CHAPTER SIX.
A Gramscian - Freirian Synthesis and Beyond [1]

The argument in Chapter Four indicates that there are points of convergence and difference in Gramsci and Freire, with respect to the issue of adult education and that a synthesis of their ideas is possible and would be useful. I have argued, in Chapter Four, that each of the two theorists stresses aspects which the other either overlooks or underplays. One can here argue that there is a complementarity aspect to their contrasting ideas when juxtaposed against each other. Gramsci's more extensive analysis, in terms of power relations in the wider society and in terms of cultural analysis in its broader context, complements Freire's remarkable insights into the power dynamics which lie at the heart of pedagogical encounters.

In Chapter Four, I have argued that there exists, in Gramsci, a systematic and wide ranging analysis of the dominant culture and that such an analysis is not to be found in Freire, who focuses, for the most part, on popular culture. One of the key points that I shall be making, here, is that it is possible to derive insights, for the purposes of developing a theory of radical adult education, from a synthesis of Gramsci's ideas concerning the dominant culture and Freire's ideas concerning the popular.

A Gramscian-Freirian synthesis would be based on a consideration of issues, in adult education, relating both to process and content. In stressing, as I have done in the previous chapter, differences that exist between the two theorists, in this regard, I am not saying each one does not make contributions to theory in *both* areas. There are insights by Freire that can contribute to the macro-level analysis one immediately associates with Gramsci, in the same way that Gramsci has a contribution to make to the analysis of learning processes one associates

with Freire.

1. Commitment

A point that emerges from Gramsci's and Freire's views regarding adult education is that radical initiatives, in this area, intended to transform existing dominative power relations within society, require a strong commitment on the part of organisers and educators alike. The sense of commitment is implied in Gramsci's notion of the 'organic intellectual' which suggests a conscious commitment to a particular political movement.

1.1. Oppression in its Various Forms

In his case, it is a commitment to the class which undertakes the task of bringing about a transformation in society. According to my understanding of Gramsci's usage of the term and its application within the context of his revolutionary vision, those who performed counter hegemonic work within the ambit of the *Ordine Nuovo'* s sphere of influence would be the prime exemplars of such commitment. These would include technical educators and organisers within the Factory Council Movement, educators in the various *Vita Morale* clubs or those who occupied the position of educators within the 'prison school' at Ustica.

As I have shown in the previous chapter, popular educators in Latin America, especially in Nicaragua and El Salvador, demonstrate the extent of such commitment by placing their lives on the line for the cause of social transformation. And one can go on and on, citing examples even from such centres of radical adult education as Highlander, whose founder, Myles Horton, dwells at length on this issue in the conversational book with Paulo Freire.[2]

Like all education, Adult education is not neutral and is very much tied to

hegemonic interests within a given society. This is easily the case with conventional, mainstream adult education. An approach to transformative and eancipatory adult education would, in my view, be born out of a recognition of this point and should be inspired by theoretical perspectives that highlight the strong relationship that exists between knowledge, culture and power, rendering the kind of knowledge provided by mainstream institutions and the manner of its dissemination problematic. Even so, one has to be wary not to deny agency for change to those working within mainstream institutions.

Likewise, one should not underestimatethe dynamism of those in a position of dominance, seeking to consolidate the dominant power bases. These people also adapt and change in reaction to counter hegemonic challenges in societal politics generally and in education in particular. Mainstream institutions can also be conceived of as sites of struggle, where domination is never complete. Transformative adult education initiatives, developed on Gramscian-Freirean lines, should therefore be sustained by a theory which is couched in a 'language of possibility,' to adopt the Blochian terminology rendered so popular in critical pedagogical circles by Henry Giroux[3] and Roger I. Simon.[4] The initiatives would emphasise a strong commitment to the emancipation of subaltern groups from hegemonic domination. For I have shown that while Gramsci focused, for the most part, on the issue of class domination, Freire's notion of oppression extends beyond class considerations, which, as he himself acknowledges,[5] were the main concern of his earlier works.   He also moves beyond a consideration of the revolutionary role of the industrial working class, to a wider recognition of social difference ise and oppression. Once again, I feel compelled to remark, however, that he does not go beyond universalised forms of oppression.[6] Even when dealing with class, he does not provide the sort of grounded analysis, other than simply the provision of "references,"[7] which would have been useful for effective

counter-hegemonic thinking and practice.

In combining the insights of Gramsci and Freire on this matter, I would argue that, irrespective of whether they focus on single issue or multiple issue politics, radical adult education initiatives would be rooted in a commitment to confronting oppression in its different forms. Therefore, adult education initiatives directed towards the emancipation from oppression of a particular social group should be carried out in a manner which does not perpetuate the domestication and subordination of another:

> Any system of representation which signifies (by silence or by positive branding) some group as less than fully human has to be transformed on the road - a long and winding road - of socialist construction.[8]

Workers' organisations have often been taken to task for the perpetuation of gender oppression in the name of worker advancement[9] which, in reality, should read: the advancement of white male workers. In this respect, one can learn a lot from the writings of Audrey Lorde, bell hooks[10] and a host of other black feminists who have underlined the limitations of certain white feminist writers who fail to acknowledge different experiences of oppression experienced by women of different race. As Wendy Ball states:

> ..there has often been a failure by feminists to respect differences between women, of racial origin and of social class. Anti-racist, anti-sexist struggles in education need a theoretical framework which acknowledges the interrelationship of racial, gender and class-based sources of oppression. In turn, this will have implications for the model of political change pursued.[11]

Equally pertinent here are some of the criticisms levelled at Freire, other central male figures in critical pedagogy and academics theorising about, say, class oppression. [12]

1.2. Alliances

The issue of alliances is key and it is important for the radical adult educator to link his or her work with that of other cultural workers striving for social change in what would constitute a broad process of 'cultural politics.'[13] I would also argue, learning from Gramsci's own experience, that there are moments in history wherein links will have to be established with intellectuals / cultural workers who may not be committed to the same radical project but who share a concern for the creation or preservation of a democratic environment, a concern which would be manifest through ideas and action that resonate with what Laclau and Mouffe[14] call 'the democratic imaginary'. Renate Holub indicates how Gramsci managed to engage in a communicative process with Piero Gobetti, a liberal intellectual, whom he invited to direct the literary and drama sections of *Ordine Nuovo* .[15] Such a communicative process was possible because of the latter's commitment to a democratic environment, the possibilities for which were undermined by Mussolini's Fascist regime. The same applies to the links which the *Ordine Nuovo* group are said to have established with certain intellectuals associated with the Futurist movement, especially its ideologue, the poet Filippo Marinetti. Of course, these relations were eventually stalled when several young futurists turned "reactionary."[16]

> The left intelligentsia will engage in dialogues and even forge alliances with individual bourgeois intellectuals, particularly with anti-fascist intellectuals of the liberal bourgeoisie when politically expedient and appropriate, while it will simultaneously participate in cultural processes that both engage and further the intellectual potential among the working class.[17]

I would argue that the situation described above must have had some affinity with that in which several Latin American popular educators found themselves during the periods of totalitarian rule which various states in the

Region experienced during the sixties and seventies. It is also a situation with which radical adult educators will have to deal in liberal, bourgeois democracies, especially in cases when the educators are operating within a system[18] which is generally non conducive to radical activities. Often, the programme organisers will have to make do with facilities available within the system, including teaching personnel. As a result, radical adult educators will have to team up with others of different orientation and political persuasion. It is important, however, that, within these contexts, a dialogue[19] is engaged in with these non-radical educators.

2. Agency

The above emphasis on cultural politics testifies to the two writers' view that cultural activity plays an important role in the consolidation or transformation of power relations in a given society, especially in Western capitalist social formations. Both writers have shown that dominant groups exercise their power in society not merely through coercion but also, and perhaps more importantly, through consent.

2.1. Cultural Terrain of Contestation

I have shown, in Chapter Four, that coercion is given importance in the thinking of Gramsci and Freire. Both were, after all, vicitims of some of its worst forms. However, it is arguably in their analysis of the consensual basis of power that Gramsci and Freire have been particularly instructive. Mainstream cultural and educational activities help generate consent through the promotion of legitimating ideologies and social relations. Both Gramsci and Freire conceive of the terrain of such cultural activity as a site of struggle. There is therefore a strong sense of agency in their work, wherein radical cultural and educational initiatives

are accorded importance in the struggle for change.

Transformative adult education plays its part in this context. It can constitute a vehicle whereby dominant ideologies can be unveiled and dismantled. The realm of everyday experience, characterised by 'taken for granted' notions, becomes part of the focus in a process of transformative adult education. In an age characterised by the intensification of the globalisation of capital, these notions would include the prevalent culture-ideology of consumerism[20] and the marketplace, whereby even some of the most basic services are turned from a public good to a "consumption good." This 'everyday experience' is evoked through a dialogical process that entails the means of "extraordinarily re-experiencing the ordinary."[21] It is not celebrated uncritically but interrogated. A white male, proletarian voice might contain racist and sexist elements, which it needs to shed if it is to realise its potential of contributing to the creation of a democratic environment:

> ..... it is not enough for teachers merely to affirm uncritically their students' histories, experiences and stories. To take student voices at face value is to run the risk of idealizing and romanticizing them.The contradictory and complex histories and stories that give meaning to the lives of students are never innocent, and it is important that they be recognized for their contradictions as well as for their possibilities. Of course, it is crucial that critical educators provide the pedagogical conditions for students to give voice to how their past and present experiences place them within existing relations of domination and resistance. [22]

2.2. Prefiguring Democratic Social relations

'Common sense' would thus have to be converted into 'good sense' and this conversion can come about not merely through a climate which allows learners to "give voice" but, most importantly, through a climate which allows for the

interrogation of such voices and the recognition of the contradictions that lie therein. Furthermore, radical adult education, with its emphasis on voice/s and their interrogation, democratic social relations of education and praxis, constitutes prefigurative work. It prefigures transformed democratic social relations in the wider society. This was true of Gramsci's Factory Councils, with their emphasis on radically democratic social relations of work, power sharing (including ownership of the workplace itself) and education. It is equally true of Freire's cultural circles, with the emphasis on dialogue, a critical interrogation of experience, the unveiling of social contradictions and the promulgation of democratic social relations of education characterised by teacher authority but not authoritarianism.[23]   Both theorists provide an emancipatory education approach that confronts the kind of social relations traditionally prevalent in capitalist environments.

I emphasise the word *traditionally* since one must underline that elements of a radical adult education, such as those above, can be partly appropriated by management to provide the process of extracting surplus labour with a democratic facade. This is all part of the dynamic nature of hegemony, part and parcel of the 'war of position' engaged in by the organic intellectuals of transnational capital, who "constantly struggle to change minds and expand markets."[24]

Appropriation of Freire's work occurs frequently. In Brazil, his work was amazingly coopted by the same regime that banished him from his homeland. Furthermore, Freire's work often becomes the target of liberal appropriation, with his *Method* being extricated from its underpinning political philosophy, a process underlined by a number of writers[25] , including Freire himself.[26] Worker-management teams, constituting an alliance which will be discussed in the final chapter, are a classic example of present-day capitalist appropriation of participatory educational experiences. Participation that entails power sharing, as

was advocated in Gramsci's factory council theory, and that finds its common expression in such ventures as cooperatives,must be distinguished from that form of participation that occurs in such a way thatit allows managment to retain its prerogative over capital accumulation.[27]

3. Social movements

It would be relevant to enquire, at this stage, when is the sense of agency, accorded to adult education initiatives, likely to be strong. It appears, both from Gramsci's reflections on the isolation of the Turin factory insurgents and some of Freire's books,[28] where he deals with Liberation Theology[29] and the New Social Movements (NSMs),[30] that radical adult education initiatives would not prove effective when carried out on their own. They are likely to prove effective when operating in relation to a social movement, itself often conceived of as a site of social revolutionary learning,[31] or alliance of movements. Gramsci's notion of the historic bloc, signifying an alliance of social groups - nowadays including movements - becomes particularly significant in this age characterised by the intensification of the globalisation of capital.

3.1. Social Movements and Global Capital

I return to the question posed in the previous chapter and in other work of mine.[32] I asked whether social movements, especially those having an international character, can serve as a vehicle whereby Gramsci's notion of the historic bloc can transcend its 'national-popular' character[33] to begin to signify an alliance of movements across national boundaries, given the increasing mobility that characterises the latest stage of the globalisation of capital. This is not to minimise the role which indigenous movements like, for instance, the

revitalisation movements of Conscientisation and Sarvodaya[34] can still play in this process. As Leslie Sklair [35] argues, many of the resistances to global capitalism can only be effective when they disrupt the smooth accumulation of capital locally, or, I would add, within a restricted sphere of influence. But Sklair also argues that such movements need to "find ways of globalising these disruptions."[36]

NSMs with a strong international character, like the Women's Movement and the Environmental Movement, strike me as being the more likely to make headway in this respect. Having said this, I feel that we should be under no illusions. It would be foolish to romanticise NSMs and present them as some *deus ex macchina* in an age when global capital holds sway. In the conclusion to his study, Sklair warns us:"No social movement appears even remotely likely to overthrow the three fundamental institutional supports of global capitalism that have been identified, namely the TNCs, the transnational capitalist class and the culture-ideology of consumerism."[37]   Yet he affirms and illustrates some of the various resistances expressed by social movements in each of the three spheres. And these movements constantly need to enhance their spheres of influence by engaging in alliances at the local, regional, continental and global levels, possibly by gaining critical access to and making effective use of electronic networking,[38] to render these resistances more effective.

3.2. Historic Bloc

This alliance can develop out of a recognition of the different forms of oppression which exist in present society and of the need to create a radically democratic society characterised by an equitable share of power on class, gender, race and ethnicity lines.   I would therefore argue that a workers' education programme, developed on Gramscian-Freirean lines, will have to deal with issues

like sexual harassment at the workplace and the under-representation of women in the trade union hierarchy as well as draw on non eurocentric sources of learning - aspects of an inclusionary workers' education programme.[39] With a view to creating a radically democratic society, characterised by an equitable share of power on class, gender, race and ethnicity lines, the different social movements, promoting struggles against different forms of oppression, would engage in solidarity with each other, creating something akin to an 'historic bloc.'

Gramsci constantly foregrounded issues of class while Freire, in broadening the analysis of oppression, underlining their multiple dimensions, warns us against placing class considerations on the backburner.

3.3. Class Matters

Economic restructuring in what is fashionably being regarded as the 'Post-Fordist' era has led to an ever burgeoning peripheral labour market sector, consisting primarily of women (doing part-time work in the home), ethnic minorities and blacks, all of whom suffer from unstable conditions of work. We are witnessing a situation in which the labour market continues to be segmented on an international scale by an increasingly mobile capital, a process which exacerbates racism and renders it the means of weakening working class solidarity. This scenario should be one out of several other reasons why class politics should not, in my view, be regarded as passe`. It still remains an important arena of struggle. For all their shortcomings and often myopic visions, working class organisations, like trade unions, still have a role to play, provided they undergo a process of rethinking and the kind of reinvigoration which Gramsci called for when he argued that these organisations must be transformed by the Factory Council Movement.[40] Part of this rethinking consists of an analysis of the way class constantly intersects with the issues of race, gender and ethnicity, as

well as other forms of oppression. These organisations also have to undergo a process of transformation so that they could "reconnect with the general interest", to reproduce John McIlroy's words written in relation to Raymond Williams.[41]

3.4. Broadening of Working Class Agendas

In recognising multiple forms of oppression, they will have to open themselves up to the pressures and ideas emanating from the various social movements fighting for different forms of social justice. This will involve the broadening of their agendas to confront issues relating to racism, eurocentrism, patriarchy, ageism and homophobia which continue to fragment a potentially strong popular force. A programme of adult education for workplace democracy, such as the one analysed in my Malta case study[42] would, for instance, seek to contribute to the democratization of the social relations of production both in the domestic and public spheres. Opening up to social movements would also entail major organisational restructuring to ensure greater social representation. And adult education programmes carried out within and across such organisations should reflect this. These programmes would ensure greater social representation as regrards project planners, teaching personnel and adult learners. Furthermore, the curriculum devised, preferably through a process of negotiation, should incorporate as broad a range of social agendas as is possible.

Moreover, the analyses of issues encouraged should be an integrated one, which reflects the intersections of class, race, age, gender, sexuality and ethnicity. The issue of racism toward immigrant workers and other ethnic groups becomes ever more urgent in an age characterised by the continual global reorganisation of capital across different geographical boundaries.[43] It is common knowledge that in this age we have been witnessing the bifurcation of the labour market on racial

ethnic and gendered lines.[44]

Transformative adult education, conceived of on these lines and which can occur within any movement and not just the labour movement, can play its part in drawing connections between the various struggles with which different movements are concerned. What is being advocated here is the development of programmes that do not serve to promote one voice at the expense of other voices but which are inclusive of different voices and underline the multiplicity of subjectivities involved in processes of structural and systemic oppression. I have shown how this applies to workers' education programmes inspired by Gramsci's factory council theory. The same applies to Freire-inspired programmes. Codification and decodification strategies would serve as the means of interrogating popular experiences to explore how one is implicated in, as well as suffering from, processes of structural oppression - how, for example one is implicated in in gender and racial oppression while veing located in a subaltern position in the class structure.

This would also involve, in Spivak's terms, a process of unlearning one's privilege.[45] Programmes developed on these lines would hopefully draw the support of different movements and make a contribution, however slight, towards bringing these movements closer. The relationship between radical adult education and social movements would be reciprocal in this context. A lot of the impetus to the work carried out by radical adult education is provided by the social movements, by virtue of their various demands and the issues that they raise. These issues will, in turn, become part of both the programme's hidden and overt curricula. Radical adult education will, for its part, help prepare citizens for such movements by increasing their awareness not only of the issues with which they are directly concerned but also of issues affecting others, in the interest of generating greater solidarity.

3.5. Attack on All Fronts

I feel that radical adult education initiatives as well as radical adult educators need to be sustained by a social movement or movements. Each movement should develop enough strength to sustain counter hegemonic efforts, including radical adult education ones, in as wide a range of institutions of 'civil society' as is possible. This ties in with Gramsci's notion of counter hegemonic educational work within and across different sections of 'Civil Society' (journalism, cultural clubs, workplace, prisons containing political detainees etc.) which is reflected in his keen interest in a variety of adult learning agencies, including the popular libraries.[46] It is in keeping with the notion of a 'war of position,' entailing an engagement in critique and counter-hegemonic activity on all fronts, and Freire's recent exhortation to have 'one foot inside and another outside' the system[47]. It acknowledges the potential of different sites of social practice to become sites of counter-hegemonic and , therefore, transformative learning. Major focus would, of course, be placed on autonomous agencies like NGOs and there exists a great tradition in Europe and North America (Highlander in Southern U.S., the Coady Institute in Antigonish or the Jesuit Centre in Toronto, to name but a few) in this respect, a tradition of agencies seeking transformation from outside the system.[48]

Social movements, however, can play a role in bringing about counterhegemonic activity even within the system. They would be necessary to put pressure on state agencies, in capitalist societies, to serve the interests, including adult educational interests, of the particular target groups with which they are concerned. This is something that these state agencies would appear loathe to do, given the totalising discourse which camouflages the class content,[49] and other contents, reflected in the state's policy making :

Centrally, state agencies attempt to give unitary and unifying expression to what are in reality multifaceted and differential historical experiences of groups within society, denying their particularity.[50]

3.6. 'In and Against' the System

In this respect, social movements need to sustain progressive social organisations applying for state funds or funds from such larger entitites as the EU, a point to which I shall return in the concluding chapter. But these movements need to sustain not only organisations but also progressive adult educators working within the State system,[51] carrying out their day to day work within the context of a long term strategy for social transformation. Committed adult educators, working in state institutions, can become mediating influences in the process of cultural transmission. After all, no matter how reproductive a state programme can appear to be at face value, one ought to emphasise, once again, that this reproduction is never complete. This is a point which Giroux had made forcefully in his critique of a number of Neo-Marxist accounts of education.[52] These committed educators would reinterpret mandates in the light of their own personal, radical agendas, and therefore be 'in and against the state.'[53] However, the pressures on such adult educators would be great, not least being the resistance shown by learners to innovative approaches. The educators could easily be demoralised, considering also that they operate within a hierarchical, prescriptive system which would impose restrictions on the degree of freedom that they may wish to create and encourage adult learners to explore.

There is, after all (if I can be allowed to take liberties with a famous phrase by Audrey Lorde) a limit to the extent to which one can use the master's tools to bring down the master's house. Social movements can help sustain morale, in the

face of much frustration experienced by adult educators. They can provide space/s, within organisations that subscribe to the movement, for get-togethers, discussions and reflection sessions involving adult educators and other cultural workers. In short, they can provide a sphere of autonomy outside official state apparata. Otherwise, isolation, burn-out and a paralysing sense of helplessness would be felt. As a result, the educator would fall back on traditional 'coping strategies' which serve a reproductive rather than a transformative function.

4. ADULT EDUCATORS

So far, I have discussed some of the issues, relating to the work of adult educators, in the context of social movements. However, there are other issues, relating to the role of the adult educator, which need to be discussed. Gramsci's views concerning organic intellectuals and Freire's views regarding value committed educators can be combined to project the image of the adult educator, working in the context of a radical adult education programme, as a person who, equipped with a theoretical understanding of the adult learners' predicament, engages in a *directive* form of adult education. It is directive in the sense that it is inspired by a utopian vision of a society characterised by greater social justice.

The sense of authority which she or he possesses, as a result of competence in the area being explored , does not degenerate into authoritarianism.[54] On the contrary, every effort is made to promulgate democratic social relations and to render the learners 'subject' of the learning process. The culture of the learner makes its presence felt through a dialogical teaching process. The educator's task is to facilitate the means whereby this culture is examined critically by the learners themselves, so that the 'common sense', which is a hallmark of this culture, is converted to 'good sense.' Freire's codification/decodification process, which can be applied not only to literacy education but to different forms of knowledge

dealing with different aspects of social life, can constitute an appropriate vehicle for the conversion of 'common sense' to 'good sense.'

4.1 Unlearning and Relearning

Through a dialogical process, it is not only the learners who begin to consider that which they 'know' in a more critical light, but also the adult educator who constantly modifies his or her theoretical understanding through contact with the adult learners. This is akin to Gramsci's notion of the intellectuals testing their theories through a dialectical engagement with the masses. Whatever knowledge the adult educator possesses at the outset of the learning process is relearned, and possibly unlearned, through dialogical contact with the learners.[55]   Gramsci's ideas concerning the instruction-education nexus[56] need to be combined with those concerning dialogue, in Freire, in a view of adult education which does not preclude the possibility that a certain amount of 'teaching' occurs when absolutely necessary.[57]

I would argue that this has to be done for a variety of reasons. In the first place, the adult educator has to deal with the possible 'fear of freedom', to use Freire's words, which may render any attempt at creativity, the hallmark of a participatory and democratic education process, a journey into the unknown. Such a 'fear of freedom' can make learners resist attempts at a democratic learning process and can bring pressure to bear on the educator to adopt traditional 'tried and tested methods' of teaching.[58]

4.2. Rigour
Another important consideration is that of rendering the discussion an

informed one (cf. Gramsci's critiques of the 'progressivist' elements in education introduced by Gentile). One should not overlook, in this context, the process, highlighted by interactionists, whereby *negotiation of meaning*, between educator and educatees, takes place. As intimated in Chapter Three, there could be a conflict in intention between the two in that while the former conceives of his/her work as a component of a liberatory, democratic project, the adult learners seek to obtain from the learning process the means of 'making it' in the system. One can speak, here, of a conflict of interest which can render the educator's attempts at providing an emancipatory dimension to learning a long and arduous process, one which calls for constant negotiation and renegotiation between her/him and the learners. The teacher would occasionally have to engage in traditional teaching. And there is a lot to be said with respect to the learners' demands for traditional teaching. What they are demanding is, in my view, that sense of rigour and disciplined learning which Gramsci seeks to convey in his piece 'on Education'. As Gramsci indicated, this is what the subaltern classes require in order to defy the odds they need to face when engaging in counter-hegemonic action. I would argue, from my previous experience as coordinator of a state-sponsored literacy programme in Malta, that a lot of adult learners demand this seriousness and would consider any initial attempts at 'dialogue facilitation' as a sheer waste of time.

I would argue that the too bring with them this sense of seriousness. As Paul Ransome points out, in a chapter dealing with Gramsci's views on education and the role of intellectuals, "... if an individual or group of individuals is largely preoccupied with the business of earning a living, then the time available for intellectual development and subsequently for participation in democratic practices will be more limited."[59] This is very much the case with the adult learners attending the literacy programme I was involved in. It takes discipline, on

their part, to avail themselves of their little free time to participate in the programme, in a situation where people are increasingly taking up a second, part-time job in order to keep up with the increasing cost of living. They therefore expect to find such discipline also in the programme, and should one blame them, given that they see this as a strategy for survival in a world governed by the ideology of competitive individualism? I would reiterate the point made in the Introduction: one has first to survive in order to be in a position to transform.

The need for rigour and discipline has to be satisfied, if the educational experience provided is to be truly meaningful. What is being called for is rigour within the context of a critical education agenda, that is to say, an education which not only enables one to survive but, more importantly, has a transformative edge. Rigour, in such a context, involves efforts to appropriate the baggage necessary to enable one to question/challenge hegemonic and, I would add, even particular forms of counter hegemonic discourse (for example, one can come across a counterhegemonic class discourse devoid of race/gender considerations). The important aspect of this approach, which renders it different from forms of 'Banking Education', is that, in being rigorous, one is still being critical. In generating a sense of rigour, the educator would be creating the conditions for her or him to be challenged. This necessitates great effort and application on the part of the learner, the kind of effort which Gramsci calls for in his much discussed piece on the 'Common School' and which even Freire has underlined in several places, including an exchange with community workers in the course of a 1991 conference.[60] Furthermore, I would argue, echoing Bourdieu, that there is always the danger that a dialogical teacher can lose his/her authority for having moved outside the 'cultural arbitrary' of education [61] - the popular and conventional notion of what a teacher should do and stand for ('pedagogic action' as 'symbolic violence', in Bourdieu and Passeron's terms,[62] a notion which is generally created

by the dominant class. One, therefore, has to tread carefully. Committed educators would therefore have to deal constantly with the tension arising from this situation. They must tread carefully not to undermine the spirit of democracy that, in principle, would characterise the social relations of education within the learning group. Tact and discretion, born out of a situation marked by mutual trust and respect, between educator and educatees, is called for here.

4.3. Cultural Capital and Habitus

The image of adult educator that emerges from the combined insights by Gramsci and Freire is that of a person totally committed to the learners' cause. Implicit in Gramsci's concept of organic intellectual and Freire's insistence that the adult educator commits, in Cabral's terms, 'class suicide,'[63] is their awareness of the strong possibility that the much hoped for process of emancipation can be severely undermined and can degenerate into one of domestication, if the educator brings into play a 'cultural capital' which is at odds with that of the learners.[64]   By 'cultural capital', I mean a cultural baggage and 'grammar of taste' which reflects a particular social location. A male teacher could, for instance, bring into the classroom a set of cultural referents which do not resonate with the female learners' own experiences as women, a point which has been well documented both in the literature in the sociology of education and adult education.[65]

Similarly, and this also seems to be quite common in teaching, given the amount of documentation which exists in the literature, the educator can draw on bourgeois cultural referents, in the classroom, which do not resonate with the distinctly working class culture of the learners. It is also the situation which, as we have seen, Gramsci criticised with respect to the popular universities.[66] And one can provide similar examples with respect to the issues of race or sexual orientation. One of the effects of such 'cultural capital' is that the experiences and

culture/s of those learners, who are located differently, are not valorised. This creates tensions which have to be tackled and named if one is to limit the extent to which domesticating forces emerge from an ostensibly liberatory practice.

This would entail that the educator seeks every means possible to break any barrier that might exist between her/him and the learners in the interest of creating truly democratic and transformative social relations of education.[67] This is no mean task and would involve a process of sensitisation to the particular class, race or gender concerns of the learning group[68] . 'Suicide' is, as I have indicated in the previous chapter, somewhat unattainable given that bourgeois formed educators will probably find it extremely difficult to break away from their 'habitus.' It is extremely difficult for educators to "jump out of their skin" in this respect.

While the French sociologists seem to be too deterministic in this regard, they do stress an aspect of our class location as educators which provides a formidable barrier in the way of committing class suicide. I would argue that the best one can hope for, in this regard, is a recognition, on the educator's part, of the gender, race and class differences that may set her or him apart from the learners. This entails a process of unlearning one's privilege. Such recognition would constitute an important step in the direction of minimising elements of domestication that may emerge from her/his position of social privilege. Part of the struggle for social transformation, in this regard, is coming to terms with the tension between domestication and liberation arising from different social locations.[69] The tension could arise from a situation wherein an educator can resonate with a learner on the grounds of, say,gender but not on the grounds of, say, race or sexuality.

5. Cultural Production

The discussion concerning a Gramscian-Freirean synthesis has hitherto

centred mainly around the issue of process. I shall now focus, more specifically, on content, especially, on questions of culture.   Both Gramsci and Freire attach importance to popular culture in their writings, although, while the latter uses the popular as the basis of his conscientisation process, the former provides little sustained analysis of this particular form of culture in his writings, except for the serial novel. I have argued that there exists in Gramsci a systematic and wide ranging analysis of the dominant culture. Such an analysis is not to be found in Freire. I consider it possible to derive insights, for the purposes of developing a theory of radical adult education, from a synthesis of Gramsci's ideas concerning the dominant culture and Freire's ideas concerning the popular.

5.1. Cutural Studies

I would advocate, for such purposes, a cultural studies programme, one which is inclusionary and which avails itself of cultural products related both to the dominant established culture (popularly referred to as the 'highbrow') and the popular. Both can be critically appropriated for the subordinate group's ends. Popular forms of cultural production, ranging from oral activities, such as popular narratives and ballads, to forms of mass popular culture such as rock music and videos, can be the subject of critical interrogation. The same applies to forms of so-called 'high culture', egs. a Shakespeare text, some of which, one must not forget, have their roots in the popular. Gramsci[70] devoted attention to these kinds of work, providing reviews of plays which form part of the Canon (eg. Shakespeare's *Macbeth* , Ibsen's *The Doll's House* and numerous works by Luigi Pirandello). With respect to Shakespeare, the conventional view, regarding the kind of audience which his plays drew when they were first performed, is that they constituted a form of popular culture.   According to this view, common folk (the 'groundlings' who jeered and cheered in 'the pit') constituted a substantial part of

the audience[71] . This leads one to question the dichotomy between the 'popular' and the 'highbrow'. Raymond Williams argues, in a chapter entitled 'The Social History of Dramatic Forms', that popular Elizabethan drama had within it "all that is creative in the national life."[72] Shakespeare's work was part of a popular drama which, according to Williams,[73] was protected by the court against the commercial middle classes. Eventually, this support began to be gradually withdrawn as the court began to be alienated from "decisive elements in the national life,"[74] as a result of which the drama increasingly began to become a class drama, appealing to a narrow audience. In Shakespeare's case, the tradition which ranks his works as 'highbrow' is not one which dates back to Shakespeare's time but which, to use Hobsbawm's term, could well have been 'invented', at a later date, for a variety of reasons. And I would dare speculate that, given the focus on royalty, and, occasionally, pageantry, in Shakespeare's plays, they could well have contributed to the mystique surrounding this feature of British society which was given fresh impetus in the second half of the nineteenth century. [75]

In problematising the dichotomy between the highbrow and the popular, one would be indicating paths which can be explored by subaltern groups to critically appropriate works for their own end. It would be worth reiterating here the point made by Gramsci, with respect to the manner in which information and knowledge are assimilated in the classroom. For Gramsci, it would be foolish to conceive of the pupil, under traditional conditions of learning, as a "mechanical receiver" of abstract notions. Gramsci would argue that knowledge is assimilated according to the learner's consciousness, one that reflects the "sector of civil society" wherein the learner is located.[76] This is the sort of view which anticipates that made by more recent writers regarding the manner in which meaning is socially circulated and created. It is often argued that meaning does not lie solely within the texts. Michael Apple, for instance, writes:

As poststructuralist theories would have it, meaning is "the product of a
system of differences into which the text is articulated." Thus, there is not
"one text" but many. Any text is open to multiple readings. This puts into
doubt any claim that one can determine the meanings and politics of a text
"by a straightforward encounter with the text itself".....Meanings, then,
can be and are multiple and contradictory, and we must always be willing
to "read" our own readings of a text....[77]

Educators play an important role in mediating the material at hand and
learners "bring their own classed, raced, and gendered biographies with them as
well", therefore being "active constructors of the meanings of the education they
encounter,"[78] a point which echoes Gramsci. Recognition of the multiplicity of
meanings emerging out of texts - and I am here using the term 'text' in its wider
sense, to include all sorts of cultural products - can lead to critical appropriation
for transformative ends. This cannot occur under conditions of 'Banking
education', where learners are treated as though they are empty receptacles to be
filled, even though, in reality, they are not. 'Banking education' denies learners a
forum wherein the various meanings, which they construct from what is 'being
taught', can be brought into the open for these meanings to circulate freely, be
critically interrogated and, ultimately, be renegotiated and reconstructed.

Because of the multiplicity of meanings to which they lend themselves,
works can be read 'against the grain'. And just as Roger I. Simon has indicated
how one can go beyond the racist text to discover emancipatory possibilities
emerging out of a multiplicity of readings of it[79] (his accounts of the Yiddish
interpretation of Shylock and Achebe's insurgent reading of 'Heart of Darkness'[80]
are quite revealing in this respect), so can learners within a radical adult education
circle generate discussions around the work in which they are encouraged to give
voice to the different meanings deriving from their particular locations within
regimes of power/knowledge .

Once again, this voice should not be celebrated uncritically, given that it can incorporate negative aspects of 'common sense'.   Also, in reading a text against the grain, one is not denying the politics of the text itself, hence Simon's use of the title 'Beyond the Racist Text' with respect to the relevant chapter in his book. A racist text remains a racist text despite the provision of anti racist readings of it. As such, while reading a work against the grain in the interest of critical appropriation, it would be appropriate, in adult education circles, to do so in a manner that highlights, where necessary, the author's/painter's complicity or otherwise with respect to the existence of structures of domination.

Critical interrogation and appropriation would be the hallmark of such a cultural studies programme carried out in the "public sphere"[81] and therefore no longer solely within the hallowed walls of the academy. It may be argued that, in so doing , one would be taking Cultural Studies, an area over which Gramsci's writings have exerted considerable influence,[82]   back to one of its old sites, that of *adult education* . This is the terrain wherein it originated in one particular country - Britain. [83]   David Scholle argues: "It is often forgotten that British cultural studies arose as a project for adult education and that much of its focus was on pedagogical issues .... cultural studies began as a specific educational project - as a way of helping people to understand the pressures upon them " The relationship between the British Cultural Studies tradition and adult education is eloquently stressed by one of the foremost figures in this particular tradition, the cultural theorist cum adult educator, Raymond Williams[84] :

> ..we are beginning, I am afraid, to see encyclopedia articles dating the birth of Cultural Studies from this or that book in the late fifties. Don't believe a word of it. That shift of perspective about the teaching of arts and literature and their relation to history and to contemporary society began in Adult Education, it didn't happen anywhere else. It was when it was taken across by people with that experience to the Universities that it was suddenly recognised as a subject. It is in these and other similar ways that the

contribution of the process itself to social change itself, and specifically to learning, has happened.[85]

5.2. An Inclusive Programme

I would argue that such a proposed cultural studies programme should be inclusive. Apart from encompassing elements of the popular and the so called 'highbrow', including oral, visual and written cultural products, it should also be neither ethnocentric, nor androcentric. In this respect, I would argue that it would differ from the approach adopted by Williams and other figures related to the Extra-Mural Delegacy at Oxford. Such a programme should be one in which what is taught is not fixed but open to negotiation and renegotiation - a "cultural borderland"[86] in constant flux where "subordinated cultures push against and permeate the alleged unproblematic and homogeneous borders of dominant cultural forms and practices."[87]

One has to go beyond Gramsci to avoid eurocentrism and beyond both Gramsci and Freire to avoid patriarchal bias. This applies not only to cultural studies programmes (including a workers' cultural studies programme per se) but to any other programme developed with transformative ends in view - for example, a workers' education programme (it can also incorporate a cultural studies component) intended to contribute to industrial democracy.[88]

The issues of critical appropriation and interrogation apply to all aspects of dealing with the dominant language. Going by Gramsci's and Freire's insights, this is one aspect of the dominant culture which needs to be learnt so that the subordinate groups would not remain at the periphery of political life.[89]   I would however reiterate, for the purposes of a theory of radical adult education, Freire's insistence that the dominant language be taught by radical adult educators in a problematising manner. Educators and educatees would, together, explore the

manner in which the language being learnt is tied to the process of hegemony, and therefore that of power/knowledge, either on a worldwide scale (see, for example, the roles of English, Spanish, Portuguese and French in colonial or post-colonial countries) or within national boundaries (eg. 'standard' language as opposed to dialects).

6. History

Gramsci insisted on the need for people from the working class to engage in a study of history, arguing that, if this class is to provide another link to the chain of efforts exerted by human beings, in the perennial struggle for liberation from oppression, it must know by whom it was preceded.[90]   It also needs to gain knowledge of preceding social forms, institutionalised practices and beliefs and the historical contexts which gave rise to the invention of the traditions to which these forms, practices and beliefs belong. Following Hobsbawm,[91] one would want to enquire when did these traditions exactly come into play, with a view to dispelling myths regarding the extent of the continuity of such traditions. Furthermore, one would want to know what function did these 'invented traditions' play and continue to play with respect to such perceived needs as social cohesion, the legitimisation of relations of authority and socialisation?[92]   The implication one derives is, therefore, that historical enquiry would constitute a feature of an adult education programme on Gramscian lines.

6.1. Recuperating Collective Histories

A similar emphasis on Macro-level history, is hardly to be found in Freire's writings. In the examples from popular education, provided in his works, we gain the impression that the emphasis, in the *cultural circle* , is on the present. I would

argue, however, that a critical analysis of a codified situation, in the process of conscientisation, would be incomplete unless it is analysed and placed in its historical context.   After all, the process involves a critical engagement with historically accumulated concepts and practices[93] . This would involve moving between present and past with a view to contributing towards a transformed future. In this respect, I take up the idea, conveyed by Peter McLaren and Tomaz Tadeuz da Silva,[94]   regarding the relevance of Freirean pedagogy to the issue of recuperating collective histories. This process is becoming ever more widespread in a variety of fields. It is, for instance, evident in women's cultural work, especially in films like *Fried Green Tomatoes ,* commemorative events like anniversaries of the *Montreal Massacre* [95] and in literature.[96]

It is also widespread in Latin American research "excavating the substratum of collective memory as it is embedded in popular cultural practice," [97] in life history projects (given prominence in adult educational research[98]) and in adult education initiatives involving the elderly. This is one way through which ideas from Freire and Gramsci can be drawn upon in the context of using history for adult educational purposes.

 McLaren and da Silva [99] point to Freire's insistence on the "importance of affirming the stories that students tell - stories that are based on their own experiences." Using Foucauldian terms, I would argue that this entails the affirmation of areas of 'subjugated knowledge', for the purpose not of 'colonisation' but collective emancipation. This view of history, one rooted in the realm of the popular, which complements the more macro-level conception of history one derives from Gramsci, strikes me as being very relevant to the project being carried forward in this section of the book. I would argue that even Freire's codification/decodification processes offer the radical adult educator an excellent means of engaging in moments of transformative collective histories, referred to

by Walter Benjamin as 'redemptive remembrance'.

Roger I. Simon describes this particular kind of remembrance as 'the practice in which certain images and stories of a collective past are brought together with a person's feelings and comprehension of their embodied presence in time and space."[100] Simon himself shows the effectiveness of codifications, in the form of visual images, as a means of creating a *dialogue with the past* .[101] One of the images he reproduces in his book is a powerful illustration of the plight of Italian immigrant workers in present day Germany, one of whom has the Star of David, in the colours of the Italian *Tricolore ,* superimposed on his shirt. This illustration, by the German artist, Klaus Staeck, evokes the Holocaust to highlight "present day struggles which call to mind long collective histories characterised by racial discrimination."[102] As a result, history is conceived of "not as a constraint on the present but rather as 'source or precondition of power' that can illuminate our project of emancipation."[103] It rediscovers the past, which has turned the present into 'now time', with a view to creating that kind of society which is 'not yet.'[104]   Codifications can therefore be used not simply to facilitate processes whereby the present is viewed critically, to obtain greater awareness of the contradictions underlying it, but also as a means of engendering the dialectical process, involving the juxtaposition of and critical reflection upon past and present. This dialectical process can lead to transformation.[105]

6.2. Practical Examples

At a practical level, an obvious 'redemptive' historical exercise, within the context of an adult education programme, would consist of the adult learners being encouraged to engage in reminiscences concerning their schooling experiences. In this respect, the adult learners can be encouraged to bring photographs and items relevant to their schooling days (eg. school annuals). Their accounts of their own

schooling experiences can be interrogated by the 'directive' educator for the purposes of underlining connections between the kind of schooling organisation and pedagogy described and power structures in the larger society. Furthermore, descriptions by the learners will also be interrogated for the purpose of highlighting and politicising absences, notably in terms of race, class, gender, sexual orientation and disability. Such an analysis of one's educational past will help throw critical light on current educational practices and suggest options for a transformed educational future. Furthermore, it can set the learners in the critical frame of mind necessary for them to partake of a different, potentially transformative adult education programme.

A combination of Gramsci's and Freire's ideas, in this area, would also entail a process whereby collective experiences of the learning group members are evoked, discussed, interrogated and linked to the wider macro-level issues deriving from relevant historical research, a research which takes into account different, insurgent perspectives on historical events. In the case of a workers programme, this could involve the learners' engagement in providing visual and other forms of documentation from their own as well as their families' past, including photographs, memorabilia etc. Ideally these would relate to the kind of work in which family members, possibly elderly family members, were engaged. In the group discussion, these life/work experiences are contrasted to their own. Through discrete , though timely, interventions by the educator, these experiences would be linked with aspects of the macro-level historical discussion, concerning the working class, which, I would argue, should constitute an important component of the course. Such a discussion would hopefully highlight not only the changing modes of capitalist exploitation, throughout the ages, and the degree of gender, racial and ethnic segmentation involved in the labour process but also indicate the 'gains' made by labour organisations and other social movements

during these periods and the threat to these gains presently emanating from 'New Right' quarters. Emphasis on these gains would hopefully instil the sense of agency required for further transformative action in the world of work.

Of course, the kind of situation availed of in the adult learning process depends, to a large extent, on the context in which this process takes place. In my home country, one can avail oneself of the recent tendency to erect and unveil war memorials in various towns and villages. Radical adult educators working within such communities can avail themselves of such a situation to engage in discussions concerning the country's historical and economic connections with war - the 'Fortress economy' - which will hopefully highlight the plight of the Maltese under British colonialism, the perpetuation of colonial attitudes even during the post-independence period and the need to 'decolonise the mind'. The discussion could be broadened in scope if, juxtaposed against such images as war memorials, are those pertaining to the present, notably images from neo-Nazi demonstrations in Germany. The connection between both images can be elicited, through careful prompting and questioning, and this could open up the discussion to incorporate the issue of race. This would hopefully lead to considerations of how we Maltese, as a people, are also implicated in racism. As a result, the group members will begin to see us Maltese not only as an oppressed people, owing to a long history of colonialism, but also as oppressors, therefore attesting to the multiplicity of subjectivities involved in processes of oppression worldwide.

7. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have attempted to create a framework for radical adult education on the basis of ideas, relevant to the area, expressed by Antonio Gramsci and Paulo Freire. Bearing in mind the complementary aspects of their work and the limitations of their ideas for a contemporary project. I explored

elements which could constitute the basis for a theory of transformative adult education. The areas I have explored are those related to (a) Commitment (b) Agency (c) Social Movements (d) the role of Adult Educators (e) issues concerning Cultural production and (f) the role of History in Transformative Adult Education.

These are some ingredients for a Gramscian-Freirian synthesis project. The exercise has by no means been exhausted, as there is ample scope for further work and new ideas in this regard. Elsewhere, Paula Allman and I have explored other ideas, gleaned from Gramsci and Freire, for the purposes of exploring socially committed adult education strategies in an age characterised by the intensification of capitalist globalisation.[106]

Of course, the degree of effectiveness of the concepts, discussed in this chapter, largely depends on the nature of the specific context in which they are expected to be developed. In the book's concluding chapter, I attempt to explore some of the limits and possibilities for transformative adult education, along Gramscian-Freirian lines, that exist in a few different contexts.

[1] An abridged version of this chapter was published as Mayo, 1996.

[2] Horton and Freire, 1990

[3] Giroux,1988

[4] Simon, 1992

[5] Freire, in Freire and Macedo, 1993: 172. In this interview, Freire states, with respect to this issue: "When I wrote *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* I was so influenced by Marx's class analysis, and given the incredible cruel class oppression that characterized my developing years in Northeast Brazil, my major preoccupation was, therefore, class oppression. It is ironic that some Marxists even criticised me for not paying enough attention to social class analysis. In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, if my memory serves me correctly, I made approximately thirty-three references to social class analysis."

[6] Cf. Macedo in Freire and Macedo, 1993: 172

[7] Cf. Macedo in Freire and Macedo, 1993: 172

[8] Corrigan, Ramsay and Sayer,1980: 22

[9] see, for example, Taking Liberties Collective, 1989

[10] Lorde,1984; hooks, 1981; Stefanos, 1997

[11] Ball, 1992: 8

[12] See Weiler, 1991, 1994; Ellsworth, 1989 ; Gore, 1993; Lynch and O'Neill, 1995

[13] Cf. Simon, 1992: 39

[14] Laclau and Mouffe, 1985

[15] Holub, 1992

[16] Gramsci,1985: 54

[17] Holub,1992: 156

[18] See Mayo, 1995b, 1997a

[19] Holub, 1992: 162

[20] Sklair, 1995

[21] Shor, 1987: 93

[22] Aronowitz and Giroux, 1991: 130, 131. I am indebted to Brookfield (1993: 73) for drawing my attention to this quote.

[23] Horton and Freire, 1990; Shor and Freire, 1987

[24] Said, 1994: 4

[25] Aronowitz, 1993; Macedo, 1994; Allman, 1994, 1996; Mayo, 1995

[26] Freire, 1997a: 303, 304

[27] The last few paragraphs have been reproduced almost verbatim from Mayo, 1996: 151, 152.

[28] cf. Adamson, 1980

[29] Freire, 1985

[30] eg. Shor and Freire, 1987; Freire and Faundez, 1989; see Findlay, 1994

[31] Welton, 1993

[32] Mayo, 1994b, 1994c

[33] Gramsci,1971b: 130

[34] Zachariah 1986

[35] Sklair, 1995

[36] Sklair, 1995: 507

[37] Sklair, 1995: 507

[38] cf. Hall, 1993

[39] See my case study of a Maltese workers' education programe for a discussion of this theme backed by illustrative interview material: Mayo, 1997a

[40] Gramsci, 1978: 21

[41] McIlroy, 1993: 277

[42] Mayo, 1995b, 1997b

[43] Foley, 1994

[44] Ross and Trachte, 1990

[45] Spivak, in Giroux, 1992: 27

[46] Gramsci, 1995: 154, 155

[47] Freire, 1991

[48] cf. Sharp, Hartwig and O'Leary, 1989

[49] Torres, 1991a: 31

[50] Corrigan and Sayer, 1985: 4.

[51] Freire, in Horton and Freire, 1990: 203

[52] Giroux, 1981, 1983

[53] cf. London, Edinburgh Weekend Return Group, 1979, 80. For an extensive discussion on the possible application of Gramscian and Freirean ideas to the issue of working 'in and against the state,' see Leonard, (1993) and Mayo (1997b).

[54] Shor and Freire, 1987: 103; Horton and Freire, 1990: 181

[55] Freire, 1985: 177; Shor and Freire, 1987

[56] Gramsci, 1971b: 36

[57] Freire, in Horton and Freire: 160

[58] cf. Arnove, 1986: 24, 25; Baldacchino, 1990: 53, 54; Gaber-Katz and Watson 1991

[59] Ransome, 1992: 195

[60] The conference in question took place at the New School for Social Research Curriculum and Pedagogy Collaborative, Greenwich Village, New York in December, 1991. See Clover, 1991:1. The conference bore the title of : Challenging Education, Creating Alliances: An Institute in Honour of Paulo Freire's 70th Birthday. Freire is on record as having said "Learning is not a vacation on a beach, it is very difficult, even for me." Clover, 1991: 1. See also the discussion by Ira Shor and Paulo Freire centering around the question, 'Is there Structure and Rigor in Liberating Education?' (Ch. 3), in Shor and Freire, 1987: 75 - 96.

[61] Blackledge and Hunt, 1985: 165

[62] Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990: 5

[63] Freire, 1978; Freire and Faundez, 1989

[64] cf. Torres, 1990b

[65] See, for example, Thompson, 1983; Taking Liberties Collective, 1989.

[66] Broccoli, 1972

[67] Mayo, 1993a: 180

[68] Educators, I believe, are in a position to acquire such sensitisation, as far as class is

concerned, given the fact that they are situated in a contradictory class location.

[69] Mayo, 1993a: 19

[70] Gramsci, 1985

[71] It ought to be stressed that this is the conventional view. One must admit that controversy surrounds the question of what the Globe and similar theatres actually looked like. The evidence for this conventional view is based on a drawing of The Swan by the Dutch traveller, Johannes de Witt to which drawing he attached a written description (Harwood, 1984: 115). I should like to express my gratitude to Ivan Callus, a friend and English Literature scholar, who engaged in a highly stimulating conversation with me dealing with some of the issues raised in this section. While I have profited immensely from his insightful comments, any flaws in my argument are entirely my responsibility.

[72] Williams, 1961: 277

[73] Williams, 1961: 278

[74] Williams, 1961: 278

[75] For a discussion of the invention of tradition with respect to the British Monarchy, see Cannadine (1993).

[76] Gramsci, 1971b: 35

[77] Apple, 1992: 10

[78] Apple, 1992: 10

[79] Simon, 1992

[80] Achebe, 1975

[81] cf.Giroux, Shumway, Smith and Sosnoski 1988

[82] cf. Turner, 1990: 210-214 ; Morrow, 1991: 38-59

[83] Scholle, 1991: 124, 125.

[84] The piece in question, by Raymond Williams, is from *Adult Education and Social Change: Lectures and Reminiscences in Honour of Tony McLean*, WEA Southern District, 1983: 9-24.

[85] Williams in McIlroy and Westwood, 1993: 260

[86] Giroux, 1992: 169

[87] Giroux, 1992: 169

[88] Mayo, 1995a

[89] cf. Gramsci, 1971b : 325; Shor and Freire, 1987: 73

[90] Cf. Entwistle, 1979: 41

[91] Hobsbawm, 1983

[92] cf. Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983: 9

[93] I am indebted to Professor David W. Livingstone, for the suggestion and formulation of this point. See also Mayo, 1996: 156.

[94] McLaren and da Silva, 1993

[95] I am refering here to the slaying, by a 25 year old man, of fourteen women undergoing a course in engineering at the University of Montreal's School of Engineering (Ecole Polytechnique). The killings took place on 6th December 1989. The man then shot himself and, in a note found on his body, he stated that the murders were a political act and he blamed feminism for ruining his life. See Rosenberg, 1992: 32.

[96] I would include here Feminist literature centering around memory and confession. Cf. Haug, 1987, Schenke, 1992: 58.

[97] Hoechsmann, 1993: 55. Hoechsmann makes this statement in a review of Rowe and

Schelling's *Memory and Modernity - Popular Culture in Latin America*, London, Verso, 1992.

[98] The European Society for Research on the Education of Adults (ESREA) devotes an entire research network to life history.

[99] McLaren and da Silva, 1993: 74

[100] Simon, 1992: 149

[101] McLaren and da Silva, 1993: 75

[102] Borg and Mayo, 1993: 165

[103] McLaren and da Silva, 1993: 75

[104] McLaren and da Silva, 1993: 77

[105] Borg and Mayo, 1993: 166

[106] Allman and Mayo, 1997