

*Where Did Freire Go Wrong?*  
*Pedagogy in Globalization: The Grenadian Example*

**Paul C. Mocombe**

Florida Atlantic University

*mocombep@bellsouth.net*

## **Introduction**

It is through education (an “ideological state apparatus” in Althusserian terms), with the rise of the modern state, by which the members of the dominant group, the upper class of owners and high-level executives (bourgeois capitalists) in this day and age, impose their will (without force) throughout society. This suggests that the educational curriculum and by association its pedagogical practices are those which the economic base, as perceived by those in power positions, requires. Thus education, in this sense, becomes the primary means of “enculturation” or “socialization” to participation in life processes in modern times. For by controlling the material resources that sustain institutions, education in this case, the powerful [(capitalists, i.e., upper class of owners and high-level executives)] can deny resources needed to make vital identity claims and to experience selves as agents (Schwalbe, 1993: 342). “Selves are thus stunted as they are disciplined and harnessed to serve the needs of capital” (Schwalbe, 1993; 342-343). Which in essence means, “[t]here is no such thing as a neutral educational process [or essential selves for that matter]. For selves are a product of education that either functions as an instrument that is used to facilitate the integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity to it, or it becomes ‘the practice of freedom,’ the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world” (Freire 2000 [1970]: 34).

But how is this possible? How can education come to serve as “the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to

participate in the transformation of their world,” if, as I am suggesting, it is always an institution of the power structure (i.e., a reproductive apparatus)? Paulo Freire (2000 [1970]) suggests that it is through the restructuring of the education system to allow for dialogue between subjective or cultural structural positions (i.e., in postmodern terms, dialogue between varying discursive practices).

Recent shifts in American pedagogical practices (as a result of the shift from an industrial to a postindustrial economy), and concomitantly in developing countries such as Grenada for example, which appear to emphasize Freire’s dialogical model, however, speaks, as I intend to argue here, to the continual role of education as an instrument that is used to facilitate integration, rather than (as many Postmodernist theorists of education emphasize with their Freirean understanding of dialogue between “cultural” discursive practices within the existing configuration of power) as a liberating force against what has become a *reified consciousness*, i.e., the global capitalist ideological social structure or culture. So where did Freire (and by association, Postmodern critical theorists of education) go wrong? This essay offers a rereading, at the world-system level, of Freire’s emphasis on dialogue, as practiced in the American and Grenadaian context, which refutes it (and the Postmodern emphasis)—given its utilization by power (America) to normalize divergent discursive practices (Grenada) within its existing configuration, i.e., the Protestant discourse and its discursive practice, the “Spirit of Capitalism,”—in favor of the antidialogical model or the “Banking system,” which, as a result of the nature of the global capitalist social structure (a reified consciousness), offers a more realistic chance of freedom for those oppressed by its neoliberal ideological practices, i.e., the poor, children, and people of color.<sup>1</sup>

## **The Global Context**

The upper class of owners and high-level executives, based in the corporate community of developed countries like the United States, represent today's dominant bourgeois capitalist class whose various distributive powers lead to a situation where their policies (discursive practices, i.e., neoliberal policies) determine the "life chances" of not only local social actors, within the globalizing developed nation, but global ones as well. As William Domhoff (2002) points out in *Who Rules America*, "The routinized ways of acting in the United States follow from the rules and regulations needed by the corporate community to continue to grow and make profits" (Domhoff, 2002: 181). Globally, this action plays out through US dominated institutions such as the World Bank (WB), World Trade Organization (WTO), International Monetary Fund (IMF) etc., who prescribe fiscal, political, and social policies to countries in search of aid for development that aids the corporate-driven agenda of the developed world (that is, fits them within the structure of their social relations, i.e., the discourse of the Protestant ethic and its discursive practice, the Spirit of Capitalism), rather than the agenda of the developing countries (i.e., the establishment of open markets as the basis for development and social relations in developing countries, whose markets when established are unable to compete with that of competitors in the West, and therefore get usurped by the capitalists' of the West who take advantage of the labor force—which is cheapened in order to globally compete with other—cheaper—prospective markets—and other resources of the developing country, who must allow these investors into their country in order to pay back the debts they owe to the aforementioned international institutions least they be

declared ineligible for aid and development loans if they do not open up (liberalize) and secure their markets).

This contemporary trend has been labeled globalization (market-driven as opposed to the post World War II development model, which emphasized economic replication, i.e., prescribed stages of economic development for developing countries, along the lines of the developed world—US and Europe) under the auspices of neoliberalism (McMichael, 1996; Portes, 1997). A common sense view that tends to see globalization as both an ideological force (a conceptualization of the world [, i.e., establishment of markets as the basis for social relations]) and a material force (i.e., real transnational movements of capital and commodities). That is to say, from this “natural attitude” or perspective globalization serves not only as a tool for investors to extract concessions from states, and for investors and states to extract concessions from workers and other citizens (Klak, 1998: 5), but also as a means of socialization to the capitalist social relations of production as the constitutive “practical consciousness” of modern societies—an ideological position, which assumes a distinction between the life-world of cultural meanings and subjective experiences, and the capitalist non-cultural system, which governs them.

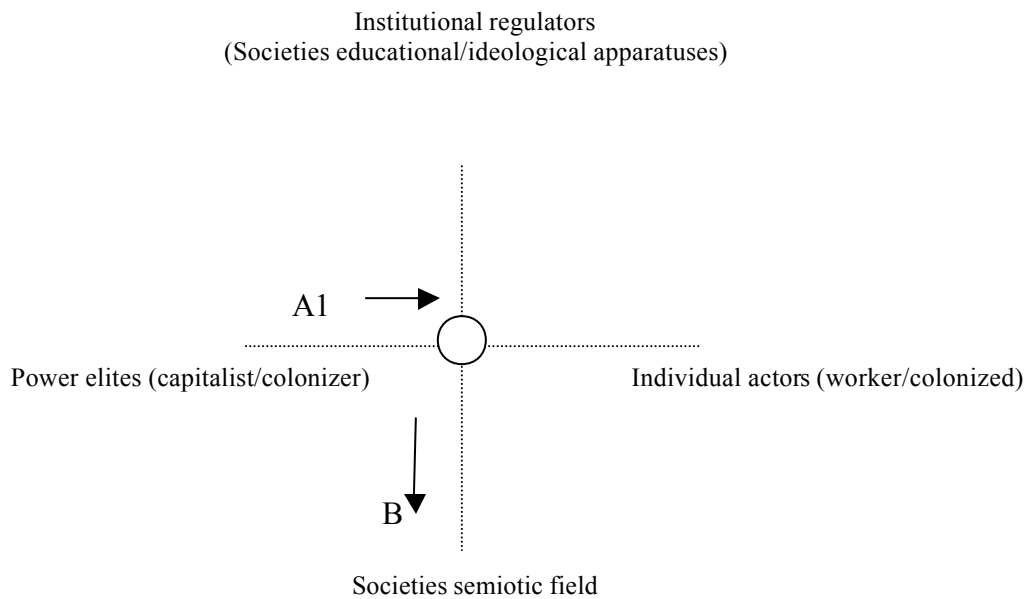
Theoretically, this position amounts to a euphemism for Immanuel Wallerstein’s (1974) world-systems theory, which emphasizes the integration of the world into a functional system “based on capitalist commodity production organized by a world market in which both purely economic competitive advantage and political interference by states play an interactive role” (Chase-Dunn, 1977: 455). In other words, “in the modern world-system there is only one mode of production, commodity production for

profit on the world market, that articulates different forms of labor exploitation and encompasses a system of differentially powerful [(core)] states and peripheral areas” (455) from whom concessions are extracted and social relations are normalized, regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality, to meet the ends (profit-motive) of the capitalist system.

Whereas the dominant focus of world-systems analysis and the common sense view has been on the exploitative (or not) material relations between core and periphery states. The point of emphasis here is on the ideological aspect or the socialization facet involved in the conception of this relation in terms of capitalist ideological domination. This is an important distinction, for while the material approaches view the system or structure of capitalist relations as distinct from the plethora of cultural meanings and subjective experiences, which operate within its systemic framework. My position argues that the contrary is the norm. That is, the capitalist system colonizes the lifeworld to prevent differentiation of norms and subjective experiences from that of the Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism.

From this position, the view, unlike that of the materialist position or the common sense view, is that in the emerging post-development global setting (globalization), globalizing capitalist core states, like the US, no longer rely exclusively on political and military force to extract concessions, or market forces for that matter to reproduce the system or the structure of social relations amongst periphery nations. Instead, as Louis Althusser points out (2001 [1971]), as governing elites in control of the state, as the constitutive element for bourgeois domination, investors pressure other states to use state “ideological apparatuses” such as education to *interpellate* their “workers and other

citizens” with the ideological practices (i.e., discursive practices) that justifies, and makes acceptable, their role (agents of the Protestant ethic) in the investor/worker relationship that structures the global social relation of production. In other words, through “ideological state apparatuses,” such as education, social actors in modern societies are given the “ethics” needed for both their “ontological security” and the reproduction of the structural terms (i.e., norms, values, prescriptions and proscriptions) of the capitalist social relations of production.



*Figure 1 Diagram* representing the structure of Bourgeois culture. Capitalist interpretations (Marxist, Postmodernist, World-system, and dependency, theories) view the synchronic axis (horizontal line) as resulting from the practices of the diachronic axis (the vertical line). That is, the economic subjugation running along line A1 derives from the abstract laws (neoliberal policies) of institutional regulators (movement of line B), which rigidifies, i.e., reify, into the horizontal axis and are exported throughout the global (globalization).

My interpretation, in keeping with the structural logic of Ferdinand De Saussure (1986 [1916]: 80), Max Weber (1958 [1905]), and recent structurationists, posits that the synchronic axis (Protestantism) gives rise to the diachronic (i.e., historical) practice—vertical axis—, capitalism, and globalization represents the means of localizing or structuring the global setting within the structure, or if you would, discourse of Protestantism, through capitalist practices, whether development (replication) models or market ones. So in essence, Protestantism is the reason for capitalist practices, and that the latter does not change the former, which is why I am arguing for a “clash of civilizations,” i.e., a clash of “structuring structures,” as the only means of deterring globalization.

Thus, “ideological state apparatuses,” in essence, become the force-less means of enculturation or socialization to the dominant capitalist order of things. So that in the case of education as an ideological state apparatus in today’s emergent global economy and culture, for example, the pedagogical practices and curricula are those, which are required to reproduce the capitalist social relation of production as practiced by the structural agents (the governing bourgeois class of owners and high-level executives in developed countries) of its discourse, i.e., Protestantism. This fact further implies that the transformation of society rests not on the subjective initiatives of *all* social actors, but on the “objective forces” (discourse), i.e., ideals, disseminated through education as an ideological apparatus, which these elites equate with the nature of reality and existence as such. Hence, whereas those in power positions, investors in the global economy, actively partake in the reproduction and transformation of society and the world around them, by (re) configuring the discursive practices (i.e., rules and regulations of the “Spirit of Capitalism”) of the ideology (the Protestant discourse) within which their self-interest is



best attainable. The majority of workers and other citizens (non-investors), at best, become pawns of the ideology, as they recursively organize and reproduce, for their ontological security, the discursive practices of power. A seemingly non-agential position, for from this perspective social actors lack the theoretical and practical skills to transform their world as they encounter it, they simply reproduce it (attempting to live as investors) given their indoctrination—“embourgeoisement,” in state ideological apparatuses such as education—into the pragmatics of bourgeois living.

The emerging post-development or post-modern global capitalist economy and culture (consumerism), dominated by U.S. foreign policy agenda, and the subsequent transformation of educational pedagogical practices throughout the globe (Tye, 1999)<sup>2</sup>, I argue here through an understanding of the juxtaposition of American and Grenadaian practices, speak to this phenomenon of cultural or structural homogenization. A view, which diametrically opposes the position of most contemporary critical theorists of education who argue for and attempt to demonstrate cultural heterogeneity, i.e., cultural heterogeneous groups engaged, through pedagogical practices that allow for dialogue, in struggles over the production, legitimation, and circulation of particular forms of meaning and experience, within education as a reproductive apparatus for economic conditions (Erevelles, 2000).

### **(Post) Modern Pedagogy**

In essence, my argument, in contradistinction to the latter position, is that it is only under the auspices of economic conditions (post-industrial consumerist globality) that contemporary critical theorists of education are able to speak of cultural heterogeneity within the existing configuration of capitalist power relations. In other

words, globalism, or globalization, is a condition of capitalist organization (i.e., capitalist discursive practice). That is to say, the process is simply the continual “stretching” of capitalist discursive practices (mostly American dominated), which as Immanuel Wallerstein points out has always been global in character, across time and space. However, as many globalization theorists of the postmodernist variety have demonstrated (Bell, 1976; Harvey, 1989; Giddens, 1990; Jameson, 1991; Arrighi, 1994; Sklair, 2001; Kellner, 2001), this contemporary condition is no longer characterized or driven by the industrial means for accumulating capital, which dominated the social relations of production of the last one hundred years, instead, the present globalization condition is tantamount to the concept, post-industrialism (consumerism)—the new means for accumulating capital—, and in such societies like the U.S., is characterized not by the industrial organization of labor, but rather by capitalist service occupations. Thus, the major emphasis among governing elites in this economy or social relation of production has been participation or integration of “others” (specifically “hybrids”) into the existing configuration of power relations in order to accumulate profits by servicing the diverse wants and needs of commodified cultural groups.

Given that most critical theorists of education have denounced the liberal claim, which sees education as a neutral process, the contemporary debates in educational theory, regarding the role of education in this post-industrial age, which emphasizes participation, have centered on the degree to which education serves as a reproductive apparatus for economic conditions as oppose to a democratically constructed “discursive space that involves asymmetrical relations of power where both dominant and subordinate groups are engaged in struggles over the production, legitimation, and

circulation of particular forms of meaning and experience” (Erevelles, 2000: 30). Peter McLaren (1988) and Henry Giroux (1992), most conspicuously, given the push for educational reform in consumerist globality, which emphasize participatory pedagogical practices such as cooperative group work and other supposedly cultural specific modes of learning, “have begun to examine the discursive practices by which student subjectivity (as constructed by race, class, gender, and sexuality) is produced, regulated, and even resisted within the social context of schooling in postindustrial times” (Erevelles, 2000: 25). Thus, challenging the claims of Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis (1976), for example, who in *Schooling in Capitalist America* argued “that the history of public education in capitalist America was a reflection of the history of the successes, failures, and contradictions of capitalism itself. In other words, they conceptualized schools as “ideological state apparatuses,” that, rather than attempting to meet the needs of citizens, instead devised administrative, curricular, and pedagogical practices that reproduced subject positions that sustained [the] exploitative class hierarch[y of capitalism]” (Erevelles, 2000: 28).

McLaren and Giroux, on the contrary, argue that Bowles and Gintis, along with other reproduction theorists such as Basil Bernstein and Pierre Bourdieu, are to deterministic. Hence, influenced by the impact of poststructural theory on cultural studies, McLaren and Giroux among others, instead explore how the everyday actions and cultural practices of students that constitute several subcultures within schools serve as cultural sites that exist in opposition to the hegemonic dictates of capitalist education (Erevelles, 2000: 30).

I disagree with this latter interpretation, for the Freirean dialogical practices, which these poststructural critical theorists of education emphasize, as evidential of the democratic struggle, between diverse groups, over the “production, legitimation, and circulation of particular forms of meaning and experience” within the existing hegemony of capitalist education, are in fact the result of the social relations of production in post-industrial capital, and therefore paradoxically serves capitalist education. That is, the consumerist globality of postindustrial capital fosters the participation of the cultural sites that exist in opposition to the dictates of capitalist education, for these sites, that is the meaning and new identities allowed to be constructed within the capitalist social space, are in-turn used to extract surplus value from their consumer representatives. In other words, cultural sites become markets, structured (through education) within the dictates of the protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism, to be served, by their predestined (capitalist class) “hybrid” representatives, who service their respective “other” community as agents of the Protestant ethic. Thus, no longer is the “other” alienated and marginalized; instead they (i.e., those who exercise their “otherness” as hybrids) are embraced and commodified so that the more socialized of their agents can (i.e., through hard work, calculating rationality, etc.) obtain economic gain for its own sake. Which is why current pedagogical practices, which reflect Paulo Freire’s emphasis on dialogue, lack the potential, contrarily to Freire’s inference, for liberation as they are utilized to reproduce the social relations of production under post-industrial global capitalism amongst previously discriminated against “others.”<sup>3</sup>

To prove this point, I want to juxtapose this relation between the “hegemonic dictates of capitalist education” and culture, by looking at this interaction at the global, or

what Immanuel Wallerstein calls the world-system, level. Specifically, I will concentrate on the hegemonic dictates of capitalist education in today's world-system dominated by the US, and the actions and practices of what amounts to the Grenadian subculture, for example. The social relational circumstances of this example, I intend to argue in other words, will highlight the paradoxical nature characterizing (capitalist) education in the hegemonic state (US) of the contemporary world system.

### **(Post) Modern Pedagogy in the US**

The social relations of production of the two most recent conditions of capitalism are diametrical opposites to say the least. Under industrial capitalism, "the scientific management movement initiated by Frederick Winslow Taylor in the last decades of the nineteenth century was brought into being...in an attempt to apply the methods of science to the increasingly complex problems of the control of labor [(in order to maximize profits)] in rapidly growing capitalist enterprises" (Braverman, 1998: 59). The end result of this movement was the separation of the roles of worker and management. In the case of post-industrialism (globalization), there was a renewed emphasis on cooperation between worker and management. In both cases, interestingly enough, the techniques and functions of the work place were replicated in US classrooms to serve as the means of socialization or enculturation to the labor process, and its subsequent way of life.

This direct correlation, most conspicuously, was between the implementation of pedagogical practices in American classrooms that paralleled the organization of work under each mode of production (Mocombe, 2001). For instance, under the scientific movement of the industrial stage, mental work was separated from manual work, and "a necessary consequence of this separation [was] that the labor process [became] divided

between separate sites and separate bodies of workers. In one location, the physical processes of production [were] executed. In another [were] concentrated the design, planning, calculation, and record-keeping. The preconception of the process before it is set in motion, the visualization of each worker's activities before they have actually begun, the definition of each function along with the manner of its performance and the time it will consume, the control and checking of the ongoing process once it is under way, and the assessment of results upon completion of each stage of the process—all of these aspects of production [were] removed from the shop floor to the management office” (Braverman, 1998;86).

To parallel the concepts of control adopted by management at that time, school curricula in the US stressed marching, drill, orderliness, assigned seats in rows, individualized seatwork, and tracking and leveling; seemingly all were preparation for the coordination and orderliness required in the modern factory. Lining up for class as well as marching in and out of the cloakroom and to the blackboard were activities justified in terms of training for factory assembly lines, while tracking and leveling sorted out future workers and managers (Springs, 1994: 18).

In short, all of the above-mentioned vestiges of the school curriculum/pedagogy complimented an aspect of the factory under scientific-management. Which is why, the service-oriented (post-industrialism) re-structuring of American capitalist society, beginning in the 1960s, witnessed massive reform initiatives in school pedagogies—a result of the re-conceptualization of the role of the worker in the labor-process under consumerist globality. Skills that were peculiar to the industrial worker become futile to the service worker in the postindustrial process. That is, whereas, the old work process

was founded on passive submission to schedules or routines, individualism, isolationism, and privatism; the postindustrial or globalization stage of the labor process focuses on teamwork. “It celebrates sensitivity to others; it requires such ‘soft skills’ as being a good listener and being cooperative” (Sennett, 1998: 99). This reorganization of work has revamped the role of the laborer in the work process, and “throughout the U.S. economy, employers and managers are promoting a new ethos of participation for their workers. In fact, the spread of a paradigm of participation—comprised of extensive discussion about the merits of worker involvement as well as actual transformation of production methods and staffing practices—may indeed be one of the most significant trends sweeping across postindustrial, late twentieth-century workplaces” (Smith, 1998: 460). And to ensure socialization to this new aspect of *Being* in capitalism, this trend of employee involvement is adumbrated in the pedagogical curriculum reform movements of many US school systems, which place a major emphasis on “process approaches,” “active learning strategies,” such as cooperative learning, group work, and many other “soft skills”—good listener, speaker, and writer—which characterize the dialogical elements of the new labor-process.<sup>4</sup>

This paradigm of participation, accordingly, is not an attempt on behalf of management to reassociate the conception of work with its execution. In other words, this is neither a reconstruction of Taylorism’s principles nor a means of trying to liberate the workers, as a result of the subsequent dialogue brought on by this ethos of participation. Instead, “Sociologists, industrial relations researchers, organizational scientists, and policymakers who have studied this trend agree that leaders and managers of U.S. companies are climbing aboard the bandwagon of worker participation in their

urgent attempts to maintain competitiveness under changing economic circumstances. Employers believe that when workers participate in making decisions, when they gain opportunities to apply their tacit knowledge to problem solving, and when they acquire responsibility for designing and directing production processes, they feed into an infrastructure enabling firms to respond to shifting market and product demands [(consumer demands)] in a rapid and timely way” (Smith, 1998: 460).

Essentially, this is the reason why the existing configurations of economic power allow for the fashioning and participation of new identities (through pedagogical practices that engender participation, i.e., cooperative group work, field trips, class room presentations, etc.) in the order of things: under industrial capitalism the aim was production for militarily controlled overseas markets, under post-industrialism the emphasis is servicing a larger segment of these markets not just the initial colonial “hybrid” bourgeois class, who are also interested in obtaining a larger portion of these markets.

Be that as it may, the emphasis of the education as an ideological apparatus for post-industrial capitalist social relations becomes that of allowing identities to reconfigure, not reconstitute, by the hybrid bourgeois class, the capitalist social space for more participation of their once discriminated against identities. This is done or allowed by the dominant bourgeois class, who under the consumerism of postindustrial society has expanded the capitalist social space through the restructuring of the organization of labor and its paralleling pedagogical practices in schools to allow for the participation of the “hybrid” bourgeois class, who in turn configure the capitalist social space for their participation through the commodification of the “hybrid” identity, which discriminates



against all other forms of sociation exercised by the “other” community while generating profits for themselves and the dominant bourgeois class. In other words, in the socialization of “identities-in-differential” within education as an ideological apparatus for the capitalist social structure what is (re) produced is ideological sameness amongst diverse “bodies/subjects” vying for control of their commodified markets as firms learn, by using the knowledge which dialogue between subjective positions foster, how to maximize their profits by catering to the needs of these “new” consumers represented by “hybrids,” i.e., “other” agents of the protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism, of their communities. Thus, the introduction of management-initiated employee involvement programs (EIPs), as well as paralleling pedagogical practices in schools, have been introduced, under the auspices and practical consciousness of the “hybrid” class of once discriminated against identities in order to parallel the capitalist ethos of consumerism—the current means of capital accumulation—currently dominating the globalization process or, as Wallerstein three decades ago framed it, the “world-economy,” which enables them (“hybrids”), as well as the dominant bourgeois class, to obtain economic gain for its own sake while inhibiting differentiation of thought from that of the capitalist ethos.

### **The Global process: The Grenadian Example**

Let us look at the process now from the perspective of a subculture, i.e., the Grenadian example. In today’s US dominated “world-economy” or “world-system” the ideological process plays out globally in that to facilitate American policy goals, which amounts to setting the global stage to benefit American multi-national corporations (MNCs), particular models of education have been exported and specific kinds of

programs supported financially in developing countries in order to reproduce the role of their citizens in the global (American dominated) capitalist economic order. Thus, “results of American policy are rather similar to the British [(the former hegemon of the capitalist world-system)] colonial educational policies of the nineteenth century in that existing metropolitan institutions are exported to the developing areas, often in forms somewhat below domestic standards and sometimes without much adaptation to local conditions” (Altbach, 1995: 455).

In the case of the Caribbean, for example, which has been in America’s “backyard” since time immemorial, what we see today under “globalization” is the exportation of an American style education which emphasizes the “soft skills” that their work, i.e., tourism, data-processing, manufacturing, etc., in the new global economy, as dominated by American interest, requires. This undermines and supersedes the struggle of Caribbean people over ideologies or significations that improves their historical conditions. Instead, their identities are commodified and configured within existing configurations of [(economic)] power” (Giroux, 1992: 28).

In other words, “The Caribbean enterprise culture...is dominated by merchant capital and lacks a sophisticated base in the production and export of modern goods and services” (Watson, 1997: 67).

Bodies such as the Caribbean Community (CARICOM)<sup>5</sup>...and the Association of Caribbean States (ACS) are products and agents of globalization and restructuring. They reflect an unstated recognition that the market and macroeconomic policy coordination are insufficient to produce desired results. They serve or complement a U.S. strategy for deepening the integration of Latin America and the Caribbean into the economy of North America, and more broadly the integration of the entire hemisphere into a single economic bloc [which continues the merchant capital enterprises required by American interest, i.e., tourism and low-end information processing jobs] (66).

The neoliberal logic is that the continual growth of these industries or markets will expand the job market, and therefore increase the well being of the masses (who, for their ontological security, must embody the agential moments associated with the social relations of production) as capital trickles down from the owners of industry to the “workers and other citizens.”

In this social environment, as my structural argument implies, the attempt at economic diversification (to meet specific needs) or the fashioning of new identities, by the masses, is futile and inconceivable, for the adaptation of the “soft skills” (pedagogical practices), which these industries require, to school curriculums become simply a means of reproducing the social relations of production in the Caribbean, which the global hegemonic economy—American interest—requires in order to obtain economic gain for its own sake. Forcing the Caribbean masses to remain one-dimensional laborers and consumers dependent on external investors (“hybrids” claiming to speak for the masses) for all other industries, which their learned skills are ill equipped to tackle. The case of Grenada in the region is most illuminating since the US has had a direct hand in shaping the country for its role in “globalization” or the “world-economy.”

#### *Grenadian Pedagogical Practices Since Independence*

In 1979, five years after their independence, in a bloodless coup spearheaded by Maurice Bishop, the New Jewel Movement in Grenada attempted to reconstitute their society, which was for so-long part of the British colonial heritage. “The socialist program of the Peoples Revolutionary Government (PRG) was optimistic as well as idealistic. Several objectives were framed to thoroughly redevelop the island’s economy: (1) construct the Point Salines International Airport to handle wide-bodies jets and invest

in the infrastructure necessary for a restructured, locally owned tourism industry; (2) encourage growth of a mixed economy with three major institutional bases—state, cooperative, and private—with the state playing the leading role; (3) improve the standard of living through a comprehensive program aimed at upgrading social services and ensuring basic needs; and (4) diversifying overseas trade and diversifying the portfolio of foreign aid and assistance, particularly courting assistance and linkages with CMEA countries, including Cuba, and improving South-South cooperation” (Conway, 1998: 38).<sup>6</sup>

Consequently,

...the international acclaim that Bishop garnered, championing the antiimperialist cause on behalf of the Nonaligned Movement, was often made at the expense of the Reagan administration. Bishop’s rhetoric, like Michael Manley’s [(the late Prime Minister of Jamaica at that time)], was answered by U.S. State Department reaction and displeasure. Bishop’s principled stances were championed by the U.S. Congressional Black Caucus, but the Republican administration was not amused. In the end, the “Revo” lasted only four years. Strife within the PRG, culminating in a military coup and the assassination of Maurice Bishop and other followers, provided an opportunity for the U.S. military and the Reagan administration to coordinate the invasion and occupation of that Windward “Spice Isle...” Grenada was gradually admitted back into the fold, the airport was finished, tourist facilities were opened to foreign finance, and the national economy was to be open, export-oriented, and dominated by foreign capital (39).

When the People’s Revolutionary Government (PRG) led by Maurice Bishop had overthrown the conservative regime of Eric Gairy, “[t]he existing education system matched Grenada’s malformed and poorly developed economy (exports of agriculture and agriculture-based products contributed 80 percent or more of total domestic merchandise exports), which was part of its British colonial heritage. The majority of the population, subsistence peasants and laborers on cocoa, nutmeg, and banana plantations, got a basic level of primary schooling which was often deeply flawed by scant resources,

inappropriate curricula, and untrained teachers. A minority of the population went on to elite secondary schools which prepared them for British external school-leaving examinations. Success in these exams gave them entry into ‘white collar’ jobs in the government service or the small commercial sector, or a better chance to migrate to Britain, the U.S.A., or Trinidad” (Hickling-Hudson, 1988: 10).

Under the Bishop administration, work-study, as articulated by the Brazilian educator Freire, “was seen as an educational programme which would help to counter the problem of the abstract, overly theoretical curriculum of the traditional education system. The dichotomy which valued academic subjects and marginalized practical ones was seen as a major weakness of Grenada’s colonial type of education system, which had played a part in maintaining the underdevelopment of the economy and the society” (11). “The PRG’s major aims were to remove the economic stagnation of Gairy’s era and to eliminate the dependence syndrome that Grenada had inherited from its colonial past” (De Grauwe, 1991: 338-339). Thus, whereas the former model, under English domination, sought to perpetuate the class privilege and class difference that structured English capitalist society, i.e., the educated who governed in the name of the Queen and the peasants who worked for them, the PRG model, in an attempt to refashion a new identity within a than British dominated capitalist relation of production, introduced a rural-oriented as well as an abstract politically oriented curriculum for building the “economy and improving economic and social welfare of the people” (Coard, 1985: 10, Quoted in De Grauwe, 1991: 339). In other words, educational pedagogy in Grenada during the revolution emphasized agricultural, technical and vocational training “enframed” by a Marxist politically oriented curriculum designed to reconstitute Grenada

as a more democratic and socially egalitarian society, a new identity within existing configurations of capitalist—US and British—social relations of power.

After the US (who viewed the Grenadian Revolution as a threat to their capitalist way of life) invasion in 1983, which brought about the end of the PRG and their programs, the Interim Government supported and directed by the U.S. sought to implement pedagogical practices that aided in the transition of Grenada into the existing global capitalist social relations of production by paralleling these practices with the export-oriented market economy required by American capitalists (the openness of the national economy, which was then agriculturally dominated, made it susceptible to competition from larger and more global agribusinesses that drove the local markets out of business, the banana industry for example; the US on account of this, provided foreign direct investment—the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) provided more than \$120 million in economic assistance from 1984 to 1993. Today, U.S. assistance is channeled primarily through multilateral agencies such as the World Bank—in sectors which could eventually advance to the stage of generating new exports, i.e., tourism and other “service industries in which the need for technical expertise is high and which could be diffused through the rest of the economy, either by the formation of joint ventures or through strategic alliances between local firms and foreign-owned enterprises setting up business in the country”).<sup>7</sup> Thus, whereas the PRG sought to make Grenada self-sufficient, more egalitarian, and independent through the adoption of pedagogical practices that linked work with study of a new (Marxist) form of social relations, the bureaucrats of the Interim Government under the auspices of the U.S. implemented practices “reoriented towards the world of work” (from interview with George McGuire,

Minister of Education between 1986 and 1990, Quoted in De Grauwe, 1991: 347) prescribed to the Grenadians by the global, i.e., U.S., economy (work along technical and vocational lines, and the service industry, i.e., tourism), which perpetuated the dependency and class inequalities of capitalism established by the British. As a consequence, educational pedagogy in Grenada after the revolution and under the auspices of the US, emphasized technical and vocational training, and “soft skills” were promoted at the secondary level “to relieve it from its academic bias and to make it more relevant to the job market” (De Grauwe, 348), i.e., for work in the now dominant service industries, most conspicuously tourism (in the latest IMF statistical assessment of the Grenadian economy, service industries were a substantial contributor to GDP at 68.3 percent in 2000), controlled by foreign markets.<sup>8</sup>

This trend continues today, as Grenada is heavily dependent-on and dominated-by foreign capital, which is heavily invested in tourist facilities and all of its accoutrements, i.e., telecommunications, international financial services, etc., which has turned the national economy into an export-oriented one (Klak et al, 1998). As a result, educational curriculums in Grenada’s seventy-six public schools (57 primary and 19 secondary schools) emphasize pedagogical practices—good listener, speaker, writer, dialogue, and cooperative group work, etc., —which parallel the performance of work in their service-dominated economy.<sup>9</sup> Hence, what one finds in Grenada today, which arguably is the norm throughout the developing world within existing configuration of US dominated capitalist power, is an elite, i.e., government bureaucrats, who are for the most part foreign trained (educated) in the pragmatics of bourgeois governance, i.e., law, politics, economics, etc., who (as hybrids) serve as middle managers for the bourgeois capitalist

class of the developed world.<sup>10</sup> The majority of the masses attend local schools up to the secondary level where they obtain training in the pragmatics of laboring and bourgeois living. They then enter the job market, i.e., tourism, technical work (information-processing), manufacturing, etc., where the sustainable growth of the economy (the expansion and growth of its existing industries) is suppose to reflect in the increase in their real wages, which allows them to exercise the agential moments of bourgeois living or the Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism.

Clearly today, then, as the case of America and Grenada highlights, the dialogical pedagogical practices of postindustrial capitalism, under the auspices of those in power positions, cannot be liberating, because it functions as a means of directing labor for the continual benefits of capital. Hence, dialogue, essentially, has been incorporated into the “ideological apparatuses” of the power elites, and in the workplace and the classroom it has been “reduced to the act of one person’s ‘depositing ideas in another, [and has] become a simple exchange of ideas to be ‘consumed’ by the discussants” (Freire, 2000 [1970]: 89). In this understanding, the pedagogy of dialogue is unable to foster freedom and simply becomes an enculturative mechanism, as opposed to a liberating force, to the existing configurations of power. Why is this so? What is it about self and society in modern (and postmodern) times that prevents dialogue between subjective positions from reaching a democratic objective understanding (a la Habermasian “communicative action”) that benefits all—not just those in power positions?

### **Where Did Freire Go Wrong?**

Paulo Freire in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (2000 [1970]) bears witness to this contradiction between education as a medium of “enculturation” and education as a



liberating force. Freire argues that in modern capitalist society social relations occur between two groups, oppressor and oppressed, or what amounts to the same thing, Marx's capitalist/proletariat classification, and one of the basic elements of the relationship between them is "prescription." "Prescription represents the imposition of one individual's choice upon another, transforming the consciousness of the person prescribed to into one that conforms with the prescriber's consciousness. Thus, the behavior of the oppressed is a prescribed behavior, following as it does the guidelines of the oppressor" (47).

For Freire, in order for education to serve the oppressed it must be one that emphasizes "the practice of freedom." It must be a pedagogy of the oppressed, which emphasizes their practical consciousness, as shaped by their material conditions, prior to the prescriptive process; that is, pedagogical techniques that allows for and emphasize democratic dialogue between practical consciousnesses, i.e., the teacher's and the student's, as opposed to an antidialogical pedagogy in which the teacher's knowledge is taught to the student and becomes their (practical) consciousness. The latter case, the antidialogical scenario (which characterizes the mechanism of the oppressor), is totalitarian, and simply attempts to indoctrinate (in order to reproduce the dominant social order) rather than liberate, whereas the former, dialogical pedagogy, allows the oppressed to remain a transformative agent within their historical material conditions. Although I agree with Freire that democratic dialogue underscores "the practice of freedom," I disagree with him and recent critical theorists of education, such as Giroux and McLaren, who, argue within the framework of postmodern and poststructural

theorizing, that this takes place or can take place within existing configurations of capitalist social relations of power.

Freire's "epistemology is central to his pedagogical principles and method. He views knowledge as an active process that is made and remade within changing historical conditions. Following from this is his deeply held belief that learners must actively create knowledge, not passively absorb donated information as if it were knowledge" (Hickling-Hudson, 1988: 12). My take, on the contrary, is that, knowledge is made and remade within a structure of history (i.e., within the ruling ideas or what amounts to the same thing, the practices, of those in power position) delimited by marginalizing differences. That is, society, up to this point in the archaeological record, is constituted through the contradictory principles of marginality and integration. Be that as it may, the very necessity of dialogue between democratic subjective positions paradoxically requires the practice of "banking education." For the structure of the democratic process necessitates a differing social structure from that of the existing configuration of capitalist social relations of power, which necessarily engenders inequality and gives rise to the oppressor/oppressed social relationship. In other words, in order to facilitate egalitarian democratic dialogue between subjective positions of the life-world the historical capitalist structure of signification must be supplanted by a democratic one with "ideological apparatuses" intended on socializing social actors for democratic social relations.<sup>11</sup>

The case of the Grenadian revolution, highlighted here, speaks precisely to the attempt on behalf of an oppressed group to decenter and challenge the reified consciousness of the American order through democratic dialogue, i.e., institutionalizing another form of being in the world in dialogue with the American global capitalist one.

Bishop and the PRG introduced pedagogical practices intended on institutionalizing “a new world order,” i.e., fashion a new identity within existing configurations of power, that appeared to challenge the reality and existence as such of the world’s lone superpower—as historical hindsight would reveal given that the Soviet Union was practically on the verge of collapse. The invasion, however, reoriented the Grenadians’, from their utopic euphoria, back into the American dominated capitalist social relations of production.

So in essence, my world-system analysis captures the dialectical relation between “other” practical consciousnesses existing within a dominant social order. My conclusion as it relates to Freire’s Manichean polarity, is that the proletariat or oppressed consciousness in dialogue<sup>12</sup> (given their lack of phenomenological meditation—to busy working) will never be allowed to reveal an action-theoretic pedagogy distinct from the oppressor consciousness if it functions within existing configurations of power; for structurally speaking, both the consciousness of the oppressor and oppressed are structured, differentially related, within a metaphysical ontology justified as universal and objective based on the “technical rationality” of the oppressor as it is delimited by that of the oppressed.<sup>13</sup> Hence, the key for liberation, accordingly, lies in the revolutionary minded intellectual elites who must prescribe (by gaining control of state ideological apparatuses), contrary to Freire, a consciousness (which synthesizes—not overthrow or replace, that would be undemocratic, for the intellectual must remember that the oppress is an interpellated agent of the field of knowledge and power, which “names” them—the existing ideology of power, i.e., the oppressor, with liberating practices for the oppressed) to the oppressed (against their “semi-intransitive consciousness”) so that they may

recursively reproduce—in the form of society—a democratic form of being-in-the-world; for initially, what human identity the oppressed have, as Antonio Gramsci so eloquently observed, “is given to them only as members of an inclusive corporate body—the collective worker, or integral society, or, at the apex, the State.” If left only, “[t]he ordinary mass of people can think nothing, do nothing and be nothing without the intercession of the intellectual elite. It feels, but does not understand; it has a spontaneous character, but no consciousness; activity, but no awareness; it comprehends through faith not reason, so that didactically the only means of reaching it is through the endless repetition of the same message wrapped in different coverings. Its province is the folklore of philosophy, no more than common sense laced with religion. The mass, it would seem, has the same limited comprehension as Aristotle’s slave [;] the same qualities of loyalty and discipline and the same incapacity to function as an autonomous being” (Harding, 1997: 212).<sup>14</sup>

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*Notes*

<sup>1</sup> I focus on Grenada because “[i]n February 1980, Paulo Freire and four other educators led a two-week seminar for 55 Grenadian teachers to consider how to implement one of the important principles of the Grenada Revolution: the integration of work and study” (Hickling-Hudson, 1988: 9).

Moreover, it is my position that Freire’s dialogical emphasis characterizes contemporary educational pedagogical practices; however, where I part with Freire is on the extent to which individuals in dialogue with the “sedimented and codified” referents of the power structure can actually deconstruct them for other forms of being-in-the-world. My conclusion is that that is the role of the intellectual, who has the time to phenomenologically meditate on and reactivate the referents and signifiers of power for other forms of reality. The masses, as interpellated subjects of the power structure recursively organize and reproduce the rules of conduct of power for their ontological security. Thus, they lack the time to meditate on other forms of existence to present in their dialogue with power; the intellectual, by their very existence does. Accordingly, the onus is on them to recursively organize another form of being-in-the-world for the masses.

<sup>2</sup> Kenneth A. Tye (1999), the foremost authority on global education curriculum, in his analysis of global education, Global Education: A Worldwide Movement, in the globalization process, points to two ways in which the globalization movement is related to or correlates with education: curriculum content and pedagogical techniques. In an analysis in which he surveys the curriculum content and pedagogical techniques of schools in 52 countries, Tye highlights elements of the content and teaching techniques

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emphasized by the schools that reflect or stress the modernist drive towards “regional and international cooperation and the integration of ecological, economic, political, technological, and even cultural systems of the world” (1). According to Tye, global education curriculum content stress the infusion of global perspectives, ideas and activities into existing curricula (among these the environment, development, intercultural relations, peace, economics, technology, and human rights are the issues most often identified), while the pedagogical techniques focus on how to disseminate that information, i.e., traditionally or using newer, more progressive Methodologies. Traditional methods of instruction range from “very traditional (teacher lectures, assigns text readings, gives students practice exercises or questions to answers, test students) to more modern (i.e., use of film, video, photographs, transparencies, other audio-visuals)” (68-69). On the other hand, more progressive methodologies (which reflects Freire’s dialogical pedagogy), according to Tye, employ “process approaches”, “active learning strategies”, “inquiry”, and “discovery” (i.e., role play and simulations, cooperative learning and group work, thematic curriculum planning, project method, travel programs, and use of technology). Tye attributes the relationship between the content of school curriculums and pedagogical techniques to that of function; pedagogical methods serve the function of distributing curriculum content information. Although Tye suggests that “global education advocates pretty much prescribe a wide range of the progressive methods for use by classroom teachers” (94), his analysis fails to point out the reason(s) why a shift in pedagogical methodology is required in globalization; for it appears that the traditional methods are just as capable of distributing the content information of global education as the progressive methods.

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<sup>3</sup> My reading of globalization completely breaks away from critical social theorists (Gilder 1989, 2000; Kaku, 1997; Kellner), who see globalization as an integral part of the scientific and technological revolutions of the modern era. I believe it is not necessarily the case that the scientific and technological revolutions of the modern era should give rise to present global processes; in fact, the networking of people, ideas, forms of culture, and people across national boundaries has been an integral aspect of human culture. So much so, that I would venture to call it a natural process. Thus, for me, “modern” globalization is a movement whereby a dominant culture, i.e., bourgeois capitalist culture of the West (America and Western Europe), attempts to reproduce its way of life by integrating the world’s population into its structures of signification, i.e., freedom, democracy, increased wealth, and happiness (the protestant ethic). All of this is accomplished through a set of social relations directed and controlled by the market, military power, and supervisory institutions such as the U.N.

<sup>4</sup> Essentially, this is also the basis for contemporary struggles over educational testing reform, i.e., the necessary push to reassess and reconfigure the testing tools within post-industrial societies.

<sup>5</sup> CARICOM Single Market and Economy

The CARICOM Single Market and Economy (CSME) is the Region's response to the evolving international environment in areas such as trade liberalisation, globalisation, etc.

The CSME is essentially conceived as the creation of a single economic space where goods and services along with the factors of production (labour and capital and in the case of land the right of access for establishment purposes) will be able to move freely supported by appropriate institutions and other related measures such as macro economic coordination, policy harmonisation etc so as to approximate the single economic space.

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There are a number of arrangements required to facilitate the creation of the CSME. The strategy has been to approach implementation in an incremental manner and on parallel tracks. Hence, in the first instance, the basis, i.e. the Treaty of Chaguaramus, upon which the integration movement was built had to be changed to accommodate the new approaches. This has been done through a number of Protocols- nine in all, treating with issues ranging from institutions and structures, sectoral policies, rules of competition, consumer protection and dispute settlement. (See <http://www.caricom.org/infoserv.htm> - for the texts of the protocols)

Parallel to this is the ongoing work to remove the remaining barriers to internal trade in goods - current data indicates that in excess of 95% of regional trade in goods is free of duties. The implementation of arrangements to facilitate trade in services, movement of capital and the right of establishment is currently ongoing. Phased implementation of the free movement of persons has begun with the CARICOM Skilled Nationals bill and the agreement to facilitate free movement in the categories of sports persons, culture workers, artistes and media workers. On the macro-economic side work is ongoing both on the capital market and monetary union initiatives as well as in the fiscal area - harmonisation of the fiscal incentives regimes, corporate taxation etc. (Quoted from, <http://www.caricom.org/archives/cohsod/youth/rotaryyouthsummit5.htm>).

<sup>6</sup> CMEA—“Council for Mutual Economic Assistance: former trading alliance among state socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, its allies, and Cuba; also abbreviated COMECON” (Klak, 1998: xiii).

<sup>7</sup> Rampersad, Frank et al (1997). *Critical Issues in Caribbean Development: The New World Trade Order: Uruguay Round Agreements and Implications for CARICOM States*. Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers, Pp. 210.



<sup>8</sup> **Table 1. IMF 2001 Report, Grenada Industries in Percent of GDP 1996-2000**

**Respectively.**

(In percent of GDP)

<b>Gross domestic product</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Primary Sector</b>	<b>9.1</b>	<b>8.5</b>	<b>8.4</b>	<b>8.5</b>	<b>8.2</b>
Agriculture	8.6	8.1	7.9	8.1	7.7
Crops	6.1	5.6	5.4	5.8	5.6
Livestock	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.5
Forestry	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3
Fishing	1.6	1.5	1.5	1.3	1.3
Mining and quarrying	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
<b>Secondary Sector</b>	<b>19.6</b>	<b>20.3</b>	<b>21.0</b>	<b>22.2</b>	<b>23.5</b>
Manufacturing	6.7	6.7	7.0	7.3	7.6
Construction	8.0	8.2	9.0	9.6	10.4
Electricity and water	4.8	5.4	5.1	5.3	5.5
<b>Services</b>	<b>71.3</b>	<b>71.2</b>	<b>70.6</b>	<b>69.3</b>	<b>68.3</b>
Wholesale and retail trade	11.5	11.3	11.1	10.9	10.8
Hotels and restaurants	9.5	8.9	8.9	9.4	9.0
Transport and communications	23.3	23.5	24.5	23.2	23.4
Banking and insurance	9.0	9.0	9.5	9.2	9.9
Real estate and housing	4.0	3.8	3.6	3.5	3.4
Government services	17.1	17.9	17.2	17.1	16.4
Other services	2.8	2.8	2.7	2.7	3.2
Less imputed banking charges	5.8	6.1	6.8	6.7	7.8

Source: Central Statistical Office (CSO), Ministry of Finance.

<sup>9</sup> Since 1996 Grenada's education reform (Basic Education Reform Project) has been the result of its \$7.66 million loan from the World Bank. "The Project is designed to improve the quality of basic education, expand access to secondary education, rehabilitate primary and secondary schools facilities, and help curriculum development for primary and secondary schools. The project will close at end-2001, and will be

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followed by another education project, the OECS Education Reform Project” (IMF 2001 Country Report No. 01/121, 29).

<sup>10</sup> As Dr. Anthony Boatswain, Grenada’s Minister of Finance, observes, “[s]ince the conclusion of a self-imposed structural adjustment program in 1994, the Grenada economy has exhibited relatively strong growth. After declining by 1.2% in 1993, the economy rebounded to grow by an annual average rate of 4.8% over the period, 1994-99”(Quoted in CaribNews, 2000). During this same period, unemployment went from 26.7 percent to 12.5 percent. He continues, “[t]his growth is primarily attributed to:

- A buoyant construction sector—sustained growth in new residential housing, large road rehabilitation and construction projects such as the port expansion, a ministerial complex and a national stadium.
- An expanding telecommunications sector.
- The rapid growth of the international financial services sector.
- Further increases in manufacturing output.
- A resurgence in agricultural production resulting from high prices of nutmegs, recovery from major pest and disease problems in the mid-1980s and the recommencement of banana ships: and
- Sustained growth in tourist arrivals and earnings” (CaribNews, 2000).

This does not read of a distinct culture struggling over “social forms such as language, ideologies, significations, and narratives” in order to fashion a new identity within existing configurations of power (Giroux, 1992: 28), instead what one sees from Dr. Boatswain’s talk is a reproduced subject (an agent of the Protestant ethic) within the cultural logic of late capital development articulating the fundamental keys to success

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within this existing configuration of power, i.e., neoliberalism via prescribed structural adjustment programs.

<sup>11</sup> This position diametrically opposes that of postmodernist critical theorists of education, who, building on Freire, push for a democratic dialogical pedagogy within the structure of existing configuration of capitalist power. My position, which builds on the work of Herbert Marcuse (1964), doubts the potential of dialogue (outside of intellectual indoctrination or guidance), within current existing configurations of power, to liberate the oppressed. That is, I believe, in terms of the constitution of contemporary society, capitalist domination, and its discourse Protestantism, has been sustained through the appeal to reason, and that this “technical rationality,” which dominates the capitalist normative world, and makes it appear to be natural (ideology), makes life for both oppressed and oppressor an objective reality in which shortcomings are more so a product of individual failure rather than that of the social (objective) reality. Thus, dialogical pedagogy within this existing configuration of power becomes rhetorical, the means (forcefully or otherwise) of persuading those who do not share in capitalist discursive practices to do so, since structurally an “other” form of being in the world only serves to differentially delimit the existing configuration of power.

<sup>12</sup> This characteristic of the American capitalist social structure, defined in relation to “other” forms of being-in-the-world, and the attempt by its ruling elites to globally institutionalize their ethos, speaks to the illusion of reifying thought—“the idea,” as Habermas observes, “that the differentiation of an objective world means totally excluding the social and the subjective worlds from the domains of rationally motivated agreement” (1984 [1981]: 73). In such a reality, democratic dialogue is a means of

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surviving or coping (therapy in essence), which takes the place of morality in the Nietzschean sense, within the objective reality. That is, the dialogue in which the oppressed partakes accentuates their subjective position as an “other,” and therefore releases the objective reality from any faults in creating that position—subsequently making these thoughts and their practices antithetical (delimiting) ideas. In which case, these thoughts or ideas, that is thoughts of the oppressed as expressed in dialogue within the capitalist social structure, become simply predefined lexicons and representations of signification within the objective reality that are already incorporated in its logic (they structurally delimit the dominant order) to disprove their possibilities by being labeled irrational, utopic, or simply “other”—hence substantiating the position of the capitalist order or culture through its perceived rationality and success, and in doing so justifying the conditions of the oppressed, i.e., marginalized commodified “others,” who delimit the social relations of production of the existing configuration of power.

<sup>13</sup> In fact, the way I see it, Freire’s failure (the failure of his model, i.e., the integration of work and study to reconstitute society), that is, its failure in its implementation in the Grenadian revolution, lies in his under estimation of the power of modern society’s emphasis on “technical rationality,” as the defining element of its institutions (education in this case), to serve as an all encompassing “ideological apparatus” which incorporates even the pedagogy of the oppressed itself to serve as a mechanism of control—rationality, in this understanding, serving to fashion the society into a Durkheimian Mechanical Solidarity as opposed to an Organic one. In other words, it would be one thing if the structure of the institutions was the problem, as Freire alludes to. But in modernity the institutions themselves are not the problem, as many postmodernists have

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pointed out, rather it is the universal truth claim that the appeal to reason casts over these institutions (to validate their existence), which makes them “ideological apparatuses” in which contradictory thoughts, such as those of the oppressed, are incorporated in the logic of the system to serve as a mechanism of control by demonstrating their irrationalities and absurdities. In this sense, “the worldview...does not permit differentiation between the world of existing states of affairs, valid norms and expressible subjective experiences. The linguistic worldview is reified as the world order and cannot be seen as an interpretive system open to criticism. Within such a system of orientation, actions cannot reach that critical zone in which communicatively achieved agreement depends upon autonomous yes/no responses to criticizable validity claims” (Habermas, 1984 [1981]: 71).

<sup>14</sup> In other words, I believe the revolutionary class must institutionalize the revolutionary consciousness in a way, which allows the people to directly partake in reproducing and transforming the structure that shapes and directs their consciousness. In this way, power, as objectified in the state and its ideological apparatuses, is no longer in the hands of a particular group that directs all others, but falls under the rule of the masses. This is a political move, not an economic one; for it is not who controls the economic means of production that is important, but those who control the apparatuses under which the owners of the means of production operate.

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