the meanings, the rituals, and the representations that produce consent to the status quo and individuals' particular places within it. Ideology vis-à-vis hegemony moves critical inquirers beyond explanations of domination that have used terms such as propaganda to describe the way media, political, educational, and other sociocultural productions coercively manipulate citizens to adopt oppressive meanings. A evolving critical theory endorses a much more subtle, ambiguous, and situationally specific form of domination that refuses the propaganda model's assumption that people are passive, easily manipulated victims. Researchers operating with an awareness of this hegemonic ideology understand that dominant ideological practices and discourses shape our vision of reality (Lemke, 1995, 1998). Thus, our notion of hegemonic ideology leads to a nuanced understanding of power's complicity in the constructions people make of the world and their role in it (Kincheloe, 1998, 2002). Such awareness corrects earlier delineations of ideology as a monolithic, unidirectional entity that was imposed on individuals by a secret cohort of ruling-class czars. Understanding domination in the context of concurrent struggles among different classes, racial and gender groups, critical students of ideology explore the ways such competition engages different visions, interests, and agendas in a variety of social locales. These venues—for example, film, TV, popular music, sports, and so on—were previously thought to operate outside the domain of ideological struggle (Brosio, 1994, 2000; Steinberg, 2000).

9. *A reconceptualized critical theory of power: linguistic/discursive power.* Critical theorists have come to understand that language is not a mirror of society. It is an unstable social practice whose meaning shifts, depending upon the context in which it is used. Contrary to previous understandings, critical pedagogists appreciate the fact that language is not a neutral and objective conduit of description of the "real world." Rather, from a critical perspective, linguistic descriptions are not simply about the world but serve to construct it. With these linguistic notions in mind, critical pedagogists begin to study the way language in the form of discourses serves as a form of regulation and domination. Discursive practices are defined as a set of tacit rules that regulate what can and cannot be said, who can speak with the blessings of authority and who must listen, whose social constructions are valid and whose

are erroneous and unimportant. In an educational context, for example, legitimated discourses of power insidiously tell educators what books may be read by students, what instructional methods may be utilized, and what belief systems and views of success may be taught. In all forms of research, discursive power validates particular research strategies, narrative formats, and modes of representation. In this context, power discourses undermine the multiple meanings of language, establishing one correct reading that implants a particular hegemonic/ideological message into the consciousness of the reader. For example, Bruce Springsteen's "Born in the U.S.A." is a patriotic song—end of discussion. This is a process often referred to as the attempt to impose discursive closure. Critical theorists interested in the construction of consciousness are very attentive to these power dynamics. Engaging and questioning the use value of particular theories of power is central to our notion of an evolving critical pedagogy (Blades, 1997; Gee, 1996; Morgan, 1996; McWilliam and Taylor, 1996).

10. *Focusing on the relationships among culture, power, and domination.* In the last decades of the twentieth century, culture took on a new importance in the critical effort to understand power and domination. Critical theorists have argued that culture has to be viewed as a domain of struggle where the production and transmission of knowledge is always a contested process (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1997; Steinberg and Kincheloe, 1997). Dominant and subordinate cultures deploy differing systems of meaning based on the forms of knowledge produced in their cultural domain. Popular culture, with its TV, movies, video games, computers, music, dance, and other productions, plays an increasingly important role in critical research on power and domination. **Cultural studies**, of course, occupies an ever-expanding role in this context, as it examines not only popular culture but also the tacit rules that guide cultural production. Arguing that the development of mass media has changed the way the culture operates, cultural studies researchers maintain that cultural epistemologies in the first decade of the twenty-first century are different from those of only a few decades ago. New forms of culture and cultural domination are produced as the distinction between the real and the simulated is blurred. This blurring effect of hyperreality constructs a social vertigo characterized by a loss of touch with

cultural studies

an interdisciplinary, transdisciplinary, and sometimes counterdisciplinary field of study that functions within the dynamics of competing definitions of culture. Unlike traditional humanistic studies, cultural studies questions the equation of culture with high culture; instead, cultural studies asserts that numerous expressions of cultural production should be analyzed in relation to other cultural dynamics and social and historical structures. These expressions include but are not limited to popular culture.

traditional notions of time, community, self, and history. New structures of cultural space and time generated by bombarding electronic images from local, national, and international spaces shake our personal sense of place. This proliferation of signs and images functions as a mechanism of control in contemporary Western societies. The key to successful counter-hegemonic cultural research involves: (a) the ability to link the production of representations, images, and signs of hyperreality to power in the political economy; and (b) the capacity, once this linkage is exposed and described, to delineate the highly complex effects of the reception of these images and signs on individuals located at various race, class, gender, and sexual coordinates in the web of reality (Carter, 2003b; Cary, 2003; O'Riley, 2003; Rose and Kincheloe, 2003; Sanders-Bustle, 2003; Thomas, 1997; Wexler, 2000).

11. *The centrality of interpretation: Critical hermeneutics.* One of the most important aspects of a critical theory-informed education and scholarship involves the often-neglected domain of interpretation. The critical hermeneutic tradition (Grondin, 1994; Gross and Keith, 1997; Rosen, 1987; Vattimo, 1994) holds that in knowledge work there is only interpretation, no matter how vociferously many analysts may argue that the facts speak for themselves. The hermeneutic act of interpretation involves in its most elemental articulation making sense of what has been observed in a way that communicates understanding. Not only is all research merely an act of interpretation, but, hermeneutics contends, perception itself is an act of interpretation. Thus, the quest for understanding is a fundamental feature of human existence, as encounter with the unfamiliar always demands the attempt to make meaning, to make sense. The same, however, is also the case with the familiar. Indeed, as in the study of commonly known texts, we come to find that sometimes the familiar may be seen as the most strange.

Thus, it should not be surprising that even the so-called objective analyses are interpretations, not value-free descriptions (Denzin, 1994; Gallagher, 1992; Jardine, 1998; Mayers, 2001; Smith, 1999). Learning from the hermeneutic tradition and the postmodern critique, critical theorists have begun to reexamine textual claims to authority. No pristine interpretation exists—indeed, no methodology, social or educational theory,

or discursive form can claim a privileged position that enables the production of authoritative knowledge. Human beings must always speak/write about the world in terms of something else in the world, "in relation to ...". As creatures of the world, we are oriented to it in a way that prevents us from grounding our theories and perspectives outside of it. The critical hermeneutics that informs critical theory and critical pedagogy moves more in the direction of a **normative hermeneutics** in that it raises questions about the purposes and procedures of interpretation. In its critical theory-driven context, the purpose of hermeneutical analysis is to develop a form of cultural criticism revealing power dynamics within social and cultural texts.

Scholars familiar with critical hermeneutics build bridges between reader and text, text and its producer, historical context and present, and one particular social circumstance and another. Accomplishing such interpretive tasks is difficult, and researchers situated in normative hermeneutics push ethnographers, historians, **semioticians**, literary critics, and content analysts to trace the bridge-building processes employed by successful interpretations of knowledge production and culture (Gallagher, 1992; Kellner, 1995; Kogler, 1996; Rapko, 1998). Grounded by this hermeneutical bridgely building, critical analysts in a hermeneutical circle (a process of analysis in which interpreters seek the historical and social dynamics that shape textual interpretation) engage in the back-and-forth of studying parts in relation to the whole and the whole in relation to parts. Deploying such a methodology, critical hermeneuts can produce profound insights that lead to transformative action (Coben, 1998; Gadamer, 1989; Goodson, 1997; Kincheloe and Berry, 2004; Mullen, 1999; Peters and Lankshear, 1994).

12. *The role of cultural pedagogy in critical theory.* Cultural production can often be thought of as a form of education, as it generates knowledge, shapes values, and constructs identity. From the perspective of a book on critical pedagogy, such a framing can help critical teachers and students make sense of the world of domination and oppression as they work to bring about a more just, democratic, and egalitarian society. In recent years this educational dynamic has been referred to as cultural pedagogy (Berry, 1998; Giroux, 1997; Kincheloe, 1995; McLaren, 1997; Pailliotet, 1998; Soto, 1998). Pedagogy is a useful term that has traditionally been

normative hermeneutics

the art and science of interpretation and explanation regarding standards of behavior and prescriptions of such.

semioticians

scholars who study the nature and the social influence of signs, symbols, and codes.

used to refer only to teaching and schooling. By using the term cultural pedagogy, critical pedagogists are specifically referring to the ways dominant cultural agents produce particular hegemonic ways of seeing. In our critical interpretive context, the notion of cultural pedagogy asserts that the new "educators" in the electronically wired contemporary era are those who possess the financial resources to use mass media. This is very important in the context of critical pedagogy, as teachers in the contemporary era must understand not only the education that takes place in the classroom but also that which takes place in popular culture. This corporate-dominated, media-based pedagogical process has worked so well that few citizens complain about it in the first decade of the twenty-first century. Such informational politics doesn't even make the evening news. Can we imagine another institution in contemporary society gaining the pedagogical power that corporations now assert over information and signification systems? What if the Church of Christ was sufficiently powerful to run pedagogical "commercials" every few minutes on TV and radio touting the necessity for everyone to accept that denomination's faith? Replayed scenes of Jews, Muslims, Hindus, Catholics, and Methodists being condemned to hell if they rejected the official pedagogy (the true doctrine) would greet North Americans and their children seven days a week. There is little doubt that many people would be outraged and would organize for political action. Western societies have to some degree capitulated to this corporate pedagogical threat to democracy, passively watching an elite gain greater control over the political system and political consciousness via a sophisticated cultural pedagogy. Critical theorists are intent on exposing the specifics of this process (Drummond, 1996; Molnar, 1996; Pfeil, 1995; Steinberg and Kincheloe, 1997; Kincheloe, 2002).

Important Figures in the Emergence of Critical Pedagogy

With the basic ideas of critical pedagogy in mind, it is important to understand the work of a few important figures in the tradition. The following scholars have played an important role in shaping the tradition before, during, and after the work of Adorno, Horkheimer, Marcuse, and Benjamin in establishing critical theory.

W. E. B. Du Bois (1868–1963)

W. E. B. Du Bois was not a critical theorist and was not influenced by the Frankfurt School. Indeed, a significant portion of his scholarly work was produced before the development of critical theory. Nevertheless, Du Bois is one of the earliest figures promoting many of the same ideas that animate both critical theory and critical pedagogy. On many topics his ideas are still profoundly relevant and instructive for those seeking to develop an evolving critical pedagogy and a racially sensitive critical pedagogy in the twenty-first century. For these reasons we include him as an indispensable figure in the pantheon of scholars contributing to critical scholarship and action. His history of the slave trade written while he was a doctoral student in the 1890s is still viewed as one of the smartest and most comprehensive studies of the topic. Indeed, his scholarship on a variety of topics will inform critical pedagogists for generations to come.

The extensive and prescient work of Du Bois on education alone places him in the position of forerunner of critical pedagogy. Understanding that schooling should ground itself on a transformative vision of the society, we want to construct rather than simply reinforce the social arrangements of the status quo. Du Bois argued that the all-black schools of his time should aim to develop the latent power of students. Such students will become, he argued, people of "power, of thought—who know whither civilization is tending and what it means" (Du Bois, 1973, p. 14). Thus empowered, such black students—no matter how dramatic their disempowerment—gain the ability to resist politically, socially, and economically by acting in solidarity with one another.

Influenced by Du Bois, the prominent African American scholar Cornel West (1993) would pick up on this theme nearly a century later as he maintained that educators must develop the power of discernment among oppressed students. A powerful analytic moment is produced, West concluded in the spirit of Du Bois, when minority students gain a deep grasp of their present condition in light of the past. Such a moment highlights the ability of productive power to mitigate the effects of oppressive social structures by subjugated individuals' capacity to make meaning, interpret, and produce knowledge. African Americans, Du Bois maintained, had been situated as the "other" by slavery.

In this position they had been stripped of their cultural consciousness. A worthy education would restore self-consciousness, self-realization, and self-respect. It would allow black people to see themselves through their own eyes instead of solely through the eyes of white people—as in traditional forms of education. Du Bois's education was, in the language of critical theory, an emancipatory pedagogy with insights for the education of African Americans and all peoples in the contemporary era.

A careful reading of Du Bois's work reveals numerous parallels with what would come to be called critical pedagogy. For decades, white scholars viewed Du Bois's *Souls of Black Folk*, for example, as little more than an interesting description of black culture for a white reading audience. A more informed analysis reveals that the author constructs an unprecedented and carefully argued treatise on the nature of consciousness, self-consciousness, power, freedom, and resistance to oppression. These are the bread and butter issues of critical pedagogy—and Du Bois addresses them in ways that still hold profound insights into their complexity and enactment within a complex world. He well understood the need to view events in larger and diverse contexts, as illustrated by his work connecting race to European colonialism and the world economic system. In this framework his book *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade* (1896) is a classic.

Long before the advent of critical multiculturalism and critical multicultural education (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1997), Du Bois understood the inseparability of race and class. In the 1890s he asserted that ghettoization is not the creation of poor African Americans but of social, political, and economic forces operating far away from the scene of the crime. He pointed out the existence of structural and institutional racism seventy years before the concepts were understood in mainstream sociology. Recognizing the folly of **social Darwinist** arguments made in the nineteenth century that attempts to help the poor are counterproductive, Du Bois called for the "democratization of industry," a concept that would later be called economic democracy. Proponents of economic democracy contend that political democracy cannot exist until wealth is more equally distributed (Kincheloe, 1999). In a neosocial Darwinist era, Du Bois's "democratization of industry" is as important a concept today as it was in the 1890s.

social Darwinism

the social theory devised by Herbert Spencer in the late nineteenth century that applied Charles Darwin's theory of evolution to human development. Like plants and animals in the biological world, human beings compete for survival in a social world shaped by the survival of the fittest.

In his concept of "double consciousness," Du Bois argued that if subjugated peoples are to survive they must develop an understanding of those who attempt to dominate them. In this context they understand the mechanisms of oppression and the ways they are deployed in mundane, everyday situations for best effect. This double consciousness or second sight is the ability to see oneself through the perception of others. It involves the ability to see what mainstream society sees and to see as well from vantage points outside the mainstream. This Du Boisian concept is central to critical pedagogy. A pedagogy of second sight is grounded on the understanding that a critically educated person knows more than just the validated knowledge of the dominant culture—she understands a variety of perspectives about the issues she studies. Subjugated perspectives, of course, are given high priority in this critical context.

Du Bois was also far ahead of the curve in the study of whiteness and white privilege. Early in his career Du Bois wrote about white privilege, specifying it in relation to the public deference granted to whites, their unimpeded admittance to all public functions, the tendency of police officers to be drawn from the ranks of white people, their lenient treatment in court, and their access to the best schools. Whites in the United States. drew what Du Bois labeled the unearned "wages of whiteness." Such benefits comforted them with the knowledge that no matter how far they fell down the socioeconomic ladder, they were still white. No matter how alienating and exploitative their work lives might be, they were still not slaves. Around Du Bois's work the whiteness scholarship that emerged in the 1990s coalesced. Such work drew on Du Bois's insights to induce white people to understand their privilege and listen to the wisdom of those people that whiteness has often silenced. In the spirit of Du Bois, whiteness scholars asked whites to see themselves as the oppressed and have historically viewed them in order to gain a new frame of reference on power and oppression in the society (Roediger, 1991; Kincheloe, Steinberg, Rodriguez, and Chennault, 1998; Rodriguez and Villaverde, 2000).

Du Bois also anticipated the work of poststructural theorists such as Michel Foucault in the area of genealogy and subjugated forms of knowledge—both of which are central concerns of critical pedagogy. To understand ourselves as black people, Du Bois

wrote in 1946, we must understand African history and social development. African forms of knowledge, he argued, constitute one of the most sophisticated worldviews the planet has witnessed. Foucault's concept of genealogy follows Du Bois's line, maintaining that excluded contents and meanings emerge in a state of insurrection against dominant forms of knowledge. In this context genealogy traces the formation of human consciousness (subjectivity). As Du Bois delineated in relation to African American consciousness, Foucault's genealogy helps us see ourselves at various points in the web of reality, ever confined by our placement but emancipated by our appreciation of our predicament.

Thus, empowered by our knowledge, we begin to understand and disengage ourselves from the power narratives that have laid the basis for the dominant way of seeing. In the context of subjugated forms of knowledge—forms that have been erased by dominant culture as primitive and/or invalidated by science—Du Bois viewed the African and African American past as a storehouse of insight for individuals struggling for equality. The methods used by our black ancestors, Du Bois posited, to fight slavery and oppression can be put to use in present struggles against racial tyranny. The blueprints for the black future, he theorized, must be built on a base of our problems, dreams, and frustrations: they will not appear out of thin air or be based exclusively on the experience of the other. In the context of subjugated knowledge and genealogy, Du Bois understood many decades before white analysts that the black past holds out great kinetic insurgent energy because it served the political function of destabilizing the existing order by revealing its social construction and its horrors.

In a celebration of subjugated educational knowledge, Du Bois wrote about traditional African education. In West Africa, he contended, education began very early as children accompanied their parents in their daily tasks. Early on children learned how to sow, reap, and hunt; young children learned the wisdom and folklore of the tribe; they learned the geography of the region. At the onset of puberty boys and girls learned about sex and emerged from this period with a graduation celebration that allowed them to sit on the tribal council with their elders. West African education, Du Bois concluded, was completely integrated with everyday life. No education existed in this context that was not concurrently usable for earning a living and for living a good life. In the

spirit of the critical celebration of subjugated knowledge, Du Bois argued that American education could learn lessons from Africa (McSwine, 1998). Indeed, Africans and African Americans in their genius had a message for the world, he proclaimed.

Du Bois's paradigm-busting body of work has been left out of the critical canon far too long. The critical pedagogy that I promote here embraces Du Bois as one of the most important architects of critical pedagogy in general and in relation to race and racism in particular. He created an alternate paradigm for sociology and history that was suppressed until after his death. He even anticipated the critique of positivism—delineated in Chapter I—in the early decades of the twentieth century. Contrary to the work of eminent sociologists and historians of the time, Du Bois wrote, human experience is not machine-like and scholarship cannot be disinterested and neutral, for it is always informed by particular, albeit hidden, values. He even anticipated my "innovative" work in multimethod research (Kincheloe, 2001; Kincheloe and Berry, 2004). Indeed, what many contemporary scholars have called "**bricolage**," Du Bois employed in 1899 in his compelling work, *The Philadelphia Negro*. In this study, Du Bois employed research strategies as varied as historiography, survey research, ethnography, urban mapping, urban ecology, geography, criminology, and demography.

Du Bois was never afraid to engage in research for the purpose of furthering social action—a central dimension of knowledge work in critical pedagogy. Scoffing at mainstream scholars' claims of disinterestedness in their work, Du Bois set the standard for emancipatory forms of research long before the term was used by the Frankfurt School. Not surprisingly, Du Bois's work was suppressed for decades and considered by many as a form of dangerous knowledge. No critical pedagogy can be complete or free itself from charges of being a white discourse without the towering presence of Du Bois. His work serves as a foundation for the work of critical pedagogy in the twenty-first century (Du Bois, 1973; Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1997; McSwine, 1998; Monteiro, 1995; Yale-New Haven Teachers Institute, 1993).

bricolage
French term for the work of a handyman/handywoman who uses numerous available tools to complete a task. Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln have recently used the term to describe multi-methodological forms of research.

Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937)

Antonio Gramsci was a political activist in Italy who worked for left-wing causes and worker movements in the second and

third decades of the twentieth century. Despite his election to the Italian Parliament, Gramsci was arrested by the new fascist government in Italy and sentenced to twenty years in prison. He died in prison in 1937 before finishing his time. During his decade in prison, Gramsci wrote profusely, producing what came to be known as his prison notebooks. In these writings Gramsci provided an in-depth study of Italian fascism and strategies for defeating it. These are very important ideas in the twenty-first century as we see the emergence of fascist-like movements in the United States and around the industrialized world. The notebooks were not published in Italy until the late 1940s and not translated into English until the late 1950s. Thus, Gramsci's influence in North America was not experienced until well into the 1960s. The most famous notion emerging from the notebooks involved Gramsci's concept of hegemony. As discussed previously in the delineation of critical theoretical concepts, hegemony is a central concept of critical pedagogy in its effort to understand power. Hegemony, Gramsci wrote from prison, involves the process used by dominant power wielders to maintain power. The key dimension of this process is the manipulation of public opinion to gain consensus. When hegemony works best the public begins to look at dominant ways of seeing the world as simply common sense.

In the United States, Ronald Reagan in the 1980s and George W. Bush in the first decade of the twenty-first century have used the concept of hegemony to win consent for their right-wing policies. In both cases, religion was employed to gain the allegiance of individuals whose economic interests were not served by free market policies and the dismantling of access to education and the public space. We are Christians just like you, Reagan and Bush proclaimed, and we are here to protect you from the godless forces in our country (feminists, homosexuals, dangerous minority groups, intellectuals) that are attempting to turn America away from its traditional values. In this context, Reagan, Bush, Dan Quayle, William Bennett, Lynn Cheney, and other right-wing Americans focused on the importance of the cultural domain in building their power base. Religion was just one element of the strategy, as these politicos focused attention on the political and moral dynamics of TV and movies. Gramsci understood these strategies as they played out in fascist Italy