as stultifying orthodoxy. Instead of emphasizing class struggle, Giroux increasingly portrayed resistance as emerging in predominantly cultural and political struggle—a struggle to get one's grievances against the social order heard within an imperfect but necessary liberal public sphere, a potentially radical democratic space where ideas and inequities can be discoursed about, negotiated, and ultimately eliminated through democratic political means.

The turn to an increasingly strident critique of Marxist orthodoxy from a position within the Marxist tradition was not a move unique to Giroux. Like many scholars engaged in the newly emerging field of cultural studies, especially in its British variant, this move towards a post-Marxist position was becoming common among democratic socialists who wanted to harness the collective strength of "the new social movements" (ones focused on race, gender, ecology, etc. in addition to class) in a pushback against the ascendancy of Thatcherism and Reaganism (Epstein, 1991). As most famously articulated by political theorists Ernesto Laclau and Chantel Mouffe (1985) in their classic *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*:

> The task of the Left therefore cannot be to renounce liberal-democratic ideology, but on the contrary, to deepen and expand it in the direction of a radical and plural democracy… It is not the abandonment of the democratic terrain, but on the contrary, in the extension of the field of democratic struggles to the whole of civil society and the state, that the possibility resides for a hegemonic strategy of the Left… The fundamental obstacle in this task is the one to which we have been drawing attention from the beginning of this book: essentialist apriorism, the conviction that the social is sutured at some point, from which it is possible to fix the meaning of any event independently of any articulatory practice.
>
> *(p. 176)*

While remaining grounded in critical Marxist theory, and especially interpretations of the writings of Antonio Gramsci (though often with a poststructuralist spin that engaged the language of discourse as much as ideology), the post-Marxist position argued against the centrality of class struggle, economic analysis, and revolutionary theorizing dominant in Marxist theory, instead arguing for an emphasis on cultural struggle and radical reform of the liberal-nation-state.[12]

Of great significance for Giroux, his mentor and friend Stanley Aronowitz was also pushing against a perceived orthodoxy in Marxist theory. In fact, Aronowitz began his push in the mid- and late 1960s.[13] As discussed in Chapter 2, it was at that time that socialist scholars involved with journals such as *Studies on the Left*, of which Aronowitz became a co-editor in 1964, and later *Telos*, *Theory and Society*, and *Social Text*, which Aronowitz co-founded in the late 1970s, turned to the critical Marxist tradition in order to curb what was viewed as a reductionist

and crude materialism originating in the Second International and the revolutionary theory of Lenin. In 1981, the same year as the publication of Giroux's *Ideology*, Aronowitz published his own book, *The Crisis in Historical Materialism,* spelling out his grievances. "U.S. Marxists," argued Aronowitz,

> have almost universally contented themselves with showing the economic roots of hegemonic ideologies and practices. In this country, the intellectual division of labor runs as follows: intellectual historians provide interesting summaries and commentaries of European work that insists upon the importance of culture, philosophy, and education. On the other side, Marxism has its own technical intelligentsia: those writers who apply "orthodox" Marxist economic models to a wide variety of issues including mass media, the labor movement, economic crisis, war, sexism and racism, showing how ideology is a form of mystification concealing class interests, how the coming crisis will manifest itself, how the workers' struggles will respond to the inevitable breakdown of capitalism.
>
> *(Aronowitz, 1981, p. xx)*

While a sprawling rant, Aronowitz's book is a learned sprawl that is both unwaveringly committed to socialism and the Marxist intellectual tradition and deeply upset with the state of Marxist theory and its failure to move past an economic reductionism. As Aronowitz noted in an etching displayed in the lower right hand of the title page of Part One: "Theorists have interpreted Marxism in various ways; the point, however, is to change it" (Aronowitz, 1981). As was the case with other emerging post-Marxist work, Aronowitz was committed to replacing a Marxist economism focused on class struggle with a rearticluation of Gramsci's conception of hegemony that would mobilize the "new movements of liberation" by centering counter-hegemonic activity on the cultural terrain (pp. 123–126).

Aronowitz's intellectual influence on Giroux (1981a, n.p.) was "enormous."[14] As Giroux wrote in *Theory & Resistance*: "My attempt to reintroduce the positive dimension of ideology into the discourse of educational theorizing takes its cue from Gramsci and Aronowitz. Both point out that ideologies mobilize human subjects as well as create the 'terrain on which men move and acquire consciousness of their position'" (Giroux, 1983b, p. 67). *Theory and Resistance* was in fact part of a book series on "Critical Perspectives on Social Theory" that Aronowitz edited with Roslyn Bologh. Aronowitz also wrote the introduction to *Ideology*, and, in 1985, with the publication of *Education Under Siege*, became Giroux's co-author.

While not yet fully realized until Giroux's work in the late 1980s, the seeds of a distinctly post-Marxist position are in *Theory and Resistance*, which also locates "essentialist apriorism" in an orthodox Marxist economism. Just as British cultural Marxists, Laclau and Mouffe, and Aronowitz turned to a rearticulation of Gramsci's Marxism in order to theorize how the "new social movements" could

engage in counter-hegemonic activity, Giroux turned to Gramsci's Marxism in order to theorize how groups subordinated and oppressed within schools in the United States could engage counter-hegemonic activity.

Education Under Siege

While his first two books rigorously worked through theoretical concerns, with the exception of his discussion about citizenship education and the public sphere at the end of *Theory and Resistance*, Giroux's early work was short on concrete advocacy. This changed with the publication of *Education Under Siege: The Conservative, Liberal and Radical Debate Over Schooling*, which he co-authored with Aronowitz. With *Education Under Siege*, Giroux and Aronowitz hoped to move beyond liberal and radical critiques of schooling, which Giroux's previous work had interrogated in depth. Instead, they sought to move toward a concrete contribution to educational reform by presenting a framework for thinking about public education as a public sphere, a framework that they hoped would help push back against a vibrant neoconservatism. "As has been the case with most public issues in American society," wrote Aronowitz and Giroux, "the conservatives have seized the initiative and put liberals and progressives on the defensive" (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985, p. 1). Thus, they noted:

> if we are going to face the task of developing the ideological and material conditions from which radical educators can rethink the project of schooling and human emancipation, then surely we cannot accept either the near hysterical description of education as providing human capital to commerce or socialization models that speak to the limited task of transmitting dominant culture to succeeding generations. If we want a creative citizenry that is capable of constituting itself as a democratic public sphere, then curriculum and school organizations must address the imaginary, and refrain from finding techniques to displace it by fear to the prevailing order. Of course, we do not expect this hope to become a majority movement in the near future. There are political and cultural limits to such aspirations. But this book may stimulate some who would organize a social movement in schools and outside them to restore education to an honorable and autonomous place in our culture. To these educators, parents, students and citizens we address ourselves.
>
> *(p. 20)*

The post-Marxist tone is clear. Struggle must occur discursively, with intent to reform, not radically reconstruct the nation-state.

In addition to Gramsci, whose ideas about intellectuals were becoming increasingly influential on Giroux, a notable move is Aronowitz and Giroux's engagement with John Dewey, whose work, up to this point, had been thoroughly

pushed aside by critical educational theorists, including Giroux. Dewey, after all, was a classic figure in the American liberal political canon. After favorably comparing Dewey with Gramsci, and then, briefly, Freire, Aronowitz and Giroux explained the interest in Dewey:

> We are not claiming that Dewey is a revolutionary thinker in the socialist or Marxist sense. But the penchant of radical and humanist thinkers to ignore his contribution, or worse, to dismiss his work as idealist, utopian, reactionary, etc. is informed by the profound pessimism to which critical educational scholarship has descended.
>
> *(Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985, p. 12)*

It was this pessimism that resulted in the debilitation that Aronowitz and Giroux were pushing against. In Dewey, whose work championed a conception of the public sphere, Aronowitz and Giroux found an ally, one who could help bridge the conversation between a Marxist critical theory and liberal educational reform and thus create conversations among progressives (socialist and liberal) in the field. As Giroux continued to develop a post-Marxist position in the mid- and late 1980s, he would further draw on Dewey and other liberal educational thinkers.

   With Dewey at their side, in addition to Gramsci, Freire, Habermas (whose work was increasingly embracing liberalism), and occasionally French philosopher Michel Foucault (whose thoughts about power and discursive constructions were beginning to make a strong impression on Giroux), Aronowitz and Giroux continued to argue forcefully against Marxist orthodoxies and advocate for schools as significant sites of social struggle.

> In our view, curriculum can no longer be considered of secondary interest. It must become the center of what schools are about, which in the insights provided by Gramsci, Dewey, and Freire point to schools as public spheres dedicated to forms of learning that promote critical citizenship, civic courage, and training of organic intellectuals, and sites for learning about the principles of critical literacy and democracy.
>
> *(Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985, p. 216)*

It is here, in the conclusion to *Education to Under Siege*, that the language of critical pedagogy emerges as a signifier of Giroux's critical educational approach.

> A critical pedagogy, then, would focus on the study of curriculum not merely as a matter of self-cultivation or the mimicry of specific forms of language and knowledge. On the contrary, it would stress forms of learning and knowledge aimed at providing a critical understanding of how social reality works, it would focus on how certain dimensions of such a reality

are sustained, it would focus on the nature of its formative processes, and it would also focus on how those aspects of it that are related to the logic of domination can be changed.

(Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985, p. 216)

Critical pedagogy was taking shape, and it was taking shape as a distinctly post–Marxist project. This was not the work of Paulo Freire, and certainly not of the Freire of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, which, as discussed in the first chapter, was grounded in critical Marxist thought and advocated revolutionary Marxist politics.

Conclusion

Though Giroux began using the term "critical pedagogy" prior to the publication of *Education Under Siege*—with the first citation perhaps being in his 1980 *Curriculum Inquiry* article "Critical Theory and Rationality in Citizenship Education," which was republished in *Theory and Resistance*—it is in the mid- and late 1980s that he begins to use the term frequently to signify the new radical educational theory that he began developing in the late 1970s. Critical pedagogy appears in the subtitle of his fourth book *Schooling and the Struggle for Public Life: Critical Pedagogy in the Modern Age*, which was published in 1988, the subtitle of his collection of essays *Teachers as Intellectuals: Toward a Critical Pedagogy of Learning*, also published in 1988, and in the title of *Critical Pedagogy, the State, and Cultural Struggle*, a 1989 volume Giroux edited with Peter McLaren, who became Giroux's colleague at Miami University in the mid-1980s.

Instead of radical pedagogy, a term largely associated with the economic reductionism that he critiqued, Giroux sought to develop a critical pedagogy, an approach to education that, on the one hand, rooted itself in the critical Marxist tradition's conception of the power of human agency and in its theoretical analysis of ideology and culture, and on the other hand, embraced, counter to the position of many in the Marxist tradition, the possibility of social reform and the realization of democratic socialism through complete engagement with the liberal public sphere and thus the institutions, including the modes of production, of the liberal nation-state. For Giroux, critical pedagogy was not a project committed to revolutionary Marxism, an intellectual and political tradition that deeply influenced Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*; rather, critical pedagogy was a project committed to socialism through radical reform.

While it is unclear who coined the term critical pedagogy, it seems uncontroversial to claim that Giroux was one of the first in the field to intentionally use it to describe a specific critical educational approach. He was also, by far, the most prolific of the term's expounders. As demonstrated by a close look at the history of its use in journal articles (something a simple JSTOR search reveals),

Giroux's work is the catalyst for the wave of conversations about critical pedagogy that began in the field in the United States at the tail end of the 1980s. And even when not used by Giroux, those who use the term are in conversation with Giroux, including scholars elsewhere, such as Canada. For instance, in 1982, *Curriculum Inquiry*, which first published the term critical pedagogy in Giroux's article "Critical Theory and Rationality in Citizenship Education" in 1980, printed an announcement by then editor Roger Simon (1982) of a "newly formed Workgroup on Critical Pedagogy and Cultural Studies" (p. 121) at OISE. Giroux participated in those conversations, and some of the workgroup's papers were later published in an edited book that was published in Giroux's series for Bergin & Garvey (Livingstone, 1987).[15]

Regardless of who first used the term, however, what is most important, at least in terms of understanding historical context, is that both Giroux and Canadian scholars such as Simon used the term critical pedagogy as their eyes were also turned to the cultural studies scholarship emerging out of the Birmingham Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies in Britain. In other words, the critical educational projects at OISE and in Giroux's scholarship were similarly influenced by conversations about Gramsci and cultural struggle among British cultural Marxists in the late 1970s and 1980s, and especially the British Marxist journal *New Left Review* and its publishing arm Verso, which published Mouffe and Laclau's *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*. Thus, critical pedagogy, as an educational project, should be historically located within the late 1970s and 1980s conversations about political and cultural struggle that were occurring within radical circles in Britain, Canada, and the United States, to say nothing of other parts of Western Europe and Australia and New Zealand.

Locating the history of critical pedagogy in Giroux's scholarship, and by extension in a particular post-Marxist intellectual and political milieu, is a helpful step in untangling critical educational approaches, particularly those connected to critical pedagogy. For instance, though Peter McLaren, Giroux's former colleague at Miami University as well as former co-author, continues to label his work "critical pedagogy," McLaren's work (e.g. McLaren, 1999, 2005, 2015) is much more revolutionary in tone and advocacy than Giroux's work ever was. In fact, the dissimilarity between McLaren's work since the late 1990s and Giroux's foundational work in the 1980s is more striking than the similarities. This is not to suggest that early Giroux is more "critical pedagogy" than the later McLaren, but it does suggest that a close reading of texts is necessary if those who advocate critical pedagogy, or any critical position, seek to move toward specificity of meaning and advocacy. Critical pedagogy is indeed everywhere, but if we do not engage in close conversations about ideas, ultimately, critical pedagogy, of any variety, will not lead us anywhere. The question, perhaps, is thus: What do you mean when you say "critical pedagogy?"

Notes

1 The punk rock compilation album is *Critical Pedagogy*, which was released on Six Weeks Records in 2000. It is a compilation of bands in which at least one member is a teacher. Not a particularly good listen. Sheer novelty.

2 In an interview conducted by Joe Kincheloe in 2007, Giroux notes that Freire came to his house in Boston the year he was denied tenure at Boston University. Kincheloe says that was in 1983 but Giroux corrects him and says it was actually 1981. Giroux was in fact denied tenure in 1983 (which is discussed later). Further, Giroux states that he remembers the meeting vividly because he was 40, which Freire said to him was the same age he was when he went into exile. Giroux was born in 1943, which again puts the year at 1983 and not 1981. Further still, Giroux says that at that meeting he, Freire, and Donaldo Macedo, then one of Giroux's students, started a book series with Bergin & Garvey. That book series, Critical Studies in Education, which was edited by Giroux and Freire, published its first book in 1985, which seems to suggest that the series was launched in 1983 and not 1981. Finally, Freire did visit Boston in the summer of 1983; he gave a series of lectures at Boston College and also met with scholars in the area, including Kathleen Weiler (1983), then a graduate student working with Giroux at Boston University. Ultimately, the exact date of their meeting is not very important. Yet, what this and other date disparities in this interview and others (as well as his own biographical comments in his books) suggest is that simply reading a history of Giroux's work through his interviews is problematic. The interview was conducted as part of the inauguration of the Paulo and Nita Freire International Project For Critical Pedagogy, which was officially launched in 2008 at McGill University in Montreal by Joe Kincheloe and Shirley Steinberg.

3 It is unclear in what year Giroux read *Pedagogy*; however, the edition of *Pedagogy* that Giroux cites in his early writings was published in 1973.

4 As noted above, Giroux is not always consistent with dates and events. This makes it difficult to piece together a narrative. The biographical information presented in this paragraph is culled from Giroux (1996) and Giroux (1997a).

5 There are actually no references in the article, to Freire or anyone else.

6 Interestingly, Giroux's essay for *Social Text* was a significantly revised and expanded version of the introduction to *Ideology*; the revised version was more pointed in its advocacy of developing a theory of resistance.

7 Giroux has a reply that follows McNeil's critique. McNeil's responds to Giroux's reply in the winter 1981 issue of *Curriculum Inquiry*.

8 For commentary on Silber's issues at Boston University, see Arons (1980).

9 In addition to Giroux (1997a), for discussion of Giroux's failed tenure bid see Michael Connelly's editorial in the Spring 1984 issue of *Curriculum Inquiry* and replies by Michael Canale, Roger Simon and Giroux in the Summer 1984 issue. Also see commentary in Jacoby (1997, pp. 136–137).

10 Comments about gender-inclusive language are on the back of the paperback edition.

11 While Bowles and Gintis's *Schooling in Capitalist America* was published in 1976, it is quite possible that Kozol read a copy of the manuscript in 1975; based upon its significance, it seems that *Schooling* is the book Kozol is referring to.

12 The post–Marxist position is most often associated with the work of Laclau and Mouffe (e.g. 1985). For a discussion that centers Laclau and Mouffe in a narrative about the

history of post-Marxist thought, see Sim (2001). Also see, Therborn (2008) and Breckman (2013).

13 For biographical information on Aronowitz, see the preface of Aronowitz (2000).

14 Strangely, in his interview with Kincheloe, which is over 30 minutes long, Giroux (2008) never discusses the influence of Aronowitz on his thinking.

15 Giroux (2008) does note in his interview with Kincheloe that Roger Simon and others at OISE were using the term, but he says that he cannot remember who used it first. Interestingly, Simon (1984) notes in his review of *Theory & Resistance* for *Educational Theory* that: "Throughout my review, I will consistently use the phrase 'critical pedagogy' where Giroux uses the phrase 'radical pedagogy.' This is not arbitrary on my part. The adjective 'critical' does not mean simply to criticize, nor does it imply only the uncovering of the fundamental bases of knowledge and society. Rather, in the tradition of which Giroux writes, it implies an act of simultaneous negation and transcendence. This is the moving spirit behind Giroux's work" (p. 379). Simon's comments are particularly interesting in that his review neglects to mention that Giroux uses the term "critical pedagogy" occasionally throughout the text, including in the title to its second section "Resistance and Critical Pedagogy." The review, however, indicates that Simon was forcefully putting the term on the table to describe a critical theory of education, and, perhaps, at this moment, more forcefully than Giroux.

5

SITUATED KNOWLEDGE AND FEMINIST STANDPOINT EPISTEMOLOGY

In 1988, partially in response to a campus-wide effort to improve tense race relations, University of Wisconsin-Madison professor Elizabeth Ellsworth taught a course in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction entitled "Media and Anti-Racist Pedagogies." The course, which was grounded in the literature on critical pedagogy, did not go well.

In order to reflect on the class, Ellsworth wrote the essay "Why Doesn't this Feel Empowering? Working through the Repressive Myths of Critical Pedagogy," which was published in *Harvard Educational Review* (*HER*) in 1989. In the article, Ellsworth argued that "key assumptions, goals, and pedagogical practices fundamental to the literature on critical pedagogy—namely, 'empowerment,' 'student voice,' 'dialogue,' and even the term 'critical'—are repressive myths that perpetuate domination" (p. 298). More specifically, she claimed that "when participants in our class attempted to put into practice prescriptions offered in the literature concerning empowerment, student voice, and dialogue, we produced results that were not only unhelpful, but actually exacerbated the very conditions we were trying to work against, including Eurocentrism, racism, sexism, classism, and 'banking education'" (p. 298). The essay received a wave of criticism, including from Henry Giroux.

Ellsworth, however, was not alone in her thinking. In the late 1980s, a range of feminist scholars began challenging critical pedagogy and related ideas in critical educational scholarship. In addition to Ellsworth's essay, which is one of the most cited pieces of educational scholarship of the period, many of these publications became classics, including: Kathleen Weiler's *Women Teaching for Change* (1988); Deborah Britzman's *Practice Makes Practice* (1991); Patti Lather's *Getting Smart* (1991); and Carmen Luke and Jennifer Gore's edited *Feminisms and Critical Pedagogy* (1992). This was a significant moment for feminist thought in the field.

Although there had been prominent feminist educational scholars, such as Maxine Greene, as Ellen Lagemann (2000) and others have shown, the field of education had long been the domain of male academics. Prior to a shift in the gendered power dynamics in the field in the late 1980s and 1990s—a moment in which women began to assume more leadership positions, ranging from journal editorships to deanships to top positions in the American Educational Research Association—feminist thought was at the periphery of scholarly conversation.[1] The critical turn described in this book was no exception. Largely a turn made by male scholars who neither centered the experiences of women nor engaged feminist scholarship, it was the work of handful of women scholars, such as Jean Anyon (1984) in the United States and British scholars Rosemary Deem (1978), Sandra Acker (1981), and Madeleine Arnot (1982), who raised questions in the early critical scholarly community about gender and patriarchy. It was not until the late 1980s and early 1990s that these and other feminist voices became more central in critical educational scholarship.[2]

With the rise to prominence of feminist voices in the field—a rise that was mirrored in other fields and disciplines throughout the academy—also came the increased use of the theoretical tools of feminist inquiry, which feminist academics had been sharpening since Second Wave feminist thought found intellectual space in the academy in the late 1960s and 1970s (Howe, 1982). By the mid-1980s, feminist scholars had produced a broad literature of ideas that was radically reshaping scholarship throughout the humanities and social sciences. Notably, at this time, regardless of the field or discipline of inquiry, or the intellectual and political traditions engaged, because of a similar focus within most traditions of feminist theory of knowledge as situated—e.g. that knowledge emerges from the particular lives and experiences of women—it is not surprising that many feminist scholars found an intellectual ally, if not an epistemic home, in the postmodernist and poststructuralist thought developed by French thinkers in the 1960s and 1970s. As Linda Nicholson noted of this move in feminist thought to postmodern ideas in the introduction to her widely read 1990 edited book *Feminism/ Postmodernism*:

> Within the last decade, there have emerged even more radical arguments against claims of objectivity in the academy which have been tied to broad analyses of the limitations of modern Western scholarship. The proponents of such analyses, linked under the label of 'postmodernists,' have argued that the academy's ideal of a 'God's eye view' must be situated within the context of modernity, a period whose organizing principles they claim are on the decline.
>
> *(p. 3)*

The critique of the "God's eye view" was central to most post-1960s feminist thought, and a feeling of the inability of modernist structures, ideas, and systems

to address social inequality was not at all uncommon for many radicals in the heart of the Reagan/Bush years, a moment that certainly tested one's faith in modernist appeals to reason and coherence. Rupture and fragmentation, if not all out disconnection and dislocation from any semblance of an ordered social order, was part of the intellectual fabric of this historical moment. Postmodernism was a condition of the age as much as it was a specific intellectual current (Jameson, 1992; Rodgers, 2011). The idea of situated knowledge fit seamlessly with this new focus on the particular and local.

While scholars in the field of education, such as Wendy Kohli and Nicholas Burbules (2012), have alerted us to some of the core issues in the move to postmodernist and poststructuralist feminist thought in the field in the 1980s and 1990s, as of yet these issues have not received sustained historical inquiry.[3] Thus, although Dennis Carlson humorously, and pointedly, argued in a 1998 article that he wants everyone to move on from "Lather's critique of Giroux's critique of Ellsworth's critique of Giroux," this chapter suggests that it might be worth sitting just a little longer with Ellsworth's ideas and the debate about them that ensued (Carlson, p. 552).

In education, it is the work of feminist scholars, such as Ellsworth, who pushed the postmodern critique of meta-narratives and Enlightenment universals and the poststructuralist deconstruction of language and identity into the field. The history of the initial wave of scholarship by Ellsworth and her contemporaries is thus of fundamental importance to understand. In addition to narrating a significant moment in the history of critical educational scholarship, this chapter also seeks to understand how ideas about situated knowledge and the related notion of feminist standpoint, which were central to the development of feminist theory in the late 1980s and 1990s, were and continue to be particularly powerful in shaping critical scholarship, especially scholarship on teaching and research methodology that illuminates the problems and possibilities of the role of the teacher and researcher in movements for radical social change.

Postmodernism, Poststructuralism and Feminist Thought

As participants in the New Left and Civil Rights Movement moved into the academy in the late 1960s and 1970s, the academic infrastructure, particularly in the humanities and social sciences, began to reshape. In addition to an emergence of Marxist thought, a process briefly described in Chapter 2, old disciplinary lines began to blur as new interdisciplinary programs and departments, many of which focused on group identity, began to develop new academic fields of study. Central to this academic restructuring was the creation of Black studies programs, beginning in 1968, which were the direct result of widespread student, faculty, and community protest and demand for curriculum that spoke specifically to the history, experiences, and concerns of the Black community (Biondi, 2012; Rojas, 2007). As will be discussed in the next chapter, Black studies and other ethnic

studies programs became the driving force for centering race and ethnicity in scholarly conversions, including, in the 1990s, in the field of education.

Similar in their calls for curriculum relevant to their history, experiences, and concerns, women, mostly white, led the charge for the creation of women's studies programs, with the first taking shape at San Diego State College (now San Diego State University) in 1970. By 1977, when the National Women's Studies Association formed, there were 276 women's studies programs in the United States (Howe, 1982), as well as a range of new academic journals to support the development of feminist thought, including: *Feminist Studies* (started in 1972); *Women's Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* (started in 1972); *Women's Studies Quarterly* (started in 1973); *Frontiers: A Journal of Women's Studies* (started in 1975); and, *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* (started in 1975).[4]

It is difficult to overstate the significance of the emergence of women's studies. The academic infrastructure—such as new journals, conferences, books, and even the physical spaces of department, program, and center offices on individual college and university campuses—that developed in, around, and because of women's studies programs fundamentally changed the academy and especially scholarship in the humanities and social sciences, from history to psychology to sociology to literature. By the mid-1980s, feminist theorists had produced a body of work that, as Seyla Benhabib and Drucilla Cornell noted in the introduction to their 1987 edited book *Feminism as Critique*, deconstructed the "Western intellectual tradition" and "uncovered the gender blindness as well as the gender biases of this heritage." Now, Benhabib and Cornell argued, began a time of "reconstruction" in which "feminist theorists asked how the shift in perspective from men's to women's points of view might alter the fundamental categories, methodology and self-understanding of Western science and theory" (p. 1). It is this moment of "reconstruction" in the late 1980s in which feminist theory began to take center stage in the field of education.[5]

The postmodernist and poststructuralist ideas that began to catch on in the United States in the late 1970s and 1980s were a formative influence on this reconstruction. Developed among French thinkers (almost exclusively male) in the 1960s and 1970s, the work of scholars such as Roland Barthes, Jean Baudrillard, Jacques Derrida, Giles Deleuze, Michel Foucault, Felix Guattari, Luce Irigaray, Julia Kristeva, Jean-Francois Lyotard, to name only a few, was not anywhere near uniform.[6] However, despite the lack of cohesion as a school of thought, in the United States the labels "postmodernism" and "poststructuralism" stuck as a way to name these theorists' general call to rupture grand narratives, focus on the local and particular, illuminate contingency, deconstruct discourse, and inquire into identity.

In particular, many feminist scholars identified in postmodernism and poststructuralism concepts and language to challenge the idea of a universal rational knowing subject that exists outside of social and political context, discursive regimes of power, and without gendered, raced, and classed identity.

Objectivity, and a critique of the human sciences and traditional research methods, was thus a focal point. However, because of the fluid boundaries of postmodernism and poststructuralism, it is important to note that feminists (and others) who labeled their work postmodernist and poststructuralist claimed varying epistemic stances vis-à-vis the degree to which the knower can know the to-be-known. There was (and still is) great diversity in feminist thought. Thus, although the slippery slope of relativism was often invoked against 'post' positions (e.g. in education by Rikowski and McLaren, 2002), in actuality, relativism was rarely advocated. This was not a question of where one sits in a false binary of objective and subjective; rather, the question was about the ways, especially in education, teachers and researchers acknowledge and develop an understanding (a consciousness) of their own subjectivity that enables them to see how their position in webs of power has direct implications for coming to know, understand, and engage the social world.

In addition to varying epistemic stances, the move towards situated knowledge, and ultimately to a feminist standpoint epistemology that conferred epistemic privilege on those from nondominant social positions, was made by scholars who identified with a range of political traditions. In fact, feminist standpoint theory itself emerged in the work of scholars such as Dorothy Smith (e.g. 1974, 1987, 1990), Nancy Hartsock (1983, 1998), Sandra Harding (e.g. 1986, 1991, 1993), and Patricia Hill Collins (1986, 1990) as a move within the critical Marxist tradition and not from within postmodern thought—instead of the proletariat being uniquely positioned to lead the revolution because of the insight derived from their oppressed status vis-à-vis capitalist control of the means of production, feminist standpoint shifted the line of reasoning to the idea that women have a social location that offers unique insight into the dominant structures and ideologies that govern patriarchy.[7] Thus, in education, scholars, such as Patti Lather (1991) drew from Harding yet simultaneously aligned with postmodernism and poststructuralism and pushed forcefully against a class-centered Marxist analysis. From another angle, scholars such as Kathleen Weiler (1988, 1991) challenged the male-centered narrative of Marxism using poststructuralist tools yet retained a socialist feminist position that pushed against postmodernism.

The reason these seemingly contradictory moves made sense is that the feminist focus on situated knowledge combined with its push against the class-centered focus of the Marxist tradition was consistent with the general postmodernist push against meta-narratives and the idea of a universal knowing subject. Thus, though many feminist standpoint theorists outside of education, such as Nancy Hartsock (1989–1990), strongly cautioned against postmodernism because of a fear that too much focus on the local and contingent would lead to depoliticization, conversations in the field of education (and elsewhere) about situated knowledge and standpoint were often couched or positioned as postmodern and/or poststructural even if the scholar was more grounded in, if not a clear advocate of, a different tradition, such as socialist feminism. This

context is critical to consider when thinking through the emergence of poststructuralist feminist scholarship in education, including Ellsworth's (1989) critique of critical pedagogy, which simultaneously argued for deconstruction and (arguably) a modernist conception of political action.

Ellsworth and the Teacher as Intellectual

In the mid-1980s, the term "critical pedagogy" rapidly spread throughout the field of education. Though the term would soon be used to describe almost any idea taking a 'critical' educational lens, until the early and mid-1990s, almost all work described as critical pedagogy either directly built off of or critiqued Henry Giroux's conceptualization. Of the ideas connected to Giroux's thinking, one that gained particularly widespread attention was the teacher as intellectual, which was most fully theorized in his 1985 book *Education Under Siege*, which he co-authored with Stanley Aronowitz. In their book, Giroux and Aronowitz argued that teachers should be viewed as potential "transformative intellectuals," meaning that teachers should consciously and systematically engage students in their classrooms in dialogue about knowledge construction and power relations with the object of having students actively push against injustice in the social order (pp. 36–37). The idea proved powerful for critical educational readers, many of whom began adopting the terminology of teachers as intellectuals, especially after Giroux titled a 1988 collection of essays *Teachers as Intellectuals: Toward a Critical Pedagogy of Learning*.

In the 1970s and 1980s, Antonio Gramsci's (1971) conception of the intellectual gained traction among radicals from a variety of fields, disciplines, and movements thinking through the role of leadership in social struggle.[8] Particularly attractive about Gramsci's ideas was his argument that intellectuals emerge organically from all social groups in order to serve the interests of their respective social group. This approach varied significantly from the dominant conception of the intellectual as an independent, elite, and somewhat detached thinker sitting on a perch overlooking and critically analyzing the social order. For Aronowitz and Giroux, Gramsci's conceptualization led them to consider teachers as a type of social group from which intellectuals could organically emerge. The call for the teacher as transformative intellectual was thus a call for the emergence of radical teachers who would take up leadership in radical schooling movements that serve the interests of their social group, which is understood to include students, their communities, and others connected to schools.

Among anarchists, libertarian-communists, and others on the left opposed to vanguardism there has always been suspicion of the idea of the intellectual, however theorized, because of the privileged positioning inherent in the concept. Furthermore, and significant for postmodern critiques, the concept of the intellectual, even in its most favorable light, speaks to a modernist knowing subject who has special insight on the social order that legitimizes their ability to

lead a movement of or for the oppressed;[9] it was thus a natural target for postmodernists, or any school of thought that was critical of modernist constructions of the knowing subject, especially knowing subjects in positions of power.[10] Unsurprisingly, feminist scholars, many of whom participated in radical egalitarian political movements, were also deeply suspicious of hierarchy, especially when it came to male leadership, and were thus also critical of the idea of the teacher as transformative intellectual.

In 1989, such criticism of the idea of the intellectual came to a head in the field of education when Elizabeth Ellsworth, then an assistant professor in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, published her critique of critical pedagogy in *HER*. As Ellsworth explained in her article, in January 1988 she "facilitated a special topics course at UW-Madison called 'Media and Anti-Racist Pedagogies,'" which was partly offered as a response to increased visibility of racism on campus during the 1987–88 academic year. Active in campus politics, she designed the course so that it would "not only work to clarify the structures of institutional racism underlying university practices and its culture in spring 1988, but that it would also use that understanding to plan and carry out a political intervention within that formation" (p. 299). In order to frame this explicitly political course she turned to the literature on critical pedagogy, which she had previously engaged in courses she had taught on media studies. As she noted of this critical pedagogy framework:

> Its critique was launched from the position of the "radical" educator who recognizes and helps students to recognize and name injustice, who empowers students to act against their own and others' oppressions (including oppressive school structures), who criticizes and transforms her or his own understanding in response to the understandings of students. The goal of critical pedagogy was a critical democracy, individual freedom, social justice, and social change—a revitalized public sphere characterized by citizens capable of confronting public issues critically through ongoing forms of public debate and social action. Students would be empowered by social identities that affirmed their race, class, and gender positions, and provided the basis for moral deliberation and social action.
>
> *(p. 300)*

Ellsworth's explication of critical pedagogy meshed seamlessly with the work of Giroux, who is frequently cited in the article.

In using critical pedagogy as a framework for her course, however, Ellsworth encountered several problems. Foremost was the role of the critical pedagogue (or in Giroux's terms, the teacher as transformative intellectual), whom she saw theoretically constructed (in problematically abstract terms) as an authoritarian, detached, and rational arbiter of dialogue and empowerment in the classroom/

public sphere. "By prescribing moral deliberation, engagement in the full range of views present, and critical reflection," wrote Ellsworth, "the literature on critical pedagogy implies that students and teachers can and should engage each other in the classroom as fully rational subjects" (p. 301). This, she contended, is not possible: "Rational argument has operated in ways that set up as its opposite an irrational Other, which has been understood historically as the province of women and other exotic Others" (p. 301). And further, "In schools, rational deliberation, reflection, and consideration of all viewpoints has become a vehicle for regulating conflict and the power to speak" (pp. 301–302). Not everyone in the conversation starts on equal footing, Ellsworth argued, with socially and historically privileged subjects retaining privileged positions in the conversation and thus the right to define rational and irrational argument. Dialogue is thus inherently problematic: "The injustice of these relations and the way in which those injustices distort communication cannot be overcome in a classroom, no matter how committed the teacher and students are to "overcoming conditions that perpetuate suffering" (p. 316).

Furthermore, compounding the fact that the possibility of empowerment and dialogue in a classroom that privileges a universalized conception of reason is a "repressive myth" is the fact that the conceptualization of the role of the teacher in critical pedagogy is itself part of the problem. This is because critical pedagogy gives "emancipatory authority" to the teacher—the teacher is arbiter of empowerment and dialogue. Ellsworth referred to this as a logical contortion:

> [I]t implies the presence of or potential for an emancipated teacher. Indeed it asserts that teachers [quoting Giroux and McLaren] "can link knowledge to power by bringing to light and teaching the subjugated histories, experiences, stories, and accounts of those who suffer and struggle." Yet, I cannot unproblematically bring subjugated knowledges to light when I am not free of my own learned racism, fat oppression, classism, ableism, or sexism. No teacher is free of these learned and internalized oppressions. Nor are accounts of one group's suffering and struggle immune from reproducing narratives oppressive to another's—the racism of the Women's Movement in the United States is one example.
>
> *(pp. 307–308)*

In short, critical pedagogy does not theorize a self-reflective teacher as intellectual, one that unpacks his or her own assumptions and recognizes their own subjectivity. Instead, the teacher is viewed as a voice without self-interest who is committed to "ending the student's oppression" (p. 309). As Ellsworth noted, work on critical pedagogy

> offers no sustained attempt to problematize this stance and confront the likelihood that the professor brings to social movements (including critical

pedagogy) interests of her or his own race, class, ethnicity, gender, and other positions… Critical pedagogues are always implicated in the very structures they are trying to change.

(pp. 309–310)

Honestly putting subjectivity on the table means that teachers themselves must acknowledge that their narratives are always partial and socially situated—one's standpoint, critical pedagogue or not, allows for only partial understandings of the social world. The voice of the teacher must thus be made problematic because the teacher's voice holds implications for other social movements and their struggles for self-definition (p. 306).

  Yet, even "more frightening" for Ellsworth than acknowledging that knowledge is always partial and thus aspects of the social world will always be unknown or unknowable, were the

> social, political, and educational projects that predicate and legitimate their actions on the kind of knowing that underlies current definitions of critical pedagogy. In this sense, current understandings and uses of "critical," "empowerment," "student voice," and "dialogue" are only surface manifestations of deeper contradictions involving pedagogies, both traditional and critical. The kind of knowing I am referring to is that in which objects, nature, and "Others" are seen to be known or ultimately knowable, in the sense of being "defined, delineated, captured, understood, explained, and diagnosed" at a level of determination never accorded to the "knower" herself or himself.
>
> *(pp. 320–321)*

Instead of liberating, because of its lack of self-reflexivity and acknowledgement of the socio-historical subjectivity of the teacher, critical pedagogy was ultimately repressive. As Ellsworth wrote in her final paragraph:

> Right now, the classroom practice that seems most capable of accomplishing this is one that facilitates a kind of communication across differences that is best represented by this statement: "If you can talk to me in ways that show you understand that your knowledge of me, the world, and 'the Right thing to do' will always be partial, interested, and potentially oppressive to others, and if I can do the same, then we can work together on shaping and reshaping alliances for constructing circumstances in which students of difference can thrive."
>
> *(p. 324)*

Without recognition and self-reflection on the situated nature of knowledge, there can be no progressive social change. Ellsworth's critique was scathing.

The Response to Ellsworth

In its August 1990 issue, *HER* published four long replies to Ellsworth's essay. While each of the responses engaged significant issues, none of them were particularly responsive to Ellsworth's central claims. In fact, all of them could be read as reactionary and dismissive. For instance, William Tierney (1990) quoted Giroux's conception of the transformative intellectual at length and restated its significance yet never engaged Ellsworth's specific critique of Giroux. Instead, Tierney simply brushed her off, claiming, with no analysis, that her critique of an authoritarian teacher is contradictory because she is speaking as an authoritarian scholar (p. 391). Furthermore, he ridiculed her for comments about the significance of teachers and students getting to know one another in a social setting, such as "potlucks and field trips," by asserting that while they may be "welcome" he is "hard-pressed to think of empowerment in terms of baked goods" (p. 392).

In another critique, Guy Senese (1990) was particularly troubled by the "growing alliance between poststructuralist and feminist theory." In opposition, he quoted feminist political theorist Seyla Benhabib, a strong critic of what she saw as postmodernism's tendency towards depoliticization; this was a nice scholarly move. However, Senese did not complete the move by fleshing-out his counter-critique. Furthermore, though he offered some solid ideas about how in order to understand racism as a social structure and expose and disarm racism in rigorous public argument we need "the tools of reason, logic, and discipline," he concluded the essay, and thus undercut his arguments, by mocking Ellsworth's critique. "I must ask Ellsworth what characteristics of marginalization or oppression give one's voice authenticity or the problems she discusses? I suppose Ellsworth would say I'm the wrong person to speak on this issue. It's true, I'm White. But I think that's cancelled out, because I'm fat" (p. 390).

In the third reply, June Romeo (1990) stated that Ellsworth's essay is "based upon false assumptions, is theoretically misguided, and systematically misrepresents the positions of critical theorists…and reads as a refusal to deal with the complexity of the work in any informed way" (p. 392). She concluded that Ellsworth "comes across as a teacher who decided to try out critical pedagogy in a new course and, when it didn't work as expected, instead of reflecting on her own practice, immediately blamed the theory" (p. 393). Romeo made many strong claims, but never responded directly to any of Ellsworth's arguments.

The final reply, by Barry Kanpol (1990), was by far the most thoughtful and came the closest to engaging Ellsworth's ideas. Kanpol discussed the possibility of the concept of intersubjectivity and what that might afford conversations around issues of sameness and difference. Unfortunately, Kanpol, like Ellsworth's other critics, also undercut his reply, in his case by saying that Ellsworth lacks "*theoretical sensitivity* to possibilities of 'similarities in differences'" (p. 395; italics in original). The comment reads as yet another instance of mocking.

In the same issue of *HER*, Ellsworth (1990) responded to her critics. "Taken together," noted Ellsworth in her introductory remarks, "the letters published here in response to my article… share a narrow interpretation and limited engagement with the questions and dilemmas that so many other readers of the article have found worthy of serious and extended conversation" (p. 396). After addressing Kanpol, who seemed most willing to engage her in conversation, she continued by addressing some of her other critics bigger claims:

> In light of the interpretive framework constructed in "Why Doesn't This Feel Empowering?", a convincing defense of critical pedagogy cannot simply assert that by "explaining" the world and "criticizing" it, critical theorists "empower" audiences to overthrow "it" [the world?] (Tierney); nor that it is through the "tools of reason, logic, and discipline" that racist minds are "disarmed" (Senese); nor that dialogue is possible and liberating (Hart Romeo); nor that oppression is oppression and critical theory recognizes the struggles of "the oppressed against the oppressor" (Hart Romeo); nor that ethnography is a method of research compatible with the goals of critical pedagogy because it gives subjects/students voices (Tierny, Hart Romeo). Rather, the argument put forth… calls upon those who would defend critical pedagogy to respond to the current theoretical and political challenges raised against discourses of "liberation," "emancipation," and "rationalism," not simply to reproduce those discourses in the assertions quoted above.
>
> *(p. 397)*

Ellsworth then spent the next several pages skillfully refuting the arguments one by one. The conversation was now over in *HER*.

Interestingly, Giroux responded to Ellsworth's essay before it even appeared in *HER*. Buried in an article he published in the *Journal of Education* in early 1989, Giroux (1988a) responded to Ellsworth's presentation of a paper (with the same title as the *HER* article) presented at the annual curriculum theory Bergamo Conference in late October 1988.[11] After initiating his discussion with Ellsworth on a substantive disagreement over the degree to which difference is or is not antagonistic, he launched into a long critique of Ellsworth that concluded by calling her arguments careerism.

> Moreover, Ellsworth's attempt to delegitimate the work of other critical educators by claiming rather self-righteously the primacy and singularity of her own ideological reading of what constitutes a political project appears to ignore both the multiplicity of contexts and projects that characterize critical educational work and the tension that haunts all forms of teacher authority, a tension marked by the potential contradiction between being theoretically or ideologically correct and pedagogically wrong. By ignoring the dynamics

of such a tension and the variety of struggles being waged under historically specific educational conditions, she degrades the rich complexity of theoretical and pedagogical processes that characterize the diverse discourses in the field of critical pedagogy. In doing so, she succumbs to the familiar academic strategy of dismissing others through the use of strawman tactics and excessive simplifications which undermine not only the strengths of her own work, but also the very nature of social criticism itself. This is "theorizing" as a form of "bad faith," a discourse imbued with the type of careerism that has become all too characteristic of many left academics.

(Giroux, 1988a, pp. 177–178)

Ironically, Giroux's smug and dismissive remarks nicely illustrated Ellsworth's point about the critical pedagogue's inability and general unwillingness to be a self-reflexive knowing subject. It is also probably fair to say that the remarks of a senior male scholar about things being too complex for the female junior scholar to understand smacks of patriarchy.

Notably, Giroux was not averse to postmodernism. In fact, his post-Marxist sensibility, described in the previous chapter, led him to increasingly play with and often embrace postmodern ideas, including the need to recognize a complex array of narratives, experiences, and contexts. As evidenced in his long introduction to his 1991 edited book *Postmodernism, Feminism, and Cultural Politics: Redrawing Educational Boundaries*, Giroux saw value in engaging postmodern feminist work to help develop a more robust theorization of critical pedagogy. What Giroux seemed resistant to was not postmodernism, per say, but rather that *his* idea that the teacher as the agent of social change required further interrogation. Giroux was unwilling to relinquish his "God's eye view."[12]

Patti Lather (1992), who was one of the first scholars in the field to engage poststructuralist thought, fired back at Giroux, as well as Peter McLaren, who offered his own critique of Ellsworth. Before launching into her counter-critique, she reestablished the central role of Ellsworth's critique of the idea of teacher as intellectual:

Shifting from textual practices to her positioning of the realms of pedagogy as a powerful site for liberatory intervention, Ellsworth's work displaces the totalizing desire to establish foundations with a move toward self-critique. This move is premised on her acknowledgement of the profound challenge that poststructural theories of language and subjectivity offer to our capacity to know the "real" via the meditations of critical pedagogy. Primary in this move is her decentering of the "transformative intellectual" (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985) as the origin of what can be known and done. To multiply the ways in which we can interrupt the relations of dominance requires deconstructing such vanguardism.

(Lather, 1992, p. 127)

Then, after offering some of the details of McLaren and Giroux's short critique, Lather turned to Giroux's charge of careerism:

> In regards to Giroux's pronouncements about the effects of her self-reflexive decentering, I read his statements about "careerism" and the undermining of "the very nature of social criticism itself"… as ironically repositioning himself and the other (largely male) architects of critical pedagogy at the center of her discourse. She is reduced to the "Young Turk", the "daughter" out to displace her fathers. Disrupting any notion of a privileged, unproblematic position from which to speak, she seems to have unleashed, "the virulence and the power invested in logocentric thought" (Grosz, 1989, p. 34).
>
> *(p. 128)*

Lather did not think much of Giroux's criticism. As she noted toward the end of her essay, capturing the essence of the postmodern critique of intellectuals:

> This postmodern re-positioning of critical intellectuals has to do with struggling to decolonize the space of academic discourse that is accessed by our politics of difference. Such a politics recognizes the paradox, complexity and complicity at work in our efforts to understand and change the world. Hence, perhaps the subtext of what Foucault (1980) and Lyotard (1984) are saying about the end of the great metanarratives of emancipation and enlightenment is that *who speaks* is more important that *what is said* (Said, 1986, p. 152, original emphasis). Their pronouncements may have more to do with the end of some speaking for others than the end of liberatory struggle.
>
> *(p. 132)*

For Lather, the idea of the teacher as transformative intellectual was replete with problems.

Weiler's Critique of Freire

Within two years of Ellsworth's article a floodgate of feminist criticism of critical pedagogy emerged, including Carmen Luke and Jennifer Gore's (1992) edited *Feminism and Critical Pedagogy*, which offered ten different critiques of critical pedagogy, each grounded in "poststructural feminist standpoints" (Luke & Gore, 1992, p. 9), including Ellsworth's *HER* article and Lather's defense. The book also included a foreword by Maxine Greene: "This book is a sign of something happening, something that has never happened in this manner before" (Greene, 1993, p. xi). Feminist scholarship had finally made its move in the field.

Although Henry Giroux (as well as, increasingly, Peter McLaren) was on the receiving end of much of the rapidly emerging feminist critique of critical pedagogy, some began directing their attention at Paulo Freire, whose scholarship, as discussed in the first chapter, was just beginning to be widely engaged in the field in the late 1980s. Of these critiques, one of the most important was by Kathleen Weiler.

Weiler first met Paulo Freire in the summer of 1983. At the time, she was a doctoral student at Boston University, working with Henry Giroux, and an editor of the longstanding *The Journal of Education*, which was housed at the university. In an editorial introduction to a special issue on "Literacy and Ideology", which included work Freire presented over the summer, Weiler (1983) praised his "warmth and humanity" as well as the "power of his analysis and the depth of his knowledge" (p. 1). A few years later, in 1988, Weiler published her first book *Women Teaching for Change* in Giroux and Friere's Critical Studies in Education Series for Bergin & Garvey. The book, which was the first book-length attempt to combine critical educational theory with feminist theory from a socialist feminist standpoint, offers additional praise of Freire, especially his ideas about the need for teacher reflexivity (p. 18). Weiler clearly had tremendous respect for Freire, both as a person and as a scholar. Nonetheless, her critique "Freire and a Feminist Pedagogy of Difference," which was published in *HER* in 1991, was relentless.

 "We are living in a period of profound challenges to traditional Western epistemology and political theory," began Weiler (p. 449). "In education," she later continued, "these profound shifts are evident at two levels: first, at the level of practice, as excluded and formerly silenced groups challenge dominant approaches to learning and to definitions of knowledge; and second, at the level of theory, as modernist claims to universal truth are called into question" (p. 450).

Central to Weiler's critique of Freire and liberatory pedagogy more generally, was the role and authority of the teacher. In a vein similar to Ellsworth, Weiler faulted Freire with failing to "address the various forms of power held by teachers depending on their race, gender, and the historical and institutional settings in which they work." For Freire, Weiler says these issues are supposedly "transparent," while in feminist pedagogy, she argued, in "actual practice… the central issues of difference, positionality, and the need to recognize the implications of subjectivity or identity for teachers and students have become central" (p. 460). Freirean pedagogy was not self-reflexive. Again following in a similar vein to Ellsworth, Weiler argued that the individual as subject is not "fixed in a static social structure, but constantly being created, actively creating the self, and struggling for new ways of being in the world through new forms of discourse or new forms of social relationships." This "calls for a recognition of the positionality of each person in any discussion of what can be known from experience" (p. 467). Weiler concluded:

> Both Freirean and feminist pedagogies are based on political commitment and identification with subordinate and oppressed groups; both seek justice and empowerment. Freire sets out these goals of liberation and social and political transformation as universal claims, without exploring his own privileged position or existing conflicts among oppressed groups themselves. Writing from within a tradition of Western modernism, his theory rests on a belief of transcendent and universal truth. But feminist theory influenced by postmodernist thought and by the writings of women of color challenges the underlying assumptions of these universal claims. Feminist theorists in particular argue that it is essential to recognize, as Juliet Mitchell comments, that we cannot "live as human subjects without in some sense taking on history." The recognition of our own histories means the necessity of articulating our own subjectivities and our own interests as we try to interpret and critique the social world. This stance rejects the universalizing tendency of much "malestream" thought, and insists on recognizing the power and privilege of who we are.
>
> *(p. 469)*

Though not embracing a poststructural feminist position, Weiler clearly embraced the postmodern challenge to the modernist claims underpinning critical educational scholarship. Her trenchant critique may still be the strongest and most important ever published of Freire's work.

Feminist Standpoint Theory, Discourse, and Educational Research

Although not focused on educational research, Weiler's (1991) critique of Freire hints at the ways in which the idea of situated knowledge was influencing thinking about the role of the researcher in addition to the role of the teacher. Drawing on the work of Audre Lorde and other Black feminists (who deeply influenced white feminist thought of the period), Weiler made the case for the centrality of experience in knowledge production. "But in a stance similar to that of Lorde in her use of the erotic," Weiler noted, after discussing Lorde's ideas about how the erotic and feelings connect to power and knowledge, "feminist teachers have explored the ways in which women have experienced the material world through their bodies. This self-examination of lived experience is then used as a source of knowledge that can illuminate the social processes and ideology that shape us" (p. 466). Weiler's repositioning of experience as something to draw from and not something to hide was in step with a wave of methodological critique of social science research that was starting to hit the academy *en force* in the early 1990s.

The mid-20th century witnessed what may be described as a gradual shift from thinking of empirical scientific/social scientific knowledge as resting on a firm

foundation (foundationalism), to thinking of all knowledge as tentative and fallible (nonfoundationalism). In the first instance (positivism), knowledge is viewed as created without a theoretical lens (it is strictly what can be observed and measured), created under conditions that purge all influence of value and social context, and aims to discover what might be characterized as a capital T "Truth" that enables us to predict/know the (observable) natural/social world. In the second instance (postpositivism), knowledge creation is viewed as a social practice (one that takes place within a community of scientists/social scientists), is consciously theory-laden, engages questions about the degree to which value and social contexts do and perhaps should influence inquiry, and aims to warrant lower-case "t" truth-claims.[13] By the late 1980s, the postpositivist position was being openly embraced by scholars claiming the stance of critical social science. Notably, however, in the years that followed, critical social science, feminist standpoint epistemology, and other radical currents in social science research would be viewed as critical of the postpositivist position because, while acknowledging that research is theory and value-laden, the postpositivist position was not inherently political—it was not a research stance that intentionally positioned research as a tool for liberation and emancipation from oppressive social relations.

In education, the work of poststructuralist feminist scholars was central to the emergence of placing the experience of the researcher in the forefront of the research process and moving the field toward thinking in terms of standpoint. Of the texts that launched the initial poststructuralist push, none had more influence than Patti Lather's 1991 book *Getting Smart: Feminist Research and Pedagogy with/in the Postmodern*.

In *Getting Smart*, Lather claimed a postpositivist position; however, in anticipating, as noted above, a critical stance as pushing postpositivism, she also claimed the stance of critical social science and the belief that the "human sciences" should "move us toward ways of knowing which interrupt relations of dominance and subordination" (p. xvii). The book is a thick discussion of postmodernism, poststructuralism, feminism, Marxism, and the ways in which research can be oppressive and/or emancipatory. Throughout, Lather kept a foot in critical Marxist discourse (e.g. an advocacy of praxis, dialectical thinking, and an analysis of ideology) while at the same time engaging in poststructural analysis *of* discourse and the ways discourse constructs power relations. The work thus represents a merging of intellectual traditions that were at this time beginning to remake the tent of critical theory, which had moved from a mostly critical Marxist position in the late 1970s and early 1980s to one that by the mid-1990s encompassed a great variety of radical intellectual and political positions (Popkewitz & Fendler, 1999).

Lather's work also represents one of the first in the field to deeply engage debates in feminist philosophy of science and social science about standpoint theories. As she noted in her chapter on feminist research methodologies—echoing the work of feminist standpoint theorists, and Sandra Harding in

particular, who she discussed at length—"The overt ideological goal of feminist research in the human sciences is to correct both the *invisibility* and *distortion* of female experience in ways relevant to ending women's unequal social position" (p. 71; italics original). If research is to be a tool of liberation, Lather argued, a feminist standpoint, which means acknowledging and drawing from experience, is essential.

Over the next several years, conversations about feminist standpoint and the situatedness of knowledge would increase and become central in both feminist analyses of educational research as well as within qualitative research communities in education more generally. Sandra Harding's (1991, 1993) idea of "strong objectivity," for instance, became an especially powerful idea for researchers from and/or working with marginalized and oppressed communities. From Harding's perspective, one's standpoint did not weaken objectivity by introducing bias; rather, it made objectivity stronger by bringing experience, history, and values to the situated (and always normative) process of knowledge production and consumption. "Strong objectivity" thus became a way for radical researchers to engage critical questions about who is participating in the research process, from question generation to dissemination and the implications of inclusion and exclusion from participation in every step of the research process. As Harding (1991) asked in the title of one of her books: *Whose Science? Whose Knowledge?*[14]

In addition to the general methodological question of standpoint, educational researchers also began to use poststructuralist ideas, particularly about discourse, to make meaning of their subject of inquiry. For instance, Bronwyn Davies and Chas Banks (1992) drew upon poststructuralist ideas to study the way dominant gender discourses shaped children's thinking about gender. Alison Jones (1993) drew upon poststructuralist ideas about discourse in order to talk "about the complexities and contradictions in understanding girls' schooling" (p. 157). Alison Lee (1994) drew upon poststructuralist ideas in order to think through the experience of girls in geography classrooms, from textbook to the space itself, and to show how the classroom functions "to position these girls as marginal to the curriculum project of constructing a 'proper' geographical knowledge" (p. 25). And, Deborah Britzman (1995b), in reflection of the research and writing process that produced her widely read book *Practice Makes Practice*, took a poststructuralist approach to analyzing the discursive construction of ethnography, as "both a process and a product" (p. 229). Of note, all of these examples are from scholars outside of the United States; this was very much an international turn.[15]

Connected, postmodernist and poststructuralist critique also radically altered how scholars in education thought about gender and sexuality, pushing for more nuanced and fluid understandings that saw both as social constructs that are enacted, performed, and produced in our institutions (such as schools), activities, and discourse. A special issue of *HER* in Summer 1996, for instance, on "Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender People in Education," would have been unthinkable a few years prior. The articles in the issue, just a handful of 124

submissions, demonstrated the range of ways that scholars in the field were drawn to postmodernist and poststructuralist ideas to interrogate gender and sexuality in schools and society. By the late 1990s and early 2000s the study of gender and sexuality, and the use of the tools of postmodernism and poststructuralism to interrogate them, had become commonplace.[16]

Conclusion

Postmodernist and poststructuralist feminists in the late 1980s and 1990s raised powerful questions for the field, especially about the role of the teacher and the researcher in social change. While Giroux's conception of the teacher as transformative intellectual located the teacher at the center of social change, Ellsworth's critique countered the foundational assumptions of this position by arguing that we must destabilize our conceptualization of a universal, transcendent knowing subject, including, and especially, the privileged positioning of the teacher as intellectual. How to understand the social situatedness of the knower is a central issue in radical educational theory, and radical political theory more broadly—the degree to which the knower can know the to-be-known (e.g. injustice in the social word, the experience(s) of individuals and communities) has significant implications for how we theorize and engage social change. In effect, it calls into question the limits of leadership, if not calling into question the concept itself. Nearly 30 years after Ellsworth's article, these issues continue to demand our attention.

Similarly, the critique of the independent knowing subject by feminist theorists led to radical shifts in thinking about research and particularly the role of the researcher in inquiry. Pushing against both positivist and postpositivist ideas about the degree to which one's situatedness in the social order is and should be part of the research process, feminist scholars, such as Patti Lather, raised critical questions about situated knowledge and standpoint, as well as the politics of research, that also continue to demand our attention.

The turn to postmodernism and poststructuralism, however, also raised questions about the degree to which one can adopt the position of situated knowledge and still advocate for political movements, such as the struggle against capitalism, that necessitate recognition and engagement with meta-narratives. At the time, these questions led many socialist feminist scholars to seriously question the political viability of the new postmodern turn.

One of the leading critics in education was Jean Anyon (1994), who after writing formative pieces in critical educational theory in the late 1970s and early 1980s took a leave from publishing "due to single parenthood and university administrative duties" (p. 116). Anyon returned to the field in 1990, and what she saw made her deeply concerned. Marxist conversations had turned stale and the new postmodernist and poststructuralist conversations, while engaging and vibrant on many fronts, were ultimately too abstracted from reality. For Anyon,

the primary question was: "What makes a theory useful?" As she further explained in her critique of postmodernism: "By 'useful' I intend that such theory would make usable recommendations to those who work for a more humanitarian, more equitable society, and consequently, this theory will have a progressive effect on society itself" (p. 117). In many respects, she argued (somewhat cynically), that because of its abstractness and focus on discourse and not material life, postmodernist and poststructuralist theory "serves primarily the interests of those who produce it" (p. 129). This, she claimed, is not useful—such theory does not identify "direct actions" or lead to "successful political activity" (p. 129). Though in her later work Anyon (2009) noted that she eventually found value in the work of Foucault and others who reside under the banner of postmodernism and poststructuralism, she continued to believe that the problems she raised in 1994 remained central to conversations in critical educational theory in the present.[17]

The turn to postmodernism and poststructuralism, particularly in feminist work, certainly made a positive mark on the field—it offered a necessary push against Marxist and other modernist thought, and it challenged the field's ideas about what it means to know the social world and to engage with others in radical social change. The contributions of postmodernism and poststructuralism are clear, and significant. The question, however, as raised by Anyon and others, was how the obviously significant insights afforded by postmodernist and poststructuralist thought can be harnessed to support collective action against equally obvious, concrete, and real macro social crises, namely capitalism, racism, patriarchy, and ecological devastation. How can we be attuned to the local and particular while also being attuned to a broad analysis of the social order? This is a task that the field necessarily continues to undertake.

Postscript: The Question of Race

Although feminist scholarship in education in the late 1980s and 1990s engaged race in substantive ways (e.g. Weiler's critique of Freire), and, either consciously or not, was influenced by the work of women of color, particularly in the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements, it is important to note that the initial wave of critical feminist work in the field was predominantly written by white women, just as the initial wave of critical Marxist work was mostly written by white men. Gloria Ladson-Billings made this point bluntly in a 1997 essay that was intentionally titled as a play off of Ellsworth: "I Know Why This Doesn't Feel Empowering: A Critical *Race* Analysis of Critical Pedagogy." bell hooks made a similar point in the introduction to her 1994 book *Teaching to Transgress*: "The scholarly field of writing on critical pedagogy and/or feminist pedagogy continues to be primarily a discourse engaged by white women and me" (p. 9). hooks, whose 1984 book *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center* forcefully pushed against the norm in feminist scholarship in the United States of centering the experiences

of white women, was not technically in the field of education; nonetheless, *Teaching to Transgress* was consumed at a furious rate, particularly by students in education schools who were regularly assigned the text. The field was desperately in need of critical scholarship focused on race. Unfortunately, like the critical Marxist turn before it, a sustained examination of race was largely absent in postmodernist and poststructuralist feminist thought. Such sustained and widespread examination in the field would have to wait a few more years.

Notes

1 For instance, prior to 1988–89, when Nancy Cole became President of AERA, there had been only four other women to hold the office since AERA's establishment in 1915: Bess Goodykoontz (1939–1940), Helen H. Walker (1949–1950), Maxine Greene (1981–1982), and Lauren Resnick (1986–1987). Since Cole (and not including Cole), 18 women have served as President of AERA.

2 A notable exception by a male critical educational scholar is Michael Apple's (1986) *Teachers and Texts: A Political Economy of Class & Gender Relations in Education*. For a look at classic examples of feminist thought in the field from the perspective of feminist scholarship in the early 1990s, see Stone (1994).

3 In addition to Kohli and Burbules, see Elizabeth A. St. Pierre and Wanda S. Pillow's (2000) introduction to their edited book *Working the Ruins: Feminist Poststructural Theory and Methods of Education*. Since the mid-1990s, St. Pierre has been one of the leading poststructural feminist scholars in the field. See also St. Pierre (2000) and, for a reflection on her scholarly work over the past 20 years, see St. Pierre (2014).

4 On the history of women's studies programs, in addition to Howe (1982), see Ginsberg (2008), Loss (2012), and Messer-Davidow (2002).

5 For a broader account of the history of women's and feminist movements from the 1960s to the 1990s in the U.S., see Cobble et al. (2014), Echols (1989), Evans (1979), hooks (1984), and Rosen (2000).

6 On the history of postmodernism and poststructuralism in the United States see Cussett (2008) and Hoeveler (1996). On postmodernism and poststructuralism more generally, see Best & Kellner (1997), Harvey (1990), Jameson (1992), and Sarup (1993). For commentary on French thought since 1945 coupled with primary sources, see Balibar, et al. (2011).

7 Although Collins (1986) would probably not identify as a Marxist, she explicitly noted that her thinking about standpoint was deeply shaped by Hartsock, who is clearly staking out a Marxist position. Additionally, Collins is theorizing a Black feminist standpoint, one that is as concerned with race as it is gender. Smith, Hartsock, and Harding, at least in this period of work, focus on gender and not race. For a collection of foundational scholarship in feminist standpoint theory, see Harding (2004). Harding's introduction to the collection offers a general overview of the history of feminist standpoint theory and debates (which are extensive) within the community, including vis-à-vis feminist standpoint theory's roots in critical Marxist thought. For a more expansive, global look at the history of feminist theorizing among women of color, including during this period, see McCann and Kim (2013). For a classic look at

the work of women of color in the 1960s and 1970s, see Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa's 1981 edited *This Bridge Called My Back*, now in its fourth edition (2015).

8 In the late 1980s, there was an explosion of work on the concept of the intellectual, particularly the idea of the public intellectual, with much of it published in response to Russell Jacoby's 1987 lament *The Last Intellectuals*. Prior to Jacoby's work, much of the work during the late 1970s and 1980s about intellectuals was less visible, and published mostly in radical journals such as *Socialist Revolution*, which constantly debated ideas about leadership and the role of intellectuals in social movements. Gramsci was central to these radical conversations.

9 In the early 1990s, some poststructuralist thinkers, including many women and men engaged in feminist thought, turned to anarchist political philosophy as an alternative to Marxism. The fruition of this dialogue, which continues, was radical thinking about networks, cells, blocs, and other decentered organizational structures within radical movements that understood power to be fluid and dynamic. By the late 1990s, elements of this conversation could be seen in practice in some of the 1999 World Trade Organization protests in Seattle. For further discussion, see May (1994) and Day (2005).

10 For an insightful discussion of the concept of the intellectual that was formulated during this period by a scholar who identifies with the modernist conception of the independent intellectual yet is frequently (though problematically) positioned as a poststructural or postmodern thinker, see Said (1994).

11 The article was printed in 1989 but has a 1988 publication date. The Bergamo Conference was so named because it was held at the Bergamo Center at the University of Dayton. The conferences in Dayton were a continuation of past curriculum conferences associated with the reconceptualist movement and, later, the *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*, which was first published in 1979. For further discussion, see Miller (2005).

12 It is worth noting that in a different version of the paper in which he critiques Ellsworth, published a couple of years later, Giroux (1991a) praised Ellsworth by citing her for a claim; "Increasingly reduced to a modernist emphasis on technique and procedure, some versions of critical pedagogy reduce its liberatory possibilities by focusing almost exclusively on issues of dialogue, process, and exchange. In this form, critical pedagogy comes perilously close to emulating the liberal–progressive tradition in which teaching is reduced to getting students to express their own experiences" (p. 128). Yet, even in this instance, while Giroux seemed to grant merit to some of Ellsworth's ideas, he was still convinced that her critique did not apply to *his* critical pedagogy. Also of note, Giroux again cited Ellsworth's conference paper even though her article in *HER* had been published two years prior.

13 For further discussion about these shifts and their implications for educational research, see Phillips and Burbules (2000). For a discussion that complicates this clean (common) narrative about a shift from positivism to postpositivism, see Isaac (2012).

14 Interestingly, although Harding spent much of her career in the philosophy department at the University of Delaware, in 1995 she took a faculty position in the Graduate School of Education and Information Sciences at UCLA. Similarly, Dorothy Smith, a sociologist, took a faculty position at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at the University of Toronto in 1977, where she stayed until she retired in the early

1990s. Feminist standpoint theory had literally found a home in the field. For an autobiographical account of Harding's work, as well as of her life before entering the academy, see Harding (2002).

15 Britzman left the United States for a faculty position at York University in Canada in 1992.

16 For examples of initial work in the field that drew upon postmodernist and poststructuralist ideas in order to think about sexuality, see Bensimon (1992), Britzman (1995), Bryson and Castell (1993), Friend (1993), and Unks (1995).

17 For a critical response to Anyon, see Cherryholmes (1994).

6

CRITICAL THEORIES OF RACE

In "The Space Traders," the final chapter of his 1992 national bestseller *Faces at the Bottom of the Well*, legal scholar Derrick Bell posed the question, in the form of a fictional narrative: What would happen if "space people" came to the United States and proposed the following trade:

> treasure of which the United States was in most desperate need: gold, to bail out the almost bankrupt federal, state, and local governments; special chemicals capable of unpolluting the environment, which was becoming daily more toxic, and restoring to the pristine state it had been before Western explorers set foot on it; and a totally safe nuclear engine and fuel, to relive the nations' all-but-depleted supply of fossil fuel. In return, the visitors wanted only one thing—and that was to take back to their home star all the African Americans who lived in the United States.
>
> *(p. 159)*

In response to the offer, by a vote of 70 percent to 30 percent, a referendum for a Twenty-Seventh Constitutional Amendment was passed. It declared: "Without regard to the language or interpretations previously given any other provision of this document, every United States citizen is subject at the call of Congress to selection for special service for periods necessary to protect domestic interests and international needs" (p. 185). With this sweeping revocation of any Constitutional rights, on January 17, Martin Luther King Jr. Day, "Heads bowed, arms now linked by slender chains, black people left the New World as their forebears had arrived" (p. 194).

The Space Trader narrative has become one of the classic essays in Critical Race Theory, commonly referred to by the acronym CRT, a movement within

legal studies that gradually emerged in the 1980s following the wake of failed civil rights gains in order to illuminate the endemic nature of racism in the United States' legal system and American society more broadly.[1] In the mid-1990s, scholars in the field of education began drawing upon CRT as a framework to make sense of racism and inequality within educational systems. This was a landmark moment in the field. As was the case with the emergence of Marxist thought and postmodernist and poststructuralist feminist theory, the emergence of CRT radically transformed educational inquiry and discourse. For the first time, race became a central focus of scholarship, particularly among scholars on the political left.

CRT scholars, of course, were not the only ones in the field in the 1990s engaged in conversations about race, and they were also not the first. Dating at least as far back as Carter G. Woodson, whose 1933 book the *Mis-Education of the Negro* has recently received increased attention among educational researchers, scholars writing about education had pointed to the need for a focused analysis of race.[2] And finally, 30 years later, in the late 1960s and 1970s, with the emergence of Black studies programs in colleges and universities across the country, race became a much more central area of inquiry throughout the academy, including in the field of education where multicultural education began to take shape as a specific line of inquiry, particularly in the area of curriculum studies. However, not until the mid-1990s, about 100 years after the field of education became an academic field of study, did race begin to become a central focus of analysis. Although this push came from multiple directions, and was certainly paved by the work that came before it, the most vocal, and certainly most heard, came from scholars aligning themselves with CRT. It was thus with the emergence of CRT that emphasis in the field writ large shifted from *if* race is a factor in school inequality to *what does* a race-focused analysis tell us about the structures and ideologies that anchor school inequality and inequality in the social order more broadly.

This chapter examines the emergence of critical theories of race in the field, from the foundational work in multicultural education in the 1970s and 1980s, which set the stage for future educational scholarship focused on race, up through the first decade of critical race scholarship in the 1990s and 2000s. The chapter thus creates a narrative arc that provides insight into core debates and conversation flows that remain central to critical race scholars. Furthermore, by focusing on core tensions between critical race perspectives, particularly within CRT, the chapter illuminates a central point of concern. Specifically, by juxtaposing the legal CRT approach of Gloria Ladson-Billings and William Tate and the more interdisciplinary CRT approach of Daniel Solorzano and Tara Yosso, the chapter shows how critical race scholarship was pushed in multiple directions, and as a result, became fragmented. Fragmentation is not *on face* problematic, especially if tensions cannot (and should not) be resolved or negotiated. However, if fragmentation, which is a serious crisis in many parts of the critical community

(e.g. between camps of Freire scholars, between camps of Marxist scholars, etc.) significantly impedes our ability to construct descriptive and explanatory theory that illuminates our understanding of the social order and informs our political action, including in the struggle against white supremacy, fragmentation becomes a serious problem.

When the Field Started Talking About Race

In the late 1960s, Black students, faculty, and community members across the country engaged in a struggle to get Black history, experiences, and voices in the college and university curriculum. This moment, which Martha Biondi (2012) referred to as *The Black Revolution on Campus*, radically reshaped scholarship in the humanities and social sciences and the politics of higher education. Soon after the creation of Black studies programs, other ethnic studies programs began to emerge, including Chicana/o studies and American Indian studies, and some programs simply called ethnic studies.[3]

The strongest scholarship in the field of education that emerged out of the politics of the Black studies and more general ethnic studies movement appeared in curriculum studies, where a small group of scholars established the foundation for the field of multicultural education. This group was led by: James Banks (e.g. 1969, 1973, 1975, 1979, 1982) who completed his Ph.D. at Michigan State in 1969 and then took a position at the University of Washington, where he has remained since; Geneva Gay (e.g. 1970, 1975, 1978a, 1978b, 1983) who completed her Ph.D. at University of Texas-Austin in 1972, and spent the 1970s and 1980s at Purdue University before moving to the University of Washington in 1991, where she has remained since; and, Carl Grant (e.g. 1975, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1981) who completed his Ph.D. at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1972 and has since remained there as a faculty member.

In initial work in the 1970s and early 1980s, the focus of multicultural education scholarship and individual activism, which included working in/with schools and teacher education programs, was a two-pronged approach of infusing people of color into the curriculum and attempting to create spaces, such as ethnic studies courses, where the project of more thorough reconstruction of historical and other disciplinary narratives from the perspective of people of color could begin to be imagined.[4] This was no small challenge. As their scholarship illuminated, school curriculum in the late 1960s and 1970s remained deeply racist, from imagery to historical narratives to language. Furthermore, there was little scholarship in the field for them to build off of—most prior scholarship that focused on race, and especially issues of equitable access, student learning, and curriculum, was grounded in racist assumptions, either explicit or subtle. On the one hand, there was work grounded in explicit claims of genetic inferiority, such as Arthur Jensen's 1969 *Harvard Educational Review* (*HER*) article on IQ, which was part of a long history of genetic inferiority claims underpinning research on

intelligence. On the other, there were arguments grounded in the more subtle culture of poverty claims that pathologized communities of color, such as work in line with the widely read 1965 Moynihan report for the Department of Labor, *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action.* Much of the early work in multicultural education was thus, out of necessity, truly foundational.[5]

In the mid-1980s, the field began to expand rapidly, with multicultural education courses appearing in teacher education programs across the country and educational researchers increasingly identifying themselves as multicultural education scholars.[6] With expansion also came a widened focus, as multicultural scholars began moving beyond race and ethnicity and more fully encompassing gender, disability, and social class as part of the multicultural curriculum. Additionally, with growth of the field and concrete policy initiatives focused on school reform also came heightened attention, including conservative backlash that led many to temper the radical edges of multiculturalism with a hyper focus on individual prejudice and a watered down version of cultural pluralism. Much of the structural and radical political concern of the first wave of multicultural scholars, which was imbued with the spirit of the campus revolts of the 1960s and 1970s, was muted (Gay, 1983).

By the late 1980s, the landscape of ideas about multicultural education was so fragmented due to the various approaches created during the field's growth, that Grant and Christine Sleeter (a former student of Grant's at the University of Wisconsin–Madison) concluded in a 1987 *HER* analysis of literature in the field that: "Clearly, the term *multicultural education* means different things to different people. The only common meaning is that it refers to changes in education that are supposed to benefit people of color" (italics original; p. 436).

At the same time multicultural education was experiencing fragmentation, the field more generally was experiencing a push towards critical theories of education. The 'critical' lens thus also began to focus on race. Certainly, scholars in the critical traditions described in earlier chapters of this book wrote about race; Anyon, Apple, Ellsworth, Giroux, Lather, and Weiler, for instance, all discussed race in their scholarship. However, this earlier generation of critical scholars did not substantively focus on race or feature race in their critical theoretical frameworks; all treated race as a somewhat secondary unit of analysis to either social class, gender, or the broader idea of culture. In the 1990s, this would change.

The move towards a 'critical' approach to race in the field of education came from at least four scholarly areas: multicultural education, whiteness studies, British cultural studies, and Critical Race Theory.[7] The distinctions between these areas are often weak, as some scholars floated in-between two or three or sometimes all four. However, delineating the areas allows for increased historical understanding of the disciplinary and field-specific conversations that shaped scholarship about race in education. The delineations also help highlight the intellectual and political traditions that underpin the work.

Within multicultural education there was a move toward what became known as "critical multicultural education." This work, whose most prominent advocate was Christine Sleeter, sought to foster, as the title of her 1996 book suggested, *Multicultural Education as Social Activism*. Although critical multicultural education focused on a range of identity-based oppressions and the structures and social forces that maintained and fostered them, including gender, class, and disability, the analysis remained anchored in a conversation about race. As Sleeter noted in the introduction to her book: "I argue that multicultural education can be understood as a form of resistance to dominant modes of schooling, and particularly white supremacy" (p. 2). Critical multicultural education also became the home for scholars engaged in critical pedagogy, such as Peter McLaren (e.g. Kanapol & McLaren, 1995; Sleeter & McLaren, 1995), who at this time began to focus more closely on race. In fact, the language of resistance, opposition, and critical consciousness that underpinned scholarship in critical pedagogy became so central to the critical multicultural education project that many in the critical multicultural education community alternatively also identified as critical pedagogy scholars (though the case was much less so the other way around).

Notably, however, foundational multicultural education scholars, such as Banks and Gay, did not move into the critical multiculturalism camp. As noted by Gay in Marilynne Boyle-Baise's (1999) oral history project on multicultural education, "by nature cultural education is a critical field. As far as I am concerned, it is redundant to talk about critical multiculturalism and social reform. That's endemic to the movement" (p. 207). Additionally, as critical multicultural education scholars turned to the language of whiteness, which is discussed below, Banks, Gay, and others resisted this move as well. Even if political projects remained somewhat aligned, the theoretical paths between the first generation of multicultural education scholars and critical multicultural education scholars diverged considerably.[8]

The second area of scholarship, whiteness studies, focused more specifically on the concept of whiteness as opposed to a particular multicultural education project. As Zeus Leonardo (2013) succinctly put it, the study of whiteness focuses on "the contours of racial privilege, or the other side of the race question… Rather than the usual, 'What does it mean to be a person of color? it asks, 'What does it mean to be White in U.S. society?'" (p. 83). Although white supremacy, white privilege, and what it means to be white in U.S. society had been an area of inquiry for scholars (particularly scholars of color) for decades, the concept of whiteness itself did not begin to take shape until the early 1990s. Particularly important in this move was work in labor history by Alexander Saxton (1990) and David Roediger (1991). In his classic book the *Wages of Whiteness*, for instance, Roediger turned to the work of W.E.B. Du Bois, and particularly *Black Reconstruction* (1935), to both push against the field of labor history, which he argued had failed to substantively engage race, and to more deeply inquire into the relationship between race and class. In *Black Reconstruction*, Du Bois argued

that white workers who even received low wages knew that relative to Black workers they also had a "public and psychological wage." Du Bois described this at length:

> They were given public deference… because they were white. They were admitted freely, with all classes of white people, to public functions [and] public parks… The police were drawn from their ranks and the courts, dependent on their votes, treated them with leniency… Their votes selected public officials and while this had small effect upon the economic situation, it had great effect upon their personal treatment… White schoolhouses were the best in the community, and conspicuously placed, and cost anywhere from twice to ten times colored schools.
>
> *(Du Bois as cited in Roediger, p. 12; brackets in Roediger).*

This, Roediger argued, is whiteness—the concrete material privilege of white skin.

This framework for thinking about labor history, and white workers in relationship to Black workers, was profound (Hill, 1996). It was thus among labor historians, and those who came out of related Marxist scholarly conversations, that much of the first wave of whiteness scholarship emerged, such as Noel Ignatiev's *How the Irish Became White* (1995), Mathew Frye Jacobson's *Whiteness of a Different Color* (1998), and George Lipsitz's *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness* (1998), all of which became read and cited by education scholars. Furthermore, this work and its focus on Du Bois, began to be discussed at length among Black radical scholars, particularly historians, such as Manning Marable, Nell Painter, and Robin Kelley, and helped lead to the reemergence of reading and research into the work of previous generations of Black Marxist thinkers, such as C.L.R. James, who had long engaged conversations about the intersections and relationship between race and class. This new work by Black scholars, including many in the legal community who participated in Critical Race Theory, such as Cheryl Harris (1993), would also find its way into scholarship in education. Harris, for instance, is featured in Ladson–Billings and Tate's (1995) foundational article on CRT, and Marable's scholarship is central to Solorzano's (1998) push against the Black/white binary.[9] By the late 1990s and early 2000s, numerous education scholars were engaging conversations about whiteness, so much so that education arguably became the central academic field of study for such discussions, with the lead taken by scholars such as, Sharon Chubbuck (2004), Elizabeth Ellsworth (1997), Henry Giroux (1997b), Kathy Hytten (Hytten & Warren, 2003), Joe Kincheloe (Kincheloe et al., 1998), Zeus Leonardo (2002), Christine Sleeter (e.g. 1996, 2001), and Audrey Thompson (2003).[10]

The third area was work in British cultural studies, which, similar to whiteness studies, also emerged in conversation with the Black Marxist tradition, but unlike whiteness studies, was grounded in a distinctly diasporic conversation. In the

1970s, a group of Black British intellectuals led by Stuart Hall, and later Hazel Carby and Paul Gilroy, began to theorize race with a particular focus on the experiences of Black immigrant youth.[11] As critical race scholar Paul Warmington (2014) notes, "one way in which black British cultural studies can be understood is as a critique not just of the old tropes of the sociology of 'race relations' but of the residual understanding of young black people as second and third generation 'immigrants' and a certain kind of reductionism that framed their worlds entirely in the binary of 'racism' and 'anti-racism'" (p. 99). For Hall and others, central to the project of understanding race as a social construction, or in the terms of British cultural studies, a cultural production, was the complexity of identity formation as a social process (and one grounded in material reality), that by definition, involved recognition of the historical agency of Black communities.

The work of Hall, Carby, Gilroy, and others, became highly influential on cultural studies writ large, ranging from Homi Bhabha's (1994) work in postcolonial theory on hybrid identities, which has been widely cited by education scholars, to the work of literacy scholars connected to the New London Group (1996) project on multiliteracies, such as Courtney Cazden, Norman Fairclough, Jim Gee, Carmen Luke, and Allan Luke. As to be expected, the British cultural studies tradition was especially influential on educational scholarship on race in Britain (e.g. Gilborn, 1995; Mirza, 1992), as well as in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, which all were immersed in British cultural studies scholarship.[12] In the United States, the focus on Hall's thinking about race in particular has been much more recent, with scholars such as Michael Dumas (2010) and Zeus Leonardo (2013), as well as formative critical scholars such as Michael Apple (2015), recently turning to Hall because of his ability to help think through the relationship between race and class and his focus on the politics of representation.[13]

The fourth, and final, area is Critical Race Theory, which is the conceptual framing for thinking about race and education that has gained the most traction in the field. In fact, CRT has become so pervasive that all of the critical theories of race discussed above often became simply referred to (by themselves and others) as critical race theories. Because of the significance of CRT in shaping the conversation in the field, a more sustained engagement with CRT and the ways in which it has shaped the conversation about race in education is warranted.

Critical Race Theory and Legal Studies

In a 2011 article reflecting back on the first 20 years of Critical Race Theory, Kimberlé Crenshaw, one of CRT's leading scholars, and a long-time faculty member in the UCLA School of Law, asked why CRT emerged in the legal field.[14] Crenshaw argued that normative conversations in the legal community in the 1980s, "such as integration of elite law faculties, the prevailing construction

of merit, and the viability of intellectual projects" highlighted the ways in which dominant frames, such as class, were incapable of addressing issues central to questions of racial power (p. 1260). Additionally, there were concrete examples that grounded these normative conversations in material reality. A prime example that emerged out of her own life was the crisis at Harvard Law School in the early 1980s when students vehemently argued for the hiring of faculty of color following the departure of Derrick Bell, who left Harvard for the dean position at the law school at the University of Oregon. In addition to wanting more faculty of color, students also wanted faculty of color to teach Bell's courses, which used a racial lens to study American law. In response to the university hiring two white civil rights attorneys to teach a course on civil rights law, numerous students boycotted, including Crenshaw, who as a student helped organize an "Alternative Course," which used Bell's (1973; 1st edition) *Race, Racism, and American Law* as a core text and also included guest speakers, such as Richard Delgado and Neil Gotanda. Yet, Crenshaw contended, it was about more than simply integration at Harvard; rather, it was

> a product of activists' engagement with the material manifestations of liberal reform. Indeed, one might say that CRT was the offspring of a post-civil rights institutional activism that was generated and informed by an oppositionalist orientation toward racial power. Activists' demands that elite institutions rethink and transform their conceptions of "race neutrality" in the face of functionally exclusionary practices engendered a particularly concrete defense of the status quo. These defenses in turn produced precisely the apologia for institutionalized racial dominance that critics of the dominant thinking on "race relations" had voiced both historically and in more recent struggles over the terms of knowledge production in the academy. These institutional struggles presented post-reform critics with the hands-on opportunity to create an affirmative account of racial power and to mark the limits of liberal reform.
>
> *(p. 1260)*

The critique of liberal reform, and particularly the limits of Civil Rights legislation and "the rule of law as guarantor of racial progress" (p. 1261), was the core feature of CRT, which called for a new framework to both highlight and make sense of racial power. Furthermore, noted Crenshaw, in the introduction to her co-edited (with Neil Gotanda, and Kendall Thomas) 1995 collection *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings that Formed the Movement*:

> Questioning regnant visions of racial meaning and racial power, critical race theorists seek to fashion a set of tools for thinking about race that avoids the traps of racial thinking. Critical Race Theory understands that racial power is produced by and experienced within numerous vectors of

> social life. Critical Race Theory recognizes, too, that political interventions which overlook the multiple ways in which people of color are situated (and resituated) as communities, subcommunities, and individuals will do little to promote effective resistance to, and counter-mobilization against, today's newly empowered right.
>
> *(p. xxxii)*

Without intentionally, explicitly, and forcefully focusing on race as a complex construction with real material consequences, argued CRT scholars, social change for communities of color will remain forever elusive.

In the legal community, CRT gained particular momentum after a 1989 workshop at University of Wisconsin-Madison by 24 scholars of color that Crenshaw, a participant, described as "a clearing to which we had arrived, each bearing something of a travelogue of a journey through the uncharted terrain of the post-civil rights landscape" (p. 1253). Soon after the meeting, CRT scholars began publishing widely, including to general audiences. For instance, Patricia Williams's *The Alchemy of Race and Rights*, published in 1991, and Derrick Bell's *Faces at the Bottom of the Well*, published in 1992, were both national best sellers.

With popularity, however, CRT in the 1990s, like multicultural education in the 1980s, also became the focus of conservative backlash. The most public example was President Clinton's withdrawl of the nomination of Lani Guinier as Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights, a nomination he made in April 1993 and caved in to pressure over in June. A noted legal scholar and civil rights attorney, Guinier's situation was a textbook example of how liberal civil rights reforms had not ensured the elimination of racism, including racist hiring practices. "The dispute over the Guinier nomination," notes historian Andrew Hartman (2015), "revealed that conservatives had gained the upper hand in political struggles over the national meaning of race" (p. 113). The dispute also revealed, once more, that well-meaning white liberals are not to be trusted to stand-up for racial justice in the face of political pushback.[15]

By 1995, the same year that Ladson-Billings and Tate published their article introducing Critical Race Theory to the field of education, CRT in the legal community had developed a deep body of scholarship with a wide-range of CRT perspectives. As Crenshaw (2011) noted of this diversity:

> the view of CRT as a stable project sometimes denies the extent to which CRT was and continues to be constituted through a series of dynamic engagements situated within specific institutions over the terms by which their racial logics would be engaged. Thus, what is in play here is less of a definitive articulation of CRT and more of a socio-cultural narrative of CRT.
>
> *(p. 1260)*

The 1995 Crenshaw, Neil Gotanda, and Gary Pellar edited collection, noted above, featured these "dynamic engagements" and made central ideas in CRT accessible for scholars in a range of fields, including education.

Introducing Critical Race Theory into Education

At the 1994 American Educational Research Association annual meeting, Gloria Ladson-Billings, then an associate professor at University of Wisconsin-Madison, and William Tate, an assistant professor at Wisconsin, presented a paper titled "Toward a Critical Race Theory of Education."[16] The space was packed, Ladson-Billings (2013) noted, "standing room only." It was also a crowd in which some members were "hostile to this new theoretical perspective," including, remembered Ladson-Billings, traditional allies within the multicultural education community who seemed troubled by "making race the axis of understanding inequity and injustice" (p. 34). Following the conference, Ladson-Billings and Tate moved to get the article out as quickly as possible. Several months later, in fall 1995, *Teachers College Record* (*TCR*) published "Toward a Critical Race Theory of Education," the first article in the field of education to take a CRT perspective.[17]

Ladson-Billings and Tate began their article by stating three propositions that ground their discussion of CRT as an "analytical tool for understanding school inequity." The propositions were as follows.

1. Race continues to be a significant factor in determining inequity in the United States.
2. U.S. society is based on property rights.
3. The intersection of race and property creates an analytical tool through which we can understand social (and, consequently, school) inequity (p. 48).

As part of their first proposition, they also offered two "meta-propositions." The first meta-proposition was that "race, unlike gender and class, remains untheorized," especially in terms of the "analysis of educational inequality." In particular, "we are attempting to uncover or decipher the social-structural and cultural significance of race in education." (p. 50). The second meta-proposition was that "class- and gender-based explanations are not powerful enough to explain all of the difference (or variance) in school experience and performance." (p. 51). Although they did not make this move explicitly, the initial proposition can thus be read as a question of inquiry: How might a robust race-first theoretical lens help us make meaning of the continued significance of race as a determining factor in inequity in the United States?

For their second proposition, that "U.S. society is based on property rights," Ladson-Billings and Tate grounded their claim in legal scholarship and an analysis of capitalism. "Traditional civil rights approaches to solving inequality," they

argued, "have depended on the 'rightness' of democracy while ignoring the structural inequality of capitalism. However, democracy in the U.S. context was built on capitalism" (p. 52). Thus, an analysis of capitalism was necessary. Furthermore, they argued that property connects to education in explicit ways such as property taxes paying for schools, and in implicit ways, such as curriculum as a form of intellectual property; "The quality and quantity of the curriculum varies with the 'property values' of the school" (pp. 53–54). Material resources are connected to learning opportunities.

After stating the first two propositions, Ladson-Billings and Tate asked how CRT illuminates "our understanding of educational inequity." Following CRT, they argued that "racism is endemic and deeply ingrained in American life," which illuminates why unequal school experiences persist; they argued that civil rights law is ineffective, which is why Brown vs. Board did not solve schooling inequities; and, they argued that it is crucial to "challenge claims of neutrality, objectivity, color-blindness, and meritocracy" by "naming one's own reality," a process that happens through telling one's stories, which "serve as interpretive structures by which we impose order on experience and it on us" (pp. 56–57).

Ladson-Billings and Tate then returned to the intersection of race and property. Grounding their discussion in legal scholar Cheryl Harris's (1993) article "Whiteness as Property," they explicated four of Harris's "property functions of whiteness" and applied them to education. First, the idea of "rights of disposition," helps us see that "when students are rewarded only for conformity to perceived 'white norms' or sanctioned for cultural practices (e.g. dress, speech patterns, unauthorized conceptions of knowledge), white property is being rendered alienable" (p. 59). Second, the idea of "rights to use and enjoyment," speaks to the earlier examples of property taxes creating material differences in schooling, which include both the quality of buildings and availabilities of supplies as well as the opportunities to learn in the curriculum itself (p. 59). Third, "the idea of reputation and status property," illuminatus status, such as status conferred on "suburban" schools over "urban" schools (p. 60). And fourth, "the absolute right to exclude," which they argue "is demonstrated by resegregation via tracking, the institution of 'gifted' programs, honors programs, and advance placement courses" (p. 60).

In the final section of their paper, "The Limits of the Multicultural Paradigm," Ladson-Billings and Tate brought their ideas together to argue that the current multicultural paradigm is ill-equipped to address the structural racism that their article uses CRT to illuminate. Speaking back to the initial structural critiques that drove the creation of Black studies and ethnic studies programs in the late 1960s, Ladson-Billings and Tate argued that the radical impulse behind such moves is no longer at the center of a multicultural paradigm, if it ever was. Instead, "multicultural education in schools often reduce it to trivial examples and artifacts of cultures such as eating ethnic foods, singing songs or dancing, reading folktales" (p. 61). Further, they argued that multiculturalism as an idea

had become so interchangeable with an ever expanding conception of "diversity" that it "follows the tradition of liberalism—allowing a proliferation of difference," that fails to interrogate tensions among differences (p. 62).

The multicultural paradigm, they contended, is "similar to civil rights law, and thus critical race theory in education, like its antecedent in legal scholarship, is a radical critique of both the status quo and the purported reforms" (p, 62). Instead of the multicultural paradigm, they argued:

> [W]e align our scholarship and activism with the philosophy of Marcus Garvey, who believed that the black man was universally oppressed on racial grounds, and that any program of emancipation would have to be built around the question of race first. In the his own words, Garvey speaks to us clearly and unequivocally: "In a world of wolves one should go armed, and one of the most powerful defensive weapons within the reach of Negroes is the practice of race first in all parts of the world."
>
> *(p. 62)*

With that, CRT as a lens through which to analyze race and education began to spread rapidly, with the race-first message echoing loudly and clearly with scholars of color throughout the field. Ladson-Billings and Tate, with one article, radically shifted the conversation the way that critical scholars before had radically shifted the field with one book.

The Emergence of an Alternative CRT in Education

As Crenshaw (2011) noted of Critical Race Theory in legal scholarship, it was more of a "socio-cultural narrative" than a definitive school of thought (p. 1260). Early on, CRT in education reflected Crenshaw's assessment. After the publication of Ladson-Billings and Tate's article, new takes on CRT began to emerge, forwarding a range of CRT perspectives.

Daniel Solorzano, then an Associate Professor at UCLA, offered the most prominent and influential of the initial wave of alternative perspectives.[18] Focusing on four moves Solorzano made in his initial CRT scholarship (1997, 1998, 2001, and 2002) and juxtaposing those moves with the ideas of Ladson-Billings and Tate is a helpful way to illuminate both central ideas in the past 20 years of CRT scholarship in education and core tensions between the two main approaches to CRT in the field.[19]

In his first article using CRT, in 1997, Solorzano framed his work with five themes that he viewed as central to CRT. The first theme was "the centrality and intersectionality of race and racism." This theme had multiple components, most importantly the idea that "race and racism are endemic." For Solorzano, this meant that race must be a central focus of analysis, and it also meant highlighting the idea that race and racism intersect with other forms of "subordination" such as gender

and class, an idea about intersectionality that was formulated by Crenshaw (p. 6). The second theme was "the challenge to dominant ideology," which meant that CRT "challenges the traditional claims of the legal system to objectivity, meritocracy, color-blindness, race neutrality, and equal opportunity" (p. 6). The third theme was "the commitment to social justice," which included the elimination of racism. The fourth theme was "the centrality of experiential knowledge," which "recognizes that the experiential knowledge of Women and Men of Color are legitimate, appropriate, and critical to understanding, analyzing, practicing, and teaching the law and its relation to racial subordination" (p. 7). The fifth and final theme was "the interdisciplinary perspective," which meant race must be understood in historical context and by "using interdisciplinary methods" (p. 7).

Solorzano's move to name five themes, which many now refer to as tenets, eventually became central practice among CRT scholars, with Solorzano himself remaining committed to the practice and relatively consistent in the naming and description of themes.[20] Notably, Ladson–Billings and Tate did not cite any themes in their 1995 article, and perhaps more importantly, when they began to cite themes, they chose different ones. The juxtaposition is important. For instance, in a 1998 article, Ladson–Billings noted four themes, all of which she drew from the legal scholarship. First, "racism is 'normal, not aberrant, in American society … and, because it is so enmeshed in the fabric of our social order, it appears both normal and natural to people in this culture" (p. 11). Second, "CRT departs from mainstream legal scholarship by sometimes employing storytelling: as a way of integrating and validating experiential knowledge" (p. 11). Third, "CRT insists on a critique of liberalism," which has no mechanism for eliminating racism (p. 12). And, fourth, "Whites have been the primary beneficiaries of civil rights legislation" (p. 12).[21]

Although Ladson–Billings' first and second themes appear relatively aligned with Solorzano's first and fourth themes, respectively, Ladson–Billings' third and fourth themes illuminate how all of her themes were in fact quite different from Solorzano's. Specifically, the critique of liberalism and the acknowledgement that whites are the "primary beneficiaries of civil rights legislation" is a structural critique. As with her initial article on CRT with Tate, Ladson–Billings claimed that there is a material reality structured by legal, economic, and political systems that is racist. This means the normalcy of racism (Ladson–Billings' first theme) is an ideological process that can only be understood in relation to its structural form, i.e., the liberal social order. Ideology and structure work together. Storytelling is thus a way of voicing alternative narratives in a concrete social system that uses all other means to keep the experiences behind the stories out of the conversation. It is a tool to critique and resist liberalism. Solorzano, on the other hand, was not engaging in an explicit critique of liberalism or a push against any particular structure. For Solorzano, ideology and structure appear to be separate entities, or at least not as conjoined as Ladson–Billings asserted. Solorzano's move was much more discursive, as well as more focused on individual experience.

   Seeing the difference in their respective core themes of CRT also illuminates why there is tension with Solorzano's second move. Although Solorzano (1997, 1998) grounded much of his work in legal scholarship, especially the work of Mari Matsuda, Derrick Bell, and Richard Delgado, he also asserted other foundations. In 2001, in an article with his former student Tara Yosso, who became his frequent co-author and a significant scholar in the field in her own right, Solorzano made a case for a more diverse "family tree" for CRT.[22] Alongside Critical Legal Studies, which, as Crenshaw (2011) detailed, is the legal community CRT scholars initially emerged out of and broke off from, Solorzano and Yosso argued that ethnic studies and women's studies, cultural nationalism, Marxist/neo-Marxist, and internal colonial schools of thought influenced and continue to influence CRT, especially in education (pp. 473–474). For Solorzano and Yosso, identifying a family tree that extends beyond legal scholarship enabled them to draw from these diverse intellectual traditions while retaining the CRT identity.[23]

   Although Ladson-Billings and Tate were unlikely to disagree that their work, too, had multiple influences, the swath of intellectual traditions that Solorzano and Yosso claimed as part of the CRT family tree had the effect of radically decentering the CRT legal critique and minimizing the use of CRT legal tools in educational scholarship that claimed a CRT lens. The legal scholarship, including its structural critique of liberal reforms, and legal tools, such as Bell's (1980) idea of interest convergence, thus became sidelined in favor of other areas of focus. Related, an explicit focus on educational policy reforms, such as a focus on concrete equitable resource distribution and efforts toward school desegregation, which dovetailed with the legal focus, also receded into the background. Ladson-Billings has not said as much on paper, but the contrast in focus seems to be at the heart of much of her criticism of CRT scholarship in education that decenters the legal origins of CRT scholarship (Ladson-Billings, 2013). The move by Solorzano and Yosso, whatever one thinks of it substantively, thus made the boundaries of CRT fuzzy: Can you do CRT without being primarily grounded in the legal tradition?

   Solorzano's third move sheds light on why it was probably necessary for him and Yosso to explicitly push the conversation about the roots of CRT. In a 1998 article, Solorzano explicitly pushed against the Black/white binary.[24] The conversations about race in the field of education, and in the public sphere more generally, remained caught in a racial juxtaposition of white and Black. Drawing from the work of Manning Marable, Solorzano argued that it is important to shift "the discussion of race and racism from a black/white discourse to one that includes multiple faces, voices, and experiences" (p. 124). Breaking the Black/white binary is necessary, Solorzano and others at this time argued (e.g. LatCrit scholar Perea, 1997), in order to create space for complex racial analysis that takes into account the experiences of multiple racialized groups. In turn, this implies drawing from fields of study outside law, such as Chicana/o and Latina/o studies,

as is the case with much of Solorzano and Yosso's scholarship, in order to theorize this new space. The highly interdisciplinary nature of Solorzano's vision of CRT is thus arguably necessary in order to make core CRT themes useful for multiple racialized groups, both as a matter of theory and as a matter of practice.

Notably, the push against the Black/white binary, which does not appear controversial from Ladson-Billings and Tate's standpoint, helped create space for other CRT projects. For instance, Tribal Critical Race Theory (often called TribalCrit), as formulated by Bryan Brayboy (2005), pushes against the endemic nature of colonization, and Asian American Critical Race Theory (sometimes called AsianCrit), has increasingly been used in higher education scholarship to push against the model minority stereotype, issues of student identity and self-image, and in discussions about affirmative action policies (e.g. Liu, 2009; Park & Liu, 2014; Teranashi et al., 2009).

The fourth move made by Solorzano, again with Yosso, in articles in 2001 and 2002, was putting a primacy on storytelling as a research methodology. Solorzano and Yosso's work helped establish storytelling as an accepted qualitative method in educational research. Building off of a range of scholarship, but especially the counter-storytelling work of Delgado, Solorzano and Yosso (2002) argued that counter-stories can: "build community among those at the margins of society"; "challenge perceived wisdom of those at society's center"; "they can open windows into the reality of those at the margins of society by showing"; and, "they can teach others that by combining elements from both the story and the current reality, once can construct another world" (p. 475).

Counter-storytelling has become an extremely powerful method in educational research, as well as an on the ground practice in schools and communities. Yet, due to its subtle complexity, as a method of inquiry it remains quite difficult to do well. As Ladson-Billings (2005) argued at the end of the first decade of CRT scholarship in education, "I sometimes worry that scholars who are attracted to CRT focus on storytelling to the exclusion of the central ideas such stories purport to illustrate. Thus I clamor for richer, more detailed stories that place our stories in more robust and powerful context" (p. 117). Again, there is clear tension between Ladson-Billings and Tate and Solorzano, and later also Yosso; Ladson-Billings and Tate focus on a meta-narrative that is ideological and structural while Solorzano and Yosso place their focus on a more local narrative of individual and community experience. Counter-stories are central for both, but there is disagreement on how and why counter-stories are collected and used in both educational research and policy advocacy, as well as on the ground in classrooms and communities.[25]

Critical Theories of Race

Ten years after the publication of Ladson-Billings and Tate's article in *Teacher College Record*, two articles were published that surveyed the first decade of Critical

Race Theory scholarship in education.[26] Read together, they nicely illustrate the tension in the field between CRT as anchored in legal scholarship (Ladson–Billings and Tate's position) and CRT as a more expansive interdisciplinary endeavor (Solorzano and Yosso's position). In the first, published in *Race Ethnicity and Education* in 2005, Adrienne Dixson and Celia Rousseau (both of whom worked with Ladson–Billings and Tate at Wisconsin) concluded their survey with a return to Ladson–Billings and Tate's work and their grounding in the legal literature. "The CRT legal literature," Dixson and Rousseau contended,

> offers a necessary critical vocabulary for analyzing and understanding the persistent and pernicious inequity in education that is always already a function of race and racism. Thus, while CRT in education must necessarily grow and develop to become its own entity, there is much support and needed nourishment yet to be gained from the legal roots of CRT. In this way, the direction forward with respect to CRT in education requires, in some sense, a return to the place were we started.
>
> *(p. 51)*

In the second review of CRT literature published in 2006 in *Urban Review*, Laurence Parker and Marvin Lynn (who was a student of Solorzano's at UCLA), took the opposite position: "While some would suggest that critical race scholars in education should dig even deeper into the 'legal literature' on race in the law in order to accurately represent CRT, we believe that the field must be interdisciplinary—moving beyond the law and borrowing from fields such as sociology" (pp. 279–280). For Parker and Lynn, the legal focus was too constraining on the field; it unnecessarily and problematically limited the literature scholars can and should use to push ideas and develop robust theory.

As the juxtaposition between the two literature reviews makes clear, the tensions between Ladson–Billings and Tate's position and Solorzano and Yosso's had a significant impact on the first ten years of CRT in the field. Notably, this tension continues ten years later, thus raising a (pressing) question at the center of conversations about CRT *and* conversations about critical race theories writ large: What constitutes a critical theory of race (or a Critical Race Theory), and who gets to decide?[27] By the mid-2000s, the term Critical Race Theory, not unlike the term critical pedagogy in the 1980s and 1990s, became used to describe a variety of critical perspectives. The result was, and continues to be, a range of critical theories of race lumped together despite significant differences in the intellectual and political traditions that give them grounding and the political and policy strategies that they advocate. For instance, scholars who study whiteness and have no anchoring in legal scholarship, such as Audrey Thompson (e.g. 2003), are often described as CRT scholars. Is this a helpful description? Does it tell us anything about Thompson's ideas, such as the intellectual and political traditions that underpin them? Does it help us understand how she situates herself

in a scholarly and/or political conversation or how she analyzes and advocates action in the social world? Does it help us reflect on the implications of her conclusions?

The importance of clarifying our understanding of how critical theories of race are positioned in relationship to one another is perhaps more apparent if we engage critiques of critical race scholarship. The critiques, after all (and I am assuming critiques that merit response), must be responded to in order to continue pushing and developing the ideas. From within critical educational studies, for instance, there have been a few critiques, particularly from the Marxist tradition, that have received a great deal of attention among critical theorists of race. Thinking through one of the most prominent can be instructive: an article by Antonia Darder and Rodolfo Torres (2003) published as a chapter in their edited (with Marta Baltodano) *The Critical Pedagogy Reader.*[28]

In "Shattering the "race" lens: Toward a critical theory of racism," Darder and Torres argued for the elimination of the term "race" in favor of focusing on "racism as an analytical concept—a concept that has a real object in the social world, namely an ideology with a set of specific characteristics informed by economic imperatives" (p. 259). In this paradigm, racism is the concrete manifestation of capitalist exploitation (i.e., the need to exploit labor created racism), and thus the analytical focus should be on the concrete materialist process of racialization and racism (how capitalist exploitation causes each) and not on the abstract, fictive idea of race, which, they argue, has no explanatory power when untethered from a materialist analysis.

Certainly, as critical race scholars of all types would argue, race is a social construction and not biological truth, so the question becomes how and why race is constructed and what has accounted for and what continues to account for the real, concrete, material, lived, individual and collective experiences of race and racism. How does a critical race lens describe and explain race and racism as both an idea and a social, material reality? How does a critical race lens account for the construction of race, the process of racialization, and the perpetuation of racism? How does a critical race lens understand the relationship between race and other concepts such as class and gender?

Moving back to the apparent tensions between the CRT approaches of Ladson-Billings and Tate and Solorzano and Yosso, how would each respond to Darder and Torres? And, taken a step further, how would their answers be similar and different from the answers of whiteness scholars, such as Thompson, who are also engaged in critical theorizing of race? Or, a step further yet, how might they be different from other scholars outside of education, whom many critical theorists of race inside and outside the field draw from, such as Linda Martin Alcoff (2005), Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (2003/2006/2009/2014), Patricia Hill Collins (1990/2000), Stuart Hall (1988), Sally Haslanger (2012), Chandra Mohanty (1986, 2002), José Medina (2012), Charles Mills (1997), and Michael Omi and Howard Winant (1986/1994 /2014)?[29]

These questions illuminate the need to be attuned to specificity of position, not because of a narrow desire to place ideas into camps (the purpose of this chapter is not to pit Ladson–Billings and Tate and Solorzano and Yosso against each other, nor is it to determine a 'correct' CRT perspective); rather, the detail and nuance have real implications, ranging from theory construction to policy analysis and advocacy to movement building and enacting social change.

Furthermore, as the field necessarily moves toward intersectional approaches to understanding the social order—which is already a way of thinking for most critical race scholars because the history of work in critical theories of race is connected to the history of ideas about intersectionality, particularly race and gender, that emerged out of movements, experiences, and scholarship of women of color (e.g. Combahee River Collective, 1977; Collins, 1990 /2000; Crenshaw, 1993; hooks, 1984; Mohanty, 1986; Moraga & Anzaldua, 1981/2015)—the specificity of ideas becomes critically important. As British critical race scholar, and, in 1998, founding editor of *Race Ethnicity and Education*, David Gilborn (2010) noted, "Serious critical work on intersectionality requires us to do more than merely cite the difficulties and complexities and account for how categories and inequalities intersect, and through what processes, and with what impacts" (p. 5).[30] And, these intersections have serious implications for public policy and political action, ranging from how we understand neighborhood and school segregation, diversity in the teacher workforce, and social justice in the school curriculum to how we push against corporate school reform, neoliberal urban development policies, and injustice in the criminal justice system. Teasing out the differences and similarities between Ladson-Billings and Tate and Solorzano and Yosso is not merely an academic exercise—there are real implications for future theory construction and political action, as well as the day-to-day work of P–20 schooling.

Conclusion

For the 2005–2006 academic year, James Banks was a Spencer Fellow at Stanford University. Needing someone to be director of the Center for Multicultural Education at the University of Washington while he was away, he asked Zeus Leonardo to come to Washington for a one-year visiting faculty position. At the time, Leonardo, a former student of Peter McLaren's at UCLA, was a recently tenured associate professor at Cal State University-Long Beach, and an emerging but still relatively unknown scholar in the field. The move by Banks symbolized a changing of the guard in the field of education, one that had probably already happened a decade earlier with the publication of Ladson-Billings and Tate's article on Critical Race Theory, but one that had certainly come by the mid-2000s. The multicultural paradigm that Banks had helped establish in the field had been surpassed by a new 'critical' approach to educational analysis, one that years earlier Banks had acknowledged and respected but ultimately resisted. By

tapping Leonardo, an up and coming critical scholar, Banks showed both a willingness to pass the baton and the foresight to see that Leonardo would become a major scholar in the field.

Ten years later, Leonardo is a Professor at UC Berkeley, an AERA Fellow, and one of the most well-known and sought after scholars in the field, critical or otherwise. He is also arguably the leading scholar in the field trying to bridge conversations among critical scholars of race by helping critical race scholars think through their various *Race Frameworks* (2013). As critical scholarship moves forward, this type of bridge work is essential. Race has never been more central to scholarship in the field, and if it is to continue to be central and continue to effectively push against racism in schools and the social order more broadly, critical race scholars will need to act in solidarity, pushing together. Furthermore, because the United States is a nation founded and grounded in white supremacy, it is all the more imperative for critical race scholars, and particularly critical race scholars of color, to be at the center of the development of intersectional critical approaches and political projects. Social change that is truly committed to racial justice will not happen otherwise.

Notes

1 As a scholar, teacher, and activist, Bell is widely acknowledged as the key founding figure in CRT. For his most formative early work, see Bell (1976, 1980). For a collection of other formative work in CRT, see Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller and Thomas (1995). The history of CRT, with further citations, is briefly discussed later in the chapter.
2 For examples of recent scholarship on Woodson, see Apple (2013), Brown, Crowley, and King (2011), King, Davis, and Brown (2012), and Snyder (2015).
3 On the history of Black studies programs, in addition to Biondi (2012), see Loss (2012) and Rojas (2007). On the history of Chicana/o studies programs, see Acüna (2011). On the history of American Indian studies programs, see Cook-Lynn (1997) and Kidwell & Velle (2005). On the history of Asian American studies programs, see Maeda (2012).
4 For an informative oral history project on the early work in multicultural education, see Boyle-Baise (1999).
5 For discussions about race and educational research prior to the emergence of multicultural education in the 1970s, see Blanton (2014), Burkholder (2011), Fallace (2015), Gordon (2015), and Selden (1999). Notably, Lagemann's (2000) history of the field offers little on the history of race and educational research.
6 Although beyond the scope of this chapter, it is significant to note the centrality of the ideas of "culturally responsive teaching" and "culturally relevant pedagogy" to discussions in multicultural education and among critical educators who work in teacher education. Geneva Gay and Gloria Ladson-Billings are commonly named as the central figures in the move toward this terminology. See Gay (2013) for a discussion of her views about culturally responsive teaching, which she argues formed in the early 1970s, at the beginning of the emergence of multicultural education. See Ladson-Billings (1995), for her theory of culturally relevant pedagogy.

7 In *Race Frameworks*, Leonardo (2013) focuses on four theoretical traditions and the way each frames analysis of the relationship between race and education: Critical Race Theory, Marxism, whiteness studies, and cultural studies. My approach is similar but slightly different. While Leonardo is focused on the affordances and constraints of these frames, I am looking at specific historical spaces where 'critical' conversations in the field began to emerge. I see: critical multicultural education emerging within multicultural education; a focus on whiteness in education emerging out of broader scholarly discussions, particularly in labor history; British cultural studies as a more particular cultural studies approach with a more particular historical influence; and, CRT in education as spin-off from CRT in legal studies. There is no real tension between our approaches (our purposes are different), although there may be some disagreement about how to position intellectual and political traditions. Recognition is important, however, because of the similarity.

8 Even if not fully immersing himself in the critical multicultural education camp, Carl Grant appears to be more of a fellow traveler than a dissenter.

9 Marable (1983) is also cited by Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995), but for other reasons.

10 Although the shift to a language of whiteness in the field of education was relatively quick, it was not immediate. For example, James Scheurich's essay "Toward a white discourse on white racism," published in *Educational Researcher* in 1993, does not use the term whiteness (or cite Roediger); however, if published a year or two later, this essay, which engages the work of Du Bois, would almost certainly use the term (and probably cite Roediger). Also of note, while women's studies scholar and activist Peggy McIntosh's widely read and used essay "White Privilege: Unpacking the White Knapsack," which was excerpted from a 1988 paper, uses the term whiteness once (in quotation marks, late in the paper), her work focused on white privilege and not the concept of whiteness itself as a particular framework for thinking about race. Clearly, however, McIntosh was engaged in the same general conversation.

11 As noted in earlier chapters, British cultural studies scholarship was very focused on youth subcultural studies, particularly white working-class youth and Black youth. For a history of British cultural studies, see Davies, I. (1995) and Dworkin (1997).

12 One reason why Hall's thinking about race, along with the thinking of other non-U.S. scholars, is probably rarely engaged by education scholars in the United States is because of the (understandable) need to ground conversations about race and schooling in the very specific historical context of the nation's legacy of slavery and colonization.

13 For a recent discussion of the implications of Stuart Hall's work for the field of education from scholars in Australia, Brazil, Britain, Canada, and the United States, see *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* (2015), a special issue dedicated to the legacy of Stuart Hall.

14 In addition to Crenshaw (2011), for an overview of CRT, see Delgado and Stefancic (2012). For a collection of formative CRT articles, see Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller and Thomas (1995). For a collection of more contemporary CRT scholarship, see Delgado and Stefancic (2013).

15 See Guinier (1998), for her own account of the controversy.

16 Ladson-Billings completed her Ph.D. at Stanford University in 1984 and has been a faculty member at the University of Wisconsin–Madison since 1991. Tate completed his Ph.D. at the University of Maryland-College Park in 1991. After spending a

decade as a faculty member at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, in 2002 he became a faculty member at Washington University in St. Louis, where he has remained since.

17 Ladson-Billings and Tate's (1995) *Teachers College Record* article was followed by a companion piece, of sorts, written by Tate (1997) and published in AERA's annual publication, *Review of Research in Education*. This second article built off of the first by offering a thorough historical analysis of CRT ideas and concepts and their implications for research in education. In addition to Tate's piece, other work of Ladson-Billings and Tate not noted in the chapter but significant in the first decade of CRT's development, include: Ladson-Billings (1997), Ladson-Billings (1998), Tate (2001), Rousseau & Tate (2003), Ladson-Billings (2003), Ladson-Billings (2004), and Tate (2004).

18 Solorzano completed his Ph.D. at the Claremont Graduate School in 1986 and has been a faculty member at UCLA since 1990.

19 In order to more clearly discuss the ideas, Solorzano's moves in four particular articles are not discussed chronologically, though it is important to note that the four articles were published within a four year span, 1999–2002.

20 Over time these five themes would be discussed as elements and later tenets. Although the titles and description would slightly shift with each article, the general thrust of each theme or tenet has stayed the same. For instance, in a 2009 article in which Yosso is first author and Solorzano is fourth, the only tenet that changes name is "the centrality and intersectionality of race and racism," which shifts to "the intercentricity of race and racism" (p. 662).

21 In a 2013 article, Ladson-Billings notes five tenets, which she takes from the first edition (2000) of Delgado and Stefancic's widely read introduction to CRT. "Belief that racism is normal or ordinary, not aberrant, in US society"; "interest convergence or material domination"; "race as a social construction"; and, "interesectionality and anti-essentialism; voice or counter-narrative" (p. 37). Although these five are different from the themes she notes in 1998, they are still grounded in an ideological and structural critique of liberalism, and are also firmly committed to a legal framing. In substance, there is not a great deal of difference.

22 In the mid-2000s, Yosso's article on community cultural wealth (2005), which was published in *Race Ethnicity and Education*, and, her book *Critical Race Counterstories along the Chicana/Chicano Educational Pipeline* (2006), cemented her status as a leading educational researcher. Yosso completed her Ph.D. at UCLA in 2000. In fall 2015, after 15 years at UC Santa Barbara, she became a professor at the University of Michigan.

23 For an extended discussion of his ideas about the intellectual roots of CRT, see Solorzano (2013).

24 For a rich and thoughtful discussion of the Black/white binary, see the inaugural issue (2013) of the journal *Critical Philosophy of Race*, which is dedicated to the topic.

25 In their 1995 article, Ladson-Billings and Tate explicitly engage a conversation about capitalism, especially through their use of Harris's (1993) idea of whiteness as property. While the focus on structure remained central in their writing, the critique of capitalism and an analysis of the race/class nexus seemed to fade. Solorzano and Yosso have always seemed a little detached from a critique of capitalism and an analysis of the race/class nexus.

26 For a survey of educational scholarship during the second decade of CRT, see Ledesma and Calderon (2015).

27 In 2013, Routledge published a *Handbook of Critical Race Theory in Education*, which was edited by Lynn and Dixson, a co-editorship move that suggests an attempt to bridge differences between the two approaches to CRT.

28 In addition to Darder and Torres (2003), who further articulate their position in *After Race: Racism After Multiculturalism* (2004), a more recent critique that has received a great deal of attention is Mike Cole's (2009) *Critical Race Theory and Education: A Marxist Response*. For a detailed discussion of Marxist critiques of CRT and CRT responses to the critiques, see Dumas (2013) and Leonardo (2013).

29 The most recent editions for books with multiple editions are in the reference list since these will be of most interest to scholars currently engaged in theoretical work. However, in order to see the development of individual theorists ideas (a central point of advocacy in this book), it is strongly recommended to read earlier editions as well.

30 *Race Ethnicity and Education* has become the leading journal in the field for scholarship on critical theories of race and education. Founded in 1998 by David Gilborn, who at the time was at the Institute of Education, University of London and since 2012 has been at the University of Birmingham, the journal has a notably international readership, editorial board, and list of published authors.

CONCLUSION

The contemporary landscape of critical educational scholarship encompasses a wide variety of intellectual and political traditions, methodological approaches, and subjects of inquiry. The focus on political economy and social class central to the critical Marxist scholarship that instigated the critical turn in the field of education in the 1970s and 1980s has been joined, and in many ways surpassed, by a focus on culture and identity, gender and sexuality, and race and ethnicity. Certainly, the initial wave of critical Marxist scholarship remains very much alive in the language of critical educational studies (e.g. hegemony and ideology), in the continued theorization of the relationship between structure and agency, and in the emphasis on the dialectical relationship between theory and practice. In recent years, in response to an all-out neoliberal assault on public education, there has also been renewed attention to the political economy of schooling. However, despite these "origins and iterations," to borrow a phrase from Ken McGrew (2011), the landscape of critical work has become so vast that critical Marxist thought, while remaining foundational, is arguably no longer the dominant school of critical educational scholarship. The field is much more robust, and necessarily so.

New work in the field is opening conversations and lines of inquiry that will continue to contribute in important ways to radical educational theory and practice. Especially significant is that much of this new work focuses on intersections, such as the relationship between racial oppression and capitalist accumulation, the ways in which gender and racial identities are co-constructed, and how patriarchy, racism, and capitalism are bound together. This move toward intersectional theory, both in terms of broad social formations and structures and individual and group identity construction, has helped bridge conversations between schools of thought and sharpened our understanding of

the place of education and schooling in the social world. Furthermore, some of this work has brought into the field long set aside radical political traditions, such as anarchism (e.g. De Leon, 2008), and invigorated conversations that have long been marginal, such as the relationship between education and ecology (e.g. Martusewicz et al., 2011).

Within this broad array of work, some examples of critical scholarship over the past decade that I find especially insightful, and that have not been discussed at length elsewhere in the book, include (in alphabetical order): Wayne Au's work in curriculum studies, including with Anthony Brown (e.g. Au, 2012; Brown & Au, 2014), and his work in educational policy studies, including with Joseph J. Ferrare (Au, 2008; Au & Ferrare, 2014); Anthony Brown's work in curriculum studies, including his work with Au (e.g. Brown, 2010; Brown & Au, 2014) and his work in educational policy studies with Noah De Lissovoy (Brown & De Lissovoy, 2011); Keffrelyn Brown's work on critical race approaches to research and practice in teaching and teacher education (e.g. 2012, 2014); Julio Cammarota's work on youth participatory action research and the schooling experiences of Latina/o youth (e.g. 2016); Natasha Croom and Lori Patton Davis' work on the experience of Black women faculty in higher education (e.g., Croom & Patton, 2012); Michael Dumas' work on the cultural political economy of education and the schooling experiences of Black youth (e.g. 2011, 2014); Sandy Grande's work on *Red Pedagogy* (2005); Pauline Lipman's work on the political economy of urban schooling (e.g. 2011); Cris Mayo's work on gender and sexuality (e.g. 2013); Na'ilah Suad Nasir's work on socio-cultural learning theory and racialized identities (e.g. 2012); Nicole Nguyen's work on the militarization of schooling (e.g. 2013, 2014, 2015); Mariana Pacheco's work on culture, language, hybrid-identities, and the schooling experiences of Latina/o youth (e.g. 2010, 2012); C.J. Pascoe's work on gender, sexuality, youth, and schooling (e.g. 2007, 2013); Leigh Patel's work on immigration, youth, and education (e.g. 2013); Maarten Simons' work on governmentality and educational policy (e.g. 2006, 2015); Katy Swalwell's work on social justice pedagogy with students from positions of class privilege (e.g. 2013); Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang's work on decolonization (e.g. Tuck and Yang, 2012) and youth resistance (e.g. Tuck and Yang, 2013); Lois Weis and Michelle Fine's work on critical bifocality (e.g. 2012); and, Irene Yoon's work on whiteness-at-work in schools (e.g. 2012). All of this scholarship serves as evidence of the vibrant and important work being undertaken by critical educational scholars.[1]

Yet, despite the excitement that I feel toward much recent scholarship in critical educational studies, as expressed in the book's introduction, there are several reasons for concern. Too often, critical scholarship is poorly crafted, from thin readings of ideas to shoddy polemical pronouncements. As Ladson-Billings (2014) recently argued, we cannot continue to simply slap the label "critical" on our scholarship and call it good. Furthermore, the critical educational community itself is fragmented, holed up in particular camps. The question, therefore, is how

are we going to move forward to both make our work increasingly nuanced, sophisticated, and rigorous, and bridge the myriad critical camps so that we may think and act with a sense of solidarity and shared political commitment.

This book is my attempt to contribute to a conversation about moving us forward. As a piece of historically informed criticism, I offer both close, contextual readings of significant ideas, individuals, texts, and debates that mark the history of the first 40 years of critical educational studies, from critical Marxism to poststructuralist feminism to critical theories of race, as well as speak to how these ideas, individuals, texts, and debates raise questions for our own historical moment and the future of critical educational scholarship. In doing so, I have paid particular attention to the intellectual and political traditions that underpin critical scholarship with the hope that such focus might help us contemporary critical scholars clarify our own values and beliefs and thus our own political commitments.

In addition to offering historical perspective, however, I also want to offer a few concrete suggestions about how we can improve our scholarly work. As noted in the conclusion to Chapter 1, individuals in the field of education are very good at action, but too often the move to action is too quick; the careful and deliberate thought and reflection necessary for conceptual rigor is too frequently pushed aside. What follows is thus a discussion of four practices—reading broadly, reading closely, publishing broadly, and focusing on teaching and learning—that I believe, based upon my historical reading of the field, will help us move toward more robust critical educational scholarship. In discussing these practices, I also want to highlight some contemporary scholarship in the field. The following suggestions are made with full recognition that many have dedicated not only their scholarship but also their full-being towards enacting these and other scholarly practices so as to produce rich and meaningful work. My intent is thus not to say that these practices are never undertaken; rather, my intent is to say that my reading of the history of critical educational scholarship is that these practices are *not undertaken enough*, even though they are practices that we *all* can, should, and need to undertake if critical educational scholarship is to significantly contribute to the struggle against unjust social relations.

Practice One: Read Broadly

Part of the problem of insularity, which is a problem across the academy and certainly not unique to critical educational studies, is that we tend to read very deeply in our own scholarly community. In critical educational studies, this has meant two things. First, we hyper focus on work in our own critical camps to the point of not reading work by other critical scholars. Second, we tend not to read scholarship outside of the field of education. We need to adjust our reading patterns.

Reading outside of our critical camps and broadly within critical educational studies will help us develop an understanding of the diversity of critical scholarship

in the field. Zeus Leonardo's (2013) *Race Frameworks*, for instance, which is discussed at the end of Chapter 6, is an example of scholarship that makes meaning of competing and differing ideas within a line of critical inquiry—critical theories of race—in order to push a specific conversation forward. Instead of focusing on the diversity of critical thought within a specific line of critical inquiry, Wayne Au (2012) focuses on bringing together a range of critical scholarship from various lines of inquiry—from socio-cultural learning theory to feminist standpoint theory to theories of social and cultural reproduction—in order to offer a new framework for a *Critical Curriculum Studies*. Both Leonardo and Au help us think about points of tension and intersection within critical educational studies that can lead toward productive discussion, debate, and collaboration.

Additionally, reading broadly within the field of education, and not simply within critical educational studies, will help us make a stronger contribution to conversations about educational theory, research, and policy writ large. Na'ilah Suad Nasir's (2012) work, for instance, which sits at the intersection of theories of learning, theories of identity, and critical theories of race, has contributed to literature in the learning sciences as much as it has contributed to literature in critical educational studies. Similarly, Cris Mayo's (2013) work has contributed to educational leadership and policy studies as much as it has to more critical literature on gender and sexuality.

Reading broadly also means reading broadly outside of the field of education. All of the scholars discussed in this book were immersed in conversations outside of the field: Michael Apple and Henry Giroux developed their critical approaches to education while thoroughly immersed in British cultural studies; Patti Lather's methodological moves were deeply influenced by work in feminist philosophy of science; and Gloria Ladson-Billings and William Tate brought Critical Race Theory to the field of education *from* the field of law. The significant, foundational contributions each has made to critical educational studies was partially fostered by their engagement with the ideas and conversations in other fields and disciplines. If future scholars are to further develop critical educational studies, similar engagements must continue. Thus, in addition to regularly reading our own journals, we should follow the conversations in the radical and critical spaces of other fields and disciplines, such as *American Quarterly*, *Antipode*, *Critical Inquiry*, *Critical Philosophy of Race*, *Critical Sociology*, *Du Bois Review*, *Hypatia*, *New Left Review*, and *Theory, Culture & Society*, to name only a few. Many scholars already do this, but in order to more carefully connect our conversations to broader scholarly conversations about social injustice, all of us should.

Notably, reading broadly, both outside of our camps and outside of the field, means reading outside of our comfort zone. Our thinking will not get pushed and pulled unless we actively engage work that is likely to push and pull our thinking. This includes not only the substantive topic of discussion but also the disciplines in which we read. For instance, as a historian, I am particularly sensitive to historical claims in critical scholarship, and I believe that if more critical scholars

read good historical scholarship, developed more nuanced ways of thinking historically, and grounded their historical claims in the historical literature, the quality of critical scholarship would improve. I have no doubt that scholars with other disciplinary lenses would make similar claims. This does not mean we have to be disciplinary experts in multiple fields, but we should have enough disciplinary literacy that we can engage in dialogue with literature in different disciplines. For instance, Michael Dumas' (2011) work on the "Cultural Political Economy of School Desegregation in Seattle" is partially grounded in the work of American studies scholar Lisa Duggan and political theorist Nancy Fraser; neither writes about education, but both offer conceptual frames that have much to contribute to conversations in the field.

If we are going to build a radical scholarly community that is truly working together toward radical social change we must be in conversation with other critical scholars, other scholars in the field of education, and scholars outside of the field. We must see critical education as part of a broader political project that necessitates engaging in multiple scholarly relationships.

Practice Two: Read Closely

Too often it feels like we do not read ideas closely enough. Much of the problem, I believe, is that we rely too much on secondary sources. Instead of only reading what others say about canonical thinkers such as Karl Marx, W.E.B. Du Bois, and Hannah Arendt, we should also read Marx, Du Bois, and Arendt. Similarly, instead of relying on secondary interpretations of major work in critical educational studies, such as Apple's book *Ideology and Curriculum* and Ladson-Billings and Tate's article "Towards a Critical Race Theory of Education," we should read the book and the article. Reading original text takes time, but much is missed when we do not go to the source.

In addition to helping us develop a stronger understanding of the ideas we are examining, going to the source will enable us to better see, and ultimately articulate, tensions and distinctions between thinkers. For instance, because of his close attention to text, Maarten Simons (2006), in an essay about higher education and the politics of learning in Europe, is able to offer a nuanced discussion of Michel Foucault's ideas of biopolitics and governmentality and then bring them into conversation with Giorgio Agamben's ideas about sovereignty and Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri's ideas about empire. Similarly, a close reading of Vine Deloria Jr., Frantz Fanon, Aimé Césaire, and Paulo Freire, among others, allows Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang (2012) to parse and critique the deeply problematic ways in which decolonization is used as metaphor for a range of social justice projects not specific to indigenous struggles for sovereignty. In both instances, the readings are careful and attuned to the fine elements of arguments while also seeing how the details work together to construct a whole. Close reading, in both examples, fosters clear, thoughtful writing.

Practice Three: Publish Broadly

This is not a call to publish more. I think we actually publish too much. Rather, it is a call to publish outside of the field of education.

Apple and Giroux publishing in *Social Text* in 1982 was important because it marked the first time that critical educational scholars received space in a broadly read non-education-focused scholarly journal—the articles introduced scholars outside of education to critical educational work. Recently, other critical education scholars, such as Nicole Nguyen, who has published her work on school militarization in the geography journals *Geopolitics* (2014) and *Political Geography* (2015), have also begun to venture outside of the field. Such examples, however, are very difficult to come by. Certainly, the pre-tenure emphasis on publishing in 'top' education journals is a barrier, but why don't more mid-career and senior scholars publish in non-education journals? If we want scholars in other fields to take notice of our work in education, and if we want to set the tone for scholarly conversation about education in other fields, we need to publish in non-education academic journals.

Similarly, if we seek to frame the conversation about education on the political left, we need to publish in radical journals of opinion. Increasingly, *Dissent*, *The Nation*, *Against the Current*, *Z Magazine*, *The Progressive*, *In These Times*, and the much newer *Jacobin*, have regularly published pieces about education. Some critical educational studies scholars have contributed, including: Lois Weiner, who has regularly published in *New Politics* for years, and recently has blogged for *New Politics* as well as for *Jacobin*; Michael Apple, who has been affiliated with *The Progressive* for many years and was also instrumental in helping to start their new web-section Public School Shakedown, which offers regular updates on corporate education reform; Henry Giroux has published in *Z Magazine* and *Truthout*, among other publications for many years; and Wayne Au is on the Editorial Board of *Rethinking Schools*, which, while a radical education journal is a journal widely read by practitioners and others not in the academic field of education. Other scholars, such as Michelle Fine (*The Nation*; *The Progressive*), have published in radical journals of opinion as well.

Most of the contributors to radical journals of opinion, however, such as Michelle Chen, who has written education pieces for *Dissent*, *Colorlines*, *Jacobin* and many others, are not critical educational studies scholars, much less scholars in the field of education. Just as scholars in other fields, particularly ones connected to public policy, sometimes publish their own conversation- shaping work in the radical press—such as critical race theorist Patricia Williams's long-standing column "Diary of a Mad Law Professor" for *The Nation*—so should we. Let us take advantage of the renewed focus on education in left journals of opinion and help shape the conversation.

Building community outside of the field is difficult, but it is necessary for conversation setting (radicals read the radical press) and the political objectives of

critical educational work. It is thus important for us to engage in conversations with scholars outside of education and with activists and scholars who read and publish in leading radical journals of opinion.[2]

Practice Four: Focus on Teaching and Learning

Finally, we must renew our focus on teaching and learning. There is such an enormous emphasis on publication in the academy that there is little emphasis placed on actually teaching, much less matters of programmatic and curricular development and management. The system itself is certainly partially to blame—publish or perish!—but at some point we have to decide to commit to teaching and to building programs. How are we helping our students read broadly and closely? How are we helping our students think about disseminating their ideas and participating in and building community, both inside and outside the field? These are important questions for faculty working in all types of post-secondary institutions, but they are particularly important questions for faculty working in doctoral programs and in professional preparation programs (undergraduate and graduate).

We need to do a better job preparing doctoral students to enter into the community of critical scholars. We need to develop rigorous programs that help students engage the landscape of topics, ideas, and approaches to inquiry in the field. Do we offer courses in social theory in which students read broadly and learn to read closely, such as the course I have heard stories about that Jean Anyon used to teach, and even wrote about (Anyon et al., 2009), at the CUNY Graduate Center? Do our students take coursework in the history of education so they have historical grounding in the topics and tensions in schooling? Are we working with our students on writing so that they may articulate their ideas with analytical precision and care? Do we offer rich methodology courses that prepare students to engage in deep and meaningful ways with epistemological and ontological issues in educational inquiry and to undertake exciting and sophisticated research projects? And at the same time that we embrace practices in the field of 'rigorous' scholarship, are we also problematizing them, reflecting on why we are embracing particular practices over others and how such moves connect to our values, beliefs, and desired political ends?

We also need to make sure our teacher preparation programs, student affairs programs, school leadership programs, and all other practitioner programs receive care and attention. We must prepare critical teachers, as Ken Zeichner (e.g. Zeichner, 2009) has done at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and now the University of Washington, Seattle; and critical school leaders, as Colleen Capper and Michelle Young (e.g. Capper & Young, 2014) have done at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and University of Virginia respectively. We should not be here simply to perpetuate ourselves. We need to fully embrace and value our work in professional preparation, which, notably, also includes, as Zeichner,

Capper, and Young have done, working (in solidarity) with the communities where practitioners practice.

This is activism we should be doing in our own universities. If we do a poor job preparing critical scholars and critical practitioners, critical educational studies will cease to be relevant.

Final Thoughts

Public education is under assault. Nationally, K–12 education is continuing to be undermined by corporate reformers who seek to privatize schools, de-skill teachers, and thin the curriculum. Higher education is fairing slightly better, but perhaps not for long, as the corporate reforms underway in K–12 schooling, such as value-added models to assess teachers, are moving toward higher education as part of a general attack on tenure and the liberal arts. And, across the P–20 continuum, it is working-class and communities of color that are suffering the most from these policy reforms. The disenfranchised are becoming more so.

Schools, of course, are but one piece of a larger social order, and the assault on public education is one piece of a larger assault on public goods. Furthermore, who makes up the public, and thus has access to public goods, has always been a matter of contestation; the history of the United States can be read as a narrative of excluded social groups striving for recognition, voice, and power. The United States has thus never been a land of equality for all; it is, after all, a nation founded on colonization and human bondage.

Yet, while inequality is perhaps endemic, as with the flipside of Derrick Bell's (1992) pessimism about our ability to eliminate racism, there is a flipside to the pessimism of our ability to eliminate inequality writ large. There is a sense of hope that things can and will get better if we work at it and make it happen. For those engaged in struggles for social justice, the public school has long been a site for activism to make things get better. As Michael Apple asked in the title of his book: *Can Education Change Society?* For many, the answer has been yes. There are several reasons why, but one of the primary reasons is a belief, a hope, that the process of education, made open and equitably provided to all, can help deepen our individual and collective understandings of each other and the social world in which we live, and thus significantly contribute to the building of mass social movements that strive for more just social relations.

I also hold both the pessimism and the flipside. And I see the role of critical scholars as deeply understanding the reasons for the pessimism in order to find pathways that might help us realize our hopes. For critical scholarship this also means not simply pushing on the public school but also seeing how public schools are part of the broader social order and thus only one piece of the social movement building equation required to radically alter unjust social relations. I believe in critical educational studies and that it can contribute in significant ways to radical

social change, but if it is to do so, it must become more self-reflexive, more rigorous, and ultimately, more engaged with the world outside of itself.

For all of the complexity of the ideas discussed in the book, I believe the core message is somewhat simple: How we understand the social order frames how we act against injustice within it. Rigorous social theory is indispensable, which means engaging in close and contextual reads of texts, and sophisticated thinking about the descriptive, explanatory, and normative dimensions of theoretical approaches. Revisiting the history of the critical turn, I have argued, helps us think through the process of social theorizing.

I do not have a definitive answer as to what constitutes a 'critical' approach to education; the meaning, as this book demonstrates, has changed with time. Yet, what I do know is that however we choose to define critical, we should do so thoughtfully and purposefully. Our work requires this careful approach. If we are to prepare scholars, practitioners, and activists who are working in solidarity towards the goal of radical social change, we must do so with all of the analytical and conceptual care that we hope a more just society might offer.

Notes

1 These are just some of many examples. Additionally, many of these and other critical educational scholars continue in the tradition of critical scholars before them by engaging in more direct political action. Although not the focus of this book, noting this concrete political action is important. Wayne Au, for instance, an associate professor at the University of Washington, Bothell, has been a prominent voice in the Opt Out Movement, both in the state of Washington and nationally; and Pauline Lipmann, a professor at the University of Illinois, Chicago, has been a long-standing activist in the anti-corporate school reform movement in Chicago. Countless others have also been involved in various types of political action, ranging from school reform politics to movements against police brutality to environmental justice campaigns to local labor struggles. There are terrific people in the critical educational studies community doing a lot of difficult and significant on-the-ground social justice work.

2 It is notable that some critical scholars have begun publishing articles in newspapers, such as the *Washington Post* (in Valerie Strauss's column), which has printed pieces by Ken Zeichner and Wayne Au, among others.

REFERENCES

Acker, S. (1981). No-women's-land: British sociology of education 1960-1979. *Sociological Review, 29*(1), 77–104.

Acuña, R. F. (2011). *The making of Chicana/o studies: In the trenches of academe.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Alcoff, L. M. (2005). *Visible identities: Race, gender, and the self.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Alcoff, L. & Potter, E. (1993). *Feminist epistemologies.* New York: Routledge.

Althusser, L. (2001). *Lenin and philosophy and other essays.* (L. Brewester, Trans.). New York: Monthly Review Press. (Original work published 1970)

Anderson, P. (1976). *Considerations on western Marxism.* London: New Left Books.

Anyon, J. (1979a). Education, social "structure" and the power of individuals. *Theory and Research in Social Education, 7*(1), 49–59.

——(1979b). Ideology and United States history textbooks. *Harvard Educational Review, 49*(3), 361–386.

——(1980). Social class and the hidden curriculum of work. *Journal of Education, 162*(1), 67–92.

——(1981a). Elementary schooling and distinctions of social class. *Interchange, 12*(2–3), 118-132.

——(1981b). Social class and school knowledge. *Curriculum Inquiry, 11*(1), 3–42.

——(1984). Intersections of gender and class: Accommodation and resistance by working-class and affluent females to contradictory sex-role ideologies. *Journal of Education, 166* (1), 25–48.

——(1994). The retreat of Marxism and socialist feminism: Postmodern and poststructural theories in education. *Curriculum Inquiry, 24*(2), 115–133.

——(1997). *Ghetto schooling: A political economy of urban educational reform.* New York: Teachers College Press.

——(2005). *Radical possibilities: Public policy, urban education, and a new social movement.* New York: Routledge.

——(2009). Introduction: Critical social theory, educational research, and intellectual agency. In J. Anyon (Ed.), *Theory and educational research: Toward critical social explanation* (pp. 1–24). New York: Routledge.

——(2011). *Marx and education*. New York: Routledge.

——(2014). *Radical possibilities: Public policy, urban education, and a new social movement* (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge.

Anyon, J., Dumas, M. J., Linville, D. Nolan, K., Perez, M., Tuck, E., & Weiss, J. (Eds). (2009). *Theory and educational research: Toward critical social explanation*. New York: Routledge.

Apple, M. W. (1970). *Relevance and curriculum: A study in phenomenological sociology of knowledge* (Doctoral dissertation). ProQuest Dissertations and Theses. (Order No. 7026760).

——(1971). The hidden curriculum and the nature of conflict. *Interchange, 2*(4), 27–40.

——(1972a). The adequacy of systems management procedures in education and alternatives. *Journal of Educational Research, 66*(1), 10–18.

——(1972b). Community, knowledge, and the structure of disciplines. *Educational Forum, 37*(1), 75–82.

——(1973). Curriculum design and cultural order. In N. Shimahara (Ed.), *Educational reconstruction: Promise and challenge* (pp. 157–183). Columbus, OH: Charles E. Merrill.

——(1974). The process and ideology of valuing in educational settings. In M. W. Apple, M. J. Subdoviak, & H. S. Lufler (Eds.), *Educational evaluation: Analysis and responsibility* (pp. 3–34). Berkeley, CA: McCutchan.

——(1975a). Common sense categories and curriculum thought. In J. B. Macdonald & E. Zaert (Eds.), *Schools in Search of Meaning* (pp.116–148). Washington D.C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.

——(1975b). Scientific interests and the nature of educational institutions. In W. Pinar (Ed.), *Curriculum theorizing: The reconceptualists* (pp. 120–130). Berkeley, CA: McCutchan.

——(1976). Curriculum as ideological selection. *Comparative Educational Review, 20*(2), 209–215.

——(1977). Correspondence to Collins. *Harvard Educational Review, 47*(4), 601.

——(1978a). Ideology, reproduction, and educational reform. *Comparative Educational Review, 22*(3), 367–387.

——(1978b). The New Sociology of Education: Analyzing cultural and economic reproduction. *Harvard Educational Review, 48*(4), 495–503.

——(1979a). *Ideology and curriculum*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

——(1979b). On analyzing hegemony. *The Journal of Curriculum Theorizing, 1*(1), 10–43.

——(Ed.). (1982a). *Cultural and economic reproduction in education: Essays on class, ideology, and the state*. Boston, MA: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

——(1982b). Curriculum and the labor process: The logic of technical control. *Social Text, 5*, 108–125.

——(1982c). *Education and power*. Boston, MA: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

——(1986). *Teachers and texts: A political economy of class & gender relations in education*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

——(1988). Standing on the shoulders of Bowles and Gintis: Class formation and capitalist schools. *History of Education Quarterly, 28*(2), 231–241.

——(1993). *Official knowledge: Democratic education in a conservative age*. New York: Routledge.

——(1996). *Cultural politics & education*. New York: Routledge.

——(2001). *Educating the "right" way: Markets, standards, God, and inequality*. New York: Routledge.

——(2004). *Ideology and curriculum* (3rd ed.). New York: RoutledgeFalmer.

——(2007). *Interviewed by Sandy Pfahler* (Digital recording). Madison, WI: University Archives and Records Management Services.

——(2013). *Can education change society?* New York: Routledge.

——(2015). Understanding and interrupting hegemonic projects in education: Learning from Stuart Hall. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education, 36*(2), 171–184.

Apple, M. W., Au, W., & Gandlin, L. A. (2009). Mapping critical education. In M. W. Apple, W. Au., L. A. Gandin (Eds.), *The Routledge international handbook of critical education* (pp. 3–20). New York: Routledge.

Apple, M. W. & Franklin, B. (1979). Curricular history and social control. In C. Grant (Ed.), *Community participation in education* (pp. 177–201). Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Apple, M. W. & King, N. (1977). What do schools teach? *Curriculum Inquiry, 6*(4), 341–358.

Apple, M. W. & Weiss, L. (Eds.). (1983). *Ideology & practice in schooling*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Arestis, P. & Sawyer, M. (Eds.). (2000). *A biographical dictionary of dissenting economists* (2nd Ed.). Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar.

Arnot, M. (1982). Male hegemony, social class, and women's education. *Journal of Education, 164*(1), 64–89.

Aronowitz, S. (1981). *The crisis in historical materialism: Class, politics, and culture in Marxist theory*. New York: Praeger.

——(1996). *The death and rebirth of American radicalism*. New York: Routledge.

——(2000). *The knowledge factory: Dismantling the corporate university and creating true higher learning*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Aronowitz, S. & Giroux, H. (1985). *Education under siege: The conservative, liberal and radical debate over schooling*. South Hadley, MA: Bergin & Garvey.

Arons, S. (1980, March 15). The teachers and the tyrant. *The Saturday Review*, 16–19.

Attewell, P. A. (1984). *Radical political economy since the sixties: A sociology of knowledge analysis*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Au, W. (2008). *Unequal by design: high-stakes testing and the standardization of inequality*. New York: Routledge.

——(2012). *Critical curriculum studies: Education, consciousness, and the politics of knowing*. New York: Routledge.

Au, W. & Ferrare, J. J. (2014). Sponsors of policy: A network analysis of wealthy elites, their affiliated philanthropies, and charter school reform in Washington state. *Teachers College Record, 116*(8), 1–24.

Avineri, S. (1968). *The social and political thought of Karl Marx*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Balibar, E., Rajchman, J., & Boyman, A. (2011). *French philosophy since 1945: Problems, concepts, inventions: Postwar French thought, Volume IV*. New York: New Press.

Banks, J. A. (1969). A content analysis of the Black American in textbooks. *Social Education, 33*(8), 954–957.

——(1973). Curriculum strategies for Black liberation. *School Review, 81*(3), 405–414.

——(1975). *Teaching strategies for ethnic studies*. Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.

——(1979). Shaping the future of multicultural education. *Journal of Negro Education, 48*(3), 237–252.

——(1982). Educating minority youths: An inventory of current theory. *Education and Urban Society, 15*(1), 88–103.

Baran, P. A. & Sweezy, P. M. (1966). *Monopoly capital: An essay on the American economic and social order.* New York: Monthly Review Press.

Beadie, N. (2010). *Education and the creation of capital in the early American republic.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Bell, D. A. (1973). *Race, racism, and American law.* New York: Little Brown.

Bell, D. (1976). Serving two masters: Integration ideals and client interests in school desegregation litigation. *Yale Law Journal, 85*(4), 470–516.

——(1980). Brown v. Board of Education and the interest convergence dilemma. *Harvard Law Review, 93*(3), 518–533.

——(1992). *Faces at the bottom of the well: The permanence of racism.* New York: Basic.

Benhabib, S. & Cornell, D. (1987). Introduction: Beyond the politics of gender. In S. Benhabib & D. Cornell (Eds.), *Feminism as Critique.* Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Bensimon, E. M. (1992). Lesbian existence and the challenge to normative constructions of the academy. *The Journal of Education, 174*(3), 96–113.

Berube, M. (1971). [Review of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, by P. Freire]. *Social Policy, 2*(4), 60–61.

Best, S. & Kellner, D. (1997). *The postmodern turn.* New York: Guilford.

Bhaba, H. K. (1994). *The location of culture.* New York: Routledge.

Biondi, M. (2012). *The Black revolution on campus.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Blanton, C. K. (2014). *George I. Sanchez: The long fight for Mexican American integration.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Boff, L. & Boff, C. (1987). *Introducing liberation theology.* (P. Bums, Trans.). Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.

Bonilla-Silva, E. (2003). *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in America.* New York: Rowman & Littlefield.

——(2014). *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in America* (4th ed.). New York: Rowman & Littlefield.

Bond, H. M. (1939). *Negro education in Alabama: A study in cotton and steel.* Washington, D.C.: Associate Publishers.

Bowers, C. A. (1980). The technological conscience. *Teachers College Record, 82*(1), 139–145.

——(1983). Linguistic roots of cultural invasion in Paulo Freire's pedagogy. *Teachers College Record, 84*(4), 935–953.

——(2006). Silences and double binds: Why the theories of John Dewey and Paulo Freire cannot contribute to revitalizing the commons. *Capitalism Nature Socialism 17*(3), 71–87

Bowles, S. (1965). *The efficient allocation of resources in education: A planning model with applications for northern Nigeria* (Doctoral dissertation). *ProQuest Dissertations and Theses.* (Order No. 0238442).

——(1968). Towards equality of educational opportunity? *Harvard Educational Review, 38*(1), 89–99.

——(1969). *Planning educational systems for economic growth*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

——(1971). Cuban education and the revolutionary ideology. *Harvard Educational Review, 41(*4), 472–500.

——(1972). Unequal education and the reproduction of the social division of labor. In M. Carnoy (Ed.), *Schooling in corporate society: The political economy of education in America* (pp. 36–64). New York: David McKay.

——(1997). Interview with Carlos Alberto Torres. In C. A. Torres (Ed.), *Education, power, and personal biography: Dialogues with critical educators* (pp. 45–63). New York: Routledge.

Bowles, S. & Gintis, H. (1972/1973). IQ in the U.S. class structure: A statistical analysis. *Social Policy, 3*(4), 65–96.

——(1975a). Capitalism and education in the United States. *Socialist Revolution, 5*, 101–-138.

——(1975b). Class, power, and alienated labor. *Monthly Review, 26*(10), 9–25.

——(1976). *Schooling in capitalist America: Educational reform and the contradictions of economic life*. New York: Basic Books.

——(1977). *Schooling in capitalist America: Educational reform and the contradictions of economic life*. New York: Basic Books.

——(1986). *Democracy and capitalism: Property, community, and the contradictions of modern social thought*. New York: Basic Books.

——(2003). Schooling in capitalist America twenty-five years later. *Sociological Forum, 18*(2), 343–348.

——(2011). *Schooling in capitalist America: Educational reform and the contradictions of economic life*. Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books.

Bowles, S., Gintis, H., & Meyer, P. (1975a). Education, IQ and legitimization of the social division of labor. *Berkeley Journal of Sociology, 20*, 233–264.

——(1975b). The long shadow of work: Education, the family, and the reproduction of the social division of labor. *Insurgent Sociologist, 5*, 3–22.

Bowles, S. & Levin, H. (1968a). The determinants of scholastic achievement: An appraisal of some recent evidence. *Journal of Human Resources, 3*(3), 3–24.

——(1968b). More on multicolinearity and the effectiveness of schools. *Journal of Human Resources, 3*(3), 393–400.

Boyle-Baise, M. (1999). Bleeding boundaries or uncertain center? A historical exploration of multicultural education. *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision, 14*(3), 191–215.

Brameld, T. (1965). *The use of explosive ideas in education: Culture, class, and evolution*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Brayboy, B. M. J. (2005). Toward a Tribal Critical Race Theory in education. *Urban Review, 3*7(5), 425–446.

Breckman, W. (2013). *Adventures of the symbolic: Post-Marxism and radical democracy*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Brick, H. & Phelps, C. (2015). *Radicals in America: The U.S. left since the second world wa*r. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Britzman, D. (1991). *Practice makes practice: A critical study of learning to teach*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Britzman, D. P. (1995a). Is there a queer pedagogy? Or, stop reading straight. *Educational Theory, 45*(2), 151–165.

——(1995b). "The question of belief": Writing poststructural ethnography. *Qualitative Studies in Education, 8*(3), 229–238.

Bronner, S. E. (1999). *Ideas in action: Political tradition in the twentieth century*. Lanham, MD. Rowman & Littlefield.

——(2002). *Of critical theory and its theorists* (Rev. ed.). New York: Routledge.

Brosio, R. A. (1992). Reconsideration: Schooling in capitalist America. *Educational Studies, 23*(4), 423–438.

——(1994). *A radical democratic critique of capitalist education*. New York: Peter Lang.

Brown, A. L. (2010). Counter-memory and race: An examination of African American scholars' challenges to early 20th century K-12 historical discourses. *Journal of Negro Education, 79*(1), 54–65.

Brown, A. L. & Au, W. (2014). Race, memory, and master narratives: A critical essay on U.S. curriculum history. *Curriculum Inquiry, 44*(3), 358–389.

Brown, A. L. & De Lissovoy, N. (2011). Economies of racism: Grounding education policy research in the complex dialectics of race, class, and capital. *Journal of Education Policy, 26*(5), 595–619.

Brown, A. L., Crowley, R. M., & King, L. J. (2011). Black civitas: An examination of Carter Woodson's contributions to teaching about race, citizenship, and the black soldier. *Theory & Research in Social Education, 39*(2), 278–299.

Brown, K. D. (2012). Trouble on my mind: Toward a framework of humanizing critical sociocultural knowledge for teaching and teacher education. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 16*(3), 316–338.

——(2014). Teaching in color: A critical race theory in education analysis of the literature on preservice teachers of color and teacher education in the U.S. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 17*(3), 326–345.

Bryson, M. & de Castell, S. (1993). Queer pedagogy: Praxis makes im/perfect. *Canadian Journal of Education, 18*(3), 285–305.

Buhle, P. (1991) *Marxism in the United States* (Rev. Ed.). New York: Verso.

——(2013). *Marxism in the United States* (Rev. Ed.). New York: Verso.

Burkholder, Z. (2011). *Color in the classroom: How American schools taught race, 1900–1954*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Cammarota, J. (2016). The praxis of ethnic studies: Transforming second sight into critical consciousness. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 19*(2), 233–251

Capper, A. C. & Young, M. D. (2014). Ironies and limitations of educational leadership for social justice: A call to social justice educators. *Theory Into Practice, 53*(2), 158–164.

Carlson, D. (1998). Finding a voice and losing our way? *Educational Theory, 48*(4), 541–554.

Carnoy, M. (1984). Marxism and education. In B. Ollman & Vernoff, E. (Eds.), *The left academy: Marxist scholarship on American campuses, volume two* (pp. 79–98). New York: Praeger.

Castaneda, J. (1993). *Utopia unarmed: The Latin American left after the Cold War*. New York: Knopf.

Center for Studies in Education and Development Annual Report, 1971–1972. Harvard University. Records of the Center for Studies in Education and Development, 1962–1977 (inclusive). Folder: "Annual Report 1971–1972 (drafts)." Box 1. Harvard University Archives. UAV 350.4005.

Cheryholmes, C. H. (1988). *Power and criticism: Poststructural investigations in education*. New York: Teachers College Record.

——(1994). Pragmatism, poststructuralism, and socially useful theory. *Curriculum Inquiry, 24*(2), 193–213.

Chicago Daily Defender. (1971, June 5). Commencement address by UMC Women's Exec, p. 22.

Cho, S. (2013). *Critical pedagogy and social change: Critical analysis on the language of possibility*. New York: Routledge.

Chomsky, N. (1966). Some thoughts on intellectuals and the schools. *Harvard Educational Review, 36*(4), 484–491.

Chubbok, S. M. (2004). Whiteness enacted, whiteness disrupted: The complexity of personal congruence. *American Educational Research Journal 41*(2), 310–333.

CIDOC. (1969). *CIDOC Dossier No. 37: Mexico "Entredicho" Del Vaticano A Cidoc 1966–1969*. Cuernavaa, Mexico: Directorio De Publiciones CIDOC.

Cobble, D. S., Gordon, L. & Henry, A. (2014). *Feminism unfinished: A short, surprising history of American women's movements*. New York: Liveright.

Coben, D. (1998). *Radical heroes: Gramsci, Freire, and the politics of adult education*. New York: Garland.

Cohen, D. & Rosenberg, B. H. (1977). Functions and fantasies: Understanding schools in capitalist America. *History of Education Quarterly, 17*(2), 113–138.

Cohen D. K. & Lazerson, M. (1972). Education and the corporate order. *Socialist Revolution, 2*(2), 47–72.

Cole, Mary. (1968). *Summer in the city*. New York: R.J. Kennedy.

Cole, Mike (Ed.). (1988). *Bowles and Gintis revisited: Correspondence and contradiction in educational theory*. London: Falmer.

——(2009). *Critical race theory and education: A Marxist response*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Coleman, J. S. (1968). Equality of educational opportunity: A reply to Bowles and Levin. *Journal of Human Resources, 3*(3), 237–246.

Coleman, J. S., Campbell, E. Q., Hobson, C. J., McPartland, J., Mood, A. M., Weinfeld, F. D. et al. (1966). *Equality of educational opportunity*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Colleti, L. (1975). Introduction. In *Karl Marx: Early writings* (R. Livingstone & G. Benton, Trans.) (pp.7–56). New York: Vintage.

Collins, P. H. (1986). Learning from the outsider within: The sociological significance of black feminist thought. *Social Problems, 33*(6), 175–193.

——(1990). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*. Boston, MA: Unwin Hyman.

——(2000). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment* (Rev. ed). New York: Routledge. (Original work published 1990).

Collins, R. (1976). [Review of *Schooling in Capitalist America*, by S. Bowles & H. Gintis]. *Harvard Educational Review, 46*(2), 246–251.

——(1977). Some comparative principles of educational stratification. *Harvard Educational Review, 47*(1), 1–27.

Combahee River Collective (1977). *A Black feminist statement*.

Connelly, F. M. (1984). Editorial: The Henry Giroux episode: Winning an argument in curriculum dialogue. *Curriculum Inquiry, 14*(1), 1–6.

Cook-Lynn, E. (1997). Who stole Native American Studies? *Wicazo Sa Review, 12*(1), 9–28.

Counts, G. S. (1978). *Dare the school build a new social order?* Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois Press (Original work published 1932).

Cowie, J. (2011). *Stayin' alive: The 1970s and the last days of the working class*. New York: The New Press.

Crenshaw, K (1993). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review, 43*(6), 1241–1299.

Crenshaw, K. W. (2011). Twenty years of critical race theory: Looking back to move forward. *Connecticut Law Review, 43*(5), 1253–1352.

Crenshaw, K. W., Goyanda, N., & Thomas, K. (1995). Introduction. In Crenshaw, K. W., Goyanda, N., & Thomas, K. (Eds.) *Critical race theory: The key writings that formed the movement* (pp. xiii–xxxii). New York: New Press.

Critical Philosophy of Race. (2013). Special issue: Critical philosophy of race beyond the black/white binary. *Critical Philosophy of Race, 1*(1).

Croom, N. N. & Patton, L. D. (2012). The miner's canary: A critical race perspective on the representation of Black women full professors. *Negro Educational Review, 62*(1–4), 13–39.

Cuban, L. (1969). Teacher and community. *Harvard Educational Review, 39*(2), 253–272.

Currie, R. J. (1972). [Review of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, by P. Freire]. *Peabody Journal of Education, 49*(2),161–164.

Cussett, F. (2008). *French theory: How Foucault, Derrida, Deleuze, & Co. transformed the intellectual life of the United States* (J. Fort, Trans.). Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Dale, R., Esland, G., & MacDonald, M. (Eds.). (1976). *Schooling and capitalism: A sociological reader*. London: Routledge.

Darder, A. & Torres, R. D. (2003). Shattering the "race" lens: Toward a critical theory of racism. In Darder, A., Baltodano, M. P., & Torres, R. D. (Eds.), *The critical pedagogy reader* (pp. 245–261). New York: Routledge.

——(2004). *After race: Racism after multiculturalism*, New York: New York University Press.

Darder, A., Baltodano, M. P., & Torres, R. D. (Eds) (2008). *The critical pedagogy reader* (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge.

Davies, B. & Banks, C. (1992). The gender trap: A feminist poststructuralist analysis of primary school children's talk about gender. *Journal of Curriculum Studies, 24*(1), 1–25.

Davies, I. (1995). *Cultural studies and beyond: Fragments of empire*. New York: Routledge.

Davies, S. (1995). Leaps of faith: Shifting currents in critical sociology of education. *The American Journal of Sociology, 100*(6), 1448–1478.

Davis, J. L. (2013). *Survival schools: The American Indian Movement and community education in the Twin Cities*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Day, R. J. F. (2005). *Gramsci is dead: Anarchist currents in the newest social movements*. Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press.

Deem, R. (1978). *Women and schooling*. London: Routledge.

Delgado, R. & Stefancic, J. (Eds.). (2012). *Critical race theory: An introduction* (2nd ed.). New York: New York University Press.

——(2013). *Critical race theory: The cutting edge* (2nd ed.). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

DeLeon, A. (2008). Oh no, not the "A" word! Proposing an "anarchism" for education. *Educational Studies, 44*(2), 122–141.

Denning, M. (2004). *Culture in the age of three worlds*. London: Verso.

Diggins, J. P. (1992). *The rise and fall of the American left*. New York: Norton.

Dimitriadis, G., Weis, L., & McCarthy, C. (2006). Introduction. In L. Weis, C., McCarthy, & G., Dimitriadis (Eds.), *Ideology, curriculum, and the new sociology of education: Revisiting the work of Michael Apple* (pp. 1–13). New York: Routledge.

Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education. (2015). Special Issue: Stuart Hall, 1932–2014: Educational projects, legacies, futures. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, *36*(2).

Dixson, A. D. & Rousseau, C. K. (2005). And we are still not saved: Critical race theory in education ten years later. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 8*(1), 7–27.

Du Bois, W. E. B. (1935). *Black reconstruction: An essay toward a history of the part which Black folk played in the attempt to rebuild democracy in America*: 1860–1880. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company.

Dumas, M. J. (2010). What is this "Black" in Black education?: Imagining a cultural politics without guarantees. In Z. Leonardo (Ed.), *Handbook of cultural politics and education* (pp. 403–422). Rotterdam, Netherlands: Sense.

——(2011). A cultural political economy of school desegregation in Seattle. *Teachers College Record, 113*(4), 703–734.

——(2013). Doing class in critical race analysis in education. In M. Lynn, & A. D. Dixson (Eds.), *Handbook of critical race theory in education* (pp. 113–126). New York: Routledge.

——(2014). "Losing an arm": Schooling as a site of black suffering. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 117*(1), 1–29.

Dworkin, D. (1997). *Cultural Marxism in postwar Britain: History of the New Left, and the origins of cultural studies*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Echols, A. (1989). *Daring to be bad: Radical feminism in America 1967–1975*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

The Editors (1982). Critical theory of education. *Social Text 5*, 86.

Edwards, R. C., Reich, M., & Weisskopf, T. E. (1972). *The capitalist system: A radical analysis of American society*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Elbaum, M. (2002). *Revolution in the air: Sixties radicals turn to Lenin, Mao, and Che*. New York: Verso.

Elias, J. (1976). *Conscientization and deschooling: Freire's and Illich's proposals for reshaping society*. Philadelphia, PA: The Westminster Press.

Elford, G. (1971). The toll of oppression-dehumanization. [Review of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, by P. Freire]. *Momentum, 2*, 48.

Ellsworth, E. (1989). Why doesn't this feel empowering? Working through the repressive myths of critical pedagogy. *Harvard Educational Review, 59*(3), 297–324.

——(1990). The question remains: Howe will you hold awareness of the limits of your knowledge? *Harvard Educational Review, 60*(3), 396–404.

——(1997). Double binds of whiteness. In M. Fine, L. Weis, L. C. Powell, & L. M. Wong (Eds.), *Off white: Readings on race, power, and society* (pp. 259–269). New York: Routledge.

Elsasser, N. & John-Steiner, V. P. (1977). An interactionist approach to advancing literacy. *Harvard Educational Review, 47*(3), 355–369.

Epstein, B. (1991). *Political protest and cultural revolution. Nonviolent direct action in the 1970s and 1980s*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Erben, M., & Gleeson, D. (1977). Education as reproduction: A critical examination of some aspects of the work of Louis Althusser. In M. Young & G. Whitty (Eds.), *Society, state, and schooling: Readings on the possibilities for radical education* (pp. 73–92). London: Falmer.

Ericson, E. E. Jr. (1975). *Radicals in the university*. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press.

Evans, R. W. (2004). *The social studies wars: What should we teach the children?* New York: Teachers College Press.

Evans, S. M. (1979). *Personal politics: The roots of women's liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left*. New York: Knopf.

Fallace, T. D. (2015). *Race and the origins of progressive education, 1880–1929*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Fanon, F. (1963). *The wretched of the earth*. New York: Grove Press.

Fischer, G. (Ed.). (1971). *The revival of American socialism: Selected papers of the Socialist Scholars Conference*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Fitzpatrick, J. (1996). *The stranger is our own: Reflection on the journey of Puerto Rican migrants*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.

Flacks, R. (1988). *Making history: The American left and the American mind*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Flude, M. & Ahier, J. (Eds.). (1974). *Educability, schools, and ideology*. London: Halsted.

Foster, J. B. F. (2004). The commitment of an intellectual: Paul M. Sweezey. *Monthly Review, 56*(5), 5–39.

Foy, R. (1971). [Review of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, by P. Freire]. *Educational Studies, 2*(3–4), 92–93.

Franklin, B. (1974). *The curriculum field and the problem of social control, 1918–1938: A study in critical theory* (Doctoral dissertation). *ProQuest Dissertations and Theses*. (Order No. 7426491).

Freire, A. M. A. & Macedo, D. (2000). Introduction. In A. M. A. Freire & D. Macedo (Eds.), *The Paulo Freire Reader* (pp. 1–44). New York: Continuum.

Freire, P. (1970a). The adult literacy process as cultural action for freedom. (M. B. Ramos, Trans.). *Harvard Educational Review, 40*(2), 205–225.

——(1970b). Cultural action and conscientization. (M. B. Ramos, Trans.). *Harvard Educational Review, 40*(3), 452–477.

——(1970c). *Cultural action for freedom*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Educational Review and Center for the Study of Development and Social Change.

——(1970d). Cultural freedom in Latin America. In L. M. Colonnese (Ed.), *Human rights and liberation of man in the Americas* (pp. 162–179). South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.

——(1970e). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. (M. B. Ramos, Trans.). New York: The Seabury Press.

——(1981). The people speak their word: Learning to read and write in Sao Tome and Principe. *Harvard Educational Review, 51*(1), 27–30.

——(1985). *The politics of education: Culture, power and liberation*. (D. Macedo, Trans.). Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.

——(1990). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. (M. B. Ramos, Trans.). (Rev. ed.). New York: Continuum.

——(1996). *Letters to Cristina: Reflections on my life and work*. New York: Routledge.

——(2006). *Pedagogy of hope*. New York: Continuum. (Original work published 1992).

Freire, P. & Macedo, D. (1987). *Literacy: Reading the word and the world*. Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.

Freire, P. & Shor, I. (1986). *A pedagogy of liberation*. Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.

Friedenberg, E. Z. (1971). [Review of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, by Paulo Freire]. *Comparative Education Review, 15*(3), 378–380.

Friend, R. A. (1993). Choices, not closets: Heterosexism and homophobia in schools. In L. Weis & M. Fine (Eds.), *Beyond silenced voices: Class, race, and gender in United States schools* (pp. 209–235). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Gadotti, M. (1994). *Reading Paulo Freire: His life and work* (J. Milton, Trans.). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Gay, G. (1970). Needed: Ethnic studies in schools. *Educational Leadership, 28*(3), 292–295.

——(1975). *Organizing and designing culturally pluralistic curriculum. Educational Leadership, 33*(3), 176–183.

——(1978a). Ethnic identity in early adolescence: Some implications for instructional reform. *Educational Leadership, 35*(8), 649–655.

——(1978b). Multicultural preparation and teacher effectiveness in desegregated schools. *Theory into Practice, 78*(17), 149–156.

——(1983). Multiethnic education: Historical developments and future prospects. *Phi Delta Kappan, 64*, 560–563.

——(2013). Teaching to and through cultural diversity. *Curriculum Inquiry, 43*(1), 48–70.

Gibson, R. (1994). *The promethean literacy: Paulo Freire's pedagogy of reading, praxis, and liberation* (Doctoral dissertation). *ProQuest Dissertations and* Theses. (Order No. 9518746).

——(2007). Paulo Freire and revolutionary pedagogy for social justice. In E. W. Ross and R. Gibson (Eds.), *Neoliberalism and educational reform* (pp. 177–215). Creskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Gilborn, D. (1995). *Racism and antiracism in real schools*. Philadelphia, PA: Open University Press.

——(2010). The White working class, racism and respectability: Victims, degenerates, and interest-convergence. *British Journal of Educational Studies, 58*(1), 3–25.

Gilman, N. (2004). *Mandarins of the future: Modernization theory in Cold War America*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Ginsberg, A. E. (Ed.). (2008). *The evolution of American women's studies: Reflections on triumphs, controversies, and change*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gintis, H. (1969). *Alienation and power: Towards a radical welfare economic*s (Doctoral dissertation). *ProQuest Dissertations and Theses*. (Order No. 0219968).

——(1970). New working class and revolutionary youth. *Socialist Revolution, 1*, 13–43.

——(1972a). A radical analysis of welfare economics and individual development. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics, 86*(4), 572–599.

——(1972b). Activism and counterculture: The dialectics of consciousness in the corporate state. *Telos, 12*, 42–62.

——(1972c). Toward a political economy of education: A radical critique of Ivan Illich's *Deschooling Society. Harvard Educational Review, 42*(1), 70–96.

——(1982). The reemergence of Marxian economics in America. In B. Ollman & E. Vernoff (Eds.), *The left academy: Marxist scholarship on American campuses* (pp. 53–81). New York: McGraw-Hill.

——(1997). Interview with Carlos Alberto Torres. In C.A. Torres (Ed.), *Education, power, and personal biography: Dialogues with critical educators* (pp. 107–128). New York: Routledge.

Giroux, H. A. (1976a, Winter). The paradox of Lina Wertmuller: Film and the dialectic of alienation. *Film Criticism*, 11–20.

——(1976b, Fall). The politics of despair. *Cineaste*, 32–41.

——(1976c, Summer/Fall). The politics of technology, culture, and alienation. *Left Curve: A journal of Arts and Politics*, 32–41.

——(1976d). Schooling as a process: The role of dialogue in education. *The Clearing House, 50*(1), 20–23.

——(1977). Themes in modern European history: Study in the process of history. (Doctoral dissertation). *Proquest Dissertations and Theses*. (Order No. 7728819).

——(1978). Writing and critical thinking in social studies. *Curriculum Inquiry, 8*(4), 291–310.

——(1979). Paulo Freire's approach to radical educational reform. *Curriculum Inquiry, 9*(3), 257–272.

——(1980). Critical theory and rationality in citizenship education. *Curriculum Inquiry, 10*(4), 329–366.

——(1981a). *Ideology, culture, and the process of schooling*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

——(1981b). Pedagogy, pessimism, and the politics of conformity: A reply to Linda McNeil. *Curriculum Inquiry, 11*(3), 211–222.

——(1982). The politics of educational theory. *Social Text, 5*, 87–107.

——(1983a). Theories of reproduction and resistance in the New Sociology of Education: A critical analysis. *Harvard Educational Review, 53*(3), 257–293.

——(1983b). *Theory and resistance in education: A pedagogy for the opposition*. South Hadley, MA: Bergin & Garvey.

——(1984). Giroux's response. *Curriculum Inquiry, 14*(2), 127–128.

——(1985). Introduction. In Freire, P., *The politics of education: Culture, power, and liberation* (D. Macedo, Trans.). (pp. xi–xxv). Wesport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.

——(1988a). Border pedagogy in the age of postmodernism. *Journal of Education, 170*(3), 162–181.

——(1988b). *Schooling and the struggle for public life: Critical pedagogy in the modern age*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

——(1988c). *Teachers as intellectuals: Toward a critical pedagogy of learning*. Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey

——(1991a). Border pedagogy and the politics of modernism/postmodernism. *Journal of Architectural Education, 44*(2), 69–79.

——(Ed.). (1991b). *Postmodernism, feminism, and cultural politics: Redrawing educational boundaries*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

——(1996). *Fugitive cultures: Race, violence, and youth*. New York: Routledge.

——(1997a). Interview with Carlos Alberto Torres. In C. A. Torres (Ed.), *Education, power, and personal biography: Dialogues with critical educators* (pp. 129–158). New York: Routledge.

——(1997b). Rewriting the discourse of racial identity: Towards a pedagogy and politics of whiteness. *Harvard Educational Review, 67*(2), 285–320.

——(2008). *Interview with Joe Kincheloe*. The Paulo and Nita Freire International Project for Critical Pedagogy. Accessed online at http://freire.mcgill.ca/node/241. Last accessed July 18, 2008.

Giroux, H. A. & McLaren, P. (Eds.) (1989). *Critical pedagogy, the state, and cultural struggle*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Giroux, H. A., Pena, A., & Pinar, W. F. (Ed.). (1981). *Curriculum & instruction: Alternatives in education*. Berkeley, CA: McCutchan.

Gordon, L. (2015). *From power to prejudice: The rise of racial individualism in midcentury America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Gordon, P. E. (2014). Contextualism and criticism in the history of ideas. In D. H. McMahon & S. Moyn (Eds.), *Rethinking modern European intellectual history* (pp. 32–55). New York: Oxford University Press.

Gottesman, I. (2009). Positioning critical educational studies within the field of education: Rethinking Lagemann's *An Elusive Science*. *Educational Foundations, 23*(1–2), 3–20.

Gouldner, A. (1970). *The coming crisis in Western sociology*. New York: Basic Books.

——(1980). *The two Marxisms*. New York: The Seabury Press.

Goulet, D. (1973). Introduction. In P. Freire, *Education for Critical Consciousness* (M.B. Ramos, Trans. and Ed) (pp. vii–viii). New York: The Seabury Press.

Grabowski, S. (Ed.). (1972). *Paulo Freire: A revolutionary dilemma for the adult educator*. Syracuse, NY: Publications In Continuing Education and ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult Education.

Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from prison notebooks*. (Q. Hoare & G. N. Smith, Eds. and Trans.). New York: International Publishers.

Grande, S. (2004). *Red pedagogy: Native American social and political thought*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.

Grant, C. A. (1975). Racism in school and society. *Educational Leadership, 33*(3), 184–188.

——(1977). The mediator of culture: A teacher role revisited. *Journal of Research and Development in Education, 11*(1), 102–117.

——(1978). Education that is multicultural—Isn't that what we mean? *Journal of Teacher Education, 29*(5), 45–48.

——(1979). Education that is multicultural as a change agent: organizing for effectiveness. *Journal of Negro Education, 48*(3), 253–266.

——(1981). Education that is multicultural and teacher preparation: An examination from the perspective of preservice teachers. *Journal of Educational Research, 75*(2), 95–101.

Greene, M. (1971). Curriculum and consciousness. *Teachers College Record, 73*(2): 253–270.

——(1973). The matter of justice. *Teachers College Record, 75*(2), 181–192.

——(1978). Teaching: The question of personal reality. *Teachers College Record, 80*(1), 23–35.

——(1993). The passions of pluralism: Multiculturalism and the expanding community. *Educational Researcher, 22*(1), 13–18.

Griffith, W. (1972). Paulo Freire: Utopian perspective on literacy education for revolution. In S. Grabowski (Ed.), *Paulo Freire: A revolutionary dilemma for the adult educator* (pp. 67–82). Syracuse, NY: Publications in Continuing Education and ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult Education.

Gross, N. (2007). Pragmatism, phenomenology, and twentieth-century American sociology. In C. Calhoun (Ed.), *Sociology in America: A history* (pp. 183–244). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Guinier, L. (1998). *Lift every voice: Turning a civil rights setback into a new vision of social justice.* New York: Simon and Schuster.

Habermas, J. (1970). *Toward a rational society: Student protest, science and politics.* (J. J. Shapiro, Trans.). Boston, MA: Beacon Press. (Original work published 1968)

——(1971). *Knowledge and human interests.* (J. J. Shapiro, Trans.). Boston, MA: Beacon Press. (Original work published 1968)

Hall, S. (1988). New ethnicities. In K. Mercer (Ed.). *Black film, British cinema,* (pp. 27–31). London: ICA Documents 7.

Hamilton, C. (1968). Race and education: A search for legitimacy. *Harvard Educational Review, 38*(4), 669–684.

Haney, D. P. (2008). *The Americanization of social science: intellectuals and public responsibility in the postwar United States.* Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Harding, S. (Ed.). (1986). *The science question in feminism.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

——(1991). *Whose science? Whose knowledge?: Thinking from women's lives.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

——(1993). Rethinking standpoint epistemology: "What is strong objectivity"? In L. Alcoff & E. Potter (Eds.), *Feminist epistemologies* (pp. 49–82). New York: Routledge.

——(2002). Philosophy as work and politics. In G. Yancy (Ed.), *The philosophical I: Personal reflections on life in philosophy* (pp. 23–42). New York: Rowman & Littlefield.

Harding, S. G. (Ed.). (2004). *The feminist standpoint theory reader: Intellectual and political controversies.* New York: Routledge.

Harman, D. (1969). Harvard University. Records of the Center for Studies in Education and Development, 1962–1977 (inclusive). David Harman letter to Dr. W. Charelson. "Subject: Freire Fall Seminar", July 2, 1969. File: "CVG Reports, Memos, Etc… (1969–1970)." Box 4. Harvard University Archives. UAV 350.4005.

——(1970). Literacy: An overview. *Harvard Educational Review, 40*(2), 226–243.

——(1971, June 19). Methodology for revolution. [Review of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, by P. Freire]. *Saturday Review*, 54–55.

Harman, D. (1979). [Review of *Pedagogy in Process,* by P. Freire]. *Harvard Educational Review, 49*(1), 107–110.

Harris, C. I. (1993). Whiteness as property. *Harvard Law Review 106*(8), 1709–1791.

Hartman, A. (2008). *Education and the Cold War: the battle for the American school.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

——(2015). *A war for the soul of America: A history of the culture wars.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press

Hartsock, N. (1983). The feminist standpoint: Developing the ground for a specifically historical feminist materialism. In S. Harding and M. Hintikka (Eds.), *Discovering reality: Feminist perspectives on epistemology, metaphysics, methodology, and philosophy of science* (pp. 283–310). Amsterdam: D. Reidel.

——(1989–1990). Postmodernism and political change: Issues for feminist theory. *Cultural Critique, 14*, 15–33.

——(1998). *The feminist standpoint revisited and other essays.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Harvard Educational Review (1968). Special issue: Equal educational Opportunity, *38*(1).

——(1996). Special issue: Lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people in education. *Harvard Educational Review, 66*(2).

Harvey, D. (1991). *The condition of postmodernity*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Haslanger, S. (2012). *Resisting reality: Social construction and social critique*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hill, H. (1996). The problem of race in American labor history. *Reviews in American History, 24*(2), 189–208.

Hoeveler Jr., J. D. (1996). *The postmodernist turn: American thought and culture in the 1970s*. New York: Twayne.

Hogan, D. (1977). Symposium: *Schooling in Capitalist America*: Commentaries. *History of Education Quarterly, 17*(2), 149–153.

Holst, J. (2006). Paulo Freire in Chile, 1964–1969: *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* in its sociopolitical economic context. *Harvard Educational Review, 76*(2), 249.

hooks, b. (1984). *Feminist theory from margin to center*. Boston, MA: South End Press.

——(1994). *Teaching to transgress: Education as the practice of freedom*. New York: Routledge.

Horkheimer, M. (1972). Traditional and critical theory. In Max Horkheimer (trans. by M. J. O'Connell and others), *Critical theory* (pp. 188–243). New York: Seabury Press. (Original work published 1937).

Howe, F. (1982). The first ten years are the easiest. *Women's Studies Quarterly, 10*, 1–16.

Huebner, D. (1976). Toward a political economy of curriculum and human development. In A. Molnar & J. Zahorik (Eds.), *Curriculum theory* (pp. 92–107). Washington, D.C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.

Hytten, K. & Warren, J. (2003). Engaging whiteness: How racial power gets reified in education. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies, 16*(1), 65–89.

Ignatiev, N. (1995). *How the Irish became white*. New York: Routledge.

Illich, I. (1971). *Deschooling society*. New York: Harrow Books.

Irwin, J. (2012). *Paulo Freire's philosophy of education: Origins, developments, impacts, and legacies*. New York: Continuum.

Isaac, J. (2012). *Working knowledge: Making the human sciences from Parsons to Kuhn*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Jackson, P. W. (1968). *Life in classrooms*. New York: Rinehart and Winston.

Jacobson, M. F. (1998). *Whiteness of a different color: European immigrants and the alchemy of race*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Jacoby, R. (1981). *Dialectic of defeat: Contours of Western Marxism*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

——(1987). *The last intellectuals: American culture in the age of academe*. New York: Basic Books.

Jameson, F. (1971). *Marxism and form*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

——(1992). *Postmodernism or, the cultural logic of late capitalism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Jay, M. (1984). *Marxism and totality*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Jencks, C. (1976, February 15). [Review of *Schooling in Capitalist America*, by S. Bowles and H. Gintis]. *New York Time*s, BR5.

Jencks, C., Smith, M., Acland, H., Bane, M. J., Cohen, D., Gintis, H. et al. (1972). *Inequality: A reassessment of the effect of family and schooling in America*. New York: Basic Books.

Jensen, A. (1969). How much can we boost IQ and scholastic achievement. *Harvard Educational Review, 39*(1), 1–123.

Jones, A. (1993). Becoming a "girl": Post-structuralist suggestions for educational research. *Gender and Education, 5*(2), 157–166.

Kaestle, C. F. & Vinovskis, M. A. (1980). *Education and social change in Massachusetts*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Kanpol, B. (1990). Correspondence. *Harvard Educational Review, 60*(3), 393–395.

Kanpol, B. & McLaren, P. (1995). *Critical multiculturalism: Uncommon voices in a common struggle*. Westport, CN: Bergin & Garvey.

Karable, J. & Halsey, A. H. (1976). The new sociology of education: A critique. *Theory & Society, 3*(4), 529–552.

Katz, M. B. (1968). *The irony of early school reform: Educational innovation in mid nineteenth century Massachusetts*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Kidwell, C. S. & Velle, A. (Eds.). (2005). *Native American Studies*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

Kincheloe, J. L. (2008). *Critical pedagogy primer* (4th ed.). New York: Peter Lang.

Kincheloe, J. L., Steinberg, S. R., Rodriguez, N. M., & Chennault, R. E. (Eds.). (1998). *White reign: Deploying Whiteness in America*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin.

King, L. J., Davis, C., & Brown, A. L. (2012). African American history, race and textbooks: An examination of the works of Harold Rugg and Carter G. Woodson. *Journal of Social Studies Research, 36*(4), 359–386.

Kirkendall, A. J. (2010). *Paulo Freire & the Cold War politics of literacy*. Chappel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Kirylo, J. D. (2011). *Paulo Freire: The man from Recife*. New York: Peter Lang.

Kohli, W. R. & Burbules, N. C. (2012). *Feminisms and educational research*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Kozol, J. (1967). Halls of darkness: In the ghetto schools. *Harvard Educational Review, 37*(3), 379–407.

——(1970, October 22). Coming up for Freire. *The New York Review of Books*, 53–54.

——(1982). Keeping social change at a safe distance. *Harvard Educational Review, 52*(1), 54–60.

Krohn, C. D. (1993). *Intellectuals in exile: Refugee scholars and the New school for Social Research*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

Kuhn, T. S. (1962). *The structure of scientific revolutions*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Laclau, E. & Mouffe, C. (1985). *Hegemony and socialist strategy: Towards a radical democratic politics*. New York: Verso.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1995). Toward a theory of culturally relevant pedagogy. *American Educational Research Journal, 32*(3), 465–491.

——(1997). I know why this doesn't feel empowering: A critical race analysis of critical pedagogy. In P. Freire, J. W. Fraser, D. Macedo, T. McKinnon, & W. T. Stokes (Eds.), *Mentoring the mentor: A critical dialogue with Paulo Freire* (pp. 128–141). New York: Peter Lang.

——(1998). Just what is critical race theory and what's it doing in a nice field like education? *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 11*(1), 7–24.

——(1999). Preparing teachers for diverse student populations: A critical race theory perspective. *Review of Research in Education, 24*, 211–247.

——(2003). Lies my teacher still tells: Developing a critical race perspective toward the social studies. In G. Ladson-Billings (Ed.), *Critical race theory perspectives on social studies:*

The profession, policies, and curriculum (pp. 1–11). Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.

——(2004). Landing on the wrong note: The price we paid for Brown. *Educational Researcher, 33*(7), 3–13.

——(2013). Critical race theory—what it is not!. In M. Lynn and A. D. Dixson (Eds.). *Handbook of critical race theory in education* (pp. 34–47). New York: Routledge.

——(2014). What it means to be critical: Beyond rhetoric and toward action. In A. D. Reid, E. P. Hart, & M.A. Peters (Eds.), *A companion to research in education* (pp. 259–261). New York: Springer.

Ladson-Billings, G. & Donnor, J. (2005). The moral activist role of critical race theory scholarship. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln, *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 279–301). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Ladson-Billings, G. & Tate IV, W. F. (1995). Towards a critical race theory of education. *Teachers College Record, 97*(1), 47–68.

Ladwig, J. G. (1996). *Academic distinctions: Theory and methodology in the sociology of school knowledge.* New York: Routledge.

Lagemann, E. C. (2000). *An elusive science: The troubling history of education research.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Lakes, R. & Kress, T. (Eds.) (2013). *Paulo Freire's intellectual roots: Toward historicity in praxis.* New York: Bloomsbury.

Latham, M. E. (2000). *Modernization as ideology: American social science and "nation building" in the Kennedy era.* Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Lather, P. (1991). *Getting smart: Feminist research and pedagogy with/in the postmodern.* New York: Routledge.

——(1992). Post-critical pedagogies: A feminist reading. In C. Luke, & J. Gore (Eds.), *Feminisms and critical pedagogy* (pp. 120–137). New York: Routledge.

Ledesma, M. C. & Calderon, D. (2015). Critical race theory in education: A review of past literature and a look to the future. *Qualitative Inquiry, 21*(3), 206–222.

Lee, A. (1994). Gender and text in educational research. *Australian Educational Researcher, 21*(3), 25–46.

Lee, F. S. (2004). History and identity: The case of radical economics and radical economists, 1945–1970. *Review of Radical Political Economics, 36*(2), 177–195.

Leonardo, Z. (2002). The souls of white folk: Critical pedagogy, whiteness studies, and globalization discourse. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 5*(1), 29–50.

——(2004). Critical theory and transformative social knowledge: The functions of criticism in quality education. *Educational Researcher, 33*(6), 11–18.

——(Ed.). (2005). *Critical pedagogy and race.* Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Leonardo, Z. (2009). *Race, whiteness, and education.* New York: Routledge.

——(2013). *Race frameworks: A multidimensional theory of racism and education.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Levin, H. (1997). Interview with Carlos Alberto Torres. In C. A. Torres (Ed.), *Education, power, and personal biography: Dialogues with critical educators* (pp. 203–221). New York: Routledge.

Lipman, P. (2011). *The new political economy of urban education: Neoliberalism, race, and the right to the city.* New York: Routledge.

Lipsitz, G. (1998). *The possessive investment in whiteness: How white people profit from identity politics.* Philadelphia, PA: Temple University

Liu, A. (2009). Critical race theory, Asian Americans, and higher education: A review of research. *InterActions: UCLA Journal of Education and Information Studies, 5(*2). Retrieved from https://escholarship.org/uc/item/98h4n45j

Livingstone, D. W. & Contributors (Eds.). (1987). *Critical pedagogy and cultural power*. New York: Bergin & Garvey.

Lloyd, A. S. (1972). Freire, conscientization, and adult education. *Adult Education, 23*(1), 3–20.

Loss, C. (2012). *Between citizens and the state: The politics of American higher education in the 20th century*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Luke, C., & Gore, J. (Eds.). (1992). *Feminisms and critical pedagogy*. New York: Routledge.

Lynn, M. & Parker, L. (2006). Critical race studies in education: Examining a decade of research on U.S. schools. *Urban Review, 38*(4), 257–290.

Maccoby, M. (1971). Literacy for the favelas. [Review of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, by P. Freire]. *Science, 172*, 671–673.

Maeda, D. J. (2012). *Rethinking the Asian American movement*. New York: Routledge.

Marable, M. (1983). *How capitalism underdeveloped Black America*. Boston, MA: South End Press.

Martusewicz, R. A., Edumundson, J., & Lupinacci, J. (2011). *EcoJustice education: Toward diverse, democratic, and sustainable communities*. New York: Routledge.

Mata, T. (2009). Migrations and boundary work: Harvard, radical economists, and the committee on political discrimination. *Science in Context, 22*(1), 115–143.

Mata, T. & Lee, F. S. (2007). The role of life histories in writing the history of heterodox economics: Identity and difference in radical economics. *History of Political Economy, 39*(5), 154–171.

Mattson, K. (2003). Between despair and hope: Revisiting *Studies on the Left* and the historical legacy of the New Left. In J. McMillian, & P. Buhle, *The New Left revisited* (pp. 28-47). Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

May, T. (1994). *The political philosophy of poststructuralist anarchism*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Mayo, C. (2013). *LGBTQ youth and education: Policies and practices*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Mayo, P. (2004). *Liberating praxis: Paulo Freire's legacy for radical education and politics*. Westport, CT: Praeger.

McCann, C. R. & Kim, S. (Eds.). (2013). *Feminist theory reader: Local and global perspectives* (3rd ed.) New York: Routledge.

McCarthy, C. (1972, July 31). Paulo Freire and educating the oppressed. *Washington Post*, A20.

McGrew, K. (2011). A review of class-based theories of student resistance in education: Mapping the origins and influence of *Learning to Labor* by Paul Willis. *Review of Educational Research, 81*(2), 234–266.

McIntosh, P. (1988). Working Paper 189: White privilege and male privilege: A personal account of coming to see correspondence through work in Women's Studies. Wellesley, M.A.

McLaren, P. (1988). Culture or canon?: Critical pedagogy and the politics of literacy. *Harvard Educational Review, 58*(2), 213–234.

——(1998). Revolutionary pedagogy in post-revolutionary times: Rethinking the political economy of critical education. *Educational Theory, 48*(4), 431–462.

——(1999). *Che Guevara, Paulo Freire, and the pedagogy of revolution*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

——(2015). On dialectic and human decency: Education in the dock. *Open Review of Educational Research, 2*(1), 1–25, DOI: 10.1080/23265507.2014.986187

McLaren, P. & Farahmandpur, R. (2005). *Teaching against global capitalism and the new imperialism: A critical pedagogy*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

McLaren, P. & Kincheloe, J. L. (Eds.). (2007). *Critical pedagogy: Where are we now?* New York: Peter Lang.

McMillian, J. (2011). *Smoking typewriters: The sixties underground press and the rise of alternative media in America*. New York: Oxford University Press.

McNeil, L. (1981). On the possibility of teachers as a source of emancipatory pedagogy: A response to Henry Giroux. *Curriculum Inquiry, 11*(3), 205–210.

Medina, J. (2012). *The epistemology of resistance: Gender and racial oppression, epistemic injustice, and resistant imaginations*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Memmi, A. (1965). *The colonizer and the colonized*. New York: The Orion Press.

Messer-Davidow, E. (2002). *Disciplining feminism: From social activism to academic discourse*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Mickenberg, J. L. (2006). *Learning from the left: Children's literature, the Cold War, and radical politics in the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Miller, J. I. (2004). Sounds of silence breaking: Women, autobiography, curriculum. New York: Peter Lang.

Mills, C. (1997). *The racial contract*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Mirza, H. S. (1992). *Young, female and black*. New York: Routledge.

Mohanty, C. T. (1986). Under western eyes: Feminist scholarship and colonial discourses. *Boundary 2, 12*(3), 333–358.

——(2002). "Under western eyes" revisited: Feminist solidarity through anticapitalist struggles. *Signs: journal of Women in Culture and Society, 28*(2), 499–535.

Montero-Sieburth, M. (1985). A rationale for critical pedagogy. [Review of *The Politics of Education: Culture, Power, and Liberation*, by P. Freire]. *Harvard Educational Review, 55*(4), 457–463.

Moraga, C. & Anzaldúa, G. (Eds.). (2015). *This bridge called my back: Writings by radical women of color* (4th ed.). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press (Original work published 1981).

Morrow, R. A. & Torres, C. A. (1995). *Social theory and education: A critique of theories of social and cultural reproduction*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Mosteller, F. & Moynihan, D. P. (Eds.). (1972). *On equality of educational opportunity: Papers deriving from the Harvard University faculty seminar on the Coleman Report*. New York: Random House.

Moynihan, D. P. (1965). *The Negro family: The case for national action*. Washington, D.C.: Department of Labor.

Murch, D. J. (2010). *Living for the city: Migration, education, and the rise of the Black Panther Party in Oakland, California*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Nash, R. & Agne, R. (1972). The ethos of accountability— a critique. *Teachers College Record, 73*(3), 357–370.

Nash, R. & Griffin, R. (1977). Carl Rogers: Still a teacher for our times. *Teachers College Record, 79*(2), 279–289.

Nasir, N. S. (2012). *Racialized identities: Race and achievement among African American youth*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

The New American Movement. (1972). The New American Movement. *Socialist Revolution, 2*, 31–68.

The New London Group. (1996). A pedagogy of multiliteracies: Designing social futures. *Harvard Educational Review, 66*(1), 60–92.

The New York Times. (1989, November 30). Dorothy Bowles, social worker, 86.

Nguyen, N. (2013). Scripting "safe" schools: Mapping urban education and zero tolerance during the long war. *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies, 35*(4), 277–279.

——(2014). Education as warfare?: Mapping securitized education interventions as war on terror strategy. *Geopolitics, 19*(1), 109–139.

——(2015). Chokepoint: Regulating US student mobility through biometrics. *Political Geography, 46*, 1–10.

Nicholson, L. J. (1980). Women and schooling. *Educational Theory, 30*(3), 225–234.

Nicholson, L. (1990). Introduction. In L. Nicholson (Ed.), *Feminism/postmodernism* (pp. 1–18). New York: Routledge.

Norton, T. M. & Ollman, B. (Ed.). (1978). *Studies in socialist pedagogy*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Ollman, B. & Vernoff, E. (Eds). (1984). *The left academy: Marxist scholarship on American campuses*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Omi, M. & Winant, H. (1986). *Racial formation in the United States from the 1960's to the 1980's*. New York: Routledge.

——(2014). (3rd ed.). *Racial formation in the United States*. New York: Routledge (Original work published 1986).

Pacheco, M. (2010). "Performativity" in the bilingual classroom: The plight of English Learners in the current reform context. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly, 41*(1), 75–93.

——(2012). Learning in/through everyday resistance: A cultural-historical perspective on community "resources" and curriculum. *Educational Researcher, 41*(4), 121–132.

Park, J. J. & Liu, A. (2014). Interest convergence or divergence? A critical race theory analysis of Asian Americans, meritocracy, and critical mass in the affirmative action debate. *The Journal of Higher Education, 85*(1), 36–64.

Pascoe, C. J. (2007). *Dude, you're a fag: Masculinity and sexuality in high school*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

——(2013). Notes on a sociology of bullying: Young men's homophobia as gender socialization. *QED: A Journal in GLBTQ Worldmaking, 1*(1), 87–103.

Patel, L. (2013). *Youth held at the border: Immigration, education, and America*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Perea, J. F. (1997). The black/white binary paradigm of race: The "normal science" of American radical thought. *California Law Review, 85*(5), 1213–1258.

Phillips, D. C. & Burbules, N. C. (2000). *Postpositivsm and Educational Research*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.

Pinar, W. (Ed.). (1975). *Curriculum theorizing: The reconceptualists*. Berkeley, CA: McCutchan.

Pollock, M. (2004). *Colormute: Race talk dilemmas in an American school*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Poulantzas, N. (1975). *Political power and social classes* (T. O'Hagan, Trans.). London, UK: New Left Books (Original work published 1968).

Prashad. V. (2007). *The darker nations: A people's history of the Third World*. New York: The New Press.

Provenzo, E. F. Jr. (Ed.). (2011). *The Social Frontier: A critical reader*. New York: Peter Lang.

"Recommendation For A Harvard Corporation Appointment" (for Paulo Freire). Harvard University. Records of the Center for Studies in Education and Development, 1962–1977 (inclusive). Folder: "Appointments 1969–1970." Box 1. Harvard University Archives. UAV 350.4005.

Rikowski, G. & McLaren, P. (2002). Postmodernism in educational theory. In D. Hill, P., McLaren, M. Cole, & G. Rikowski (Eds.), *Marxism against postmodernism in educational theory* (pp. 3–14). Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Rist, R. (1973). *The urban school: Factory for failure*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Rodgers, D. (2011). *Age of fracture*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Roediger, D. (1991). *The wages of whiteness: Race and the making of the American working class*. New York: Verso.

Rojas, F. (2007). *From Black power to Black studies: How a radical social movement became an academic discipline*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Romeo, J. (1990). Correspondence. *Harvard Educational Review, 60*(3), 392–393.

Rosen, R. (2000). *The world split open: How the modern women's movement changed America*. New York: Viking.

Rousseau, C. & Tate, W. F. (2003). No time like the present: Reflecting on equity in school mathematics. *Theory into Practice, 42*(3), 210–216.

Said, E. (1994). *Representations of the intellectual*. New York: Vintage.

Sarup, M. (1993). *An introductory guide to post-structuralism and postmodernism*. (2nd ed.). Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.

Savio, M. (2005). The Berkeley knowledge factory. (Ed. by R. Cohen). *New Politics, 39*, 71–81.

Saxton, A. (1990). *The rise and fall of the white republic: Class politics and mass culture in nineteenth-century America*. Verso: New York.

Scheurich, J. J. (1993). Toward a white discourse on white racism. *Educational Researcher, 22*(8), 5–10.

Schroyer, T. (1973). *The critique of domination: The origins and development of critical theory*. New York: George Braziller.

Schugurensky, D. (2011). Paulo Freire. New York: Continuum.

Selden, S. (1999). *Inheriting shame: The story of eugenics and racism in America*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Senese, G. (1990). Correspondence. *Harvard Educational Review, 60*(3), 388–390.

Shaffer, H. B. (1993). *Chester Bowles: New dealer in the Cold War*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Shimahara, N. (Ed.). (1973). *Educational reconstruction: Promise and challenge*. Columbus, OH: Merrill.

Shimahara, N. K. & Scrupski, A. (1975). *Social forces and schooling*. New York: David McKay.

Sim, S. (2001). *Post-Marxism: An intellectual history*. New York: Routledge.

Simon, R. I. (1982). Editorial. *Curriculum Inquiry, 12*(2), 121.

——(1984). Signposts for a critical pedagogy: A review of *Theory and resistance in education*. *Educational Theory, 34*(4), 379–388.

Simons, M. (2006). Learning as investment: Notes on governmentality and biopolitics. *Educational Philosophy and Theory, 38*(4), 523–540.

——(2015). Governing education without reform: The power of the example. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education, 36*(5), 712–731.

Singer, L. (1974). [Review of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, by P. Freire]. *Educational Theory*, *24*(4), 426–432.

Sleeter, C. E. (1987). An analysis of multicultural education in the United States. *Harvard Educational Review, 57*(4), 421–445.

——(1996). *Multicultural education as social activism*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

——(2001). Preparing teachers for culturally diverse schools: Research and the overwhelming presence of whiteness. *Journal of Teacher Education, 52*(2), 94–106.

Sleeter, C. E. & McLaren, P. L. (1995). *Multicultural education, critical pedagogy, and the politics of difference*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Small, R. (1978). Educational praxis. *Educational Theory, 28*(3), 214–222.

Smith, D. (1974). Women's perspective as a radical critique of sociology. *Sociological Inquiry, 44*(1), 7–13.

——(1987). *The everyday world as problematic: A feminist sociology*. Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press.

——(1990). *Texts, facts, and femininity: Exploring the relations of ruling*. New York: Routledge.

Smyth, J. (1992). Teachers' work and the politics of reflection. *American Educational Research Journal, 29*(2), 267–300.

Snyder, J. A. (2015). Progressive education in black and white: Rereading Carter G. Woodson's *Miseducation of the Negro*. *History of Education Quarterly, 55*(3), 273–293.

Solorzano, D. G. (1997). Images and words that wound: Critical race theory, racial stereotyping, and teacher education. *Teacher Education Quarterly, 24*(3), 5–19.

——(1998). Critical race theory, race and gender microaggressions, and the experience of Chicana and Chicano scholars. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 11*(1), 121–136.

——(2013). Critical race theory's intellectual roots: My email epistolary with Derrick Bell. In M. Lynn & A. D. Dixson (Eds.), *Handbook of critical race theory in education* (pp. 48–68). New York: Routledge.

Solorzano, D. G. & Yosso, T. J. (2001). Critical race and LatCrit theory and method: Counter-storytelling. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 14*(4), 471–495.

——(2002). Critical race methodology: Counter-storytelling as an analytical framework for education research. *Qualitative Inquiry 8*(1), 23–44.

Spring, J. (1972). Education and the rise of the corporate state. *Socialist Revolution, 2*(2), 73–102.

St. Pierre, E. A. (2000). Poststructural feminism in education: An overview. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 13*(5), 477–515.

——(2014). A brief and personal history of post qualitative research: Toward "post inquiry". *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing, 30*(2), 2–19.

St. Pierre, E. A. & Pillow, W. (Eds.) (2000). *Working the ruins: Feminist poststructural theory and methods in education*. New York: Routledge.

Stanley, M. (1972). Literacy: the crisis of a conventional wisdom." In S. Grabowski (Ed.), *Paulo Freire: A revolutionary dilemma for the adult educator* (pp. 36–54). Syracuse,

NY: Publications in Continuing Education and ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult Education.

Stone, L. (Ed.). (1994). *The education feminism reader.* New York: Routledge.

Studies on the Left. (1966). Issue 6.

Swalwell, K. M. (2013). *Educating activist allies: Social justice pedagogy with the suburban and urban elite.* New York: Routledge.

Swartz, D. L. (2003). From correspondence to contradiction and change. *Schooling in Capitalist America* revisited. *Sociological Forum, 18*(2), 167–186.

Tate IV, W. F. (1997). Critical race theory and education: History, theory, and implications. *Review of Research in Education, 22*, 195–247.

Tate, W. (2001). Science education as a civil right: Urban schools and opportunity-to-learn considerations. *Journal of Research in Science Teaching, 38*(9), 1015–1028.

Tate, W. F. (2004). Brown, political economy, and the scientific education of African-Americans. *Review of Research in Education, 28*, 147–184.

Taylor, E., Gilborn, D., & Ladson-Billings, G. (Eds.). (2009). *Foundations of critical race theory in education.* New York: Routledge.

Taylor, P. (1993). *The texts of Paulo Freire.* Buckingham, England: Open University Press.

Teitelbaum, K. (1993). *Schooling for "good rebels": Socialism, American education, and the search for radical curriculum.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Teranishi, R. T., Behringer, L. B., Grey, E. A., & Parker, T. L. (2009). Critical race theory and research on Asian American and Pacific Islanders in higher education. *New Directions for Institutional Research, 142*, 57–68.

Therborn, G. (2008). *From Marxism to post-Marxism.* New York: Verso.

Thompson, A. (2003). Tiffany, friend of people of color: White investments in antiracism. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 16*(1), 7–29.

Tierney, W. (1990). Correspondence. *Harvard Educational Review, 60*(3), 390–392.

Titus, J. O. (2011). *Brown's battleground: Students, segregationists, and the struggle for justice in Prince Edward County, Virginia.* Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Torres, C. A. (2014). *First Friere: Early writings in social justice education.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Tuck, E. & Yang, K. W. (2012). Decolonization is not a metaphor. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education and Society, 1*(1), 1–40.

——(Eds.). (2013). *Youth resistance research and theories of change.* New York: Routledge.

Union for Radical Political Economics. (2015). General History of URPE. Retrieved from: http://urpe.org/?page=about_urpe&side=urpe_history&sub=general_history

Unks, G. (Ed.). (1995). *The gay teen: Educational practice and theory for lesbian, gay, and bisexual adolescents.* New York: Routledge.

Van Manen, M. J. M. (1975). An exploration of alternative research orientations in social education. *Theory and Research in Social Education, 3*(1), 1–28.

Wallace, M. (2001). Interview with Mike Wallace. *Radical History Review, 79*, 49–74.

Warmington, P. (2014). *Black British intellectuals and education: Multiculturalism's hidden history.* New York: Routledge.

Weiler, K. (1983). Editorial comment. *The Journal of Education, 165*(1), 1–3

——(1988). *Women teaching for change: Gender, class & power.* New York: Bergin & Garvey.

——(1991). Freire and a feminist pedagogy of difference. *Harvard Educational Review, 61*(4), 449–474.

——(1996). The myths of Paulo Freire. *Educational Theory, 46*(3), 353–371.

Weis, L. & Fine, M. (2012). Critical bifocality and circuits of privilege: Expanding critical ethnographic theory and design. *Harvard Educational Review, 82*(2), 173–201.

Weis, L., Jenkins, H., & Stich, A. (2009). Diminishing the divisions among us: Reading and writing across differences in theory and method in the sociology of education. *Review of Educational Research, 79*(2), 912–945.

Weis, L. Meyer, M., Kupper, Y. C., Stich, A., Jenkins, H., & Lalonde, C. (2011). Sociology of education in the United States, 1966–2008. In S. Tozer, B. P. Gallegos, A. M. Henry, M. B. Greiner, & P. G. Price (Eds.), *Handbook of Research in the Social Foundations of Education* (pp. 15–40). New York: Routledge.

White, S. R. & McBeth, M. K. (2003). A history of the Doctor of Arts tradition in American higher education. *Education, 123*(4), 770–776.

Whitty, G. (1985). *Sociology and school knowledge: Curriculum theory, research, and politics.* London: Methuen.

——(1998). Interview with Geoff Whitty. In C. A. Torres (Ed.), *Education, power, and personal biography: Dialogues with critical educators* (pp. 241–262). New York: Routledge.

Williams, P. J. (1991). *The alchemy of race and rights: Diary of a law professor.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Williams, R. (1973). Base and superstructure in Marxist cultural theory. *New Left Review, 82,* 3–16.

Willis, P. (1981). *Learning to labor: How working class kids get working class jobs.* New York: Columbia University Press (Original work published 1977).

Wink, J. (2010). *Critical pedagogy: Notes from the real world* (4th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson.

Woodson, C. G. (1933). *The mis-education of the Negro.* Washington, D.C.: The Associated Publishers.

Yoon, I. H. (2012). The paradoxical nature of whiteness-at-work in the daily life of schools and teacher communities. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 15*(5), 587–613.

Yosso, T. J. (2005). Whose culture has capital? A critical race theory discussion of community cultural wealth. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 8*(1), 69–91.

——(2006). *Critical race counterstories along the Chicana/Chicano educational pipeline.* New York: Routledge.

Yosso, T. J., Smith, W. A., Ceja, M., & Solorzano, D. G. (2009). Critical race theory, racial microaggression, and campus racial climate for Latina/o undergraduates. *Harvard Educational Review, 79*(4), 659–691.

Young, M. F. D. (1971a). Introduction. In M. F. D. Young (Ed.), *Knowledge and control: New directions for the sociology of education* (pp. 1–17). London: Collier Macmillan.

——(1971b). (Ed.). *Knowledge and control: New directions for the sociology of education.* London: Collier Macmillan.

Young, M. & Whitty, G. (1977a). Introduction. In M. Young & G. Whitty (Eds.), *Society, state and schooling: Readings on the possibilities for radical education* (pp. 1–15). London: Falmer.

——(1977b). *Society, state and schooling: Readings on the possibilities for radical education.* London: Falmer.

Zeichner, K. (2009). *Teacher education and the struggle for social justice.* New York: Routledge.

INDEX