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Critical Pedagogy in Uncertain Times

Hope and Possibilities

Second Edition

Edited by
Sheila L. Macrine

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Foreword

Paulo Freire wrote, *I consider the fundamental theme of our epoch to be that of domination—which implies its opposite, the theme of liberation, as the objective to be achieved… In order to achieve humanization, which presupposes the elimination of dehumanizing oppression, it is absolutely necessary to surmount the limit-situations which people are reduced to things* (Freire 2018, p. 52). Even though Paulo Freire's classic book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, was published half century ago, in some fundamental aspects, it is more relevant today than when its publication unleashed a prairie fire among educators and scholars in multiple fields whose political projects were cemented in an anticolonial and authentic democracy. Hence, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* followed the thinking of many revolutionary leaders who sacrificed life, family, and livelihood to, together with the people, cut the yoke of colonialism that *thingified* them by inculcating them with myths and beliefs that as dehumanized beings, [they] 'house' the oppressors within themselves [which, in turn prevent the oppressed from 'ejecting']… "'the oppressors' slogans from within them themselves… [that]… 'they cannot be truly human'" (Freire 2018, p. 95).

Given the *theater of the macabre* playing out in the halls of our major institutions in the United States where politicians and policymakers are directed into obedience by the most absurd and surreal edicts issued by President Trump through Twitter, to say that we are in "uncertain times," is to remain hopeful since the world is not only experiencing one of its darkest moments, but our humanity, as we know it, is at the precipice

of its own destruction. Nevertheless, it is important that we understand that pathological leaders like Hitler were also elected into power through the ballot box, and the current unhinged totalitarian and cruel behavior of President Trump should not come as a surprise. President Trump was elected by the *Trumpism* that preceded Trump: huge economic equality, ramping racism and authoritarianism from churches to the halls of academia, and the hopelessness experienced by the white American working class whose whiteness security carpet was pulled from under them by the obscene greed of the ruling class, euphemistically referred to as "elites."

In a pointed and poignant way, Macrine's edited volume, *Critical Pedagogy in Uncertain Times: Hope and Possibilities*, is anchored in praxis to the degree that it embraces at once critical reflection of reality and the subsequent required action. The authors included in *Critical Pedagogy in Uncertain Times: Hope and Possibilities* are keenly aware that they cannot "forget that their fundamental objective is to fight alongside the people [and students] for the recovery of the people's stolen humanity, not to 'win the people over' to their side. Such a phrase does not belong in the vocabulary of revolutionary leaders" as Freire (p. 95) succinctly put it. Nor does such phrase belong to organic critical pedagogues whose comprehension of their revolutionary "role is to liberate, and be liberated, with the with the people [and students] not to win them over (Freire 2018, p. 95)."

Fighting alongside the people also means using more precise vocabulary that can lead to *conscientization* rather than obfuscation. By choosing to use "elite" instead of "ruling class," even well-intended educators rob the people and the students of the vocabulary that they need to come to critical awareness to the extent that "elite" abstracts away the tortious mechanisms of oppression and how they are weaponized to dehumanize while the use of "ruling class" unmasks the effective myth that the United States is a classless society—a process that even misleads white working-class Americans to believe that their whiteness is a certificate of middle classness. Hence, the white rage that became a major factor in the election of Trump whose class- and race-based propaganda had the effect of having white working-class Americans voting against their own interests. For example, they did not benefit from the Trump's tax cut that mostly benefited the one percent, and the mining and manufacturing jobs did

not repatriate to employ them. Unable to understand their own victimhood, they eagerly embrace Trump's racist diatribes that called all Mexicans racists and, to make America great again, it is necessary to expand the cultural war started by Reagan and Bush cultural legionnaires, like Patrick Buchanan, [who] vociferously attacked the "welfare state" for the poor for creating a "social catastrophe" and blame "Great Society programs not only for financial losses but also for drops in high school test scores, drug problems and 'a generation of children and youth with no fathers, no faith and no dreams other than the lure of the street (Macedo 2006, p. 92).'"

While some educators may argue that Buchanan represents that past, the reality is that the use of racism as a political wedge has only gotten more efficacious and more unabashed. It has also gotten remarkably worse and cruel. Given Trump's emperor's complex, he does not rely on cultural commissars to exacerbate racism. He eagerly unleashes unrestraint and obscene racism as the proud racist commander in charge who has replaced chains with twitter—a technological innovation that has proved to be the twenty-first-century un-apologetic lynching tool *par excellence*. The wanton killing of black youths by police with impunity, the bombing and mass killing non-whites by whites in black churches, mosques, and synagogues, and the generalized view that "all Mexican are racists" have had disastrous consequences of turning the recapture of the American dream to make the nation again for whites-only while the price of this imagined greatness is cruelly experienced by the victims, as noted by Malcolm X, as the American nightmare. It is certainly the case now that every Black, Latins, Jew, and other non-whites go to church re-living the American nightmare of which they have historically been victims.

Against one of the most dangerous historical periods for the United States and the world, the occupancy of the White House by a narcissist and pathological and compulsive liar who has direct control in ushering a nuclear apocalypse, it is surprising that there is not a more generalized outrage. Given the precariousness of the current historical juncture, not only the victims of the American nightmare are at risk. In fact, all of humanity is precipitously at risk as well, including the ruling class. I purposely use the term "ruling class" to make a case against the use of euphemisms. The generalized use of the term "poor" instead of "working-class" prevents the development of class consciousness in a society that claims to be classless, even though most candidates for the next presidential election attempt to outdo one another in their commitment to help

the middle class. If a society has a middle class, it must also have a working class. By the same token, a society that has a working class and a middle class is not ruled by abstract "elites." It is ruled by a ruling class that is most likely an elite class as well.

The brilliance of *Critical Pedagogy in Uncertain Times: Hope and Possibilities* is that its contributors understand that language matters and the concise use of vocabulary to unveil the dominant ideology is, without a doubt, a point of departure in the *conscientization* process. Thus, it is imperative that even well-meaning educators who are concerned with democratic education need to refrain from basing their literacy struggle with the people and students on an uncritical academic discourse that over-relies on euphemisms to obfuscate reality rather than to denude it. A text that is framed within the false assumption that we live in a classless society will fail in an accurate reading of the world that generated the text to the extent the words used euphemistically do not provide access to the often-hidden meaning of world content. Let's take, for example, the work of well-meaning educators whose commitment to literacy development is never in doubt. Nevertheless, by not paying attention to the words and the assumptions that undergird them, the world of the readers who have been, a priori, classified as having reading difficulty will remain mostly unchanged.

That is, the ideological trap in the field of reading and literacy ranges from the reactionary call for scientifically based reading approaches to the militaristic lock-step marching orders of the dominant curriculum. While many educators courageously denounce the dehumanizing and deskilling of both students and teachers who are coerced into rigid instructional methodologies, many liberal educators engage in an eternal dance of hypocrisy where, instead of denouncing the vicious attacks on poor children under the guise of science, they take refuge in a type of academic literacy research which is, at best, folk theory and, at worse, the reproduction of the very class warfare that is largely responsible for the inequalities that many well-intentioned liberals denounce at the level of discourse and from which they refuse to divest their class privilege—for example, in the much-celebrated study conducted some years ago by Catherine Snow and Diane Beals, "Mealtime Talk That Supports Literacy Development" (Snow and Beals 2006).

The authors argue that it is not intuitively obvious that mealtimes can help children do well in school. We have all heard that breakfast is 'a child's most important meal of the day,' because its nutrition provides

energy for learning. But family mealtimes can also contribute to children's linguistic and cognitive development in ways that support their learning to read and write. Take, for instance, the conversation in five-year-old Rosalyn's family during dinner one evening:

> *Father*: Pretty soon you'll be big enough to drive to the store and buy the groceries for us.
> *Rosalyn*: I will?
> *Mother*: (laughs)
> *Father*: Well, about thirteen or fourteen years.
> *Rosalyn*: I will?
> *Father*: Sure. In fourteen years.
> *Rosalyn*: That's fun.
> *Father*: In fourteen years you'll be seventeen. And you'll have your driver's license and go grocery shopping.
> *Mother*: In fourteen years, she'll be nineteen.
> *Father*: Oh, right, I'm sorry. Gee! Only twelve years and you'll be seventeen. Suppose Cheryl (Rosalyn's older sister) will go grocery shopping for us when she gets her license?
> *Rosalyn*: Hmm (laughs).
> *Father*: Maybe she'll offer to do it just so she can drive the car (laughing).
> *Mother*: I don't know.
> *Father*: That would be the only reason she'd offer.
> *Mother*: Mmhm.
> *Rosalyn*: That would be really good. (giggles). I hope she doesn't crash.
> *Father*: Well, we hope she doesn't crash either (p. 52).

Catherine Snow (2006) and her colleague point out that, in this segment of a longer mealtime conversation, Rosalyn is getting practice in making future plans and describing those plans to others. This is a form of narrative talk that helps children with school tasks such as recognizing sequences of events or planning to complete projects on time. Rosalyn also hears arithmetic talk—calculations of number of years until she is seventeen—and an implied explanation that one must be seventeen (or some advanced age) to drive legally (Snow and Beals 2006, p. 52).

The authors also argue that "she is also exposed to a vocabulary word that many five-year old's do not know: license. Her father does not stop to define the license, but the conversation gives Rosalyn some sense of the word's meaning—that you cannot drive without it and that you can get it only when you are older. All of this potential for learning occurs

in a natural conversation engaged in for amusement by people who care about each other" (Snow and Beals 2006, p. 52).

What authors fail to disclose is that they are operating within middle-class values that assume that all families are guaranteed a meal in the comfort of a home with both parents and their children so that "learning occurs in a natural conversation engaged in for amusement by people who care about each other."[1] By not discussing class as a factor in their study and the interaction between class, race, gender, and ethnicity, these authors may seduce naïve teachers to assume that if Juanita is not reading at the grade level is, perhaps, because her parents are not engaging her in dinner conversation. This naïve teacher may ask Juanita if she had a conversation with her parents during dinner the night before or, perhaps, she could also send a note home urging Juanita's parents to engage her in "natural conversation" that lead to learning. What they also fail to comprehend is that an empirical study that concludes that children who engage in dinner conversation with their parents and siblings achieve higher rates of success in reading is not only academically dishonest but also misleading to the degree that it ignores the class and economic assumptions that all children are guaranteed daily dinners in the company of their parents and other siblings.

Most immigrant and working-class parents work two jobs in order to make ends meet and, in many cases, immigrant children see their parents during weekends only. What generalizations can Snow's study make about the 12 million children who go to bed hungry every night in the United States? What can Snow's study say to thousands and thousands of children who are homeless, who do not have a table, and who sometimes do not have food to put on the table that they do not have? A study that makes such sweeping and distorted generalizations about the role of dinner conversations in reading achievement says little about children who see their parents shackled and brutally taken to jail by immigrant officers while they are left alone to fend for themselves. Take the case of Saida Umanzor who was detained by immigrant agents while she was breast-feeding her jittery baby, Brittney. "She was forced to leave both Brittney and the other American daughter, Alexandra who is 3, since the agents could not detain them…In jail and with her nursing abruptly halted, Ms. Umanzor's breast became painfully engorged. With the help of Veronica Dahlberg, director of a Hispanic women's group, a breast pump was delivered on her third day in jail. Brittney, meanwhile, did not eat for three days, refusing to take formula from a bottle" (*Immigration Quandary*,

2007). Perhaps Catherine Snow and her coauthor would still insist on a dinner conversation to enhance reading achievement and the following hypothetical conversation could occur:

> *Father*: Let's pray that they will let your mother come home.
> *Alexandra*: Why is mommy in jail? Is she a criminal?
> *Father*: No, she is not a criminal. She really loves you.
> *Alexandra*: If she loves me why did she leave us?
> *Father*: It's only for a few days. Your mommy is in much pain.
> *Alexandra*: Why is mommy in pain?
> *Father*: Her breast is engorged.
> *Alexandra*: What does engorge mean?
> *Father*: I will explain later. It is too much injustice.
> *Alexandra*: What is injustice? (p. 52)

I am not so sure that the above hypothetical conversation is the type of dinner conversation that Catherine Snow and her coauthor had in mind. The questions in the hypothetical dialogue make it clear how distorted empirical study results can be when they are disconnected from the sociocultural reality that informs such studies to begin with. In addition, such distortion feeds into the development of stereotypes that, on the one hand, blame the victims for their own social misery and, on the other hand, indict parents for their irresponsibility in child-rearing in that they do not properly engage, according to Snow, "in dinner table conversations [that] offer children opportunities to acquire vocabulary, practice producing and understanding stories and explanations, acquire general knowledge, and learn how to talk in culturally appropriate ways" (Snow and Beals 2006)—meaning white-middle-class ways of being in the world and negotiating the world.

The assumptions that there are "culturally appropriate ways of talking reinforces the misunderstanding of the role of one's language in meaning-making." The misunderstanding of the role of language in meaning-making goes beyond "talking in culturally appropriate ways." It allows many liberal educators to appropriate selective aspects of a seemingly sound learning theory as a badge of progressiveness while conveniently dismissing or ignoring the class and cultural factors that would question their complicity with the very structures that created human misery, children's homelessness, and hunger in the first place. These forms of "fake research" have little to do with scientific rigor as dominant educators erroneously claim, but all to do with the legitimization and reinforcement

of middle-class values while denying the existence of class in the United States. Academics who often engage in these types of "fake research" usually hide their class privilege while slumming as defenders of the oppressed while they develop careers on the backs of the subjugated people that they constantly study as the status quo that gives rise to the human misery remains permanently the same.

If Catherine Snow and her coauthor would compare the middle-class dinner conversation with the hypothetical dinner conversation of an immigrant family under siege—a reality that is now so cruelly familiar under Trumpism—they would realize that the hypothetical dinner conversation uses terms that (1) are part of the immigrant student reality, (2) are more sophisticated and higher level learning, and (3) can more readily be used to trigger *conscientization*. That is, the terms *criminal, engorged, injustice, and love* lend themselves more pedagogically to the development of literacy skills and *conscientization* than the terms *drive, driver's license, grocery shopping, crash* which were prevalent in Catherine Snow's study. The latter terms reduce literacy to pure "idle chatter" and use literacy development as an end in itself. The former terms can become part of a process that leads to *conscientization*. That is, Freire's major goal was the development of an emancipatory pedagogical process that is designed to teach students, through critical literacies, how to negotiate the world in a thoughtful way that exposes and engages the relations between the oppressor and the oppressed which is evident in the hypothetical conversation between the father and his daughter, Alexandra. Thus, literacy as an act of *conscientization* has as its central educational objective to awaken in the oppressed the knowledge, creativity, and constant critical reflexive capacities necessary to demystify and understand the power relations responsible for their marginalization and, through this recognition, begin a project of liberation. Its commitment to critical reflection and transformative action makes *conscientization* central to critical literacy which requires, in turn, that the teacher performs the critical questioning inherent to *conscientization* in order to ensure that due consideration is given to important social, economic, and cultural contributors to social justice in teaching and learning that includes, obviously, reading.

Macrine's edited volume, *Critical Pedagogy in Uncertain Times: Hope and Possibilities*, succinctly makes the case for urgency in the development of emancipatory education where spaces for critiques, hopes, and possibilities are created so that a certain coherence with the revolutionary plan to reconstruct a society is maintained—a society that, regretfully,

has been guided by important ideals but tragically falls short of translating these ideals into action. Most importantly, the contributing authors of Macrine's edited volume make it abundantly clear that critical pedagogues as revolutionary leaders do not go to the people [and students] in order to bring them a message of 'salvation,' but in order to come to know through dialogue with them both their *objective situation* and their awareness of that situation—the various levels of perception of themselves and of the world in which and with which they exist. One cannot expect positive results from an educational or political action program which fails to respect the particular view of the world by the people. Such a program constitutes cultural invasion, good intention notwithstanding (Freire 2018).

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Note

1. *Immigration Quandary: A Mother Torn From Her Baby.* New York Times, November 17, 2007 https://www.atlanticphilanthropies.org/news/immigration-quandary-mother-torn-her-baby.

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Donaldo Macedo is Professor Emeritus of English and a Distinguished Professor of Liberal Arts and Education at the University of Massachusetts, Boston. He has published extensively in the areas of linguistics, critical literacy, and bilingual and multicultural education. His publications include: *Literacy: Reading the Word and the World* (with Paulo Freire, 1987), *Literacies of Power: What Americans Are Not Allowed to Know* (1994), *Dancing with Bigotry* (with Lilia Bartolome, 1999), *Critical Education in the New Information Age* (with Paulo Freire, Henry

Giroux and Paul Willis, 1999), *Chomsky on Miseducation* (with Noam Chomsky, 2000), and *Ideology Matters* (coauthored with Paulo Freire, forthcoming).

Acknowledgements

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The inclusion of the lecture by Paulo Freire was made possible by the enormous generosity of Paulo Freire's wife and outstanding scholar, Nita Freire. This piece, which had never been published in English prior to the first edition of this book, would not have been possible without the efforts of Freirean scholar Donaldo Macedo. A special thanks to Emeritus Professor Donaldo Macedo for his Foreword in this book, and I am so thankful for his continued intellectually sage-counsel, acumen, and friendship. In addition, I could not have negotiated the Paulo Freire's lecture on Amilcar Cabral without my collaborators, Fernando Naiditch and João Paraskeva. I am also eternally grateful to Gustavo Fischman for his Afterword; his voice punctuates the continued relevance of Critical Pedagogy today. The first edition of this book would not have been possible without

the encouragement of the late Maxine Greene, a trail blazer, who was the first person to sign on to contribute to the first edition of this book.

I also want to extend my appreciation to the Distinguished Emeritus Professor Stanley Aronowitz for contributing to the original volume. His piece was so insightful and prescient in the first edition of this book that I felt it needed to be included in this second edition. Stanley Aronowitz' contributions to the evolution of Critical Pedagogy and critical thought are unsurpassed. An outstanding educator, scholar, veteran political-activist, cultural critic, and advocate for organized labor, Professor Aronowitz also served as a member of the interim consultative committee of the International Organization for a Participatory Society. I am constantly humbled by his wisdom.

I also want to thank Shirley R. Steinberg for submitting the late Joe Kincheloe's (2008) interview with Henry Giroux in their series entitled Figures in Critical Pedagogy. I am also indebted to educational and cultural critic Professor Kenneth Saltman, for his stimulating contributions to our ongoing dialogues that both illuminate and challenge our thought processes. His scholarship is filled with far-sighted warnings soon proven prophetic and quickly snapped up in the popular press. Thanks also goes to my colleague and friend David Hursh for his simple (in the Freirean sense), but elegant suggestions when compiling the original volume to, "please give us some practical applications of Critical Pedagogy." I hope that this second edition delivers on those suggestions and highlights the relevance of Critical Pedagogy today. Another person that I must thank is Peter McLaren; his work in Revolutionary Critical Pedagogy will continue to be sought out in decades to come.

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Praise for *Critical Pedagogy in Uncertain Times*

"This extraordinary collection combines the voices of some of the most critical, reflexive, and revolutionary voices of our time, both seasoned and evolving, of Critical Pedagogy. In its pages, we find the pedagogies of hope needed to challenge what Macrine calls 'the threatening triangulation of Neoliberalism, Conservatism, and Nationalism'; and find a vision for democratic education that can create a world of love and dignity for all. With much needed boldness and daring we are called upon and inspired to be more courageous and more committed in our quest for freedom."

—Lilia D. Monzó, *Associate Professor, Attallah College of Educational Studies, Chapman University, USA, and author of* A Revolutionary Subject: Pedagogy of Women of Color and Indigeneity

"Sheila Macrine has facilitated an assemblage of the elders of Critical Pedagogy and up-and-coming scholars who usher us through the socio/political thin ice of our era. Paulo Freire reminded us to create our future by understanding what we cannot do in our present…the authors of this book help us to commit to what is possible. This volume enables us to move from the shock and trauma of the present to the critical activism needed to create a better world for future generations."

—Shirley R. Steinberg, *Werklund Research Professor of Critical Youth Studies, Werklund School of Education, University of Calgary, Canada*

"At a time in education where more than twenty years of neoliberal education policies have influenced global education systems which rank, assess, and categorize students according to their abilities, books such as a this one are needed now more than ever before. This book is conceptually sophisticated and rigorous, with contributions from leading critical pedagogy scholars–a must for students and educators who are interested in the language of possibility, democratic education, and social change."

—Trace Ollis, *Senior Lecturer of Applied Learning, Professional Studies, and Training, School of Education, Deakin University, Australia*

"The second edition of this important volume adds updated, multidimensional, and insightful layers to the critical pedagogical experience, which is lived out increasingly through the eyes, hearts, minds, and souls of scholars and activists around the world, even if it seems (normatively) dislocated from the central focus of many educational journals, conferences, and debates. Critical pedagogy is now more mature, anchored, theorized and integrated into diverse fields, disciplines, perspectives and movements, and this is wonderfully captured throughout this volume. Bringing together many of the seminal figures in critical pedagogy, framed in a nuanced and prescient way by Sheila Macrine, this book presents a state-of-the-art synthesis of many of the key considerations facing education and our diverse societies at this time."

—Paul R. Carr, *Professor, Department of Education, University of Quebec Outaouais, Canada*

"In these desperate times, this edited volume offers hope and direction. The chapters have been carefully selected and organized so that they build on and speak to each other resulting in a book that is more than a sum of its parts. In particular, the authors connect the global north with the global south creating 'a critical pedagogy of the global.' This is a book to read and reread."

—David W. Hursh, *Professor, Warmer Graduate School of Education, University of Rochester, USA*

Contents

Notes on Contributors

Inny Accioly, Ph.D. is a Professor at the Fluminense Federal University (*Universidade Federal Fluminense*—UFF) in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. She specializes in education policies analysis, critical environmental education, and grassroot movements. An activist scholar, she coordinates projects to strengthen university-school-community partnerships in a critical perspective in defense of territories, free public education, and against racism and sexism. She has published numerous articles and books in Portuguese and in English, including *Commodifying Education: Theoretical and Methodological Aspects of Financialization of Educational Policies in Brazil* (Brill-Sense Publishers, 2016).

Stanley Aronowitz, Ph.D. has taught at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York since 1983, where he is a Distinguished Professor of Sociology and Urban Education. His scholarships involve labor, social movements, science and technology, education, social theory, and cultural studies. He is also the director of the Center for the Study of Culture, Technology, and Work at the Graduate Center at CUNY. In his most recent book, *Against Schooling* (Paradigm, 2008), Aronowitz "makes a brilliant and impassioned argument for the necessity of creating new knowledges and social and cultural practices that do not repeat the privileging hierarchies of previous generations …" (Peter McLaren, 2008).

Antonia Darder, Ph.D. holds the Leavey Presidential Endowed Chair in Ethics and Moral Leadership in the School of Education at Loyola Marymount University. She is a scholar, artist, poet, activist, and public intellectual. Darder's scholarship has focused on comparative studies of structural inequalities as they manifest within a variety of schooling and societal contexts. She is the author of numerous books, including *Culture and Power in the Classroom* (1991), *Reinventing Paulo Freire* (2002, 2017), *Critical Pedagogy Reader* (2003, 2008), and *The Student Guide to Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (2019).

Noah De Lissovoy, Ph.D. is an Associate Professor in Cultural Studies at the University of Texas, Austin. His research focuses on critical and emancipatory approaches to pedagogy, curriculum, and cultural studies. He interested in problems posed for educators by globalization, the intersecting effects of race, class, and capital in schools and society, developing the theoretical resources for social movements, and extending and rethinking the traditions of critical pedagogy and philosophy. His scholarship has proposed original theoretical frameworks for understanding democratic education in global context, the turn to punishment in schools and society, the meaning of ideology in the neoliberal era, and decolonial approaches to teaching. De Lissovoy is the author of *Power, Crisis, and Education for Liberation Rethinking Critical Pedagogy* (2018), *Education and Emancipation in the Neoliberal Era* (2015), *Power, Crisis, and Education for Liberation* (2008) and coauthor of *Toward a New Common School Movement* (2015). His publications including *Harvard Educational Review*, *Curriculum Inquiry*, *Race Ethnicity and Education*, *Journal of Education Policy*, and *Educational Philosophy and Theory.*

Bernadette Farrell, Ph.D. is a Lecturer at the School of Educational Studies and Leadership at the University of Canterbury, New Zealand. She recently completed her Ph.D. Her research explores tertiary education policy, and the potential of marginalized voices, particularly young people and students, to advance change toward social justice and increasingly ecological sustainability.

Gustavo E. Fischman, Ph.D. is a Professor of Education Policy at the Mary Lou Fulton Teachers College, Arizona State University, fischman@asu.edu. His scholarship has been distinguished with several awards and he has been a visiting scholar in several universities in Europe and Latin America. Dr. Fischman has authored over 100 articles,

chapters, and books. He is the editor of *Education Review and a Consulting Editor of Education Policy Analysis Archives. Among His Best-Known Books Are Imagining Teachers: Rethinking Teacher Education and Gender, Dumb Ideas Won't Create Smart Kids* coauthored with Eric M. Haas and *Made in Latin America: Open Access, Scholarly Journals, and Regional Innovations* coedited with Juan P. Alperin.

Paulo Freire, Ph.D. (1921–1997), the Brazilian educationalist, has left a significant mark on thinking about progressive practice. His Pedagogy of the Oppressed is currently one of the most quoted educational texts (especially in Latin America, Africa, and Asia). Freire was able to draw upon, and weave together, a number of strands of thinking about educational practice and liberation. Freire made a number of important theoretical innovations that have had a considerable impact on the development of educational practice—and on *informal education* and *popular education* in particular. Paulo Freire contributed a *philosophy of education* that came not only from the more classical approaches stemming from Plato, but also from modern Marxist and anti-colonialist thinkers. In fact, in many ways, his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* may be best read as an extension of, or reply to, Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth*, which emphasized the need to provide native populations with an education that was simultaneously new and modern (rather than traditional) and anticolonial (not simply an extension of the culture of the colonizer). Freire is best known for his attack on what he called the "banking" concept of education, in which the student was viewed as an empty account to be filled by the teacher.

Henry A. Giroux, Ph.D. holds the Global TV Network Chair in English and Cultural Studies at McMaster University in Canada. His most recent books include: *America on the Edge* (2006), *Take Back Higher Education*—coauthored with Susan Giroux (2006), *Beyond the Spectacle of Terrorism* (2006), *Stormy Weather: Katrina and the Politics of Disposability* (2006), *The University in Chains: Confronting the Military-Industrial-Academic Complex* (2007), and *Against the Terror of Neoliberalism: Politics Beyond the Age of Greed* (2008) and his latest book, *The Terror of the Unforeseen* (2019) with Foreword by Julian Casablancas.

Maxine Greene, Ph.D. was the Founder and Director of the Center for Social Imagination, the Arts, and Education at Teachers College, Columbia University, where she was on the faculty beginning in 1965. She

was at the forefront of educational philosophy for well over half a century as a teacher, a lecturer, and author. Maxine Greene held a Ph.D. (1955) and M.A. (1949) from New York University and a B.A. from Barnard College, Columbia University (1938), in addition to nine honorary degrees from universities across the country. He was awarded the Medal of Honor from Teachers College and Barnard College; Educator of the Year Award from Phi Delta Kappa; the Scholarly Achievement Award from Barnard College; AERA's Lifetime Achievement Award; and received a Fulbright fellowship, which took her to New Zealand.

Joe L. Kincheloe, Ph.D. was the Canada Research Chair in Critical Pedagogy at McGill. During his time at McGill, he and Shirley R. Steinberg founded the *Paulo and Nita Freire International Project for Critical Pedagogy* which established itself as a leading archival and coordinating center for a global research initiative. Kincheloe played a formative role in the development of critical pedagogy. With over 50 books and countless articles, he systematically uncovered the ways in which institutional influences in the construction and representation of knowledge, identity, and culture were badly serving certain populations. By developing a politically sensitive approach to the cognitive sciences, he was able to adeptly demonstrate how a number of the leading ideas currently at play within education, such as standards and intelligence, were being used unconsciously or knowingly to undermine basic democratic principles in ways that schools could both study and address.

Sheila L. Macrine, Ph.D. is a Professor at the University of Massachusetts Dartmouth, United States. Her scholarly interests focus on connecting the cultural, institutional, and personal contexts of pedagogy, particularly as they relate to the social imagination and progressive democratic education. She writes about the relationships among the complex social issues of difference (race, class, gender, disability, etc.) within urban schools and the political economy of schooling within the broader context of postindustrial capitalism.

Peter Mayo holds Ph.D. and is a Professor at the University of Malta. He is the author of over 100 papers in journals or as book chapters. Journals include Critical Sociology, Capital & Class, British Journal of Sociology of Education, Humanity & Society, Sociologisk Arbok, Comparative Education, Das Argument, Cultural Studies-Critical Methodologies, Studies in the Education of Adults, International Journal of Lifelong Education,

International Studies in Sociology of Education, Comparative Education Review (essay review), Critica Marxista, Socialism & Democracy, Journal of Holy Land and Palestine Studies.

Peter McLaren, Ph.D. is a Professor at the Graduate School of Education and Information Studies, Chapman University. He is the author, coauthor, editor, and coeditor of approximately forty books and monographs. Several hundred of his articles, chapters, interviews, reviews, commentaries, and columns have appeared in dozens of scholarly journals and professional magazines since the publication of his first book, *Cries from the Corridor*, in 1980. His work has been translated into seventeen languages. He lectures internationally and is a member of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Fernando Naiditch, Ph.D. is an Associate Professor in the Department of Teaching and Learning at Montclair State University. He is international educator with over 30 years of teaching experience. He has lived and taught in the United States, South America, Europe, and the Middle East. His research focuses on second language and literacy acquisition and use, immigrant and refugee education, culturally and linguistically responsive curricula, and critical pedagogy. Apart from teaching undergraduate and graduate level courses, Dr. Naiditch also provides training and professional development to several school districts and directs the MSU Network for Educational Renewal's Agenda for Education in a Democracy.

María Carolina Nieto Ángel, Ph.D. was trained as a lawyer and holds an M.A. in Politics (University of Essex, UK), a Master of International Education Policy (University of Harvard, USA), and a Ph.D. in Education (University of Canterbury). She developed her career in education policy and project management with NGOs, government, and international organizations. Her research interests focus on Indigenous knowledge and learning, holistic approaches to education, including cultures of care.

João Paraskeva, Ph.D. is a Professor of Educational Leadership and Policy Studies at the University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth. He was also a Professor at the University of Minho, Portugal; Honorary Fellow of the University of Wisconsin–Madison; Visiting Professor at the University of La Coruna, Spain, Federal University of Pelotas, Brazil, University of Florence, Italy, and Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. He is the founder of the journal *Curriculum Sem Fronteiras*. An important critical scholar, he

has published more than forty books and numerous chapters and articles on a wide range of topics in the field of critical education. His latest book is *Generation of Utopia. Decolonizing Critical Curriculum Theory.* New York: Routledge, (2020).

Kenneth J. Saltmans, Ph.D. is a Professor at the University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth. Kenneth J. Saltman is currently a Professor at the University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth. He is the author most recently of *The Swindle of Innovative Educational Finance* (University of Minnesota Press, 2018), *Scripted Bodies: Corporate Power, Smart Technologies*, the *Undoing of Public Education* (Routledge, 2016), and *The Politics of Education, 2nd Edition* (Routledge, 2018). His work attempts to relationally comprehend political, economic, and cultural struggles and the possibilities for education to contribute to critical democratic transformation.

Shirley R. Steinberg, Ph.D. is a Research Professor of Youth Studies at the University of Calgary. She is the executive director of freireproject.org and the author and editor of many books on critical pedagogy, cultural studies, social justice, and qualitative research. Her books include: *Activists Under 30: Global Youth, Social Justice, and Good Work* (2018), *Decanonizing the Curriculum* (2017); *Critically Researching Youth* (2015), *Critical Youth Studies Reader* (2014), *Critical Qualitative Research Reader* (2012), *Kinderculture: The Corporate Construction of Childhood* (2011), *19 Urban Questions: Teaching in the City* (2010), *Diversity and Multiculturalism: A Reader* (2009), *Christotainment: Selling Jesus Through Popular Culture* (2009), *Teaching Against Islamophobia* (2010), *Media Literacy: A Reader* (2007), and *The Miseducation of the West: How Schools and Media Distort Our Understanding of the Islamic World* (2004).

Mônica Maciel Vahl, Ph.D. is a historian with an M.A. from the Federal University of Pelotas (Brazil) and a Ph.D. from the University of Canterbury (New Zealand). Her current research focuses on the relationship between politics, education, and literacy. She is also interested in how critical pedagogy can create connections and promote more complex understandings in polarized societies.

List of Tables

PART I

Uncertain Times: Exploring the Costs of Neoliberalism

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Sheila L. Macrine

As we enter the third decade of the twenty-first century, we need critical pedagogy more than ever. We find the world adrift in economic, cultural, and political uncertainty brought about by Western culture's unrelenting adherence to and proselytizing of neoliberal and neoconservative politics and policies. The threatening triangulation of neoliberalism, conservatism, and nationalism has significantly intensified austerity politics, weakened gender equality, hollowed public education, created economic alienation, and harshened immigration policies. Conservative consciousness and rhetoric have capitalized on crises and disasters, from Katrina to Brexit, where economic insecurity and decline are fused with immigration, racism, and nationalism, instead of neoliberal economics. Such policies have been magnified and intensified with the assault of *dis-information* in the current post-truth era. This hegemonic onslaught serves to completely undermine the public sphere, and at the same time alienate and disenfranchise the economically powerless. As this book goes to press, the conservative government in Brazil has tragically sought to erode Paulo Freire's teaching and philosophies and moved to erase the Brazil's *Patron*

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of Education from curriculum and schools, going so far as to threaten teachers who continue to refer to his teachings.

Given the contemporary political shifts in many nations, critical pedagogy garners increasing pertinence in the face of the hastening erosion of the public sphere and the destruction of democracy. This 2nd edition provides comprehensive and updated analyses of issues related to the struggles against the forces of neoliberalism's imperial-induced privatization, in society generally and in education specifically. These chapters situate critical pedagogy's relevance today and offer not only critiques but also practical applications, suggestions, and strategies on how neoliberal attacks can be collectively resisted, challenged, and eradicated especially by those of us teaching in schools and universities. For example, in this volume, Henry Giroux presciently unpacks how neoliberalism has normalized a 'neo-fascism' in this post-truth era; he writes that neo-fascists have tapped into the growing collective suffering and anxieties of millions of Americans…to redirect their anger and despair through a culture of fear and a discourse of dehumanization by turning critical ideas to ashes by disseminating a toxic mix of racialized categories, ignorance, and a militarized spirit of white nationalism (p. 1).

Critical Pedagogy in Uncertain Times: Hope and Possibilities, 2nd edition, reflects Paulo Freire's prophetic words that ring even truer today: *There is no change without dreams, just as there are no dreams without hope… The understanding of history as possibility rather than determinism… would be unintelligible without dreams, just as a deterministic view feels incompatible with them and therefore negates them* (Freire 1970, 1992, p. 92). The contributors to this volume argue that neoliberal politics, and their resultant policies, are directly linked and fueled by the exclusionary nationalism, sexism, and racism of the emerging right-wing populism (Giroux 2019; Keskinen 2012; Macrine 2016; Edling and Macrine 2020). They posit that critical pedagogy continues to be relevant and needed to provide a critical framework for the identification and active responses to neoliberalism predatory schemes of crises, errant politics, and resultant policies. At the same time, these scholars offer hope through the development of critical pedagogical possibilities for the renewal of democratic ideals by providing insights, understandings, and hope for the future.

This volume coincides with the recent 50th anniversary of the publication of Paulo Freire's landmark publication, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* in

English, and marks the 100th birthday of the Maestro. With over 1 million copies sold in numerous languages on 6 continents, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* has emerged as one of the foundations of critical pedagogy and an enduring influence on progressive educators worldwide. Freire's vision of democratic education was not simply about the teaching and learning of content; rather, it implied that participation in a democracy involves the transformative right to education and the processes of learning for all who participate or hold stake in the operations of schooling. The notion of 'education for the greater good' understands that democratic public schooling is a seedbed for new knowledge and culture leading to new selves, new societies, and a new humanity that is more humane. This radical dream of a democratic public education stands in stark contrast to current neoliberal trends in school reform that seek to privatize schools, standardize and script curriculum and pedagogy, and otherwise deskill and disenfranchise teachers and students. According to Paulo Freire, the infiltration of private monied interests in public education was and is highly suspicious because 'Neoliberal doctrine seeks to limit education to technological practice' (Freire 1992, p. 4). In the language of neoliberalism, social inequalities such as poverty, homelessness, and unemployment are normalized, inevitable, and even necessary. He added that under neoliberal rule the, 'opportunities for change become invisible, and our role in fostering change becomes absent' (Freire 1992, p. 4). Public education is thereby stripped of its transformative potential.

Critical Pedagogy Origins

In the late 1980s, I was as a graduate student studying to be a school psychologist at Temple University in Philadelphia, coincidently where Giroux's early books were published. There, I was first introduced to public intellectual, Henry Giroux's books *Ideology, Culture and the Process of Schooling* (1981) and *Theory and Resistance* (1983). As a result, I became politically 'woke' through my readings of Henry Giroux and Paulo Freire.

Later in 1994, when I was an Assistant Professor at St. Joseph's University in Philadelphia, Henry Giroux, one of the founders of critical pedagogy, came to give a lecture. His talk was so uplifting and enlightening that we all experienced what being a 'critical pedagogue' means and could mean, but more, what it holds for us as individuals, educators, and scholars and especially within all social, historical, and democratic contexts. Needless to say, it was revolutionary, as Giroux called upon us to

work to protect both democracy and education for the greater good. He then traced the origins of critical pedagogy, adding that his first reading of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* gave him a new language to understand the conflicts and challenges that he was faced as a high school teacher and later as an assistant professor. He noted that Paulo's work marked a moment of his own transformation. As a result, Giroux became dedicated not just to Paulo's work but to reworking and redefining what 'critical pedagogy' meant from its early beginnings in the 1970s. Actually, it was shortly after the publication of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* that Paulo Freire contacted Henry Giroux about one of his articles that Paulo had reviewed in *Interchange*. Within a short time, Henry and Paulo began a life-long collaboration on the emergence of Critical Pedagogy, not only co-editing critical education series at Greenwood, but they also wrote a number of introductions together for specific books in the series.

It was during this same time in the late seventies that Henry Giroux reported that he began to fashion a unique approach to theories of schooling by incorporating the works of the Frankfurt School, Paulo's work, radical social theory, along with selected works of John Dewey, George Counts, and others to construct the foundation for the critical pedagogy we have today. It is worth quoting at length Giroux's (2009) thinking about the origins of critical pedagogy:

> I attempted to theorize critical pedagogy through the lens of critical theory. So, there was an attempt to link Paulo's work with European intellectual work. It was also an attempt to move beyond; even then, what I thought was a reductionist, economist model at work in Critical Theory, and in some versions of critical educational theory. I also thought there was a kind of a radical, existential, biographical work emerging that I thought was very important but I thought was limited by virtue of its refusal to link the personal to the public in a way that exemplified the personal not as a kind of emancipatory moment in itself, but one that also needed to be translated. So, we had to understand how private issues translate into public issues. (Giroux 2009, p. 15)

Given that, there has been a history of conflating Critical Theory and critical pedagogy. Critical theory, for clarity, is mainly associated with the Frankfurt School's Institute for Social Research at the University of Frankfurt, established in 1923. While critical theory is actually a derivative source for critical pedagogy, critical theory is rooted in the works of Hegel's and Kant's critical philosophy, as well as the writings of Marx

and Engels. Interestingly, the British Fabian Socialists (in the 1800s) were also credited with contributing to the development of critical theory (McKernan 2013, pp. 417–418). Their efforts critiqued the social policies aimed at solving the economic and social ills in of nineteenth-century England and by rejecting 'direct confrontation and violent revolution'. So, critical pedagogy did not inherit the Frankfurt School 'as is'; rather, it grew out of a collaboration between Giroux and emerged from '*Paulo Freire's work in poverty stricken northeastern Brazil in the 1960s. Critical Pedagogy amalgamated liberation theological ethics and the critical theory of the Frankfurt School in Germany with the progressive impulses in education*' (Kincheloe 2007, p. 12). Finally, in the evolution of critical pedagogy, Giroux (1983) contended that the logic of technocratic rationality "suppresses the critical function of historical consciousness" by denying the possibility "of human action grounded in historical insight and committed to emancipation in all spheres of human activity." He added that "traditional and liberal discourses treat the intersection of culture, power, and knowledge in fashioning a view of teaching and learning." Further, he argued that in critical pedagogy, it is necessary to develop a critical discourse that embraces pedagogy as a form of cultural politics (p. 41).

Another prominent figure in critical pedagogy is Peter McLaren, whose first book, *Life in Schools*, brought him to the attention of Henry and Paulo. Peter's contribution to critical pedagogy over the years has been crucial as he has worked to link critical pedagogy with Revolutionary Pedagogy and Marxist theories of a class-based critique. Antonia Darder has called McLaren the '*Poet Laureate of the Educational Left*' for his 'words that flame' and his highly imaginative use of language and the eloquence of his rhetorical style. Peter McLaren continues to spread the words of Paulo and the essence of critical pedagogy through his international work. McLaren (2006) states that:

> Critical Pedagogy resonates with the sensibility of the Hebrew symbol of tikkun, which means to heal, repair, and transform the world, all the rest is commentary. It provides historical, cultural, political, and ethical direction for those in education who still dare to hope. Irrevocably committed to the side of the oppressed, critical pedagogy is as revolutionary as the earlier view of the authors of the Declaration of Independence: Since history is fundamentally open to change, liberation is an authentic goal, and a radically different world can be brought into being. (p. 160)

It is from these humble beginnings along with Henry's introduction of Paulo Freire to Donaldo Macedo, who became Paulo's interpreter and translator to this day, that critical pedagogy took hold. The first-generation Freirean scholars such as Henry Giroux, Antonia Darder, Donald Macedo, Peter McLaren, Joe Kincheloe, Michael Apple, Jean Anyon, Maxine Greene, Paula Allman, Stanley Aronowitz, bell hooks, Ira Shor, Shirley R. Steinberg, and many others have all contributed to its enrichment and its continued relevance today.

Included in the first edition (2009), was a translated unpublished transcript of Paulo Freire's 1985 lecture on Amílcar Cabral, entitled *Amilcar Cabral: Pedagogue of the Revolution*. This piece demonstrated the freshness of Paulo's work, and offered insights that reverberate as much today as they did on its initial presentation. Here, Freire traces work of Amílcar Cabral, who is not well known in the United States, but it is important for all critical pedagogues to read. Prominent critical pedagogue and Freirean scholar, Donaldo Macedo (2006) wrote that Paulo Freire admired Cabral, stating that, '*Amílcar Cabral was a thinker who put his thought into practice. He was a thinker whom I read over and over again and always got new perspectives from*' (p. 6). This chapter by Paulo Freire is an invaluable contribution and gives an interesting insight into the Meastro's influence; as a result, I included it in this 2nd edition.

Finally, this new volume brings together a unique group of prominent critical pedagogy scholars including Stanley Aronowitz, Henry Giroux, Paulo Freire, Antonia Darder, Maxine Greene, Peter McLaren, Kenneth Saltman, Joe Kincheloe, Donaldo Macedo, Shirley R. Steinberg as well as a number of emerging critical pedagogues who move beyond critique to show how and why critical frameworks of democratically informed education and activism must become the core of our mission. As a result, these authors contribute to our understanding of why democratic forms of education and various elements of a critical pedagogy are vital not only to education and students but also to our economy, the pubic sphere, our democratic institutions and future leadership. The writers come from differing but allied traditions within critical pedagogy including Freirean, Feminist, Anti-Imperialist, Anti-colonialist, and Marxist. From these different vantage points, this book shows how neoliberal policies have transformed the external dynamics of education from a public good to a private enterprise and how this change has corrupted the integrity of teaching and learning. Giroux (2006) summarizes this crisis:

> "First and foremost is the concerted attempt by right-wing extremists and corporate interests to strip the professorate of any authority, render critical pedagogy as merely an instrumental task, eliminate tenure as a protection for teacher authority and remove critical reasons from any vestige of civic courage, engaged citizenship and social responsibility." True knowledge and critical inquiry have been quashed in favor of blind obedience to the false idols of consumerism, imperialism, and greed. (p. 6)

These prophetic words are emblematic of the current assault on and erasure of Paulo Freire's legacy in Brazil. The present conservative government in Brazil poses tremendous challenges to professors, teachers, students, and academic institutions by outlawing the fundamental tenets of critical pedagogy and learning environments that are both critically empowering and sustainable. Today, critical pedagogy remains a source of hope and possibility for educators and activists engaged in struggles against oppression in their classrooms and the world at large. The time has come for teachers, educators, and activists to embrace critical pedagogy with a renewed interest and sense of urgency. While critical pedagogy comes under increasing attacks by reactionary ideologies and ideologues (i.e., Brazil), its message only becomes more urgent and important in these troubled, dangerous, and uncertain times.

Chapter Roadmap

Part I: Uncertain Times: Exploring the Costs of Neoliberalism

Part I of this book both provides foundational knowledge of critical pedagogy and examines the draconian disenfranchisement as a result of neoliberalism's assault on democracy. It opens with this chapter—Introduction, which introduces the reader to critical pedagogy with explications of how critical pedagogy can challenge neoliberalism as it undermines democracy and reshapes education. Finally, the introductory chapter provides a roadmap to the contributors' chapters.

In Chapter 2, *The Ghost of Fascism and in the Post-truth Era*, Henry A. Giroux discusses how the architects and managers of extreme capitalism have used the crisis of economic inequality and its 'manifestly brutal and exploitative arrangements' to sow social divisions and resurrect the discourse of racial cleansing and white supremacy. Giroux shows how neoliberalism is actually a set of values, ideologies, and practices that are actively recreating America today—for the worse. He forewarns and forecasts the

looming and insidious plot of neo-fascism especially in our post-truth era. Of course, CNN, the presidential elections, and the never-ending war in Iraq have proven that the political and economic reality of democracy in the United States has changed. He calls on academics to act and provide an indispensable service to society by reframing the purpose of education from 'job training' to 'critical thinking and action.' In addition, he argues that neoliberalism and fascism conjoin and advance in a comfortable and mutually compatible projects and movements that connect the exploitative values and cruel austerity policies of casino capitalism with fascist ideals.

In *Critical Pedagogy in Difficult Times*, Chapter 3, Peter Mayo explores the signposts for alternative approaches to education and cultural work by drawing on critical pedagogy (Giroux 2011) inspired by Paulo Freire and others. He explicates how critical pedagogy has taken on a variety of approaches with one common element is that they underscores the political basis of education. He adds that education is not a neutral enterprise and heuristically can be regarded as serving to 'domesticate' and strengthen the status quo and therefore keeps in place much of the frequently perceived ills, economic, social, and environmental.

Chapter 4 entitled *Conscientizaçao* by Antonia Darder examines Paulo Freire's concept of conscientizaçao and points to an understanding of critical awareness and the formation of social consciousness as both a historical phenomenon and a human social process connected to our communal capacities to become authors and social actors of our destinies. Darder describes how for Freire conscientizaçao doesn't occur automatically or naturally, nor should it be understood as an evolving linear phenomenon. Instead, she delineates how Freire spoke of it as an emancipatory consciousness that arises through an organic process of human engagement, which requires critical pedagogical interactions that nurture the dialectical relationship of human beings with the world. Finally, she adds that conscientizaçao entails a grounded appreciation for the dialectical tension that must be retained, between the empowerment of the individual and the democratic well-being of the larger communal sphere.

Kenneth J. Saltman contributed Chapter 5, entitled: *Critical Pedagogy Against the Privatization of Culture and Politics: "Privilege-Checking," "Virtue-Signaling," and "Safe Spaces."* In this chapter, Saltman critically examines how material and symbolic precarity and insecurity are fueling subjective states of despair and anxiety, and an educational and intellectual crisis depriving subjects of the intellectual and linguistic means to

interpret and comprehend the broader forces and structures producing precarity. He argues that symbolic power and social privilege are largely unused in scholarly academic discourse. Saltman also questions the minefield of identity on campus is that identity, at least gender and sexual identity, is openly recognized as a social construct and performance, and is subject to revision and questioning. He asks: What is it that makes such fragility of self out of subjects who have no foundational essence to trouble? Why has emotional comfort and protection from unsettling thought become sacrosanct in public culture? Why has cultural politics become so personalized?

The late Maxine Greene, a scholar and friend, graciously contributed *Teaching as Possibility: A Light in Dark Times* to my original book in 2009; it is Chapter 6 in this second edition. Professor Greene was a social activist and pioneer for women in the fields of educational philosophy, cultural studies, and critical pedagogy. When Professor Greene passed away on May 29, 2014, she was described as "*perhaps the most iconic and influential living figure, a pioneer for women in the field of educational philosophy.*" Professor Greene's chapter discusses how, in the Freirean tradition, the illumination of hope can exist even during the darkest of times, similar in the view to Hannah Arendt. This flicker of possibility is ultimately what inspires the imagination to create alternative realities. According to Greene, teachers are in a unique position to realize these untold possibilities by challenging the status quo, which currently deforms and devolves education into simple techno-rational job training.

In Chapter 7, called *Critical Pedagogies of Neoliberalism*, Sheila L. Macrine revisits and evolves her original concept of *Pedagogies of Neoliberalism* (2016) with a new iteration called *Critical Pedagogies of Neoliberalism*. This new model helps to develop a critical framework to identify and to disrupt neoliberalism's hidden, and not so hidden, hegemonic social and political practices and policies by adding educational components and advancing a critical and activist response. The creation of *Critical Pedagogies of Neoliberalism* can help to identify these threats by naming some of neoliberalism's most effective weapons.

Part II: Critical Pedagogy: A Practical Source of Hope and Possibility

Working from the view that education informs the political, the second section of this book explores the relevance of critical pedagogy and its role in challenging neoliberalism, conservatism, and the current pursuit

of nationalism. In doing so, the contributors in this section clarify critical pedagogy's pertinence today in countering neoliberalism's hidden and barbaric actions. These chapters describe how critical pedagogy is our best chance to protect the future of democracy, education, and the public sphere. Ultimately, critical pedagogy can bring awareness of the dangers of a neoliberal society run amok. At the same time, critical pedagogy can help to reinstate both 'education as a public good' and educators as 'public intellectuals' charged with developing a 'critically informed citizenry' capable of sustaining democracy and transforming society and the human condition.

The first chapter in this section, Chapter 8, is entitled *The Attacks on the Legacy of Paulo Freire in Brazil: Why He Still Disturb so Many?* written by Inny Accioly. She speaks to Brazil's current conservative government that has worked to erode and to erase Paulo Freire's ideas and philosophy from schools and curriculum. Ironically, we just celebrated the 50th anniversary of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* and that Paulo Freire was named Brazil's '*Patron of Education*' due to his successful and revolutionary work to create a literate citizenry. Here, Accioly traces Freire's rise, his oppression, his vindication, and the present incongruous moves to eliminate his legacy in Brazil from the schools, curriculum, and outlaw teachers and educators from teaching his works.

Then, Chapter 9, *Critical Pedagogy, Dialogue and Tolerance: A Learning to Disagree Framework*, was written by a group of up-and-coming critical pedagogues, María Carolina Nieto Ángel, Mônica Maciel Vahl, and Bernadette Farrell. These authors describe themselves as migrant women living, researching, and teaching in New Zealand. They illustrate their conceptualization of a new critical framework for learning to 'disagree'. Collectivelly arguing that emancipatory consciousness only unfolds through critical praxis, dialogue, and disagreement. As a result, this group presents not a 'prescription' but a 'possibility' for the development of such critical consciousness in their *Creative Tension of Learning to Disagree Framework*.

This is followed by Chapter 10 entitled, *South African Freedom Fighter: Amilcar Cabral: Pedagogue of the Revolution Paulo Freire*, written by Paulo Freire and translated by Sheila L. Macrine, Fernando Naiditch, and João Paraskeva. It is a transcription of a lecture that Paulo Freire (1921–1997) gave on November 8, 1985, at the School of Education at the University of Brasilia (UNB) and it was originally recorded, transcribed, and

organized in Portuguese by Professor Venício Arthur Lima. This lecture by the Freire, affectionally referred to as the 'Maestro,' had never been published in English. It was made available for publication for the 1st edition of this book (2009) through the generosity of the late Paulo Freire's wife and friend, Professor Nita Freire, for which I am eternally grateful. This is such an important chapter that I felt it necessary to include it in this new edition. In addition, we would like to extend a special thanks to Alex Oliveira for his technical assistance with this translation.

Noah De Lissovoy closes this section with Chapter 11 entitled, *Toward a Critical Pedagogy of the Global*, by discussing a need for critical pedagogy to shift toward globality. He writes that movement toward a global organization of social life means the frequent interruption of local narratives and expectations as well as the experience of powerlessness in the face of apparently vast historical forces. He argues that critical pedagogy alone is insufficient in this conjuncture; what is needed is a critical pedagogy of the global.

Part III: Figures in Critical Pedagogy

This next section features interviews with a few prominent Critical Pedagogues. The first is Chapter 12, which features a 2008 transcript of *An Interview with Henry A. Giroux and Joe L. Kincheloe* was edited by Shirley R. Steinberg. Professor Steinberg was kind enough to allow this interview to be published in this second edition to share both Henry Giroux and Joe Kincheloe's notions on critical pedagogy. In this piece, Public Intellectual Henry Giroux describes his early work on critical pedagogy. Being a cognitive psychologist and a feminist critical pedagogue, *The Post-formal Reader: Cognition and Education* (Kincheloe, et al. 1999) was a very influential early book for me to help bridge the gap between my training in educational psychology and critical pedagogy.

Chapter 13, *Critical Revolutionary Pedagogy's Relevance Today*, presents a narrative by Peter McLaren. Here, he introduces the main issues within educational postmodernism and explains his turn toward a Marxist-humanist trajectory, and addresses contemporary challenges to Marx's dialectical thought. McLaren then analyzes how globalization impacts schooling and students. Next, Chapter 14 features an interview with Ira Shor that appeared in the first edition. Finally, I am eternally grateful to Gustavo E. Fischman for his insightful *Afterword* in Chapter 15.

When the first edition of this volume was published in 2009, Barack Obama had just become President. The idea of an African American president was at once inspiring and hopeful. In fact, Obama's election platform was based on the concept of hope and for nurturing urban youth. Yet as we lived through his presidency, we found that 'that hope' was deferred (Duncan-Andrade 2009, p. 11). A decade later, we are in even more precarious times in this post-democratic and post-truth world with President Trump who was just acquitted of impeachment. Now that we are in the face the Covid-19 virus, precarity is imminent for all. This 2nd edition, being published ten years after the original, maintains that we must be ever-vigilant against the draconian disenfranchisements of neoliberalism at work in society. Secondly, in the spirit of critical pedagogy, it reminds us that we must work to keep Paulo Freire's legacy of hope alive and to continue to struggle against oppression of any kind with a goal toward self-actualization and humanization. As Paulo Freire (1970) in his seminal work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, surmised: Any system which deliberately tries to discourage critical consciousness is guilty of oppressive violence. Any school which does not foster students' capacity for critical inquiry is guilty of violent oppression (p. 74).

Needless to say, this second edition has allowed me to revisit my own critical passions and critical hopes, and more importantly, to share the salient voices of a unique group of 'first-generation' Critical Pedagogues, along with an exciting international group of up-and-coming Critical Pedagogues. This experience has been a labor of love as we work to claim, reclaim, and elucidate critical pedagogy's relevance in today's world.

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CHAPTER 2

The Ghost of Fascism and in the Post-truth Era

Henry A. Giroux

Talk of a fascist politics emerging in the United States is often criticized as either exaggerated or dismissed as unhelpful theoretically and simplistic politically. Yet, the case can be made that rather than harboring an element of truth, such criticism further normalizes the very fascism it critiques, allowing the extraordinary and implausible to become ordinary. After decades of the neoliberal nightmare both in the United States and abroad, the mobilizing passions of fascism have been unleashed unlike anything we have seen since the 1930s. The architects and managers of extreme capitalism have used the crisis of economic inequality and its "manifestly brutal and exploitative arrangements" to sow social divisions and resurrect the discourse of racial cleansing and white supremacy (Gilroy 2000). In doing so, they have not only tapped into the growing collective suffering and anxieties of millions of Americans in order to redirect their anger and despair through a culture of fear and discourse of dehumanization, they have also turned critical ideas to ashes by disseminating a toxic mix of racialized categories, ignorance, and a militarized spirit of white nationalism. While there is no perfect fit between Trump and the fascist societies

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of Mussolini, Hitler, and Pinochet, "the basic tenets of extreme nationalism, racism, misogyny, and a hatred for democracy and the rule of law are too similar to ignore" (Johnson 2018).

In this instance, neoliberalism and fascism conjoin and advance in a comfortable and mutually compatible project and movement that connects the exploitative values and cruel austerity policies of casino capitalism (Gilroy 2000) with fascist ideals—the veneration of war and anti-intellectualism; dehumanization; a populist celebration of ultranationalism and racial purity; the suppression of freedom and dissent; a culture of lies; a politics of hierarchy, the spectacularization of emotion over reason, and the weaponization of language; and a discourse of decline and state violence in heterogeneous forms. Fascism is never entirely interred in the past, and the conditions that produce its central assumptions are with us once again, ushering in a period of modern barbarity that appears to be reaching toward homicidal extremes (Bottici 2017).

The urgency of addressing the rise of fascism both in the United States and abroad might begin with the regime of untruth and manufactured illiteracy that allows and helps normalize the catastrophic conditions that make neoliberal fascism a potent source of identity, fantasy, pleasure, and investment. One place to start would be a critical analysis of the Trump administration's efforts to abandon and discredit traditional sources of evidence, facts, and analysis in its attempt to normalize fake news, a culture of lying, and the world of alternative facts. At stake here is making visible a radical new relationship between the public and truth and the ensuing demise of civic culture and the public institutions that make it possible. As the public's grip on civic literacy weakens, language is emptied of any substantive meaning and the shared standards necessary for developing informed judgments and sustained convictions are undermined. In a world where nothing is true, all that is left to choose from are competing fictions. One consequence is that everything begins to look like a lie. As the historian, Timothy Snyder points out "To abandon facts is to abandon freedom. If nothing is true, then no one can criticize power, because there is no basis upon which to do so. If nothing is true, then all is spectacle" (Snyder 2016). More startling is the assumption that what matters in an age of deep divisions, exploitation, and precarity is not whether something is true or false but the promise of a consistent narrative in which people can recognize themselves while willing to "abolish their capacity for distinguishing between the truth and falsehood, between reality and

fiction" (Arendt 1978, p. 385). Of course, there is more at stake here than the creation and normalization of a culture of lying and what Walter Benjamin, Guy Debord, and others identified as the theatricalization of politics; there is also the threat to democracy itself.

We do not live in a post-truth world and never have. On the contrary, we live in a pre-truth world where the truth has yet to arrive. As one of the primary currencies of politics, lies have a long history in the United States. For instance, state-sponsored lies played a crucial ideological role in pushing the United States into wars in Vietnam, Iraq, and Afghanistan, legitimated the use of torture under the Bush administration, and covered up the crimes of the financial elite in producing the economic crisis of 2008. Moreover, we have been living the lie of neoliberalism and white nationalism for over forty years, and because of the refusal to face up to that lie, the United States has slipped into the abyss of an updated American version of fascism of which Trump is a both symptom and endpoint. Under Trump, lying has become a rhetorical gimmick in which everything that matters politically is denied, reason loses its power for informed judgments, and language serves to infantilize and depoliticize as it offers no room for individuals to translate private troubles into broader systemic considerations. Truth is now mobile making it easier to deny even a modicum of rational judgment while reinventing a fascist politics that echoes the past and allows the "intrusion of criminality into politics" (Young-Bruehl 2006, p. 154). Post-truth is a pedagogical tool of deflection that as the novelist Toni Morrison (2019) points out functions "like a coma on the population" imposing misery and traumas so deep and cruel that they kill the moral imagination and "purge democracy of all of its ideals" (p. vii).

While questions about truth have always been problematic among politicians and the wider public, both groups, however disingenuous, gave lip service to the assumption that the search for truth and respect for its diverse methods of validation were based on the shared belief that "truth is distinct from falsehood; and that, in the end, we can tell the difference and that difference matters" (Rosenfeld 2018, p. 18). It certainly appeared to matter in democracy, particularly when it became imperative to be able to distinguish, however difficult, between facts and fiction, reliable knowledge and falsehoods, and good and evil. Under the Trump administration that principle, however, no longer appears to be the case, especially as chronic right-wing lying has taken over the White House. As the politics of lying moves from the margins to the center of

power, Trump's fake news industry wields enormous political and pedagogical power while at the same time accelerating and normalizing and endless stream of fake news and misrepresentations, wrapped in a kind of dystopian legitimacy. Trump's attack on the truth wages a war against the ethical imagination, privatizes experiences, and resonates with a larger culture of speed, instant gratification, and consumerism. Coupled with a society that worships celebrity culture, the spectacularization of power and the masculinization of the public sphere make it easier for Trump and his associates to rehabilitate fascist ideas, principles, and a fascist political culture.

In the current historical moment, the boundaries between truth and fiction are disappearing, giving way to a culture of immediacy, consumerism, and falsehoods. Under such circumstances, civic culture withers and politics collapses into the personal and irrational. At the same time, pleasure is harnessed to a culture of corruption and cruelty, language operates in the service of violence, and the boundaries of the unthinkable become normalized. How else to explain President Trump's strategy of separating babies and young children from their undocumented immigrant parents in order to incarcerate them in Texas in what some reporters have called cages. Trump's misleading rhetoric is used not only to cover up the brutality of oppressive political and economic policies, but also to resurrect elements of a fascist politics that have emerged in an unceasing stream of hate, bigotry, and militarism. Trump's indifference to the boundaries between truth and falsehoods reflects not only a deep-seated anti-intellectualism, lawlessness, and unchecked paranoia, it also points to his willingness to judge any appeal to the truth as inseparable from an unquestioned individual and group loyalty on the part of his followers. As self-defined sole bearer of truth, Trump disdains reasoned judgment and evidence, relying instead on instinct and emotional frankness to determine what is right or wrong and who can be considered a friend or enemy.

In this instance, truth becomes a performance strategy designed to test his followers' loyalty and willingness to believe whatever he says. Truth, in part, now becomes synonymous with a regressive tribalism that rejects shared norms and standards while promoting a culture of corruption and what former New York City mayor Michael Bloomberg called an "epidemic of dishonesty." Truth is now part of a web of relations and worldview that draws its elements from a fascist politics that can be found in all the commanding political institutions and media landscapes. Truth is

no longer merely fragile or problematic, it has become toxic and dysfunctional in a media ecosystem largely controlled by right-wing conservatives and a financial elite who invest heavily in right-wing media apparatuses such as Fox News and white nationalist social media platforms such as Breitbart News.

At a time of growing fascist movements across the globe, power, culture, politics, finance, and everyday life now merge in ways that are unprecedented and pose a threat to democracies all over the world. As cultural apparatuses are concentrated in the hands of the ultra-rich, the educative force of culture has taken on a powerful anti-democratic turn. This can be seen in the rise of new digitally driven systems of production and consumption that produce, shape, and sustain ideas, desires, and social relations that contribute to the disintegration of democratic social bonds and promote a form of social Darwinism in which misfortune is seen as a weakness and the Hobbesian rule of a "war of all against all" replaces any vestige of shared responsibility and compassion for others. The era of post-truth is in reality a period of crisis which as Gramsci observed "consists precisely in the fact that the old is dying and the new cannot be born [and that] in this interregnum a great variety of morbid symptoms appear" (Gramsci 1971, p. 276). Those morbid symptoms are evident in Trump's mainstreaming of a fascist politics in which there is an attempt to normalize the language of racial purification, the politics of disposability, and social sorting while hyping a culture of fear and a militarism reminiscent of past and current dictatorships.

Trump's lying is the mask of nihilism and reinforces the ideological architecture for a form of neoliberal fascism (Giroux 2019, p. 29). Under such circumstances, the state is remade on the model of finance, all social relations are valued according to economic calculations, and the dual project of ultra-nationalism and right-wing apocalyptic populism merges in an embrace of a toxic and unapologetic defense of white supremacy. Unsurprisingly, Trump views language as a weapon of war and social media as an emotional minefield that gives him the power to criminalize the political opposition, malign immigrants less then human, and revel in his role as a national mouthpiece for white nationalists, nativists, and other extremist groups. Unconcerned about the power of words to inflame, humiliate, and embolden some of his followers to violence, he embraces a sadistic desire to relegate his critics, enemies, and those considered outside of the boundaries of a white public sphere to zones of terminal exclusion.

Under such circumstances, truth when aligned with the search for justice becomes an object of disdain, if not pure contempt.

The entrepreneurs of hate are no longer confined to the dustbin of history, particularly the proto fascist era of 1930s and 1940s. They are with us once again producing dystopian fantasies out of the decaying communities and landscapes produced by forty years of a savage capitalism. White male rage has emerged out of the destruction of social bonds and the welfare state and intensified with the neoliberal unleashing of destructive energies of "deracination, displacement, and disintegration" (Brown and Littler 2018). Angry white male loners looking for a cause, a place to put their agency into play, are fodder for cult leaders. They have found one in Trump for whom the relationship between the language of fascism and its toxic worldview of "blood and soil" and the "fear of inferior blood" has moved to the center of power in the United States. While campaigning for the midterm 2018 elections, President Trump reached deep into the abyss of fascist politics and displayed a degree of racism, hatred, and ignorance that sent alarm bells ringing across the globe. Blind to public criticism, Trump has refused to acknowledge how his rhetoric, rallies, and interviews fan the flames of racism and anti-Semitism. Instead, he blames the media for the violence he encourages among his followers, calls his political rivals' enemies of the American people, labels immigrants as invaders, and publicly claims he is a nationalist emboldening right-wing extremist groups. Incapable of both empathy and self-reflection, he can only use language in the service of vilification, insults, and violence. Trump is the endpoint of a neoliberal culture of hyper-punitiveness amplified through an ascendant fascist politics that enshrines militarization, privatization, deregulation, manic consumerism, the criminalization of entire groups of people, and the financialization of everything (Giroux 2018).

Fascism first begins with language and then gains momentum as an organizing force for shaping a culture that legitimates indiscriminate violence against entire groups—Black people, immigrants, Jews, Muslims, and others considered "disposable." In this vein, Trump portrays his critics as "villains," describes immigrants as "losers" and "criminals," and has become a national mouthpiece for violent nationalists and a myriad of extremists who trade in hate and violence. Using a rhetoric of revulsion as a performance strategy and media show to whip up his base, Trump employs endless rhetorical tropes of bigotry and demonization that set the tone for real violence.

Trump thrives on promoting social divisions that amplify friend/enemy distinctions, and he often legitimates acts of violence and expressions of radical extremism as a means of addressing them. Trump has repeatedly embraced rhetorical divides between law-abiding citizens and criminal elements, between us and them, and hardworking versus lazy. Drawing from the fascist playbook, he portrays whites as victims and privileged members of a chosen nation. For instance, he has cast immigrants at the southern border as terrorists and infamously stated, without irony, that the neo-Nazi protesters in Charlottesville were "very fine people." He declared in 2016 "I think Islam hates us," lied about seeing Muslims celebrate the September 11 attacks, and refers to immigrants on the southern border as invaders and in doing so uses the language of white nationalists and white supremacists. Moreover, he has stated without shame that he is a nationalist. For example, in one of his rallies, he urged his base to use the word nationalism stating "You know…we're not supposed to use that word. You know what I am? I am a nationalist, Okay? I am a nationalist. Nationalist. Nothing wrong. Use that word. Use that word." Not only does Trump's embrace of the term stoke racial fears, it ingratiates him with elements of the hard right, particularly white nationalists. After his strong appropriation of the term at an October 2018 rally, Steve Bannon in an interview with Josh Robin indicated "he was very, very pleased Trump used the word 'nationalist'" (Blake 2018). Trump has drawn praise from a number of white supremacists including David Duke, the former head of the Ku Klux Klan, the Proud Boys—a vile contemporary version of the Nazi Brown Shirts—and more recently by the alleged New Zealand shooter who in his Christchurch manifesto praised Trump as "a symbol of renewed white identity and common purpose" (Ali 2019). Trump's use of the term is neither innocent nor a clueless faux pas. In the face of a wave of anti-immigration movements across the globe, it has become code for a thinly veiled racism and signifier for racial hatred.

In the alleged era of post-truth, actions are removed from any notion of social responsibility, and truth is detached from the search for justice. One consequence is the growing influence of a neo-fascist-type spectacle modeled after the emptiness and cheap pleasures of game shows, reality TV, and celebrity culture. All of which provide further opportunities for Trump to harness the public's "free-floating anger, despair and apathy" into a celebration of militarism, hyper-masculinity, and spectacularized violence that mark his "frenzied Nuremberg-style rallies," which

serve largely as a cauldron of race baiting and anti-Semitic demagoguery (Garcia 2018).

There are historical precedents for this collapse of language into a form of coded militarism and racism—the anti-Semitism couched in critiques of globalization and the call for racial and social cleansing aligned with the discourse of borders and walls. Echoes of history resonate in this assault on minority groups, racist taunts, and twisted references that code a belief in racial purity, and legitimate attacks on and possible criminal action against those who do not mirror the twisted notions of white supremacy. As Edward Luce (2018) reminds us, we have heard this language before. He writes: "Eighty-five years ago on Thursday, Heinrich Himmler opened the Nazis first concentrating camp at Dachau. History does not repeat itself. But it is laced with warnings" (Luce 2018, p. 1).

In an age when civic literacy and efforts to hold the powerful accountable for their actions are dismissed as "fake news," ignorance becomes the breeding ground not just for hate, but for a culture that represses historical memory, shreds any understanding of the importance of shared values, refuses to make tolerance a non-negotiable element of civic dialogue, and allows the powerful to weaponize everyday discourse. While Trump has been portrayed as a serial liar, it would be a mistake to view this pathology as a matter of character (Kessler et al. 2019). Lying for Trump is a tool of power used to discredit any attempt to hold him accountable for his actions while destroying those public spheres and institutional foundations necessary for the possibility of a democratic politics. At the heart of Trump's world of lies, fake news, and alternative facts is a political regime that trades in corruption, the accumulation of capital, and promotes lawlessness, all of which provides the foundation for a neoliberalism on steroids that now merges with an unabashed celebration of white nationalism. The post-truth era constitutes both a crisis of politics and a crisis of history, memory, agency, and education. Moreover, this new era of barbarism cannot be understood or addressed without *a reminder* that fascism has once again crystalized into new forms and has become a model for the present and future. Trump's language and policies are best understood as a contemporary remnant of the fascist imagination.

Fantasies of absolute control, racial cleansing, unchecked militarism, and class warfare are at the heart of an American imagination that has turned lethal. This is a dystopian imagination marked by hollow words, an imagination pillaged of any substantive meaning, cleansed of compassion, and used to legitimate the notion that alternative worlds are impossible

to entertain. What we are witnessing is a shrinking of the political and moral horizons and a full-scale attack on justice, thoughtful reasoning, and collective resistance.

Trump's aversion to the truth resembles Orwell's Ministry of Truth in that it provides a bullhorn for violence against marginalized groups, journalists, and undocumented immigrants, all the while disseminating its lies through a massive disimagination tweet machine. This dystopian propaganda apparatus is also fueled by a language of silence and moral irresponsibility couched in a willingness on the part of politicians and the public to look away in the face of violence and human suffering. This is the worldview of fascist politics and a dangerous nihilism—one that reinforces a contempt for human rights in the name of financial expediency and the cynical pursuit of political power.

In Trump's world, the authoritarian mind-set has been resurrected, bent on exhibiting a contempt for the facts, ethics, and human weakness. Trump is a twenty-first-century man without any virtues for whom success amounts to acting with impunity, using government power to sell or license his brand, hawking the allure of power and wealth, and finding pleasure in producing a culture of impunity, selfishness, and state-sanctioned violence. His approach to politics echoes the merging of the spectacle with an ethical abandonment reminiscent of past fascist regimes. As Naomi Klein rightly argues, Trump "approaches everything as a spectacle" and edits "reality to fit his narrative" (Klein 2017, p. 27).

Under the current reign of neoliberal fascism, politics extends beyond the attack on any vestige of truth, informed judgments, and constructive means of communication. There is more at work here than the need to decode and analyze Trump's language as a tool for misrepresenting reality and shielding corrupt practices and policies that benefit major corporations, the military, and the ultra-rich. There is also a worldview, a mode of hegemony, which comes out of a fascist playbook, and translates into dangerous policies and practices. For instance, there is his attack on dissent evident and his support of violence against journalists and politicians who are critical of his views. For example, in criticizing members of the Democratic Party that he labels as the radical left, he suggested one response to their opposition might be violence. He stated "O.K.? I can tell you I have the support of the police, the support of the military, the support of the Bikers for Trump. I have the tough people but they don't play it tough until they go to a certain point, and then it would be very bad, very bad" (Chait 2019). There is more at work here than

infantilizing school yard threats. We have seen too many instances where Trump's followers have beaten critics, attacked journalists, and shouted down any form of critique aimed at Trump's policies—to say nothing of the army of trolls unleashed on intellectuals and journalist critical of the administration.

A few weeks prior to the 2018 midterm elections, a number of Trump's outspoken critics, all of whom have been belittled and verbally attacked by Trump, were sent homemade pipe bombs in the mail. Cesar Sayoc—the man who was charged in connection with the bombings—is a strong Trump fan whose Twitter feed is littered with right-wing conspiracy theories along with an assortment of "apocalyptic, right-wing dystopian fantasies" (Hayes 2018). Trump's fans include a number of white nationalist and white supremacists who have been involved in recent killings in both Pittsburgh and New Zealand. Trump does not just fan the flames of violence with his rhetoric, he also provides legitimation to a number of white nationalist and right-wing extremist groups who are emboldened by his words and actions and too often ready to translate their hatred into the desecration of synagogues, schools, and other public sites as well as engage in violence against peaceful protesters, and in some cases commit heinous acts of violence.

Without a care as to how his own vicious and aggressive rhetoric has legitimated and galvanized acts of violence by an assortment of members of the "alt-right," neo-Nazis, and white supremacists, Trump refuses to acknowledge the growing threat of white nationalism and supremacy, even as he enables it with his discourse of walls, alleged invading hordes, and celebration of nativism. Trump remains silent about the fringe groups he has incited with his vicious attacks on the press, the judiciary, and his political opponents. That is, he refuses to criticize them while shoring up their support by claiming he is a nationalist and surrounding himself with people **like** Stephen Miller who leaves little to the imagination regarding his white supremacist credentials. Trump told reporters after the Christchurch massacre that white nationalism both in the United States and across the globe was not a serious problem. In this instance, he appears clueless and incapable of empathy regarding the suffering of others, all while accelerating neoliberal and racist policies that inflict massive suffering and misery on millions. Violent fantasies are Trump's trademark, whether expressed in his support for ruthless dictators or in his urging his followers at his rallies to "knock the crap out of" protesters. We have

seen this celebration of violence in the past with its infantile appeal to a hyper-masculinity and its willingness to further engage in genocidal acts.

Trump is the endpoint of a malady that has been growing for decades. What is different about Trump is that he basks in his role and is unapologetic about enacting policies that further enable the looting of the country by the ultra-rich (including him) and by mega-corporations. He embodies with unchecked bravado the sorts of sadistic impulses that could condemn generations of children to a future of misery and in some cases state terrorism. He loves people who believe that politics is undermined by anyone who has a conscience, and he promotes and thrives in a culture of violence and cruelty. Trump is not refiguring the character of democracy, he is destroying it, and in doing so, resurrecting all the elements of a fascist politics that many people thought would never re-emerge again after the horrors and death inflicted on millions by previous fascist dictators. Trump represents an emergence of the ghost of the past and we should be terrified of what is happening both in the United States and in other countries such as Brazil, Poland, Turkey, and Hungary. Trump's ultra-nationalism, racism, policies aimed at social cleansing, his love affair with some of the world's most heinous dictators, and his hatred of democracy echo a period in history when the unimaginable became possible, when genocide was the endpoint of dehumanizing others, and the mix of nativist and nationalist rhetoric ended in the horrors of the camp. The world is at war once again and it is a war against democracy and Trump is at the forefront of it.

Trump represents a distinctive and dangerous form of American-bred authoritarianism, but at the same time he is the outcome of a past that needs to be remembered, analyzed, and engaged for the lessons it can teach us about the present. Not only has Trump "normalized the unspeakable" and in some cases the unthinkable, he has also forced us to ask questions we have never asked before about capitalism, power, politics, and, yes, courage itself (Abramsky 2017). In part, this means recovering a language for politics, civic life, the public good, citizenship, and justice that has real substance. One challenge is to confront the horrors of capitalism and its transformation into a form of fascism under Trump. There will be no real movement for change without, as David Harvey has pointed out, "a strong anti-capitalist movement." At the same time, no movement will succeed without addressing the need for a revolution in consciousness, one that makes education central to politics. As Fred Jameson has suggested, such a revolution cannot take place by limiting

our choices to a fixation on the "impossible present" (Leffel 2018). Nor can it take place by limiting ourselves to a language of critique and a narrow focus on individual issues.

What is needed is also a language of militant possibility and a comprehensive politics that draws from history, rethinks the meaning of politics, and imagines a future that does not imitate the present. We need what Gregory Leffel (2018) calls a language of "imagined futures," one that "can snap us out of present-day socio-political malaise so that we can envision alternatives, build the institutions we need to get there and inspire heroic commitment" (p. 1). Such a language has to create political formations capable of understanding neoliberal fascism as a totality, a single integrated system whose shared roots extend from class and racial injustices under financial capitalism to ecological problems, and the increasing expansion of the carceral state and the military–industrial–academic complex.[1] Nancy Fraser (2017) is right in arguing that we need a subjective response capable of connecting diverse racial, social, and economic crises and in doing so addressing the objective structural forces that underpin them. William Faulkner (1951) once remarked that we live with the ghosts of the past or to be more precise: "The past is never dead. It's not even past" (p. 286). Such a task is all the more urgent given that Trump is living proof that we are not only living with the ghosts of a dark past, which can return. But it is also true that the ghosts of history can be critically engaged and transformed into a radical democratic politics for the future. The Nazi regime was more than a frozen moment in history. It is a warning from the past and a window into the growing threat Trumpism poses to democracy. The ghosts of fascism should terrify us, but most importantly they should educate us and imbue us with a spirit of civic justice and collective action in the fight for a substantive and inclusive democracy.

The dark shadow of authoritarianism may be spreading, but it can be stopped. And that prospect raises serious questions about what educators, youth, intellectuals, and other cultural workers are going to do today to make sure that they do not succumb to the authoritarian forces spreading across the globe, waiting for the resistance to stop and for the lights to go out. It is my hope that the current generation of young people will fight the moral and social amnesia that allows authoritarianism to fester amid the wreckage and suffering bestowed my neoliberal capitalism and

its embrace of white nationalism. Today, many young people will leave one experience of education and enter into another in which they will need to develop an active relationship with history because "memory produces hope," enables critical questioning, and prevents justice from going dead in ourselves. Against the current moral vacuum overtaking market-driven societies, they will need to learn how to translate private troubles into public considerations and public issues into individual and collective rights. Learn how to bear witness to the injustices that surround us and accept the call to become visionaries willing to create a society in which people, as the great journalist Bill Moyers argues, can "become fully free to claim their moral and political agency" (Moyers 2008, p. 92).

Near the end of her career, Helen Keller was asked by a student if there was anything worse than losing her sight. She replied "yes, I could have lost my vision." To add to this eloquent comment, I would say that history is open and it is time to think otherwise in order to act otherwise, especially if you want to imagine and bring into being alternative futures and horizons of possibility. There is no politics without hope and there is no sense of agency unless young people and others can imagine a future in which democracy matters and is worth struggling for. If the future is not to mimic an authoritarian future, it will need the skills, critical judgment, sense of responsibility, compassion, imagination, and humility that make individual and collective resistance possible. My friend, the late Howard Zinn (1980) rightly insisted that hope is the willingness "to hold out, even in times of pessimism, the possibility of surprise" (1980/2010, p. 634).

To add to this eloquent plea, I would say that history is open and that it is time to think otherwise in order to act otherwise, especially if as educators we want to imagine and fight for alternative futures and horizons of possibility—we need to stoke the radical imagination to make sure that justice never goes dead in us and that no society is ever just enough.

Note

1. For an analysis of the origins of fascism in American capitalism, see Michael Joseph Roberto, *The Coming of the American Behemoth* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2019).

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CHAPTER 3

Critical Pedagogy in Difficult Times

Peter Mayo

We have been living in difficult though interesting times. They are difficult times in the sense that ordinary people are being made to pay for the lavish greed of a few beneficiaries of the capitalist system, a small percentage comprising CEOs and bankers, who had, early in the decade, brought the world to almost inconceivable ruin, placing the burden of austerity squarely on the shoulders of the majority. These are difficult times indeed, given that it is the prerogative of a small percentage of powerful people to determine who is allowed to thrive and whose life is dispensable or grievable (Butler 2010); who is allowed to live; and who is left to rot in abject conditions, as manifest in the wake of environmental catastrophe or in situations when social expenditure, including expenditure on health, is cut as a result of austerity measures. The issue of climate change is a case in point (English and Mayo 2019) where excessive heat rises in southern contexts are likely to result in wars, caused by diminishing natural resources, and even more massive attempts at mass migration. Corporations of the Western capitalist world have much to answer for in this regard (Empson 2016, pp. 1–2)—'A Hard Rain's A-Gonna fall' as

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the Nobel laureate, Bob Dylan once proclaimed in the 60s with regard to the danger of nuclear proliferation. This ominous statement might well be applied, these days, to climate change and its consequences.

These are difficult times as public spaces are constantly commodified and privatized; new commons are privately enclosed. Important aspects of social life such as health and education, as well as pensions, become a matter of individual instead of social, financial, and other responsibility. These are times when once greatly cherished public goods, such as education and health, have become or are increasingly becoming consumer products, none more so than higher education (HE) institutions where the quest for profits and lucrative international HE markets is given more importance than the quest for an education that contributes to the development of a democratic public sphere governed by an overarching politics of social justice.

And yet we are also living in interesting times in which attempts have been made for politics to be rescued from the exclusive clutches of politicians and the corporate sector. It was constantly being played out in globalized public arenas such as the squares and streets of Athens, Madrid, Cairo, Tunis, New York, and throughout France as a clear groundswell of dissent, indignation, and tenacity was manifest and beamed throughout all corners of the globe. This is the kind of stuff which lends credence to the cry reverberating through the various world and regional social forums that 'another world is possible.' And yet the strong sense of hope fuelled by these events is necessarily tempered by caution and the fear of a 'false dawn' as caretaker regimes, following the deposition of an autocratic leader, drag their feet in ushering in much augured reforms. Members of these regimes are also let off the hook with respect to accusations of heavy-handed tactics against protestors, bloggers, etc., these tactics often resulting in deaths. The groundswell in the West lays bare the state's 'maximal,' as opposed to the much declared 'minimal,' presence as the repressive forces, over which it holds a monopoly, make their presence felt. Earlier this very same state put paid to the myth that its presence has been curtailed in neoliberal times. The state intervened to bail out banks and provide rescue packages to help prop up a tottering economy. Policies and legislation with regard to the international phenomenon of mass immigration are left in the hands of a nation-state. Conventions in terms of responsibility sharing in Europe are ignored or flouted as purportedly 'national' interests (read: the interests of a dominant elite) precede international ones especially in places such as Hungary and Slovakia where

making the country 'great again' (read: white and Christian—a specific ethnocentric view of Christianity) becomes the latest mantra of the likes of political leaders such as the Hungarian, Viktor Mihály Orbán.

Meanwhile, precarious living is the staple of everyday life for thousands of citizens, skilled or unskilled, formally well educated or otherwise, as much coveted well-paid 'middle-class' career jobs are at a premium globally.

Critical Pedagogy

In this context, I explore signposts for an alternative approach to education and cultural work. I draw on what is commonly referred to, in educational parlance, as critical pedagogy (Giroux 2011) which draws inspiration from Freire and a host of other writers and movements. While the people involved demonstrate a variety of approaches, one common element is that they underscore the *political* basis of education. Education is not a neutral enterprise and heuristically can be regarded as serving to 'domesticate' and strengthen the status quo and therefore keep in place much of the frequently perceived ills, economic, social, and environmental. They can also 'liberate' in the sense of contributing to the ushering in of a new world in which principles of social justice and ecological sustainability are held uppermost. These are to be seen more as ends of a continuum than absolutes. We associate this thinking with the work of Paulo Freire (2018), though he is not the only one who thought, wrote, and worked along these lines. I would include here the likes of don Lorenzo Milani from Tuscany in Italy (Batini et al. 2014). One major North American scholar, Peter McLaren defines critical pedagogy as 'fundamentally concerned with the centrality of politics and power in our understanding' of education and learning (McLaren 1994).

Market Ideology

This approach, as part of a more critical approach to education, strikes me as serving as an antidote to much of the neoliberal policy discourse that has dominated thinking over the last forty years or so and which has been the object of critique in the literature in critical pedagogy. We have been swamped by policies and formulations about education strongly connected with the market ideology, commonly referred to as neoliberal. Education is seen as a consumption rather than a public good with

responsibility for learning being placed on the individual. The Chilean experience represents the most extreme form of this approach where even state education is conceived of, or was conceived of, this way by the perpetrators of a bloody dictatorship following the 1973 coup (Mayo 2012). The changes augured by those struggling for more jobs and greater democratic spaces in the Arab world did not, for the most part and at least, hitherto, represent a departure from this kind of approach. Jobs for the majority of Arab youth and other people were and remain 'thin on the ground' (Mayo 2012).

The Integral State and Education

In this regard, one cannot separate discussions concerning education from discussions concerning the state. There has been a whole debate concerning the role of education and the state. Educational sociologist, Roger Dale analyzes the immensely complex relationships occurring between capitalism, state, and education. Drawing on Claus Offe, he analyzes the process whereby education is linked to both capitalism's legitimation function, by persuading us that inequality is not endemic to the system but a consequence of our different 'abilities,' and the production of necessary 'human capital' for national and global economic ends. Dale argues that the ways those tensions are felt and addressed through education are central to our understanding and experience of the world (see Mayo 2013, p. 233). In this regard, reference should be made to Peter Thomas' (2011) highlighting of Gramsci's notion of the integral state. This entails a comprehensive view of the state's role the provision of a context for the consolidation or contestation of hegemonic relations. The separation of political and civil society, the latter used by Gramsci in a manner that differs from the way it is used today as a third sector between the state and industry, is done specifically for heuristic purposes. The state embodies both, as Thomas underlines. Equally heuristic, in my view, is the separation between the ideological and repressive as the two cannot be entirely separated unless in terms of degree. Institutions have both their repressive and ideological sides, and this applies to the health sector, religion, education, among other areas.

Hegemony

Hegemony is the means whereby social forces, manifest throughout not only civil society but also what is conceived of as political society (the division is heuristic), are, as Thomas notes, transformed into political power within the context of different class projects. I would also add to this conceptualization the view, mentioned by Thomas and certainly by Gramsci, following Marx, that the integral state also has a strong relational dimension. For instance, critical educators write about the need for new democratic kinds of social relations in production (inspired by Gramsci here), the public sphere (see, for instance, the Participatory Budget experiments in Porto Alegre and elsewhere where citizens were called on to discuss optimum and equitable use of municipal funds including funds for education), education, and other aspects of social and economic life. These 'prefigure' a new form of state, through its more democratized horizontal social relations of production. This prevents us from reifying the state as a 'thing,' from engaging in 'thingification' (*Verdinglichung*) as Marx would put it (Tairako 2018). The question of the state comprising a set of social relations is also manifest in Gramsci's conceptualization of every relationship of hegemony, in Notebook 10 N 44 of the *Prison Notebooks*, being a pedagogical relationship (Gramsci 1975, p. 1331).

The importance of this theorization for those who believe in a politically engaged education, for the gradual ushering in of a different world cannot be missed. It is perhaps for this reason that Gramsci has had such a considerable influence on critical pedagogy or critical education, as the works of authors such as Paula Allman, Jean Anyon, Michael Apple, Joyce Caanan, Antonia Darder, Henry Giroux, Deb J. Hill, Margaret Ledwith, Peter McLaren, and David W. Livingstone so clearly indicate. What emerges from Thomas' (2011) careful exposition is the notion, emphasized by Gramsci, that different historical formations are at different levels in terms of their development of civil society. These formations differ in the quality of the relationship between state and civil society. This applies to East and West and North and South. As Thomas rightly notes, there are social formations in the West, including the most Western of the West (e.g., the USA in Gramsci's time), which are bereft of many institutions of civil society. The term 'civil society' or bourgeois civil society (*burgherliche gesellschaft*) is used not as it is today, to refer the third sector between the political and the industrial, but in the specific Gramscian sense of the complex of ideological institutions, progressive, conservative, etc.

Hegemony and Education

The hegemonic apparatuses need to be built and consolidated to become the channels of the ruling class's life-world (*lebenswelt*). The implications for educational activity are enormous. Education is viewed in the broadest sense, the way Gramsci viewed it, seeing it as central and integral to the workings of hegemony itself, and the way many critical pedagogues view it. Notable here is Henry Giroux, very much inspired by Gramsci, who engages the notion of 'public pedagogy.' Education plays an important role as a hegemonic apparatus. This insight should allow us to view theories and philosophies in terms of their being institutionally embedded, serving as a hegemonic apparatus and being integrated in and therefore part and parcel of the integral state, whereby hegemony constitutes the sum total of the apparatuses of ideological consensus and repression, i.e., hegemony = Consensus + Repression, a formula which might appear as confusing to some, given the inconsistent way by which Gramsci refers to hegemony throughout the Prison Notebooks (sometimes as the process of consent on its own, at other times consent in addition to coercion), not providing a systematic exposition. The more all-embracing concept of hegemony (consent and coercion) makes most sense to me given their being encapsulated within the *integral* state. Educators, seeking to highlight the politics of education, can draw on this insight. They can engage in uncovering ways by which dominant educational philosophies serve as hegemonic apparatuses for the 'integral state.'

Hegemony and Lifelong Learning

In these times, for instance, this concept would enable educators to expose the dominant philosophies of lifelong learning closely connected with the hegemonic notions of 'responsibilisation' and 'employability' as linked to the neoliberal integrated state and its relations with, for instance, the supranational state that is the EU. Many of the claims made in relation to the fallacy of lifelong learning, distorted with respect to its original, more expansive, concept as 'lifelong education,' as propounded by UNESCO, would seem problematic. There is an overemphasis on work, employability, and ICT. All this indicates that the discourse thus far is removed from a broad conception of education that takes on board the individuals' different multiple subjectivities. It still gravitates around the notion of a knowledge economy which, as certain research from Canada

shows, is not the reality people are made to believe it is (Lavoie and Roy 1998; Livingstone 2013). It might not lead to the level of employment and financial rewards being anticipated given the global competition for the few high-paying middle-class jobs available (Brown et al. 2010).

This discourse also limits human beings to two-dimensional persons, consumers, and producers, rather than expanding the conception to embrace a more holistic view of persons who have the skills to engage critically and collectively not only *in* but also *with* the work process and also engage in the public sphere, that domain of democratic practice which critical pedagogues such as Giroux, perhaps inspired by Dewey and Habermas, have been writing about for years (Giroux 2005). This would entail a notion of citizenship that can be called 'really and critical active citizenship,' embracing the 'collective' (in the sense of people working and acting together, complementing each other), rather than the notion of the atomized individual citizen that is often promoted by the dominant discourses surrounding citizenship. I am here referring to the idea of atomized individuals who facilitate *governmentality*, in Foucault's sense of the term. Governmentality refers to the state's production of citizen behavior according to its policies, fostering mind-sets and practices that allow subjects to be governed 'at a distance' (English and Mayo 2012). Many of the issues being faced throughout society call for coordinated collective actions involving both ICT and the streets and squares, as the numerous demonstrations in Greece and other parts of Europe, as well as many parts of the Arab world, have shown, albeit not necessarily attaining the desired outcomes (the struggle remains an ongoing one, as I have emphasized time and time again). They are also public, and not simply individual, issues—public issues that entail social responsibilities.

As the literature on this kind of action has shown, such an ongoing social engagement entails constant learning and relearning (not necessarily in a formal or even non-formal sense). It suggests a notion of lifelong learning that, as expounded on by a number of writers from a critical perspective (Williamson 1998; Wain 2004), constitutes a refreshing alternative to the one that prevails in the dominant discourse. It is a type of lifelong learning that has been occurring for years but which has not always been recognized as such. It is one which is inextricably intertwined with ongoing popular struggles for the creation, safeguarding, and enhancing of democratic spaces in which men and women live as social actors. This is all part of the process of renegotiating the apparatus of hegemony.

Solidarity

Furthermore, we require a critical pedagogical approach to education that takes as its point of departure a new and more pressing notion of solidarity, one which cuts across class, gender, and racial lines. It should be an education or kind of political activity that focuses squarely on not different identities in total isolation from each other in a process of segmentation but on the totalizing structural force of capital. This is what the thousands who have been taking to the streets in various cities of Europe, Canada (Quebec), and the USA as well as beyond seem to be gesturing toward (Mayo 2019). 'Gesturing' suggests the need to adopt a tentative and groping approach to an analysis of events here. There was racism, sexism, and many other isms before the inception of capitalism but here we have a totalizing structuring force that is predicated on segmentation on social class, gender, and racial lines. At the heart of this approach, there should be an anti-racist education which does not sanitize the unequal and violent, physical and symbolic, relations that exist and are promoted by an ever globalizing and criminalizing capitalist system. It can be one that, to the contrary, induces human solidarity, avoiding misplaced assumptions and alliances. It would seek, through problem posing, to unveil the fact that both the so-called and often self-styled autochthonous working class and the immigrants share a common fate: that of being oppressed and subaltern. Both are victims of a ruthless process of capitalist exploitation.

Higher Education

One other point concerns higher education, an important sector of lifelong learning in these and other times, an issue I develop at length (Mayo 2019). This area is under vicious attack by those taking advantage of structures which require renovation and perhaps a wider purpose in society. Rather than being widened to render the university and institutions of higher education more responsive to the democratic needs of society, the discourse is being reduced to one regarding another form of business governed by the principles of the market (see Santos 2017; Connell 2019; Mayo 2019). And yet one would expect these institutions to serve much wider causes than those of the economy and employment. They can well provide, and happily some indeed do provide, against all odds, responses to some interesting innovations, in different pockets throughout society, with respect to different forms of production. These entail different and

more horizontal relations of producing, as well as the identification of *alternatives to what is being produced*.

To the contrary, however, many mainstream institutions are, in the main, exposed to a discourse that is divisive in its encouragement of diversification in terms of research, teaching, and regionally responsive universities, with ramifications for the ancient Greek notion of *praxis* (reflection upon action for improved action, involving the codification of such reflection into theory). There is the danger that teaching is to be separated from research. And praxis is a central concept in critical pedagogy based on the old Socratic maxim, reproduced by Plato in the *Apologia*, that an unexamined life is a life not worth living. Quite laudable in this regard are initiatives such as that of the Tent University in Lincoln, UK, that revive in some way the old notion of independent working-class education, a kind of university education rendered gratis to the popular classes with certification endorsed internationally by a number of academics, even if dismissed by the relevant state apparatuses. This alternative university education is based on the principles of critical pedagogy where knowledge is shared not for instrumental reasons (i.e., for work) but for the social end of helping in the formation of politically engaged social actors.

Marginalized Knowledge, Cognitive and Social Justice

One hopes that the scope of knowledge focused upon, as a result of epistemological curiosity, is broad enough to incorporate insights derived from South and North and East and West. It would be a body of knowledge that foregrounds subaltern views, including the best from feminisms, critical racism theory, independent working-class education, Indigenous knowledge, environmental studies, and social movements' learning (including subaltern social movements' learning). It is one that restores *cognitive justice*, to use Santos (2017) term, to that knowledge from the Global South that is either discarded, denigrated (*epistemicide*) or, worse, stolen or patented, in the worst form of colonization, from its original proponents and practitioners. This point applies not only to higher education but to education in general. We find this in the vast gamut of popular education emerging from the majority world, learning from popular and social justice-oriented social movements, including those in the Global South and higher education/popular university spaces such as those of UNITIERRA in Chiapas, Mexico, or the Escola Nacional

Florestan Fernandez in Brazil, the latter under attack from the Bolsonaro government.

Conclusion

These institutions with their brand of politically charged education provide grist for a critically engaged insurrectional pedagogy that offers alternatives to that of the mainstream one favoring technical rationality, corporate imperatives, and a 'new managerialism' approach (neoliberal forms of administration with deleterious effects on the traditional caring ethos of such a public service as education) (Lynch et al. 2012). The alternative of a critical pedagogy, in these difficult times, lies primarily in its social justice and 'we care' (adapted from the Barbiana motto—Batini et al. 2014) approach.

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CHAPTER 4

Conscientizaçao

Antonia Darder

Paulo Freire conceptualized the struggle for critical consciousness and social transformation as a road yet to be made, which, because it is unknown, must be traced out step by step, in our organic relationship with the world and in the process of our labor as educators, activist, and revolutionary leaders. Conscientizaçao represents the development of the awakening of critical awareness (Freire 1983). The struggle for change begins, then, at the moment when human beings become both critically aware and intolerant of the oppressive conditions in which they find themselves and push toward new ways of knowing and being in the world. This process signals that moment of consciousness when individuals in community experience a breakthrough and decide to take another path, despite their uncertain future. Freire (1998a) considered the process of conscientization an essential critical principle of his pedagogy, in that it opens the field for the expression of epistemological curiosity. Hence, "it is one of the roads we have to follow if we are to deepen our awareness of the world, of facts, of events" (p. 55). Similarly, Freire's notion of human

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consciousness, as unfinished, offers us a sense of conscientizaçao as a critical evolutionary process that is permanently unfinished, whose openness enlivens our dialectical relationship with the world and beckons us toward emancipatory futures within the context of changing social conditions.

The evolution of conscientizaçao or social consciousness is well echoed in the poetic metaphor *el camino se hace al andar*,[1] or we make the road by walking. Freire, in dialogue with Myles Horton (Horton and Freire 1990), spoke adamantly of social consciousness as a dialectical process that develops and evolves, as we each contend, through theory and practice, with the actual social conditions we find before us and in relationship with others. Rather than adhere to prescribed roles and structures that oppress and repress our humanity, Freire (1998a) urged for the development of emancipatory consciousness, through a critical praxis that requires our ongoing participation as cultural citizens and subjects of the world. From this perspective, knowledge and the breakthroughs of consciousness it informs emanate critically and reflect the evolving social experience of the people themselves. And so, he asserted that our moments of awakening to critical consciousness or "the breakthrough of a new form of awareness in understanding the world is not the privilege of one person. The experience that makes possible the 'breakthrough' is a collective experience" (p. 77).

True to his own understanding of knowledge as historical, there was a deepening in Freire's articulation of the awakening consciousness or conscientizaçao, over the years. This is particularly the case in his later writings, where he gave far greater salience to the role of feelings, sensations, and the body, in addition to the exercise of reason, in the formation of consciousness. This is particularly evident in Pedagogy of Freedom, when Freire (1998b) asserts, "What is important in teaching is not the mechanical repetition of this or that gesture but a comprehension of the value of sentiments, emotions, and desires…and sensibility, affectivity, and intuition" (p. 48). This powerful assertion of the value of our human faculties, beyond our reason, in the struggle for our liberation is a hallmark of Freire's pedagogy of love. His painstaking efforts to challenge the necrophilic grip of hegemonic schooling, simultaneously, pushed forth a new integral rationality infused with a communal understanding of social consciousness or conscientizaçao as a living phenomenon of women and men in struggle.

The Concept of Conscientizaçao

Paulo Freire (1983) wrote that it is sufficient to know that conscientization does not take place in abstract beings in the air but in real men and women and in social structures, to understand that it cannot remain on the level of the individual (p. 130). Freire's concept of conscientizaçao points to an understanding of critical awareness and the formation of social consciousness as both a historical phenomenon and a human social process connected to our communal capacities to become authors and social actors of our destinies. He emphasized that conscientizaçao does not occur automatically, naturally, nor should it be understood as an evolving linear phenomenon. Instead, he spoke to an emancipatory consciousness that arises through an on-going organic process of human engagement, which requires critical pedagogical interactions that nurture the dialectical relationship of human beings with the world. This entails a grounded appreciation for the dialectical tension that must be retained, between the empowerment of the individual and the democratic well-being of the larger communal sphere.

In writing about critical consciousness, Freire anchors his conceptual meaning of conscientizaçao upon several key notions. First, he explains that the more accurately human beings can grasp the true causality of our particular circumstances or conditions of life, the more critical our understanding of reality will be. Yet, he provided an important caveat: whatever is considered true today may not necessarily be true tomorrow. Freire posits here a historical and dialectical theory of meaning that must be understood both relationally and contextually. As history moves and conditions shift, so must our readings of the world, if we are to enable emancipatory life. The second notion is an outcome of the first, in that critical awareness encompasses phenomena or facts, which exist empirically or experientially within particular circumstances that inform their production. As such, through a critical awareness of the world, as rooted in particular social and economic conditions of life, we can more readily come to comprehend consciousness and the actions it informs as corresponding phenomena. Inherent to this view of the world, there is inseparability between consciousness and materiality that must be acknowledged and dialectically sustained. And lastly, but similar to the latter, the nature of human actions and societal structures corresponds to the nature of prevailing epistemologies and ideologies that inform the structures for communal life.

Freire's notion of conscientizaçao entails the organic formation of an intimate relationship between consciousness, human action, and the world that we seek to reinvent. Most importantly, he emphasizes the communal or social circumstances that are required in its formation. A powerful political dimension in its formation is that critical consciousness, although it takes place in and emerges out of the expressed lived histories of each individual, cannot evolve and transform in the absence of others. More specifically, Freire argued "we cannot liberate the others, people cannot liberate themselves alone, because people liberate themselves in communion, mediated by reality which they must transform" (Davis 1980, p. 62).

Freire however understood exceedingly well that the concept of conscientizaçao could be easily distorted. In the first, through a sort of humanist idealism and liberal subjectivism that strips the concept of its criticality. Privileging subjectively, it produces truths divorced from social and material conditions. In the second, scientific objectivity reigns, privileging objectively produced truths, divorced from social and material conditions. In both instances, forms of consciousness result from a dichotomy of the subject/object relationship, in the process of knowing, rather than critically from a socially grounded interdependence of subject and object. Furthermore, the tendency to consider consciousness as a end place, reifies what is a regenerative process.

In contrast, the process of conscientizaçao or conscientization evolves from on-going dialectical relationships between human beings and the world. In this view, we come to the practice of consciousness through a widening capacity to exercise an integral rationality in our interpretation of the world. One where subjective and objective knowledge, mind and body, matter and spirit, human beings and the natural world coexist in a perpetual dance, which resists their negation. Counterpunctal to this negation, Freire (1998a) argued, "human existence is, in fact, a radical and profound tension between good and evil, between dignity and indignity, between decency and indecency, between beauty and ugliness of the world" (p. 53).

Learning as a critical dialogical process for the formation of consciousness then must open the field to an active and rigorous investigation beyond simply our intuition or hunch—although Freire valued the significant contribution of these to learning. But, rather than stopping there, he urged us to "build on our intuitions and submit them to methodological and rigorous analysis so that our curiosity becomes epistemological"

(p. 48) and, in so doing, we uncover those actions that are in the service of transformation.

Through critical dialogue, where our "curiosity becomes epistemological," there is room for its expression, as well as the necessity to consider rigorously its meaning, in relationship to the world. In this way, Freire (1998a) maintained the dialectical tension between two important epistemological moments that support the development of consciousness: the necessity "to be immersed in existing knowledge as it is and to be open and capable of producing something that does not yet exist" (p. 35). Given the oppressive policies and practices that defile emancipatory efforts within schools and society, Freire adamantly argued that we could not leave behind the question of critical consciousness when contending with the bombardment of commonsensical notions meant to conserve recalcitrant structures of oppression. As such, the phenomenon of conscientizaçao is also deeply informed by our capacity to enter consistently into the problematization of hegemony, as it manisfest within different schools and society.

Problematization

Liberation implies the problematization of their situation in its concrete objective reality so that being critically aware of it, they can also act critically on it (Freire 1983). One can only know to the extent that one has the opportunity and freedom to problematize the conditions and realities in which we are immersed. "To present this human world as a problem for human beings is to propose that they 'enter into' it critically, taking the operation as a whole, their action and that of others on it" (p. 155). By entering into their own world, students can become aware of what they know in relation to their world and also what more they need to know, in order to participate more concretely, in the making of their destinies. This is a path toward greater consciousness, where students are actively involved in the task of codifying their reality as they know it and moving beyond the known to the unknown, toward becoming creators of knowledge and participants in making the world. Freire believed that through an on-going dialogical process of problem-posing or problematization, with students as subjects of their own learning, critical consciousness evolves and, as such, students organically participate in altering their lives, as both individuals and collective beings. In Freire's pedagogy of

love, students learn to exercise their reason in ways that lead to the construction of integral knowledge, which opens the door to further questioning and greater curiosity of why the world is as it is and how it might be different.

An important aspect of the pedagogy here is for students to find genuine opportunities for voice and democratic participation, in which they can think through more deeply the consequences of their individual and collective attitudes, interventions, behaviors, decisions, and, most important, the relationship of these to the official standards of knowledge imposed by hegemonic schooling. This implies a process of learning not necessarily dependent on a specific or determined curriculum, per se, but far more concerned with the capacity of educators creating the pedagogical conditions for problematization, so students can critically question, deconstruct, and recreate knowledge without repercussions or reprisals, in ways that enhance their sense of ethical responsibility to self and community.

Inherent to this problem-posing approach is a pedagogical process that humanizes, in that according to Freire (1983) "to be human is to engage in relationships with others and with the world" (p. 3). However, beyond the subjective humanizing dimension, he also insisted that a humanizing pedagogy guides students, "to experience that world as an objective reality, independent of oneself, capable of being known" (p. 3). Thus, through on-going participation in problem-posing dialogue, students gradually undergo an integral process of social and political formation. In so doing, they come to understand in profound ways that human beings make the world and thus, as human beings, they must also act concretely to transform it. Highlighting this point, Freire (1993) contended, "Problematization is not an intellectual diversion, both alienated and alienating. Nor is it an escape from action, a way of disguising the fact that what is real has been denied. Problematization is not only inseparable from the act of knowing but also inseparable from concrete situations" (p. 153).

This inseparability from concrete situations or material conditions is key to understanding why social consciousness deepens as students interact with one another and their environment in the dynamic of critical dialogue. More specifically, by critically engaging with official or commonsensical knowledge, creating and recreating that content by their integral participation, responding to the challenges it poses, stepping outside egoism to consider the impact on others, students come to question: In favor

of what? In favor of whom? (Freire 1995). Discerning the social and material consequences to transcend limit situations, students come to know the essence of themselves as full subjects of history, rather than objects to be manipulated, prescribed, exploited, or dominated.

Noteworthy here are two important features related to problematization that must remain at the forefront. First is the dialectical nature of the teacher–student relationship, which must be upheld in the dialogical process of problematization, in that Freire argued that teachers and students must enter together through dialogue into the process of social change, whereby conscientizing both themselves and students simultaneously in a process of inter-conscientization. On this, Freire wrote (1983),

> Problematization is so much a dialectical process that it would be impossible for anyone to begin it without becoming involved in it. No one can present something to someone else as a problem and at the same time remain a mere spectator of the process…In the process of problematization, any step made by a Subject to penetrate the problem-situation continually opens up new roads for other subjects to comprehend the object being analyzed…The humbler they are in this process the more they will learn. (p. 153)

This collective or social feature must be absolutely central to how we, as educators, activists, and community leaders, comprehend Freire's principle of conscientizaçao. Second is the historical question, in that Freire (1998a) firmly believed that "to the degree that the historical past is not 'problematized' so as to be critically understood, tomorrow becomes simply the perpetuation of today" (p. 102). To counter this outcome requires a process of problematization that is integrated within a critical praxis of dialogue. As such, he believed deeply that through democratic forms of horizontal engagement, where I-Thou relationships of historical subjects reside, love, humility, trust, and criticality can prevail. In this process of knowing, students learn how to enact reflection and action in a permanent alliance, through the communal process of dialogue.

Critical Dialogue and Consciousness

If it is in speaking their word that people, by naming the world, transform it, dialogue imposes itself as the way by which they achieve significance as human beings. Dialogue is thus an existential necessity (Freire 1970,

p. 267). In concert with the gnosiological and historical dimensions of reason, Freire (1983) considered dialogue to be indispensable to the act of knowing the world and hence to the process of conscientization. It is through critical dialogue that students enter together into the process of problematization. And, by way of their critical exchanges, they experience important breakthroughs of knowledge that emerge from rethinking their historical and contemporary conditions. Within this process of reflection, new actions can emerge that better support students to participate more substantively in the process of their own learning, as well as enhance their experience of democracy, within culturally democratic relationships that focus on equality and justice. Another way to think of this phenomenon is that through engaging new possibilities in the process of teaching and learning, students are involved in potentially reconfiguring asymmetrical power relations, in order to enact greater horizontal relationships, structures, and practices within the classroom and beyond.

Freire also placed much importance on students experiencing conditions in the classroom that nurture their intimacy with the practice of democracy. For he believed that it is through a deeply experiential and integral learning of democracy, in body, mind, heart, and spirit, that students come to understand that democracy is never a given and "liberation is not a gift" (Davis 1980, p. 62). Rather, democracy is an active collective human project that must be consistently reconsidered, regenerated, and reinvented, through our vigilance and engagement with the actual historical and material conditions that impact our lives as individuals and cultural beings. Moreover, Freire (1983) believed that the proper climate to practice an apprenticeship democracy is within the openness of dialogue, "where men and women can develop a sense of community, of participation in the solution of common life" (pp. 24–25). This entails a consciousness of social and political responsibility, which grows and matures through meaningful and purposeful civic participation.

Freire asserted that "consciousness is intentionality towards the world" (Davis 1980, p. 58) and critical dialogue is the means by which that intentionality is forged. Hence, we must seek to act, think, and speak about our reality in ways that are coherent with emancipatory principles of life, which insert teachers and students into a process of on-going mediation. As a politically dynamic process, critical dialogue also serves as an essential means by which we can bring greater congruence to our thoughts and actions as co-participants in the world. About this, Freire (1983) posited that since thinking human beings do not think alone; "There is no longer

an 'I think' but 'we think.' It is the 'we think' which establishes the 'I think' and not the contrary" (p. 137). This necessary co-participation of the Subject in the act of critical thought constitutes a significant break with the dualism of Descartes and invites us to embrace an emancipatory understanding of knowledge construction as both communal and contextual, given that it must be anchored within the shared conditions that inform the lives of knowing subjects.

And, as such, we must understand dialogue as both a meaningful form of communication and active process of learning that retains reciprocity, which cannot be broken. In this reciprocal relationship of co-constructing knowledge and the world, students encounter genuine opportunities to direct their entrance into the classroom dialogue in meaningful ways. This in turn calls upon educators to assume pedagogical responsibility for employing culturally appropriate and creative ways to engage students with respect to "mandatory knowledge" and classroom expectations, in order to ensure that a dialogical reciprocity persists in the teaching and learning process.

A common break in this reciprocity is precisely what occurs in the banking model of education or training, where the teacher is expected to teach and students to learn, without any recognition that true learning is a communal process, which must be reciprocal if it is to support the critical formation of oppressed students and their communities. Hence, it becomes more evident why deficit notions of education work anti-dialogically and, thus, thwart the process of conscientization, rendering students as passive agents in traditional learning environments. Freire (1970) sought to unveiled how deficit notions undergird false generosity, by "softening" the domination of the powerful, by essentializing the weaknesses of the oppressed to justify a culture of exclusion and domination. Of this, he said, "The dominating consciousness absolutizes ignorance in order to manipulate the so-called 'uncultured'. If some men are 'totally ignorant,' they will be incapable of managing themselves, and will need the orientation, the 'direction,' the 'leadership' of those who consider themselves to be 'cultured' and 'superior'" (p. 43).

Freire considered this absolutizing of ignorance as simply part of a larger anti-dialogical process, where myths are normalized and employed by the dominant culture to suppress the social agency and civic participation of subordinated populations. Here, he spoke to the manner in which the world is mythicized by the powerful, in order to ensure the alienation, passivity, and domestication of the oppressed. In the process, a series of

myths and corresponding policies, practices, and methods are enacted to preclude the problematization of the world. Instead, social and material conditions of inequality, for example, are treated as fixed and naturalized phenomena to which oppressed populations must simply adapt.

In contrast, Freire asserted that a decolonizing pedagogy requires the demythologizing of reality, to counter the domestication of consciousness, inherent in banking education. For example, one of the most debilitating hegemonic myths has been the view of education as a neutral enterprise. In response, Freire persistently challenged disingenuous notions of neutrality within schools and society that veil underlying structures of inequality. He adamantly argued that if we are in constant interaction with the world, it is impossible to maintain a posture of neutrality. Therefore, he surmised, "if we are conscious or not as educators, our praxis is either for the liberation of the people—their humanization—or for their domestication, their domination" (Davis 1980, p. 57).

Although Freire's own formation was grounded in the intellectual roots of Western philosophy, his theorizing went beyond the neutrality of Socratic principles of dialogue or Plato's realm of transcendence. As educators, activists, scholars, and leaders committed to the struggle for our humanity, Freire firmly believed that our connection and contact with the world are essential to a politics of change. He argued dialectically against neutrality, while also calling forth the "openness of the future" that must extend beyond certitudes, sectarianism, or dogma. For those socialized deeply within Western positivism, this negation of neutrality on one end and the assertion of openness on the other can boggle the mind. Yet, Freire's dialectical stance speaks to both personal and political levels of struggle. On the personal level, grounded in an emancipatory political vision, we must struggle fiercely against forms of sectarianism or dogma that render us rigid and close-minded to the creative and unforeseen possibilities for social change. Yet, on the political arena, we must acknowledge that most mainstream policies and practices go unimpeded, due to repressive epistemologies or epistemicides (Paraskeva 2011) that, wittingly or unwittingly, adhere to the interests of the wealthy and powerful.

Hence, the politics of hegemonic schooling conserve and reproduce colonizing attitudes and practices founded on reified knowledge and deficit notions, where students are deceptively initiated into static and limited prescribed roles, for which the limits of their educational opportunities prepare them to assume. Not surprisingly then that Freire objected

to the notion of "training," which renders students and workers passive receptacles of a fragmented, specialized, and instrumentalized knowledge, in which they are not permitted the room for conscientization—a requisite for their full democratic participation. This uncritical process of labor is often essentialized and well-supported, on practical ground, even among those working within oppressed communities, in the name of making a living. Freire (1970), however, objected, in that "through such methods the masses are directed and manipulated" (p. 143) and their quest for liberation thwarted. In contrast, if the preparation for particular jobs was accompanied by humanizing opportunities for critical formation, participation in decision-making, community involvement, and an emphasis on a livable wage, perhaps a better case could be made for such an approach, as an initial measure. Unfortunately, mainstream "training" programs are generally associated with limited choices, limited voice, and limited wages.

At this juncture, it should be noted that Freire's conceptualization of dialogue as essential to an emancipatory pedagogy and community struggle has not always been accurately understood or practiced, by those who would reduce his pedagogy to method, stripping away its revolutionary intent. This is particularly true given that instrumentalized or functionalist approaches to dialogue, which destabilizes the very principles that give meaning and power to emancipatory life. For Freire, seeking absolute answers, prescribed formulations, or fixed outcomes are not the intent, when subjects of history enter into communion for the purpose of liberation. This is so, given that under the constraints of capitalism and its sorted inequalities, we are forced to first unveil and problematize the myths and distortions that bind our sensibilities and, from there, move toward collective possibilities often unforeseen at the beginning of our dialogue together. With this in mind, two other important qualities of dialogue include the willingness to exist with uncertainty and to welcome surprise in our encounters. Freire (1970) considered a critical capacity for uncertainty and surprise important in countering the hegemonic reproduction of prescription, where "every prescription represents the imposition of one individual's choice upon another, transforming the consciousness of the person prescribed to into one that conforms" (p. 47).

Given that we have all been so conditioned to hold prescribed expectations of our students or to expect so little from them, classroom opportunities to express their creativity and imagination in more fluid and undetermined ways can result in truly unexpected outcomes. In many ways,

what Freire understood is what so many educators accidentally discover—when students genuinely experience the freedom to think unfettered and their imaginations find an open field to express themselves, they often work far harder and with greater discipline, enthusiasm, and joy than they do when they are forced into anti-dialogical modes of teaching that sentence them to prescriptive regurgitation of knowledge—knowledge that is abstracted and decontextualized from their lived histories and their active presence. Traditional teacher tendencies of control and authoritarianism also narrow the field of rationality, by way of prescribed ways of knowing and hegemonic expectations of performance. This privileging of prescribed banking approaches, in turn, diminishes the voices of difference and promotes exclusion. It is the transformation of precisely this deadening and anti-dialogical pedagogy in schools that informs a problem-posing pedagogy, which advances the formation of consciousness and a democratic culture of voice, participation, and solidarity.

Dialogue that supports the development of emancipatory consciousness, however, does not aspire to creating perfect order in the classroom or the society at large, given that any epistemological and material sense of order is highly ensconced in cultural and class sensibilities and thus must remain in the communal terrain of constant renegotiation. Instead, Freire's notion of dialogue aspired to an integral awareness of self and others and an emergence of consciousness, which arms teachers and students with the critical objectivity necessary to allow ourselves and others "to be," so that together we can explore the consequences of relationships and their material circumstances. This process assists us to better resist inequalities of power and to discover new possibilities for unfettered expressions of humanity.

Indispensability of Resistance

What is essential is that learners…maintain alive the flame of resistance that sharpens their curiosity and stimulates their capacity to risk (Freire 1998a). In his introduction to Pedagogy of Freedom, Stanley Aronowitz (1998) noted, "Freire holds that a humanized society requires cultural freedom, the ability of the individual to choose values and rules of conduct that violate conventional social norms, and. In political and civil society, requires the full participation of all of its inhabitants in every aspect of public life" (p. 19). Freire's dialogical approach then sought to challenge debilitating dualisms and untenable binaries that negate, polarize, or limit

life choices. However, to violate conventional social norms entails that, by necessity, resistance or dissent must have a place in the democratic society. Hence, student resistance in the classroom merits critical engagement, in that it plays an important role in the process of problematization. Rather than adversarial or problematic to the critical construction of knowledge, resistance serves as meaningful antecedent to the evolution of critical consciousness.

Freire (1983) believed that no problem or act of resistance could ever be resolved by simply ignoring, dismissing, or trying to eliminate the resistance or opposition, without falling into authoritarianism. Instead, what we as teachers must learn to do is to cultivate and nurture dialogue in ways that create new fields of possibility large enough to welcome the tensions generated by resistance. This enhances the field from which students can launch their energies into emancipatory directions of inquiry, through critique and thoughtful engagement. It is this pedagogical response to resistance that most supports the communal evolution of consciousness, in that transformation is made possible through a collective democratic process of participation, voice, solidarity, and action that forges new possibilities.

Accordingly, an important aim of Freire's emancipatory pedagogy is to override preconditioned or hegemonic patterns in how we name the world, by providing a demythologizing context in which teachers and students can consider the political consequences of particular ways of thinking and their consequences. In the process, Freire asked us to move away from fixed or prescribed notions of life and toward a relational and contextual understanding of knowledge, history, and community. This idea is also relevant to Freire's (1993) notion of a critical literacy, informed by his teaching of literacy as a decolonizing practice, which for him was "above all, a social and political commitment" (p. 114). In the process of reading of the word and the world, Freire (2002) also sought to explore "the relationship prevailing between political lucidity…and the various levels of engagement in the process of mobilization and organization for struggle—for the defense of rights, for laying claim to justice" (p. 40). Hence, the capacity to read the word and the world is fundamentally linked to a larger political struggle against hegemony, which entails a critical literacy that prepares students toward a more just life.

A problem-posing pedagogy, with Freire's concept of critical literacy as its compass, is meant to support students in becoming consciously aware of their context and their conditions of life, whereby they become more

consciously aware of their options and their right to choose, as empowered subjects of their destinies. It is at that point that Freire considered students to become politicized, in that they gained a sense of critical awareness about how power relations impact them and their communities. To become politicized then implies entering into an evolutionary process of consciousness, by which individuals become critically aware that their active involvement in the historical process is directly linked to their capacities to denounce injustice and announce a more just world. Critical resistance is anchored to a dialectical process, through which students or communities struggle to contend with the consequences of particular values, policies, and practices that threaten their right to be. Hence, resistance is often the precursor to students becoming more critically conscious and, as such, must also be linked to an emancipatory right to choice.

Freire's pedagogy encompasses conditions of pedagogy that support teachers, students, and communities to enter intentionally into a lived historical process. Within a pedagogy that supports the development of critical consciousness are also the underlying purposes of empowerment and self-determination that enable students to reflect on their lives and the world around them. Freire (1983) believed that as teachers and students grow in the power of reflection and social agency, we also develop "an increased capacity for choice" (p. 16). This increased capacity for choice is a fundamental prerequisite, as oppressed communities move to liberate ourselves from old prescribed choices that have been handed down to us by the powerful. It is, moreover, through the deepening of consciousness that we struggle to recuperate the possibilities for choice, often denied us within the hegemonic context.

The process of recuperating choices, however, can be an arduous process, and Freire (1970) explained that during epochal transitions, "the deepening of the clash between old and new encouraged a tendency to choose one side or the other; and the emotional climate of the time encouraged the tendency to become radical about the choice" (p. 10). When intensified this can cause deep polarization in society and also can lead to violence—whether that violence is the oppressor's violence that seeks to preserve the status quo or the violence of the oppressed struggling to create a breakthrough from which new conditions can emerge. This process, of course, can create enormous dissonance and resistance, given that it speaks to the necessity for a significant shift in paradigm. The extent to which educators can express faith, compassion, and love for their students, as well as create conditions for all to participate in a

process of empowerment, will ultimately determine the manner in which students are able to move through their resistance, when asked to interrogate unjust systems of power and privilege that may implicate their own perspectives and past practices.

It is worth noting here that the dialogical approach of Freire's pedagogy is meant to be as empowering a process for teachers as it is for students, in that it is also meant to prevent teachers from becoming fossilized in our ideas. This is best achieved when we recognize that teaching is as much a process of learning from our students, as it is a process of students learning from teachers. Thus, this radical suppleness is best cultivated, as we see in Freire's life, when we aspire persistently to learn with our students, express love and faith in their interactions, and yet are not afraid to express that "fire in the belly" that is fueled by an uncompromising love for freedom, life, and the world. This process, however, can only proceed effectively, when radical educators have developed sufficient patience, confidence, faith, knowledge, and commitment to a humanizing vision of education. This moves us beyond absolute, reified, and fixed formulas of teaching and learning, toward a dialectical understanding and integral approach, which supports pedagogical practices that bring students and the world into constant relationship, in the interest of democratic life.

Within a Freirean approach to education, resistance then is not considered a problem to be defeated. Instead, a critical understanding of resistance is an essential component to the process by which new knowledge emerges and political formation in the interest of justice evolves. For this reason, Freire (1983) considered the spirit of resistance "a symptom of advancement, an introduction to a more complete humanity [and an] attitude of rebellion as one of the most promising aspects of our political life" (p. 36). However, he did not believe that genuine democratic life could be won by resistance or rebellion alone, in that the struggle for our liberation could not exist predominantly as dissent, but rather had to also move toward a constructive process of critical intervention and remaking of concrete situations. Dialogue, therefore, was for Freire the collective praxis by which we transform the power and promise of resistance into transformative action. So, rather than to shut down resistance by authoritarian means of control or manipulation, Freire urged us to appreciate that without resistance, transformative knowledge is impossible. This is to say that resistance holds the key for unveiling, in more substantive ways, the asymmetrical relations of power within schools and society and the impact

of oppressive consequences. In essence, resistance can be understood as a significant dialogical juncture, where limit situations can be more clearly identified and unveiled.

By embracing the indispensability of resistance, we come to recognize its relationship to how teachers and students participate either to open the field of rationality or to close it, depending upon ideological allegiances, cultural values, class privilege, or lived histories. An emancipatory response to resistance, through openness and acceptance, expands the field of rationality, in ways that invite students to look more critically at their own attitudes, how these came to be, the consequences of their actions, and new ways in which they might respond to the world, in both theory and practice. This demands a pedagogical process that shifts the focus away from trying to eliminate oppositionalities or resistance to ways that engage student resistance in meaningful ways and encourages greater inclusiveness and collaboration. Through this dialogical process, resistance to and problematization of oppression unfold, in ways that honor the dignity of our humanity and bring us into new relationships with one another.

Freire, nevertheless, understood that although the power to denounce and announce is born of collective struggle, it also is the outcome of politically coherent and integral human beings, who must each come to a personal decision to struggle, given that each revolutionary woman or man must live with the great joys and hardships that such a commitment entails. Hence, revolutionaries or those who are radicalized are those who, unable to persist in the oppressive values, formations, and practices of the old era, commit their passion, reason, life energy, and physical fortitude to the long historical struggle for freedom and, thus, to self-determine their own destiny as authentic human beings—extricating themselves from the limited choices presented to them by the hegemonic apparatus of schooling.

However, the transformation of material conditions cannot take place without also the transformation of consciousness, as both a personal and social phenomena. Freire considered this to be so, in that the reproduction of material conditions, whether just or unjust, is inextricably linked to the collective beliefs and actions that fuel their perpetuation. If we seek to change the material conditions that oppress the majority of the world's population, then we must recognize the ultimate purpose of an emancipatory pedagogy to be nothing less than the radicalization of consciousness—where love and political commitment inform our underlying

participation in communal life and the struggle against our disaffiliation and oppression.

Praxis of Radicalization

A more critical understanding of the situation of oppression does not yet liberate the oppressed. But the revelation is a step in the right direction. Now the person who has this new understanding can engage in a political struggle for the transformation of the concrete conditions in which oppression prevails (Freire 2002). Despite his overarching emphasis on the role of social relationships in the formation of critical consciousness, Freire recognized that each individual must also find within themselves and in communion with others a decisive point in their lived historical process that signals their radicalization as an imperative of emancipatory life. This to say that political consciousness and a commitment to action cannot be transferred, in a banking mode, to students or communities, no matter how oppressed. As such, the praxis of liberation that informs the development of critical awareness requires a dialogical process, whereby individuals through their personal reflection, dialogue, solidarity, and actions over time, awaken to and evolve greater faith in their own social agency and capacity for integral formation.

To better comprehend the power and possibilities of emancipatory consciousness requires that we retain in place the dialectical qualities that underpin this process. More specifically, we radicalize and are radicalized, through relationships labor and struggle with one another. This, however, does not collapse the individual into the communal or the communal into the individual, in that each has a field of sovereignty and autonomy that is brought to bear, in the forging of critical consciousness. Rather than cogs in the great wheel of revolution or the historical process of evolution, we are, in fact, creators and co-creators of life—whether we participate passively through inaction and submission or bring forth critical impulses for liberation to bear upon the social and material structures that impact our existence.

An ever-present question, however, in the process of radicalization is how we make the radical option. Freire (1983) believed that the ethical man or woman "who makes a radical option" does not deny another the right to choose nor imposes that choice upon another. However, radicals do have "the duty, imposed by love, to react against the violence…in a situation in which the excessive power of a few leads to the dehumanization

of all" (pp. 10–11). Unfortunately, it is precisely this human potential to know the world critically and to denounce injustice that is most corrupted by the lovelessness of oppression and the hostility of authoritarianism—a hostility that functions to disable the individual and collective participation and empowerment of those deemed renegades, within the existing regime.

Freire understood that if emancipatory life is indeed a journey or road to the unknown, then great courage, discipline, and commitment are required to denounce injustice and to remain ever present in the larger struggle for individual and social transformation. Rather than a perspective that objectifies the outcome of democratic struggle as some definitive endpoint or transcendent utopia, Freire understood, through his own life, that the struggle for liberation is an on-going revolutionary and human evolutionary process, driven by a dialogical praxis, where on-going reflection, voice, participation, action, and solidarity are key ingredients to forging culturally democratic possibilities.

Freire considered this dialogical relationship essential to the praxis of radicalization and the formation of political clarity, in that critical dialogue provides a collective space in which our ambiguities and contradiction can be expressed, critiqued, and transformed, through a spirit of solidarity. As the process of radicalization implies, it requires a profound commitment to self-vigilance, particularly where ideological contradictions and historical privileges of liberal educators must be exposed, those "who proselytize about empowering minorities while refusing to divest from their class-and-whiteness privilege—a privilege that is often left unexamined and unproblematized and that is often accepted as divine right" (Macedo 1989, p. xxx).

The radicalization of consciousness and sustained political struggle for democracy requires individuals who, through their commitment, political clarity, and love for the world, are capable of containing their arrant impulses and desires associated with unjust privilege and the internalization of oppression, if we are to move away from self-destructive behaviors or deadening forms of resistance that betray our yearning for freedom. As such, Freire believed that both reason and human compassion must inform an emancipatory educational process, but this speaks to a reason and compassion born from an integral and coherent engagement with the world, rather than prescribed forms of sentimentalism. As such, students must find opportunities to better comprehend the emotional life

and to practice engaging with one another in organic and creative ways, so not to become mired in unnecessary conflict and contradiction. With this in mind, Freire counseled radical educators to practice parsimony in our communication, particularly when mean-spirited opposition threatens to derail transformation possibilities.

Nevertheless, Freire's unrelenting focus on education as a political terrain of struggle was undoubtedly fueled by his indignation over oppressive structures and exclusionary conditions enacted through hegemonic belief systems, which systematically warp how oppressed populations view our lives and surrounding conditions. Hence, any pedagogy in the interest of liberation must be geared fundamentally toward the problematization of our domestication and the transformation of the myths that conserve the oppressed-oppressor contradiction. Recognizing the difficulty of such an effort, Freire (1970) liken it to childbirth, but implicitly linked it to the process of radicalization through his reference to the emergence of a new being.

> Liberation is thus a childbirth and a painful one. The man or woman who emerges is a new person, viable only as the oppressor-oppressed contradiction is superseded by the humanization of all people. Or to put it another way, the solution of this contradiction is born of our collective labor which brings into the world this new being: no longer oppressor no longer oppressed, but human in the process of achieving freedom (p. 49).

Without a consciousness of radicalization to support us, as educators who continuously must contend with repressive forces of schooling, it is impossible to support the imagination, creativity, and dreams of our students. In order to support the emancipatory dreams of others, we must believe in the possibility of our own dreams and cultivate a deeply embodied sense of how to move with an evolving consciousness of freedom through our lives. Freire (1983) also believed, drawing on the words of Karl Mannheim, that central to the process of radicalization is the need to develop "a frame of mind which can bear the burden of skepticism and which does not panic when many of the thought habits are doomed to vanish" (p. 33). What cannot be lost here is that social struggle in the midst of oppression requires that we be able to stand on our own two feet, when necessary. Therefore, the process of radicalization must contend with both individual and social processes of transformation. In that, the individual and society must be understood as dialectically indivisible

in Freire's conceptualization of emancipatory life. This dialectical relationship of human beings and the world is fully in concert with Freire's pedagogical vision of consciousness, as a powerful mediating political force in the classroom and out in the world.

Humility, as an indispensable quality of a critical pedagogy, is also indispensable in the process of our radicalization. Freire (1983) linked this quality to the idea that radicalized individuals are subjects to the degree that we are able to perceive with humility both our historical and personal contradictions in an increasingly critical fashion. As such, we can never consider ourselves "the proprietors of history" but rather in a necessary communion with others "to participate creatively in the process by discerning transformations in order to aid and accelerate them" (p. 12). By so doing, as Freire illustrated repeatedly, we can become living examples of ethical beings, by engaging our conflicts and contradictions in ways that allow us to grow in awareness and apply our critical consciousness toward collective action, for the betterment of the world.

The question of faith in self and others is another tenet of Freire's pedagogy that impacts the process of radicalization, in that faith, coupled with a deep abiding love for life, comprises a significant foundational premise for the enactment of radical hope, in our teaching and living. This sense of radical faith is closely tied to our pedagogical and political capacities to believe in those social and material conditions of liberation that we are yet unable to see in the material realm. In essence, it is the political force generated through our collective efforts that provides us the impetus to fight for social justice in schools and society. This radical faith emerges through our critical belief in the radical possibilities of our collective reinvention.

Without such a deep sense of faith in what we might accomplish together, it is difficult to live with a critical sense of hope in the future. This understanding of radical hope, which much be anchored in concrete human possibilities, is a cornerstone of Freire's philosophy and way of life. And it is this critical hope and underlying faith in life that offers us an avenue by which we can live, dialectically, in what exists now and what might exist in the future to come, through our consistent love, commitment, and labor. For Freire, this radical hope develops in conjunction with the formation of critical consciousness and our radicalization, as we push against debilitating ideologies and structures that attempt to squelch our emancipatory dreams. With each transformative moment in the classroom or out in the world, our liberatory pedagogical resolve becomes stronger,

as our commitment to love deepens and our political grace matures, in the process of our on-going collective practice, as educators, activists, or community leaders for social justice.

This process of radicalization predisposes us to reevaluate constantly our lives, attitudes, behaviors, actions, decisions, and relationships in the world. It is through this dynamic process of change that conscientizaçao develops and evolves, as we come to engage courageously the oppressive forces that impact our lives, intervening with greater confidence and strength. By confronting together the risks inherent in our radicalization, we stop surrendering our lives, our children, and our communities to the decisions of others. Inseparable here is the political commitment and responsibility required to fight for liberation, so that our destinies rest squarely in our own hands.

The Educator and the Emergence of Consciousness

Whereas banking education anesthetizes and inhibits creative power, problem-posing education involves a constant unveiling of reality. The former attempts to maintain the submersion of consciousness; the latter strives for the emergence of consciousness and critical intervention in reality (Freire 1970, p. 52). Paulo Freire beckoned revolutionary educators and leaders to embrace the labor of teaching, as both a personal and a collective process. In order to create the conditions for genuine student empowerment, educators had to also embrace the on-going struggle for their own personal and collective empowerment. In this sense, Freire understood the pedagogical struggle for the transformation of material conditions had to be conceptualized in conjunction with the formation of critical awareness as both evolutionary and regenerative. And this pedagogical process could only be enacted by educators who themselves were committed to a larger project of social transformation. This political resolve was evident in Freire's life and throughout his writings, in that his pedagogy of love was founded upon an ethics and practice committed to an emancipatory vision, made possible through a growing and ever evolving political consciousness in the interest of freedom.

Freire understood that this entailed a radical choice that had to be made. No one could force anyone to undertake the risks and labor of a transformative commitment. It had to be a deeply sincere and radical decision that educators had to come to within themselves. In this respect,

Freire was incredibly thoughtful, open, and accepting of the difficulties and risks that such a decision meant in the life of radical educators. A true commitment to social justice had to entail a serious commitment, anchored in the knowledge of what such a choice required of us—an internal commitment to both a personal integrity and a lived solidarity, in our personal, pedagogical, and political relationships.

One might say that Freire viewed his labor as an educator as a calling to a path of liberation and an emancipatory vocation, which served as an expression of his raison d'être in the world as a historical subject and political being. With this in mind, he also touched the importance of becoming clear of our own purpose so that we can take charge of our praxis.

> In my case, I am in the world because I would like to accomplish one of my tasks which are to contribute to changing the world. I discovered that very early in my childhood. I could not have come to the world in order to preserve the world as it is. I do not believe in immobility in history. I want to make some contribution to change, to transformation because it is by transforming that we make it better. (Freire 1995, p. 19)

In many ways, Freire's pedagogy and life were deeply anchored to a political commitment and spiritual resolve, in that he sought to be in communion with students and communities whose lives were most vulnerable under capitalism. In many ways, he surrendered his life to the quest for knowledge in the interest of human liberation, recognizing that his life's work would be but one small contribution to the long historical struggle for freedom. In many of his writings, he often spoke to the question of fear and its impact, in that he recognized that fear can constrict and constrain the social agency of many well-meaning educators, obstructing their ability to fight with resolve for the transformation of educational practices, which they themselves saw as destructive to their teaching and the lives of their students.

Freire recognized that the trenchant individualism of mainstream life under capitalism, reinforced in the preparation of teachers and the structure of education, interfered with ability of many educators to move beyond individualistic interests to invest themselves in a larger collective vision of emancipatory possibility. Impaired often by conditioned fears of losing their livelihood or sense of personal independence or control, many educators persist in enacting contradictory forms of consciousness that

derail the collective movement necessary to transform schools and society. As witness to his own life and that of others, Freire understood that a solid commitment to liberation does not diminish our personal sovereignty, but rather enhances personal empowerment through the political grace and maturity generated from our on-going communal participation in social struggle. This is directly tied to the manner in which critical praxis and the solidarity it informs works to disrupt the isolation and alienation engendered by hegemonic institutions. As such, through our collective commitment to struggle with others against oppression, we open ourselves to the development and evolution of collective consciousness and the knowledge necessary to overcome the limitations of oppressive forces that limit emancipatory possibilities.

As such, it is through our genuine commitment to social struggle that we find the wherewithal from which to build our human capacity as activists—a capacity which enhances both the quantity and quality of our pedagogical and political resolve. This emergence of consciousness occurs through our individual and collective actions, in the name of justice and freedom. Accordingly, this emancipatory process can work to widen our rationality, providing us glimpses into the unlimited possibilities for reinventing our world. In contrast to hegemonic or fixed epistemologies of power that dominate schools and society, Freire advocated for an evolving political consciousness imbued with the courage to dream new ways of learning, living, and loving in the world.

Yet despite our most heartfelt commitment, Freire viewed the fight for our liberation as an arduous path that requires enormous self-vigilance and personal determination, given the powerful forces of negation at work in the world that limit and restrict our lives as subjects of history and cultural citizens. Through the subordination of the majority of the world's population, those in power have created a closed meritocratic system of capital that preserves inequalities and social exclusions. Through the advancement of positivist assumptions and exclusionary paradigms that today privilege of science, technology, engineering and mathematics, the majority of the world's population is more and more excluded from decision that mark the destinies of our communities.

Hence, our personal struggles—particularly for those us from working-class and racialized populations—are as demanding as the larger societal struggles we wage. In many ways, this may be understood as the dialectical manifestation of the oppressed-oppressor contradiction, given the

manner that structures of banking education and the culture industry constrict the intellectual and political formation of students from oppressed communities. As such, the pedagogical formation of teachers and students often echoes a resounding need for a critical dialogical process that invites us, at all levels, to reflect deeply on the ethics of our practice and the consequences of our actions with respect to questions of inequality. This also often requires from us renewed commitment to the transformation of consciousness and significant shifts in how we comprehend and respond to our world.

Through our development of critical consciousness, we, as teachers and students, can shift away from singular notions of truth, toward a plurality of awareness where simultaneous truths exist as contextual and relational phenomena—cultural truths often thwarted by hegemonic epistemologies that can blind us from seeing the wisdom and power that lies beyond hegemonic beliefs. Often these epistemicides exist camouflaged in commonsensical rhetoric that presents truth as fixed, obfuscating oppressive policies and practices that perpetuate human suffering. In contrast, critical consciousness opens the field of interpretation and analysis to shed light on the hidden curriculum of schooling and official transcripts of society that conserve the interests of the status quo and devalue the lives of the oppressed.

As is evident in his writings, Freire was an ardent believer that education could serve as a political vehicle for the formation of social consciousness. However, for teachers to enter effectively in such a process also requires great personal perseverance, discernment, and patience in their own pedagogical and political radicalization as agents of social change. For Freire, education constitutes an act of love precisely because it requires our personal investment as teachers in the lives of our students, in ways that also require our full presence as evolving human beings in the classroom. Freire (1998a) describes this "presence" as that which "can reflect upon itself, that knows itself as presence, that can intervene, can transform, can speak of what it does, but that can also take stock of, compare, evaluate, give value to, decide, break with, and dream" (p. 26). To develop the power of this presence, we must address our conflicts and contradictions, if we are to be able to support our students in engaging theirs. Moreover, this "demands constant vigilance over ourselves so as to avoid being simplistic, facile, and incoherent" (p. 51). Generally, this form of self-vigilance can also help to keep us supple of spirit and humble in our approach to the difficulties faced by our students and their families.

It can almost go without saying that a deeply humanist philosophy is at the center of Freire's (1983) articulations of pedagogy and social consciousness. In Education for Critical Consciousness, he summarized his perspective on this question.

> The humanist aspect is not abstract. It is concrete and rigorously scientific. This ism is not based on vision of an ideal human being, separated from the world, the portrait of an imaginary person. It is a humanism concerned with the humanization of men and women, rejecting all forms of manipulation as the contradiction of liberation. This humanism which sees men and women in the world and in time, "mixed in" with reality, is only true humanism when it engages in action to transform the structures in which they are reified. This humanism refuses both despair and naïve optimism, and is thus hopefully critical. Its critical hope rests on an equally critical belief, the belief that human beings can make and remake things, that they can transform the world. A belief then that human beings, by making and remaking things and transforming the world, can…become more fully human. (p. 145)

The political formation of consciousness and the pedagogical practices necessary for this formation must then encompass this humanizing ethos—an ethos that moves us away from egoism, fatalism, arrogance, dogmatism, sectarianism, determinism, and all forms of ideological traps that can imprison our minds and derail the intimacy of our relationship with democracy. As such, Freire's pedagogy of love reflects an expansive belief in the power of social consciousness and a deep abiding faith in the emancipatory potential of our personal and political labor, as empowered human beings. Further, this points to a living pedagogical process that derives meaning and purpose from our material existence and, as such, recognizes that in order to exist free, we must be willing to struggle together to contend with our right to both personal autonomy and communal sovereignty, as we embrace simultaneously our joint stewardship of our lives, communities, and the world.

Note

1. Reference here is to a line from the poem Caminante No Hay Camino by Spanish poet, Antonio Machado.

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CHAPTER 5

Critical Pedagogy Against the Privatization of Culture and Politics: "Privilege-Checking," "Virtue-Signaling," and "Safe Spaces"

Kenneth J. Saltman

Growing material and symbolic precarity is being driven by economic inequality, the devastation of global warming, the threat of nuclear annihilation, and the failure of politics to address these existential threats. Growing material precarity is amplified by crises in a number of symbolic domains that have traditionally provided people with the means to act on and shape their social world. News media is beset by crises of credibility as digital manipulation, social media takeover, and corporate media consolidation has resulted in commercial content and punditry replacing journalism and rising authoritarian leaders aim to discredit journalism. Following forty years of neoliberal hegemony, liberal electoral politics faces a crisis of legitimacy as it appears to have failed to provide citizens with the means to effect policy. Education faces crises of credibility as decades of systemic defunding have been paired with anti-intellectual, anti-critical, and punitive test and accountability regimes and privatizations. Rather

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than providing the means to interpret and act on the world education has been eroded through instrumentalism and vocationalism propelled by the neoliberal privatization and accountability movements. In the face of material and symbolic precarity and the erosion of the traditional mechanisms for collective agency, people grasp for certainty. This chapter focuses on how in the face of precarity and uncertainty certain strains of progressive thought have fallen prey to concepts that frame politics through the essentialized body, the personal, and the private domain. I contend that the allure of the false certainty of the body undermines the capacity of progressives to challenge oppression.

In what follows, I discuss three expressions about symbolic power and social privilege that have wide usage and popularity in online media culture and everyday speech but that are largely unused in scholarly academic discourse. Two of these expressions, "privilege checking" and "safe space," can be found in campus projects sponsored by student groups and offices of institutional diversity and inclusion that aim to influence campus culture. The expression "virtue-signaling" refers to the act of expressing online outrage about injustice by a privileged person to other privileged people in order to elevate symbolic standing.

Both online and on campus, the terms "privilege checking" and "safe space" belie an effort to educate students and others into speech and behavioral practices that are intended to represent the symbolic interests of historically oppressed minorities. While class, racial, ethnic, gender, sexual, and other forms of historical privilege are all too real, destructive, and determining of life opportunities, I am questioning here how, since the 1990s, efforts to challenge privilege have moved away from public engagement and toward private and personal forms of redress. The implications of this are that progressives are inadvertently fueling the opposition while undermining their capacity to forge social justice projects. For example, as White supremacy becomes increasingly public in its expressions, anti-racism is taking private and individualized forms. What is at stake here is not only that the private form of anti-racism is incapable of contributing to a left politics capable of defending public forms of democracy. What is also at stake is that these private forms of anti-racism are inadvertently ceding public space and public discourse to White supremacist, White nationalist, xenophobic, and fascist political expressions and movements. In so doing, private forms of antioppresive

expression redefine politics in ways that exacerbate the neoliberal evacuation of the very concept of the public and redefine culture in forms that are at odds with the public use of reason for collective benefit.

The different terms ask different things of culturally subordinate and dominant individuals. Privilege-checking largely asks members of historically privileged and culturally dominant groups to recognize their social advantage in the course of dialogue with subordinate groups. At times, the injunction to "check your privilege" is less of a request for reflection or recognition of the subordinate status of minorities than a way to end the exchange. For example, a widely referred to Web site blog from 2006 provides a guide to checking your privilege that includes the recommendations to, "learn to listen rather than speak" (Blog.shrub.com). In this case, the request of the party claiming subordinate status asks that the party alleged to possess privilege withdraw from dialogue. The logic here is that the historically oppressed person's group has been silenced and now it is the privileged person's group's time for silence. The tendency of the call to "check your privilege" as a way to end the exchange and silence the alleged oppressor shuts down a political and public conception of culture as a form of dialogic albeit unequal exchange.

While privilege itself is a collective phenomenon pertaining to groups, the injunction to "check your privilege" positions the resistance work of cultural politics as a "clap back" done by an individual to another individual recipient of privilege. The call for "privilege checking" differs from cultural production activity that calls for collective action to address the structures and systems that produce and affirm symbolic hierarchies. Privilege-checking is an individual response to a public problem.

Often, the call for privilege-checking represents what Angela Nagle refers to in *Kill All Normies* as "Virtue Signaling"—a competition for moral superiority among the privileged in which online expressions of outrage at oppression are far less intended to mobilize anti-oppressive politics than they are intended to symbolically bolster the standing of the speaker/writer. Similarly, Phoebe Moltz Bovy describes the call to check your privilege as, "more typically, it's a way for someone privileged to play self-appointed spokesperson for the marginalized, so as to win a sensitivity competition with others similarly aloof" (p. 3). Virtue-signaling is an individualized strategy for symbolic dominance intended to mark the speaker's purity by targeting the speech of other progressives as insufficiently pure. The aim is to shame and silence. To be clear, I am not

arguing that there is never a place to silence or shame. For example, Chantal Mouffe provides a conception of radically democratic political community that necessarily excludes political identities that are defined by their anti-democratic values. However, virtue signally is a practice that erodes political community, ethical commitments, and solidarity in the interest of staging a quasi-politics of online display.

The virtue-signaling maneuver of silencing does not recognize the pedagogical dimensions of culture as a counter-hegemonic practice that involves acting in a Gramscian sense as a permanent persuader to educate the opponent to the common sense of organic intellectuals. More specifically, "Privilege checking" tends to suture privilege to identity, concealing rather than revealing the fictive nature of identity formation and undermining the pedagogical possibilities in rearticulating oppressive identity positions in anti-oppressive forms.

In the 1990s, cultural studies encouraged us to fixate on criticizing essentialized identity. Peggy McIntosh's "Unpacking the Backback of White Privilege" called on Whites to examine their unexamined privilege. The late 1990s saw efforts to make Whiteness an examined racial category rather than a neutral default non-racial identity category. In addition to McIntosh, Ruth Frankenburg, Joe Kincheloe, and Henry Giroux (1998) among others called for making White racial identity the subject of critical scrutiny. The effort to center Whiteness as a racial category faced colorblind discourse across the political spectrum. The right called for colorblindness and the denial of race as the solution to racism. As well, some scholars on the left such as David Roediger called for the abolition of Whiteness. As Stuart Hall's work in the 1990s emphasized, the discourse of race is a floating signifier, a fiction, yet a fiction with real material effects. Giroux argued that colorblind discourse could not address White supremacy in its symbolic and material manifestations and he emphasized the centrality of pedagogy to the production of race. Giroux argued for recognizing that Whiteness as a racial category is pedagogically produced and can be produced in forms that are defined through anti-racism. Giroux, notably in the book *Channel Surfing*, contended that left calls for abandoning Whiteness affirmed broader discourses of Whiteness as defined through either liberal White guilt and shame or right-wing discourses of White pride, White power, and White supremacy. Giroux's argument for cultural pedagogical projects that redefine Whiteness through democratic commitments to equality and justice suggested a way of collectively addressing White supremacy. Here, the call

is for pedagogical projects that highlight the constructedness and discursivity of race that link the identity position of racial privilege to efforts to challenge the systemic reproduction of symbolic and material privilege. In other words, Giroux was calling for people to do cultural work that produced new identifications of Whiteness, forms that would be defined through anti-racism linked to other struggles for equality and justice. This is precisely what needs to be done.

However, since the 1990s identity politics discourse has largely slipped back into racial essentialism bolstered by the tendency for personalized forms of cultural politics. The beginning of the Obama era witnessed a liberal/neoliberal affirmation of colorblind discourse in which racial politics were persistently steered toward the personal and away from the political. Obama and Henry Louis Gates, Jr.'s "beer summit" typified the trend with the personal encounter between individuals positioned as the only form of redress. Similarly, the Trayvon Martin killing was met with Obama's statement that Martin could have been Obama's son. The impulse to personalize asks the listener to identify with and empathize with the victim of racial violence. Yet, for a growing minority of the country the personalization of politics fed not into empathy but dreams of violence fueled by a fear of lost personal power and displacement of Whites by non-Whites, Jews, Muslims, immigrants, and foreigners. Meanwhile, institutional and extrajudicial White supremacist murders of black men continued to expand. Overt White supremacy and expressions of White pride and White nationalism have entered mainstream public discourse and political discourse with record levels of hate incidents, overt xenophobia, and race-baiting political statements. In other words, White supremacist discourse has become increasingly public in its efforts at pedagogical engagement and persuasion as anti-racism has embraced the private, the personal, feelings, and the body. As the overpass banners, marching slogans, and graffiti illustrate, essentialized White identity is proud and defensive, positioning not just difference as the enemy but the liberal White alignment of Whiteness with guilt and shame. Liberals and White supremacists share a tendency to essentialize racial identity.

Like privilege-checking the "safe space" makes anti-oppressive politics personal, individual, and tied to the body. The concept of the "safe space" draws a division between designated safe spaces that are places for oppressed minorities to talk with, be counseled by, or confide in a trained ally. Designated safe spaces such as a faculty member's office marked with a sticker earned from a safe space training promote a conception of

the campus space generally and the classroom in particular as dangerous space. The safe space needs its constitutive outside and that outside, the rest of the campus, is, as Laura Kipnis observes, fraught with peril. The danger comes especially from speech that is alleged to make somebody feel uncomfortable or traumatized.

Like the "safe space," the student "affinity group" is a growing trend in K-12 and higher education that addresses inequality and injustice through a privatized remedy of voluntary association. In place of political movement or collective remedy in the institution that involves all students, such as incorporating anti-oppressive pedagogies into the curriculum, affinity groups have minority students form their own closed support groups defined through identity categories. Distinct from youth groups, affinity groups are being promoted as a social justice remedy justified on the grounds of personal emotional comfort for the oppressed, an affirmation of identity, and a "safe space" for those who are different to share their experiences. Such therapeutic emotional support comes at the cost of failing to confront the oppressive dimension of the institution while allowing the institution to treat oppression as a problem that starts and ends with the oppressed. By taking an affirmational rather than deconstructive approach to identity, affinity groups tend to make group differences appear to be natural and ahistorical rather than pedagogically constituted, political, and infused with power relations. What is more, the privatized affinity group makes the public problems of oppression and difference matters that cannot be publicly discussed and debated lest the speaker feels discomfort and anxiety. As experience is celebrated as transparently true anchored in the authenticity of identity and the body, these groups largely eschew theory that would trouble experience, the identity category, and the relationship between the self and the social. Within the logics of personal comfort and psychological trauma, the civic obligation to publicly contest injustice withers even as the impulse for politics made into personal indignation expands. Grounding difference in the body and its affect, centering the personal and emotion, affinity groups and safe spaces foster modes of social interaction at odds with public culture.

Oddly, at a moment when ubiquitous screens provide readily accessible hyper-violent, exploitative, and sexual imagery, ordinary speech or university classroom lessons asking students to question themselves and their society traumatize them. If the safe space is the safe place to speak about contentious or traumatic issues related to identity, then the rest of campus is strung with tripwires that could at any moment unsettle private

comforts of selfhood. Again, what is particularly odd about the minefield of identity on campus is that identity, at least gender and sexual identity, is openly recognized as a social construct, performance, and is subject to revision and questioning. What is it that makes such fragility of self out of subjects who have no foundational essence to trouble? Why has emotional comfort and protection from unsettling thought become sacrosanct in public culture? Why has cultural politics become so personalized?

Personalization is in part the result of a culture of atomization fostered by neoliberal ideology in which the pursuit of self-interest has been successfully made common sense. Yet cultural politics has taken a particular form involving emotion, the body, and a rejection of theory and particularly theory that emphasizes that discursive constructs are subject to struggle and that such struggle has educative practice at its core.

These expressions that demand justice do so in forms that presume that culture and politics are private, personal, and bodily affairs. Three factors are contributing to the privatization of cultural politics: first the erosion of public space; second the remaking of politics through the body; third the related turn back to totalizing identity categories and essentialism.

Perhaps what has changed since the 1990s is the tendency for liberal guilt and White supremacy to be experienced and expressed in personalized forms that ground the "truth" of race in bodies and feelings. If the demand for privilege-checking represents the personalized form of the liberal guilt position, perhaps nothing better illustrates the White supremacist position than the marchers in Charlotte in 2017 chanting "Jew will not replace us." The threat to White supremacists is existential. The chant highlights the White male fear of physical replacement in the society and workplace and identification of the racial threat as a corporeal one to be destroyed. It is specifically this personalized and corporeal form of race hate that Trump exploits in targeting Muslims, Mexicans, blacks, etc. The proliferation of a sense of physical insecurity and personal anxiety is of course fueled by material conditions that have continued to radically exacerbate inequalities in wealth and income. Economic inequality is accompanied by the gutting of the public sphere and other non-repressive forms of collective security such as civil society associations and organizations. Material security is left to the individual who must buy a gun, a gym membership, start a business. The production of symbolic insecurity is overwhelming from the exclusionary social Darwinism, relentless consumerism and lack-hounding propagated through media culture to the hyper-competitiveness in education typified by testing fetishism and

cutthroat college admissions even as the highest levels of education now assure only massive student loan debt but not a career and income.

Material and symbolic precarity and insecurity are fueling subjective states of despair and anxiety and an educational and intellectual crisis is depriving subjects of the intellectual and linguistic means to interpret and comprehend the broader forces and structures producing precarity. The incapacity to name, express, theorize, and comprehend the threats to the self, leave individuals in desperate straits with little recourse other than numbing the pain or lashing out, often through physical violence. As well, material and symbolic insecurity and precarity are exacerbated by the market exchange that suggests that all things are moored only by their economic equivalence (Adorno). As Adorno pointed out, numbers falsely promise material groundings as the ideology of positivism promotes quantification as having a unique purchase on truth.

Similarly, the seeming solidity and certainty of the direct experience of the body offer a false guarantee of truth. As I have detailed, elsewhere the legacy of positivist educational reform has recently turned to locate truth in the body and learning in the flesh through dominant reform policy and technologies such as biometric pedagogy, grit, smart drugs that reject mediation, dialogue, and thinking in the pedagogical process. The physical grounding of truth is perhaps why the expression of "discomfort" with the discursive positions of others has such power. Or why an experience of disagreement and confrontation with an argument that calls self-certainty into question is increasingly experienced as traumatic and thought to cause harm. The flip side of the same assumption is that a campus speaker ought to be physically assaulted as an existential threat. Rather than contest Charles Murray's eugenic arguments with better arguments, protesters beat him up as if the argument and the body are the same things. As rational public discourse becomes a perilous proposition and safe harbor can only be sought in the private shelter of the safe space and the body, the public is opened to bigots who promise to use their strong bodies to protect weak ones and to annihilate those bodies deemed a threat.

Contrary to the privatized conception of politics that grounds politics in essentialized identity, critical pedagogy allows students to theorize and interpret not only the self as a social and political product, the social as constituted by class and cultural antagonism, but also knowledge and learning in relation to the social and political forces and struggles that make them meaningful. As such critical pedagogy creates the conditions

for knowledge to be a source of collective political agency. Such struggles by different groups with unique aspirations for emancipation can be articulated through common efforts for a radically democratic community.

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CHAPTER 6

Teaching as Possibility: A Light in Dark Times

Maxine Greene and Sheila L. Macrine

Borrowing from a bitter poem by Bertolt Brecht, Hannah Arendt entitled a book of essays, *Men in Dark Times* (Arendt 1968). The poem, "To Posterity," she explained, spoke of the horrors taking place in the early days of Nazi rule in Germany and of the absence of outrage. Things were covered up, she wrote, by "highly efficient talk and double talk," and she stressed how important it always is to have a space in which light can be shed on what is happening and what is being said. Granted, our times may not be marked by the kinds of monstrosities associated with the Nazis, but dark times are no rarity, even in American history. In the darkest moments, she wrote, we still "have the right to expect some illumination…and such illumination may well come less from theories and concepts than from the uncertain, flickering, and often weak light that some men and women, in their lives and their works, will kindle under all circumstances…" (Arendt 1968, p. xi). I view our times as shadowed by violations and erosions taking place around us: the harm being done to

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children; the eating away of social support systems; the "savage inequalities" in our schools; the spread of violence; the intergroup hatreds; the power of media; and the under-mining of arts in the lives of the young. And then I think of the "light that some men and women will kindle under almost all circum-stances" and that makes me ponder (and sometimes wonder at) the work that is and might be done by teachers at this problematic moment in our history.

There is doubt, unquestionably, within and outside the schools, and there is dread. The poet Adrienne Rich has written some remarkable poetry about the different kinds of dread experienced by different people. When asked how, in the face of this, she could maintain such an affirmative attitude, she said, "If poetry is forced by the conditions in which it is created to speak of dread and of bitter, bitter conditions, by its very nature, poetry speaks to something different. That's why poetry can bring together those parts of us which exist in dread and those which have the surviving sense of a possible happiness, collectivity, community, a loss of isolation" (Moyers 1995, p. 342).

Arendt and Rich, each in her distinctive voice, are speaking of the capacity of human beings to reach beyond themselves to what they believe should be, which might be in some space they bring into being among and between themselves. The two remind us (by speaking of an uncertain light and of something different) of what it signifies to imagine not what is necessarily probable or predictable, but what may be conceived as possible. All of those who have parented children or taught the young may resonate with this on some level, particularly when they recall the diverse, often unexpected shapes of children's growing and becoming. Many may find a truth in Emily Dickinson's saying that "The Possible's slow fuse is lit/By the Imagination" (Dickinson 1960, p. 688). Imagination, after all, allows people to think of things as if they could be otherwise; it is the capacity that allows a looking through the windows of the actual toward alternative realities.

It is obvious enough that arguments for the values and possibilities of teaching acts (no matter how enlightened) within the presently existing system cannot be expressed through poetry, even as it is clear that the notion of "teaching as possibility" cannot simply be asserted and left to do persuasive work. The contexts have to be held in mind, as does what strikes many of us as a backward leaning, inhumane tendency in our society today. For all the apparent resurgence of Deweyan progressive thinking in the school renewal movement, parent bodies and community

representatives in many places are explicitly at odds with what they believe is being proposed. They respond more readily to the media-sustained talk of standards and technology than they do to the idea of multiple patterns of being and knowing, to a regard for cultural differences, to an attentiveness when it comes to voices never listened to before.

Teachers who are consciously and reflectively choosing themselves as participants in school renewal are being challenged to clarify their beliefs and (more and more often) to defend their practices. If the discourse they are developing can be infused with the kinds of metaphor that reorient ordinary commonsense thinking, if they can break through more often what John Dewey called "the crust of conventionalized and routine consciousness" when attention is turned to the school, neighborhood, or district discussions may be moved beyond the customary and the self-regarding (Dewey 1954, p. 183). If the fears and suffering of local people, some of them feeling themselves to be ignorant and powerless can be taken into account, what Paulo Freire called a "pedagogy of hope" might even take form, and dialogue of a different sort might take the place of the language of prescription or complaint or demand (Freire 1968). If teachers can begin to think of themselves as among those able to kindle the light Arendt described, or are among those willing to confront the dread and keep alive the sense of "a possible happiness," they might find themselves revisioning their life projects, existing proactively in the world.

Paying heed to the repetitive drumbeat of current concerns—for professional development, standard-setting, authentic assessment, an enriched knowledge base, technological expertise, teachers cannot but occasionally ask themselves "to what end?" There are, of course, the official announcements and prescriptions. There are presumably obvious "goods" linked to each statement of an educational goal. Most often, we realize, the benefits of reform are linked to the nation's welfare, or to market expansion, or to technological dominance in a competitive world. Suppose, however, we were to summon up an articulation of purpose suggested by Rich's "possible happiness, collectivity, community, a loss of isolation." The words imply a reaching out for individual fulfillment among others in (perhaps) the kind of community in the making that John Dewey called democracy. They are, to a degree, abstract and metaphorical, but, speaking indirectly as they do, they respond to some of the evident lacks in our society, to the spaces where people feel solitary and abandoned, to domains of felt powerlessness.

If our purposes were to be framed in such a fashion, they would not exclude the multiple-literacies and the diverse modes of understanding young persons need if they are to act knowledgeably and reflectively within the frameworks of their lived lives. Situatedness; vantage point; and the construction of meanings all can and must be held in mind if teachers are to treat their students with regard, if they are to release them to learn how to learn. Their questions will differ, as their perspectives will differ, along with their memories and their dreams. But if teachers cannot enable them to resist the humdrum, the routine, or what Dewey called the "anesthetic," they will be in danger of mis-educative behavior, ending in cul-de-sacs rather than in openings (Dewey 1931, p. 40). If situations cannot be created that enable the young to deal with feelings of being manipulated by outside forces, there will be far too little sense of agency among them. Without a sense of agency, young people are unlikely to pose significant questions, the existentially rooted questions in which learning begins. Indeed, it is difficult to picture learner-centered classrooms if students' lived situations are not brought alive, if dread and desire are not both given play. There is too much of a temptation otherwise to concentrate on training rather than teaching, to focus on skills for the workplace rather than any "possible happiness" or any real consciousness of self. Drawn to comply, to march in more or less contented lockstep (sneakered, baseball-capped, T-shirted), familiar with the same media-derived referents, many youngsters will tacitly agree to enter a community of the competent, to live lives according to "what is." There are, of course, young persons in the inner cities, the ones lashed by "savage inequalities" (Kozol 1991) the ones whose very schools are made sick by the social problems the young bring in from without (O'Connor 1996). Here, more frequently than not, are the real tests of "teaching as possibility" in the face of what looks like an impossible social reality at a time when few adults seem to care. There are examples, in Mike Rose's work on "possible lives," for instance, where he expresses his belief that "a defining characteristic of good teaching is a tendency to push on the existing order of things" (Rose 1995).

In Toni Morrison's *The Bluest Eye*, the child Claudia is explaining her hatred of Shirley Temple dolls, to her the very exemplars of hatred are a world of objects, a world in which people yearn for possessions above all, including white china dolls for Black children. "I did not know why I destroyed those dolls," writes Claudia. "But I did know that nobody ever asked me what I wanted for Christmas. Had any adult with the power to

fulfill my desires taken me seriously and asked me what I wanted, they would have known that I did not want anything to own, or to possess any object. I wanted rather to feel something on Christmas day. The real question would have been, 'Dear Claudia, what experience would you like on Christmas?' I could have spoken up, 'I want to sit on the low stool in Big Mama's kitchen with my lap full of lilacs and listen to Big Papa play his violin for me alone.' The lowness of the stool made for my body, the security and warmth of Big Mama's kitchen, the smell of the lilacs, the sound of the music, and, since it would be good to have all of my senses engaged, the taste of a peach, perhaps, afterward" (Morrison 1970, p. 21). This cannot be attributed to teaching, but it is a "push on the existing order of things," and it may hold clues to what good teaching can be. Claudia is cared for harshly by her mother, but she is confident of her concern and of her love. She is, at least at that young age, able to resist the existing order of consumable and ownable things and to tap into some deeper need for what she calls "experience." Perhaps this cannot be taught, but Claudia seems to be an insight that underlies the insistences of the culture that has to do with being sensually alive and within a loving world.

This is not a purely fictional phenomenon. Too many teachers, by now, have read their students' journals and stories and poems; they have exposed themselves to many kinds of dread and many kinds of desire. Much of the suffering, much of the deprivation, is due, quite obviously, to economic and social injustices, but there is a sense in which imagination and desire can feed the recognition of the need to transform and, perhaps, the "passion to change" (Stevens 1937, p. 165). Imagination alters the vision of the way things are; it opens spaces in experience where projects can be devised, the kinds of projects that may bring things closer to what ought to be. Without such a capacity, even young people may resemble the inhabitants of the town of Oran Albert Camus described at the start of the plague, "where everyone is bored and devotes himself to cultivating habits." The point is made that you can get through the day without trouble once you have formed habits. In some other places, the narrator says, "People have now and then an inkling of something different" (Camus 1948, p. 4). They have had an intimation and that is so much to the good. He did not necessarily mean an intimation of the end of the plague and a return to normal life. He meant, perhaps, an intimation of mortality, of injustice that has to be struggled against, of silences that have to be acknowledged and at once overcome.

For us, that may imply a recognition, not solely of the human condition but of the contradictions in what we think of as a democratic society. Even to think about bringing about significant changes within the school is to contest on many levels the behaviorist, stratifying tendencies that still mark the culture as it impinges on the school. To encourage the young to develop visions of what might be and then recognize, against those visions, how much and what is lacking maybe is to strike against all sorts of easy platitudes that obscure the turmoil of change. Most of us realize that only when we envisage a better social order do we find the present one in many ways unendurable, and hence stir ourselves to repair it. The sight and description of the new schools at the present time—the Coalition Schools, the Charter Schools, and the New Vision Schools—make it uniquely possible to identify what is wrong with the traditional schools. All we need to do is to take heed of what can happen when a junior high school girl, caught in an overcrowded city school, visits one of the new theme schools. Abruptly, she may notice what is lacking in her own school: a brightly decorated classroom, small groups and family circles, and a breaking through of the forty-five-minute class period. Without witnessing a better state of things, she could not have realized what was lacking, what was wrong.

Sometimes, introduced to a reflective or a learning community, someone will become aware of the dearth of understanding in her/his own domain and of the blocks to knowing and to questioning. Sometimes, a teacher or a relative or a friend may pay heed, as does the singer Shug Avery in *The Color Purple* (Walker 1982). She suggests to Miss Celie a way of being without "that old white man" in her head, actually a way of becoming free. Celie writes: "Trying to chase that old white man out of my head. I been so busy thinking bout him I never truly notice nothing God make. Not a blade of corn (how it do that?) not the color purple (where it come from?) Not the little wild flowers. Nothing (Walker 1982, p. 25)." She, too, made aware of alternatives, can discover that "she feels like a fool" because of what she was never enabled to notice and about which she had never asked.

Inklings and intimations, of course, are not sufficient, as the townspeople in Oran discovered when they organized sanitary squads to fight the plague, "since they knew it was the only thing to do" (Camus, p. 120). Imagination is what imparts a conscious quality to experience and the realization that things do not repeat themselves that experience should not be expected to be uniform or frictionless. Imagination, moreover,

is enriched and stimulated through live encounters with others, through exposure to diverse vantage points and unfamiliar ways of looking at the world. Imagination should not, however, as Dewey warned, be permitted to run loose so that it merely builds "castles in the air" and lets "them be a substitute for an actual achievement which involves the pains of thought" (Dewey 1916, p. 404). Yes, there are distinctive moments made possible by the poetic imagination, but the social and ethical imagination is concerned for using ideas and aspirations to reorganize the environment or the lived situation.

Paulo Freire had this in mind when he wrote about the shaping of a critical discourse that showed adult learners "the lovelier world to which they aspired was being announced, somehow anticipated, in their imagination. It was not a matter of idealism. Imagination and conjecture about a different world than the one of oppression are as necessary to the praxis of historical 'subjects' (agents in the process of transforming reality) as it necessarily belongs to human toil that the worker or artisan first have in his or her head a design a 'conjecture,' of what he or she is about to make" (Freire 1992, p. 39). Freire believes that democratic education requires enabling ordinary people to develop their own language, derived from their readings of their own social realities, their own namings, and their own anticipations of a better state of things. We might return to the present use of storytelling, especially contextualized storytelling, by means of which young people explore the influences of social life on their becoming, of race and gender and ethnic membership, of traditions, of the stories told to them.

Dialogue can arise from storytelling in a shared classroom space, and out of dialogue and conjecture can come the making of projects also shared. They may be as simple and concrete as polling the neighborhood mothers on immunization of their babies, as rehabilitating rooms somewhere for homeless classmates, as volunteering for a tutoring program, as organizing street dances or a marching band. There is considerable talk these days of how fair societies may be nurtured in families, schools, workplaces, and congregations. Modern democracies, says Michael Sandel, can be nourished close to home, in settings where people experience and act upon accepted responsibility (Sandel 1996). One of his examples is of the civil rights movement, which actually began in small black Baptist churches in the south and progressed from there to a national movement. We might be reminded also of Vaclav Havel writing from prison

a decade ago. He found hope in small students' movements, ecological movements, and peace movements, because he believed that "human communality" begins in a "renaissance of elementary human relationships which new projects can at the very most only mediate" (Havel 1989, p. 371). This may well ascribe new importance to the school and to teachers willing to foster the values Havel talked about: "love, charity, sympathy, tolerance, understanding, self-control, solidarity, friendship, feelings of belonging, the acceptance of concrete responsibility for those close to one"—all with an eye on the social formations that decide the fate of the world. Freire, also thinking of how to move beyond the small community, the local, spoke about "the invention of citizenship," clearly with imagination in mind once again (Freire 1992, p. 29).

The processes of speaking, writing, and reading must be attended to; there must be reflectiveness with regard to the languages in use—the language of images, of technology, and of ordinary communication grounded in everyday life. The current interest in narrative and in the landscapes on which people's stories take shape is enabling many learners to explore their own idioms, to create projects by means of which they can identify themselves. To do that is inevitably to take the social setting into account, the social situation without which no self can come to be. We might recall Edward Said saying that no one is purely one thing that "labels like Indian, or woman, or Muslim, or American are not more than starting points, which if followed into actual experience for only a moment are quickly left behind" (Said 1991, p. 336). We need to listen to other echoes in the garden, he reminds us, to attend to the continuity of old traditions as well as to the connections only now being disclosed. Both require a consciousness of location, an awareness of both contemporaries and predecessors.

We are realizing how much the negotiation of identity today has to do with connectedness and membership, and the notion of participant membership has to feed into our conceptions of democratic citizenship. Visions of public spaces may open, if we allow them to, spaces where all kinds of persons can come together in collaborative concern for what is lacking or what is wrong and what needs to be improved or repaired. The greatest obstacle in the way, as Hannah Arendt saw it, is "thoughtlessness—the heedless recklessness or hope-less confusion or complacent repetition of truths which have become trivial and empty…" (Arendt 1958, p. 5). Clearly, this has pedagogical implications, as did Dewey's warning about a "social pathology" standing in the way of inquiry into social conditions.

"It manifests itself in a thousand ways," he wrote, "in querulousness, in impotent drifting, in uneasy snatching at distractions, in idealization of the long established, in a facile optimism assumed as a cloak, in glorification of things 'as they are' … " (Dewey 1927, p. 170). Again, there is the implied demand for attention to a "blue guitar," even as persons are asked to think about their own thinking, their own denials, and their own ends in view. Both Dewey and Arendt paid attention to the problem of impersonality and to the empty sociability taking over from community. Both spoke of business, consumerism, and (in time) of bureaucracy. Action and the sense of agency were crucial for both; their writings urged readers to appear before one another to allow something to take shape between them, a space where diverse beings could reach toward possibility.

Both knew that dialogue and communication were focal and, when conceivable, face-to-face communication, with persons addressing one another as who they were and not what they were. It was the lack of authentic communication, Dewey wrote, that led to the "eclipse of the public." He pointed out that Americans had at hand "the physical tools of communication as never before, but the thoughts and aspirations congruent with them are not communicated and therefore are not common. Without such communication, the public will remain shadowy and formless, seeking spasmodically for itself, but seizing and holding its shadow rather than its substance" (Dewey 1927, p. 142). Writing seventy years ago, Dewey may have anticipated the predicaments of a computerized society with a public transmuted into audience or listeners interested in consumption of ideas as well as goods. He might not have been surprised by the crotchety, of insulting telephone calls to the talk shows by the prayerful heaves at evangelists' meetings, the shouts at rock concerts, and the hoots and screams at football games. Certainly, people are entitled to make all sorts of sounds, to express themselves in multiple ways, but when the "thoughts and aspirations" Dewey sought are subsumed under noise and sound-bytes, teachers are challenged to pay heed.

Classroom preoccupations with efficacy or technical efficiency or even "world-class standards" will not solve the problem of communication or the "eclipse of the public." Nor will they suffice when it comes to consideration of the arts of practice, much less the arts and mystery of being human. The things covered up by "highly efficient talk and double talk" still call for many kinds of illumination (Dewey 1927). Teachers may well be among the few in a position to kindle the light that might illuminate the spaces of discourse and events in which young newcomers have

someday to find their ways. Dewey wrote that "democracy is a name for a life of free and enriching communion. It had its seer in Walt Whitman" (Dewey 1927, p. 184). 27 Whitman's "Song of Myself" comes insistently to mind, with its call for liberation and for equity! "Unscrew the locks from the doors," he wrote. "Unscrew the doors themselves from their jambs/Whoever degrades another degrades me,/And whatever is done or said returns at last to me./Through me the afflatus surging and surging, through me the current and index./I speak the pass-word primeval, I give the sign of democracy,/By God I will accept nothing which all cannot have their counterpart of on the same terms" (Dewey 1934, p. 53). Dewey knew this was not a definition of democracy, nor a series of slogans nor a sermon nor a lesson in political science. The function of art "has always been," he said, "to break through the conventionalized and routine consciousness." Art is what touches "the deeper levels of life," and when they are touched "they spring up as desire and thought. This process is art." And then "Artists have always been the real purveyors of the news, for it is not the outward happening in itself which is new, but the kindling by it of emotion, perception, and appreciation (Dewey 1954, p. 184).

It must be noted that Dewey affirmed the uses of the arts in the midst of a study of the public, and he spoke about the "deeper levels of life" at the end of the chapter called "Search for the Great Community." Not only was he emphasizing the place of art experiences in moving persons beyond what was fixed and stale and taken for granted. He was suggesting once again the importance of informing the state of social affairs with knowledge, intelligence, and the kinds of connections—past and present—that compose the fabric of what we have come to call the common world. Teachers, often troubled by charges of imposition of white, Western culture upon young people arriving from different worlds, are often at a loss when it comes to providing the kinds of shared cultural referents that help weave networks of relationship. There was a time when the Scriptures offered something in common, or the orations of statements such as those of Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln, or certain plays of Shakespeare, or folktales or (beginning in the nineteenth century) fictions capturing aspects of the American experience at sea, in the woods on the rivers, on the open roads. It is said today that television shows have replaced such common cultural holdings: "David Letterman," "The Today Show," and "Saturday Night Live" shape the culture's conversation, and the "deeper levels of life" are rolled over or ignored.

Teachers concerned about illumination and possibility know well that there is some profound sense in which a curriculum in the making is very much a part of a community in the making. Many are aware of the call on the part of hitherto marginal groups—ethnic minorities, women, gays, and lesbians—for an inclusion of their own traditions in what is sometimes thought of as the "core" of intellectual and artistic life. For all the dissonances and uneasiness, there is a demand for a kind of historical consciousness on the part of diverse persons within and outside of their associations. This signifies a recognition that the past is like a stream in which all of us in our distinctiveness and diversity participate every time we try to understand. There are, of course, thousands of silenced voices still, thousands of beings striving for visibility, thousands of interpretations still to be made, and thousands of questions to be posed.

The common world we are trying to create may be thought of as a fabric of interpretations of many texts, many images, and many sounds. We might think of interpreted experiences with such texts taking the place of a tradition in the old sense of canonical objectivity. When Hannah Arendt wrote about a common world, she put her stress on the innumerable perspectives through which that common world preweans itself and for which a common denominator can never be devised (Arendt 1958). In a classroom, this would mean acknowledgment of and recognition of the different biographical histories that affect the shaping of perspectives. More than in previous times, teachers are asked to confront and honor the differences even as they work for a free and responsible acceptance of the norms marking whatever community is in the making: concrete responsibility for one another, respect for the rights of others, solidarity, and regard for reflective habits of thought. At once, there are the ways of thinking and seeing that enable various young persons to decode and interpret what is made available: the ability to distinguish among the discourses in use, to have regard for evidence and experience, to be critically conscious of what is read and heard, to construct meanings in the diverse domains of their lives. "Be it grand or slender," said Toni Morrison in her Nobel Address, "burrowing, blasting or refusing to sanctify; whether it laughs out loud or is a cry without an alphabet, the choice word or the chosen silence, unmolested language surges toward knowledge, not its destruction. But who does not know of literature banned because it is interrogative; discredited because it is critical; erased because alternate? And how many are outraged by the thought of a self-ravaged tongue? Word-work is sublime because it is generative; it makes meaning

that secures our difference, our human difference—the way in which we are like no other life. We die. That may be the meaning of life. But we do language. That may be the measure of our lives" (Morrison 1996). This should apply to all the young, whoever they are, if—like Whitman and Morrison as well—we refuse at last to withhold recognition, to degrade or to exclude.

Michael Fischer, an ethnologist also concerned for connectedness, writes about the importance of the present tendency to encourage participation of readers themselves in the production of meaning. The conscious effort to move readers to respond to incompleteness and make connections becomes, he suggests, an ethical device attempting to activate in readers a "desire for communitas with others, while preserving rather than effacing differences" (Fischer 1986, p. 233). We might visualize interpretive encounters with Hawthorne's Hester Prynne daring to engage in speculative thought while living on the verge of the wilderness, Melville's Bartleby who "preferred not to," compared with "a piece of wreckage in the mid-Atlantic": Edith Wharton's Lily Bart, caught like a cog in the wheel of a material society. Or we might think of the narrator of Ellison's Invisible Man saying he has "whipped it all except the mind, the mind. And the mind that has conceived a plan of living must never lose sight of the chaos against which that pattern was conceived." Or the chaos due to nameless pollution and the falsifications of the media in De Lillo's White Noise, or Doctorow's cities with their denials and their cover-ups and their violations of children. Or Tillie Olsen's narrator standing behind her ironing board, hoping only that her daughter will be more than a dress beneath the iron. And so many other voices, Hispanic and Asian and Native American, all activating questions whose answers create no "common denominator," but which make each text deeper, richer, more expansive, yes, and more replete with mystery.

That, in part, suggests what is meant by teaching as possibility in these dark and constraining times. It is a matter of awakening and empowering today's young people to name, to reflect, to imagine, and to act with more and more concrete responsibility in an increasingly multifarious world. At once, it is a matter of enabling them to remain in touch with dread and desire, with the smell of lilacs and the taste of a peach. The light may be uncertain and flickering, but teachers in their lives and works have the remarkable capacity to make it shine in all sorts of corners and, perhaps, to move newcomers to join with others and transform. Muriel Rukeyser has written:

> Darkness arrives splitting the mind open. Something again
> Is beginning to be born. A dance is dancing me.
> I wake in the dark

(Fischer 1986, p. 233).

She offers a metaphor and a watchword. It may help us light the fuse.

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CHAPTER 7

Critical Pedagogies of Neoliberalism

Sheila L. Macrine

In 1925, Joseph Conrad presages our current neoliberal world when he wrote that, "*We live in difficult times, in times of monstrous chimeras and evil dreams and criminal follies*" (p. 279). As such, this chapter responds to Giroux's (2006) call to all public intellectuals to take action and to develop democratic emancipatory projects that challenge neoliberalism's power, dominance, and oppression, and to defend democracy, democratic public life and the public sphere in these uncertain times. Neoliberalism is an aggressive phase of capitalism that connotes a form of liberal politics that embraces market-based solutions to political and social problems. Sometimes referred to as 'late capitalism,' neoliberalism shapes the global economy and limits the power of democracies. Neoliberal capitalism seeks to 'encase' markets so that capitalism remains safe from certain forms of political interference (Slobodian 2018). Fisher (2009) writes that late capitalism, a political phenomenology, creates, 'a system that is unresponsive, impersonal, centerless, abstract and fragmentary' (p. 64). One of the crafters of neoliberalism, Friedrich Hayek, imagined a financial organization that would be independent of any one country and would

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set the rules of the market. Hayek envisioned a separation of cultural and economic governments to make sure that democratic enthusiasts did not interfere with the functioning of markets across the world. In other words, a world that is a borderless market 'kept safe from mass demands for social justice and redistributive equality by the guardians of the economic constitution' (Slobodian 2018, p. 1). Today, neoliberalism's global pervasiveness permeates all spaces by placing property and profits above all and beyond the reach of democracy. In response, Giroux urges all academics, scholars, and activists to be seen and to see themselves as 'public intellectuals' who provide an indispensable service to the world, and to resist the narrow confines of academic labor by becoming multi-literate in a global democracy in ways that not only allow access to new information and technologies but also enable us to become border-crossers (Giroux 2009; Macrine 2016). This chapter responds to this call by working to expose neoliberalism's trick pedagogies: concepts, products, policies, and politics. Neoliberalism (NL) remains a 'phantom-word' to many, thought to be too academic and remote, and too unclear in meaning, to set the pulse of the opposition racing and responding (Chakrabortty 2008). Sadly, the specter and wraith of neoliberalism have become so blindly accepted, ingrained, and pervasive, that we seldom even recognize it as an ideology.

A few years ago, I wrote about *Pedagogies of Neoliberalism* (2016), which delineated some of NL's 'hidden-curricula.' Expanding on this, I reconceptualized this framework as *'Critical Pedagogies of Neoliberalism'* as a way to highlight the need for an active(ist) critical responses to neoliberalism's destructive politics and policies. This evolution is rooted in Freire's pedagogical model of the *'oppressors' and the 'oppressed'* dichotomy. Further, *Critical Pedagogies of Neoliberalism* embrace the idea of 'critical praxis' as an informed action—where there is always a *balance* between theory and action as a *critical* response. This type of sociopolitical consciousness building can help us to critically analyze the political, economic, and social forces that are shaping our lives (Watts and Flanagan 2007).

I begin by reconceptualizing the 'pedagogies of neoliberalism' (Macrine 2016) by explicating further examples of the 'pedagogies of neoliberalism' and advocate for informed-actions through critical-praxis responses in the form of '*Critical Pedagogies of Neoliberalism*.' As a result, by recognizing the effects of neoliberalism we expose and validate how its sociopolitical forces of 'profits at all costs' exacerbate oppression, i.e.,

racism, prejudice, discrimination, and genderism. In this way, we can position 'critical sociopolitical consciousness building' as a key element for the positive development of action (Coll et al. 1996). This happens when we are able to recognize the contexts in which neoliberalism permeates our culture, whether at globally, at home, in politics, in finance or in schools. As a result, the *Critical Pedagogies of Neoliberalism* can help to 'inform,' 'educate,' 'motivate' and at the same time, build strategies to 'inhibit,' 'prevent,' and 'revolt' against the sociopolitical forces of neoliberalism's profits at all costs.

The approach to this new iteration of my political project is seen through the lens of a critical feminist educator. In an effort to respond to the aforementioned neoliberal challenges, I developed a conceptual framework for naming, identifying, organizing, and evaluating/critiquing the broad range of *neoliberal pedagogical tools* that 'mediate constructions of consent and coercion' among the neoliberal centers of power, including nation-states, citizen-subjects and in all forms of social life. I also differentiate between formal pedagogy, which refers to teaching and learning inside the classroom, and an informal 'pedagogy' which is taken in the broader sense that plays a key role in transmitting and mediating dominant ideologies, as well as, notions concerning national and cultural identity through the reproduction and maintenance of particular discourses and languages (Bernstein 1999; Macrine 2016).

Initially, I theorized the '*Pedagogies of Neoliberalism*' (Macrine 2016) as a mechanism to name and expose the functional way that neoliberalism reproduces the social status quo through, 'informal and explicit processes of hegemonic-socialization' to cultural, political, and economic structures in society (Kliebard 2004; Macrine 2016). Informal pedagogies and hegemony work hand-in-hand as 'hidden-curricula' through daily exposure to expectations and routines, as well as, transmission of norms and values of the dominant society to citizens and students alike. In other words, such hidden curriculum covertly inculcates dominant norms, values, and dispositions through the everyday interactions and expectations. These curricula or messages organize the ongoing experiences and act to assure the ideological reproduction of society (Apple 2004). In this way, the hidden curriculum anticipates the conditions of domination and the wretchedness that citizens will encounter not only in the workplace, but also in social life generally (García and De Lissovoy 2013, p. 1). These hidden pedagogies create spaces for the neoliberal governance of all *social order and warrants close scrutiny* (Kalleberg and Vallas 2018).

That said, the *Pedagogies of Neoliberalism* (Macrine 2016), are by nature, obscured, or unacknowledged, which means that many of its 'lessons and messages' are difficult to perceive or measure for any number of reasons. These pedagogies have significantly intensified austerity politics, weakened gender equality, hollowed public education, and harshened immigration policy. Such that, long-standing policies may become so deeply embedded in a society or school culture, that people become immune or simply do not question them. Many neoliberal ideologies, values, economic policies, and practices are shaped, conned, conveyed, and adopted through networks or constellations (Peck 2013) of both top-down and bottom-up hegemonic levers by way of the media, politics, education, policy institutes, etc., (Macrine 2017). As a result, our neoliberal turn (Brown 2003) transforms and acquiesces societies, spaces, subjectivities, and modes of organizing toward 'an increasingly broad range of neoliberal policy experiments, institutional innovations and politico-ideological projects' (Brenner and Theodore 2002, p. 28). These neoliberal turns are achieved through various pathways (i.e., think tanks, policy briefs, political agendas, universities, schools, etc.).

These neoliberal pedagogical 'lessons' teach citizen-subjects and nation-states alike that their place in this new world order is to either comply and toe the line or suffer the consequences of failure and abject poverty, with no one to blame but themselves. Rather than the promise of democratic citizenship, neoliberalism's uncritical lessons promote profits over people (Chomsky 2011) by valuing economic dominance, exploitation, enterprise, and entrepreneurship at all costs (McCafferty 2010, p. 543).

Still, the outward attractiveness of neoliberalism's individual freedom, prosperity, and growth makes it challenging (Smith 2010) for the public to realize that neoliberalization is designed to benefit only a very small class of people and certain nation-states (Harvey 2007). Such a worldview makes it easier to justify the thought that some people deserve much more than others because, after all, the neoliberal refrain is that we are all responsible for our own destinies (Mentan 2016, p. 153).

To this end, a critical and discursive analytic framework aimed at unpacking the bricolage of neoliberalization (Macrine 2016; Mullen et al. 2013) and advocating for a critical response evolved into the '*Critical Pedagogies of Neoliberalism*.' This re-conceptualization, I believe, helps to complicate, respond, and advocate for action to the various

neoliberal constructions of knowledge production, reproductions, and recontextualizations. Within the neoliberal frame, these informal pedagogies are selected, disseminated, appropriated, and repositioned to become new global knowledges (Bernstein 1990; Macrine 2016; Macrine 2017) that teach the essence of the new world order while positioning the learner: citizen-subjects/nation-states as reifications of economic capital (Patrick 2013). By connecting the dots, it is theorized that this new framework, *Critical Pedagogies of Neoliberalism*, can help to name, expose, and critique the hegemony of neoliberalism's pedagogical tools that both teach, and from a critical perspective, give rise to new social imaginaries and actions in protecting the public sphere, popular sovereignty, and human rights (Macrine 2016; Taylor 2004). Finally, such a framework can help to critically expose and respond to how the neoliberalism's pedagogies are insidiously manifested in all walks of life including education, media, economy, labor market, etc. and explain how these implications hinder our rights to democracy and social justice.

Formal and Informal Pedagogy

General notions of pedagogy include the teaching/learning events in the classroom; however, there is a broader notion of pedagogy that identifies any intentional and/or systematic enterprise, usually outside of traditional or formal schooling, in which content is adapted to unique needs and situations to maximize learning (Kleis 1973, p. 6). According to Basil Bernstein (1990), pedagogic discourses or 'devices of transmission' are relayed through symbolic modalities of practice that construct different forms of consciousness and identity for different categories of learners. A pedagogic device is a discourse of interaction that not only constructs 'particular knowledge and skills to be acquired, but also particular social identities and orientations to meaning for learners…in this way, the outside knowledge becomes inside knowledge' (Bernstein 1990, p. 94). For Bernstein, pedagogic discourse is produced through three hierarchically constructs: the field of production, re-contextualization, and reproduction. For example, he notes that certain institutions, such as universities, research institutes, and schools, produce newly specialized and complex forms of knowledge which constitute the fields of production that are then interpreted and turned into pedagogical knowledge in order to be accessible and appropriate for different contexts.

So, production involves new knowledges, other pedagogic tools involve selecting from existing forms of knowledge, and converting them for use in very different societal and institutional settings (Bourne 2008). In this sense, Robertson et al. (2004) and her colleagues link pedagogy to wider cultural practices and social structures that can be viewed as cultural relays (Bernstein 1996). These relays according to Robertson et al. (2004) are said to be governed by particular regulative structures and practices that are not neutral and take place in and through elements like space, place, time and discourse which work together to regulate all social life (Bernstein 1996, p. 41). "Rather, particular 'rules' act selectively (to restrict or enhance) the meanings potential and thus what is available to be realized and pedagogized" (Bernstein 1996, p. 400).

For Bernstein (1996) and Gramsci (1971), dominant ideologies such as notions of national and cultural identity are transmitted through the hegemonic production, reproduction, and maintenance of discourse and knowledge. The State or the apparatuses of power construct 'boundaries between: different subject areas; between different types of pedagogic institutions; and between different categories of learner, offering each access to selected forms of knowledge' (Bourne 2008, p. 1). As a result, these ideologies and notions of identity not only impact policies and practices, 'but also offers different forms of specialized consciousness, and thus helps to construct different identities for different categories of learners' (ibid) in this case citizen-subjects/nation-states, etc.

Therefore, pedagogy, in this broader sense, plays a key role in hegemonically (Gramsci 1971) transmitting dominant ideologies of society through the reproduction and maintenance of particular discourses, language, as well as, knowledge production through which notions of national and cultural identity are transmitted. So, beyond its utility as metaphor for the current political-economic zeitgeist, what do we know about neoliberalism's pedagogic devices/tools and how are they constructed and transmitted?

Critical Pedagogies of Neoliberalism

As already argued, the broad notion of pedagogy must extend far beyond matters of schooling and include those spaces, practices, knowledges, discourses, and maps of meaning and affect produced through a range of cultural and pedagogical technologies (Giroux 2011). That said, the conceptualization of the pedagogies of neoliberalism, as tools for description and

critique, is concerned with the ways in which specific knowledge structures are produced, reproduced, and disseminated through hegemonic networks that underlie and promote neoliberal discourses and practices. The networked machineries of neoliberalism, such as think tanks, policy briefs, political agendas, universities, research institutes, and schools, are dedicated to the making of political, intellectual, and moral leadership in and through these knowledge technologies (Jessop and Oosterlynck 2008).

These networks are so pervasive, that, 'no force has emerged that can match the neoliberal networks in terms of organizational capacities, knowledge, production and dissemination on a wide range of policy issues' (Plehwe and Walpen 2006, p. 41). The seduction of the various neoliberal organizing devices, here conceptualized under the umbrella of the pedagogies of neoliberalism, is both political and hegemonic, not simply because of the dialectical relationships of the neoliberal project vs. citizen-subject/nation-state, a sort of quasi-power/masses relationship but because it is both reciprocal and mutually interacting in a pedagogic way. This is because each pedagogy of neoliberalism emerges from and gives rise to the other, and each is informed by the interest and culture of the other. These dialectical relationships are shared, mutually defined and are precisely pedagogic, hegemonic, and political (Fontana 1993, p. 26; Freire 1978). For example, pedagogies of neoliberalism's free market ideologies activate intuitive but seductive rhetoric of 'freedom,' 'choice,' and 'entrepreneurship,' while at the same time, they underestimate the degree to which contemporary governance-talk is all about 'delivery,' 'participation' and 'empowerment' and 'entrepreneurialism' (Smith 2010, p. 287).

Yet, we know little about neoliberalism's pedagogies. In respond to the seemingly rational notion of how neoliberal propositions emerged as the only recourse (Harvey 2007; Graeber 2002), the following graph depicts some of numerous the topics/subjects propagated by current-day *Mont Pelerin Society's Think Tanks'* subject list which was adapted and added to with permission from Plehwe, Walpen, and Neunhöffer (2006, p. 43). It further delineates the various pedagogies of neoliberalism and how these neoliberal technologies/trends are manifest (Table 7.1).

This, of course, is not a comprehensive list, but reveals some of the subjects/concepts/products that are produced and propagated by neoliberalism's most effective knowledge production mechanisms: *think tanks* (Djelic 2014). These subjects are then linked to the various pedagogies of neoliberalism act as hegemonic levers, knowledge production

Table 7.1 Neoliberal pedagogies and corresponding trends

Subjects propagated by MPS free-market think-tanks	*NL pedagogical trends—how they are manifest/Authors*
Economic policy/support/growth	International free trade and freedom of investments (Bandelj et al. 2011)
Globalization	Assault on labor/unions (Harvey 2007)
Deregulation/privatization	Constructs indebted subject, predatory lending (Lazzarato 2012; Paraskeva and Macrine 2015)
Dismantling welfare state	Right-wing ideologies (Mirowski 2014)
Labor/wages/employment	Triumph of late-stage capitalism (Bourdieu 1999)
European union/monetary system	Abolition subsidies/tariffs (Roberts and Peters 2008)
Consumer protection/risk	
Development/politics of transition	
Law and society	Rearrangement of legal regimes and contractual obligations (Mahmud 2012; Harvey 2007)
Legal protection/institutional protection of private economic activity	Limiting government protection of individual rights (Plehwe and Walpen 2006)
Rule of law/order of market economy	Dismantling of public welfare state (Bourdieu 1999)
Criminal law/crime	Naturalizes the prison-industrial-complex, carceral sphere (Giroux 2011; Mirowski 2014)
Government/social/economy	Values competition and efficiency, free of government, adopts
Efficiency/limitation of government	Social Darwinism (Bourdieu 1999; George 1999; Martinez and García 2000)
Taxes/state budget	Market triumphalism infuses its ideology into political, social, and cultural institutions (Harvey 2007)
Social security/welfare/philanthropy	Promotes a moral code by religious right and neo-cons (Mirowski 2014)
Family/moral values	Creates new paternalist/authoritarian regimes of poverty governance for disciplining the poor, women and people of color (Giroux 2009; Soss et al. 2011)
Gender/feminism/racism	
Pensions/health politics	
Transport/infrastructure/telecommunication	
Energy politics ecology/protection	
regions/federalism	

(continued)

Table 7.1 (continued)

Subjects propagated by MPS free-market think-tanks	*NL pedagogical trends—how they are manifest/Authors*
Education and media	Attacks on Higher Education high stakes testing; inadequate education funding (Hursh 2013; Robertson and Dale 2012)
Education/market economy	Emphasizes knowledge-based, bio-economy (Jessop 2005)
Science/technology	Advances Enterprising-Self (Rose 1998)
media/public discourse/culture	Market mechanisms and discourses saturating public education (Giroux 2009; Lipman 2011; Saltman 2007)
Philosophy/ideological fundamentals	Limiting protest (Hedges 2013)
theoretical fundament/theory history	
Monitoring (of left-wing activities)	
Foreign policy/military	Expanding international relations, foreign interventionism (Plehwe and Walpen 2006). Disseminate ideas domestic, international and supra-national think tanks (Plehwe and Walpen 2006)
Networking/cooperation of think tanks	Deriving power from the knowledge, military, production, and finance structures in the international political economy (Strange 1988)

Source Mont Pelerin Society Think Tanks subject list—adapted with permission from Plehwe et al. (2006) p. 43

and reproduction, discourses and teachings found in scholarly writings, research, media, think tanks, policy institutes, universities, schools, politics, etc. Within this critical analysis, the Critical Pedagogies of Neoliberalism advance a praxis response and illustrate the conditions in which these hegemonic pedagogies operate, and how citizen-subjects and nation-states learn their places, their roles, and their responsibilities as economic pawns in the neoliberal financial global chess match. The impact of some of the pedagogies of neoliberalism creates spaces in which deeply indebted countries, nation-states, their natural resources and workers, find themselves without a voice or recourse with which to challenge and battle their oppressors against their subjugation and enslavement. These neoliberal pedagogies also create new regimes from the federal level, to the state and county level, resulting a paternalist regime of poverty governance for disciplining the poor, women and people of color (Soss et al. 2011).

Understanding the tactics used to perpetuate the various pedagogies of neoliberalism will enable us to better understand neoliberalism's pervasive ideology as well as the ways in which it has indoctrinated much of the world (Saunders 2013). Naming the various pedagogies of neoliberalism can help to expose and respond to the insipid logic of the neoliberal regimes and expose how these predatory practices teach us to accept our oppression and to accept the decoupling collective interests from individuals/workers who are left without any option or protective rights of citizenship and ultimately left without a safety net.

Therefore, the *Critical Pedagogies of Neoliberalism* first and foremost need to be understood within the current and continued ascendance of neoliberalism. In this view, neoliberalism enacts a series of pedagogies across institutions and social settings. Some of these pedagogies of accountability, austerity, decentralization, audit, privatization, etc., as well as, the extension of economic rationality to cultural, social, and political spheres, have helped to redefine the individual from a citizen-subject to an autonomous economic actor (Baez 2007; Lemke 2001; Turner 2008; Saunders 2013). These pedagogies of neoliberalism take place in particular ways in particular sites—for instance, public education, higher education, corporate America, media, and the industrial-prison complex. Others take place in the public where the pedagogies of neoliberalism serve to rupture the public interests and replace them solely with the private interests, guided by the market.

Critical Pedagogies of Neoliberalism expose how individuals' common sense is increasingly shaped and guided by the 'invisible hand' of commodification, commercialization, and marketization. This extension of market logic and the prioritization of economic outcomes have come to redefine the purpose and role of social, cultural, and political institutions (Apple 2001; Aronowitz 2000; Giroux 2006; Harvey 2007; Slaughter and Rhoades 2004; Saunders 2013). Such neoliberal pedagogies have so saturated our consciousness that it defines our commonsense beliefs and becomes indivisible from our basic ideas and fundamental assumptions (Apple 2004).

One of the problems with this onslaught of neoliberalism is the way in which we are continually pushed to read and accept the neoliberal turn without critical examination of its context in the world, without the context of who or what is communicating that word or message or how this ideology achieves hegemony or how this hegemony is maintained, and what happens when the claims of an ideology are contradicted by reality

(Bello 2009). So, by theorizing and attending to the complexities and dangers of the various pedagogies of neoliberalism as assemblages or constellations (Peck 2013) rather than as a singular entity, helps us to better understand the variety neoliberal practices that create associations among corporate centers of power the citizens and nation-states. It is argued that this type of hegemonic dissemination of the knowledge becomes one of the trends/mechanisms of the pedagogies of neoliberalism. Conceptualizing the Critical Pedagogies of Neoliberalism as purposeful and directed knowledges can help us understand how the particular neoliberal views of power are influenced redefined and reinforced. And yet, the only way we can accurately explain and uncover the predatory nature of neoliberalism in terms of how it defines and shapes culture is if we also illustrate its mechanisms, methods, and most importantly its pedagogies. Neoliberalization does not follow coherent directions; therefore, it is important to consider different kinds of methodological and research approaches necessary for examining the fluid and nonlinear movements of neoliberalization and neoliberalism as connected assemblages As such, conceptualizing the Critical Pedagogies of Neoliberalism can help expose how neoliberalism's disparate strategies are adopted and co-opted in different contexts (Ong 2005), and how neoliberal practices and policies have enabled powerful financial corporations to run roughshod over nation-states and citizen-subjects alike. By naming, conceptualizing and viewing the different trends of neoliberalization through a pedagogical metaphor allow for the creation of new lenses to evaluate and critique the devastating consequences of unregulated financial flow and market-driven ideologies and values.

Conclusion

In short, conceptualizing and naming the Critical Pedagogies of Neoliberalism is useful in three ways: First, it provides a framework for uncovering the hidden curriculum, social silences, and the cognitive mapping of neoliberal policies and practices as they ensnare nation-states and citizen-subjects alike in collective indoctrination and coercion. Second, understanding the various Critical Pedagogies of Neoliberalism can teach citizen-subjects to critically think about how the different values and beliefs held and perpetuated by think tanks and other neoliberal technologies and organizations that have become purveyors of the neoliberal turn. Third, identifying the Critical Pedagogies of Neoliberalism can help

nation-states and citizen-subjects to recognize that their cognitive maps have been manipulated in relation to their space and place in society. As a result, this framework can be understood as part of the counter-hegemonic praxis of social and political change aimed at challenging and dismantling neoliberal stranglehold. This can result in action aimed at the greater good by contesting the vagaries of power inherent within these neoliberal pedagogies. In this process, deeply indebted countries, nation-states, and citizen-subjects-workers may realize and take both individual and collective action to refute oppression and to challenge their oppressors against subjugation and enslavement and gain strength from their collective efforts.

The project of the *Critical Pedagogies of Neoliberalism* needs to be further explicated. One of the things public intellectuals can do immediately is to work to uncover and expose the hidden mechanisms that the function to keep neoliberalism's practices, policies, and influences so entrenched in the public's psyche through prescribed methods of hegemony. Drawing on a wide range of literature across the cultural studies and critical social sciences and with particular emphasis on the political economy, the explication of the pedagogies of neoliberalism can help us to identify and evaluate the consequences of neoliberal policies and practices, the proliferation and expansion of hegemonic political and economic inculcation that diminishes democracy and freedom.

Finally, this chapter sought to develop a more critical framework to identify and to disrupt neoliberalism's hidden, and not so hidden, hegemonic practices and policies. The creation of the *Critical Pedagogies of Neoliberalism* helps by naming some of its most effective weapons. These pedagogies increase poverty, eliminate the social safety nets, as well as, individual and nation-state sovereignty, while at the same time, increase political and economic subordination and dissolve democracy. In addition, this chapter explored the way that the various Critical Pedagogies of Neoliberalism serve to signify and reproduce the divide between rich and the poor. Neoliberalism opens the door for nationalism and neo-fascism (Giroux 2019), exclusionary nationalism and the racism of the emerging right-wing populist parties which are linked to increased anti-feminism (Keskinen 2012). So, by offering a language to name, uncover and critique the inequitable, unethical and ultimately inhumane economic power structures, the pedagogies of neoliberalism stand as descriptive pedagogical tools that to argue against the current neoliberal turn in which the interest of capital comes at the expense of human life, democracy, dignity,

and responsibility toward the future. In sum, we need a form of education and action that promotes a critical pedagogical/Freirean approach to recognizing the hidden curriculum of neoliberalism's teaching, one that encourages citizens and students to think for themselves and that seeks to get beyond the neoliberal agenda. It is through the articulation of these pedagogies that we can give nation-states and citizen-subjects the tools necessary to live, in the Freirean (1993) sense, with the hope and possibility toward a more just and democratic society.

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PART II

Critical Pedagogy: A Practical Source of Hope and Possibility

Introduction to Next Section

Inspired by the practice and writing of Paulo Freire, several generations of intellectuals—of which teachers of literacy are a vital part—have learned that the term "pedagogy" may be freed from the tasks associated with the transmission of received knowledge. Teaching, in Freire's discourse, is eminently political. It is part of the project of freedom, in the first place the liberation of those whom Franz Fanon termed "the wretched of the earth" and others, regardless of their salaries, who are forced to work and live under conditions of subordination. Freire believed that critical literacy was a weapon of emancipation and, conversely, the deprivation of the ability to read and write, and to examine texts as well as the circumstances of one's life, which perpetuated a system of servitude. Thus, for Freire, literacy was not a means to prepare students for the world of subordinated labor or "careers," but a preparation for a self-managed life. And self-management could only occur when people have fulfilled three goals of education: self-reflection, that is, realizing the famous poetic phrase; "know thyself," which is an understanding of the world in phrase; and "know thyself," which is an understanding of the world in which they live, in its economic, political, and, equally important, psychological dimensions. Specifically, "critical" pedagogy helps the learner become aware of the forces that have hitherto ruled their lives and especially shaped their consciousness. The third goal is to help set the conditions for producing a new life; a new set of arrangements literally makes the social world

by transforming nature and themselves, where power has been, at least in tendency, transferred to those who literally make the social world by transforming nature and themselves. In his last work, Freire became imbued with what may be described as "radical democratic humanism," the concept that learning is not an exercise driven by leaders over the led, but a practice of empowerment of those without power.

In the context of US social reality, critical pedagogy has always confronted a number of obstacles. Among them, the relentless subordination of schooling to the corporate order in which education is reduced to training for jobs and the concept of citizenship conflated with loyalty to the existing social and economic system and participation in democratic life confined to the act of voting. Recognizing the limits of schooling, especially for the subaltern (underlying) classes, some critical pedagogues have reduced their practice to a teaching method. The heart of this method is to involve students in the process of learning, to listen to what they have to say, and to pay attention to their feelings, especially their educational biographies where schooling has hitherto been an experience of oppression rather than a process of self-emancipation. In short, critical pedagogy became, for some, a classroom practice that was integrated, tacitly, with the canonical practices of progressive education, which still remain the only indigenous American philosophy of education. Admittedly, there is much in Freire's writing that discusses pedagogy in terms of classroom practice. Yet this interpretation of the critical aims of pedagogy is one-sided.

In 2015, ESSA replaced the controversial No Child Left Behind (NCLB). As Henry Giroux and others have pointed out, these regimes are nothing less than programs of control, both of students and of teachers. By forcing teachers to teach to standardized tests, political and education authorities who follow them violate the genuine purpose of education of providing students with a means to achieve self-determination. Students "succeed" when they have done well on these tests; if the students achieve high grades in a growing number of school systems, teachers and administrators are rewarded. If they do "badly," the educator is to blame and may suffer dire consequences, including being removed from the classroom. If the social goals of critical pedagogy are to be realized—or even tolerated as an option—teachers and other educators are required to enter the fray to abolish NCLB and ESSA and offer an alternative both to the standardized test and to the curriculum upon which it is based. As it stands, school authorities have been ordered, in no uncertain terms, to exempt

only a tiny fraction of schools from the rote methods by which the curriculum is delivered, and this exemption rarely applies to schools attended by children of the working class, particularly the working poor and the unemployed. In short, parents and teachers who wish to offer children, youth, and adults an opportunity to obtain an education, as opposed to training to be obedient workers, must learn to fight for their program and must enter the tangled world of politics.

So, this book is urgently needed because it revives a discussion of the goals and pedagogies of critical pedagogy at a time when the tide has turned the other way. Yet, those of us who have labored at the intellectual and activist margins of education, no less than in the broader political world, are accustomed to the huge odds that things can actually change. But this time, we have a new opportunity. Even the old political scene is that you run in the primary to the Left, but in the general election and in administration, moving to the center may no longer suffice, given the depth of the problems facing the United States.

The first impulse of nearly all mainstream politicians has been to partially displace the prevailing policy imperative of neoliberalism (i.e., the market and the private sector can do everything better) with new forms of state intervention. With each passing day, we are inching further in the direction of state capitalism, of which the promise of federal bailouts to banks and industrial corporations was only the first step. In the next period, as state and local governments go broke and demand federal aid, and existing political forces reveal a high degree of incompetence to meet the growing challenges, among the chances for change, a new educational Left that is armed with the wisdom of critical pedagogy may emerge. If this optimistic prognostication has any chance of fulfillment, this book will be a necessary guide.

Stanley Aronowitz

CHAPTER 8

The Attacks on the Legacy of Paulo Freire in Brazil: Why He Still Disturbs so Many?

Inny Accioly

Introduction

In the first decades of the twenty-first century, Brazil suffers from the deepening conditions of neoliberalism that threaten life in all dimensions. Mass unemployment and austerity policies and the resultant extreme poverty have increased the climate of social tension which contributed to the political polarizations that have led conservative forces to power. The conservative's agenda involves promoting policies of environmental destruction, mass murder of black youth and expropriation of social rights. In this context, the legacy of Paulo Freire is being attacked full-on by politicians that seek to ban critical pedagogies from Brazilian schools.

This chapter presents an explication of the social contexts in which Paulo Freire developed his ideas in the Brazilian Northeast. The formation of the Brazilian educational system is reviewed in light of its historical roots on which Freire's professional trajectory gained meaning, as well as his political thinking.

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Freire's ideas assume historical importance in face of the tradition of authoritarianism in Brazil. Understanding this historical context, it is possible to perceive the reasons why his work was criminalized by the military dictatorship that took place in 1964 and forced him into exile for 16 years. Also, it is possible to glimpse the reasons why his legacy has been attacked in the context of the judicial-parliamentary coup of 2016, almost twenty years after his death.

In times of radicalization of limit-situations, Freire's works provide important tools for addressing the struggles for life and the necessary transition from critical theory to radical praxis. Facing the current scenario of urgent struggles, we present some pedagogical possibilities for the construction of the untested feasibility.

Historical Roots of the Denial of the Right to Education

In Brazil, life threats are historical constants, especially for black and poor people. The country was the main African slave landing region in the Americas and the last region to abandon the slave trade (Klein 1987).

Large numbers of slaves who landed in this country died as a result of maltreatment, poor diet, physical punishment, strenuous labor, and diseases. Recent archaeological research in the port region of Rio de Janeiro (Pereira 2014) has recovered evidences about how African slaves, who died as soon as they landed in the city, were treated: Their bodies have been stacked without any religious ritual on a wasteland. Treated like trash, they have rotted next to food scraps and household wastes (Pereira 2014).

The elite abolished slavery by legislation in 1888 but refused to grant land tenure in order to maintain diverse forms of slavery for liberated workers. Therefore, Brazil has been consolidated as a nation fundamentally rooted on landlordism and slavery. The coercion of labor and the concentration of land underpinned the transition to the capitalist mode of production (Martins 2013) and marked the constitution of modern social relations, consolidating a deeply racist, elitist, and authoritarian society. The wealth generated by land has been concentrated in the hands of a small elite who, to perpetuate themselves in power, has pursued several mechanisms to keep people apart from participating in political life.

The denial of access to schooling for the popular classes and the suppression of revolts have been key mechanisms for maintaining the exclusionary order throughout the Brazilian history.

> The vast majority of Brazilian History books seeks to conceal the violence, especially from the authorities, against popular claims, aiming to project the image of a cordial Brazilian [...], which, in fact, [...] results on the minimization – even the concealment – of what has been a constant in our history: the struggle of the popular sectors against the violent repression of the rulers. (Aquino, Vieira, Agostino, and Roedel 2000, pp. 289–290, our translations)

The first Brazilian constitution, as a nation independent of Portugal, the Imperial Constitution of 1824, instituted the right to free education for all citizens. Because a large number of wealthy male traders were illiterate, it was necessary to establish free education as a way of stimulating the development of leadership skills among the elite. Since the vast majority of the population in this period did not enjoy citizen status, education was consolidated as a privilege that excluded women and the black and mestizo population.

During the Imperial times, illiterate men could exercise the right to vote for the legislature and executive, as long as they could prove they earned a minimum annual income from trade, industry, or landownership.

As soon as the abolitionist movements gained strength in the country, the right to vote became more restricted. The 1881 legislation[1] instituted that beyond proving income, the citizen should be literate. At that time, the percentage of educated people in Brazil was only 1.8%. During the October 1881 elections, less than 1.5% of the population attended the polls.

Parliamentarians who argued that the illiterate population should not have the right to vote linked them to criminality, marginality, laziness, ignorance, and loitering (Ferraro and Leão 2012). They argued that because they could not read, the illiterate population would not be able to understand the common interest and therefore should not have the power to influence the nation's destiny. Thus, voting could only be exercised by those citizens intimately committed to private property. The illiterate could exercise the right to vote only in 1985, when the military dictatorship (1964–1985) ended and the current Brazilian Constitution was promulgated.

For the slaveholder's and landlord's mentality, the liberated black population could not be granted free access to education, land, and voting. Their fear of former slaves and their descendants participating in political life has guided Brazilian education policies across generations (Souza 2013).

In Brazil, racial segregation was not legally instituted. The efforts of the white elite to sustain the Brazilian myth of racial democracy—in which the different races could live on equal terms—led them to institute in the electoral legislation the limits of political participation.

The fact that only the literate population was permitted to vote contributed to governments' historical neglect of people education. During the ensuing decades, most of the Brazilian population—which is black and mestizo—only had scarce access to rural and night schools, which were poorly funded.

The right to free education to all citizens was established in 1824—a right that excluded the majority of population—but it also suffered setbacks on the first Republican Constitution promulgated in 1891. The Constitution of 1891 decentralized the financial duties to the provinces which has resulted in increased educational inequality between regions. The poorest regions suffered from scarcity of resources to educate its population, especially the Brazilian Northeast, where Paulo Freire was born in 1921. Thus, Brazil maintained high illiteracy rates during the twentieth century, as shown in Table 8.1.

The problem of illiteracy was central to Paulo Freire's life and work. Freire understood that illiteracy is the concrete expression of an unjust social reality, founded on slavery and landlordism.

Freire comprehended that illiteracy is not a linguistic problem, nor is it exclusively pedagogical, but it is a political problem. Leaving thousands of Brazilians without access to school was a political choice for many years.

Table 8.1 Brazilian illiteracy rate—aged 15 or older (1900–2015)

Year	*Illiteracy rate (%)*
1900	65.3
1920	65.0
1940	56.1
1950	50.6
1960	39.7
1970	33.7
1980	25.9
1991	19.7
2000	13.6
2007	10.1
2011	8.6
2015	8.0

Source IBGE[2]

> The illiterate know that they are concrete beings. They know they do things. But what they sometimes do not know in the culture of silence in which they become ambiguous and dual is that their transformative action characterizes them as creator and recreator beings. Submitted to the myths of the dominant culture, among them the myth of their "natural inferiority", almost always they do not perceive the real significance of their transforming action on the world. (Freire 2001, p. 59, our translation)

The banking education system that Freire denounces is related to the authoritarian practice of depriving the people, mostly black and mestizo, of real access to rights. For the working class, the right to education is restricted to the minimum of school contents deposited in a fragmented manner on the students to conduct their immediate insertion in the labor market as cheap labor.

Why Did Paulo Freire Disturbed so Many?

In 1964, a military coup established a dictatorship for twenty years in Brazil. That year, Paulo Freire was incarcerated for 72 days. He related the days in jail:

> One evening, a young lieutenant – one of those who used to treat us politely – kindly came to the cell where I was and he asked me: "Professor, I came here to talk to you because we are going to host a group of recruits and among them there is a large number of illiterate. Why don't you use your time here to help us to literate these boys?" I stared at the lieutenant and I told him: "But, my dear lieutenant, I was arrested for doing exactly this! There is a huge irrationality in the country nowadays and if you talk about this story that you're going to invite Paulo Freire to literate the recruits, you will be put in jail too. I can't do it!" (Freire and Guimarães 2013, p. 57, our translation)

Why was literacy considered so dangerous?

As discussed earlier, from 1881 to 1985, the illiterate population could not exercise the right to vote. Therefore, the popular literacy campaigns that had been spreading around the country during the 1950s and 1960s caused severe destabilization in the local power relations.

In the years leading up the 1964 military coup, the country was in a mood for mobilization in favor of the so-called basic reforms. Left-wing politicians were elected to the offices of governor and mayor in many states and important cities. Several peasant movements were organizing

themselves in defense of labor rights. The northeastern countryside was in turmoil because of the peasant leagues and rural unions fighting for agrarian reform was provoking violent reactions from the landowners.

At the international level, the Cuban revolution of 1959 inspired workers mobilizations around their interests. In contrast, the USAID program *Alliance for Progress* that was operating in Latin America, beginning in 1961, financed projects to control the advancement of communist ideas.

Freire reported about his time as a representative of the Ministry of Education to evaluate USAID's projects for Northeast Brazil:

> At that time, the *Alliance for Progress*, disrespecting certain Brazilian constitutional provisions, made agreements directly with state governments rather than with the federal government. Thus, in the Northeast, it served governments that tended to oppose the federal orientation. It demonstrated that the *Alliance for Progress* had a strategy of weakening the federal government at that time. […] We analyzed a huge number of projects in the field of education. […] We said "no" to countless items that Alliance's technicians intended to insert in the projects […] there were unacceptable items in these projects. […] items that implied undeniable interference in our projects, which had to do with Brazilian decisions and we couldn't silence about that […] Brazil had to have autonomy to decide, for example, where teachers were going to study. (Freire and Guimarães 2013, p. 29, our translation)

Brazil was causing concern due to President João Goulart (1961–1964) approach to unions and leftist sectors.

> Goulart attempted, bravely but clumsily, to lead a coalition of the state bureaucracy, domestic capital and organized workers in support of 'basic reforms', intended to transform the social and property relations responsible for external dependence and the reproduction of poverty, improve the distribution of income and wealth, and consolidate a common citizenship. (Saad-Filho and Morais 2018, p. 21)

At the national level, social movements were emerging around popular demands. Some examples (Ferraro 2013) are the Peasant Leagues Movements (*Ligas Camponesas*) in 1958; the Grassroots Education Movement (*Movimento de Educação de Base—MEB*) in 1961, resulting from an agreement between the National Conference of Bishops of Brazil (*Confederação Nacional dos Bispos do Brasil—CNBB*) and the Presidency of

the Republic; the National Union of Students (*União Nacional dos Estudantes—UNE*) and the Popular Center of Culture (*Centro Popular de Cultura—CPC*) they organized in 1961; the Popular Mobilization Front; the II National Congress of Adult Education organized in 1958.

The local level fostered the idea that the Northeast was a potentially explosive region. In 1963, no less than 74 grassroots movements gathered to the First Meeting of Literacy and Popular Culture. One of the main purposes was to help educate and make thousands of people literate by using the Paulo Freire's literacy method, so that people could start the revolution by voting during the 1965 presidential elections.

At that time, Freire developed and began the adult literacy initiatives within this movement in Angicos (Torres 2013),[3] Northeast Brazil in 1962 through 1963. It was through this initiative that over three hundred rural workers learned how to read and write in forty hours. Freire established several requirements and conditions in order to accept the invitation of the governor of the state of Rio Grande do Norte to conduct this literacy experiment:

> My demands were as follows: Firstly, I was not interested in whether or not the money from the state of Rio Grande do Norte was from the *Alliance for Progress*; The most important is that an agreement must be signed between the Rio Grande do Norte Department of Education and the Cultural Extension Service of the University of Recife, with the signature of the university rector. […] The university must have leadership in the work. […] Whichever city was chosen as the venue for the first experiment, it should not be visited by the governor during the process, to avoid any political exploitation. Finally, the fifth condition was as follows: if the governor accepted the demands but betrayed any of them, the agreement would be considered broken and I would give a public interview to the press, explaining the reasons for abandoning the project. (Freire and Guimarães 2013, pp. 31–32, our translations)

In this excerpt, we notice Freire's firmness and coherence in his political position in defense of the public character of education, the pedagogical autonomy of educators, and the necessary dialogue with youth and grassroots movements.

> April 1963, the experiment ends. The evaluation results of the Angicos Literacy Project are released: 300 participants are considered literate, with a 70 percent success rate on the Literacy Test and 87 percent success rate on the Test of Politicization. May 1963, the city of Angicos had its

> first strike. Landowners call the experience of Paulo Freire a "communist plague". (Torres 2013, p. 20)

On March 31, 1964, the military coup ended Freire's literacy experiments in Brazil. Considering this scenario, it is important to understand the social forces and interests that supported the coup at the time.

> The 1964 coup did not represent merely the capture of the Executive by conservative forces threatened with reformist dislocation. The coup derived from an emerging alliance between internal manufacturing capital, foreign capital, traditional landed interests and the urban middle class. (Saad-Filho and Morais 2018, p. 22)

Because Freire had a prominent position in building popular and revolutionary thinking, the military government tried to erase Freire's legacy by imprisoning him and confiscating the teaching materials used in literacy courses. In order to counter Freire's method of literacy, the dictatorial government conducted a large-scale low-budget literacy campaign, the Brazilian Literacy Movement (MOBRAL).

After being released from prison, Freire assumed a state of political exile. He traveled the world teaching at major universities and developed literacy projects in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. He also traveled to the United States during this period. It was during this time that he met and began collaborating with Henry Giroux and Donaldo Macedo and later with Peter McLaren. The amnesty law of 1980 made it possible for Freire to return to Brazil where he lived and acted as a political educator until his death in 1997.

Freire's work has become a world reference in education field. In 2016, his book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* was ranked third of the 25 most cited books in the social sciences (Green 2016). The residual impact of the attacks against Freire's work in Brazil is revealed when we observe that the differences in the Spanish-language edition which has more citations than its original Portuguese-language edition.

In a historically authoritarian society, such as the Brazilian, the efforts to maintain an unequal social order does not permit, nor does it recognize the basic requirements of a democracy, such as the right to life. In this context, the problem of illiteracy and access to schooling could only be the focus of public policies if they were reduced to a strictly technical and depoliticized approach. In contrast, Freire's life and work was dedicated

to fighting against the depoliticization of education, which he called 'the banking conception of education.'

Fragile Brazilian Democracy

In Brazilian history, the denial of the right to education for the majority of the population—perpetuated by high illiteracy rates—was a fundamental strategy for maintaining the concentration of wealth and political power.

Even when schooling was expanded in the early twentieth century, the main objective was to control and quell revolts, to discipline the population's customs, and to instill the habit of work. Thus, popular participation in public life was discouraged by racist discourses that incriminate popular claims and violently represses them.

> The Brazilian state was dominated by an oligarchic republic until 1930, a right-wing populist dictatorship between 1930 and 1945, and a military dictatorship between 1964 and 1985. In the interval, a precarious democracy was caught between landed interests, various strands of populism and, threatening their uneasy balance, emerging forces on the political left. A more successful democracy was built in the 1980s, but the judicial-parliamentary coup of 2016 shows that political freedom remains fragile, and that the pursuit of equality is not universally welcomed. Despite the veneer of an integrated and cordial society, where rich, poor, women, men, black and white enjoy samba, cold beers and football together, Brazilian society has been forged by 500 years of racism, exclusion, inequality, violence and authoritarianism. Their imprint has persisted, regardless of changes in the political regime. (Saad-Filho and Morais 2018, p. 2)

The judicial-parliamentary coup of 2016 came as a way to contain the small social rise of the poorest during the thirteen-year rule of the Workers Party (*Partido dos Trabalhadores*—PT) in the federal government. Yet while this government made contributions, it was fraught with controversy.

The PT party was first elected to the presidency in 2002 partly as popular reaction against the inequalities and inefficiencies of neoliberalism. The favorable winds of the global commodity boom in 2004 gave the government the possibility of raising wages, expanding the number of consumers and implementing successful but invariably marginal distributional policies, without antagonizing too many interests.

However, in 2008 the global economic environment turned hostile and by 2016 the Brazilian economy was ruined.

> Successive contractions of national output reduced per capita income back to its level in the early 2000 s, eliminating the gains under the PT administrations. The open unemployment rate shot up from 4 per cent to 14 per cent between 2014 and 2016, with the loss of millions of jobs. The fiscal deficit and the domestic public debt mounted, and large firms in the oil, shipbuilding, construction, nuclear, food-processing and other industries were seriously affected. (Saad-Filho and Morais 2018, p. 3)

On the political side, the PT party was in power supported by a coalition of social groups whose leaders were implicated in a sequence of corruption scandals. The scandals were politically exploited by mass media to decrease the government's legitimacy among popular classes and spread hate against the PT leadership. 'Fighting corruption' has become the symbol of the judiciary aligned with elite's interests of banning PT from power.

During the following thirteen years of the PT government rule, progress was made in democratizing access to education, with a significant increase in enrollments in higher education. Such affirmative policies have made it possible for black youth to enroll in public universities. Yet, while public universities expanded, most of the public funding for higher education went to the expansion of private universities.

The creation of public policy councils and commissions and the National Policy for Social Participation increased civil society participation in government programs, which were configured as spaces for disputes of interests. Legislations focused on gender issues such as the law to protect women victims of domestic violence and a number of policies have contributed to increasing LGBT political participation.

Contradictions marked the governments under PT leadership. Given the important steps they made in building a participatory democracy, the co-optation of activists and left-wing sectors into the political project of coalition contributed to the disarticulation of social struggles. The neoliberal agenda advanced at the same time as poverty was alleviated through program of income distribution and social rights were lost.

In 2016, the judicial-parliamentary coup ended PT's presidential term and paved the way for the most conservative portions of society to gain power. Brazilian society turned deeply polarized. Hate speeches and fake news against PT leadership spread by Internet and mobile apps shaped the presidential elections' political climate. It brought to light the racist, homophobic, slaveholder, and landlord roots that make up the Brazilian social formation.

During the electoral campaigns for the presidency in 2018, Jair Bolsonaro, the candidate who was subsequently elected, pledged to expand the exploitation of the Amazonian forest, reduce indigenous lands, stimulate greater repression against grassroots movements, and expand weapon carry permissions. His speeches also expressed the moralizing wills of a large portion of the evangelical population. In defense of the 'traditional Brazilian family,' the president and his allies promised to set up an agenda to combat homosexuals, feminists, and communists.

An agenda of threats to the human right to life has been set in motion articulating threats both to biodiversity and cultural diversity

In 2019, in his first days of government, the president signaled that he would end the Ministry of the Environment. After large mobilization, he maintained the ministry but reduced its functions and put limits on environmental inspection actions. Within eight months of its administration, large-scale fires called the world's attention to the Amazon rainforest (Londoño 2019). Armed bands of land grabbers have been staging attacks on indigenous communities (Cowie 2019) since the president has argued that 'indigenous communities are in control of unreasonably vast areas that contain enormous wealth' and has pledged to make it easier for industries to gain access to protected areas (Londoño 2019).

Some of the presidential acts that directly impacts the environment and the right to life are the decision to weakening Brazil's historic leadership in the climate change agenda; the extinction of policies that provided support for traditional communities and small farmers; the weakening of water resources protection policies; the weakening of the rules for the recovery of deforested areas; the weakening of the rules for environmental licensing; the large permission for oil exploration by foreign companies; and the license for large number of pesticides. Cuts on federal universities' budgets also impacted the national capacity for advancing research on environmental protection.

The policies that threaten the right to life are linked to attacks on public education and the persecution of critical thinking.

Since 2014, a movement called *Escola Sem Partido* (School without Party) led groups and organized parliamentarians to combat what they consider ideological indoctrination, gender ideology, and cultural Marxism within schools. The movement's strategy is committed to control and criminalize teachers by encouraging parents and students to record classes and denounce their work.

The political agenda of the *Escola Sem Partido* movement is the attempt to approve bills guided by the following principles: (a) political, ideological, and religious neutrality of the state; (b) vulnerability of the student as the weaker part of the learning relationship; (c) the parents' right to influence the moral and religious education of their children; (d) the prohibition of discussing gender issues within schools, aiming to not influencing the student's sexual orientation; (e) the prohibition for teachers to express their opinions or beliefs within classrooms; (f) the prohibitions for teachers to encourage students to participate in the political life (such as marches and protests) and to address the current social problems during classes (Ramos and Santoro 2017).

During the period of electoral campaigns for the presidency and the parliament in 2018, this movement gained strength and visibility. This was facilitated by numerous fake news items that stated that the PT administrations encouraged sexual initiation of children and promoted homosexuality through teaching materials that were distributed in schools.

In addition, the *Escola Sem Partido* movement also accused Paulo Freire's thought of being responsible for leftist indoctrination, that would lead the country into moral degradation. It was the same discourse that criminalized Freire during the military dictatorship in the 1970s (Ramos and Santoro 2017).

Interestingly, Freire was recognized as the patron of education in Brazil in 2012, under PT federal administration. Yet, in 2019, Bolsonaro defended dismissing Paulo Freire as the patron.[4]

> I am looking for someone to be the Minister of Education who has authority. That expels the philosophy of Paulo Freire. Someone who transforms school curricula to learn Chemistry, Math, Portuguese, not sex. (Jair Bolsonaro, President of Brazil) [5]

Why Is Freire's Thought Attacked After 20 Years of His Death?

Freire understood illiteracy beyond its linguistic dimension. By learning to read words, one would gain the opportunity to think and rethink his/her own reading of the world.

> Literacy implies recognizing the starting point of the reading of the world, it means thinking about what levels the reading of the world is taking place or what are the levels of knowing that the reading of the world reveals;

> from the learning of writing and reading the word that he/she has written, to return, with the added knowledge, to reread the world. I would even say, reading the previous reading of the world. (Freire 2015, p. 601, our translations)

The critical reading of the word makes possible new readings of the world. The recognition of the political dimension of reading brings the possibility of the insertion of students in society as active subjects, creators, and recreators of history. Students start to question reality and to question, for example, certain fake news that is disseminated for the purpose of shaping their worldview.

> The survey released on Thursday [2018, November 1st] reveals that 83.7% of Bolsonaro's voters believed that Fernando Haddad [PT presidential candidate] distributed the so-called 'gay kit' to school children when he was Minister of Education. On October 15th [of 2018], the Superior Electoral Court (TSE) prohibited Bolsonaro of accusing his opponent of distributing the material that, he said, 'encourage pedophilia'. At the time, the TSE Minister ordered the withdrawal of six Facebook and YouTube posts from Bolsonaro's campaign in which he called as 'gay kit' the book *Aparelho Sexual e Cia*. [Sexual Apparatus and Co.] and the project 'Brazil without Homophobia'. As the TSE Minister concluded, the program was not implemented and the book was never distributed to children in Brazil.[6]

Linguistic illiteracy and political illiteracy are two equally problematic phenomena when we consider the unequal and unfair context of the Brazilian society, in which the division of the working class is fostered as a strategy of elite domination.

> If, from a linguistic point of view, the illiterate is the one who cannot read and write, the political "illiterate" – whether or not he/she can read and write – is the one who has a naive perception of the human beings on their relationships in the world, a naive perception of social reality that, for him or her, is a given fact, something that 'is' and not something that 'is being'. One of the tendencies is to shun concrete reality – a manner of denying it – by losing itself in abstract worldviews. (Freire 2001, p. 74, our translations)

When the state refuses to educate a large portion of the population or when the state promotes 'banking literacy' and empties the political character of education in favor of an ideologically constructed neutrality,

results in strategies for controlling and maintaining the unequal social order.

In the 1960s, Freire was incarcerated because of his adult literacy work, during a time when approximately 39% of people over 15 years of age were illiterate. At that time, the illiterate population had no right to vote. Since the 1960s, the illiteracy rate has been reduced. In the second decade of the 2000s, the illiteracy rate is about 8% of the total population (IBGE 2015).

However, data from 2018 indicated that 30% of the population over 15 years old is considered as functional illiterate (Ação Educativa and Instituto Paulo Montenegro 2018). A person who is considered functionally illiterate may be able to read and write simple texts, but still does not have the necessary skills to meet the demands of their daily lives or enable their personal and professional development. These people have difficulties interpreting texts and differentiating facts from opinions. In addition, they usually have difficulties in verifying the accuracy of information, and they are vulnerable to fake news and images that has been manipulated or used in false context.

The 2019 government which attacks Freire's legacy came to power in an electoral environment of polarization, hate speech, and the spread of fake news.

The high functional illiteracy rate in Brazil is the direct result of political choices and policies made by successive governments that promoted the expansion of access to schooling through depoliticization of education, deterioration of teacher education, and the narrowing of teachers' pedagogical autonomy. Freire's life trajectory fought against this tendency by firmly defending the public character of education and the pedagogical autonomy of educators.

In Brazil, in order to advance neoliberal policies of destruction of the public character of education, destitution of labor rights and policies of attacks of the right to life, it was necessary to repeatedly attack and destroy Freire's legacy.

However, Freire's loyalty to the problems and struggles of his people contributed to his legacy and his philosophy being so wide-ranging, profound, and extraordinarily influential to last throughout time. As a result, his works have gained the ability to self-renew in times of radicalization of limit-situations.

Limit-situations are situations that challenge the practices of the human beings in such a high level that it is essential to face them in order to be

able to proceed. They must not be circumvented, but analyzed, faced, and studied in their multiple contradictions; otherwise, they will reappear further with redoubled force. The process of facing the limit-situations provides a real perspective about the process of humanization, of being-more (Freire 2005).

> Indeed, there is no humanization, just as there is no liberation without revolutionary transformation of class society, in which humanization is unviable (…). Illiterate or not, the oppressed as a class will not overcome the situation of being exploited except by radical transformation. (Freire 2001, p. 48; 112, our translations)

Freire's works provided important tools for the necessary transition from critical theory to radical critique and praxis.

Accordingly, radical critique involves understanding the social and historical foundations upon which human beings relate. To be radical, the critique implies a profound analysis of the foundations, expressions, and consequences of the capitalist mode of production, which is understood by the Marxist current as a 'contradictory totality.'

Freire argues that

> Students need to be challenged to understand that, as cognitive subjects, the relationship they have with cognizable objects cannot be reduced to the objects alone. You must reach a level of understanding of the complex totality of relationships between objects. That is, they need to be challenged to critically address the "information line" they are working with. […] Through political practice, the less coherent sensitivity of the world starts to be overcome and rigorous intellectual pursuits give rise to a more coherent understanding of the world. (Freire and Macedo 2011, p. 155, our translations)

Understanding the capitalist mode of production as a contradictory totality requires the effort to understand its multiple determinations (Kofler 2010).

> At the information line, we may have a flow of information and yet remain unable to link one piece of information to another. A politicized person is one who can classify the different and often fragmented pieces in the flow. […] Political clarity is possible insofar as the person critically reflects on everyday facts and insofar as he/she transcends his/her own sensibility

> (the ability to feel or know about them) in such a way that a more accurate understanding of the facts progressively can be achieved. (Freire and Macedo 2011, pp. 154–155, our translations)

Here, Freire addresses the obstacles that obscure political clarity and radical critique, which he calls ideological obstacles. In Marx, the concept of ideology is related to a set of mechanisms and processes (which appear in all manifestations of individual and collective life) that make it difficult for the exploited to recognize and understand the process of exploitation and oppression to which they are subject in the relations of production.

The ideologies of the ruling class, in a capitalist society, have a solid material base and diverse means of diffusion, which contributes to their becoming hegemonic. In this way, ideologies are not restricted to the field of ideas, but gain materiality from what Gramsci calls 'hegemonic apparatuses' (Gramsci 2011).

The critical analysis of ideologies allows us to better understand the current form of production and reproduction of social life and instrumentalize us for collective organization and conscious action.

The myth of entrepreneurship is another example of how the ideology of the ruling classes acquires materiality and is incorporated by the working class. Freire describes it as 'the myth that everyone, just by not being lazy, can become entrepreneur, the myth that the man who sells, on the streets, banana, candy or guava is an entrepreneur like the owner of a large factory' (Freire 2005).

This myth, in addition to making the individual responsible for the situation of poverty and unemployment, intends to adapt workers to the instability of the highly competitive labor market, structural unemployment, and lack of labor rights. A worldview such as this makes it easier to justify the thought that some people deserve much more than others because, after all, the neoliberal refrain is that we are all responsible for our own destinies (Macrine 2016). These hegemonic lessons are spread among the working classes, creating the illusion that through personal effort it is possible to achieve better living conditions, greater freedom, and autonomy over their time. It is an exacerbation of individualism, which hinders any prospect of collective struggle for rights and social transformation. It is also part of a politics that strips the social of any democratic ideals and undermines any understanding of education as a public good (Giroux 2017).

In Brazil, the myth of entrepreneurship is also spread through vocational training programs implemented by public-private partnerships in

the education system. The values that support this myth (called socio-emotional skills) are rooted in the Common National Curriculum Base (*Base Nacional Comum Curricular*—BNCC) which was enacted in 2017.

The standardized school curriculum likewise spreads values and world-views that direct the individual to the acceptance of the social order and adaptation to the labor market. Personal characteristics such as charisma, motivation, self-confidence, autonomy, emotional stability, resilience, sociability, and responsibility have their senses oriented toward individualism and competition. Meanwhile, important attitudes in the pursuit of social transformation such as indignation, contestation, claiming, and questioning are discouraged.

This neoliberal myth of entrepreneurship leads many teachers, who work with working-class children and youth, to develop pedagogical processes with the final purpose of adapting these subjects to the capitalist society so that they enter the labor market in a better position to compete as cheap labor. Without realizing it, many educators mistakenly collaborate to redefine the values of solidarity and the sense of collectivity according to the individualistic logic of labor market.

Freire, on the other hand, encourages reflections on the final purpose of the educational act in line with the transformation of the capitalist society. In the process of overcoming capitalism, the struggle to secure the right to education is extremely important, especially in a country where the majority of the population has historically been deprived of this right. However, the right to education must be qualified to meet the interests of the working class.

Freire Is not Dead: Pedagogical Possibilities for Constructing Untested Feasibility

The high number of functionally illiterate people in Brazil indicates that the right to education has been replaced by a mass student certification process. As a result, many students finish schooling without the critical ability to read reality.

So, how do we overcome 'banking schooling' that certifies students who are unable to have a 'more coherent understanding of the world' or a 'more rigorous understanding of facts'?

And, how can educators contribute to the social transformation that is necessary to ensure the right to life of all human beings with no discriminations?

There are no easy answers to these questions and no recipes for overcoming the banking education system, given that various mechanisms such as accountability, mass testing, and rankings constrain teachers and students to adapt to it.

However, some critical pedagogical possibilities are inspired by Paulo Freire for the construction of 'untested feasibility.'

> The untested feasibility is a word that entails the understanding of time and space. Time and space in which we, in an impatiently patient manner, nurture the epistemological curiosity that ought to take us to philosophical and scientific knowledge, which in turn would materialize the ontological and historical hope through the transformative ingenuity underlying human dreams. (Freire 2002, p. 9)

We believe that educators, in their critical pedagogical practices, should be clear about their historical role and therefore establish in their pedagogical actions a path coherent with the purpose of social transformation.

While working in mass education, we often forget our purposes as educators and we frequently move away from the purpose we believe education should have.

In each pedagogical process, objectives must be set at two levels: immediate objectives and long-term objectives. The two levels of objectives will help to inform the purpose of the educational act.

The long-term objectives need to guide the critical pedagogical path toward the purpose of the educational act. Because many pedagogical processes often have very limited temporality (a few months, a semester or perhaps a year) and limited spatiality (the classroom, the school), long-term objectives goals need to move beyond these limited temporality and spaces. This level of objectives can introduce the critical dimensions of praxis in the educational process. As a result, educators and students can begin to recognize themselves as subjects capable of altering the course of history and mobilize for it.

The critical pedagogical immediate objectives should be defined in such a way as to contribute to the long-term objectives and the purpose of the educational act. They are made up of general and specific objectives. This level of objectives must be designed and structured taking into account the needs of the collective with whom we are working, as well as the limitations of time, space, and resources.

In a transformative critical educational process, all these objectives must be clear, explicit, and democratically defined in dialogue. Objectives must be evaluated collectively and constantly. The evaluation is an important step in the process of critical consciousness. During evaluation, we face the concrete limitations imposed by the historical situation, which provides the possibility of reflecting on strategies to overcome it.

Thus, to accomplish these goals, it is necessary to radicalize democracy in educational spaces so that education meets the needs of peoples and their self-determination. One possibility is to stimulate the collectives of students, to development of their capabilities of self-organizing and claiming. It is also important to develop forms to stimulate parents and community members to participate in the processes for developing collective consciousness.

Freire emphasizes that the educator who is aware of his/her historical responsibility must refuse to be dehumanized and to dehumanize students. This implies fighting against deprivation of rights and the humiliation that teaching profession suffers with the lack of pedagogical autonomy. It means refusing to be a machine for delivering dehumanizing school content.

As a result, educators need to be mindful to not treat students as numbers or as clients. When educators refuse to dialogue with students or to consider their social context—the context in which students live and constitute themselves as subjects—they perpetuate a dehumanizing process that ends up contributing to working-class students abandon schooling.

Teachers must also take care to not restrict in any way the students' right to quality education. To do so, teachers must engage in the struggles against all forms of discrimination, sexism, and racism. In this way, it is important for teachers to examine and engage in social struggles and dialogue with trade unions and grassroots movements that fight for rights.

The construction of 'a sense of collectivity' goes beyond market individualism and is therefore indispensable to strengthen the meaning and the sense of 'public good.' This implies the recognition that in a class society both the state (its legal apparatus, the police, public schools, and other public institutions) and the apparatus of public opinion (churches, unions, newspapers, magazines, the media, and others) are under dispute. They have historically and collectively contributed to an unequal and exclusionary project of society. Strengthening the sense of 'public good' requires strengthening a project of society that includes differences but primarily ensures equality among all citizens.

In 1962, when Freire accepted the invitation from the governor of the state of Rio Grande do Norte to carry out Angicos literacy project, he engaged the public university apparatus to carry out the project. Freire understood that the function of public university was to meet the challenges of society and improving people's living conditions. But by being privatized, the university ultimately moves away from this mission.

In an effort to strengthen the sense of 'public good,' some struggles gain importance: the struggle for free, public, and autonomous university; the struggles for strengthening public schools; the struggles for strengthening public health services for free and non-discriminatory care; the struggles for strengthening environmental monitoring and environmental legislation to severely punish polluters. These are examples of the current struggles being fought in Brazil by public servants organized in trade unions and by certain grassroots movements.

In 2019, Brazil is ripe for new waves of street protests organized by collectives of students and teachers' unions in defense of free public university. Among the protesters, Freire's name and face appear on the banners as symbol in the defense of education.

In the current historical context, as the conservatives continue to advance in promoting policies of environmental destruction, mass murder of black youth and expropriation of social rights, the defense of Freire's legacy becomes an enduring symbol for defending the right to education, the public good and, above all, becomes a symbol for the defense of the right to life.

Notes

1. Decree n. 3.029, 1881, January (known as *Lei Saraiva—Saraiva Law*).
2. Data published by *Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística* (IBGE), demographic censos, 2000 and 2007/2015.
3. It was the first systematic experiences of Freire' literacy training, in the small and impoverished municipality of Angicos (Rio Grande do Norte, Brazil).
4. "Bolsonaro defends dismissing Paulo Freire as the patron of Brazilian education", *Folha de São Paulo*, April 30, 2019. Online: https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/internacional/en/culture/2019/04/bolsonaro-defends-dismissing-paulo-freire-as-the-patron-of-brazilian-education.shtml.
5. "Estou procurando alguém para ser Ministro da Educação que tenha autoridade, diz Bolsonaro" ["I'm Looking for Someone Who has Authority to Be a Minister of Education, Says Bolsonaro"], *O Estado de São*

Paulo, October 9, 2018, our translations. Online: https://politica.estadao.com.br/noticias/eleicoes,estou-procurando-alguem-para-ser-ministro-da-educacao-que-tenha-autoridade-diz-bolsonaro,70002540505.

6. "Pesquisa mostra que 84% dos eleitores de Bolsonaro acreditam no kit gay" [Survey Shows that 84% of Bolsonaro's Voter Believe in Gay Kit], *Congresso em Foco*, November 1, 2018, our translations. Online: https://congressoemfoco.uol.com.br/eleicoes/pesquisa-mostra-que-84-dos-eleitores-de-bolsonaro-acreditam-no-kit-gay/.

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CHAPTER 9

Critical Pedagogy, Dialogue and Tolerance: A Learning to Disagree Framework

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Introduction

This chapter was equally written by a group of migrant women living, researching, and teaching in New Zealand. It was inspired by our ongoing work in a Paulo Freire discussion group since 2016. Our discussion group engaged with Freire's work in an effort to reach a more complex understanding of the world. Being from Brazil, Colombia, and Ireland, thinking with Freire's ideas has been particularly helpful to make sense of our multifaceted and nuanced realities. Over the past years, we have witnessed the rise of nationalism with Donald Trump in the United States, the controversy over the UK's European Union referendum, the rejection of the peace agreement referendum in Colombia, and the contested election of Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil. We also experienced a wave of feelings, ranging from fear to anger and solidarity, in light of the terrorist attack on

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March 15, 2019, against the Muslim community in Christchurch, New Zealand.

Previously, we argued for open and honest dialogues as a way to overcome the polarization of the "divide and rule" dimensions of such oppression closely connected to the current post-truth era (Farrell, Nieto Ángel, & Maciel Vahl, 2017). The relationship between neglecting the truth and increasing polarization can be seen as a key feature of our time. Building on our ongoing Freirean research and dialogues, we argue that the current political climate with its disregard for the truth generates and intensifies polarization. This creates enormous dissonance and resistance by shutting down possibilities for the emergence of truth by denying dialogical engagements, difference, and disagreement (Darder, 2015). This chapter argues, in light of Paulo Freire's notion of conscientization, that the development of emancipatory consciousness unfolds through critical praxis, dialogue, and disagreement. Requiring, thus, our participation in the world as cultural citizens and subjects of history in order to better understand and change our reality (Darder, 2015; Macrine, 2012). We present not a prescription but a possibility for the development of such a critical consciousness, in our *Creative Tension of Learning to Disagree Framework*.

Knowing, Dialogue and Disagreement

The problem of disregard for the truth is not new. Since circa the seventeenth century, for example, colonization has permeated all dimensions of the social, political, cultural, and economic lives of people, and neo-colonial societies still struggle today with the problems of the unveiling of reality (Bishop, 1998; Lander, 2000; Ramsden, 1994). New Zealand, a former British colony, and South America, a former Spanish and Portuguese colony, are two instances of neo-colonial societies dealing with persistent gaps between the different sectors of society. Although these problems may have manifested in various forms within the different contexts, they face similar challenges of de-constructing distorted views of truth inherited from colonization and reconstructing the social fabric with the support of emancipatory education (Freire, 1996b).

Even in light of the ongoing effects of the past and continuing distortions of the truth, it is possible to come to know. The process of knowing, from a Freirean perspective, starts with curiosity, the desire to know more about something, and from the awareness of our incompleteness, of

knowing that we do not know (Freire, 1996a, 2001). Through intellectual discipline, it is possible to move from a spontaneous and sometimes ingenuous view to a more epistemological approach to curiosity. The act of exploring a theme and looking for its raison d'être is permeated by observations, hunches, and, inevitably, errors. Persistence and humility can help prevent us from being overly confident in our own certainties. For Freire, "it is not the case that it is impossible to be certain about some things. What is impossible is to be absolutely certain, as if the certainty of today were the same as that of yesterday and will continue to be the same as that of tomorrow" (Freire, 1997, pp. 30–31).

There are a number of qualities that are necessary to produce knowledge such as curiosity, doubt, uncertainty, and skepticism (Shor & Freire, 1987). When we begin to question ourselves, the words, and the world around us, we are open to the awakening of critical awareness. We are recreated and so is our knowledge of the world. In the era of post-truth, it is important to note that knowledge is not the same as information. Information that is increasingly peddled as news is decontextualized and separated from the process of knowing. In polarized societies, understanding how knowledge is produced and the necessity of disagreement in the process of its production is essential for dialogue, as disagreement can create the uncertainty that lies at the start of inquiry.

How we come to know is as important as knowing. Through this reflective process, our ability to think critically is developed further. Interrogating knowledge and reflecting on the past can help develop a critical awareness of the world. For Freire, all knowledge is historical, thus provisional. What is considered common sense today may not be regarded as such in the future (Freire, 2001, 2014a). While Freire argues that both knowledge and truth have historicity, this is counterbalanced by a cautious rejection of relativistic perspectives where all interpretations of the truth hold the same value (Freire, 2001). However, while the possibility of history highlights the disagreements of the past, it also means that there is always hope.

Knowledge can be constructed through dialogue. Dialogue is a social process where we communicate with each other, and by connecting with each other, we are humanized (Shor & Freire, 1987). Dialogue necessarily involves another. Our ability to be in relation to others is what identifies us as social, ethical, and political beings. Freire maintains that "human beings are not built in silence, but in word, in work, in action-reflection" (Freire, 1996b, p. 69). According to Freire, we are humanized by our interactions

with one another. Thus, he highlights the need for "the breakthrough of a new form of awareness in understanding the world is not the privilege of one person. The experience that makes possible the 'breakthrough' is a 'collective' experience" (Freire, 2001, p. 77). Following this way of thinking, interaction does not necessarily mean agreement but opening ourselves up to a new form of awareness that allows dialogue and coming to know the world.

Dialogue for Freire is the encounter of people to discuss, create, and recreate the world together (Freire, 2013). Without dialogue, there can be no humanization (Freire, 1996b). And Freire argues that the purpose of being human is to become more fully human; it is an ontological vocation. Dehumanization in the world, as evidenced by injustice, inequality, and oppression, is always an ontological possibility but it can be challenged by dialogical praxis. Thus, restricting possibilities for dialogue, action, and reflection dehumanizes us. The pursuit of humanization is undertaken through genuine dialogue with others as part of praxis. This does not mean, however, that those engaged in dialogue do not face disagreement and conflict. Freire does not believe in suppressing disagreement or difference—indeed, he believes that difference can provide a starting point for dialogue (Roberts, 2000). Through dialogue, people can engage with the conflicts and contradictions of difference by creating a shared intersubjective world, a place for debate, disagreement, accord, and critical inquiry.

Attempts to avoid conflict serve to perpetuate existing conditions (Freire, 2001). As Freire argues, "dialogue is meaningful precisely because the dialogical subjects, the agents in the dialogue, not only retain their identity, but actively defend it, and thus grow together" (Freire, 2016, p. 107). Respecting others' ideas by listening and critically evaluating those ideas does not mean that one must necessarily agree or work to change someone else's point of view. We do not engage in dialogue to compete for the best argument or to push forward our ideas but to connect. By adopting a curious and respectful attitude to different ways of being and thinking, we grow with others.

Dialogue involves people coming together. It requires a shared commitment to working with each other. It also requires a focus on similarities as well as differences, thus producing "unity in diversity" (Freire, 2016, p. 143). This kind of dialogue is democratic in character; it is "democratic communication" (Shor & Freire, 1987, p. 99). Dialogue is not possible between antagonists, and polarization puts us increasingly at odds with

each other. Polarization is not a new phenomenon, but it is one that is increasingly evident in many countries. It places us in a situation where we are more aware of our differences than our similarities, but more than this we come to believe that we are somehow diminished by difference. It is also fuelled by a situation where truth does not matter. Even when it can appear to matter, truth is not open to discussion, debate, and critique; rather, it is weaponized to fight for a point of view.

Polarization, therefore, can be seen as a form of the Freirean concept of oppression, imposing one single view and silencing dialogue. According to Freire, oppression objectifies and increasingly dehumanizes where "the antidialogical, dominating *I* transforms the dominated, conquered *thou* into a mere *it*" (Freire, 1996b, p. 148). In examples from around the world, we can observe tactics such as conquest, divide and rule, manipulation, and cultural invasion employed to maintain domination and oppression (Freire, 1996b). Polarization is antidialogical, widening the gulf between people with different points of view, dehumanizing us. It is not solely by dividing people, but by failing to acknowledge other people's right to take a position or to disagree that we may become isolated in our position and beliefs.

Roberts (2000) argues that "dialogue *depends* on difference" (p. 114). It is difference that moves a conversation to "the sort of rigorous, structured, purposeful engagement Freire sees as necessary in liberating education" (p. 114). Learning how to listen and to disagree while also remaining open and humble about one's position is an important part of the problematizing education that Freire advocated (1997). When disagreement is understood as a pedagogic process instead of a competition, or another tactic of oppression, engaging in dialogue may support us to "explore what each knows and what they can teach each other" (Freire, 2001, p. 8), nurturing a critical awareness of the world in us.

Re-establishing Dialogue: An Ethical Practice

The days following the extremist attacks in the Mosques in New Zealand illustrate how a society faces the intolerable and the challenge of balancing anger, tolerance, and solidarity. Here the idea of 'balance' is used in the sense that Freire suggests a "balanced dosage" (Freire, 1997, p. 27) between opposites in tension which are necessary in the struggle for change in dehumanizing and oppressive contexts. Freire referred specifically to a "balance dosage of both patience and impatience" to maintain

the "possibility of change" (p. 27), understanding change as a permanent struggle rather than as an accomplished state of equilibrium. Similarly, tolerance and anger are both necessary to build transformation.

In the aftermath of the extremist attacks, two slogans became remarkably widespread in the news, social media, government press releases, and the iconography on the streets such as billboards, posters, and murals. One stated "this is not us" and the other "we are one." Those slogans aimed to achieve two main purposes: firstly, conveying an idea of solidarity for those affected by the loss of family and friends and secondly, conveying an idea that New Zealand is a cohesive democratic society where there is no space for discrimination on the basis of race, color, or religious affiliation.

The "we are one" and "this is not us" slogans, however, did not feel truthful or authentic for many members of the Muslim community. Alasani (2019), a child of a Māori mother and an Iranian father, for example, argued that for "many of us, this attack was more of a 'when' rather than an 'if'" (para. 1). She pointed out that although New Zealanders like to think of themselves as sympathetic toward non-European ethnicities, the history of New Zealand "includes a pattern of systematic subjugation of indigenous people" (para. 11). Similarly, Nasr, who grew up as a Muslim in New Zealand, explained that it "feels like negation, not just of my lived experience, but also of our own history as a nation" (Nasr, 2019, cited in Waitoki, 2019).

Additionally, after the shooting, many Māori, as the historically subjugated minority in New Zealand since the beginning of the British colonization process, were confronted with their own particular dilemma. In the face of the Muslim deaths, they had to decide how and when to express solidarity with the Muslim community for the lost lives and for inflicted moral and material harm, but simultaneously still demand the necessary recognition of their own oppression and suffering (Waitoki, 2019).

Although crafted to comfort and express solidarity to the Muslim community, the slogans can be seen, then, as a misrepresentation or distortion of the truth. Both Māori and Muslim communities, among others in New Zealand, shared a lived experience of racism and oppression—a "culture that has othered them" (Waitoki, 2019, p. 140). Nevertheless, the responses to the shootings from both government and media outlets were, in general, one of denial of existing racism (Waitoki, 2019). Instead of taking responsibility and critically analyzing the pervading

oppression, both the media and the government quickly reinforced the idea that there was respect for all. However, from the perspective of what Freire described as "the issue of responsibility in history" (Freire, 1996a, p. 111), the society was and continues to be "faced with decisions, beliefs, valuation, ethics and aesthetics" which require to name, to denounce, and to problematize.

The incoherence between what is said and what is the lived experience of people can lead to the erosion of trust. If our goal is to critically understand reality and be a subject of history, the wounds of the past and the present cannot be ignored. However, in the fast-paced world of social media, reducing polarization, a dogmatic and authoritative expression of one-sided knowledge, is often achieved through avoiding any type of positionality. An appearance of sameness, however, generates oppression by silencing dissent and hindering our ability to name the world.

Freire recognizes the need for *polarities* but criticizes *polarization*. In his work, he integrates dialogue, dissent, and positionality. In *Pedagogy of the Heart*, for example, Freire argues that "in being in favor of something or someone, I am necessarily against someone. Thus, it is necessary to ask 'With whom am I? Against what and with whom am I?'" (Freire, 1997, p. 40). In this statement, Freire points out that a person who knows his or her positionality also understands the necessity of the polarity in favor of/against (Freire, 1997). Dialogue demands distinct positions and opportunities for dissent. Taking a position when it emanates from a process of conscious and critical reflection is part of authentic and democratic dialogue.

How, then, is it possible to take a position and learn to disagree while navigating controversial and emotionally charged topics? In Freire's later works (1996a, 1998, 2001), he paid particular attention to educational virtues. A virtues approach underpins Freire's concepts of dialogue, praxis, and critical consciousness, and his commitment to social justice and democracy. Freire argues that "tolerance is the virtue that teaches us to live with difference and learn from it" (Freire, 1996a, p. 148). Being tolerant means to authentically and respectfully engage with difference and disagreement to learn from each other. One learns tolerance by practicing it, as "the learning of tolerance takes place through testimony" (Freire, 1997, p. 50). Although it is noted that tolerance has been considered a weaker notion when compared to the idea of solidarity in Freire (Mayo, 2000), we argue that tolerance can lead to respectful and authentic engagement with the world and with each other.

Tolerance, when understood as a revolutionary virtue, requires a belief in the abilities of others (Escobar, Fernandez, Guevara-Niebla, & Freire, 1994). "At the point of encounter there are neither utter ignoramuses nor perfect sages; there are only people who are attempting, together, to learn more than they now know" (Freire, 1996b, p. 90). Tolerance is founded on respect for others and in respecting differences. But it is not merely passive acceptance or agreement with other points of view, it is, however, a commitment to engage with others. As critical beings, we may still judge the worth and indeed accuracy of contributions (Roberts, 2003). We do not need to agree with others in order to tolerate, because as Freire (1997) argues "coherence between what we say and do sets limits to tolerance and keeps it from derailing into *connivance*" (p. 51). To speak truthfully, there must be coherence between what we say and what we do.

However, balancing the need to be tolerant and the right to be angry about oppression can be challenging. "Being tolerant does not mean acquiescing to the intolerable; it does not mean covering up disrespect; it does not mean coddling the aggressor or disguising aggression" (Freire, 1998, p. 42). One of the keys to balancing tolerance, disagreement, and anger is to think about our purpose, which for Freire is humanization. When we face the intolerable, we must not dehumanize others. If we dehumanize anyone, we inevitably dehumanize ourselves too. As Freire explains, "respect for the autonomy and dignity of every person is an ethical imperative and not a favor that we may or may not concede to each other" (Freire, 2001, p. 58). As an ethical imperative, we cannot choose to respect only those who share the same values as us, but this is not the same as ignoring or accepting oppressive conditions. When the possibility to reflect, dialogue, and act in the struggle against oppression is interrupted or deformed, so too is the process of becoming. This cannot be acceptable to the critical educator. Tolerance then has its limits.

The virtue of openness is also necessary to learn how to disagree with others while navigating controversy and increasing polarization. It means being permanently open to others but also to the word, it means avoiding being too certain (Freire, 2001). It is impossible to be open to the world and not be aware of our unfinishedness. For Freire, openness is an approach to life:

> In essence, the correct posture of one who does not consider him - or herself to be the sole possessor of the truth or the passive object of ideology

> or gossip is the attitude of permanent openness. Openness to approaching and being approached, to questioning and being questioned, to agreeing and disagreeing. (Freire, 2001, p. 119)

The virtue of openness underpins dialogue and the communication required to initiate it. It comprises respect for difference but also coherence between what is said and what is done. It is a feature of a critical open mind (Freire, 2013). It is an openness to reason but also emotion and desire, an openness to our whole self and that of the other.

As with tolerance, there are also limits to openness. For Freire, openness does not mean that anything is acceptable (Roberts, 2015). It is not limited to taking an open and respectful approach regarding the opinions of others but also a disciplined one, one that is critical and reflective. It does not mean that we "turn off" our critical capacity, or "leave behind our critical consciousness" (Freire, 2001, p. 124). Neither does openness mean believing everything, but it does allow for the revision of previously held positions (Freire, 2001).

Dare to Educate While We Learn to Disagree: The Hopeful Essence of a Critical Pedagogy

For Freire, education is intrinsically political and has always been so (Freire, 1996b, 2001, 2004). Taking a position is, therefore, essential and unavoidable. Any position one takes in education is a political position, even the pretense of neutrality or maintaining the status quo means taking a side. Freire argues that educators be open about their political position but not to impose these positions on their students (Escobar et al., 1994). He encouraged educators to be open about their views and consequently their disagreements and differences. It was his belief that exposure to teachers' views would help students become familiar with the politics and power relations that surround them in their daily lives and education. The teachers' views, along with all other ethical and political perspectives, should, however, be open to critique and challenge (Escobar et al., 1994; Freire & Faundez, 1989). The school as a space for encounter helps students to realize that they have the "right to compare, to choose, to rupture, to decide" (Freire, 2001, p. 68).

Freire also conceived the notion of a "contradictory historical space," in which there is "a dramatic coexistence" of elements such as "backwardness, misery, poverty, hunger, traditionalism, magical conscience, democracy and authoritarianism, modernity and postmodernity" (Freire, 1997, p. 40). Although in the description of this contradictory historical space he is describing Brazil, his homeland, the concept shares important elements with the contradictions that many societies encounter today.

According to Freire, a "contradictory historical space" requires educators whenever "presented with a decision to make - to take position, to rupture, to opt" (Freire, 1997, p. 40). However, for Freire to take a position does not deny the possibility of dialogue in the process of "unveiling of realities" (Freire, 1996b, p. 62). On the contrary, taking a position in the process of the unveiling of realities refers essentially to being in a context with others, and acknowledging different positions instead of attempting to "conquer" others (Freire, 2001, pp. 119–120) or to silence dissent.

Moreover, there are two aspects to the unveiling of realities, as conceptualized by Freire. One aspect is the dialectical process. Comprehension becomes increasingly critical, thus, the oppressed are less alienated, and comprehension evokes new challenges, followed by a more complex understanding of reality (Freire, 1996b). The second aspect is the idea of making known or exposing the facets of reality that remain concealed. These two aspects, the aspect of the continuous dialectical co-construction of knowledge, and the aspect of revealing that which is true, express Freire's concern for attending the process of individual and social transformation toward humanization.

Authentic dialogue acknowledges different positions and allows a process of the unveiling of realities. However, dialogue needs disagreement and engagement with contested issues. Dialogue can only occur where people, including students, have the right to be free to question, explore, and pose problems in a climate of mutual respect and equality where they may co-investigate with each other. This is how we come to understand how society works and thus how to question social structures. Freire warns educators about the risk of reducing education to the transference of contents that are allegedly considered sufficient to "guarantee a happy life" (Freire, 1997, p. 40). Such happiness is, for example, the naivety of those who believe that neo-colonial societies have overcome racist beliefs and attitudes inherited from colonialism and dismiss the imperatives of educating for critical consciousness at all levels in education.

Educating for critical consciousness where both the educator and the learner are capable of questioning entrenched beliefs is difficult and demands the conscious development of virtues. For Freire, educational virtues are inextricably linked to broader human virtues such as love (Freire, 1997; Roberts, 2010, 2016). Love underpins all of the educational virtues, and it is "one of the emotional elements that drives a person forward in any humanizing activity" (Mayo, 2000, p. 385). Additionally, as Darder (2015) points out, "Freire believed deeply - from the personal to the pedagogical to the political - in the transformative and emancipatory power of love" (p. 47). Love underpins the curiosity and intellectual humility necessary to learn, love underpins the openness, tolerance, commitment, and respect required for dialogue, love underpins the care, collegiality, coherence, and authenticity that are necessary for teaching and learning.

Freire supported the idea that teachers should develop a loving attitude toward both their students and the teaching process itself, not in an overly sentimental way but in an affirmative and rigorous manner wherein an "armed love" nourishes the teachers' commitment and responsibilities (Freire, 1985, 1998). Thus, Darder (2015) affirms that Freire saw love as "an intentional spiritual act of consciousness that emerges and matures through our social and material practices, as we work to live, learn, and labor together" (p. 49). She further argues that love, in Freire's view, acts both to uphold a position of respect toward difference and to stimulate unity among and despite differences. In this sense, love is a force capable of supporting dialogue in polarized societies.

Even with an "armed love," however, teaching for disagreement and dialogue, for freedom, and for truth is difficult because it entails risks and can generate fear. The issue, Freire argued, "is not allowing that fear to paralyze us" (Freire, 1998, p. 27), implying that teachers who dare to teach in the contradictory spaces of oppression, injustice, and inequality need to recognize the intellectual and emotional complexity intrinsic in the act of educating and denouncing. These teachers must dare to teach.

The Creative Tension of Learning to Disagree: A Framework

From a Freirean perspective, educating for disagreement and tolerance would entail primarily acknowledging the whole learner and the whole educator as both enter an exploration of the world *with* others. As Freire

points out, "whatever I know I know with my entire self: with my critical mind, but also with my feelings, with my intuitions, with my emotions" (Freire, 1998, pp. 29–30). Mind, body, and emotions are integrated and part of the knowing subject. However, as Freire continues his explanation, he says, "what I must not do is stop at the level of emotions, of intuitions. I must place the objects of my intuition under serious, rigorous investigation" (Freire, 1998, p. 30). Searching to understand the reason for something is part of a curious attitude toward life.

To nurture the attitude of curiosity toward life, however, requires the ability on the part of educators to support the process of knowing as students grow from the tension between desiring to know more and fearing to deepen their understanding when contentious issues provoke contradictory emotions. Moreover, educating for disagreement and tolerance might place educators in at least five educational scenarios that they should examine:

- reasoned disagreement
- visceral disagreement
- antagonistic or polarizing disagreement
- constructive disagreement
- hypocritical disagreement.

When the disagreement is hypocritical, the educands pretend different positions but in reality, there is no serious effort to investigate and unveil realities. In this case, the educator may demand from the learners an ethical positioning that will lead to rigorous reasoning and argumentation.

On the other hand, when the disagreement between the educands is authentic, that disagreement can evolve constructively or it may degenerate into antagonism. Freire invites educators to face the risks in deepening disagreements toward more complex and profound co-construction—*composition*—of the truth, where the notion of "composition" according to Freire entails interacting as a creative process (Freire, 1998, p. 30). On the contrary, "retreat before the first obstacle we face" (p. 28) implies not accepting the responsibility of educating for freedom and truth. The probable obstacles in polarized societies are not only of an intellectual nature but of an emotional nature. Usually, disagreements would refer to situations that are difficult to understand (reason) and accept (emotion).

From a Freirean viewpoint, educators should collaborate with learners to experience the type of disagreement that would cause anger, but also to experience the comforting human bond that allows for solidarity. Together, teachers and students work to refine their abilities for critical analysis without avoiding positionality that is based on a rigorous study of the problems. Educators, nevertheless, must remain aware of the dangers that might turn positionality into the poisonous dagger of dogma and polarization. Polarization leading to authoritarianism can threaten societies and render us unable to unveil realities.

Freire believes that the "world is not made up of certainties" but rather out of the "tension between the certain and uncertain" (Freire & Macedo, 1987, p. 58). He argues that "self-sufficiency is incompatible with dialogue" (Freire, 1996b, p. 71) as it is impossible to dialogue "if I can only listen to myself, if I can only see myself, if nothing or no one other than myself can touch me or move me" (Freire, 1998, p. 40). When our principles are held without any space for doubt and questioning, we close ourselves to the world and only hear echoes of our own thoughts. In contrast, humility and awareness of our unfinishedness and even our ignorance open the possibility for exchange, dialogue, and learning.

The shared pursuit of unveiling realities humanizes us. In contrast, a disregard of the impetus for knowing and understanding can be seen as a sign of dehumanization. Pedagogy and research can support an authentic search for truth by acknowledging the intellectual and the sensitive aspects of such aspiration, bringing together feeling and understanding in order to arrive at the truth (Freire & Faundez, 1989). Here we describe a possibility in our *Creative Tension of Learning to Disagree Framework*, responding to Freire's call for emancipatory consciousness through a critical praxis (Darder, 2015). Figure 9.1 illustrates the creative tension of learning to disagree as a continuum and the role of both, pedagogy and social research in supporting a holistic, participatory, and dialogical approach to co-constructing knowledge.

From a Freirean stance, critical pedagogy and participatory social research are two adjuvant tools in the quest for humanization. Critical pedagogy conceives education as mutual learning, which resonates with the Māori Indigenous concept of "Ako," a relational learning process of both to learn and to teach (Macfarlane, 2007). By promoting a critical analysis of one's own situation in a global environment, "education has the potential to be liberating" (Carnoy, 2000, p. 16). A liberatory education rejects the idea that teachers possess a single truth and, instead,

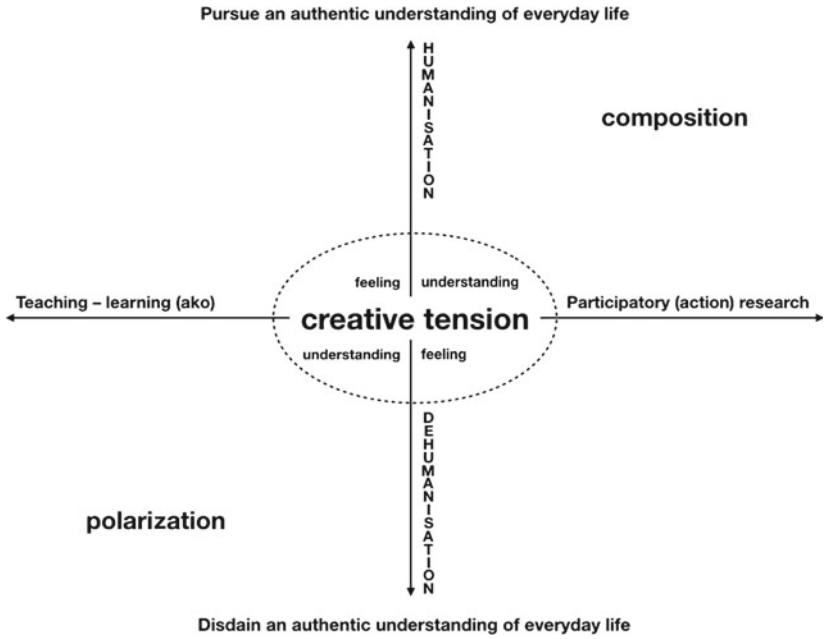

Fig. 9.1 Creative tension of learning to disagree

furthers the idea that "true is to be found in the 'becoming' of dialogue" (Freire & Faundez, 1989, p. 32).

If we think about Fig. 9.1 in the context of polarized societies, we may find greater tension in the quadrant where authoritarian positions (such as those from teachers, parents, or people in positions of power) tend to impose unilateral visions of reality. In these contexts, therefore, the work of the progressive educator becomes more arduous and riskier. However, if progressive educators assume their ethical responsibility with society and with their students, they would skillfully propose "compositions" in which the exchange of disagreements evolves toward the co-construction of knowledge.

Let us take as an example the situation experienced by one of the co-authors who was teaching a first-year university course while we were writing this chapter. The course is titled Education, Culture, and Society, and it is a compulsory course for the Degree of Bachelor of Teaching and

Learning in that university. This situation is an illustration of the possibilities *and* the limitations of daring to teach for disagreement and tolerance. The course problematized the issues of colonialism, power, and ethnicity in New Zealand. To that end, a number of themes were presented for critical reflection and classroom dialogue utilizing newspaper articles, social media logs, and journal articles. The themes proved confronting for some students with pre-existing beliefs about the realities of oppression and racism, often inherited from their families and communities. When one student objected to the perspective of the course because she did not recognize her view of reality, a pedagogical opportunity to put into practice the holistic principle of Freirean pedagogy: "I know with my entire self" presented itself. To this end, her feelings and emotions were acknowledged and, at the same time, she was encouraged to pursue a more complex understanding of the issues. Moreover, the occasion was propitious to support her cultivating her critical capacity so that "ingenuity" could evolve toward "critical thinking" (Freire, 1998, p. 37).

The teacher also offered the student an opportunity in the next class to speak, so she could present her point of view and share her concerns. The following day in the classroom, the student did not raise her concerns and the teacher did not insist on her participation. Afterward, the student recounted that she felt fearful of exposing her point of view because she could be told she was racist. In spite of knowing that to learn tolerance, it is not enough to permit the discussion of other points of view in the classroom but it is necessary to encourage a reasoned discussion, the teacher was also fearful of what could happen and did not wish to expose the student. Such fears were of two kinds: one, intellectual because of her insufficient knowledge about the specific subject of the student's concern and two, emotional because of her insecurity that she could care for the student and expose her disagreement while authentically promoting a better understanding of the context by all of the class. In that space, at the heart of the figure above, the progressive educator finds herself in a creative tension of understanding and feeling.

This experience—a classroom potentially useful to learn about disagreement and tolerance but with no simple resolution—helps us to reflect on the current role of educators committed to liberating pedagogy. How to actualize the ethical commitment to students in this mediatic era, in highly polarized societies that are potentially fragile to violence? We argue that positionality and disagreement, when expressed in open and

rigorous learning spaces, can offer an opportunity to discuss and analyze one's own history and place in the world. As Aronowitz points out:

> the accomplishment of critical consciousness consists in the first place in the learner's capacity to situate herself in her own historicity, for example, to grasp the class, race, and sexual aspects of education and social formation and to understand the complexity of the relations that have produced this situation. (Aronowitz, 2001, p. 14)

However, such capacity to situate oneself and understand the complexity of the relations is unequivocally a space of vulnerability and therefore, an opportunity to care. Situating oneself and understanding such complexities entail both cognitive and affective process, for example, acknowledgment rather than denial and empathizing rather than judging. In the classroom example above, the subject of study—racism in neo-colonial societies—caused the intricate situation of situating the student as a member of a historically oppressive social group and asking her to reflect on the "complexity of relations that have produced such situation." Such a request necessarily interrogated her past and present awarding both the teacher and the student with an opportunity to generate critical consciousness. It required the student to open up to an occasion of recognition and not of denial, but where the nature of the problem immersed her in both feelings and reason, eventually, requiring the teacher to care.

We would argue that in highly polarized societies, where teachers need to dare to offer educational opportunities that engage students in critical reflection, the creative and intuitive abilities of teachers become crucial. Moreover, the space of creative tension of learning to disagree is inherently a space to care. Freire wondered in Pedagogy of Freedom (2001) what would the educators be if they failed their mission of caring:

> What is to be thought and hoped of me as a teacher if I am not steeped in that other type of knowing that requires that I be open to caring for the well-being of my student and of the educative experience in which I participate? (Freire, 2001, p. 124)

As a corollary of this enquiry, the question comes: What does the progressive educator need to *do* in the space of creative tension to be able to "care for the wellbeing of the student" while engaging in disagreement in highly polarized societies?

With Darder (2015), we believe that supporting "the development of emancipatory consciousness does not aspire to create perfect order in the classroom or the society at large" (p. 100). On the contrary, progressive educators would not need to avoid a "terrain of constant renegotiation" and instead embrace more ethical—also contentious—readings of inequality and oppression. Likewise, with Darder, we believe that to challenge the terrain of disagreement and polarization demands a repositioning of emphasis on the relational nature of pedagogy, by affirming the "togetherness" so that together, teachers and students can explore the world and "discover new possibilities for unfettered expressions of humanity" (Darder, 2015, p. 100).

Freire (1998) argues that the concept of pedagogy covers more than subject teaching but also comprises a relationship based on mutual respect for teachers and students' knowledge and cultural backgrounds. Reciprocity is a critical value in pedagogy for Freire. For example, Freire (1996b) feels that "the humanist, revolutionary educator" (p. 56) ought to partner with students to "engage in critical thinking and the quest for mutual humanization" (p. 56). Moreover, he argued that "education must begin with the solution of the teacher-student contradiction, by reconciling the poles of contradiction so that both are simultaneously teachers *and* students" (Freire, 1996b, p. 52). Here it could be argued that Freire italicized the conjunction "*and*" to emphasize the reciprocal nature of teaching and learning. Monchinski (2010) suggests that Freire's critical pedagogy "does not deny that there are differences between teachers and students" (p. 109) but maintains that these differences "must not be antagonistic" (p. 109); instead, they are based on solidarity and respect.

Critical consciousness means critically reflecting on one's self and reality and the way these have been created. While the development of such a consciousness unfolds through critical praxis and dialogue, a framework for characterizing the creative tension of learning to disagree seems helpful. Facing the tension is not an easy task; however, together, progressive educators can dare to support students in understanding reality and balancing reason and emotion. Providing authentic spaces for dialogue and disagreement is, therefore, an act of courage.

Living the Tension: Hope over Fatalism

All current and crucial topics—democracy in the digital era, human rights, immigration, and climate crisis—are immersed in deep controversy. Families and friendships are sometimes hurt and even broken apart due to polarization and a disregard for the truth. Grandparents and grandchildren, siblings, cousins, and childhood friends can struggle to talk and even share a meal together. Many cannot understand how their loved ones can think so differently from themselves. Many others might feel overwhelmed and even paralyzed. In this context, we might lose sight of a broader perspective and "close ourselves in ourselves" (Freire, 2014b, p. 47). Taking a Freirean approach, however, we argue that openness, dialogue, and disagreement are necessary in both education and society. As truth is unveiled through our uncertain ceaseless struggle of action and reflection in dialogue with each other, disagreement is a cornerstone of problematizing our own views and the world.

Educators have a critical role in supporting students' process of composition of knowledge through dialogue and disagreement. The path to navigate the creative tension of learning to disagree includes openness and tolerance, daring to share our stories and struggles and also being open to listen and learn from the stories and struggles of others. It also involves respecting educators and students' feelings, recognizing and valuing the connection between reason and emotion. If we are willing to live the tension, acknowledging our unfinishedness and remaining open to the possibility of continuous learning, we can also remain hopeful about cultivating dialogue over polarization, interconnectedness over isolation, and hope over fatalism.

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CHAPTER 10

South African Freedom Fighter Amilcar Cabral: Pedagogue of the Revolution

Paulo Freire
Translated by Sheila L. Macrine, Fernando Naiditch and João Paraskeva

Introduction

I would like, from the outset of our conversation, to make a point or two more or less clear. In the first place, I feel great satisfaction at being here today. Since my return from exile in 1980, this is the first time, or rather

This chapter by Paulo Freire (1921–1997) is a transcription of a lecture that Paulo Freire gave on November 8, 1985 at the School of Education at the University of Brasilia (UNB), and it was originally recorded, transcribed, and organized in Portuguese by Professor Venicio Arthur Lima. It has never been published in English. Its publication in this book has been made possible by the generosity of Professor Nita Freire, the late Paulo Freire's wife and the executor of the Paulo Freire estate, for which I am eternally grateful. In addition, we would like to extend a special thanks to Alex Oliveira for his technical assistance with this translation.

Paulo Freire: Deceased.

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the second, I have come to the University of Brasilia for a meeting of the Board, but it is the first time I have come, for a conversation such as this one, legally, without any camouflage. Venicio de Lima brought me here in 1981, I believe, along with others, but I came without anyone's knowledge, went into some mysterious room because I was simply forbidden. So, I would like to say how pleased I am to be here with you this morning. Now, the second point I want to stress is that by accepting the invitation to come here to have a conversation about Amilcar Cabral,[1] I do not want to give the impression that I consider myself an expert in his work, thought, or practice.

Obviously, I have been reflecting on Amilcar Cabral's thinking; if I did not know anything about Cabral, it would be difficult to explain why I am here having a conversation about him, as that would be a profoundly immoral act, from an intellectual point of view. However, I want to insist from the beginning that I do not consider myself an expert, though I wish I had become an expert, on Cabral, at least not with the superficiality with which some people, at times, think themselves experts of particular kinds of issues.

I had a great dream of developing a project, a biography of the praxis of Amilcar; in a way I have felt frustrated to this day for not having been able to do it. However, before people start to raise questions, I would first like to make a few comments.

I did not know Amilcar Cabral in person, but I got to know him through the references that people made about him and his involvement in the African struggle against colonialism. It seems to me that it was impossible to even comment on, or speak about, the liberation movements in Africa, above all in the so-called Africas of Portuguese Expression[2] (which to me is more an expression of a Portuguese colonialist stance than that phrase is true), without paying attention to Amilcar Cabral. I always used to say that I did not recognize different Africas, a Portuguese one, a French one, an English one. To me, colonialism imposed itself upon Africa, but without ever having the capacity to turn

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it into Africas of this or that expression. Amilcar Cabral was involved at the gestation of all of the liberation movements in the former Portuguese colonies since the time when he was still young and studying in Lisbon.

Regrettably, I was never able to meet with him in person. That is one of my greatest frustrations; I wish I had gotten to know him personally. However, I do know his work, and I have dedicated myself to studying them after the liberation of Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, and the other countries. I was invited by the Guinea-Bissau government, along with a team I worked with at the time in Geneva, to make a contribution to the people of Guinea-Bissau, and of Cape Verde, as well. Thus, we committed ourselves to develop a serious study of what we encountered in the works of Amilcar Cabral. I remember that I read two volumes of Amilcar's work that were translated into French and only much later was I able to obtain the original text published in Lisbon. I used to read Amilcar page-by-page, word-by-word, making my personal notes, and when our team from the Institute of Cultural Action (Idac) and I went to Guinea-Bissau, we started to engage in conversations with people, from all over Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau, who fought side by side with Amilcar. Based on those conversations, we began to realize, and then to verify, through those testimonials, the enormous coherence that existed between what we read in Amilcar Cabral's writing and what the people were telling us about him. They were youthful people, young people, guerrilla fighters who had fought in the fields and in the jungles alongside Amilcar. Reading Amilcar's work, knowing his personality, and understanding him as a great revolutionary were things that fascinated me, and they completely fascinate me even today. And the idea of the book was born there, from those encounters with the works of Amilcar Cabral and the effects of his work in practice, even with the distance, a great one that existed at times, between what he wrote and what he did in the process of liberation. The putting into practice of his work after the change, after the liberation, does not in any way diminish, to me, the validity of Cabral's political project. Hence, the dream of doing a study was born there, a sort of biography of Cabral's praxis. I actually went as far as naming the book that I wished to write, but was not able to; the title would have been, *Amilcar Cabral, Pedagogue of the Revolution*. In this very title, I established a difference between being a "*pedagogue of the revolution*" and being a "*revolutionary pedagogue*." I think that there is a slight difference, but that does not or should not diminish in any way what it is to be a "*revolutionary pedagogue*." Still, there is a slight difference, but that does not or should not

diminish in any way what it is to be a "*revolutionary pedagogue*." There was a difference that I found to be fundamental: Amilcar to me was a "*pedagogue of the revolution*." I mean, he perfectly embodied the dream of the liberation of his people and the political and pedagogical procedures to realize that dream. I remember, as well, that one of the paths I thought of for carrying out my project on Amilcar was precisely that of listening, to a maximum extent, to the people that had fought alongside him, within Guinea-Bissau, in Cape Verde, and later in other African countries, and later still, to people outside Africa. I went as far as having a conversation with the PAIGC (African Party for Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Independence) leadership, to whom I put my proposal, my project.

I remember I said that, as an intellectual, I felt like a militant, and that the difference between me and some other intellectual was that a different intellectual might conduct very serious research, as a matter of fact, and then write the book without seeking the PAIGC party's permission, or even without engaging in the PAIGC party's debate. But that was not my position. In case the party said yes, I would then get to work and, should I someday get to the completion of what I dreamed to accomplish, I would offer up to the party the original manuscripts before publishing them, so that they could read them and then summon me to debate with me the points the party did not agree with. With a deep sense of loyalty, I would say, "If the PAIGC can convince me of any error on my part, I will remove it, if they do not, I won't." But what I want to make very clear is my political position, and not merely the position of a detached intellectual just interested in the work of a great leader, as was Amilcar Cabral. The party agreed to the project and did not pose any obstacles. I would go further to say that once the text was approved I would gift it to the party, and that I would just work with the publishers toward getting it published, but that the party would retain full ownership rights.

I started work, and then I remembered something regrettable, I had recorded approximately ten interviews in Guinea-Bissau, and they were all lost, all of those cassettes, in our move from Geneva to Brazil. I remember vividly that I had excellent interviews, one of which was with a Cape Verdean, Julinho Carvalho, who is today in Cape Verde and was Armed Forces commissioner in Guinea-Bissau prior to the rupture. I spoke a great deal with that man, who was an extraordinary human being and a great military strategist. I had a fantastic interview with him, we recorded close to two hours, speaking of the political vision, the military vision, which we can term here without any fear, Amilcar Cabral's humanist

vision, without provisioning the humanist objective with any sappy connotation: a humanist vision in the sense of the "radicality of the humane" in him or the sense of the radicalness with which we refer to what is human in him. He then told me of events such as the one I am going to relate here:

One day, he said, a team of commanders, of which he was a member, organized and carried out an armed action aimed at destroying the main Portuguese military base, an irreparable loss for the colonialist forces. In that Portuguese defeat, envisioned in the commanders' planning, the colonialist army would hardly manage to survive. The commander said that they took the plan to Amilcar, that he examined it, discussed it for two hours, and that when he was done, at a given point, he asked the commanders,

> "What about the social cost of putting this plan into practice? Militarily, I have no doubt that it will work. What I want to know is: if we put this in plan into practice what will this cost?"
>
> "Well, we will liquidate the Portuguese troops one hundred percent, and we will lose fifty percent of ours," replied one of the commanders.
>
> "It is too costly to be put into practice."

And, then, Amilcar said something to them that was impressive to me:

> "Listen you have created this plan, a project of war, a project of struggle without paying attention to the fact that we are on the side of history, and that history is on our side. It is the Portuguese that are the ones against history. Therefore, there is nothing wrong if we just delay that ultimate moment of throwing the last shovel of dirt over the colonialist grave and bury colonialism, without losing so many people." And he concluded,
>
> "Our aim is to expose and expel the colonialists and not necessarily to kill them. In order to drive them out, we must kill some, and die."

Notice that what Amilcar states is, contrary to what we might think, very normal, since I could never accept the idea that a revolutionary being is someone who just wants violence, and just wants to kill. That is absurd because that is not what a revolutionary is, that is pathology. Therefore, it is not an attribute of a revolutionary to want to kill people. But that concern on Amilcar's part, told to me by that commander, was an enduring concern present in the struggles and in the analyses he provided in

his writings—in fact, his writings, for the most part, need to be seen as an outcome of those extraordinary seminars, like his evaluations of the armed conflict, and so on, many of which were conducted in the middle of the jungle.

While talking to another young man who worked in Guinea-Bissau as a sort of district supervisor in the area of education, I asked,

> "What impressed you the most in your experience with Amilcar?"
>
> "Comrade Paulo Freire, what impressed me the most about Comrade Cabral was his capacity to know beyond his immediate surroundings and to imagine the not yet." "What might that be?" I asked.
>
> "I think, do I not, Comrade?"
>
> "But of course you think."
>
> "Tell me now, I am not able to think six-hundred meters beyond myself. Comrade Cabral would think six years ahead of himself." "Explain that," I said.
>
> "Once we were in the frontline of battle, in a certain war zone, after a week of taking strong punishment from 'TuGa'[3] Portuguese aviation, and Comrade Cabral arrived for an inspection and studies visit …"

That is what I am referring to here as the seminars that he used to hold in the jungles as an assessment of the armed conflicts or an evaluation of the praxis. Deep down, Amilcar was an extraordinary theorist, and for that reason he was an excellent practitioner. He, then, brought the crowd to one of those seminars. I keep imagining one of those marvelous clearings we can find in the African bushes, in the jungles. And sitting there, in an African way, under the shelter of the huge trees, and Amilcar discussed and talked about how he valued the process of struggle, and in a moment, he suddenly said,

> "I need to withdraw two hundred of you from the battlefront, to send to a different battlefront. I need two hundred of you to send to Guinea-Conakry, to the Capacitation Institute, in order to train and to educate all two hundred and then bring them back to the interior of the country, to the liberated zones, in order to work as teachers."

Then, the young man looks at me and speaks again. Notice how very immediate his reasoning is, and how very similar it is to some of our reasoning in Brazil and Latin America.

> "How is it that I, who had a rifle in my hands, seeing my comrade falling dead by my side, the 'TuGas' killing us, how was I to think, at that moment, that there might be the possibility for two hundred of us to leave the battlefront to go to school?"

So my reply was the following, "But, Comrade Amilcar, this business of education can wait for when we have kicked the 'TuGas' out; then, we can think about education; we can be educated and trained. I thought that you, Comrade Cabral, were bringing another two hundred fighters here, not taking two hundred away from here."

And Cabral replied,

> "And why do you think that is not right?"
>
> "Because we cannot lose the war," said the young man.
>
> "But it is precisely so that we will not lose the war that I need two hundred of you," said Cabral.

That is a beautiful dialogue. This is something extraordinary to me! And the young man continued not to believe and, above all, not to understand.

Incidentally, making a comment, there is something built into this dialogue that says a great deal about the *pedagogue of the revolution*. This is, in fact, what I call *democratic substantiveness*, which does not mean being a social democrat. We must put an end to this kind of revisionism that claims that just because someone talks about democracy that it immediately makes them an individual for social democracy, or a spontaneistic revisionist, or a wimp, or a lot of other such things. We must put an end to the habitual notion that there can only be rigor under authoritarianism. It is necessary for those who say so to own up to their authoritarianism rather than transfer it to others.

It seems to me, then, that the fact of that young man's dialogue with Cabral shows that he indeed held Cabral as a great leader, may no one think otherwise, because he is still the great present leader, not a magically present one or mythically so. Well, obviously, at that moment, he knew that Cabral was the leader, but the leader did not just *speak to* the ones he

led, because he actually *spoke with* them, in addition to speaking *to them*. I would like to make another parenthesis to say that it is fundamental to me that for a radical democratic revolutionary leadership the leadership *speaks to* the ones led. However, what is not possible is for that leadership to stop *speaking with*, and to me there is only one way to *speak to* the ones who are being led without speaking *against* them, and that is to *speak with* them as well. It is only through *speaking with* that one can be legitimized at certain necessary moments when one might run the risk of falling into spontaneity; it is only by *speaking with* that one can, at certain times, legitimize one's right to *speak to*.

That was something Amilcar did in an extraordinary manner; the authoritarian always *speaks to* someone; the spontaneistic thinks that they can never *speak to* and must always *speak with*. To me, those are two false positions, and I would like to make them clear here. My position is that of someone who *speaks to* because he *speaks with*. And Amilcar did so.

At one point in his narrative, the young man then says that Amilcar looked at everyone and said the following,

> "My friends, my fellow comrades, this war will not be won by some of my generation, who will escape; it will not be won by some of your generation, who will escape; rather, it will be won by the generation that is coming up."

Notice what vision Cabral has; this is what I call historic sensibility, what exuded from his pore, that is, the capacity for *reading the world* and not just for *reading texts*. Those who lose themselves in reading only dichotomized texts of the world and the context of these texts constantly fall flat on their faces. The only way to avoid falling on their faces is to take over their own scholarship and then to take care of their own academy. And then Amilcar said,

> "What happens is that, in five or six years, when this now younger generation of little ones out there comes upon the moment of definitive struggle, they will need to use war instruments that are not the ones you are using, war instruments requiring mathematical knowledge that you did not and do not have, scientific knowledge, that the next generation will need. And what we need now is precisely to take two hundred of you to go to be educated, so that you can return and educate and train the others here."

The young man looks at me and says,

> "Comrade Paulo, I then went to Guinea-Conakry. I confess to you, Sir that I went without much understanding, but I went. I went to school, educated myself, and returned. Here, I educated ranks of them, ranks indeed of the generation that had to win, and I saw students who studied with me shooting down "TuGa" planes with rockets, those soviet rockets."

And he went on,

> "Comrade, Paulo Freire, that is why at the beginning I told you, Sir, that I am able to think six-hundred meters around myself, and that Comrade Cabral could think six years ahead of himself."

I still remember that when he told me about this, I took advantage of that situation to segue into talking about my understanding of prophetism. To me, Comrade Cabral was a prophet, not on account of being a bearded madman, or as ugly as a "Beato Salu."[4] There is a misconception, whereby, when they hear mention of a prophet, many people conjure up thoughts of a crazy person, a mad, dirty person who is always making speeches. Not so! A prophet or a prophetisa is a man or woman who lives so intensely today, and because of that they can figure out tomorrow. I deliberately used the words "to figure out" to somewhat recognize the task to "figure out" as in epistemology. I think knowing is not just guessing. However, it does go figuring out, or intuition, if you want to be more polite. A prophet is exactly the person that is not crazy in the least but rather has a deep rooting in today, as he/she fights to transform it. And it is precisely this praxis that is completely immersed in today that allows him/her to predict, figure out, and foresee the future because he/she knows quite well that you actually make the future based on the things that you transform today.

There is no such thing as a predestined future out there waiting for the people who will come along to claim it in a future time. No, we build the future in the process of a radical transformation of today. And that is what Cabral, this man capable of thinking six years ahead of himself, accomplished.

The testimonials I collected in Guinea-Bissau were, more or less, fifteen to sixteen hours of recordings, all taken from different figures, comrades who fought with rifles, who had commanding duties, comrades who were commissioners or ministers at the time of the interviews. Prime Minister Chico Terra also granted me an extensive interview, and he died in

an accident shortly thereafter. All of the testimonials emphasized Cabral's capacity: first, of his ability at anticipating the future; second, they stressed his belief of *speaking with* the people; third, his extraordinary competence paired with historical sensibility, and they mentioned his qualities that are absolutely indispensable for scientific knowledge, in addition to his sensibility for the objective, the concrete, and for objectivity. The interviews also highlighted his deep respect of common sense and to "I think it is" statements, which characterizes the uncertainty of popular wisdom. Cabral really had a profound respect for popular wisdom/knowledge.

I remember, for example, that in one of his texts, where he talked about his assessments of the struggles, he discussed with a group of guerrillas and freedom fighters about their superstition of "cri-cri"[5] power and the belief in the power of the amulets, the "bentinhos," and such things, talismans and other such charms were called "mezinhos." And one fellow argued, convinced that the amulet would cause the enemy's bullet to ricochet, veer off to a side, not hit a man. Cabral listens to that with the wisdom of a political anthropologist and then says, "I would like to say to all comrades that what defends us from the enemy's bullet is whether we know or do not know how to fight." It is whether one has, I would now add, or does not have a certain competence for the struggle that one can only gain in the struggle, and the mezinhos, the lucky charms do not do that. Then, Cabral says, "But the party respects; it respects the belief, the conviction that that is embodied in our culture."

Those were the dimensions of culture that Cabral termed *feebleness* of culture, and such feebleness lay, from the standpoint of his analysis, precisely within the relations between human beings and the natural world. And Cabral defended and responded to this so beautifully, and said that it was not a matter here of reaching for a shovel of dirt under which to bury that magical understanding of the real. It was not about people remaining at that level of feebleness, but rather about starting out from it so as to reach toward overcoming it.

On a political and pedagogical level, that is also what I have been saying since the fifties; nevertheless, there are those critics of mine in this country who say what Freire defends is that educators should remain at the learner's level. That is something incredible. I have never used the verb *remain*, because that would be absurd; I have always used the verb to *start out*. I mean *starting out* from the understanding of the world held by the learner, or held by masses of people, and to *start out* from, unless a dictionary might provide me a contrary view, means to *depart*

from a certain point toward another. Therefore, there exists within the verb to *start out* a connotation of movement, and another of intentionality, and another of directivity. That is why education is indeed directive; it is a *starting out from*.

Well, then, in Cabral, one can see this in an extraordinary way. So he concluded his speech in what must have been a beautiful afternoon in a Guinea-Bissau jungle, "However, I have no doubt that our children's children will praise the PAIGC for having known how to fight, but they will say with a smile: our parents believed in bizarre things, strange things."

Now, let us notice again how marvelous this is! It is in these statements that Cabral affirms himself as a *pedagogue of revolution*. You see, it would be absurd, for example, if some day children said to parents, "You are idiots, and I cannot understand how you can still be alive." However, at the same time, it would also be absurd to make concessions to the feebleness of culture itself; such concessions were not an option. Therefore, the way to deal with it is to talk openly about this feebleness of culture while not stigmatizing it. That Cabral did in everything.

Another testimonial, by a woman who held a very high-up, very important post in the Ministry of Education, also impressed me a lot. She told me that one day Cabral brought together the whole directors' team in Guinea-Conakry, where liberation from French colonialism came before Guinea-Bissau's liberation. There, the PAIGC had a training center (Capacitation Center), and one day, she went on to tell me, in a large meeting for evaluating the process for the struggle for freedom, when he seemed to be adjourning the meeting, Cabral fixed his gaze upon the ceiling of the room. Then he said, "Now, let me think." He then started to speak to himself. He described what Guinea-Bissau would be like, what Cape Verde would be like, after the independence. He went so far as touching on administrative details, speaking about ministries, about departments, which were called commissions. He described and profiled the country as it stepped out of the colonialist muck and constituted itself within the continuation of the struggle for freedom and at the same time consolidating the struggle for liberation.

At one point he stops and looks at the whole group, and one of the team members says, "Comrade Cabral, but is that a dream?"

The problem was that Cabral was pointing out that the dream was quite near.

She then told me that Cabral gave one of those answers that stuck with me,

> "Yes, yes, it is a 'dream.' But there is no revolution if you do not dream. You cannot be a revolutionary without dreaming, the real issue is that you have to know how to fight to make your dreams come true."

Notice how this has to do with Cabral's prophetic dimension, and with a very lucid, very clear awareness he possessed as to the unbreakable relationship between theory and practice, which he never dichotomized. However, he also never made a speech that was purely theoretical, because it would have made the comprehension of the content difficult for his fellow comrades in war and in the struggle.

In Cabral, I learned a great many things, and when I say *in* Cabral, I also mean *with* Cabral. I learned many things, and I confirmed other things I already suspected, but I learned one thing that is a necessity for the progressive educator and for the revolutionary educator. I make a distinction between the two: For me, a progressive educator is one who works within the bourgeois classed society such as ours, and whose dream goes beyond just making schools better, which needs to be done. And goes beyond because what he/she indeed dreams of is the radical transformation of a bourgeois classed society into a socialist society. For me that is a progressive educator. Whereas a revolutionary educator, in my view, is one who already finds himself/herself already situated at a much more advanced level both socially and historically within a society in process.

But, returning to what I was saying, one thing I learned with him in a big way was how a progressive educator needs to make himself simple, without ever becoming simplistic. That to me is fantastic; pick up Cabral's writings and notice how really simple they are, but not simplistic. Simplistic, to me, is a fantastic expression, a powerful one, of elitism; it is even worse than populism but has a lot in common with certain populist orientations. In other words, deep down the simplistic are authoritarian. The simplistic is one who says, "How can I talk to these people who are not capable of understanding me?" He, then, speaks in half-truths, quarter-truths, in fact through mere fragments of truth. In Cabral, we can see the opposite of that, and what he does is talk about the concrete in very serious but simple ways.

I have a picture of Cabral at my house, the only one I ever saw where he stands with a rifle. They told me in Guinea-Bissau that he was horrified by that photo because of one of Cabral's few negative attributes. Apparently, he was not crazy about his short height; I don't know to what

extent that was true, but they say he was short and that he very much disliked his height, especially when carrying a rifle. In this photo, you can actually notice how short he really was when comparing his height with the size of the rifle.

On account of this business about Cabral's height, I will actually allow myself the right to be prosaic and quote one of those clichés:

"Cabral was enormous inside."

I am reminded, though, of one of those testimonials, and if I were an artist I would be able to reproduce the image I have in my memory of what I did not see. The encounter is of the meeting of Amilcar Cabral and Che Guevara in the jungle. As I was told by the person who gave that testimonial, the two of them stood there, one before the other, profoundly attracted to one another. They then embraced. That moment when these two enormous men, one short and the other big, met may possibly have been the only time when Cabral was not bothered by his physical size. It was as if he was completed physically by what was abundant in the physicality of Guevara. The truth is they both complemented one another with regard to their political understanding of the struggle.

It is no coincidence that Guevara did not hesitate in the least to speak about love, with respect to the Revolution, "While running the risk of seeming ridiculous, I must say that there is no revolution without love." And then there is that other beautiful quote from Guevara about tenderness, "One must harden without ever losing one's tenderness."[6] It is not by accident that he would say that, and Cabral would say similar things. Deep down, those men represented to me two of the greatest expressions of the twentieth century. Guevara was also a *pedagogue of revolution* rather than just a *revolutionary educator*, and he had the same popular sensibility, without being a populist. He got the chills as well before speaking before the people, the masses, and he knew what "the people" meant. Yet, Amilcar did not have any fear to speak in front of the people. He knew what it meant to meet "ordinary people."

The Historic Process in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, with Their Differences, in Search of Unity

One day, early on in my visits to Cape Verde and to Guinea-Bissau, I asked one of the ministers whether it would be possible for some form

of political, cultural, and economic solidarity to exist, in fact, among the "five sister-nations," while preserving each country's administrative and political autonomy. After all, it seemed to me that there were certain historical and cultural rifts between the *two* societies, and thus it seemed to me difficult to set those aside so as to form one single block. The very forms of colonizing Portugal adopted were the cause of one such rift, the colonizing procedures employed in Cape Verde and in Guinea-Bissau were distinct procedures. The impression I have is that the colonizer chose the Cape Verde archipelago as a location for the production of assimilated individuals, for the most part. That was the political dream of the Portuguese, which did not work. Such was the policy with regard to the meztico populations (an intricate combination of interracial relationships), the mixed-race, lighter-skinned, rather than darker-skinned, population of Cape Verde. There an intellectuality was formed that had a chance not afforded other meztico communities.

Portugal had planned to garner their own ranks from Cape Verde, which they did, as necessary intermediaries to the colonial administration in the other colonies, or in the so-called provinces. That took place over a long period, and this single fact alone marked one distinction with respect to the other colonies. Thus, I could see, for example, a greater ease, and I am not sure that is the word, a greater degree of applicability at the time of Cabral's proposals in Cape Verde than in Guinea-Bissau. For instance, there seemed to be greater coherence between what was said and what was done. I found that somewhat difficult; there was a certain jealousy, without wanting to discuss here whether it was right or not, on the part of those in Guinea-Bissau, and that aspect was exploited, from the standpoint of the right, with respect to the Cape Verdeans.

I find it to be absurd, linguistically speaking, and indeed unfeasible, to teach Portuguese to the popular masses in Guinea-Bissau. It is a political unfeasibility, but at times that unfeasibility is not political. Imagine, if you would, that Brazil had gone into a revolution, were living a revolution, and that we approached the Brazilian rural workers, the laborers, the factory workers to say the following, "You see, in order for our revolution to fly, we are just going to have to educate in the Spanish language now; it is the same thing." But I remember that in my first consultation with Mário Cabral; in my first letter in *Cartas a Guiné-Bissau* I make reference to this problem.

When we arrived in Guinea-Bissau, I did put that issue to the ministry's teams, and they told me that it was not so, that there was bilingualism,

to a great extent, in Cape Verde, for example. "There, you can educate in the Portuguese language without violence (to the culture)." I would not say that it was entirely without violating the culture; it was a lesser violation perhaps, but it could be done. More so in São Tomé. However, in Guinea-Bissau, in Angola, and in Mozambique it would be a major violation.

Mozambique and Angola are in a worse situation than Cape Verde or Guinea-Bissau. In Angola and Mozambique, the situation is dramatic because they did not develop, and historic and social conditions did not allow for the development of a language such as Creole. A Creole did not develop in Angola and Mozambique; what we have in those countries are the national ethno-cultural languages of the different groups of people. There are some thirty languages. … I could understand such difficulties.

Politically, neither the MPLA (Popular Movement for Angola Liberation) nor the Frelimo (Mozambique Liberation Front), for example, can approach the people of Angola and Mozambique and decree that one of those languages will be the national language. Doing so would be a disaster. Therefore, the only political solution available, as a result of linguistic nonviability, was to make the colonizer's language into the language for a task that is an impossible one: to educate children and youth in a foreign language. Let me read, here and now, from a letter[7] published in the book *Por uma Pedagogia da Pergunta*.

However, this language issue posed a problem, a great challenge that the revolutionary leaders had to face. Please note that, not meaning to be simplistic or a reductionist: In the process of independence, there may be, *broad brush*, two possibilities as to the political orientation to be implemented once the national group has risen to power. The first one would be, for example, while breaking with colonialism, falling, nonetheless, into neocolonialism, that is, a sweetened form of colonialism.

Furthermore, neocolonialism cuts down on expenses for the colonizer, who spends less and profits more, because maintaining a space occupied by colonial officials, a bureaucracy, is not necessarily needed. That bureaucracy is gradually replaced by a national one, at a lower cost. Within such neocolonialist stance, the colonizer's language continues to be absolutely fundamental. Thus, the colonizer goes to great lengths toward the preservation of that language as a power presence. The other political option is a fundamental rupture from the colonialist and a departure toward a type of society that is made independent.

Obviously, for nations in the process of building their autonomy, the issue of language is absolutely crucial. After all, the whole business of formal language is, first of all, an abstraction, and what is indeed concrete is language use. The whole business of the Portuguese language, linguistics, all that is an abstraction; what is concrete is the way the people speak, the people's discourses, which are class-based. A class-based discourse is subject to cultural class changes, to influences, and so on.

Now, consider that the problem of language use is that it is directly impacted by errors of culture and of class subjectivities. That is why one of the first measures taken by the colonizer is to seek to impose its language upon the colonized. It is fantastic how the colonized capriciously guard against it, "Let us make use of the language so as to make things easier." The colonized find defenses against the foreign occupier-language by speaking and maintaining their own language, termed by the colonizer strictly as a bastardized dialect. The colonized can do so because they become convinced that they have a moment of freedom when they express themselves in their own manner of being and of speaking, in their language. Well, that is why the language issue is so fundamental.

I remember that one of the measures taken by President Nyerere, who just stepped down in Tanzania, was to phase in the change from English to *Swahili*. In a given year, he overcame English in preschool; the following year or two years later, he overcame English in elementary and middle schools. They may possibly have gotten to college level by now.

Nyerere is another great African that I disagreed with from time to time, but to me, he is one of the great educators of the twentieth century, not only in Africa but also in the world. He is just not known in Brazil; he is better known in English-speaking countries. I talked with Nyerere a great deal about this issue of cultural identity, and he had the fascinating advantage of speaking both *Swahili* and English brilliantly. He spoke the English from Oxford English and the *Swahili* from Tanzania.

So this issue of language has to be a central, an essential concern in any political struggle process because the problem of language lies within any program of culture. There is a saying from Amílcar that I think is fantastic, "The struggle for liberation is a cultural fact and a factor of culture." So now you can see why language is a matter of culture. So for me this should be one of the starting points and should be seen as a concern.

Now, obviously you cannot think that this is easy. When I spoke with the minister, I used to say to him, "Look, we must win this fight, we must

win this war." We suggested bringing in a group of linguists with a great deal of knowledge of African languages. However, it is not easy to adopt the Creole language, for example, as the national language that mediates the cultural and political formation of its people. Where might one find the money and the technical, scientific competence needed to translate all the fundamental works that Guinea-Bissau has yet to produce, and that need to be read, studied? How can all that be put into Creole overnight, with what money, what time, and with what competence?

Revolution is not child's play: It is something very serious, and all those issues have to be thought through, including the language issue. When the time came to share our advice, I thought immediately that it was an impossible task. However, a little over a year after arriving there, I wrote a long letter to the minister, which I discussed above.[8] I did not publish it in *Cartas a Guiné-Bissau* for political reasons, as a matter of respect, and as a tactical issue. Later on, I ended up publishing it in a book coauthored with Antonio Faudez, *Por uma Pedagogia da Pergunta*.

What I sought to draw attention to is how, deep down, using the Portuguese language as the mediation-language in the political, ideological, scientific, and technical formative process of the former colonized is to use superstructure as a determining factor in the social class divisions within the very body of the revolution, and that is a paradox. I said to the minister, "Listen, what do you think is going to happen? Bilinguals? Pure bilinguals? Those bilinguals are just a few of the Portuguese bourgeoisie who live in the urban centers. Say, for example, you are wonderfully bilingual, possibly, but I know a Cape Verdean who doesn't even speak any Creole, he only speaks Portuguese."

Then I said to them, "Listen if these things continue this way, what is going to happen? One might say that, those governing this country twenty years from now will be you. And what will be the role and the participation of the great peasant masses of this country within process of national reconstruction and the creation of a real popular democracy? What role? Tell me where are the masses in this process? They will not play a role, precisely because you people will continue to select for power, through schooling. And obviously, when it comes to a choice between your child who is bi-lingual, and the child of a peasant or rural laborer, who is not bi-lingual, who only speaks Creole, their ethnic language, your child will pass the courses, especially if the evaluation criterion continues to be bathed within the Portuguese intellectualist frameworks."

What if the schools continue to evaluate a child's capacity for knowledge through the rote learning and memorization of geography and history, without considering in the evaluative process the child's ability to read the world that the non-Portuguese-speaking child has, the wisdom that child has gained as well, what if none of that is taken into account in the evaluation? What will happen, then, is that only bilinguals will be able to pass to the top of the class. At that point, I can tell who will be governing this country.

So I put forward two or three propositions in that aforementioned letter. For example, I provided an analysis of a brilliant experience that took place there regarding a community vegetable garden group that grew out of the literacy courses. When the literacy courses ended, the learning that the group came away with was the discovery of the value of collective work rather than ba-be-bi-bo-bu. Then I demonstrated from my analyses the importance of this, in one of the letters to them, in 1977.

The government then began to accept the changes and debate around that, much more openly than before, and I could actually understand the difficulty in doing so. One day the president himself told me, "Comrade Paulo Freire, among us we have those that do not accept Creole. They think that it is not a language but an ugly dialect. But obviously this is due to the fact of the penetration of a powerful dominant ideology; even after struggling as we have, one still ends up accepting the colonizer's profiling of one's culture, one's history, and one's self and therefore deeming one's own language too ugly and incompetent to express one's science, technology and art."

For example, in a previous book I claimed that there is no reason for the Portuguese, the German, and the French, just to mention those three forms of language expression, to resent having to use the English word *stress*. There is no way you can translate *stress* into those languages, you just have to say *stress*. After all, the problem with language evolution is that it is deeply linked to the development of productive forces of any society. I say one's process of technological and scientific development of one's productive forces, or one is not a good Marxist. Now, what happens is that North-American technological development added its own economic, technological, and political power to the previous tradition of power, which was exactly Britain's economic-political power over the word. The English language became a modern Latin, for the same plain reasons why Latin was the previous Latin. To claim that Creole does not have the same capacity to express its own science, technology, and art is

reactionary, it is nonsense, it is pure nonscientific ideology, because Creole is capable of expanding and developing like any other language. Which language is there today that does not have influences from the English language?

For me, the only slip on Cabral's part is precisely in this work of his that I have right here, when he says, "The greatest gift the 'TuGas' left was language." That was one of the rare instances of naiveté by Amilcar. I talked about that in Guinea-Bissau, in one of my interviews. I would tell people, "I cannot understand how an individual who was as rigorous as Cabral, and as cunning at the same time, could have said something like that." His own widow told me, "It is important to understand that text and the historic and social context in which he stated it."

This question is both fundamental and crucial today, and any analyst of Cabral needs to emphasize this. In any event, what they told me there was that, at the time when Cabral made that statement, some analysis was called for; the risk was emerging in the struggle of a certain sectarization that led Cape Verdeans and Guineans to oppose any Portuguese, to oppose the Portuguese culture, to oppose the Portuguese language, to oppose all things Portuguese. Cabral needed, then, to curb the risk of strengthening in that perspective, which, I agree, would have weakened the struggle itself.

There was, deep down, a certain naiveté there, because the issue for the colonized as regards the colonizing culture is not to negate it. I mean, it is to negate it ethically; it is not to say that there is nothing of value in it. In that, Cabral was most lucid.

No culture can be judged as absolutely bad or absolutely good. Cultures are necessarily different from one another. So the issue is how to take advantage of the positive deeds that the "TuGas" have done. They told me that it was in that context that Cabral said what he said. Therefore, it was a tactical statement. However, if I were Cabral's comrade and friend at that time, I would have told him the following: "Do not publish this Cabral; change it. Even with all tactical skills that you must have, you have other ways to avoid sectarização (divisions)." By saying what he said, he was admitting to something absolutely nonexistent, which was that language was purely a tool. Then, I do not believe it was simply a matter of tactics; I believe that, in this case, Amilcar was in error. But it is nice to find a doozie of an error in an individual as extraordinary as he.

The Engine of History

In *Cartas a Guiné-Bissau*, at some point, perhaps out of sheer intuition, I state that Amilcar fought for a scientific understanding, but never a scientifistic one, of reality. In the second place, my impression, my conviction, is that Amilcar was a great distance away from positivist criteria. Amilcar was, to me, a very good Marxist, who undertook an *African reading of Marx*, not a German reading of Marx, nor a nineteenth century reading of Marx. He engaged in a twentieth century reading of Marxist Africa. It is for no other reason that, in the serious speech he gave in Havana, he rules out accepting the assertion that class struggle is the engine of history.[9] He negated that in Cuba, and he argues in his writing that it is not class struggle, properly speaking; he historically analyzes the emergence of classes from a technical, a Marxist, standpoint, and asserts that much more than class it is the mode of production that constitutes the engine of history. I have the impression as well that, from the Marxist point of view, when one speaks of class struggle, one possibly does not do so solely taking class to its most technical, most exact sense. Even prior to the historical emergence of social classes, there were conflicts; there were already struggles between contradictory interests, between dominant and dominated. But Cabral put it with great independence in Havana, saying that one of his reasons for rejecting class struggle as the engine of history is that he could not accept that Africa had had no history, before. He later poses two epistemological questions. One is this: What took place before the struggle, before the resistance of the classes, and what will there be afterward? Can it be that history will end? This second question seems even more serious to me: Could it be that with the socialist revolution in the world, with the suppression of antagonistic classes and so on, that history will end as well? Might the socialist revolution be a heralding of the end?

If it were, I would prefer that it was not. Indeed, what I really love is the history itself. And Cabral poses this question with great independence. But what I think is the following: Such an extraordinary man like Cabral should be studied next to another, to me, that extraordinary figure is Gramsci. I do not know if Amílcar studied Gramsci. He never mentions or makes reference to Gramsci, but not on account of being remiss. He truly did not read Gramsci. The works of Gramsci began to be translated when Cabral was fighting and already in the jungles. Gramsci's first books were translated into Spanish and came out when I myself was in exile.

Now, notice how both men, Cabral and Gramsci, are moved by culture, without, however, neither one nor the other having hyperbolized culture. But this was what practically both did, one writing in jail, an arrested captive, thinking his head off, the other writing in the jungle—as I have no doubt that Amilcar's works, with a few exceptions, for example, his writings from youth, in which he was much more of a poet, were mostly written in the jungle, while fighting.

There were perhaps two types of texts, the ones he wrote for the struggle in the jungle, and those meant for the political fight within the United Nations and in universities. Notice this man's genius, "The liberation struggle is a political struggle for an armed moment, not the other way around." He never said that the struggle for liberation is a war with a few touches of politics. I mean, there are those who think there is never any politics, just bullets, and he says the opposite: It is a clearly political struggle and fight with its armed moments.

And Cabral used both of these moments. He fully lived the substantivity of the struggle. For that reason, he theorized. One day he was in one of the jungles in Guinea-Bissau fighting, and two days later he was receiving the title of Dr. Honoris Causa in one of the universities in the United States and making a speech, as he accepted his doctorate, about the struggle for liberation in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde.

He would head for the United Nations to fight, and his first great victory was political. He managed to convince the United Nations, and the United Nations convinced the world, that his country was a country occupied by Portugal. The United Nations went there, inside the jungle, in order to rule for independence. That is something extraordinary. Something formidable took place there: Conscientization was brought to the Portuguese army by their losses. There came a point when changes would not have occurred in Portugal, the so-called Carnation Revolution, had there not been a war in Africa. It was the Africans in their jungles who transformed and toppled the Portuguese right. They did it.

What I related in *Cartas a Guiné-Bissau* is true: A Portuguese soldier would come down and stab a pregnant woman. He would shake the fetus up and down and spear it on his bayonet. That was true, true.

One day the people received Soviet instruments, obtained through Cabral's fantastic political acumen; he worked on the Soviet Union well to that end. And as the Portuguese would approach, flying, singing along, they started shooting them down like crazy, those boys from the generation I have discussed here. Each airplane that flew by would come down,

as the boys did not miss a shot. The pilots would no longer go up; they did not want to go, and they had to make an internal change in Portugal.

So, that is why I think a person like Amilcar Cabral should be studied side by side with a person such as Antonio Gramsci. What is the big difference between the two of them? Amilcar died possibly older than Gramsci, and Amilcar had countless years of war in the bush, in the jungle. Conversely, Gramsci was in jail for many years. But I have a conviction that if we study their texts individually or together, it would have enormous importance, and such a study must be undertaken by educators. I think one of the things that is lacking right now for educators is exactly this understanding of education policy and pedagogy.

The Inexperience of African Leaderships

My friends, what did this mean to a lucid leadership? An invasion by European groups, both private and public, and state agencies; they descended upon the airports in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde to bring development proposals after the countries in the region attained autonomy. In their majority, such proposals were not for development in the interest of those independent peoples; rather, they were in the interest of the agencies. They found that the national leaderships were inexperienced, having only had a great deal of experience in fighting war in the jungles, while lacking this other type of experience with diplomacy, with economic debate, and with an understanding of planning in the interest of the people; all of that had to be worked out, including what all this would cost them to countries in international aid terms.

A United Nations *expert* did not go to Guinea-Bissau without being paid six or seven thousand dollars per month, because an *expert* is not a political militant, incidentally, being an expert for that very reason. I don't mean to sabotage anyone; the expert deserves to get paid. But what does that mean from different points of view? It impacts the environment, the politics of the region, local habits. What does all that mean? So that is what I would like to discuss here: The difficulties faced by inexperienced leaderships. We already know how it is not easy; this country of ours here, it is said, became independent on September 7, 1822. That's right, and it remains in extraordinary dependence. It wasn't that long ago that a Chilean woman used to come around once in a while to tell Brasilia how economic development should be done; it wasn't that long ago. So you

might imagine what that is from the standpoint of constructing the autonomy, the independence, and the cultural identity of the African peoples.

Notes

1. Amilcar Cabral (September 12, 1924–January 20, 1973) was an African agronomic engineer, a writer, a freedom fighter, a Marxist, and a nationalist politician. Cabral led African nationalism movements in Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands and led Guinea-Bissau's independence movement. Guinean natives, who were agents of Portuguese colonialism, assassinated him in 1973, just months before Guinea-Bissau declared unilateral independence. On April 25, 1974, the military dictatorship that had ruled Portugal was overthrown, resulting in independence movements in Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde islands. The struggle for independence was under the leadership of Amilcar Cabral and the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde islands (PAIGC).
2. Translator's note: Those Africans of Portuguese cultural and linguistic orientations, who were basically the colonized.
3. Translator's note: TuGa is a pejorative term that was used in colonist Africa to refer to the Portuguese, a kind of slur.
4. Translator's note: a Brazilian fictional caricature, a mentally challenged bum, a religious fanatic who prophesizes on the streets. Beato Salu was in a novella, a soap opera actor in Brazil in the 1980s. He was famous for playing as a crazy old man.
5. Cri Cri power was supernatural power or superstitions, and the amulets that were used were called bentinhos.
6. Translator's note: This is a well-known Guevara saying.
7. At this conference, after this idea, Paulo read a letter that he wrote to Mário Cabral in July 1977. This letter appears in a book *Por uma Pedagogia da Pergunta*. Rio de Janerio: Paz e terra, 1985, 127–134. Nita Freire added a footnote to the original Portuguese version of this chapter in the book *Paulo Freire: Pedagogia da Tolerancia*. This volume can be found in "A Paulo Freire Series" of volumes, coordinated by Nita Freire, and published by UNESP.
8. Cf. footnote 3.

   Translators note: In Das Capital, Marx wrote that class struggle was the engine of history, but deconstructionists, postmodernism, and the like have now generalized the class struggle to include race, class, and gender, plus postcolonial revenge against the West.

CHAPTER 11

Toward a Critical Pedagogy of the Global

Noah De Lissovoy

Common usage of the term *globalization* conflates two different meanings. On the one hand, this term is shorthand for a specific set of economic and political initiatives undertaken by global elites as part of a new phase in the history of capitalism. In this usage, the term refers first of all to neoliberalism—the global disciplining of workers, the poor, and developing societies in order to respond to a crisis of accumulation in the leading capitalist societies—though secondarily it refers as well to the spread of transnational corporations and consumerism more generally. On the other hand, globalization is also used to refer to a more fundamental process of the withering of the nation-state system as the primary framework for organizing social and political life, and the worldwide cultural interpenetration that reorganizes human society and identities on a planetary scale. This second sense of the term is existential as well as political and is more or less synonymous with *globality*. Of course, we live in a particular world, one dominated economically, politically, and culturally by very particular elites, which means that even if these two senses of globalization

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are different on paper, by and large they overlap in fact, since our experience of the shift to globality is essentially mediated by the powerful and by *their* vision of what a global society can and should look like. And of course, to the extent that the development of capitalism is the engine that has historically driven the reconfiguration of human life on a vaster and vaster scale, it is not surprising that globalization should be experienced as a new set of experiences of production and consumption.

Both of these meanings and dimensions of globalization pose dramatic challenges for people everywhere. First of all, globalization has so far meant, among other things, the decline of stable jobs and good benefits for many workers, the proliferation of conditions of super-exploitation for others, the abandonment of many to no livelihood at all with the dramatic movement of firms around the globe, the destruction of traditional economies and forms of life, forced migration, cultural imperialism, and predatory consumerism, not to mention environmental degradation and perpetual war. For children and youth, these processes have been devastating, leading to important threats to survival and stability. For young people in the Global North, these include the specific challenges of incarceration, unemployment, and lack of medical care, among others; in the rest of the world, the destabilizations associated with globalization have made children the targets of war, child labor and slavery, conscription into child armies, and new pandemics. But besides these problems, which are associated with the first, directly political-economic, sense of globalization mentioned above, there are additional, if less tangible challenges associated with the second sense of globalization—that is, the shift to the condition of *globality* itself, the organization of human life and meaning on a much vaster and more complex scale. At the most basic level, this movement toward a global organization of social life means the frequent interruption of local narratives and expectations, as well as the experience of powerlessness in the face of apparently vast historical forces. It is also associated with the replacement of familiar frameworks and modes of communication by alien ones, the deterritorialization of identities, and the assimilation of daily practices to a new set of general and planetary social habits. If these are dramatic changes for people generally, for young people they are particularly stark, unmooring them from familiar contexts, teaching them extreme forms of alienation, and throwing them headlong into the coldness of a future with no guarantees.

Of course, many observers have pointed out that globalization and the condition of globality also create new and important social possibilities and opportunities. The very insatiability of power and the incessant expansiveness of capital, as they remake the conditions in which people work and live, driving them ever more completely into the culture of the commodity, also create a new kind of commonality between people everywhere. This means that while people increasingly share in the experience of subjugation to the same free-market fundamentalism, they also potentially share in new forms of oppositional identity. In addition, the spread of popular culture around the world (even if not in all directions equally) potentially makes possible new and powerfully hybrid forms of art, politics, and identity. The tools of the powerful, in particular telecommunications and the Internet, are to some extent also available for global social justice movements. And it may be that Marx and Engels are still correct in their view that there are certain forms of parochialism that it is a blessing rather than a curse to be made free of through the influence of the spread of capitalist culture and the struggle against it (Marx and Engels 1967, pp. 82–84). It is important, at any rate, to point out that if there are positive possibilities that emerge through globalizing processes, they are important precisely in being creatively discovered *in resistance* to actually existing globalization. This accounts for the complex identity of the new transnational protest movements, which are both anti-globalization and pro-alternative globalization at the same time.

If young people are especially exposed to the dangers and challenges of globalization described above, they are also at the cutting edge of the opportunities it presents. After all, if these opportunities are to be taken advantage of productively, and if the threats to sociality and survival that are posed by global immiseration, war, and plunder are to be countered, it is young people who will do it. Thinking carefully about education and pedagogy is crucial in this regard. Furthermore, given the reorganizations of experience and identity produced by globalization mentioned above, it is clear that teaching and learning as part of the movement for social transformation must be reconceptualized in some fundamental ways. Put simply, critical pedagogy as such is insufficient in this conjuncture; what is needed is a *critical pedagogy of the global*. This must be more than a recognition of, and a determination against, the evils of the rulers. In addition, a critical pedagogy of the global must be able to reckon with the fundamental transformations of consciousness, experience, and identity that are central to the shift to the historical condition of globality. Not

only does this mean a consciously transnational perspective, but it also implies a flexibility and innovativeness that can respond to the terrifying (and sometimes exhilarating) openings that the landscape of the global forces upon us. In the essay that follows, I will sketch the broad outlines of such a pedagogy through an exploration of several central theoretical dilemmas that critical educators and activists are confronted by in the context of globalization.

Globalization and Identity

Changes in the objective structures and conditions of social life are deeply intertwined with changes in the kinds of meanings that can be constructed to give sense to the lives of individuals and communities. Globalization puts familiar forms of identity under pressure, as people are variously marginalized and incorporated by new economic and political processes. Widespread immigration, which is itself an effect and crucial dimension of the global economy, challenges given identifications as well as provoking new ones. For example, Saskia Sassen describes how immigrants in the United States are incorporated into a new "serving class" upon which depend the elite beneficiaries of the global economy (Sassen 1998, p. 90). At the same time, the feminization of service work gives women in this sector access to income and independence that they often did not have before. Globally, gender identities and worker identities come together in ways that are empowering (as when women make use of gendered modes of communication and organization in the service of workplace solidarity) as well as disempowering (as when capital takes advantage of the devaluation of women's work in order to increase the rate of exploitation) (Mohanty 2003). Beyond this, globalization puts in doubt the validity of national identifications generally, as the national space is penetrated by supranational economic and political processes which throw disparate populations together in new ways, while revealing in especially dramatic fashion the fundamentally imaginary nature of national identity in the first place. Thus, the diversification of the population in the United States challenges white-supremacist assumptions about the cultural content of "Americanness," which is expressed in new forms of linguistics, xenophobia, and racism. In this connection, Arjun Appadurai describes the difficult dialectics of "majority" and "minority" populations within the context of the insecurity provoked by globalization. Ethnic cleansing and

genocide are catastrophic attempts to respond to this uncertainty, as "majority" populations seek to exorcise the implicit threat posed by minorities and demographic diversity generally—namely, the possibility that these majorities represent merely a contingent demographic reality rather than a pure expression of the nation (Appadurai 2006, pp. 82–84).

Globalizing processes reorganize the basic conditions for being and understanding the limits of oneself and one's context. Globalization literally and figuratively deracinates and deterritorializes people, throwing them out of occupations which gave meaning to their lives, and disrupting communities and cultures. But it also powerfully articulates individual lives to global forces, and through them, to the terrain of the global itself. The North American Free Trade Agreement has wrought havoc on indigenous communities in Mexico, while also provoking them into forms of resistance that directly confront not merely the local *cacique*, but the heart of globalizing capital itself. Furthermore, this resistance serves as a crucial node in a worldwide set of popular movements of opposition. In this way, alongside the prevailing mode of globalization as the increasingly total subjugation of the social to capital, there is as well a dramatic alternative and oppositional vista, on an absolutely different scale from the old visions—the scale of the totality. In addition to the traditional vertical projections of identity upwards from the soil of community, ethnos, and nation, there is the possibility of a horizontal extension, as people are linked sectorally to others resisting the same social forces and conditions across the globe. This is a dramatically new reconfiguration of class identification and struggle, as the vast majority begins to find a new solidarity against an increasingly embattled global elite. The movements of the dispossessed in South Africa, as Ashwin Desai reports, have given rise to an original identity, outside of and opposed to the party, ethnic, racial and workerist ones of prior struggles: the "poors" are all those who find themselves sharing the common condition of subjugation to a neoliberalizing economy managed by a "revolutionary" capitalist party (the African National Congress) (Desai 2002). But this is not simply a negative identification, the designation for those who have been left behind by neoliberalism; this is also potentially the banner of a powerful new social subject. The poors stake a claim to the empty space laid bare by globalization—the space of the discarded, redundant, and marginalized. History, they say, belongs as much to them as to the rulers and managers.

Of course, there are also less oppositional articulations of the opportunities opened up by globalization for new identities, subjects, and citizens. The boosters of capitalist globalization tout in particular the exciting forms of empowerment available to the emerging middle classes in developing countries. Thus, Thomas Friedman is ecstatic about the upward mobility of Indian service workers employed in call centers and high-tech firms (Friedman 2005, p. 25). He is silent with respect to the violence of capital, except to the extent that he notes that some populations have not yet figured out how to connect to the benefits of the new "flat world" of globalization. A more sophisticated version of this optimism is promoted in the currently fashionable idea of "cosmopolitanism," which argues that globalization makes possible a kind of transnational citizenship that values cultural difference while also promoting certain ethical universalisms (Appiah 2006). This proposal glibly runs together the vast range of different confrontations with the global; the intellectual's leisurely appreciation for the varieties of human experience is different from the peasant's sudden apprehension of a neoliberalized economy which forces him or her out of a livelihood. But the idea of cosmopolitanism does foreground an important new form of agency, if properly appropriated. The power of protest on the global scale is made possible, after all, by a truly transnational and cosmopolitan effort of communication and coordination, even if the effects of this protest remain so far uneven and difficult to assess.

Marx and Engels argued that the conquest of the world by the capitalist mode of production was a brutal and tragic passage, as well as an enlightening and productive one, since it opened a broader vista for the vast majority and made possible a general human and historical progress (Marx and Engels 1967, pp. 82–84). This perspective may too quickly dismiss what has been lost and damaged. It is wrong to assume a priori that the historical dialectic is ultimately worth the ravages of its unfolding. By the same token, however, it is important not to overlook the powerful possibilities made available by globalization as a general process of cultural transformation. It is important to explore the new windows that are opened on and for human being by this basic shift in the conditions of existence. The global perhaps unfolds a new technology of the human, of which the glossy new software and communications technologies are only a weak reflection. This deeper formation would not be an instrumental one, but rather a technology of *solidarity*—a more powerful and liberatory organization of human relationships across the planet, capable perhaps of finally contesting the subjection of sociality to the imperative

of accumulation. This solidarity is as yet only emergent. It will require a great deal of physical, mental, and spiritual work and imagination to accomplish it. And it will require a deeply pedagogical engagement, since it cannot simply be manufactured, but only collaboratively learned and communicated. This is the central historical task, especially for the young. For educators, this means participating in a process of working with students through successive challenges and anxieties, as familiar frames of references are replaced, new relationships formed, and new knowledges gained. And perhaps even more profoundly than is usually imagined (even by critical educators), this will have to be a process in which teachers are learners just as much as students are. Rather than the expert teaching the novice or the leader guiding the disciple, the global itself, as overarching condition and horizon, teaches everyone together a new form of life.

Global Power and the Possibility of Democracy

Globalization provokes questions about the new dimensions of power, as well as the new challenges and possibilities for democracy, which critical education must analyze and explore. Is the essence of power in this historical moment the same as before, or different? Can democratic principles that already exist be simply extended to the scale of the global, or is it necessary to invent new ones? In responding to these questions, an important conceptual starting point is the idea that capitalism, and thus society generally, is facing a deep and global crisis of accumulation—an inability to find enough profitable outlets for the surplus capital that has been accumulated in the process of production. This is the source of the never-ending search for cheaper and cheaper labor and is the motivation behind neoliberalism and its impulses to privatization. To be able to continue to expand, capitalism must penetrate spheres that have so far been external to it. First of all, this involves expanded reproduction (the enrollment of more and more people into the productive process as workers). But in the context of systemic crisis, more drastic means must be found, including simple plunder, or "accumulation by dispossession," in which public resources and economic sectors are commandeered by transnational firms (e.g., the privatization of utilities, water services, and transportation), and in which human creativity and the riches of nature are commodified (i.e., the patenting of natural organisms and indigenous knowledge) in new ways (Harvey 2003, pp. 145–152). At work here,

then, are the simultaneous and contradictory processes of proletarianization and deindustrialization, as some are incorporated into punishing factory work while others are expelled from it and exploited in new ways, and as capital searches for previously uncolonized areas of social life to penetrate.

The dramatic ramification and complexification of the global economy is a fundamental fact that affects everyone, and which must reorient critical efforts to understand and intervene against power. For one thing, the very notions of democracy, the public sphere, and hegemony, which have served as basic organizing principles for critical educators and activists have to be re-examined in light of global processes which do not necessarily respect the political limits and logic which organize these ideas. Globalization tends to absorb all public spaces and processes into the logic of capital without regard to national boundaries, variously extending or withdrawing productive capacity at the same time that it commodifies culture everywhere. Therefore, globalization undermines the usefulness of political strategies organized around, or conceived in the context of, the nation-state. In broad terms, as Samir Amin describes, this is the political crisis that confronts contemporary societies, as ideologies and languages across the spectrum which are concerned with paradigms and policies of the nation-state fail to come to terms with a global economic (and social) reality that is not premised on this prior political logic (Amin 1997, pp. 64–72). To the extent that critical pedagogy, as well as popular movements, conceptualize their projects in terms of discrete national spaces, and in terms of building historical blocs capable of intervening to influence the state, they fail to adequately comprehend the present and risk being sidelined by contemporary developments.

By the same token, understanding globalization can shed new light on many of the most intractable issues that we confront. For example, the effort to reduce and privatize social services in the United States (including education), which is usually criticized simply as the ill-conceived project of ideological conservatives, can instead be understood more broadly as a form of structural adjustment designed both to reorient public life to the culture of the market and to absorb new sectors of it into the sphere of capitalist accumulation (McLaren 2002). However, we should go even further and recognize that we have to do here with processes that are more than economic, in the narrow sense. The new colonizations and penetrations of the era of globalization are also *biopolitical*—that is, they aim to assimilate and exploit not only labor-power, as traditionally

understood, but even the fundamental capacities of desire, communication, and affect that organize human sociality in the first place (Hardt and Negri 2004, pp. 108–116). Thus, the effect of recent transformations in education (e.g., the spread of voucher and "accountability" initiatives) is not just to inculcate ideologies, but also to *reorganize* the very subjectivities, habits, and desires that construct who and what students might be as social beings. And globalizing processes are also, I would argue, forms of spiritual plunder, as the hope and solidarity of humanity are alienated into a profound despair which seems not only impotent against power, but which also reproduces forms of social crisis that appear to justify power's intervention and its management of social life. This dynamic is at work first of all in the expulsion of young people from the worlds of education and work into conditions of hopelessness, and then again, in response to this problem, in the invention of "solutions" in the form of new non-spaces for youth to inhabit as mercenaries on the proliferating fronts of the global war, or as inmates in the forgotten landscapes of the prison-industrial complex.

What notion of democracy can be adequate to these difficult conditions, and to the very framework of the global? Some have argued that the historical goals of socialism—the overcoming of capitalism, and the establishment of alternative forms of international social production—must remain the goals for any democratic movement; (Amin 1997, pp. 64–72). In fact, capitalist globalization makes this a realistic and urgent project in a new way, as transnational forces and projects of opposition can be more clearly observed and imagined. On the other hand, others have argued that while the global era involves an increasing interconnectedness of peoples, and recognition of legitimate differences, the basic principles of deliberative democracy remain unchanged. In this view, the consensual agreement of equals, as Seyla Benhabib puts it, arrived at within conditions of universal respect and reciprocity, is the precondition for truly democratic politics, and perhaps especially so in the context of a global multiculturalism (Benhabib 2002).

Others have argued that an entirely new paradigm is needed, and that democracy can only be imagined as the political project of a new global actor that we can only begin to glimpse in the present. Thus, for Hardt and Negri, democracy is simply the progressive materialization of this subject—a deepening and widening of the networks of social communication and collaboration of the "multitude" (Hardt and Negri 2004). However, any understanding of democracy in the age of globalization, and

any critical pedagogical project to imagine and construct it, must come to terms with the fact that discourses and strategies based on narratives of the nation and logics of the national state must give way to a global conception. This means recognizing that globalization and globality represent more than an extended internationalism, and instead, constitute a fundamentally new mode and horizon of social life.

New Collectivities, New Struggles

The patterns and changes described above together create a condition of extreme uncertainty. The precariousness of life chances, the erosion of norms and expectations, the pressures on familiar forms of identity, and the distance and velocity of power confront individuals with daunting challenges. Zygmunt Bauman calls this condition "liquid modernity," a historical stage characterized by a new fluidity and impermanence, as opposed to the solidity of the structures of state, society, and rationality which characterized the old order (or "solid" modernity). Furthermore, as Bauman describes, at the same time that individuals are faced with fundamentally new uncertainties, they are also given the sole responsibility for navigating this landscape and weaving together some reliable framework of meaning and security—even though the difficult conditions they face are in fact the result of systemic contradictions (Bauman 2000). Therefore, the task of critical theory and pedagogy, and radical politics generally, is not only to expose and resist the organized power of the state and society, but also to begin to imagine a different sociality. The problem is not merely the way that power intrudes into the lives of people, but in addition the way that it retreats and abandons individuals to their fates. Neoliberalism perfects the catastrophic synthesis of these two projects, assimilating populations into the process of capitalist reproduction on an expanded scale, and then just as suddenly expelling them into the gigantic global reserve labor army as firms scale down or move across the globe. Even in societies at the center of global power, the growth of a new many-tentacled security state coincides with a tendency away from the forms of control associated with the extended welfare state, as the drive for flexibility on the part of capital results in the paring down of state regulations and interventions in the economy. In an older sociological idiom, this is both a decolonization and recolonization of the "life-world."

In this context, while it is necessary to reinvigorate the public sphere and promote forms of enlivened and engaged citizenship and pedagogy, as Bauman (2000) and Giroux (2003, 2005) argue, this is not enough. If global power aggressively intervenes in social life at the same time that it flees society (and its commitments to it), then this power must be assertively contested and not merely bypassed. This means that principled critique and confrontation remain crucial responsibilities for the left in theory and practice. In addition, calls to revivify arenas of public life and democracy, including education, must be careful not to fall back on the very senses of subjectivity which power relies on as mystifications. A project of global social transformation means more than simply supplying actual content to the empty ideologeme of the "individual." Against the idea that the critical task remains "the self-constitution of individual life and the weaving as well as the servicing of the networks of bonds with other self-constituting individuals" (Bauman 2000) we must consider whether globality at last presents us with the possibility of escaping individuality as the organizing logic of social life, and the chance to discover a new logic of collectivity. This is an important challenge for critical pedagogy to the extent that it has tended to emphasize conscientization at the individual level, against the deterministic and monolithic senses of agency of the old left (Freire 1996, 1999). But if familiar ideas of class and collectivity belong to an older modernity that is fast being eroded, what new classes might be imagined or built, or might perhaps already be emerging? If "democracy" can be rethought in ways that are able to substantively respond to the dilemmas posed by globality, it must be rethought in this context.

A dramatically fluid and volatile present, which remakes the conditions of social life, meaning, and identification in an instant, calls for an equally radical project of collective imagination and transformation. A new collective subject of opposition and alternative globality needs to set out into the unknown, and to discover itself in the process of building another world. That this is indeed a process of opposition as well as creation means that the emphasis in critical theory on public life has to be radicalized, and social transformation conceived of as a project aimed specifically against power and capital at the same as it unfolds a culture of democracy. Social justice movements cannot expect neoliberalism and empire to simply fade away as new transnational collaborations are organized; they will have to be countered and challenged at the same time that a different future is built. This contradiction is evident in the gatherings of the World Social

Forum, which seem to suggest in their transnationalism a new democratic movement, but which at the same time more immediately bring together specific regional struggles against neoliberal assaults (Mertes 2003). Class antagonisms, reconfigured and projected on a global scale, will remain. On the other hand, even in the context of this struggle, the fundamentally new conditions of the present will require a radically creative imagination, one that goes beyond, for instance, a Deweyan and radical democratic perspective. Rather than a project of social *re*-construction, which implies a redoing (and doing better) of something that has already been accomplished (Dewey 1944), what is necessary in the present is the building of a form of life that is original. This is an open-ended project, since not only can the future not be known before its construction, but in addition the subject that creates it can only gradually be disclosed to itself in the process.

What new class and class consciousness will emerge from the ranks of the marginalized, the dispossessed, and the increasingly vast majority that suffers the depredations of the global elite and the social processes that reproduce its hegemony? The shackdwellers' movements, the organizations of part-time and unemployed workers, and the unions of the landless and the cast-off do not easily fit the old class categories, and yet they represent powerful new forms of political agency and subjectivity. The Global Women's Strike highlights the invisibility of the labor of women and girls as well as the global inequities in pay and life chances between women and men, and in so doing strikes at the heart of capital, which depends on this invisibility both to hide and to ratchet up the rate of exploitation. A widespread and widening ecological consciousness, to the extent that it is serious in its commitments, must come up against the imperative of capital to constantly expand (whether in traditional or "green" industries), as Joel Kovel [2002] points out, and therefore must begin to create strategies against capitalism itself. These creative experiments, and others, begin to expose new political landscapes, and to suggest new forms of subjectivity and sociality, ones not based on the exchange-value of human creativity or on the exploitability of natural diversity. Critical pedagogy must urgently make these emergent tendencies available to youth. If these new movements are still somewhat open and amorphous, that is because they are outside the social logic of capital, and so can only appear as blank spaces in the global geography that capital has incessantly mapped and mined to exhaustion. The actual shape they come to take, and the names of the subjects they propose, can only be spoken in the actual unfolding

of their organization and opposition, a process in which young people must necessarily take a central part.

Teaching and Solidarity

If social transformation at this point in history can only be imagined in global terms, as the foregoing discussion suggests, this means that liberatory education has to have a perspective on the relationship of local and global, and a strategy for mediating this dialectic. Critical pedagogy in the present should make vivid for students their own actually existing relationships, as inhabitants of a territory or region, to broader relations of power and exploitation, on the model of the concentric regional circles of Paulo Freire's (1978) "generative themes." On the basis of this interpolation of the global into the imaginary and insular space of the national, students can begin to reconfigure identifications in terms of a solidarity with those in struggle across the globe. But in order for this to take place, it is also necessary for educators to engage students in a critical reading, not merely of injustice or oppression generally, but of power and capital as global processes. This does not mean imposing a distant and alienating vocabulary, but rather initiating students into a new mode of thinking about their own lives and communities. At the same time, however, this may in part feel like the intrusion of a dangerous discourse, especially in the United States. But in this pedagogical and discursive choice a political one is made as well—to participate in a conversation that has been joined by radical and left movements globally, rather than to surrender to limits tacitly enforced by a parochial progressivism.

But at the same time that critical teaching connects students to urgent global questions and to a critical reading of power, it must also rethink its own assumptions. The paradigm shift involved in the transformation of national and international issues and identifications to global ones means that critical pedagogy must also be transformed. In particular, in a social universe whose basic realities are changing at an unprecedented pace, and in which there is essentially no simple map by which to navigate, the function of the teacher as leader or guide is challenged. For better or worse, in a world crisscrossed by unprecedented and expanding fissures in its social, political, economic, and ecological fabric, young people themselves will ultimately be the ones who discover a path. This does not imply that educators should abdicate their place and power; rather, it means that critical teachers must discover ways to initiate and collaborate in this

process with young people, rather than imagining themselves as in possession of a fundamentally different and deeper understanding and authority. Human beings are faced now not simply with the responsibility to pursue the vocation of humanization and to overcome oppression; beyond this, they confront the necessity of constructing a new world. The imagination of young people must take a new and more central role in this project, since their visions are less likely to be constrained by the limitations of discourses and traditions that were forged in conditions that are disappearing.

Furthermore, in the double-sided movement of neoliberalism described above, new forms of hyper-authoritarianism are produced at the same time that power finds new ways to secede from public space. This is particularly apparent in schools, where new regimes of policy and pedagogy reconstruct education as a form of punishment (Lipman 2004; Lyons and Drew 2006). This is an entirely different degree of authoritarianism than that with which critical pedagogy has so far concerned itself. Rather than focusing simply on the construction of docile and compliant subjects, this new authoritarianism—as expressed in exit exams, zero tolerance, "back to basics" and scripted curricula, and other measures—aims covertly to exclude vast numbers of youth from participation in public life altogether. In this environment, any rigid consolidation of authority (even "critical") risks being experienced as violent—as well as being assimilated by the hyper-authority that is omnipresent and overdetermining within the institutions. This does not mean that the very idea of authority should be dispensed with. Wherever there is solidarity, there is some form of authority. The challenge is to imagine more fully collective and collaborative organizations of authority, which distribute it across a network of participants (De Lissovoy 2007). The uniqueness of the teacher's position in this arrangement would not be that of a leader, or of some disinterested facilitator, but rather that of provocateur, senior participant, chief organizer, and mentor. The existential, political, and ethical imperative to learn to navigate a fluid world together means inventing more profoundly collective solidarities than we have known before. In addition to interrogating received wisdoms and identifications in order to produce hybrid classroom cultures, this means participating in the construction of larger and properly global communities and political projects, which can then be enacted in a multiplicity of individual sites, including educational ones.

Rather than initiating students into already established "communities of practice," or socializing students into the established habits of a stable democratic society, the center of gravity must shift to constructing new communities of practice, new habits, and a new society. There is an important transition that must take place from incorporation to creation, from inculcating democratic culture to clearing the ground for the discovery of a new culture for a new world. For example, although it is necessary to recognize, in the context of changing technologies, the importance of cyberliteracies and "multiliteracies" in addition to traditional print literacy (New London Group 1996) educators must also consider what new communities are made possible for young people by the changing landscape of electronic communication, and what new forms of abandonment are being invented for those who are excluded from these landscapes. Since the possibilities of the new are discovered in the process of determined opposition to the assaults of power and capital in the present, this also means that as power becomes more aggressive and mobile, so must educational opposition—it must look beyond the classroom, and participate in struggles on the ground against global militarism, racism, and privatization. Youth themselves have recently led the way in walkouts and protests in support of immigrants' rights, against the war in Iraq, and against the impoverishment of curriculum and opportunities in the schools. These struggles are at the leading edge not merely of social movements, but also of critical pedagogy. They suggest new collectivities, commitments, and kinds of mobility that critical teachers should study and take their cues from as they seek to bring their own resources and understanding into active collaboration with the energy of students, which is already in motion.

Conclusion

Is it possible to imagine an emerging culture of opposition that would be equal to the global scale of capital itself, and yet rooted in the materiality of human experience? Standpoint theory, from Lukács to feminism, has identified the resistant power of theory and practice with the fact of being connected to the experience of a particular group, however broadly or narrowly defined (Lukács 1971; Collins 2000; Harding 1993; Harstock 1983). Does the global necessarily transcend any particular experience, or is there a planetary particularity that might be called human, and which remains tied to a particular geography, namely this earth? As paradoxical

or difficult as it appears, I believe that this is the task of critical theory and pedagogy in the present: to participate in articulating an oppositional planetary identity that draws its strength from the histories of resistance that the vast majority who live and have lived have shared. If this does not make of the human a simple abstraction, this is because the broad particularity that this culture would be built on is the particularity of the global majority, as against the elite. The determined content of this culture must be the life of struggle, in all its colors and shapes—blending the cities and the *selva*, the soil and the concrete. Its unprecedented variegation, velocity, and complexity must even begin to surpass the limits of the hybrid, and to become something else—a new language and color, never before seen or heard. What would make this culture authentic is what has always made culture authentic in modernity—a participation in resistance, a refusal of exploitation, colonization and recolonization, and the construction of a form of being that looks beyond bondage. This was Frantz Fanon's principle for culture in the context of national liberation struggles against Europe's fraying empires: not a repetition of precolonial forms, but an expression of the contemporary aspirations of the people (Fanon 1963).

In the present, the challenge is to overcome a simple backward-looking allegiance to the old places, and to find a language for the *new local*, as it is increasingly materialized by the changing conditions of life: namely, the global itself. Hardt and Negri (2000) are correct in suggesting that local struggles now immediately confront global forces and participate in a resistance that is repeated globally as part of a common moment. In contrast to their notion of "multitude," however, a new global language of resistance must start from the ground up, from the collision of living vernaculars and actual itineraries of human experience, rather than from some pre-given image. The first stages of this transformation can be seen in the transnationalism of new cultural idioms emerging from the "global cities" in the street-level cosmopolitanism of popular music and popular *intifadas*. The next stages cannot be foreseen, but will have to involve an actual slipping of the boundaries that are now only crossed over. In this regard, if the social forces that assault and reorganize people's lives are now properly global, critical pedagogy must also move toward an oppositional transnationalism that supports the resistant expressions of young people, is in solidarity with radical educators everywhere, and forges a path with others toward new forms of social life. The democratic and resistant identification that waits to be created in this connection is not

simply a recognition of oneself in the struggle of *this* group, but rather a recognition of oneself in *all* struggles—in resistance itself. As this spirit finds its material form and expression, we will better understand what a global identification can be, and what it means to renew a humanist commitment even as the content of the human is changing. To teach is to keep the paths open to this place, rather than to decide what it must be.

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PART III

Figures in Critical Pedagogy

CHAPTER 12

An Interview with Henry A. Giroux and Joe L. Kincheloe

Shirley R. Steinberg

In the snowy spring of 2008, The Paulo and Nita Freire International Project for Critical Pedagogy opened in Montreal at McGill University. As part of his Canadian Research Chair, Joe invited critical scholars to join the celebration, Henry was the keynote speaker. Generous in every way, for over 20 years, Henry had been mentor and brother to Joe, supporting him as a scholar, introducing him to others in critical pedagogy, writing letters of support for new positions, and facilitating Joe's publications as he did for many young scholars. Henry's charismatic intellect is infectious, and Joe wanted to capture Henry in an impromptu sit-down at McGill, where we filmed this short interview on Henry's entrance into critical pedagogy. Critical brother to brother, precious moments in the field. Kincheloe died later that year, this was the last interview he conducted with the great influencers of critical pedagogy. srs

Joe Kincheloe: Henry I want to talk to you in particular about the history of critical pedagogy and your role. And don't be modest here. I know that in the spirit of Paulo, that you want to not emphasize your own role

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in it. But I'd like for you to talk very specifically about the emergence of critical pedagogy and your role in shaping it and the term itself, and what you were doing in the late Seventies.

Henry Giroux: You know it's interesting because my role in critical pedagogy emerges on what should be a central tenant of pedagogy per se, and that is it emerged out of a particular struggle. I was a high school teacher, and I found myself in a class trying to do all kinds of innovative things. The vice-principal came up and he said, "I don't want students sitting in a circle. I want them in a straight line and blah blah blah," and I didn't have an answer for him. I didn't have the theoretical language. Ironically, the week earlier, somebody had given me a copy of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. 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. I mean I felt that it changed because I had a language that all of a sudden seemed to say…to speak very directly about the kinds of issues I was involved in. But more importantly, gave me a way of theorizing that experience and that practice rather than just saying, "I think it works" or "I think it's good" or "students seem to like it." Something was going on that was quite profound for me. It was the beginning of moving from a position of being voiceless and having a voice. And that was my emergence in critical pedagogy. 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 never talked about critical pedagogy. Paulo's work is really the first to mock that moment. The archive really should begin there. And I became dedicated. And not just to Paulo's work but to reworking and redefining what critical pedagogy meant from probably that point on–where it really begins is when, in the 1970s, I attempted to do three things. One, I attempted to theorize critical pedagogy through the lens of critical theory. So there was an attempt to sort of link Paulo's work with European intellectual work.

Joe Kincheloe: Which you did in *Theory and Resistance*.

Henry Giroux: Which I did in *Theory and Resistance*. There was also an attempt to move beyond even then, what I thought was a reductionist economistic model at work in critical pedagogy. At least at work in the sociology of education, sorry, but we're spilling over. We saw elements of it emerging in work in Madison, Wisconsin, and some other places. And I wanted to fight that. I also thought there was a kind of radical extension biographical work emerging that I thought was very important, but I thought was limited by virtue of its refusal to link the

personal to the public in a way that exemplified the personal, not as a kind of emancipatory moment in itself but one that also needed to be translated. So, we had to understand how private issues translated the public issues. So, there was an attempt then on my part to link critical pedagogy to questions of democracy. And thirdly, I wanted to link our pedagogy questions to social movements. I thought that that was an important issue. And, of course that's really my entry into the field, but it was a field marked by a very peculiar silence on the part of many other people for a number of years. The field was locked up by Routledge (Routledge Press). This is long before you came in. And they were the only people publishing critical educational work. And I could not get *Ideology, Culture and the Process of Schooling* published…

Joe Kincheloe: Until 1981.

Henry Giroux: Until 1981. and I get it published at Temple University Press because I happen to be reviewing a book for them, and the guy said, "You have any manuscripts that I might be interested in?" I gave him that. And he published it. But the fact of the matter is the book had actually been published first by Falmer in England. So that book was first published in England.

Joe Kincheloe: What year?

Henry Giroux: The year before, in 1980. That book came about by Falmer Press in 1980.

Joe Kincheloe: I did not know that.

Henry Giroux: Yes, so it didn't even begin in the United States, which is very interesting. Then when Paulo found out about my work, I then introduced Paulo to Donaldo (Donaldo Macedo). And then later, Paulo got involved with Peter (Peter McLaren). That is really where I mark the beginning of something that has a uniquely American, i.e., United States take on the integration of a kind of Latin American sort of revolutionary kind of pedagogy with one that was more nuanced for the American context.

Joe Kincheloe: So, in as far as the term critical pedagogy is concerned, what's the origin that?

Henry Giroux: Actually, Joe I'll tell you. There are a lot of people who ascribe that term to me, and I am not going to be unhumble… I am not going to suggest that I produced that term, because I actually now can't remember. I know that when I look back at the work, I see it appearing there first, but I know that Roger Simon had talked about critical pedagogy certainly. I know that there was some discussion of it in OISE (Ontario Institute of Studies in Education), but I think it really began in discussions with Paulo because we had rejected the notion of radical pedagogy. I remember speaking with Donaldo and Paulo, and

his point was that as important as that term is, it carried an exclusionary weight to it that would not allow most educators to take the leap and identify with it. So, we thought critical was far more interesting. Now this may have emerged at the same time at OISE, or it may have emerged at the same time in Australia. I don't know. What I do know is that the focus around critical pedagogy as a very significant theoretical body of work as opposed to, let's say, the focus on the political economy of schooling, was what we did. There's no question in my mind. If we can get beyond definitions here, there's no question in my mind that critical pedagogy certainly has a significant investment in a body of theoretical work. I mean I would certainly argue, I may be terribly wrong, but it really does begin in the United States with that work around Paulo in the middle of the Seventies.

Joe Kincheloe: When I wrote the *Critical Pedagogy Primer*, I said that critical pedagogy as we know it in the present era began in the middle of the late Seventies with you. Seems to me that you were the central figure.

Henry Giroux: I don't think of that as terribly untrue, that's for sure.

Joe Kincheloe: Yes, it certainly seemed that way to me in just the exploration and the questions that I'd ask. As far as your relationship with Paulo… obviously we're building this Paulo and Nita Freire center, and you so beautifully put it before that Paulo would never have wanted some type of center dedicated to *him, the person*, that it was about his work, it was about not only reading his work but critiquing his work and moving forward with his work. Just talk to me a little bit about your relationship with Paulo and the influences, the intellectual, scholarly, critical influences that his work and persona had for you?

Henry Giroux: I mean, I think the thing about Paulo that has never failed to not move me, was the extraordinarily richness and originality of his interventions. It's one thing to read his work as we all did. And to recognize the obvious…an assemblage of ongoing brilliant insights. But to be around him… there was a spontaneity coupled with a humility unlike, I must say, anything I have ever seen among a major intellectual. I've never seen anyone who was so humble but yet at the same time had a sense of himself.

Interview: March 13, 2008 Montreal Quebec
Producer: Shirley R. Steinberg

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For other videos of figures in critical pedagogy: http://www.freireproject.org/freire-project-tv/.

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CHAPTER 13

Critical Revolutionary Pedagogy's Relevance Today

Peter McLaren

In this chapter, Peter McLaren shares his ideas about the relationships among critical revolutionary pedagogy, students, schools, and society. It introduces the main issues with educational postmodernism, and explains Peter McLaren's turn toward a Marxist-humanist trajectory, and addresses contemporary challenges to Marx's dialectical thought. McLaren analyzes how globalization impacts schooling and students. Despite his many detractors, this prolific groundbreaking revolutionary—whose early books, *Schooling as a Ritual Performance* (1986) and *Life in Schools* (2007), were compared by Giroux in places to the storytelling of Walter Benjamin. McLaren has been identified as one of the architects of critical pedagogy and has been praised for his contributions to critical literacy, the

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sociology of education, cultural studies, critical ethnography, and Marxist theory. As Macrine (2005) noted, *McLaren is a scholar and activist noted for his ability to crystallize Marxist theory, critical pedagogy and revolutionary theory and to braid them into coherent strategies for creating a socialist alternative to capitalism (p. 3)*. McLaren's genius perhaps lies in his ability to bring a transdisciplinary and revolutionary approach to critical pedagogy that bears directly on the phenomenological complexity of the pedagogical encounters.

For example, early in his 1989 book in *Life in Schools*, McLaren gives some foundational principles of critical pedagogy,

> *Critical pedagogy resonates* with the *sensibility* of the *Hebrew symbol* of "*tikkun*", which *means* "to *heal*, *repair*, and *transform* the *world*. *All* the *rest* is *commentary*." It *provides historical*, *cultural*, *political*, and *ethical direction* for *those* in *education* who *still dare* to *hope*. (p. 160)

Critical pedagogy offers students various languages of critique and possibility, through which they can understand in a more nuanced and granular way, the relationship between their individual subjectivity and the larger society. Put another way, these 'languages' or 'discourses' potentially serve as dialectical relays through which students can in the Freirean sense 'read the world' against the act of 'reading the word.' By this, I mean that reading one's lived experiences, as those experiences are reflected in or refracted through various critical theories, (i.e., various feminist theories, theories that connect gender, race and political economy theories), that offer explanatory frameworks that can help students make sense of their own experiences. The idea is to create conditions of critical consciousness or critical self-reflexivity among students. This helps students to understand how various ideologies drive social life, and to discern how systems of intelligibility or systems of mediation within the wider society (nature, the economic system, the state, the social system, cultural system, jurisprudence, schools, religion, etc.) are mutually constitutive with the self.

So, Peter begins. When we talk about liberation, we are referring to self-and-social transformation, that is, to a dialectical relationship. As a result, we need not refer to the self-and-social relations as though they were mutually exclusive categories, or antiseptically distant from each other. They are not steel-cast terms but rather they bleed into each other. Again, it's a dialectical relationship. It is at this point that we arrive at the notion of 'praxis' or the bringing together of theory and practice.

Of course, from a critical pedagogy perspective, we demonstrate that praxis begins with personal agency in and on the world. This reflection on our practice, then informs subsequent practice—and we call this process or mode of experiential learning 'praxis,' or a purposeful self-reflective behavior. That is, we explore with others the relevance of philosophical ideas to the fault lines of everyday life and the necessity to transcend them (McLaren and Jandric 2020).

Praxis is a way to realize freedom by transforming society's social structures, systems of intelligibility, of ideological mediation. However, it's important to remember that being critically conscious is not a precondition for social justice action but critical consciousness is an outcome of acting justly. We act in and on the world and then reflect on our actions in an attempt to affect a deeper, more critical change in our society. We make society, as society makes us. What takes priority in all of this is ethics—the purpose of creating a more just society absent of needless suffering. Liberation theologians refer to this as a 'preferential option' for the poor and oppressed. I take this a little further and call it a 'preferential obligation' for the poor and those who are suffering. So, critical pedagogy is a means to challenge the ideological hegemony of neoliberal capitalism.

For example, there is no secret cabal sitting in the damp cellars of the deep state compelling society to engage in self-censorship. There is no grand design in place across the United States (US) for a fascist state that would require penal battalions in which to place those who choose willful ignorance over critical discernment. As Chomsky has explained it, we have the media at our disposal to 'manufacture our consent' to the dictates of the surveillance state. Capitalism has made it easy to accommodate progressives. The appearance of their political positions can easily be mistaken for the essence of a viable socialist alternative to capitalism. But such liberal progressivism is hardly socialism. In fact, most liberal democrats keep their distance from the idea of socialism. They make no bones about accepting capitalism as inevitable, as something carved in the runes of civilization, while at the same time they desire to make capitalism more 'humane' by redistributing wealth from capital to labor. Capitalism has not suddenly unleashed blitzkrieg on an unsuspecting world but has succeeded through the logic of attrition, of the cold inevitability of 'there is no alternative,' and fortunately those social justice warriors who have held strong against the blinding indifference to equality, civil rights, and human dignity are with us still in the work being carried on by groups such as Black Lives Matter, Idle No More, and Me Too.

While the academic left has managed so far to create tactical defense zones, such as critical race theory, race theory, Lat Crit, queer theory, revolutionary critical pedagogy, eco-socialism, and eco-pedagogy to name a few, these are barely enough to keep a disastrous situation turning catastrophic. Many in the academic left are still flailing about in the shadows of the new beacons of the hard right. Unlike the times during the fall of the Soviet Union (a totalitarian regime cloaked in Marxist terminology and driven by an unyielding loyalty to the Party apparatus and its state capitalist mode of production), Western Marxists had time to reappreciate Marx's writings outside the anemic and disingenuous ideological parameters. These constraints served as opportunistic means of thought control practiced and enforced by both Western democracies and communist parties. Those who became students of what Marx actually learned to engage in the humanism in Marx's work. And yet the left's attempt to navigate its current syncretic orbit has wandered off course. It hasn't yet discovered the means of challenging today's highly divisive public sphere, which is currently infected with a renascent ultra-nationalism and phony isolationism, and a dangerous doctrine of natural domination cultivated in the geopolitical imaginary that justifies the existence of an ethno-religious statehood.

In today's world, one thinks of Steve Bannon with his multipolar, anti-globalist worldview promoted by Russia as an antidote to US imperial domination. Trump supporters, in my mind, share Trump's alt-white supremacy, and it is clear that they have yet to be dis-intoxicated from the hatred of the first black president of the United States. The fear of a future white minority race is driving much of today's politics. Many are fearful of 'birth dearth' and today's nativist 'dearthers,' alarmed by the declining Caucasian population in the United States. They are blaming gays and lesbians, environmentalists, population control advocates, supporters of birth control, common-law couples who refuse to be legally married, and even married heterosexual couples who fail to have sufficiently larger numbers of white children for what they see as the demise of the white race. What they perceive is the dispossession of white people, thought to have been passed over by the so-called politically correct multiculturalists in Washington—all of which they understand to be contributing to the impending death of Western civilization.

We, who advocate for critical pedagogy, have inherited the remnants of such acrimony and derision. Clearly, critical pedagogy is grievously

incompatible with the shared prejudices of Trump supporters' authoritarian populism and nativism, the excessive enforcement of the rule of law, the demonization of and a deep anger toward women, people of color, immigrants and Muslims, the LGBTQ community. It is unconditional support for evangelical Christian beliefs, and a fanatical defense of the white race so lurid it could have had been hatched in the inner sanctum of Himmler's castle at Wewelsburg. The left in the US has yet to cohere around a viable alternative to capitalism under today's threat of overproduction. This threat has been dramatically underlined by the election of Donald Trump, thanks to the Kremlin playbook and its mobilization of fascism *engages* the dangerous meta-politics of red-brown alliances (militant left and far-right).

That said, critical pedagogy is not opposed to traditional conservatism per se, but stands opposed to the ideas of the alt-right, that despicable praetorian guard of the militant right who are loathed to give any credence to ideas spawned by moderate political voices of various stripe (such as traditional conservative ideas or liberal values). The latter is a phenomenon that many right-wing movements refer to as 'demographic winter,' a white supremacist interpretation of 'birth dearth.'

As someone who holds strong political beliefs but who holds them strategically enough to survive in the academy, I would want to emphasize that critical pedagogy is not a methodology, per se, sequestered only in schools of education. It's not simply or mainly a set of pedagogical procedures or analytical steps as one might typically envision. In this sense, it's different from the field known as Critical Thinking. It is more about problem-posing than solution-giving. Of course, it does seek to resolve contradictions through dialectical reasoning, through the negation of the negation—through challenging the disciplinary modalities of domination within capitalist societies, but that's a whole discussion in itself.

It includes but goes beyond helping students graduate. Successful graduation rates among students will not necessarily alter the material positions of those suffering within neoliberal capitalist societies. To date, public and private education has not helped to build a social order where equality, democracy, inclusivity, and criticality prevail. Mass schooling has socially reproduced class and racial hierarchies which give greater purchase to the cultural capital of white students, the rich and the middle class who are reconfiguring the society using power, privilege and wealth to amass more power and privilege and to create the conditions of possibility for acquiring greater fortunes for themselves. This is clearly repugnant in the

face of massive income and social inequality in the United States and especially egregious in light of the increasing segregation of residential neighborhoods and schools.

Therefore, if we exercise creativity in our classes it would mean, for instance, resisting the ruthless foisting of market fundamentalism, market discipline on all aspects of life in the US, including the workplace, places of worship, the school-to-prison pipeline, health care, schooling, the environment. Almost every aspect of public life is becoming privatized, leading the formation of consumer citizenship and ethical race to the bottom line. Critical pedagogy is about the creation of critical citizenship, of breaking the bunker mentality that you 'cannot negotiate with authority.' As a result, you remain ensepulchered in the crucible of consumer citizenship, in the trend toward the business-ification of education from K-12 to university education, including the baleful expansion of for-profit charter schools. So, creativity in the sense of practicing critical pedagogy requires that we ask the question, 'creativity for whom?', 'who benefits?' and creativity 'for what purpose?'.

We ask these questions in a dialogical space—this could be a K-12 classroom, a graduate school seminar room, a church basement, or a community center. The purpose of the dialogue is to make the strange familiar and the familiar strange—it is a form of de-acculturation, of de-acclamation, of de-socialization, of questioning what we take for granted. But this is an existential and phenomenological process that doesn't follow prescribed steps. The intent is to build a psychosocial moratorium where the educator and the students abandon the hierarchy and the educator is willing to be educated by the students, and when this works it creates a liminal space, a 'subjunctive moment' of 'what if.' What if the world was like THIS and not like THAT? What if it were a place of joy, love, hope, and solidarity, and not a place of precarity, fear, hatred, and division? What has society made of me? What do I like about that, and what do I want to change? How do we go about re-socializing ourselves so we can build a world where, for instance, capital does not flow from the laboring classes to the rich? How can we remake ourselves; how can we create spaces where we negotiate what we find meaningful in life? All aspects of life have a pedagogical dimension. All communication is pedagogical. When we see the American flag in a classroom, that is a pedagogy, part of the official catechism of patriotism. So, in essence a critical pedagogy perspective, we work, negotiate, and co-construct curriculum with the students for the greater good of society.

Here is an example, while working as a Chair Professor in China for part of the summer, I ask students to form groups, and I start asking them questions about their lives and history and what they want to get out of the class, they initially think I am crazy. You are the teacher, we are graduate students who have made it into doctoral programs by absorbing the knowledge of our professors, so why are you wasting time asking us about what we think, how we feel? However, by the end of the course, many of the students begin to understand that critical pedagogy is not listening to the expert sitting at the podium but standing *with* the professor with one foot in the classroom and one foot outside the classroom—in the space of the double negative. So, the world is not necessarily this and not that but both this and that. What do I mean when I make such a claim? Well, when I stand under the arch of the classroom doorway with half my body in the classroom and half my body outside the classroom, I am not in the classroom but I am not in the classroom. Likewise, I am not in the hallway, but I am also not in the hallway. I am both in the hallway and outside of it. This illustrates the idea of 'both-and' dialectical thinking rather than 'either-or' classical logic. This is the space of liminality, or betwixt and between, of 'what if?' This is why portals in sacred buildings have been so revered in religious communities over the centuries. Students understand that the way we normally name the world is hidebound and more malleable than it need be.

Capitalism, while taken for granted, is one of many possibilities for organizing the world. Socialism is another possibility. How so? Well, the dialogue is initiated through teachers serving as cultural workers. This space of co-constructing the curriculum with the students adopts some strategies such as the idea of detournement, created by the legendary Letterist International, and later adapted by the Situationist International. It's a way of turning the dominant society against itself, not unlike some forms of contemporary 'culture jamming.' In China I use the video, 'This is America,' by Childish Gambino, to counter the perceptions of the US presented politely by my Chinese students. The video incorporates Brecht's famous *Verfremdungseffekt* or 'alienation effect' and works well in certain pedagogical spaces for provoking social-critical reflection on the part of the students. When I teach in Latin America this is not necessary and I am sure the reason for this needs no explanation.

In Latin America, I used a video created by a student at Instituto McLaren de Pedagogia Critica that uses a soundtrack consisting of popular narco-corridos that glorify the drug lords of Mexico. Disturbed by this

cultural phenomenon taking place throughout Mexico, my student was able to acquire hundreds of photos of beheaded, shot, machete hacked, and acid-drenched bodies of victims of the cartels. These images then accompany the popular narco-corridos. I am not permitted to show this video to students at Chapman University, nor would I want to. It is also inappropriate for the Chinese context. My student (who taught public school in Mexicali) who made this video as part of a class assignment in one of my courses in Ensenada is now a doctoral student at Cambridge University.

This type of problem-posing dialogue generated with the students in the co-construction of the curriculum constitutes a pedagogy of disposition, that enables students to use their lived experiences and their more formal understanding of society to read the world and the word, that is to have a dialectical understanding of their self-and-social formation, their subjectivity, and this disposes them toward a path of liberation, a form of social action for change, a way of constructing themselves and society in a different way, one that respects diversity, equality, the practice of peacemaking, and protecting the biosphere.

This is in opposition to what Paulo Freire criticized as the traditional 'banking model' of education. For Freire, the traditional 'banking model of education' sees the teacher as the distributor of knowledge which is then deposited or pours into the empty brain of students. This is also a means of socializing students to learn the 'right' way, that is, to learn in a technocratic, quantifiable way that socializes them to accept mainstream values, mores, rules of behavior, and the myth of meritocracy (i.e., success comes to those who work hard, study, learn how to interact appropriately with others, and fulfill their duties as citizens).

Critical pedagogy, on the other hand, is the true meaning of 'empowerment,' a term that has unfortunately been hijacked by corporate culture, similar to the way that Reagan hijacked the term 'revolution.' Ours is an intervention on behalf on human rights, equality, and social justice in its many incarnations. I must also emphasize that we prioritize anti-fascism and pro-socialism. Well, let me pause to make a qualification. I have developed with inspiration from the late Paula Allman (1999) a form of critical pedagogy called '*revolutionary critical pedagogy*' which is critical of forms of critical pedagogy that has been reduced to domesticated 'feel good' conversations with students. Revolutionary critical pedagogy (McLaren and Jandric 2014) is underwritten by a Marxist analysis of race and class, and arcs toward viable socialist alternatives to neoliberal

immiseration capitalism. In our current crisis economy, in which demand for Labor bows to technology, real wages are stabilized by capitalist production, and wage growth declines relative to the economy's total value creation, we are marching toward a worsening workplace environment. In such an historical juncture, revolutionary critical pedagogy encourages students to become critical and creative public intellectuals and activist citizens (Macrine et al. 2009).

Paulo Freire term 'historicity' is an important term in critical pedagogy. Especially at this historical juncture, as we are facing a species of capitalism that has continuously played a role in genocide, ecocide, and epistemicide, the latter referring to the abolition of ecologies of knowing of Indigenous peoples. The rise of the neo-Nazi alt-right in the US which ushered in the infamous 'Unite the Right' torchlit rally in Charlottesville, North Carolina, the Artaman League's cry of 'blood and soil' echoed the Nazi ideals, and white supremacist ethno-nationalism. Here the idea of an Aryan historicity was the long-cherished dream hatched by the Nazis and the resettlement bureau.

It is quite clear that we are facing not simply the prospect of a global police state, but the reality that a global police state has already come into being, even if we find it at times to be somewhat out of focus. I cannot remember in my lifetime when the organized working-class was as weak as it is today, far weaker than many other radical models proposed. It is not that fascism has been significantly absent over the past decades in the United States since World War II, but the pace at which twenty-first-century fascism has come upon us. This is entirely due to the fact that today's late capitalism has become a self-fueling engine whose capacity to travel the globe has intensified dramatically over the last few decades. Hence, for those of us who have chosen a life of self-reference in the midst of historical uncertainty, the birth of new systems of panoptical surveillance has been weaponized to crush the human will to resist. This is coupled by the perils of the marketing logic strategies designed to depoliticize us. As critical pedagogues, we must continue to reflect upon the need to foreground the forces and relations of production as the medium of our most vital concerns if we are to break free from our shackles of alienation. If not we will unsuspectingly betray our ontological vocation of becoming more fully human. Our aptitude for and inspiration for becoming social justice educators for the greater good must not be crushed, even during this world-altering time of ignorance. I can barely detect in today's climate of fear-mongering the faintest adumbration of optimism which is

necessary for us to continue to live as moral beings, according to values that elevate and ennoble us rather than ethically impair us.

The historicity with which we live today is marked by 'Trumpism' and the rise of fascism worldwide. So, the question of hope, of maintaining an 'optimism of the will' in Gramsci's sense is needed now more than at any time. And of course, we cannot divorce the idea of hope from the idea of utopia as Ernst Bloch, Paulo Freire, and others have taught us. But what we need is a concrete utopia, not some abstract utopia disconnected from the daily struggles of the popular majorities. We can't move to the abstract universal except through the concrete, as Marx revealed to us. So, the utopia we forge must be built from the real struggles faced by the vast numbers of people who are struggling to survive, to put food on the table, to provide shelter and health care for their families. For me, the struggle for socialism is an important means for fostering hope.

It thus behooves me to make the claim no less fervently that society in this historic moment is in desperate need of a new paradigm of the public intellectual. One who refuses to accept the limited situations imposed by the transnational capitalist state, who refuses to deflect attention away from the totalizing effects of alienation and immiseration that globalized capitalism has wreaked upon every aspect of contemporary existence dependent upon value augmentation to survive—which covers a heck of a lot of territory.

The historicity, we are facing, is also fueled by the frenetic rise of the white Christian evangelical right who see in the rise of Trump as a divine mandate: that born-again Christians must defend Western civilization from the so-called cultural Marxists, the multiculturalists, the feminists, the environmentalists, the politically correct social justice warriors—and not least from the Freireans, the advocates of critical pedagogy.

During this moment, the alt-right continues to attack the importation of US universities' various offerings of critical theory developed by Jewish intellectuals who comprised the Frankfurt School, arguing that these 'cultural Marxists' are to blame for today's crimes of political correctness, multiculturalism, feminism, and queer theory, among other progressive developments. This is a favorite alt-right propaganda line. In reality, critical theory remains foundational to critical pedagogy precisely because it was able to reveal the marriage of the US culture industry with fascism.

To become an agent of history requires utopian thinking in the register of a concrete utopia, able to challenge the swindle of fulfillment of consumer capitalism. We should engage collectively in the struggle to create

the not yet realized future—a post-scarcity society, for instance. But the utopian imagination is not the same thing as trying to follow a blueprint. It's more preconceptual, something we strive for and wish to attain.

We are trying to arrive at a particular historical moment, a moment when history really begins. Our struggle is part of our 'prehistory' and when we arrive at socialism, or true democracy, prehistory ends and we begin to live as genuine, authentic human beings. Utopian thinking is the way to disentangle ourselves from ideology, the internalized norms and values of our capitalist society. Ideology is a deformation of everyday life, an unconscious way we move in, threw, and alongside everyday life which means following the ideas of the ruling class. Our lived experiences are formed from the ideologically deformed narratives and ideas of the ruling class, and, as Marx pointed out, the ideas of the ruling class are the ruling ideas.

Utopian thinking helps us create history. History here proceeds through negation, as we 'negate' all that which prevents us from fulfilling our ontological vocation, which Paulo Freire maintained was to become more 'fully human.' We generate oppositional concepts to the colonization of our subjectivity that has been achieved through a marriage of the private sphere and the state. Those oppositional practices happen in the concrete materiality of history which is always open to what Freire called 'untested feasibility,' where human potential and the contingencies of hope of human beings—which Bloch referred to as 'daydreaming'—enables us to face daily existential threats conjoined in a dialectical dance of history-making, of creating a radically other world.

This dialectical dance of history is about creating an oppositional public sphere or counter-public sphere, a space of repristinated or re-politicized dialogue, free from domination and oppression, the result of counter-hegemonic practices that open up spaces of participatory democracy, direct democracy—which can only be realized in a world absent of value augmentation.

Cynicism is understandable since capitalism has hijacked the utopian impulse in our commodity culture. Critical literacy has given way to consumer literacy. Yet cynicism can be transformed into hope through engagement with others in collective struggle. Critical consciousness is not something you acquire through reading critical legal theory and then deciding to open up a storefront office in a working-class neighborhood. Critical consciousness begins when you open that storefront office and

then reflect upon the relationships you build in the process—and critical legal theory can be helpful in that effort. But revolutionary praxis begins with action, then reflection, then more reflective action. Critical consciousness is an outcome of action, not a precondition for acting.

Not much has changed in the last 20 years in terms of the Marxist educational Left. We still have a gap between academic Marxists, and those that actively live their Marxist politics. I think it must be the same outside academia. All of us live in contradictory ways—some more than others—but I can only speak from my 30 years in the academy. And I find that so much research being done is research directed toward making incremental steps in changing education policy. It's done with the understanding that we need to accept the social relations of capitalist society as more or less a permanent feature of our lives. Here in the US, human rights are detached from the idea of economic rights. More research needs to be done on capitalism and possible alternatives to value production (production of monetized wealth). Sure, small steps aimed at the redistribution of wealth are important, but we need to exercise our utopian imagination and begin to address the root causes of educational inequality, an essential component of which is economic inequality—and how this links to racism, patriarchy, each other at conferences, and unfortunately end up in the trap of mimetic rivalry, which depotentiates our ability to organize collectively. We end up competing rather than cooperating.

Gender and racial equality are obviously at the center of the struggle for democracy—this is undeniable just by looking at the impact of the civil rights movement, and groups such as Idle No More, Black Lives Matter, Black Youth Project 100, and Me Too movements to name a few of major importance. Race and racism are integral to the capitalist system but in order to see this clearly we need to go beyond identity politics. The transatlantic slave trade and colonialism helped secure capitalism as a world system of domination, exploitation, and alienation, absolutely. Racism is integral to the logic of capital accumulation. But economic relationships are not secondary to racial ones. They are co-constitutive. Races were constructed as part of world capitalism and racialized social relations help to mask or hide economic relationships.

Nevertheless, I think the Republican Southern Strategy of focusing on issues that divide us culturally, as a way to distract us from the strategic centrality of challenging capitalism, have been all too effective. This

includes emphasizing initiatives like, for instance, black entrepreneurialism. Affirmative action received too much of a 'whitewash,' so the emphasis of government has been on building black small businesses, for example, as a way of reinforcing once more a Horatio Alger, 'pull yourself up by your bootstraps' ideology. I agree that wealth creation in the US has been racist and of course eliminating the racial wealth gap is important. But at the same time as we are trying to make wealth creation inclusive of all groups, let's take a hard look at the heart of the system of value creation that we have—currently, we call it immiseration capitalism, neoliberal capitalism, etc.

In the universities, we are seeing very little critique of capitalism as a set of social, legal, economic, and social relationships. At Chapman University, we have posters of individual students that begin with 'I am Chapman.' Students will follow with a description of how they see themselves—so for instance you see, I am a Latina, I am Catholic, I am vegan, I am Wiccan, I am Christian, I am gay, I am Lebanese-American, etc., but I have yet to see a poster that says, I am a socialist, or I am anti-capitalist. There is a racial wealth gap, and a gender wealth gap—this should be addressed. But why not at least have one required course on Marx, or capitalism. In my 30 years in colleges of education, you rarely, if ever, will find such a class, even though it's generally accepted that the best educational reform you could enact would be the abolition of poverty. But the social relations of capitalism are rarely addressed—largely because of the failures of so many communist revolutions and the way that those economic failures have been attributed by the media through establishing a false equivalence between communism and evil empires.

Corporate profits are being reinvested back into capital, not into creating decent jobs with medical coverage and retirement benefits. Profits are going into labor-saving technology. And Trump is using the current crisis of capitalism strategically—to blame the immigrants, blame those coming to the US from Mexico, from Central America, and from so-called shithole countries in Africa! Identity politics becomes a condition of being fixed on one's subjective existence in the face of existential threats while being distracted in the process from grasping and challenging the objective material conditions of exploitation that comes with living and struggling within the oppressive and dehumanizing relations within the capitalist state—which include racism, sexism, patriarchy, and white supremacy.

So, all of my 30 years as a Professor have been in colleges of education, and occasional guest teaching in philosophy faculties, and of course

invited addresses to groups from many different disciples, such as geography, theology, and global studies. I have had doctoral students ask me the following questions over the years: how do I get through this doctoral program without losing my soul? How have you managed to survive in the university as a Marxist? Is it because you are male and white? These are legitimate questions. Students are aware, for instance, that there are hundreds of books written about critical pedagogy, but many of these books have domesticated critical pedagogy, or turned critical pedagogy into a methodology.

Critical pedagogy is not a methodology in the strict sense of the term. It is a philosophy of praxis applied in everyday life. Rarely are issues debated in education classrooms about the history of educational law (there are exceptions of course). Yes, we read about the *Brown v Board of Education* landmark decision in 1954 (decided in the Supreme Court), but few students are aware of the *Mendez v Westminster* class action lawsuit (decided at the trial and appellate levels in at a federal circuit court in California), which preceded *Brown* by approximately eight years. I've met members of the Mendez family. Thurgood Marshall participated in the Mendez appeal and his work on that case helped him win the *Brown* decision. Few education students have ever heard of *Tape v Hurley*, in which the California Supreme Court found unlawful the exclusion of a Chinese American student from public school based on her ancestry—this occurred in 1885! Many students of mine have examined the school-to-prison pipeline, have looked at how the legal system in general supports white property owners, and see our educational system—especially one driven by high stakes testing—as reproducing the class and racial hierarchies within the US.

And of course, the issue of privatizing education is a big one, and there is a big debate over charter schools, the anti-union practices that come with charters, and the lack of qualified teachers who are conscripted into those charters, and of course the general corporatization and 'branding' of universities, including colleges of education. So yes, there is a general feeling of malaise within schools of education, a feeling that while you might make a meaningful difference in the lives of students, you won't be able to effect much systemic change.

I would say that it is time to join the fray, to collimate our revolutionary line of a march toward the future knowing full well that we may never achieve an alternative to capitalism but knowing that not trying will surely doom our planet to obliteration. My message to educators is that

we need to teach dangerously and live with optimism. We need to advocate for a revitalized critique of global capitalism and to struggle in the streets against the ongoing militarization of social life and endless wars of imperialism. I invite others to consider Marx's prophetic warning against the depredations of capitalism in light of the work that we do in schools of education, where the logic of privatization abounds and where postmodernism has paralyzed the left, turning away educators from considering socialist alternatives to capitalism. So, in closing, my central message is that educators need to renew their commitment to a revolutionary critical pedagogy and to the oppressed-not in historical-teleological terms, but in ethico-political terms that can create the conditions for socialist dreams to take root and liberatory praxis to be carried forward by undaunted faith in the oppressed.

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CHAPTER 14

What Is Critical Pedagogy Good For? An Interview with Ira Shor

Sheila L. Macrine

In this chapter, Ira Shor discusses critical literacy as *it takes shape inside* critical pedagogy, where teachers invite students to explicitly question the status quo in the name of social justice, democratic rights, and equality. According to Shor, this approach is a "situated pedagogy" shaped by and for specific themes, locations, and constituencies—from multicultural to feminist to socialist to queer to environmental, from K-12 to college to labor and community education, from urban to rural. He adds that Freirean critical pedagogy, of course, involves practices and frameworks derived from the foundational work of Paulo Freire, whose "pedagogy of the oppressed" was a class-based practice, offering dialogic literacy programs to Brazilian peasants and workers through a problem-posing process. The challenge has always been to diversify the singular focus on social class and to reinvent the approach for other times and places outside Brazil.

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Macrine: Tell Us About Your Recollections of Paulo Freire

Shor: Five decades ago, Freire launched his literacy-circles in a time of growing popular optimism in Brazil, when mass movements for democracy were afoot. The insurgent political climate propelled the social impact of this activist pedagogy. However, as is well known, his programs were suddenly and violently crushed on April 1, 1964, during a military coup d'état. In our own time, here in the United States, no military takeover, but rather a long conservative restoration, has restricted the space for democratic opposition and for dissident methods such as critical pedagogy. In years of right-wing ascendancy, invitations from critical teachers to rethink the status quo face uphill battles in schools and classrooms. Critical teachers in such times can benefit from reflecting on some advice Freire offered in prior decades, I think. For example, when critical teachers do invite students to radically question the status quo, the process is more likely to work if the language used is accessible and if the subject matter is meaningful to student life and thought. This preferential option for concreteness in speech, texts, and themes had always been a special preoccupation of Freire's vis a vis classroom practice and teacherly discourse. At the core of Freire's process was the educator's discovery and use of "generative themes and words," that is, situations and language encountered in the everyday lives of students, which teachers re-presented in class as problems for study. The dialogic task of the teacher is to build an unfamiliar critical inquiry around familiar situations while also connecting daily life to larger issues of power in society. We could say that the generative theme approach embedded concreteness in the learning process while positioning the local in relation to the global. The local starting point of a generative theme also helps to discipline the teacher's tendency to talk at and over students in academic idioms learned at universities. The patient restraint of voice and the patient testing of themes comprise an elegant discipline learned by critical teachers in process, on the job, by doing it. The payoff for this discipline lies in opening the process to student participation.

Participation in critical learning helps such classrooms to function as vigorous public spheres, that is, as active public forums of broad deliberation, which Henry Giroux has often urged upon us as essential in a democratic society.[1] Because discourse is a material force in the social construction of self and society, such public spheres are instruments for the democratic construction of self-in-society and society-in-self. These forums for democratic deliberation are broadly needed in society—at work, in neighborhoods, in town hall settings, and so on—for a culture of democracy to predominate. This critical connection of participatory

deliberation to democracy in school and society can be traced backward from Giroux to Freire and then to John Dewey.

When deliberative problem-posing works in class, teachers and students think through the nuances and consequences of knowledge-making, re-perceiving the way things are and reimagining the way things could be. For sure, such a critical pedagogy is "political" and "ideological."[2] But, to critical theorists of education, all pedagogies are political, whether or not they acknowledge their ideology. Critical pedagogy foregrounds the politics (power relations) in any subject matter, but to foreground something is not to impose it. Freire insisted that "education is politics," but he opposed polemical impositions on students. To him, imposing answers on students was a form of oppressive education, even though no method can be neutral or value-free. All are political because all involve the formation of human beings. Education is an organized social experience intended to shape the people in it, another Freirean notion that was foundational in the work of Dewey, on whose shoulders Freire acknowledged standing. Given that education is a social experience, that all social experience is formative, and that all formative experiences embed one value system or another, it is impossible then to form or shape humans in any manner without implicating norms and orientations for thought and action, which is a synonym for ideology. Education is politics, then, simply because it develops students and teachers this way or that way depending on the values underlying the learning process.

The values embedded in every learning process can shape us into people who question the status quo or into people who accommodate to the way things are or into people who celebrate the system we live in. Through texts, exams, grades, assignments, lectures, recitations, and so on, students develop ways of thinking, feeling, speaking, and acting. To learn accommodation to or celebration of the status quo are choices as political as to learn questioning the way things are. Humans are the agents who make the world what it is by their everyday labor; while society makes us, we also make it; our everyday lives can enable the system to continue as it is or can compel it to change if we oppose it. Schooling thus understood, as a site for the social construction of the self, is by definition directive, persuasive, and formative, attempting to discipline and normalize students and teachers (as Foucault would put it), who, of course, decide for themselves the limits of their accommodation and resistance. This, then, is why critical pedagogy, as an educational process for human development, is no more and no less "political" than every other pedagogy.

Macrine: Yet, Are the Politics of Critical Pedagogy Still Relevant, Still Needed?

Shor: Here we are, fifty years after Freire originated his "pedagogy of the oppressed" and thousands of miles from the site of his original literacy work. Now, more than a decade after Freire's passing, forty years since experiments in critical pedagogy began in North American schools and colleges (seventy-five years later, counting Myles Horton's work at Highlander), in a time of runaway globalization and digital everything, is there anything new to be done with critical pedagogy? To find some answers, consider some aspects of current U.S. society: Vast wealth and power are accumulating at the top and in the private sector, drained from working families and taken from public programs whose social services are starved for resources. Oil corporations have record profits in a time when no shortages of supply and no production bottlenecks justify such high charges. Pharmaceutical companies are not merely superpricing their drugs but are also laying off thousands of employees while repatriating billions in foreign profits at reduced tax levels, thanks to a tax holiday from Congress (the so-called "American Jobs Creation Act of 2004," which enabled them to pocket about $90 billion that should have gone to the public sector). A prison-industrial complex now exists in the United States, which has quadrupled the number of inmates held in jail since Reagan took office, mostly African-American and Hispanic young men. (The railroading of dark-skinned men to jail has thankfully hit one snag through DNA exonerations of falsely convicted death-row inmates, now exceeding 200 in number). Only 5% of the families in New York City can afford to buy a median-priced home there; family income for the bottom 90 percent of the nation has been mostly stagnant for the past 30 years, despite huge gains among the top 1 percent. A disastrous and illegal war in Iraq has so far cost 4200 American lives, hundreds of thousands of Iraqi dead, the trashing of the Constitution vis a vis torture and illegal detention, and the wasting of $500 billion in our wealth. A right-wing majority on the Supreme Court is busily undoing egalitarian gains and democratic rights achieved in past decades. A monstrous financial meltdown created by Wall Street's reckless profiteering is being shuffled onto the backs of Main Street taxpayers. This list of depredations indicates the disturbing national drift toward oligarchy and helps explain why we need critical pedagogy to question the status quo wherever possible, along with more powerful tools to defend democratic rights and to promote equality. Critical pedagogy is one tool through which teachers can invite students to rethink power relations and the economy, but a consolidation of popular forces into mass movements for change will be needed to install social justice in society.

Macrine: What Do You Think Have Been Your Main Contributions to Critical Pedagogy?

Shor: One book I wrote, *Culture Wars* (1986, 1992), studied the transition in school and society from the insurgent 1960s to the reactionary period afterward, naming this contested shift as "the conservative restoration," which Michael Apple and others have found useful to denote the recent era. Another book, *A Pedagogy for Liberation* (1986), was the first "talking book" Paulo Freire did with a coauthor, in which we tried to address frequent questions asked about critical pedagogy while using a new form of discourse. Other books have anthologized some of the best work in critical practice from the 1970s to the 1990s. Much of my written work concerns efforts to reinvent Freirean critical pedagogy for the postliterate, and the North American schools and colleges. For example, one of those efforts, *When Students Have Power* (1996), reported a democratic instrument called "the After-Class Group," which I summarize below:

"The After-Class Group": This ongoing experiment involves teacher-student power sharing, negotiating the syllabus, and codeveloping the curriculum. It builds from Freire's assertion in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* that overcoming the teacher-student contradiction was the first problem in the classroom. How can democratic practices be built into the learning process as practices and not merely as verbal declarations of good intentions? The critical syllabus can integrate "democracy," "inequality," "sexism," "racism," "homophobia," or "global warming" as subject matters for problem-posing. But I wanted to transform the learning process itself so that governance became a terrain of innovative democratic discourse. To democratize the social relations of the classroom, I began negotiating grading contracts, "protest rights" of students, and a working committee called "the After-Class Group" (ACG).

The ACG is comprised of 4–8 student volunteers who meet with me immediately after each class session to review that day's work for its strengths and weaknesses. I convene the ACG after other students have left and start the session by asking the remaining group what went well and what went badly in the class that just ended? Was it a good use of their time? Did some parts of the class work well and others not? Did they learn something new and worthwhile? Did we write and read too much or too little? Did the teacher talk too much or too little, too quickly or too slowly, too loudly or too quietly, in understandable words or not? Was student participation broad? Given what happened in class today, what should be first on the lesson plan for the next class meeting? Such questions have provoked some remarkable, frank exchanges between me and the students and among the students themselves. Whenever an ACG forms effectively in any course,

it has improved my teaching. Overall, the ACG is one concrete tool for power sharing, for practicing democratic social relations, for distributing responsibility, and for drawing students out as agents of their own educations.

Another effort to reinvent Freire for the North American classroom involves curriculum design using subject matters beyond the foundational Freirean resource of "the generative theme." In the following text, I explain how this works: Thematic Options for Problem-Posing: Freire's literacy teams researched student communities to discover "generative themes and words" that the teachers used as primary subjects for writing and discussion when the literacy circles were convened. In Freirean critical pedagogy, generative theme research underlies curriculum design. It answers the question, "Where does subject matter come from?" Generative themes have the advantage of familiarity and concreteness because they are drawn from local experience. But not everything that goes on in student life qualifies as a generative theme. The material selected as "generative" is done so because it is judged by the teachers to be especially good for connecting the local to the global. The task of the critical teacher is first to discover key generative themes in student life and then to move outward from them into their relation with contexts of power in society.

To this generative theme method, I've added two other kinds of thematic resources: the topical theme and the academic theme. I discuss these two approaches in *Empowering Education* and will say here briefly that topical themes are consequential and controversial issues currently circulating in society but not yet extant in student speech, or are there only in low profile. The critical teacher presents a topical theme to invite student participation in an ongoing public issue (for example, the use of torture and illegal detention on prisoners; or the Mayor of New York's proposal for "congestion pricing" to tax vehicles entering Lower Manhattan; or the Mayor's interest in reversing term limits voted for twice by the people of the City; or the use of public tax funds to build lavish new sports stadiums for private teams like the Nets, Yankees, and Mets). The second curricular method—the academic theme—is a formal body of knowledge or a discipline based subject matter that a teacher has to or wants to introduce to students given the departmental location of the course in the curriculum or given the developing needs of a critical inquiry (for example, how data is named and represented in statistical formats; how two different disciplines—fossil-based paleontology and DNA-based evolutionary biology—explain the nature and extent of Neanderthal homo sapiens interaction; how allopathic and homeopathic practices differ in the treatment of illness, etc.). Because topical

and academic themes are not subject matters already circulating locally in student life, they require different handling than does the generative theme, but they are useful options for critical teaching among postliterate students in a formal school or college.

Next, I could mention my notion of "The Critical Paradigm" vis a vis extending and adapting Freire's critical pedagogy. Extending Freire's famous metaphor of "banking pedagogy," I've contrasted "the critical paradigm" with "the zero paradigm" of traditional schooling. The goal here is for critical practice to avoid "banking pedagogy" that fills students with deposits of official knowledge, constructing them as empty accounts. The "banking"-style teacher (a traditional lecturer using direct instruction or frontal pedagogy) draws knowledge from a central bank and vocally drops them into the allegedly empty heads of the students sitting in class, who then withdraw this knowledge when called upon to do so (oral or written examinations). This "banking pedagogy" is a deficit model that Dewey originally criticized as "pouring in" knowledge. It construes students as passive, empty, silent recipients. It construes teachers as responsible professionals when they cover required material, filling students with information through a narrating voice or through handouts.

The critical alternative to banking pedagogy is dialogic problem-posing, whose epistemology can be called "The Critical Paradigm." This paradigm asserts a dialectical starting point for critical pedagogy: *both students and teachers come to class at more than zero and less than zero at the same time*. Teachers and students both bring knowledge-making assets to class for critical study while both bring anti-critical liabilities as well. The Critical Paradigm, then, acknowledges all parties as agents with potentials to enable or to disable the process.[3] Moreover, the Critical Paradigm denotes a complex and contradictory starting point, noting equivalence and difference among teacher and students, with both capable of constructive and destructive impacts on potentials for learning.

A last item I could mention in terms of reinventing Freire for the U.S. context involves the central notion of "critical consciousness." One of Freire's early works is titled *Education for Critical Consciousness*. The nature of "critical consciousness" is an unfinished and important discussion in Freire and others. In this debate, I renamed and redefined the tripartite structure of consciousness originally proposed by Freire, offering four dimensions for critical habits of mind, which I proposed as goals for this pedagogy. Below I excerpt quoted sections on these dimensions from *Empowering Education*.[4] Some critical teachers have found the scheme below useful as a guide for their practice, so perhaps these are good items to highlight here:

1. "*Power Awareness*: Knowing that society and history are made by contending forces and interests, that human action makes society and that society is unfinished and can be transformed; discovering how power and policy-making in society interact in society, with some groups holding dominant control; how history and social policy can be changed by organized action from the bottom up …"
2. "*Critical Literacy*: Habits of thought, reading, writing, and speaking that go beneath surface meaning, first impressions, dominant myths, official pronouncements, traditional clichés, received wisdom, and mere opinions, to understand the deep meaning and root causes, social context, ideology, and personal consequences of any action, event, object, process, organization, experience, text, subject matter, policy, mass media, or discourse …"
3. "*Permanent Desocialization*: Understanding and challenging artificial, political limits on human development; questioning power and inequality in the status quo; examining socialized values in consciousness and in society that hold back democratic change in individuals and in the larger culture; seeing self and social transformation as a joint process …"
4. "*Self-Education/Organization*: Self-organized transformative education to develop critical thought and cooperative action; knowing how to study critically in groups or individually, how to find out about an issue or subject …; acknowledging the value of humor, passion, curiosity, intuition, and outrage as emotional dimensions of knowledge; developing educational projects coordinated with political groups …"

Macrine: What Are the Current Challenges to Critical Educators? What Do You Think Will Be the Next Phase of Critical Pedagogy?

Shor: The future is impossible to predict. We can only look at current conditions to get a feel for limits, options, and trends. First, of course, is the ongoing conservative climate. This right-wing advance continues in the United States despite *three* historic disasters that have discredited the status quo: the failures and lies of the Iraq War, the refusal to rescue victims of Hurricane Katrina, and the financial meltdown of Wall Street in September 2008. On the plus side for the oligarchy, however, there is the huge success of globalization and billions accumulating in many corporate balance sheets. But, this soaring wealth competes with the economic troubles of working families, thanks to outsourcing, layoffs, stagnant wages, rising prices, high taxes, and impossible health care. Perhaps we will get to see just how long a system can lavish its top

1 percent while abusing the bottom 99 percent before the privileged are overtaken by rage from below. Perhaps the multitudes abroad who live in developing economies will take the lead against globalization. Perhaps the 87,000 violent protests reported in China in 2006 by the government there will spread. Perhaps the $700 billion taxpayer bailout of Wall Street will provoke widespread demands for a new economic order. Or, perhaps Mother Nature will enforce a pause or pullback on runaway globalization if Global Warming accelerates the run of catastrophic hurricanes, or if a pandemic illness races across borders, or if a mass poisoning from tainted goods strikes a nation. With China, India, Russia, and Eastern Europe now integrated into the Western market system, providing enormous opportunities for investment and return and enormous risk and instability, globalization most likely has fast and wobbling legs, especially with Labor, Feminist, and Environmental groups now small and divided, though such forces can grow surprisingly fast when their time has come or if a general crisis erupts.

In terms of education, K-12 teachers, students, and parents will have to cope with the continuing imposition of high-stakes testing if the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 is ultimately renewed. Public school budgets will continue struggling with property tax rebellions and with the fiscal crisis of the state in the wake of a trillion-dollar Iraq War and a trillion-dollar bailout of Wall Street exhausting public sector funds. For sure, it seems very important for teachers to work within their unions to make these organizations militant advocates for children and the public sector. The brilliant Rethinking Schools group in Milwaukee over twenty years of activism is an example of what can be accomplished by rank-and-file teachers who start from their own kitchen tables. At the college level, inequality is advancing, with poor and working-class students having less access to four-year degrees because of rising tuition and stagnant family incomes. Colleges in this new Gilded Age follow the lead of Harvard whose $37 Billion portfolio fuels options available to very few campuses, yet many, like the impoverished City University of New York try to upscale. The former "Harvard of the Working Class," my own City University of New York, now lavishly finances an elitist Macaulay Honors College and plans to spread its use of SAT scores for admission (just as many other colleges are finally abandoning this toxic instrument of inequality). For college teachers, the big problem is large class size, high course loads, greater pressure from "publish or perish," the vocational anxieties of students in debt to pay for college in an age of depressed wages, and the runaway exploitation of contingent staff. Overworked and underpaid adjuncts make up huge proportions

of the faculty. Only solidarity and union action can address this decline in conditions for teaching and learning.

Macrine: Given the Prime Need to Consolidate Democratic Opposition in School and Society, What Can Critical Literacy Do in Classrooms?

Shor: The difficulties of the current moment, it seems to me, are also teaching opportunities. Perhaps the best places to begin are the conditions and needs of the students in the context of oligarchic concentrations of wealth and power in this country. Pose the problems of globalization and privatization, inequality, war, the Main Street bailout of Wall Street, and the toxic spoliation of the planet at the ground level where students live them out. Syllabi that grapple with the growing inequalities of wealth, gender, and race, with the global context of our local conundrums, are acts of opposition against the Brave New World shaping up around us. Even if critical pedagogy in particular and education in general cannot by themselves reverse these conditions, they can break the silence moving us into the worst world possible. Interfere by teaching your heart out. Interfere with where we are headed by making classrooms public spaces whose discussions grapple with what is happening to us. Shine bright lights on the obscured mechanisms of power. When Wall Street bankrupts Main Street, pose the problem. Critical classrooms are opportunities to circulate unauthorized democratic discourse against the status quo. This consequential task questions "the power now in power," as Freire called it, against which "the power not yet in power" will have to imagine and invent another world.

Macrine: Tell Us About Identity, Difference, and Power in Critical Literacy Classrooms

Shor: Critical literacy classes focused on identity differences have also been construed as "contact zones" by Mary Louise Pratt: "… social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power…."[5] Pratt proposed some rhetorical arts for a critical pedagogy that profiles differences while resisting dominant culture, including two useful alternatives to mimicking elite discourse in writing classes. These two alternatives for producing texts offer students and teachers options to assimilating uncritically into academic discourse:

1. Autoethnography: a text in which people undertake to describe themselves in ways that engage with representations others have made of them …
2. Transculturation: the processes whereby members of subordinated or marginal groups select and invent from materials transmitted by a dominant or metropolitan culture … While subordinate peoples do not usually control what emanates from the

dominant culture, they do determine to varying extents what gets absorbed into their own and what it gets used for.

These literate practices ask students to take critical postures toward their own language uses as well as toward the discourses dominating school and society, such as mainstream news media. Further, from Pratt's contact zone theory, we can extract and summarize more pedagogical advice for questioning power relations and encouraging critical literacy:

1. Structure the class around "safe houses" (group caucuses within the larger class where marginalized "others" can develop their positions).
2. Offer exercises in oral and written storytelling and in identifying with the ideas, interests, histories, and attitudes of "others."
3. Give special attention to the rhetorical techniques of parody, comparison, and critique so as to strengthen students' abilities to speak back to their immersion in the literate products of the dominant culture.
4. Explore suppressed aspects of history (what Foucault referred to as "disqualified" or "unqualified" narratives relating popular resistance).
5. Define ground rules for communication across differences and in the midst of existing hierarchies of authority.
6. Perform systematic studies of cultural mediation, or how cultural material is produced, distributed, received, and used.

Finally, Pratt enumerated other "critical arts" of the contact zone that could encourage a rhetoric of resistance: doing imaginary dialogues (to develop student ability to create subjectivities in history), writing in multiple dialects and idioms (to avoid privileging one dominant form), and addressing diverse audiences with discourses of resistance (to invite students to imagine themselves speaking to both empowered and disempowered groups). Pratt's pedagogy for producing critical discourse has been deployed for writing classes by Patricia Bizzell and Bruce Herzberg.[6] In general, contact zone theory has a friendly fit with the critical literacy I defined elsewhere as:

> Habits of thought, reading, writing, and speaking which go beneath surface meaning, first impressions, dominant myths, official pronouncements, traditional clichés, received wisdom, and mere opinions, to understand the

> deep meaning, root causes, social context, ideology, and personal consequences of any action, event, object, process, organization, experience, text, subject matter, policy, mass media, or discourse.[7]

My definition is also consistent with Aronowitz and Giroux's (1985) notion that "critical literacy would make clear the connection between knowledge and power. It would present knowledge as a social construction linked to norms and values, and it would demonstrate modes of critique that illuminate how, in some cases, knowledge serves very specific economic, political and social interests. Moreover, critical literacy would function as a theoretical tool to help students and others develop a critical relationship to their own knowledge."[8] With this kind of literacy, students "learn how to read the world and their lives critically and relatedly … and, most importantly, it points to forms of social action and collective struggle."[9] This activist agenda was also central to Joe Kratovo's' definition: "Critical literacy … points to providing students not merely with functional skills, but with the conceptual tools necessary to critique and engage society along with its inequalities and injustices. Furthermore, critical literacy can stress the need for students to develop a collective vision of what it might be like to live in the best of all societies and how such a vision might be made practical."[10]

Macrine: How Do You Think We Can Utilize Critical Literacy for Envisioning Change?

Shor: Envisioning and realizing change was a key goal of Freire's literacy teams in Brazil before they were destroyed by the military coup of April, 1964:

> From the beginning, we rejected … a purely mechanistic literacy program and considered the problem of teaching adults how to read in relation to the awakening of their consciousness … We wanted a literacy program which would be an introduction to the democratization of culture, a program with human beings as its subjects rather than as patient recipients, a program which itself would be an act of creation, capable of releasing other creative acts, one in which students would develop the impatience and vivacity which characterize search and invention.[11]
>
> Freire's original method included trisyllabic exercises for decoding and encoding words. Even though this project had explicit political intentions, Freire's practical pedagogy focused on writing, reading, and dialogue from generative themes based

in student life, not on didactic lectures based in teacherly discourse. Freire thus developed pragmatic "agencies for doing," to use Dewey's phrase. The students' literacy skills emerged through concrete exercises on generative themes displayed in drawings ("codifications") from their lives (Dewey's vital subject matter as the context for developing reflective habits and language abilities).

Freire's much-read reports of dialogic pedagogy for illiterate Brazilian peasants and workers offer an instructive comparison to the literacy narrative of Mike Rose who chronicled his life and work among basic writers at UCLA and elsewhere. Rose, based at a high-profile campus dominated by academic discourse, developed and taught a rhetorical form of critical literacy: "framing an argument or taking someone else's argument apart, systematically inspecting a document, an issue, or an event, synthesizing different points of view, applying theory to disparate phenomena … comparing, synthesizing, analyzing … summarizing, classifying …"[12] Rose's definition of critical literacy reiterates Mina Shaughnessy's earlier advice for teaching rhetorical habits to basic writers.[13] By naming these literate habits and by asking students to learn them through complex cases drawn from across the curriculum, Rose responded to the academic needs of basic writers at a flagship campus, UCLA. In Freire's original culture circles the situation was not academic, but rather nonformal adult basic education offered where the students lived or worked, certainly not on a campus. Later in his career, when Freire became Secretary of Education for the City of Sao Paulo in 1989, responsible for an impoverished school system of about 700,000 students, he proposed that standard forms should be taught to nonelite Brazilian students in the context of democratizing schools and integrating the themes of their lives:

> Finally, teachers have to say to students, Look, in spite of being beautiful, this way you speak also includes the question of *power*. Because of the political problem of power, you need to learn how to command the dominant language, in order for you to survive in the struggle to transform society.[14]

Freire reiterated this point a few years later in *Pedagogy of the City* (1993): "The need to master the dominant language is not only to survive but also better to fight for the transformation of an unjust and cruel society where the subordinate groups are rejected, insulted, and humiliated."[15] In these

remarks, Freire foregrounds ideology and education for changing society, activist positions typical of critical literacy.

Freire's remarks discussed above involve an inflammatory issue of language education in the United States and elsewhere: Should all students be taught standard usage and initiated into academic discourses of traditional disciplines, or should students be encouraged to use the language they bring to class (called *students' rights to their own language* in a controversial policy statement by the Conference on College Composition and Communication in 1973)? In the United States, the argument for teaching standard usage to black youth has been taken up strenuously by Lisa Delpit (1995). Yet, despite her stance in favor of standard usage for all, Delpit produced a special anthology defending "Ebonics" in the classroom (with coeditor Theresa Perry, *The Real Ebonics Debate*, 1998). This anthology includes a strong essay by Geneva Smitherman, the longtime proponent of black students using African-American English. A bidialectal or contrastive rhetoric approach is being suggested here for honoring and using the students' community language while also studying Standard English. Freire would likely agree with the bidialectal approach, but he would insist on ethical and historical foundations for such a program: standard usage, rhetorical forms, and academic discourse make democratic sense only when taught in a critical curriculum explicitly posing problems about the status quo based in themes from the students' lives. In a program clearly against inequality, many tools and resources can be useful, including standard usage, bidialectalism, bilingualism, contrastive translations of texts from community language into academic discourse, and so on. In a critical program, the teaching of standard form is thus embedded in a curriculum oriented toward democratic development. By themselves, correct usage, paragraph skills, and rhetorical forms such as narrative, description, or cause and effect are certainly not foundations for democratic or critical consciousness, as Bizzell recognized after her long attempt to connect the teaching of formal technique with the development of social critique.[16]

Another oppositional approach merging technique and critique is Gerald Graff's "teach the conflicts" method, which has been developed thoughtfully for writing classes by Don Lazere.[17] Lazere provides rhetorical frameworks to students for analyzing ideologies in competing texts and media sources. The specific rhetorical techniques serve social critique here, insofar as the curriculum invites students to develop ideological sophistication in a society that mystifies politics, a society, in fact, where

"politics" has become a repulsive "devil-word." Lazere uses problem-posing at the level of topical and academic themes (social issues chosen by the teacher and subject matters taken from expert bodies of knowledge and then posed to students as questions) rather than generative themes (materials taken from student thought and language).[18] My own Deweyan and Freirean preference is to situate critical literacy in student discourse and perceptions as the starting points, but the "teach the conflicts" method of Graff and Lazere is indeed a critical approach worthy of study, especially because it teaches us a way to pose academic subject matters as problems, questions, and exercises rather than merely lecturing them to students.

Merging the study of formal technique with social critique is not simple, but this project is no more and no less "political" than any other kind of literacy program. The position taken by critical literacy advocates is that no pedagogy is neutral, no learning process is value free, no curriculum avoids ideology and power relations. To teach is to encourage human beings to develop in one direction or another. In fostering student development, every teacher chooses some subject matters, some ways of knowing, some ways of speaking and relating, instead of others. These choices orient students to map the world and their relation to it.

Every educator, then, orients students toward certain values, actions, and language with implications for the kind of society and people these behaviors will produce. This inevitable involvement of education with developmental values was called "stance" by Jerome Bruner:

> … the medium of exchange in which education is conducted— language —can never be neutral … [I]t imposes a point of view not only about the world to which it refers but toward the use of mind in respect of this world. Language necessarily imposes a perspective in which things are viewed and a stance toward what we view … I do not for a minute believe that one can teach even mathematics or physics without transmitting a sense of stance toward nature and toward the use of the mind … The idea that any *humanistic* subject can be taught without revealing one's stance toward matters of human pith and substance is, of course, nonsense … [T]he language of education, if it is to be an invitation to reflection and culture creating, cannot be the so-called uncontaminated language of fact and "objectivity."[19]

Also denying the neutrality of language and learning, poet Adrienne Rich said of her work in the Open Admissions experiment at the City University of New York that "My daily life as a teacher confronts me with young men and women who had language and literature used against them, to keep them in their place, to mystify, to bully, to make them feel powerless."[20] Rich ended her tribute to the cultural democracy of Open Admissions in the early 1970s by connecting the writing of words to the changing of worlds:

> [L]anguage is power and … those who suffer from injustice most are the least able to articulate their suffering … [T]he silent majority, if released into language, would not be content with a perpetuation of the conditions which have betrayed them. But this notion hangs on a special conception of what it means to be released into language: not simply learning the jargon of an elite, fitting unexceptionably into the status quo, but learning that language can be used as a means for changing reality.[21]

Thus, to be for critical literacy is to take a moral stand on the kind of just society and democratic education we want. This is an ethical center proposed many years ago by the patron saint of American education, John Dewey, who insisted that school and society must be based in cooperation, democratic relations, and egalitarian distribution of resources and authority. Progressive educators since Dewey, such as George Counts, Maxine Greene, and George Wood, have continued this ethical emphasis. Freire openly acknowledged his debt to Dewey and declared his search "for an education that stands for liberty and against the exploitation of the popular classes, the perversity of the social structures, the silence imposed on the poor—always aided by an authoritarian education."[22]

Many teachers reject authoritarian education. Many strive against fitting students quietly into the status quo. Many share the democratic goals of critical literacy. This educational work means, finally, inventing what Richard Ohmann referred to as a "literacy-from-below" that questions the way things are and imagines alternatives, so that the word and the world may meet in history for the making of social justice.[23]

Notes

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CHAPTER 15

Afterword: Critical Pedagogy for the Twenty-First Century. Moving Beyond the Narrative of Redemption

Gustavo E. Fischman

While it may be impossible to assess the "real" influence of the ideas and ideals of critical pedagogy (CP) among today's educators and particularly within teacher education programs, as the preceding chapters in this book eloquently illustrate, it would be hard to deny that as a collective educational movement, CP has produced one of the most dynamic and impactful schools of thought not only in the USA but globally. Many of the authors associated with CP are prolific; they fill lecture halls without much difficulty, and their names are easily recognized. It is very likely that if Paulo Freire, perhaps the most iconic figure in CP, were alive and using Twitter, he will be one of the top social media educational influencers.

I believe that there is much to celebrate in the current vitality of CP, in the excitement of the victories of activists against oppressive practices in educational institutions, and especially in the reinvigorated activism of public school teachers. Yet recognizing these accomplishments should not

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minimize the fact that there are very large numbers of educators, policy makers, and teacher educators who have strong negative reactions when they encounter the ideals and proposals of CP. While teaching courses that engage with CP themes, I have experienced direct hostility to the explicit message of educational change, mockery due to the opaqueness of many texts, and skepticism about the application of the ideas, mainly because they are seen as too utopian and as produced without grounding in actual schools.

Negative reactions to the key principles of teaching that seek to transform educational institutions into spaces oriented toward social justice, fairness, and hope could be interpreted as conservative expressions of the ideological protectors of the status quo in society. But such an explanation, which may be true in many cases, masks how CP often uses a narrative of redemption that at best can inspire some educators, but frequently confuses and alienates teachers and students, ultimately preventing meaningful dialogues and alliances.

What is a narrative of redemption (NR)? Simply put, is a way of framing and explaining educational situations in a dualistic manner. In its basic form, existing classrooms are described as being horrible, oppressive, discriminatory, filled with poor teaching, and so on, but through the redemptive power of mighty critical agents and their ideas, schools will become harmonious spaces of hope. The magic connection between the terrible present and the promising future lies in the figure of humble and heroic super-teacher. Besides the obvious caricature of this portrayal, redemptive narratives are common in teacher training institutions and especially strong in popular culture, because they provide the basic discursive structure of most films and TV dramas about schools. The NR erases the backgrounds of teachers and students, ignores any process that leads them toward adapting and adopting critical stances, and makes their acts of resistance the result of pure acts of will that are implemented instantly, obtaining virtually instantaneous fair and just results. The mark that NR works is when an individual teacher overcomes systemic failures through the sheer force of their heroic and "organic" consciousness and deeds. The heroes in these narratives are frequently people who become teachers without going through teacher education courses. Their successes are not due to anything they could learn in a teacher education program. When others follow the lead of the super-teacher, the class or school as a larger system is redeemed.

The resonance of the NR is related to how schools are positioned as key sites for the transformation of future generations and the perfection of the society. Since the time of Horace Mann, the NR has been a dominant narrative about the potential of public schooling, and the NR is part of the discursive grammar that literally defines the purpose of public education.

Both supporters and opponents of CP use the NR and its distinctive framing of teachers as both the target of harsh social criticisms and the last agent of hope, and schools as the frontier dividing the critical juncture between the possibility of achieving society's dreams and the failure to uphold those aspirations. In that critical juncture of social imaginary about teachers, NRs become the makers of terrible presents and hopeful futures. In CP, the NR also contributes to the proliferation of gloom and doom, and unfortunately, it does so quite well.

This framing is quite traditional and is a close follower of religiously inspired discursive sequences of in-crisis-failure-trauma completed with redemption-absolution-recovery-success. If accepted, this redeeming educational vision will, after the defeat of the oppressing enemy, create harmonious, "oppression-free," ideal schools, in which flawlessly smiling teachers and perfectly motivated students will co-construct learning and transform schools and societies with the force and strength of their wills.

The normative presentation of conflicts and struggles as expressions of hope in connection with educational and social change works quite well as a cinematic devise or as a motivational speech. These elements give to NR strong emotional connections. Yet, only within redemptive narratives of heroic teachers and students, it is possible to find real "hope" in racist situations, oppressive contexts, discriminatory practices, and banking educational systems. A naïve NR is dangerous because it naturalizes pain and suffering that happens in schools, minimizing and ignoring the risks, and suffering of those directly involved. These narratives overpromise the outcomes following the principles of CP in any classroom and oversimplify the pathways that teachers and students must follow to embody, even faintly, emancipatory projects.

An important risk arises from this perspective. While a number of educational interactions are articulated through plain and explicit oppressive practices, and others are explicit in their articulation of pedagogies of freedom and hope, the great majority of those interactions fall in more ambiguous categories. Contrary to other pedagogical models that postulate canonical, ahistorical, and reductionist perspectives, critical educators

postulate that understanding the structural and multiple forms of oppression, both explicit and implicit, that saturate educational processes is a necessary step for transforming them.

As all the chapters in this book emphasize, using CP allows educators to interrogate their practices inserted in their broader sociopolitical contexts. The operational principle is that the creation of another type of education requires having a critical understanding of the concrete situations in classrooms, schools, and societies in order to change them. Moreover, CP proponents argue that educators need to understand not simply the concrete situation but the historical antecedents that produced the situation, along with the current dynamics that point where the concrete situation is moving. It is into this dynamic of motion that interventions—limit-acts—could be inserted.

By emphasizing the importance of the acts of understanding and transforming, critical educators also point to the fundamental relationship between educational and social transformations, keeping in constant view new means of breaking down all forms of oppression. The problem arises when, in our attempts to teach and demonstrate the realities of oppression, critical educators present violent and unjust situations as opportunities for hope and transformation. It would be better to recognize that conflicts and struggles are part of the everyday life of schools and societies, sometimes explicit and clear, and often implicit and confusing, but always anchored in complex manners and multiple dynamics of class, race, sexuality, language, and ethnicity. In this unavoidability of educational conflicts, practitioners of CP need to recall Raymond Williams and "speak for hope, as long as it doesn't mean suppressing the nature of the danger."

The concrete results of schooling in the twenty-first century cannot be simply reduced to universal terms of complete failure or total success. For countless teachers, their assessments of pedagogical interventions are constrained by conflictive relationships and the ways in which they, as members of multiple and specific social groups, recognize, perceive, believe, and act upon complex and contradictory realities.

Proponents and practitioners of CP do not need, and cannot sustain, their narratives based on idealized super-teachers and critically superconscious Gramscian organic intellectuals as the only and privileged agents of change. CP would greatly benefit by valuing and understanding the importance of potentially transformative characteristics that are already present in many teachers, even if those are formulated in naïve forms or in commonsense terms.

Commitment is one of these potentially transformative characteristics. How many times when visiting a school or when teaching our classes do we encounter teachers who declare their commitment to the notions of equal opportunity, fairness, caring, and democracy? Clearly, in most cases, these declarations are formulated as depoliticized notions of commitment, and in some cases, as naïve perspectives about equal opportunity or caring. Understanding teaching as an activity that involves commitment is more of an orientation or a process than a final state of being. Perhaps, more importantly, commitment likely precedes or at least develops with conscientization.[1] Commitment is a starting point, but it must be deepened in order to sustain teachers for the long road ahead of them, without maps, and with many detours and setbacks along the way.

Teaching of CP should begin here as well. As Paulo Freire has argued: "Conscientization is not exactly the starting point of commitment. Conscientization is more of a product of commitment. I do not have to be already critically self-conscious in order to struggle. By struggling I become conscious/aware." The key point for Freire is that these ideals of fairness and democracy are meaningful as they are made real in the struggle to embed them within the everyday life of any given school and community. In other words, educators who are committed to the ideals of fairness, social transformation, and economic, political, and cultural democratization are critical educators even if they have never heard or read the words of Stanley Aronowitz, Antonia Darder, Paulo Freire, Henry Giroux, Donaldo Macedo, Sheila Macrine, and other authors associated with the development of this field.

I believe that there are many teachers who are already transformative/organic intellectuals, "critical" and conscious active participants in social and political networks. Many are taking risks by speaking out and naming oppressive realities. Yet many of these critical teachers are limited to denunciations and are only able to outline the annunciations of a more just future (that can only be robustly filled in through the efforts of a pedagogical and political movement, which always involve a collective action). However, I believe that large numbers of teachers as well as practitioners of CP have the energy and commitment but are at times confused, or even unaware, of their potential to be active proponents of educational and social change. One of the most pressing challenges for CP is harnessing this energy, commitment, and desire to change and enabling it to form into a collective force that can lead the transformation of schooling.

Critical consciousness always implies that the subject has some awareness of the surrounding, immediate world. As Freire came to recognize, a deep understanding of the complex processes of oppression and domination is not enough to guarantee personal or collective praxis. The genesis of such an understanding requires the recognition that multiple forms of oppression exist and that every individual participates in them. In other words, the commitment to struggle against injustice is not "organic," neither is it more natural for some people than for others. One can arrive at critical consciousness and praxis from several positions within an oppressive situation. Further, this commitment could start in abstract terms, but it is actualized not just through individual struggle but also by developing a community of similarly committed fellow activists. Conscientization is embodied individually, but it comes through collective dialogue, analysis, and actions. Only by developing an understanding that is born of a commitment to social justice in cooperation with others can such an understanding lead to the type of conscientization and the counter-systemic networks necessary to challenge the hegemonic structures of domination and exploitation.

The notion of the teacher as a committed intellectual is exactly the opposite of the teacher as the organic super-agent of educational change, able to do all the heroic tasks, and thus rendering everything possible. Relying on notions of "organic" solidarity to stable and unshakable identities as the prerequisite for developing pedagogies worthy to be called critical is still constrained by a sense of dualistic redemption. It is important to avoid simplistic "either/or" perspectives that will leave us without the conceptual and pedagogical tools to understand how and to what extent many teachers feel educational dynamics developed by neoliberal globalizers are positive and fair. Part of the power of the neoliberal discourse in education is its promise to deliver equity, based on just and neutral standards and ideals of excellence. Those working following the ideals and CP frames cannot simply ignore the notions of technical improvements in schooling and the importance of accountability systems, or dismiss all the teachers who resonate with these notions as guilty of being ideologically corrupt and unable to get rid of their false consciousness. The inequities of capitalism and other forms of oppression can be challenged and eventually defeated, but not simply by understanding its formation; rather, it requires developing the will and the courage—the commitment—and the

social, cultural, and political organization to struggle against it in cooperation with others. As Allan Badiou alerted us, it is possible to assume that the accomplishments of the committed intellectual will be more humble.

The conception of politics that we defend is far from the idea that "everything is possible." In fact, it is an immense task to try to propose a few possibles, in the plural—a few possibilities other than what we are told is possible. It is a matter of showing how the space of the possible is larger than the one we are assigned—that something else is possible, but not that everything is possible.

Potentially, a great number of educators could be committed intellectuals, based on the functions that they could perform rather than any essential virtue or characteristic. For these teachers, the starting point will very likely be an attempt to feel empathy, by sensing how multiple forms of exploitation are affecting their students, their families and communities, and themselves, and the institutions in which they work. Teachers as committed intellectuals are the embodiment of the Freirean notion that the capacity to engage in critical self-consciousness is not enough to challenge and transform both the repressive and integrative functions of hegemonic unequal and unjust social orders. Critical self-consciousness nevertheless is necessary to find ways to intervene in the world in ways that would have the potential to transform that world.

Contrary to the all-powerful "heroic-teacher" or the all-knowing "super-conscious critical-teacher" of the NR, the teacher as committed intellectual is oriented by the goals of educational and social justice without succumbing to essentialist positions about hope or easy rhetorical discourses of good versus evil. This rejection of reductionist binaries should also include rejecting a simplified view of evil neoliberalism versus good social democracy.

Many educators may have naïve ideas of hope, but hope is not an external characteristic or natural resolution to a pedagogical situation, something alien to their daily struggles in their schools. Teachers as committed intellectuals can engage in individual and collective actions as an integral part of the always contradictory and conflictive ongoing processes of conscientization and educational change.

As the contributors of this book demonstrate, CP cannot be anything other than democratic and progressive. As conceptual and educational orientation, CP represents a historical and steadfast criticism of and opposition to the banking model of education, and the resignation promoted by the "There Is No Alternative" posture. As Zygmunt Bauman points

out, "If an optimist is someone who believes that we live in the best of all possible worlds, and the pessimist is someone who suspects that the optimist may be right, the left places itself instead in the third camp: that of hope. Refusing to preempt the shape of the good society, it can't but question, listen and seek."

Questioning, listening, and seeking alternatives for the construction of better schools and better societies as acts of hope resonate with Freire's ideas and are consistently emphasized in this book. Understanding hope in a Freirean sense implies placing it with a context of concrete, practical experience of collective struggle, dialogue, and conflict. For Freire and the authors of this book, hope is historically and ontologically situated and cannot be the "natural" result of struggles; however, it is intimately tied to those struggles. Educational hope requires solidarity and agency, and it is collectively constructed with the commitment of individual teachers, and yet it cannot be sustained on redemptive narratives of super-teacher heroism, whether wrapped in Hollywood imagery or pretended critical discourses.

This book contributes to efforts to overcome the limitations of redemptive narratives in education, combining strong conceptualizations about the current challenges to more democratic and fair schooling and clear pledges to the notions of social and educational transformation. In addition, the contributors of this volume provide conceptually sophisticated and pragmatic tools to pursue pedagogies that encourage commitment to justice and fairness, stimulate a respect for different perspectives on sciences and arts, do not punish disagreement, celebrate caring for the other and a desire to know, and welcome a passion for democracy, and create fair and inclusive futures.

While difficult to assess the real influence of CP, it is undeniable that it still inspires many teachers, and I am sure that this book will significantly encourage and motivate many more. If the ideas of CP are still inspiring teachers, educators, and administrators, it is in large measure because the shortcomings of the banking system are the norm and not the exception, and because even today more teachers recognize that more democratic, more open, more tolerant, and more creative and efficient schools are not only achievable but necessary.

Note

1. P. Freire, *Education for the Critical Consciousness* (New York: Continuum, 1989), 46.

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