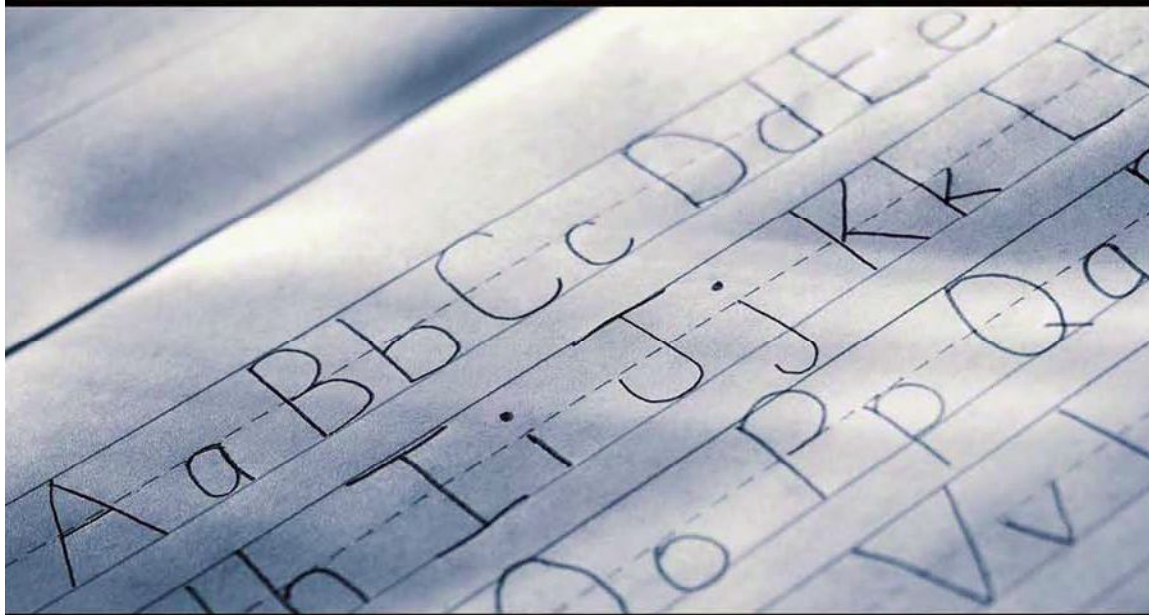


# Ideology, Curriculum, and the New Sociology of Education

Revisiting the Work of Michael Apple



Edited by  
Lois Weis, Cameron McCarthy, and Greg Dimitriadis

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## CONTENTS

Preface	GEOFF WHITTY	vii
Introduction	GREG DIMITRIADIS, LOIS WEIS, AND CAMERON MCCARTHY	1
<b>Section I</b>	<b>Revisiting the New Sociology of Education</b>	
Chapter 1	Retrieving the Ideological Past: Critical Sociology, Gender Theory, and the School Curriculum MADELEINE ARNOT	17
Chapter 2	Social Class, School Knowledge, and the Hidden Curriculum: Retheorizing Reproduction JEAN ANYON	37
Chapter 3	Schooling, Power, and the Exile of the Soul CARLOS ALBERTO TORRES	47
<b>Section II</b>	<b>Contemporary Theoretical Challenges</b>	
Chapter 4	Riding Tensions Critically: Ideology, Power/ Knowledge, and Curriculum Making YOSHIKO NOZAKI	69
Chapter 5	Are We Making Progress?: Ideology and Curriculum in the Age of No Child Left Behind DENNIS CARLSON	91

vi • Contents

Chapter 6	Teaching after the Market: From Commodity to Cosmopolitan ALLAN LUKE	115
<b>Section III On Spaces of Possibility</b>		
Chapter 7	Contesting Research Rearticulation and “Thick Democracy” as Political Projects of Method MICHELLE FINE	145
Chapter 8	(Re)visioning Knowledge, Politics, and Change: Educational Poetics ANDREW GITLIN	167
Chapter 9	Situating Education: Michael Apple’s Scholarship and Political Commitment in the Brazilian Context LUÍS ARMANDO GANDIN	185
Afterword	Critical Education, Politics, and the Real World MICHAEL W. APPLE	203
Appendix	Interviews with Michael W. Apple	219
Contributors		251
Index		257

## PREFACE

GEOFF WHITTY

One of the most stimulating periods of my academic career was the time I spent as a visiting professor at the University of Wisconsin–Madison in the fall of 1979, just after the first publication of *Ideology and Curriculum* (1979/2004).

That was a time in which the work of Michael W. Apple was relatively unknown in the United Kingdom, although Michael had visited us during the 1970s and made contact with the likes of Basil Bernstein, Michael Young, Roger Dale, and myself. Michael Young and I had also published one of Michael’s papers in our book *Society, State and Schooling* (Young & Whitty, 1977). Partly as a result of this, his work was initially taken up among British sociologists of education rather than in curriculum studies and other fields of educational studies.

Shortly after I returned to the United Kingdom, I was invited to write a review of the first paperback edition of *Ideology and Curriculum* for the *British Journal of Educational Studies* (BJES), house journal of the then Standing Conference on Educational Studies. It was the first review I had ever been asked to write for that journal, which was at the time a very traditional journal of the educational studies establishment. I suspect *Ideology and Curriculum* was a book that puzzled the editors of *BJES* and that they approached me on the grounds that my work was also outside the mainstream and that I might just be able to make sense of this odd book from the United States.

In 2004, of course, many people would see me, as Director of London University’s Institute of Education, as the very embodiment of the educational establishment in the United Kingdom—and there is even a sense



in which, much as he would hate to admit it, Michael Apple is himself part of the educational establishment in the United States and beyond.

Ironically, back in the 1970s, we both wrote about Raymond Williams' concept of the "selective tradition." Although we largely applied it to the analysis of the school curriculum and school reform, it could also have been applied to the curriculum of educational studies itself. At that time, our own work was not part of the dominant culture of that field. It was still relatively marginalized in our own contexts. Indeed, that sense of being outsiders was part of the common bond that drew Michael and me together. We published for obscure leftist publishing houses and in radical journals. I remember Michael being allocated small rooms at conferences like the American Educational Research Association (AERA) with such great attendance that people had to listen from the corridor.

Now all that has changed and our work has been brought into the mainstream. Some people might even take the view that it has become part of the selective tradition of contemporary educational studies through a process of "incorporation," another key concept in Raymond Williams' work used extensively by Michael in *Ideology and Curriculum*. To Williams, this involved meanings being reinterpreted or being put into forms that supported or at least did not contradict other elements within the effective dominant culture. I shall return to this issue later.

When I first reviewed *Ideology and Curriculum*, I located it, oversimplistically, in a growing "critical" tradition in U.S. curriculum studies, linking it to the work of other "critical" scholars, as different as Jean Anyon and Henry Giroux, to a degree that, at least with hindsight, was only partially justified. I also linked it, with rather more justification, to the sort of neo-Marxist social and cultural theory that had informed the so-called "new sociology of education" in the United Kingdom, starting with Michael Young's *Knowledge and Control* (Young, 1971) and the subsequent work that Michael Young and I did together (Whitty & Young, 1976; Young & Whitty, 1977).

In my review, I suggested, as I did in extensive discussions at Madison in that fall of 1979, that *Ideology and Curriculum* did not adequately address some real difficulties in Michael's project. For example, linking the political economy of Bowles and Gintis with the cultural analysis of Bourdieu was not as straightforward as Michael suggested. I also suggested that his reading of Marxism was somewhat functionalist, producing a view of educational reality that, in stressing the ubiquity of domination, sometimes obscured the existence of contradiction and conflict. It was what I called a "complex correspondence" thesis.

Resistance and contestation were too little in evidence in the book, though I was already able to point to their growing importance in the new work that he had been developing during my time at Madison. As I had said during our long conversations, he needed to say rather more about potential sites of contestation and the nature of counter hegemonic practice.

Michael's subsequent books have become increasingly theoretically and politically sophisticated, although I know that some postmodernists, for example, would argue that he has annexed—or incorporated—their ideas in ways “that support or at least do not contradict other elements” in his original approach. Similarly, the increasing emphasis on race and gender issues has not always sat easily with the class analysis of the earlier work, although Michael has now made a serious attempt to confront the difficulties entailed.

Like me, Michael has also been attacked by neo-Leninists for misunderstanding Lenin and Gramsci and thereby having an inadequate approach to political strategy. Ramin Farahmandpur (2004), Michael's latest Leninist critic, raises some important issues of strategy, just as David Reynolds—now ironically an education advisor to New Labour in Britain—did in relation to my own work in the 1980s (Reynolds & Sullivan, 1980). Michael and I have discussed at length and written about some of these issues, which go well beyond the remit of *Ideology and Curriculum*, in a coauthored piece—indeed, our only co-authored piece—on “structuring the post-modern in educational policy” (Apple & Whitty, 1999, p. 67). Our 25-year interchange on these matters continues to this day.

An area on which I suspect Michael and I differ somewhat is on the role of empirical research in critical scholarship. Back in 1979, as I pointed out in the review, most neo-Marxist accounts of schooling in Britain were unduly abstract. Classroom research was unfortunately left to the symbolic interactionists and ethnomethodologists. I therefore said approvingly that Michael's book made an attempt to illustrate the theory with empirical data drawn from, for example, an ethnography of a kindergarten classroom, content analyses of science and social studies curricula, and historical studies of curriculum reform. Much of this was due, as Michael generously acknowledged in the preface to the third edition, to the contribution made to *Ideology and Curriculum* by Nancy King and Barry Franklin.

Reading my review again now, I think the situation has changed somewhat. Critical work in the United Kingdom has become more empirically grounded, for example, through the work of my colleague Stephen Ball and his various collaborators. Meanwhile, the U.S work

is not exactly more abstract, but arguably rather less empirically grounded. When I wrote for the back cover of the new edition of *Ideology and Curriculum*, that it “remains one of the most compelling and insightful accounts of how ideology actually works in and through the overt and hidden curriculum of schooling and school reform,” I meant it as a compliment. Yet I can see that it might also be taken as reference to the relative lack of similarly compelling empirically grounded work in the United States since then. This may, in turn, say something about the relative priorities of educational research in our two countries, an indication that critical work in the United States has not been fully incorporated, at least in funding terms.

That perhaps takes us back to the extent to which Michael’s own work has, or has not, been incorporated into the mainstream. There is clearly a sense in which it has. He has been honored by AERA. *Ideology and Curriculum* is identified by its publishers as a “classic” text, and it is widely cited in literature miles away, both literally and metaphorically, from the particular political context that generated it. For the back of the book, I also wrote that the discussion of the politics of the school curriculum is now much more common than it was 25 years ago. That is in no small part due to the impact of the book and of Michael’s subsequent ones. I guess there are some on the Right who might claim that, far from having been incorporated, he has helped to “colonize” educational studies for the Left.

For a variety of reasons, the broader political context has, of course, changed significantly since 1979. Although, in some contexts, hegemony is maintained via the forms of supposed technical neutrality discussed in chapter 6 of *Ideology and Curriculum*, there are other contexts where the Right itself has been increasingly keen to politicize schooling. Within those wider struggles, Michael himself clearly remains profoundly *unincorporated* into contemporary dominant views of education. But, while many of his critics have been content to limit their struggles to the academy, Michael has taken the issues into a much broader arena and thereby entered onto the ground of his opponents. He himself points out in the third edition of *Ideology and Curriculum* that authors know they have made an impact when their opponents feel compelled to respond. He therefore thanks conservative writers at the Fordham Foundation and at the *Wall Street Journal* for their vitriolic comments on the new material included in this edition. That reaction is, in part, an eloquent answer to my concerns in that review of 25 years ago that the first edition told us too little about how to move beyond academic critique.

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## INTRODUCTION

### *Ideology, Curriculum, and the New Sociology of Education*

GREG DIMITRIADIS, LOIS WEIS, AND CAMERON MCCARTHY

For more than three decades now, Michael Apple has sought to uncover and articulate the connections among knowledge, teaching, and power in education. Beginning with *Ideology and Curriculum* (1979), Apple moved to understand the relationships between and among the economy, political, and cultural power in society on the one hand, “and the ways in which education is thought about, organized, and evaluated” on the other (1979/2004, p. vii). Tracking dynamics that linked the organization of school knowledge to the constitutive production of social difference schematically advanced by Basil Bernstein and the new sociology of education scholars in Britain, he was the first to lay out this broad theoretical and intellectual project in the United States. Michael Apple’s “puzzle” invited researchers to delve into the many aspects of the articulated problem. What stands out in Apple’s scholarship is not only his own careful and serious attention to linkages between education and power (his commitment to integrating methodologically theory, practice, and policy), but the work of scores of students, broadly construed, who pursued one or more aspects of this intellectual project.

A corpus of critical knowledge both in and outside the United States has evolved over the past 30 years, and this corpus can be traced in large part to Apple’s initial and continuing formulation of the problem. Such work stands as great testimony to Michael Apple, not in the sense that individuals clone him, but that a wide array of scholars

have moved, in their own way, to analyze and theorize inequity, power, privilege, and deprivation within and beneath structural circumstance. Apple's framework both encouraged and demanded continuing analyses of public and private institutions, groups and lives, across race, ethnicity, social class, gender, and sexual orientation as lodged in relation to key social and economic structures.

Michael Apple's influence, then, has certainly been through his own ongoing work, but just as importantly, in the work spawned in response to the template that he initially laid out. Rather than closing down discussion, his evolving framework is generative and ventilated. And, it invites intense and extensive research, conversation, and social activism with regard to the economy, culture, schools, politics, representations, and political movements. To Michael's enduring credit, it is not so tightly woven that new evidence cannot enter; on the contrary, new evidence enters all the time, as the world—every aspect of it—changes around us.

### THE “NEW” SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

In this respect, Apple's own intellectual journey is instructive. Along with a handful of others (most notably, Jean Anyon), Apple was one of the first scholars in the United States to import the neo-Marxist theories of education that rose to prominence in England in the early 1970s. Often associated with “the new sociology of education,” scholars like Geoff Whitty, Basil Bernstein, Pierre Bourdieu in France, Michael Young, and others were interested in how the stratification of school knowledge worked to disenfranchise working-class youth.

The move was profound. As Whitty (1985) makes clear, mainstream sociologists of the time often assumed the most important question was that of “access” to educative institutions—what blocked it or what might encourage it. The underlying assumption here was that additional schooling would ameliorate the seeming handicaps of a working-class upbringing. When more critical approaches to schooling did emerge, they too did not focus on the particularities associated with classroom knowledge or activity. Often quantitative in nature, schools in such studies were treated as one part of large-scale macrolevel forces and pressures that served to sort youth by social class. Traditionally, then, both mainstream and critical sociologists tended to treat schools as “black boxes” (or “empty boxes” as Apple would note correcting for the kind of loose, racial overtones of this term).

In sharp distinction, the so-called new sociology of education explored the ways in which the organization of school curriculum and knowledge itself (the “official” curriculum) worked to sort students. This work focused both on the content and the form of knowledge. By focusing on school curriculum and knowledge, these scholars offered a way to explain how social reproduction was enacted at the everyday level of school practice. In opening up such a discussion, they also offered teachers and others a space for intervention in these processes. The “new sociologists of education” specified and concretized processes of social reproduction that seemed so large and unwieldy as to be completely beyond the control of individual invested actors.

This work contested then (and now) largely prevalent notions that knowledge is “above” politics, that it is, quite simply, disinterested. Beginning with the idea that knowledge itself is intensely political, this work moved in several directions at once. Perhaps the first, most influential summing up of the movement was Michael Young’s collection *Knowledge and Control: New Directions in the Sociology of Education* (1971), which contained contributions from Pierre Bourdieu, Basil Bernstein, and Nell Keddie, among others. Here, Young discusses the ways particular kinds of knowledge are validated in the academy—knowledge that is “pure,” “general,” and “academic.” In contrast, knowledge that is “applied,” “specific,” and “vocational” is marginalized. This distinction is an arbitrary one, though it serves to keep particular elite groups in control of the official school curriculum. Such distinctions are not “natural”; they are, as Young, Apple, and others often argue, arbitrary and a function of power.

No one was clearer as to the arbitrary nature of school life than Pierre Bourdieu and his coauthor Jean-Claude Passeron. In their classic *Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture* (1977), the authors discuss school knowledge and authority as effecting a kind of “symbolic violence” on marginalized youth. For Bourdieu and Passeron, this pedagogic authority allows for “the imposition and inculcation of a cultural arbitrary by an arbitrary mode of imposition and inculcation (education)” (p. 6). This arbitrary exercise of power, according to the authors, allowed for and simultaneously encouraged the reproduction of the given social, cultural, and economic order—a “reproduction of the power relations which put that dominant power into the dominant position” (p. 10).

These authors—and there are others—highlighted the intensely political nature of the knowledge legitimization processes, both in the academy and at the secondary school level. Knowledge is not above or outside of the social realm here. It is a site of intense struggle and con-



testation. In addition to describing this exercise of power, such work also had transformative impulses. These authors were interested in forging more equitable school systems, particularly for working-class youth. (Coming out of the largely British context, social class was advanced as the most important and relevant node of oppression here.) Key here was the elaborate language of pedagogy and codes developed by sociologist Basil Bernstein. For Bernstein, the degree of “boundary maintenance” between different kinds of knowledge was a function of power. Bernstein was interested in how teachers and students were able to “frame” curricular knowledge in pedagogical settings, particularly in whether students and teachers could freely rearticulate these boundaries. Throughout his career, Bernstein was interested in finding ways “to prevent the wastage of working-class educational potential” (quoted in Sadovnik, 2001, p. 8). For Bernstein and other sociologists of knowledge, this meant asking whether working-class students could introduce their own experiences and knowledge into school life and curricula.

This work, in sum, looked at the complex interrelationship between the stratification of knowledge and social stratification. New sociology of education proponents methodologically participated in the linguistic turn in the social sciences, as Claude Levi-Strauss and Roland Barthes had done in structural anthropology and in literary theory and popular culture analysis respectively, turning attention, then, to the underlying grammar of schooling and school knowledge. These scholars redirected the focus of the evaluation of schooling, here, from treating schools as monolithic and abstract arms of material reproduction to emergent spaces of possibility where change could happen through transformation of the dominant commonsense that informed the organization of school knowledge. Above all else, this work marked “knowledge” itself as a site of power—a site where it could both be exercised and interrupted.

#### MICHAEL APPLE AND THE INTERROGATION OF “NEUTRALITY” IN SCHOOL LIFE

Michael Apple was one of the first scholars to bring a similar neo-Marxist perspective to issues of the curriculum in the United States. Beginning with the publication of the magisterial *Ideology and Curriculum* (1979), Apple’s successive volumes have all had enormous and wide-ranging impact. This includes, especially, the authored texts *Education and Power* (1982), *Official Knowledge: Democratic Education in a Conservative Age* (1993), *Cultural Power and Education* (1996), *Educating the “Right” Way: Markets, Standards, God, and Inequality*

(2001), and *The State and the Politics of Knowledge* (2004). Yet it was his first volume, *Ideology and Curriculum*, that remains perhaps his defining text. Here, he challenges scholars to focus research on three specific areas of school life.

To begin with, he offers powerful strategies for understanding the ways in which curricular knowledge (both the form and content of what Apple and Weis later call the commodified culture in school) is part of a “selective tradition” that serves ideologically to buttress and naturalize structurally based social and economic inequalities. Apple’s nuanced investigation of what he came to call “official knowledge” is one of his most enduring and well-known contributions to the field of education. As Apple argues in this early volume, “the language of learning tends to be apolitical and ahistorical, thus hiding the complex nexus of political and economic power and resources that lies behind a considerable amount of curriculum organization and selection” (1979, p. 28). He continues, noting that “schools do not merely ‘process’ people, [they also] ‘process’ knowledge. They enhance and give legitimacy to particular types of cultural resources, which are related to unequal economic forms” (p. 34). Here, we see Apple lay out a set of issues he would become perhaps best known for in decades to come. In particular, Apple would again and again point out how teaching particular forms of “official knowledge”—particularly as ensconced in textbooks—works in the interests of powerful groups.

Second, Apple highlights the ways in which the day-to-day regularities of schools—what he and others refer to as the “hidden curriculum”—contribute to the reproduction of ideologies that support existing structurally based inequalities. This impression of regularity and neutrality is sustained and maintained by notions that schools are “above politics,” that they remain outside the purview of individual, invested actors, and groups. That these everyday practices tend to be invisible or unmarked only underscores their power to reinforce a structural-functional view of schools. He writes, “The perspective found in schools leans heavily upon how all elements of a society, from the postal worker to the fire fighter in first grade to the partial institutions in civics courses in high school, are linked to each other in a functional relationship, each contributing to the ongoing maintenance of society.” This kind of stasis demands that schools abolish all social and political conflict. He continues, “Internal dissention and conflict are viewed as inherently antithetical to the functioning of the social order. Consensus is once more a pronounced feature” (1979, p. 87). In all its various manifestations and permutations, schools are part of a larger social organism that always works toward a broad-based con-

sensus that smoothes over points of conflict. The effect is to allow particular ideologies serving the interests of particular social groups to circulate in unmarked ways.

Third, Apple underscores the ways in which teachers and university researchers, as creators and bearers of intellectual property, both create and employ seemingly “neutral” categories, labels, and knowledge about schools and students (e.g., “slow learners” or “underachievers”) so as to maintain the existing distribution of power and wealth in the broader society. Apple writes of the “linguistic tools we employ to talk about ‘students’ in schools,” noting, “much of our language, while seemingly neutral, is not neutral in its impact nor is it unbiased in regard to existing institutions of schooling.” Indeed, “much of educational research serves and justifies already existing technical, cultural, and economic control systems that accept the distribution of power in American society as given” (1979, p. 122). This point is particularly important. As above, the seeming neutrality of such labels offers the veneer of scientific validity. In advocating for a critical approach to education, Apple highlights and contests the ways particular issues get “framed” as problems. In so doing, he opens a space to rethink and reconceptualize the very terrain upon which “normalcy” is constructed.

In sum, Apple has worked steadily throughout his career to challenge the idea that schools are neutral institutions. In particular, he has highlighted how the appearance of neutrality often, paradoxically, works to reproduce extant social, cultural, and economic arrangements. In summing up the contours of this initial project, Apple writes:

The study of the interconnections between ideology and curriculum and between ideology and educational argumentation has important implications for the curriculum field and for educational theory and policy in general. For, as I shall argue throughout this volume, we need to examine critically not just “how a student acquires more knowledge” (the dominant question in our efficiency minded field), but “why and how particular aspects of the collective culture are presented in school as objective, factual knowledge.” How concretely may official knowledge represent ideological configuration of the dominant interests in a society? How do schools legitimate these limited and partial standards of knowledge as unquestioned truths? (1979, p. 14)

## NEW DIRECTIONS

The social and cultural context here has been something of a “moving target.” We thus add to this list two additional areas for research that emerged directly in relation to the broad intellectual project initially laid out by Apple. First, we highlight the ways in which teachers and students contest taken-for-granted meanings “naturally” distributed through schools, thus promoting emancipatory educational practices both inside and outside of formal educational institutions. Although this has meant support for more traditional kinds of political activity (e.g., the support for teacher’s unions in the United States and Korea), it has also included an ethic of accessibility in Michael Apple’s writing. This ethic is evidenced especially in popular pedagogical books such as *Democratic Schools* (1995) (coedited with Jim Beane). Published by the Association of Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD), this book was an effort to disseminate more broadly Apple’s ideas to those “on the ground” and has reportedly sold over 100,000 copies. Although Apple has drawn largely on U.S. examples here, he has increasingly worked with more international traditions and movements—most notably, the rise of Citizen Schools in Porto Alegre, Brazil.

Second, and finally, we underscore the ways in which the economy as well as struggles linked to racial formation, social class formation, and gender formation are investigated and theorized both as projects in and of themselves, as well as in relation to schools. Although Apple urges scholars to explore the links between education and power, such forms of power as linked to broader economic, ideological, and social structures have changed markedly over time, space, and place. In particular, Apple’s work evidences an ongoing effort to hold on to the “gritty materialities” of economic inequality, while acknowledging the constitutive power of race and gender. Apple’s recent attention to what he calls “conservative modernization” and its coarticulation and mobilization of four distinct groups and their agendas (i.e., neoliberals, neoconservatives, authoritarian populists, and the new managerial middle class) is perhaps most instructive in this regard. We see here an effort to locate this “moment in time” in all its complexity—the changing flow of economic resources as well as the mobilization of new minority and majority identities.

Chapters in this volume pick up and develop these particular pieces, as they contribute to his larger project. In large measure, the power of the “puzzle” laid out by Apple lies in its inherent flexibility. Although Apple’s work is largely concerned with questions of knowledge systems and the relationship between symbolic and economic systems, both

these symbolic and economic systems have radically changed over the past 25 years.

We highlight two such changes. First, recent large-scale developments are wholly transforming social and cultural life outside and inside schools around the world. These developments have been brought about by globalization and new electronic media, changing conceptions of self and “other,” and new explanatory discourses. Key here is the broad set of processes that has come to be known as “globalization,” or the intensified and accelerated movement of people, images, ideas, technologies, and economic and cultural capital across national boundaries. Driven forward by the engines of modern capital reorganization and the resulting changed interests, needs, and desires of ordinary people everywhere, globalization is sweeping all corners of the contemporary world. These processes are rapidly shrinking the distance between hitherto far-flung parts of the world, deepening the implication of the local in the global and the global in the local. Although in the past century popular media, such as television, film, newspapers, radio, and popular music, had already expanded the range of information, images, and identities available to people, the power of globalization, electronic mediation, and computerization has exploded the pace of this process.

Second, the economic landscape has inextricably shifted over the past two decades. By way of example, what was referred to as deindustrialization by American economists in the 1980s is now understood to be a fundamental shift in the global economy, one that represents a radical break with past practice. As Robert Reich (1991), clearly one of America’s most brilliant and original labor economists, describes it:

[A]ll Americans used to be in roughly the same economic boat. Most rose or fell together as the corporations in which they were employed, the industries comprising such corporations and the national economy as a whole became more productive—or languished. But national borders no longer define our economic fates. We are now in different boats, one sinking rapidly, one sinking more slowly, the third rising steadily. (p. 208)

As Reich describes it, that boat holding routine production workers is sinking most rapidly, as the old corporate core is being replaced by “global webs that earn their largest profits from clever problem-solving—identifying and brokering. As the cost of transporting things and of communicating information about them continues to drop, profit margins on high-volume, standardized production are thinning because

there are few barriers to entry. Modern factories and state-of-the-art machinery can be installed almost anywhere on the globe” (p. 209).

Although Reich talks specifically about the U.S. economy, writers in Britain and elsewhere comment similarly, although the particular ways in which the class structure is both being realigned and simultaneously is realigning itself undoubtedly differ by context. Walkerdine, Lucey, and Melody (2001), for instance, argue:

We are confronted with huge changes in the global labour market, changes that have caused the British economy to become dominated by the service sector, the technology and communications industries, and a huge and powerful financial sector. ... Many of the new manufacturing industries are not even British owned and products are assembled in different places, with capital, production processes, and workers now being much more mobile. (p. 1)

It is worth pointing out here that the worldwide shift in the economy affects not only first-wave industrialized nations such as the United States, Britain, Canada, Australia, Germany, and France. Realignment in the global economy has profound implications for nations, such as Singapore, China, Thailand, Mexico, India, among others, that are now sites of either finance or product assembly processes, spurring widespread change in schooling, identity formation, and cultural production more generally.

In many respects, Apple’s earliest work was written against a backdrop where the links between schools, the economy, and identity were more certain than they are today. Yet, given its dynamism, his project has never been more valuable for researchers, critics, and activists attempting to understand and simultaneously contest this new terrain. In many respects, Michael Apple’s project was never more valuable.

### ORGANIZATION OF THIS BOOK

Chapters in this volume reflect and simultaneously push a broad range of ways in which Apple’s legacy has registered across the field of education. Section One, “Revisiting the New Sociology of Education,” draws together work that most explicitly asks “what happened” to the project laid out by Apple in the late 1970s.

Madeleine Arnot opens this section, stressing the continuing and abiding importance of the project laid out by Apple and others in the 1970s. She does so in two distinct ways. First, Arnot underscores the

importance of Apple's early radical Marxist critiques of liberalism. This gesture was critically important for reintroducing a Marxist tradition of work on schools particularly in the U.S. context. Second, Arnot discusses the legacy of this work for the study of gender and schooling. Although Apple helped to introduce an important distinction between the study of the "formal" and "hidden" curricula, Arnot sees the latter having more abiding influences for feminism. More specifically, Arnot argues that Apple's notion of the "hidden curriculum" encouraged feminists to look beyond visible "texts" toward the invisible power of gender reproduction. Arnot reads these concerns through contemporary work on gender and poststructuralism while arguing for a return to the specificities of work on classroom life.

In chapter 2, Jean Anyon looks back on a series of classic studies she conducted around the time Apple's first volumes appeared. Tracing the ways in which knowledge is distributed to students differentially positioned in the class structure, Anyon argued in these earlier studies that working-class youth were being prepared for arbitrary and demeaning work, while students at what she calls the "executive elite" school were learning to make rules and to control the lives and labor of others. In this chapter, Anyon situates her earlier work within and against the trajectory of work in the "sociology of school knowledge," while simultaneously asking how the social, cultural, and material context has changed over the past twenty-five years. Echoing points about the economy raised in our introduction, Anyon sees the bifurcation of social class lines becoming increasingly pronounced.

Finally, Carlos Torres in this section revisits the contours of Apple's career—specifically his work on ideology, curriculum, and social reproduction. He posits several provocative claims with respect to the landscape now facing critical educators. First, he argues that schools are becoming increasingly heated sites of social contestation, particularly around new legislative pressures such as those generated by No Child Left Behind legislation. Second, he posits that logics of administrative and mechanical control have become increasingly pronounced since the 1970s, thus necessitating new forms of intellectual and political work "on the ground." Third, Torres discusses the ways in which mass mediated images have profoundly replaced the role and importance of school knowledge. Finally, he underscores the massive and often paradoxical social, cultural, and material effects of globalization. Like many authors in this volume, Torres argues that Apple's work provides critical insights for understanding and acting on these pressures.

Chapters in Section Two, "Contemporary Theoretical Challenges," focus more closely on Apple's work in relation to concerns expressed

in forms of poststructuralism and postmodernism, including the work of Michel Foucault. Yoshiko Nozaki's chapter opens the section by asking important questions around power and the curriculum. Nozaki interrogates the notion of ideology, calling it at once enabling and constraining, while looking toward the complexities of poststructural work. In particular, Nozaki explores the work of French philosopher Michel Foucault and his treatment of knowledge and power, as well as the standpoint theory of R. W. Connell. For Nozaki, it is critical to recoup some of the conceptual and political clarity of ideology, while remaining skeptical about all truth claims. She offers the useful metaphor of "riding tensions critically" for developing and implementing curricular change.

Dennis Carlson's chapter looks at the ways in which the administrative logics discussed by Apple in *Ideology and Curriculum* have become increasingly pronounced and ever more pressing. According to Carlson, No Child Left Behind has increased the general deskilling of teachers with its managerial discourse reaching something of a crescendo. Contesting an easy language of "progress," Carlson looks (as does Nozaki) toward both the limits and possibilities of conceptual frameworks that stress "ideology" and the relative certainties and clarities implied. Moving from Apple through the work of Guattari, Carlson argues for what he calls a "poststructural Marxism"—an approach that allows us to map disparate and dispersed connections between economic forces and other sets of power relations.

Closing this section, Allan Luke's chapter explores the deskilling of teachers, revisiting some of Apple's important work on the topic. For Luke, the increasing pressures toward standardized curricular and high-stakes testing have created what he calls the construction of teacher as "commodity fetishist." The increasing stress on the administrative and technical aspects of teaching as "craft" or "profession" does not mesh well with the new economic and policy realities of our moment. Rather, Luke argues for a more cosmopolitan notion of what it means to be a teacher. This means "deterritorializing" teachers, enabling them to move between the local and the global so as to engage with complex flows of knowledge, technologies, populations, and ideologies.

Chapters in Section Three, "On Spaces of Possibility," pick up on the political possibilities—both local and global—inherent in Apple's work. Michelle Fine opens this section by exploring recent youth-run research projects on race and schooling. Drawing on Apple's analysis of Porto Alegre "Citizen Schools" and his quest for what he calls "thick democracy"—true decision-making control of workers over matters



including politics, economics, gender relations, and so forth—Fine highlights the ways in which youth creative activities and critical agency can work to explore “cracks” in edifices that often seem insurmountable. These youth bear witness, tell counterstories, and develop research that fundamentally challenge dominant voices, thereby serving as a fitting testament to Apple’s legacy around possibilities for social action and change.

Andrew Gitlin’s chapter argues for what he calls “educational poetics.” Against the backdrop of Apple’s work on knowledge, politics, and change, Gitlin highlights the complex production of “commonsense” and the “oughts,” that often emerge from such commonsense— notions of what is possible and impossible for educators. In developing his approach to poetics, Gitlin looks to the “relative autonomy” of critical agendas, to the kind of imagination and creativity necessary to contest traditional approaches to knowledge production. The goal here is to “(re)imagine the everyday world” in ways that have important political potential.

In closing the section, Luís Armando Gandin explores Michael Apple’s work from within the Brazilian context. Reconstructing the social, political, and intellectual landscape of Brazil from the 1970s through today, Gandin highlights the specific persona and intellectual connections Apple has forged with Brazilian progressive educators and students. He discusses the ways in which Michael Apple lent both his name and personal support to movements like that in Porto Alegre for “Citizen Schools” and its development of a critical curriculum. For Gandin, Apple provides a model for the development of sophisticated theory connected to ongoing political investment and action.

## CONCLUSION

As the contributors to this volume all maintain, the fundamental shaping importance and originality of contribution of Michael Apple’s critical scholarship to the field of education cannot be denied. Beginning with his path-breaking research collected and published in the germinal volume *Ideology and Curriculum*, Apple redirected critical attention to the operation of cultural and ideological mechanisms within the interior order of schooling and curriculum organization and out again to the contested and conflicted world deeply stratified and striated by the dynamic relations and structuring principles of race, class, and gender. The role that education played in modern life was not, as mainstreamers had maintained, an ennobling one, bringing enlightenment and opportunity to more and more members of the down-

trodden classes in society. The project of educational expansion in the post–World War II years in fact generated inequality in both its official order, as well as the informal world of schooling in which differential social relations are produced and contested. Methodologically, Michael Apple approached these complex issues in an original manner and with a distinctive voice, offering a sophisticated blend of Marxist philosophy, phenomenology political economy, and cultural and linguistic analysis to better surmise the hidden relations in the political, economic, and cultural fields of schooling. What follows from the contributors to this volume is both a tribute to Michael Apple’s yeoman intellectual service to the vitalization and vivification of critical scholarship in the educational field, as well as an unceasing debate with and an extension of the pivotal terms and research objects that define the corpus of Apple’s scholarship.

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