

**IVAN ILLICH'S CONCEPT OF
DESCHOOLING SOCIETY**
A Proposal for Reshaping Society
Through Education

THESIS

Submitted to the Board of Examiner as Partial Fulfilment
of the Requirement for the Degree of Sarjana Pendidikan
Islam (S.Pd.I)



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Salatiga, 6th March 2004

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Thesis

Dear

The Head of State Islamic

Studies Institute of Salatiga

Assalamu'alaikum Wr. Wb.

After reading and correcting Ida Fitri Dianingrum's thesis entitled "**IVAN ILLICH'S CONCEPT OF DESCHOOLING SOCIETY, A PROPOSAL FOR RESHAPING SOCIETY THROUGH EDUCATION**", I have decided and would like to propose that if could be accepted by educational faculty, I hope it would be examined as soon as possible.

Wassalamu'alaikum Wr. Wb.

Consultant,


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Statement of Certification

Ivan Illich's Concept of
Deschooling Society
A Proposal for Reshaping Society
Through Education

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Has been brought to the board of examiners of Muharram 20th 1425 H (March, 11th 2004 M), and hereby considered to completely fulfilled the requirements of the Degree of Sarjana Pendidikan Islam (S.Pd.I) in English and Education Department.

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MOTTO

Fa idza ʿazzam ta fa tawakkal ʿala Allah
(Allah's word)

Bravery is not the absence of fear
(From the wise person I know personally)

DEDICATION

This thesis was dedicated to:

Anyone who concerns with

Educational Movement

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All praise be to Allah, The Almighty, The Lord of the world, whose blessings has made it possible for the writer to realize this graduating paper entitled "*Ivan Illich's Concept of Deschooling Society, A Proposal for Reshaping Society through Education*". There are many kinds of helps received appreciatively from many persons.

The writer can not realizes this thesis without the help of theirs. In this occasion, she would like to thank to:

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Finally, the writer realize that this thesis is imperfect. The writer gladly accepts constructive critique and evaluation to make this thesis better.

Salatiga, 6th March 2004

Ida Fitri Dianingrum

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Being aware of the word “school”, people commonly picture it as a place in which many people spend a great part of their live time to study, analyse or scrutinize anything. Commonly, the word “school” refers to a complete system, a significant organization with a comprehensive instrument, device and apparatus, a number of people who engaged with teaching-learning activities, a set of building, a whole planned material and session, a settled regulation and the rest.

On the other hand, in its genuine language as *skhole*, *scola*, *scolae* or *schola* (Latin), this word from etymological view means “a spare time” or “a free time”. Thus, Englishman derives the word into “school”. Historically, we know that education and its system, complete with its institution, in fact have been attended to accompany growth of civilisation of human being since 900 years BC (Before Christ). Some time ago, Greece spent their free time to visit such interesting places, or a virtuoso person to study about everything they felt, suspected, and needed to learn. They describe the activity as *skhole*, *scola*, *scolae* or *schola*. All of the terms have similar meaning: a spare time used specifically to learn (leisure devoted to learning).

Moreover, the habit of spending Greece’s free time to learning was not adult habit only. The habit became a tradition to their children as the future generation

replace their position. At that time, people worked hard to carry out live-cost and basic needs, as a consequence they could not spend the time training their children. Just for that reason, they let somebody train the children in a particular place where the children could play and learn to make anything useful for their future. They could also study everything they wanted until they came home.

Hence, *scoola materna*'s¹ function as a process or an oldest was socialising institution in history. It became *scola in loco parentis* (an institution of external spare time of children's carefulness to replace parents' role). That is why this institution soon after named a mother who gives knowledge (*alma mater*)².

Therefore school becomes such an institution in this day and age. School instruments are not merely a teacher, some students, ordinary equipment – like book, ballpoint, pencil, blackboard, table and chairs – but it cannot be separated from curriculum, administration, payment/bill, uniform, schedule, class/grade/rank, collective test/examination, graduating license etc. Henceforth, institutionalised schools complete themselves with its up-to-date elements.

School, gradually, is unconnected with its authentic meaning. In our daily life school is also described as institution that has a great tendency on profit, image and impressions. Some schools provide graduating-licence as a result of a great number of bill without training / studying process. And the reality shows that schools turn out to be governance political agents and channels. It means school are

¹ It can be interpreted as 'mother's carefulness until limit of the time'

alienated from their original purpose and the students are alienated from their society. Since schools grow to be commercial as well.

In every new academic year, students' parents are always confused and scrambled sending their children to a certifiable school. But as we know that in this country, certifiable schools are majorly owned by high economic-class.

Those who are ready to give their children a certifiable education are the owners of the capital. Meanwhile, most children coming from penniless families have never obtained satisfying facility. Impecunious clans are only satisfied by reading, writing and calculating in their own education fulfilling.

Thus, we can conclude that education simply means to obtain, to get future assets. Education is merely preserving a social status, and absolutely economic status.

Even, sometimes to pay for the pursuit of this social status and nobility title, impecunious people have to sell farming land and their properties. They expect their children to change their family life. As a result, they believe that sustaining a change is determined by someone's education without paying any attention to quality and specialisation: above all, title has been gained in shortcut way. We can see this phenomena from the boisterous education institute which merely becomes appliance to get formal title.

² Roem Topatimasang, *Sekolah itu Candu*, Pustaka Pelajar dan INSIST Press, Yogyakarta, 1999. Pg. 7

All of this institution are born and grow just like rainy season mushrooms. As cinema or opera, all of them offer dreams to reach a social status change without working and balance action. An essence we can acquire from that phenomenon is the fact that it represents restlessness. Restlessness and social ironies as well because we believe that formal education, serves as a single way to alter human being status.

Indeed, this orientation drives education as an investment project of capitalist. The capitalists determine education as a form of subordination in preserving power. In this country, education is made as a medium to maintain status quo unconsciously because it is only destined to the owner of capital³.

On the other side, impecunious or proletarian class loses expectation, as if it is impossible to change social status. They cannot get such education, which match with their academic ability because of insufficiency. As if all of them are conditioned to be dependent, unable to be responsible on their life, so, who dare to deny this fact? Although various education systems were introduced it always begin from the acceptance of new comers until they graduates and it entirely requires bills.

Today, education orientation as “merchandise” or “commodity”, in fact has become a concern of some thinkers such like Ivan Illich, Paulo Freire, Margareth Ad, Nicholas Abercromble, Immanuel Wallerstein, Louis Althusser, Pierre Bourdieu and so on.

Many scholars who concern with education issues rise to fame for their concept related to this condition. They establish critical education concept beside conservative and liberal education concept. Ivan Illich was known for his critique of modernization and the corrupting impact of institutions, Ivan Illich's concern with deschooling, learning webs and the disabling effect of professions has struck a chord among many informal educators.

Many students, especially those who are poor, intuitively know what the schools do for them. They confuse between process and substance. Once these become blurred, a new logic is assumed: the more treatment there is, the better are the results; or, escalation leads to success. The pupil is thereby "schooled" to confuse teaching with learning, grade advancement with education, a diploma with competence, and fluency with the ability to say something new. His imagination is "schooled" to accept service in place of value. Medical treatment is mistaken for health care, social work for the improvement of community life, police protection for safety, military poise for national security, 'the rat race' for productive work. Health, learning, dignity, independence, and creative endeavour are defined as little more than the performance of the institutions which claim to serve these ends, and their improvement is made to depend on allocating more resources to the management of hospitals, schools, and other agencies in question⁴.

³ Susetyo Pr., Beny. "Pendidikan Bagi Kaum Miskin", Sinar Harapan: Jakarta, 20 July 2002

⁴ <http://uchcom.botik.ru/educ/PUSTYN/lib/illich/deschool.ru.html>

Illich with his concept of 'deschooling society' presented a new plan, it is not a great paradigm, just a proposal to bring social change by means of education.

Based on this concern, the writer would like to study these problems.

B. THE STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The main problems of this study are:

1. How is the concept of Deschooling?
2. How is the connection of this concept with the society to make a change through Education?

C. THE OBJECTIVES AND BENEFITS OF THE STUDY

1. The Objectives of this study are:
 - a. To know what is Deschooling
 - b. To analyze what is the function of education through social change.
2. The Benefits and advantages of this study are:
 - a. Contributing educational concept in which school is a media for social change
 - b. Constructing opinion that critical education concept present ahead comparing to those of conservative and liberal concept.

D. THE LITERATURE REVIEW

Deschooling Society, written by Ivan Illich was published by Harper and Row, New York. His chronicling of the negative effects of schools and his development of a critique of the 'radical monopoly' of the dominant technologies of education in *Deschooling Society* echoed concerns held well beyond libertarian and anarchist circles⁵.

E. METHODOLOGY

In this study, the research methodology is applied to observe fundamentally the concept of Illich and his proposal for reshaping society.

This research applies *descriptive analysis* method. Descriptive means a notation to emerging and relating symptoms for carrying out a classification. Its result is general rule formula to predict the new phenomenon and –if it can be– to control it⁶. In the other word, this method is implemented to list, describe, and expose Illich's idea by explaining the concept distinctively, at last to find the correlation or equivalence among Illich's ideas that arises a new planning to form the society.

Moreover, analysis method is a way used for the definite object by choosing one terminology or analoging with the others to get clear problem⁷.

In this situation, Illich's concept is rationalized with the recently

⁵ <http://uchcom.botik.ru/educ/PUSTYN/lib/illich/deschool.ru.html>

⁶ Sumaryono, E. *Hermeneutik, Sebuah Metode Filsafat*. Kanisius: Yogyakarta, 1995, pg. 24

phenomena. Is it appropriate, relevant or not with the people's essential need?

This research applies a literary, library or qualitative research. The researcher uses Illich's idea, theory, concept and thought, which were drafted in books or journals as primary data.

It needs also secondary data as a complement for data sources, which constitute secondhand information, such as reference books (encyclopedias, for example) or reports by relatives of actual participants or observers⁸. Because primary sources are admittedly more difficult to acquire, a common criticism of historical is excessive reliance on secondary sources⁹.

Literary Research¹⁰ is founding data related to variables as notes, transcripts, books, newspapers, magazines, ancient masterpiece, meeting note taking, ledger, agenda and so on.¹¹

The obtained data will be collected, classified, categorized, in the same topic. Soon afterward, the researcher analyzes it from the content of idea, concentrate to the circumstance, situation and background, which bear Illich to his deschooling concept. This analysis performs deductive¹² reasoning from the researcher opinion and some scholars thinking that documented and written in a manuscript as well.

⁷ Soejono Soemargono, *Filsafat Ilmu Pengetahuan*, Nur Cahaya, Yogyakarta, 1983, pg. 22

⁸ L.R.Gay, *Educational Research: Competencies for Analysis and Application*, Florida International University: Florida, 1981, pg. 148

⁹ Gay, *Education*....., 1983 pg. 149

¹⁰ Sutrisno Hadi, *Metodologi Research*, Fakultas Psikologi UGM: Yogyakarta, 1981, pg. 19

¹¹ Suharsimi Arikunto, *Prosedur Penelitian Suatu Pendekatan*, Bina Aksara: Jakarta, 1987, pg. 8

The analysis method performed in this research is inductive and deductive method. The *First* begins from the specific premises (singular) to the general premises (universal), and the contrary, the *Second*, as a description of the specific propositions (singular) from the general propositions (universal)¹³. Finally, when the problem is clear and distinct, the next phase is to find the conclusion as the last phase of this study.

F. THE OUTLINE OF THESIS

This thesis built on five chapters as follow:

Chapter I, Introduction

- A. The Background of the Problem
- B. The Statement of The Study
- C. The Objectives and Benefits of The Study
- D. The Literature Review
- E. The Theoretical Framework
- F. Methodology
- G. The Outline of Thesis

Chapter II, Biography of Ivan Illich

- A. Illich's Life and Career
- B. Early Life

¹² Sutrisno Hadi, *Metodologi Research*, Andi Offset: Yogyakarta, 1987, pg. 68

- C. Later Work and Contribution
- D. Illich's view of Deschooling Society

Chapter III, A Theoretical Review of Deschooling Society

- A. Description
- B. Why the School should be Distestablished?
- C. Institutionalization and Expert Power
- D. Critical Consciousness, Rebirth of Epimethean Man

Chapter IV, Data Analysis

- A. Theories of Society
- B. Critical Education Concepts
- C. Idea of Reshaping Society through Education

Chapter V, Closure

- A. Conclusion
- B. Suggestion

¹³ Beerling, Kwee, Moij, Van Puersen. *Pengantar Filsafat Ilmu*, Soejono Soemargono (trns), Tiara Wacana: Yogyakarta, 1990, pg. 68

CHAPTER II

BIOGRAPHY OF IVAN ILLICH

A. IVAN ILLICH'S LIFE AND CAREER

Ivan Illich was born in Vienna. His father, Ivan Peter, was a civil engineer. This meant that Ivan Illich, along with his younger, twin brothers was able to live comfortably, attend good schools and travel extensively in Europe. Illich was a student at the *Piaristen gymnasium* in Vienna from 1936 to 1941, but was expelled by the occupying Nazis in 1941 because his mother had Jewish ancestry (his father was a Roman Catholic)¹.

From this point on Ivan Illich became something of a wandered - travelling the world and had the minimum of material possessions. He completed his pre-university studies in Florence, and then went on to study histology and crystallography at the University of Florence. At this point Ivan Illich decided to enter and prepare for the priesthood. He went to study theology and philosophy at the Gregorian University in Rome. In 1951 he completed his PhD at the University of Salzburg (an exploration of the nature of historical knowledge). One of the intellectual legacies of this period was a developing understanding of the

¹ <http://www3.nl.edu/academics/cas/ace/resources/Illich.cfm>

institutionalization of the church in the 13th century - and this helped to form and inform his later critique.²

On completing his PhD Ivan Illich began work as a priest in Washington Heights, New York. He was there until 1956. His congregation was largely Irish and Puerto Rican. In Washington Heights, Ivan Illich was soon speaking out for Puerto Rican culture, 'and against "cultural ignorance" on the part of the dominant culture'³. He had become fluent in Spanish and several other languages (during his life he was to work in 10 different languages).

Ivan Illich then went onto to be vice rector of the Catholic University of Ponce in Puerto Rico. However, he spent only four years there, being forced out of the university in 1960 because of his opposition to the then Bishop of Ponce's forbidding of Catholics to vote for Governor Luis Munoz Marin (because of his advocacy of state-sponsored birth control).

Illich had founded the Centre for Intercultural Formation (initially at Fordham University) to train American missionaries for work in Latin America. While still committed to the Church, Ivan Illich was deeply opposed to Pope John XIII's 1960 call for North American missionaries to 'modernize' the Latin American Church. He wanted missionaries to

² <http://www.cogsci.ed.ac.uk/%7Eira/illich/biography.html>

question their activities, learned Spanish, recognized and appreciated the limitations of their own (cultural) experiences, and 'developed assumptions that would allow them assuming their duties as self-proclaimed adult educators with humility and respect'⁴.

From the beginning he wanted the institution to be based in Latin America - and after walking and hitchhiking several thousand miles he decided on Cuernavaca, Mexico. With the help of Feodora Stancioff and Brother Gerry Morris he set up shop. The Centre was renamed Centre for Intercultural Documentation (CIDOC) and provided an opportunity for several hundred missionaries each year to join, in Ivan Illich's words, 'a free club for the search of surprise, a place where people went who wanted to have a help in redefining their questions rather than completing the answers they had gotten'⁵. The critical and questioning stance of the Centre, and its freewheeling ways of work in began to cause some concern amongst key elements of the Catholic hierarchy.

Illich was not one to mince his words:

“Upon the opening of our centre I stated two of the purposes of our undertaking. The first was to help diminish the damage threatened by the papal order. Through our educational programme for missionaries we intended to challenge them to face reality and themselves, and either refuse their assignments or - if they accepted - to be a little bit less unprepared. Secondly, we wanted to

³ See Illich's reflection in *Celebration on Awareness, a Call for Institutional Revolution*, Harmondsworth, Penguin Education, Garden City: New York, 1976, pg. 29 - 38.

⁴ <http://www.infed.org/thinkers/et-illic.htm>

⁵ <http://www.cogsci.ed.ac.uk/%7Eira/illich/biography.html>

gather sufficient influence among the decision-making bodies of mission sponsoring agencies to dissuade them from implementing [Pope John XIII's] plan.”⁶

Ivan Illich was ordered by the Vatican to leave CIDOC, but he managed to hold out - eventually resigning all offices and church salaries, and then leaving the priesthood in 1969. The Centre had broadened its appeal considerably - and became known for explorations of the many the themes that have become identified with Illich.

B. LATER WORK AND CONTRIBUTION

Ivan Illich (1926 – 2002) rose to fame in the 1970s with a series of brilliant, short, polemical, books on major institutions of the industrialized world. They explored the functioning and impact of 'education' systems (*Deschooling Society*), technological development (*Tools for Conviviality*), energy, transportation and economic development (*Energy and Equity*), medicine (*Medical Nemesis*), and works (*The Right to Useful Employment and its Professional Enemies*; and *Shadow Work*). Ivan Illich's lasting contribution was a dissection of these institutions and a demonstration of their corruption. Institutions like schooling and medicine had a tendency to end up working in ways that reversed their original purpose.

⁶ Illich, I. *Deschooling Society*, Harper and Row, New York, 1971, pg. 47 – 48

Illich was to explore gender, literacy, and pain later on. However, his work was the subject of attack from both the left and right. In the case of the former, for example, his criticisms of the disabling effects many institutions of welfare state were deeply problematic.

From the 1980s on he became something of a forgotten figure, although there were always a number of writers and practitioners in the fields he wrote about who found significant possibility in his analysis. Andrew Todd and Franco La Cecla have commented that his great contribution was as an archaeologist of ideas, 'someone who helped us to see the present in a truer and richer perspective'.

Illich's concern with around the negative impact of schooling hit a chord - and he was much in demand as a speaker. His books, *The Celebration of Awareness* and *Deschooling Society* brought his thinking to a much wider audience - as did the work of CIDOC colleagues such as Everett Reimer. His chronicling of the negative effects of schools and his development of a critique of the 'radical monopoly' of the dominant technologies of education in *Deschooling Society* echoed concerns with beyond libertarian and anarchist circles holding well.

He went on applying his critique to energy consumption⁷, and memorably to medical treatment⁸. In *Tools for Conviviality*⁹, Illich

⁷ in Illich's book *Energy and Equity*, Calders and Boyars: London, 1974

provided a more general exploration of his concerns, critiques, and being offered some possible standards by which to judge 'development' (with an emphasis on mutuality, human-scale technology etc.). Throughout he infused his work with an ecological understanding.

Interest in his ideas within education began to wane. Invitations for speaking and writing had slackened, and as the number of missionaries headed for Latin America fell away, CIDOC began to fade. Illich's thinking did not resonate with dominant mood in the discourses of northern education systems. At a time when there was increasing centralized control, an emphasis on nationalized curricula, and a concern with increases the spread of the bureaucratic accreditation of learning, his advocacy of deinstitutionalization (deschooling) and more convivial forms of education was hardly likely to make much ground.

Ivan Illich's later works ranged across a number of areas - but had generally carried forward the central themes of his earlier work. The pieces in *Toward a History of Needs*¹⁰ and *Shadow Work*¹¹ largely look to the economics of scarcity, (i.e. that the predominant dynamic in both 'developed' and 'under-developed' economies lied in the desire to profit through the provision of goods and services in sectors where there was a

⁸ in Illich's *Medical Nemesis*, Harmondsworth: New York, 1976

⁹ in *Tools For Conviviality*, Fontana/ Collins: London, 1975

¹⁰ see his book: *Toward a History Need*, Pantheon Books: New York 1978

¹¹ Illich's book, *Shadow Work*, Boyars: London, 1981

'scarcity, rather than the wish to share subsistence). *Gender*¹² looks to the social experiences of female/male complementarities. In the mid- to late 1980s Ivan Illich turned to and explored literacy practices in *ABC: The Alphabetization of the Popular Mind*¹³ and in *In the Vineyard of the Text*¹⁴.

Ivan Illich had set himself against building up a school of followers. However, as Carl Mitcham had argued, his thought and life had had an influence on a small, but closed circle of friends. Representative of what might be called the Illich community of reflection are, for example, Barbara Duden's *The Woman Beneath the Skin: A Doctor's Patients in Eighteenth-Century Germany*, Wolfgang Sachs' *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, Lee Hoinacki's *El Camino: Walking to Santiago de Compostela* and David Schwartz's *Who Cares? Rediscovering Community*.

After the 1980s Ivan Illich had divided his time between Mexico, the United States, and Germany. Currently he was a Visiting Professor of Philosophy and of Science, Technology, and Society at Penn State - and also taught at the University of Bremen. He continued to live frugally and 'opened his doors to collaborators and drop-ins with great generosity, running a practically non-stop educational process which was

¹² his book, *Gender*, Pantheon Books: New York, 1982

always celebratory, open-ended and egalitarian'. He engaged in a 'heroic level of activity' - in the early 1990s he was diagnosed as having cancer. True to his thinking (as expressed, for example, in *Medical Nemesis*) he insisted on administering his own medication. This was against the advice of his doctors, 'who proposed a largely sedative treatment which would have rendered his work impossible'. He was able to finish a history of pain (which will be published in French in 2003).

Ivan Illich died on December 2, 2002.

C. ILLICH'S VIEW OF DESCHOOLING SOCIETY

Illich longs for a different world than exists today. This world is a much more radically individualist world where fundamental responsibilities fall to the individual. There is an irony here. Much of the tendency toward a more society-dominated world came from people who claimed that radical individualism disadvantaged too many, especially the gigantic underclass, and simply fed class divisions. Thus many programs toward government control come from people called in the contemporary sense "liberals," who supposedly want to protect and empower the cause of the underclass.

¹³ *ABC: The Alphabetization of the Popular Mind*, Harmondsworth: New York, 1988

¹⁴ he writes on *In the Vineyard of the Text*, University of Chicago Press: London, 1993

Illich believes that this has resulted in a disaster that has the following outcomes¹⁵:

1. The poor has even less chance at a fully developed and realized world.
2. In the process of "protecting" us society has taken over much too much of our lives and freedom.
3. Society itself has suffered since we have substituted "process" for "substance" in our quest for objective and fair standards of measurement and in wishing to make up for genuine differences in achievement.

These are the sorts of reasons that lead Illich to call for a fundamental and radical change of social values.

It is extremely difficult to do to people primarily raised in the United States after the mid-1960s. By that time the society was, on Illich's terms "all schooled up," and most of the youth will have grown up taking this "all schooled up" society as completely natural and obvious.

Thus, it is needed to make clearer on what this "schooled up" society is all about. What is a reward? Illich makes a distinction between

¹⁵ Illich, I. *Celebration of Awareness, A Call for Institutional Revolution*, Pantheon Books: New York, 1969. Translated by Saut Pasaribu, *Perayaan Kesadaran, Sebuah Panggilan untuk Revolusi Institusional*, Ikon Teralitera: Yogyakarta, 2002. Pg. 130 - 135

process and produce, in addition he follows an acceptant-able procedures and actual achievement.

On his view, it have shifted the focus from rewarding actual achievement to rewarding simply processes or following socially accepted procedures. There are some examples of this. The "old world" of rewarding actual achievement and produce are still alive in the society, they are just being taken over repeatedly by process, and credentialing.

The Old World: is still alive in many areas of sports and entertainment.

If a team wants a good field goal kicker it will indeed seek a kicker who demonstrates to them he can kick. That someone comes to the team with a certificate that he went to kicking school and got all good grades in kicking would be laughed out of court. The issue would be: can the person kick field goals with accuracy and distance under pressure of game situations.

Similarly, with much in entertainment worlds. Webster University has a highly regarded theater department. Students work hard here and hopefully learn a great deal. But when they go out looking for an acting job, that they have a degree from Webster University with a major in theater is of extremely little interest. The issue is performance and demonstrated ability, not a credential¹⁶.

These are some areas of society in which demonstrating actual ability regardless of its source is what will be rewarded in society.

¹⁶ <http://www.webster.edu/~corbetre/philosophy/education/illich/schooling.html>

However, in increasing areas of life, individuals do not put forward their skills and abilities. Rather, they get some certification and make as 'a highly dubious' assumption that the certification tells us who has abilities and who does not. Some of the earliest certifications are for physicians and lawyers.

Nowadays a huge number of workplaces are such that they require certification to admit employees. This runs from certified plumbers and carpenters in the building trades, through teachers (at least at elementary and secondary schools – ironically, while the PHD is generally a minimum certification for university teaching, there is no formal certification for university professors), and encompasses an increasing number of professions such as counseling, psychology, daycare centers and so on.

What would Illich have against this process? There are several arguments: Illich presumes, that there is a general belief that society will indeed get the best people via the certification process. Illich believes that this is not only false, but has other negative consequences besides the belief's falseness as well.

Some of his arguments are:

1. A logical argument with a factual tag.

There are four logical possibilities about any person in relation to any job¹⁷:

- a. The person has the skill and ability and the credential.
- b. The person has the skill and ability but the credential.
- c. The person does not have the skill and ability but does have the credential.
- d. The person has neither the skill nor ability nor the credential.

Illich has no more sympathy for individual type D as a candidate for social rewards than does the credentialing system.

The position A is a standard assumption as to whom the credentialed is. Illich thinks there is a huge degree of evidence that indicates this is the sheerest nonsense and that we are quite aware of it. The educational establishment in the United States is under constant fire since people do get credentials and come out of that experience too often with precious little related skill -- students graduating from high school who are functionally illiterate and so on. Nonetheless, a huge weight of

¹⁷ <http://www.webster.edu/~corbetre/philosophy/education/illich/schooling.html>

social rewards is tied to this assumption, even though known that it is highly controversial, if not directly false.

The case of B is one that interests Illich a great deal. Again, in the factual case there is virtually no one who denies this. Most of the students have met people, perhaps even relatives at family parties or what not, whom they see relating to people in such a fashion that all we know about teaching and learning suggests: This person would be a wonderful teacher. Yet the person wouldn't have the slightest chance at that since he or she is not credentialed, perhaps it is not even formally educated at the university level. Nonetheless they are very often excluded from the work place by social custom and even by law.

Illich focuses on both the terrible injustice to deny the individual his or her talents, and at the same time brings our attention to the great social loss by denying society the benefit of the genuine talents and skills.

Case C is another case which interests Illich (and many much less radical reformist critics of society as well), is that credentials often do not tell us much about what we can expect in skill or knowledge.

However, the gradually evolved societal position in philosophy teaching (and all other areas of teaching) as done in the U.S. seems based on a terrible lie. Students typically take courses which carry 3

credit hours. Since our major is for 36 hours (if the number were different it would just change the math and not the factual situation), each course is 1/12th of a philosophy major.

Virtually any student with money enough, time enough, patience enough, and just the minimum intellectual ability can hang around long enough to get such a degree. What does that tell us about the person's philosophical ability? Some do this 36 hours successfully and come out rather surprisingly learned people in the area. Others do it and know very little philosophy in the long run. It tells us more about the silliness of the assumption that a surviving process of learning guarantees any significant degree of learning.

CHAPTER III

A THEORETICAL REVIEW OF DESCHOOLING SOCIETY

A. DESCRIPTION OF DESCHOOLING SOCIETY

In *Deschooling Society*, Illich demonstrates that schools function as tools which are in fact counter-productive to their best intentions and that their successes must be contemplated with human dignity and freedom in mind¹. Schools, Illich shows, are successful in preparing individuals to 'fit' into a schooled society.

Schools successfully prepare the student to need treatments, which can only be satisfied by institutions. By this process, need and consumption, each of us finds our place in consumer society. The illness of under-consumption is curable through further participation in institutional life. The school successfully indoctrinates each student with the belief in unlimited production and consumption via planned obsolescence. The newest textbook, curriculum package, or teacher training program renders last season's tools insufficient.

Dana Stuchul and Alison Kreider from UCLA² wrote, schooling successfully dulls the student's imagination making it unlikely, even impossible, to imagine meaningful learning experiences ~~occurring in~~ any

¹ Illich, I. *Deschooling Society*, Harper and Row, New York, 1971, pg. 60

other context. Learning requires an expert, a program, a measurement, and a certificate. Learning happens via obligatory attendance to an impersonal relationship in which one has authority over another's interests. Schooling is the mechanism through which we learn to accept the society, its institutions, and their rankings as they exist, as they have always existed, and as they will continue to exist.

In the midst of this criticism, Ivan Illich demands that society be deschooled. Falsely interpreted to mean the elimination of schools, Illich calls for the disestablishment of school or the end to compulsory attendance schooling. He states,

"I've nothing against schools! I'm against compulsory schooling. I know that schools always compound native privilege with new privilege. But only when they become compulsory can they compound lack of native privilege with added self-inflicted discrimination"³.

His critique is not focused on the school but rather institutionalized school which monopolizes learning, instruction, and credentialing and creates a demand for something which it can only provide to fewer and fewer people at greater and greater public expense. Schooling, among others, is an institution which must be delegitimized. The secular sovereignty exercised by schools must be exposed and the methods with which it divides people into social classes and squelches self-directed inquiry made obvious. In the

² See: http://fcis.oise.utoronto.ca/~daniel_schugurensky/assignment1/1970illich.html

institutional-school paradigm, knowledge is a commodity and schools teach pupils to need the instruction which can only be found in schools.

According to Illich, “obligatory instruction assumes the belief that man can do what God cannot, namely, manipulate others for their own salvation”⁴. By deschooling society, schools would continue to exist but their workings would be very different from those operating at present. Deschooling could only occur given alternative social arrangements and legal protections as well as a reconceptualization of what constitutes learning in the heart of every deschooled person.

According to Illich, schools are the “reproductive organ of a consumer society”⁵. Schools produce myths upon which an economic society depends. Schooling is a ritual performed by participants who are made blind to the contrariety between the purpose for and the consequences of the ritual. Despite the advertised purpose of promoting social equality and democratic participation, schooling is “the ritual of a society committed to progress and development”⁶. In his thesis titled, *Deschooling Society*, Ivan Illich maintains four myths created by the school ritual; 1) the myth of unending

³ Cayley, David. *Ivan Illich in Conversation*. Concord, Ontario: Anansi Press. 1992, pg. 68

⁴ Illich. *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 50

⁵ Illich, I. *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 60

⁶ Cayley, David. *Ivan Illich in* ____. Concord, Ontario: Anansi Press. 1992, pg. 67

consumption, 2) the myth of measurement of values, 3) the myth of packaging values, and 4) the myth of self-perpetuating progress⁷.

In the first myth, schools teach us that learning is the result of an instructional process that produces something of value. What is learned is that only the curricularized instructional process in which knowledge is divided into discreet bundles of information dispensed by certificated experts under compulsory attendance can produce valued outcomes. The payoff for a greater investment of time and money is more knowledge and additional diplomas. "The existence of schools produces the demand for schooling"⁸.

The second myth inculcates consumers with the understanding that only that which is quantifiable is justifiable. Only measured experiences possess worth. Only distinct quanta of subject matter which are measurable constitute learning. With this myth, "people who submit to the standards of others for the measure of their own personal growth soon apply the same ruler to themselves. They no longer have to be put in their place, but put themselves into their assigned slots, squeeze themselves into the niche (role) which they have been taught to seek, and, in the very process, put their fellows into their places, too, until everybody and everything fits"⁹.

Myth number three, packaging values, is the accepted belief in educational research conducted by experts to determine what and when

⁷ Illich, *Deschooling* __ , 1971, pg. 37

another (or masses of others) should learn. "The result of the curriculum production process looks like any other modern staple. It is a bundle of planned meanings, of packaged values, a commodity whose 'balanced appeal' makes it marketable to a sufficiently large number to justify the cost of production. Consumer-pupils are taught to make their desires conform to marketable values. Thus they are made to feel guilty if they do not behave according to the predictions of consumer research by getting the grades and certificates that will place them in the job category they have been led to expect" ¹⁰.

Finally, the fourth myth, self-perpetuating progress, promotes the need for ever increasing quantities of schooling at ever-increasing costs. With increased expenditures, the student improves his or her own value in his or her own view and in the view of the market, though not necessarily increasing his or her learning. The increasingly large expenditures on gymnasiums, state-of-the-art dining/entertainment/living facilities, and curriculum resources entice student-consumers to consume more while industry requires particular educational accouterments for a declining job market grown increasingly competitive. As the creator, propagator, and protector of these four educational myths, schools retain their sacred positions as the purveyor of 'secular salvation'. Despite the argument that

⁸ Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 38-39

schools have become counterproductive in their service to fewer and fewer clients and in the face of increasing public expenditures yielding insignificant increases in standardized measurements, the school institution stands as an immutable public shrine whose foundation holds firm amidst tremors, shifts, and quakes.

In a deschooled society, individuals choose for themselves action-oriented lives, rather than lives constrained by the parameters of consumption. Individuals participate in learning “webs” in which each is a teacher and also a learner. Relationships among people are convivial and promote self and community reliance rather than addictions to institutions and to their product, consumption addiction. The need is for relational structures, for goods, which are engineered for durability rather than obsolescence, and for “access to institutions that increase the opportunity and desirability of human interaction”¹¹.

In a deschooled society, the worlds of work, leisure, politics, family and community life are the classrooms and their secret and protected spaces made more accessible. Learning, therefore, occurs in and of the world and individuals define themselves by their own learning and the learning that they contribute to others.

Illich writes,

⁹ Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 40

"I believe that a desirable future depends on our deliberately choosing a life of action over a life of consumption, on our engendering a life style which will enable us to be spontaneous, independent, yet related to each other, rather than maintaining a lifestyle which allows us to make and unmake, produce and consume ... a style of life which is merely a way station on the road to the depletion and pollution of the environment"¹².

By creating and defining lives free of the predetermination of institutions, individuals are opened to the surprises found within friendship, vocation, critical and emancipatory participation in the world.

B. WHY THE SCHOOL SHOULD BE DISESTABLISHED?

Illich's thesis, *Deschooling Society*, in chapter I he begins the work by questioning urgency of school as an institution of education, "Why we must disestablish school"¹³?

It arises with the fact that many students, especially those, who are poor, intuitively know what the schools do for them. They school them to confuse process and substance. Once these become blurred, a new logic is assumed: the more treatment there is, the better are the results; or, escalation leads to success. The pupil is thereby "schooled" to confuse teaching with learning, grade advancement with education, a diploma with competence and fluency with the ability to say something new. His imagination is "schooled"

¹⁰ Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 41

¹¹ Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 63

¹² Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 52

to accept service in place of value. Medical treatment is mistaken for health care, social work for the improvement of community life, police protection for safety, military poise for national security, the rat race for productive work. Health, learning, dignity, independence, and creative endeavor are defined as little more than the performance of the institutions which claim to serve these ends, and their improvement is made to depend on allocating more resources to the management of hospitals, schools, and other agencies in question¹⁴.

In that case, Illich calls the institutionalization of value as a leader of inevitably to physical pollution, social polarization, and psychological impotence¹⁵. The three dimensions above in a process of global degradation and modernized misery. How this process of degradation is accelerated when nonmaterial needs are transformed into demands for commodities; when health, education, personal mobility, welfare, or psychological healing are defined as the result of services or 'treatments'.

Illich raise the general question of the mutual definition of man's nature and the nature of modern institutions which characterizes the world view and language. To do so, Illich has chosen the school as his paradigm, and he therefore deals only indirectly with other bureaucratic agencies of the corporate state: the consumer-family, the party, the army, the church, and the

¹³ Illich, I. *Deschooling* ____, 1971, Title of Chapter 1.

media. His analysis of the hidden curriculum of school should make it evident that public education would profit from the deschooling of society, just as family life, politics, security, faith, and communication would profit from an analogous process.

He begins his analysis by trying to convey what the deschooling of a schooled society might mean. In this context, it should be easier to understand his choice of the five specific aspects relevant to this process with which Illich deal in the subsequent chapters¹⁶. He writes in first chapter:

“Not only education but also social reality itself has become schooled. It costs roughly the same to school both rich and poor in the same dependency. The yearly expenditure per pupil in the slums and in the rich suburbs of any one of twenty US cities lies in the same range- and sometimes is favorable to the poor. Rich and poor alike depend on schools and hospitals which guide their lives, form their world view, and define for them what is legitimate and what is not. Both view doctoring oneself as irresponsible, learning on one's own as unreliable, and community organization, when not paid for by those in authority, as a form for both groups the reliance on institutional treatment renders independent accomplishment suspect. The progressive underdevelopment of self-and community-reliance is even more typical in Westchester than it is in the northeast of Brazil. Everywhere not only education but also society as a whole needs ‘deschooling’.

Welfare bureaucracies claim a professional, political, and financial monopoly over the social imagination, setting standards of what is valuable and what is feasible. This monopoly is at the root of the modernization of poverty. Every simple need to which an institutional answer is found permits the invention of a new class of poor and a new definition of poverty. Ten years ago in Mexico it was the normal thing to be born and to die in one's own home and to be buried by one's friends. Only the institutional church took care of the soul's needs. Now to begin and end life at home becomes signs either of poverty or

¹⁴ see pages on web: <http://uchcom.botik.ru/educ/PUSTYN/lib/illich/deschool.ru.html>

¹⁵ Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 6

¹⁶ Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, on Introduction.

of special privilege. Dying and death have come under the institutional management of doctors and undertakers.

Once basic needs have been translated by a society into demands for scientifically produced commodities, poverty is defined by standards which the technocrats can change at will. Poverty then refers to those who have fallen behind an advertised ideal of consumption in some important respect. In Mexico the poor are those who lack three years of schooling, and in New York they are those who lack twelve.

The poor have always been socially powerless. The increasing reliance on institutional care adds a new dimension to their helplessness: psychological impotence, the inability to fend for themselves. The landlord and the merchant—once they settle in Lima they are, in addition, dependent on political bosses, and disabled by their lack of schooling exploit peasants on the high plateau of the Andes. Modernized poverty combines the lack of power over circumstances with a loss of personal potency. This modernization of poverty is a worldwide phenomenon, and lies at the root of contemporary underdevelopment. Of course it appears under different guises in rich and in poor countries.

It is probably most intensely felt in U.S. cities. Nowhere else is poverty treated at greater cost. Nowhere else does the treatment of poverty produce so much dependence, anger, frustration, and further demands. And nowhere else should it be so evident that poverty—once it has become modernized—has become resistant to treatment with dollars alone and requires an institutional revolution".¹⁷

At that times¹⁸ in the United States, the black and even the migrant can aspire to a level of professional treatment which would have been unthinkable two generations ago, and which seems bizarre to most people in the Third World. For instance, the U.S. poor can count on a truant officer to return their children to school until they reach seventeen, or on a doctor to assign them to a hospital bed which costs sixty dollars per day—the equivalent

¹⁷ Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 7 - 8

¹⁸ At the period of Illich's work, from 1959 - 1970

of three months' income for a majority of the people in the world. However, such care only makes them dependent on more treatment, and renders them increasingly incapable of organizing their own lives around their own experiences and resources within their own communities.

The poor in the United States are in a unique position to speak about the predicament which threatens all the poor in a modernizing world. They are making the discovery that no amount of dollars can remove the inherent destructiveness of welfare institutions, once the professional hierarchies of these institutions have convinced society that their ministrations are morally necessary. The poor in the U.S. inner city can demonstrate from their own experience the fallacy on which social legislation in a "schooled" society is built¹⁹.

Illich signs, William O. Douglas²⁰ observed that "the only way to establish an institution is to finance it"²¹. The corollary is also true. Only by channeling dollars away from the institutions, which now treat health, education, and welfare, can the further impoverishment resulting from their disabling side effects be stopped.

"This must be kept in mind when we evaluate federal aid pro-grams. As a case in point, between 1965 and 1968 over three billion dollars were spent in U.S. schools to offset the disadvantages of about six million children. The program is known as Title One. It is the most expensive compensatory program ever attempted anywhere in education, yet no

¹⁹ See: <http://uchcom.botik.ru/educ/PUSTYN/lib/illich/deschool.ru.html>

²⁰ Supreme Court Justice of USA

²¹ Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 9

significant improvement can be detected in the learning of these "disadvantaged" children. Compared with their classmates from middle income homes, they have fallen further behind. Moreover, in the course of this program, professionals discovered an additional ten million children laboring under economic and educational handicaps. More reasons for claiming more federal funds are now at hand.

This total failure to improve the education of the poor despite more costly treatment can be explained in three ways:

1. Three billion dollars are insufficient to improve the performance of six million children by a measurable amount; or
2. The money was incompetently spent: different curricula, better administration, further concentration of the funds on the poor child, and more research are needed and would do the trick; or
3. Educational disadvantage cannot be cured by relying on education within the school.²²

Therewith, Illich explores that the first is certainly true so long as the money has been spent through the school budget. The money indeed went to the schools, which contained most of the disadvantaged children, but it was not spent on the poor children themselves. These children for whom the money was intended comprised only about half of those who were attending the schools that added the federal subsidies to their budgets. Thus the money was spent for custodial care, indoctrination and the selection of social roles, as well as education, all of which functions are inextricably mingled in the physical plants, curricula, teachers, administrators, and other key components of these schools, and, therefore, in their budgets.

²² Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg 9-10

The added funds enabled schools to cater disproportionately to the satisfaction of the relatively richer children who were “disadvantaged” by having to attend school in the company of the poor. It might be equally true that the money was incompetently spent. But even unusual incompetence cannot beat that of the school system. Schools by their very structure resist the concentration of privilege on those otherwise disadvantaged. Special curricula, separate classes, or longer hours only constitute more discrimination at a higher cost²³.

It should be obvious that even with schools of equal quality a poor child can seldom catch up with a rich one. Even if they attend equal schools and begin at the same age, poor children lack most of the educational opportunities which are casually available to the middle-class child. These advantages range from conversation and books in the home to vacation travel and a different sense of oneself, and apply, for the child who enjoys them, both in and out of school. So the poorer student will generally fall behind so long as he depends on school for advancement or learning. The poor need funds to enable them to learn, not to get certified for the treatment of their alleged disproportionate deficiencies.

All this is true in poor nations as well as in rich ones, but there it appears under a different guise. Modernized poverty in poor nations affects

²³ Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 12

more people more visibly but also-for the moment-more superficially. Two-thirds of all children in Latin America leave school before finishing the fifth grade, but these "*desertores*" are not therefore as badly off as they would be in the United States.

Few countries today remain victims of classical poverty, which were stable and less disabling. Most countries in Latin America, Asia and some of African have reached the "take-off" point toward economic development and competitive consumption and thereby toward modernized poverty: their citizens have learned to think rich and live poor. Their laws make six to ten years of school obligatory. Not only in Argentina but also in Mexico or Brazil the average citizen defines an adequate education by North American standards, even though the chance of getting such prolonged schooling is limited to a tiny minority. In these countries the majority is already hooked on school, that is, they are schooled in a sense of inferiority toward the better schooled. Their fanaticism in favor of school makes it possible to exploit them doubly: it permits increasing allocation of public funds for the education of a few and increasing acceptance of social control by the many²⁴.

Paradoxically, the belief that universal schooling is absolutely necessary is most firmly held in those countries where the fewest people have been-and will be-served by schools.

²⁴ Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 12

School appropriates the money, men, and good will available for education and in addition discourages other institutions from assuming educational tasks. Work, leisure, politics, city living, and even family life depend on schools for the habits and knowledge they presuppose, instead of becoming themselves the means of education. Simultaneously both schools and the other institutions, which depend on them, are priced out of the market.²⁵

The paradox of the schools is evident: increased expenditure escalates their destructiveness at home and abroad. This paradox must be made a public issue. It is now generally accepted that the physical environment will soon be destroyed by biochemical pollution unless we reverse current trends in the production of physical goods. It should also be recognized that social and personal life is threatened equally, the inevitable by-product of obligatory and competitive consumption of welfare.

Equal educational opportunity is, indeed, both a desirable and a feasible goal, but to equate this with obligator "schooling is to confuse salvation with the Church"²⁶. School has become the world religion of a modernized proletariat, and makes futile promises of salvation to the poor of the technological age. The nation-state has adopted it, drafting all citizens into a graded curriculum leading to sequential diplomas not unlike the initiation

²⁵ Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 13

rituals and hieratic promotions of former times. The modern state has assumed the duty of enforcing the judgment of its educators through well-meant truant officers and job requirements, much as did the Spanish kings who enforced the judgments of their theologians through the conquistadors and the Inquisition²⁷.

Further more Illich writes,

“Two centuries ago the United States led the world in a movement to disestablish the monopoly of a single church. Now we need the constitutional disestablishment of the monopoly of the school, and thereby of a system which legally combines prejudice with discrimination.

To make this disestablishment effective, we need a law forbidding discrimination in hiring, voting, or admission to centers of learning based on previous attendance at some curriculum. This guarantee would not exclude performance tests of competence for a function or role, but would remove the present absurd discrimination in favor of the person who learns a given skill with the largest expenditure of public funds or what is equally likely has been able to obtain a diploma which has no relation to any useful skill or job. Only by protecting the citizen from being disqualified by anything in his career in school can a constitutional disestablishment of school become psychologically effective.

Neither learning nor justice is promoted by schooling because educators insist on packaging instruction with certification. Learning and the assignment of social roles are melted into schooling. Yet to learn means to acquire a new skill or insight, while promotion depends on an opinion which others have formed. Learning frequently is the result of instruction, but selection for a role or category in the job market increasingly depends on mere length of attendance.

Instruction is the choice of circumstances, which facilitate learning. Roles are assigned by setting a curriculum of conditions, which the candidate must meet if he is to make the grade. School links instruction but not learning to these roles. This is neither reasonable nor liberating.

²⁶ Illich, *Deschooling* __, 1971, pg. 15

²⁷ Illich, *Deschooling* __, 1971, pg. 15

It is not reasonable because it does not link relevant qualities or competencies to roles, but rather the process by which such qualities are supposed to be acquired. It is not liberating or educational because school reserves instruction to those whose every step in learning fits previously approved measures of social control.²⁸

A second major illusion on which the school system rests is that most learning is the result of teaching. Teaching, it is true, may contribute to certain kinds of learning under certain circumstances. But most people acquire most of their knowledge outside school, and in school only insofar as school, in a few rich countries, has become their place of confinement during an increasing part of their lives.

Most learning happens casually, and even most intentional learning is not the result of programmed instruction. Normal children learn their first language casually, although faster if their parents pay attention to them. Most people who learn a second language well do so as a result of odd circumstances and not of sequential teaching. They go to live with their grandparents, they travel, or they fall in love with a foreigner. Fluency in reading is also more often than not a result of such extracurricular activities. Most people, who read widely, and with pleasure, merely believe that they learned to do so in school; when challenged, they easily discard this illusion.

But the fact that a great deal of learning even now seems to happen casually and as a by-product of some other activity defined as work or leisure

²⁸ Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 16-17

does not mean that planned learning does not benefit from planned instruction and that both do not stand in need of improvement. The strongly motivated student who is faced with the task of acquiring a new and complex skill may benefit greatly from the discipline now associated with the old-fashioned schoolmaster who taught reading, catechism, or multiplication by rote. School has now made this kind of drill teaching rare and disreputable, yet there are many skills which a motivated student with normal aptitude can master in a matter of a few months if taught in this traditional way. This is as true of codes as of their encipherment; of second and third languages as of reading and writing; and equally of special languages such as algebra, computer programming, chemical analysis, or of manual skills like typing, watchmaking, plumbing, wiring, TV repair; or for that matter dancing, driving, and diving.

In certain cases acceptance into a learning program aimed at a specific skill might presuppose competence in some other skill, but it should certainly not be made to depend upon the process by which such prerequisite skills were acquired. TV repair presupposes literacy and some math; diving, good swimming; and driving, very little of either.

Potential skill teachers are never scarce for long because, on the one hand, demand for a skill grows only with its performance within a community and, on the other, a man exercising a skill could also teach it. But,

at present, those using skills that are in demand and do require a human teacher are discouraged from sharing these skills with others. This is done either by teachers who monopolize the licenses or by unions which protect their trade interests. Skill centers, which would be judged by customers on their results, and not on the personnel they employ or the process they use, would open unsuspected working opportunities, frequently even for those who are now considered unemployable. Indeed, there is no reason why such skill centers should not be at the work place itself, with the employer and his work force supplying instruction as well as jobs to those who choose to use their educational credits in this way.

To tell forward, Illich states,

“The deschooling of society implies a recognition of the two-faced nature of learning. An insistence on skill drill alone could be a disaster; equal emphasis must be placed on other kinds of learning. But if schools are the wrong places for learning a skill, they are even worse places for getting an education. School does both tasks badly, partly because it does not distinguish between them. School is inefficient in skill instruction especially because it is curricular. In most schools a program which is meant to improve one skill is chained always to another irrelevant task. History is tied to advancement in math, and class attendance to the right to use the playground.”²⁹

Illich calls schools are even less efficient in the arrangement of the circumstances, which encourage the open-ended, exploratory use of acquired skills, for which Illich will reserve the term “liberal education”³⁰. The main

²⁹ Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 22 –23

³⁰ Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 23

reason for this is that school is obligatory and becomes schooling for schooling's sake: an enforced stay in the company of teachers, which pays off in the doubtful privilege of more such company. Just as skill instruction must be freed from curricular restraints, so must liberal education be dissociated from obligatory attendance. Both skill-learning and education for inventive and creative behavior can be aided by institutional arrangement, but they are of a different, frequently opposed nature.

Most skills can be acquired and improved by drills, because skill implies the mastery of definable and predictable behavior.³¹ Skill instruction can rely, therefore, on the simulation of circumstances in which the skill will be used. Education in the exploratory and creative use of skills, however, cannot rely on drills. Education can be the outcome of instruction, though instruction of a kind fundamentally opposed to drill. It relies on the relationship between partners who already have some of the keys, which give access to memories stored in and by the community. It relies on the critical intent of all those who use memories creatively. It relies on the surprise of the unexpected question, which opens new doors for the inquirer and his partner.³²

It means, the skill instructor relies on the arrangement of set circumstances, which permit the learner to develop standard responses. The

³¹ Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 23

educational guide or master is concerned with helping matching partners to meet so that learning can take place. He matches individuals starting from their own, unresolved questions. At the most he helps the pupil to formulate his puzzlement since only a clear statement will give him the power to find his match, moved like him, at the moment, to explore the same issue in the same context.

To tell the comparable argument, the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire³³ knows this from experience. He discovered that any adult can begin to read in a matter of forty hours if the first words he deciphers are charged with political meaning. Freire trains his teachers to move into a village and to discover the words which designate current important issues, such as the

³² Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 23

³³ The Brazilian educator Paulo Freire is among most the influential educational thinkers of the late 20th century. Born in Recife, Brazil, on September 19, 1921, Freire died of heart failure in Sao Paulo, Brazil on May 2, 1997. After a brief career as a lawyer, he taught Portuguese in secondary schools from 1941-1947. He subsequently became active in adult education and workers' training, and became the first Director of the Department of Cultural Extension of the University of Recife (1961-1964).

Freire quickly gained international recognition for his experiences in literacy training in Northeastern Brazil. Following the military coup d'etat of 1964, he was jailed by the new government and eventually forced into a political exile that lasted fifteen-years.

In 1969 he was a visiting scholar at Harvard University and then moved to Geneva, Switzerland where he assumed the role of special educational adviser to the World Congress of Churches. He returned to Brazil in 1979.

Freire's most well known work is *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970). Throughout this and subsequent books, he argues for system of education that emphasizes learning as an act of culture and freedom. He is most well known for concepts such as "Banking" Education, in which passive learners have pre-selected knowledge deposited in their minds; "Conscientization", a process by which the learner advances towards critical consciousness; the "Culture of Silence", in which dominated individuals lose the means by which to critically respond to the culture that is forced on them by a dominant culture. Other important concepts developed by Freire include: "Dialectic", "Empowerment", "Generative Themes/Words", "Humanization", "Liberatory Education", "Mystification", "Praxis", "Problematization", and "Transformation of the World". See also pages on web:

access to a well or the compound interest on the debts owed to the *patron*. In the evening the villagers meet for the discussion of these key words. They begin to realize that each word stays on the blackboard even after its sound has faded. The letters continue to unlock reality and to make it manageable as a problem. Illich has frequently witnessed how discussants grow in social awareness and how they are impelled to take political action as fast as they learn to read. They seem to take reality into their hands as they write it down.

Illich remembers the man who complained about the weight of pencils: they were difficult to handle because they did not weigh as much as a shovel; and Illich remembers another who on his way to work stopped with his Companions and wrote the word they were discussing with his hoe on the ground: "*agua*." Since 1962 his friend Freire has moved from exile to exile, mainly because he refuses to conduct his sessions around words which are preselected by approved educators, rather than those which his discussants bring to the class.³⁴

The educational matchmaking among people who have been successfully schooled is a different task. Those who do not need such assistance are a minority, even among the readers of serious journals. The majority cannot and should not be rallied for discussion around a slogan, a word, or a picture. But the idea remains the same: they should be able to meet

http://www.education.miami.edu/ep/contemporaryed/Paulo_Freire/paulo_freire.htm

around a problem chosen and defined by their own initiative. Creative, exploratory learning requires peers currently puzzled about the same terms or problems. Large universities make the futile attempt to match them by multiplying their courses, and they generally fail since they are bound to curriculum, course structure, and bureaucratic administration. In schools, including universities, most resources are spent to purchase the time and motivation of a limited number of people to take up predetermined problems in a ritually defined setting. The most radical alternative to school would be a network or service which gave each man the same opportunity to share his current concern with others motivated by the same concern.

An example of what Illich means a description of how an intellectual match might work in New York City.

Each man, at any given moment and at a minimum price, could identify himself to a computer with his address and telephone number, indicating the book, article, film, or recording on which he seeks a partner for discussion. Within days he could receive by mail the list of others that recently had taken the same initiative. This list would enable him by telephone to arrange for a meeting with persons who initially would be known exclusively by the fact that they requested a dialogue about the same subject.³⁵

Illich means by this illustration that matching people according to their interest in a particular title is radically simple. It permits identification only on the basis of a mutual desire to discuss a statement recorded by a third

³⁴ Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 25

person, and it leaves the initiative of arranging the meeting to the individual. Three objections are usually raised against this skeletal purity. Illich takes them up not only to clarify the theory that Illich wants to illustrate by his proposal for they highlight the deep-seated resistance to deschooling education, to separating learning from social control but also because they may help to suggest existing resources which are not now used for learning purposes.

The first objection is: why cannot self-identification be based also on an *idea* or an issue? Certainly such subjective terms could also be used in a computer system. Political parties, religion institutions, unions, clubs, neighborhood centers, and professional societies already organize their educational activities in this way and in effect, they act as schools. They all match people in order to explore certain "themes"; and these are dealt with in courses, seminars, and curricula in which presumed "common interests" are prepackaged³⁶. Such theme-matching is by definition teacher-centered: it requires an authoritarian presence to define for the participants the starting point for their discussion.³⁷

By contrast, matching by the title of a book, film, etc., in its pure form leaves it to the author to define the special language, the terms, and the

³⁵ Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 26

³⁶ Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 26

³⁷ Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 27

framework within which a given problem or fact is stated; and it enables those who accept this starting point to identify themselves to one another.

The second objection asks; Why not let the identification of match seeker include information on age, background, worldview, competence, experience, or other defining characteristics?³⁸ Again, there is no reason why such discriminatory restrictions could not and should not be built into some of the many universities-with or without walls-which could use title-matching as their basic organizational device. Illich could conceive of a system designed to encourage meetings of interested persons at which the author of the book chosen would be present or represented; or a system which guaranteed the presence of a competent adviser; or one to which only students registered in a department or school had access; or one which permitted meetings only between people who defined their special approach to the title under discussion. Advantages for achieving specific goals of learning could be found for each of these restrictions. But Illich fears that more often than not, the real reason for proposing such restrictions is contempt arising from the presumption that people are ignorant: educators want to avoid the ignorant meeting the ignorant around a text which they may not understand and which they read *only* because they are interested in it.³⁹

³⁸ Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 27

³⁹ Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 27

The third objection: Why not provide match seekers with incidental assistance that will facilitate their meetings-with space, schedules, screening, and protection?⁴⁰ This is now done by schools with all the inefficiency characterizing large bureaucracies. If people left the initiative for meetings to the match seekers themselves, organizations which nobody now classifies as educational would probably do the job much better. Illich thinks of restaurant owners, publishers, telephone-answering services, department store managers, and even commuter train executives who could promote their services by rendering them attractive for educational meetings.⁴¹

Both the exchange of skills and matching of partners are based on the assumption that education for all means education by all. Not the draft into a specialized institution but only the mobilization of the whole population can lead to popular culture. The equal right of each man to exercise his competence to learn and to instruct is now pre-empted by certified teachers. Illich beliefs that, the teachers' competence, in turn, is restricted to what may be done in school⁴². In addition, further, work and leisure are alienated from each other as a result: the spectator and the worker alike are supposed to arrive at the work place all ready to fit into a routine prepared for them. Adaptation in the form of a product's design, instruction, and publicity shapes them for their role as much as formal education by schooling. A radical

⁴⁰ Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 28

alternative to a schooled society requires not only new formal mechanisms for the formal acquisition of skills and their educational use. A deschooled society implies a new approach to incidental or informal education⁴³.

Incidental education cannot any longer return to the forms which learning took in the village or the medieval town. Traditional society was more like a set of concentric circles of meaningful structures, while modern man must learn how to find meaning in many structures to which he is only marginally related⁴⁴. In the village, language, architecture, work, religion, and family customs were consistent with one another, mutually explanatory and reinforcing. To grow into one implied a growth into the others. Even specialized agreement was a by-product of specialized activities, such as shoemaking or the singing of worshipful song. Illich illustrates, if an apprentice never became a master or a scholar, he still contributed to making shoes or to making church services solemn. Education did not compete for time with either work or leisure. Almost all education was complex, lifelong, and unplanned⁴⁵.

Illich relates,

“Contemporary society is the result of conscious designs, and educational opportunities must be designed into them. Our reliance on specialized, full-time instruction through school will now decrease, and

⁴¹ Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 28

⁴² Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 29

⁴³ Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 30

⁴⁴ Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 30

⁴⁵ Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 30

we must find more ways to learn and teach: the educational quality of all institutions must increase again. But this is a very ambiguous forecast. It could mean that men in the modern city will be increasingly the victims of an effective process of total instruction and manipulation once they are deprived of even the tenuous pretense of critical independence which liberal schools now provide for at least some of their pupils.”⁴⁶

It could also mean that men will shield themselves less behind certificates acquired in school and thus gain in courage to talk back and thereby control and instruct the institutions in which they participate. To ensure the latter, Illich argued, we must learn to estimate the social value of work and leisure by the educational give-and take for which they offer opportunity⁴⁷. Effective participation in the politics of a street, a work place, the library, a news program, or a hospital is therefore the best measuring stick to evaluate their level as educational institutions.

At that point, Illich says:

“The major obstacle on the way to a society that truly educates was well defined by a black friend of mine in Chicago, who told me that our imagination was "all schooled up." We permit the state to ascertain the universal educational deficiencies of its citizens and establish one specialized agency to treat them.

Some words become so flexible that they cease to be useful "School" and "teachings" are such terms. Like an amoebae they fit into almost any interstice of the language.

The search for alternatives in education must therefore start with an agreement on what it is we mean by "school." This might be done in several ways. We could begin by listing the latent functions performed by modern school systems, such as custodial care, selection,

⁴⁶ Illich, *Deschooling* __, 1971, pg. 32

⁴⁷ Illich, *Deschooling* __, 1971, pg. 33

indoctrination, and learning. We could make a client analysis and verify which of these latent functions render a service or a disservice to teachers, employers, children, parents, or the professions. We could survey the history of Western culture and the information gathered by anthropology in order to find institutions which played a role like that now performed by schooling. We could, finally, recall the many normative statements which have been made since the time of Comenius, or even since Quintilian, and discover which of these the modern school system most closely approaches. But any of these approaches would oblige us to start with certain assumptions about a relationship between school and education.⁴⁸

To develop a language, in which people can speak about school without such constant recourse to education, Illich has chosen to begin with something what might be called a *phenomenology of public school*⁴⁹. For this purpose Illich shall define "school" as the age-specific, teacher-related process requiring full-time attendance at an obligatory curriculum.⁵⁰

Age School, groups people according to age. This grouping rests on three unquestioned premises. Children belong in school. Children learn in school. Children can be taught only in school. Illich thinks these unexamined premises deserve serious questioning.

"We have grown accustomed to children. We have decided that they should go to school, do as they are told, and have neither income nor families of their own. We expect them to know their place and behave like children. We remember, whether nostalgically or bitterly, a time when we were children, too. We are expected to tolerate the childish behavior of children. Man-kind, for us, is a species both afflicted and blessed with the task of caring for children. We forget, however, that

⁴⁸ Illich, *Deschooling* __, 1971, pg. 33

⁴⁹ Illich, "Phenomenology of School", *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 34.

⁵⁰ Illich, *Deschooling* __, 1971, pg. 34

our present concept of "childhood" developed only recently in Western Europe and more recently still in the Americas."⁵¹

Childhood as distinct from infancy, adolescence, or youth was unknown to most historical periods. Some centuries did not even have an eye for its bodily proportions. Artists depicted the infant as a miniature adult seated on his mother's arm. As Illich states,

"Children appeared in Europe along with the pocket watch and the Christian moneylenders of the Renaissance. Before our century, neither the poor nor the rich knew of children's dress, children's games, or the child's immunity from the law. Childhood belonged to the bourgeoisie. The worker's child, the peasant's child, and the nobleman's child all dressed the way their fathers dressed, played the way their fathers played, and were hanged by the neck as were their fathers. After the discovery of "childhood" by the bourgeoisie all this changed. Only some institutions continued to respect for some time the dignity and maturity of the young."⁵²

From Renaissance until the last century, "children" of middle-class parents were made at home with the help of preceptors and private schools. Only with the advent of industrial society, did the mass production of "childhood" become feasible and come within the reach of the masses⁵³. The school system is a modern phenomenon, as is the childhood it produces.

Since most people today live outside industrial cities, most people today do not experience childhood. Most people around the world, then,

⁵¹ Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 35

⁵² Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 35

⁵³ For parallel histories of modern capitalism and modern childhood see Philippe Aries, *Centuries of Childhood*, Knopf, 1962.

either do not want or cannot get modern childhood for their offspring. Nevertheless, it also seems that childhood is a burden to a good number of those few who are allowed it. Many of them are simply forced to go through it and are not at all happy playing the child's role. Illich pointed, growing up through childhood means being condemned to a process of in-human conflict between self-awareness and the role imposed by a society going through its own school age⁵⁴.

If there were no age-specific and obligatory learning institution, "childhood" would go out of production. The youth of rich nations would be liberated from its destructiveness, and poor nations would cease attempting to rival the childishness of the rich. If society were to outgrow its age of childhood, it would have to become livable for the young. The present disjunction between an adult society, which pretends to be humane, and a school environment, which mocks reality, could no longer be maintained.

The disestablishment of schools could also end the present discrimination against infants, adults, and the old in favor of children throughout their adolescence and youth. The social decision to allocate educational resources preferably to those citizens who have outgrown the extraordinary learning capacity of their first four years and have not arrived

⁵⁴ Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 35

at the height of their self-motivated learning will, in retrospect, probably appear as bizarre.

Institutional wisdom tells us that children need school. Institutional wisdom tells us that children learn in school. But this institutional wisdom is itself the product of schools because sound common sense tells us that only children can be taught in school. Only by segregating human beings in the category of childhood could we ever get them to submit to the authority of a schoolteacher, said Illich.⁵⁵

Teachers and Pupils. By definition, children are pupils. The demand for the milieu of childhood creates an unlimited market for accredited teachers. School is an institution built on the axiom that learning is the result of teaching. And institutional wisdom continues to accept this axiom, despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary.

Illich urges,

“We have all learned most of what we know outside school. Pupils do most of their learning without, and often despite, their teachers. Most tragically, the majority of men are taught their lesson by schools, even though they never go to school.

Everyone learns how to live outside school. We learn to speak, to think, to love, to feel, to play, to curse, to politick, and to work without interference from a teacher. Even children who are under a teacher's care day and night are no exception to the rule. Orphans, idiots, and schoolteachers' sons learn most of what they learn outside the "educational" process planned for them. Teachers have made a poor showing in their attempts at increasing learning among the poor. Poor parents who want their children to go to school are less concerned

⁵⁵ Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 35 – 37

about what they will learn than about the certificate and money they will earn. And middle-class parents commit their children to a teacher's care to keep them from learning what the poor learn on the streets. Increasingly educational research demonstrates that children learn most of what teachers pretend to teach them from peer groups, from comics, from chance observations, and above all from mere participation in the ritual of school. Teachers, more often than not, obstruct such learning of subject matters as goes on in school."⁵⁶

Half of the people in our world never set foot in school. They have no contact with teachers, and they are deprived of the privilege of becoming dropouts. Yet they learn quite effectively the message which school teaches: that they should have school, and more and more of it. School instructs them in their own inferiority through the tax collector who makes them pay for it, or through the demagogue who raises their expectations of it, or through their children once the latter are hooked on it. So the poor are robbed of their self-respect by subscribing to a creed that grants salvation only through the school. At least the religion gave them a chance to repent at the hour of death. School leaves them with the expectation (a counterfeit hope) that their grandchildren will make it. That expectation is of course still more learning which comes from school but not from teachers.

Full-Time attendance. Every month Illich sees another list of proposals made by some U.S. industry to AID, suggesting the replacement of Latin-American "classroom practitioners" either by disciplined systems

⁵⁶ Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 39

administrators or just by TV. In the United States teaching as a team enterprise of educational researchers, designers, and technicians is gaining acceptance. But, no matter whether the teacher is a team of men in white coats, and no matter whether they succeed in teaching the subject matter listed in the catalogue or whether they fail, the professional teacher creates a sacred milieu⁵⁷.

Uncertainty about the future of professional teaching puts the classroom into jeopardy, Illich added. Were educational professionals to specialize in promoting learning, they would have to abandon a system which calls for between 750 and 1,000 gatherings a year. But of course teachers do a lot more. The institutional wisdom of schools tells parents, pupils, and educators that the teacher, if he is to teach, must exercise his authority in a sacred precinct. This is true even for teachers whose pupils spend most of their school time in a classroom without walls.

School, by its very nature, tends to make a total claim on the time and energies of its participants. This, in turn, makes the teacher into custodian, preacher, and therapist.

In each of these three roles the teacher bases his authority on a different claim. The *teacher-as-custodian* acts as a master of ceremonies, who guides his pupils through a drawn-out labyrinthine ritual. He arbitrates the

⁵⁷ Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 40

observance of rules and administers the intricate rubrics of initiation to life. At his best, he sets the stage for the acquisition of some skill as schoolmasters always have. Without illusions of producing any profound learning, he drills his pupils in some basic routines.

The *teacher-as-moralist* substitutes for parents, God, or the state. He indoctrinates the pupil about what is right or wrong, not only in school but also in society at large. He stands *in loco parentis* for each one and thus ensures that all feel themselves children of the same state.

The *teacher-as-therapist* feels authorized to delve into the personal life of his pupil in order to help him grow as a person. When this function is exercised by a custodian and preacher, it usually means that he persuades the pupil to submit to a domestication of his vision of truth and his sense of what is right⁵⁸.

The claim that a liberal society can be founded on the modern school is paradoxical⁵⁹. The safeguards of individual freedom are all canceled in the dealings of a teacher with his pupil. When the schoolteacher fuses in his person the functions of judge, ideologue, and doctor, the fundamental style of society is perverted by the very process which should prepare for life. A teacher who combines these three powers contributes to the warping of the

⁵⁸ Illich, *Deschooling* _____, 1971, pg. 40 - 42

⁵⁹ Illich, *Deschooling* _____, 1971, pg. 42

child much more than the laws which establish his legal or economic minority, or restrict his right to free assembly or abode.

In this case, teachers are by no means the only professionals who offer therapy. Psychiatrists, guidance counselors, and job counselors, even lawyers, help their clients to decide, to develop their personalities, and to learn. Yet common sense tells the client that such professionals should abstain from imposing their opinion of what is right or wrong, or from forcing anyone to follow their advice. Schoolteachers and ministers are the only professionals who feel entitled to pry into the private affairs of their clients at the same time as they preach to a captive audience.

Defining children as full-time pupils permits the teacher to exercise a kind of power over their persons which is much less limited by constitutional restrictions than the power wielded by the guardians of other social enclaves⁶⁰. Their chronological age disqualifies children from safeguards, which are routine for adults in a modern asylum-madhouse, monastery, or jail.

Under the authoritative eye of the teacher, several orders of value collapse into one. The distinctions between morality, legality, and personal worth are blurred and eventually eliminated. Each transgression is made to be felt as a multiple offense. The offender is expected to feel that he has broken

⁶⁰ Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 43

a rule, that he has behaved immorally, and that he has let himself down. A pupil who adroitly obtains assistance on an exam is told that he is an outlaw, morally corrupt, and personally worthless.

Classroom attendance removes children from the everyday world of Western culture and plunges them into an environment far more primitive, magical, and deadly serious. School could not create such an enclave within which the rules of ordinary reality are suspended, unless it physically incarcerated the young during many successive years on sacred territory.⁶¹

The attendance rule makes it possible for the schoolroom to serve as a magic womb, from which the child is delivered periodically at the school days and school year's completion until he is finally expelled into adult life. Neither universal extended childhood nor the smothering atmosphere of the classroom could exist without schools. Yet schools, as compulsory channels for learning, could exist without either and be more repressive and destructive than anything we have come to know. To understand what it means to deschool society, and not just to reform the educational establishment, we must now focus on the hidden curriculum of schooling. We are not concerned here, directly, said Illich, with the hidden curriculum of the ghetto streets which brands the poor or with the hidden curriculum of the drawing room which benefits the rich. We are rather concerned to call

⁶¹ Adopted partly from Illich's book, *Deschooling Society*, 1971, pg. 44 - 45

attention to the fact that the ceremonial or ritual of schooling itself constitutes such a hidden curriculum. Even the best of teachers cannot entirely protect his pupils from it. Inevitably, this hidden curriculum of schooling adds prejudice and guilt to the discrimination, which a society practices against some of its members and compounds the privilege of others with a new title to condescend to the majority. Just as inevitably, this hidden curriculum serves as a ritual of initiation into a growth-oriented consumer society for rich and poor alike⁶².

C. INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF SCHOOL

As Ian Lister commented in his introduction to *After Deschooling, What?*⁶³, the central, coherent feature of Ivan Illich's work on deschooling is a critique of institutions and professionals - and the way in which they contribute to dehumanization.

“Institutions create the needs and control their satisfaction, and, by so doing, turn the human being and her or his creativity into objects”⁶⁴.

Ivan Illich's anti-institutional argument can be said to have four aspects:⁶⁵

⁶² Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 47

⁶³ Illich, Ivan, *After Deschooling, What?*. Writers and Readers Publishing, London, 1976, pg. 6

⁶⁴ Illich, *After* ____, 1976, pg. 10

⁶⁵ Illich, *After* ____, 1976, pg. 6

1. A critique of the process of institutionalization.

Modern societies appear to create more and more institutions - and great swathes of the way we live our lives become institutionalized.

“This process undermines people - it diminishes their confidence in themselves, and in their capacity to solve problems. It kills convivial relationships. Finally it colonizes life like a parasite or a cancer that kills creativity”⁶⁶

2. A critique of experts and expertise.

Ivan Illich's critique of experts and professionalization was set out in his exploration of the expropriation of health in *Medical Nemesis*⁶⁷.

The latter book famously began,

“The medical establishment has become a major threat to health”.⁶⁸

The case against expert systems like modern health care is that they can produce damage which outweigh potential benefits; they obscure the political conditions that render society unhealthy; and they tend to expropriate the power of individuals to heal themselves and to shape their environment⁶⁹. Finger and Asún set out some of the elements:

- Experts and an expert culture always call for more experts.

⁶⁶ Finger, M. And Asún, J. M. *Adult Education at the Crossroads. Learning our way out*, Zed Books, London, 2001. Pg. 10

⁶⁷ See Illich's book, *Medical Nemesis*, Harmondsworth: New York, 1976

⁶⁸ Illich, *Medical* _____, 1976. Pg. 11

- Experts also have a tendency to cartelize themselves by creating 'institutional barricades' - for example proclaiming themselves gatekeepers, as well as self-selecting themselves.
- Finally, experts control knowledge production, as they decide what valid and legitimate knowledge is, and how its acquisition is sanctioned.⁷⁰

3. A critique of commodification.

Professionals and the institutions in which they work tend to define an activity, in this case learning, as a commodity (education), "whose production they monopolize, whose distribution they restrict, and whose price they raise beyond the purse of ordinary people and nowadays, all governments"⁷¹. Ivan Illich put it this way:

"Schooling - the production of knowledge, the marketing of knowledge, which is what the school amounts to, draws society into the trap of thinking that knowledge is hygienic, pure, respectable, deodorized, produced by human heads and amassed in stock. By making school compulsory, people are schooled to believe that the self-taught individual is to be discriminated against; that learning and the growth of cognitive capacity, require a process of consumption of services presented in an industrial, a planned, a professional form that learning is a thing rather than an activity. A thing that can be amassed and measured, the possession of which is a measure of the

⁶⁹ Finger and Asun, *Adult Education* ____, 2001. Pg. 10

⁷⁰ Finger and Asun, *Adult Education* ____, 2001. Pg. 11 - 12

⁷¹ Illich, *Medical* ____, 1976. Pg. 8

productivity of the individual within the society. That is, of his social value.⁷²

Learning becomes a commodity, 'and like any commodity that is marketed, it becomes scarce'⁷³. Furthermore, and echoing Marx, Ivan Illich notes the way in which such scarcity is obscured by the different forms that education takes. This is a similar critique to that mounted by Fromm⁷⁴ of the tendency in modern industrial societies to orient toward a 'having mode' - where people focus upon, and organize around the possession of material objects. They, thus, approach learning as a form of acquisition. Knowledge become a possession to be exploited rather than an aspect of being in the world.

4. The principle of counter-productivity.

Finger and Asun⁷⁵ describe this as 'probably Illich's most original contribution'. Counter-productivity is the means by which a fundamentally beneficial process or arrangement is turned into a negative one. 'Once it reaches a certain threshold, the process of institutionalization becomes counterproductive'⁷⁶. It is an idea that Ivan

⁷² Quoted by Gajardo, M 'Ivan Illich' in Z. Morsy (ed.) *Key Thinkers in Education Volume 2*, UNESCO Publishing, Paris, 1994, pg. 715

⁷³ Illich, *Medical*, 1976. Pg. 73

⁷⁴ Fromm, E. *To Have or To Be*, Abacus, London, 1979.

⁷⁵ Finger and Asun, *Adult Education*, 2001. Pg. 11

⁷⁶ Illich, *Medical*, 1976.

Illich applies to different contexts. For example, with respect to travel he argues that beyond a critical speed, no one can save time without forcing another to lose it, and motorized vehicles create the remoteness which they alone can shrink.

However, perhaps the most significant problem with the analysis is the extent to which Illich's critique 'overrated the possibilities of schools, particularly compared with the influence of families, television and advertising, and job and housing structures'⁷⁷. This was something that Ivan Illich recognized himself when he was later to write of schools as being 'too easy targets'⁷⁸. It may well be that the way in which he presented his critique was taken as condemning the school out of hand. However, as Finger and Asun have commented,

"Illich is not against schools or hospitals as such, but once a certain threshold of institutionalization is reached, schools make people more stupid, while hospitals make them sick. And more generally, beyond a certain threshold of institutionalized expertise, more experts are counterproductive - they produce the counter effect of what they set out to achieve".⁷⁹

Ivan Illich's critique remains deeply suggestive. While not rigorously linked to data, nor fully located in its theoretical traditions, it does nevertheless draw some important lines for exploration and interrogation; and provides us with some means by which to make

⁷⁷ Illich, *After* ____, 1976, pg. 10 - 11

judgments about the impact of institutions and experts. The dominance of the school and institutionalized education in our thinking about learning has tended to obscure and undermine other everyday or vernacular forms. We have moved into a period when knowledge has become more commodified⁸⁰.

In *Deschooling Society* Ivan Illich argued that a good education system should have three purposes: to provide all that want to learn with access to resources at any time in their lives; make it possible for all who want to share knowledge etc. to find those who want to learn it from them; and to create opportunities for those who want to present an issue to the public to make their arguments known⁸¹. He suggests that four (possibly even three, he says) distinct channels or learning exchanges could facilitate this. These he calls educational or learning webs.

⁷⁸ Illich, *Medical* . . . , 1976. Pg. 42

⁷⁹ Finger and Asun, *Adult Education* . . . , 2001. Pg. 11

⁸⁰ See, for example, Leadbeater's 2000 discussion of the knowledge economy

⁸¹ Illich, *Deschooling* . . . , 1971, pg. 78

D. CRITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS, REBIRTH OF EPIMETHEAN MAN

Critical consciousness is the ability to perceive social, political, and economic oppression and to take action against the oppressive elements of society.⁸²

This level of consciousness is characterized by depth in the interpretation of problems, through testing one's own findings with openness to revision, attempting to avoid distortion when perceiving problems and preconceived notions when analyzing them, receptivity to the new without rejecting the old because it is old. In striving toward critical consciousness, the individual rejects passivity, practicing dialogue rather than polemics, and using permeable, interrogative, restless, and dialogical forms of life. Critical consciousness is brought about not through an individual or intellectual effort, but through collective struggle and praxis.⁸³

The concept of critical consciousness was developed by Paulo Freire primarily in his books, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*⁸⁴ and *Education for Critical Consciousness*⁸⁵. The tactics of critical consciousness and pedagogy of the oppressed were first developed by Freire in his work with third-world people, helping them gain an awareness of world conditions while teaching them to read.

⁸² see: <http://www.hermes-press.com/freire1.htm>

⁸³ See: <http://nlu.nl.edu/ace/Resources/Documents/FreireIssues.html>, on Index of Critical Consciousness, written by Freire.

⁸⁴ Freire, P. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Seabury, New York. 1970

Freire suggests three stages in the progression by which critical consciousness is attained,⁸⁶

a. The first of these stages is “semi-intransitive consciousness”.

Verbs that do not act upon an object are “intransitive”. Consciousness of and action upon reality are two constituents of a critical relationship with the world. Consciousness which does not challenge the world is therefore uncritical and intransitive, for it does not act upon the world as an object. Total intransitivity is not a form of consciousness at all. Therefore, the first phase in the emergence of consciousness is, for Freire, semi-intransitivity. Semi-intransitive consciousness is the state of those whose sphere of perception is limited, whose interests center almost totally around matters of survival, and who are impermeable to challenges situated outside the demands of biological necessity. Freire observes that when these persons amplify their power to perceive and respond to suggestions and questions arising in their context, and increase their capacity to enter into dialogue not only with others, but with their own world, their consciousness becomes “transitive.” Where before they reacted to particulars, to limited spheres, now they react to the general scope of a particular problem.

b. The second stage of consciousness is “naive transitivity”.

⁸⁵ Freire, P. *Education for Critical Consciousness*, Seabury, New York. 1973

Freire characterizes this stage of consciousness by an oversimplification of problems, nostalgia for the past, an underestimation of ordinary people, a strong tendency to gregariousness, a disinterest in investigation, a fascination with fanciful explanations of reality, and by the practice of polemics rather than dialogue. Naive transitivity is never totally and irrevocably surpassed; for all who enter the learning process, this remains a lifelong task.

c. The third and final stage is “critical transitivity”

This stage is characterized by depth in the interpretation of problems, by testing one's own findings and openness to revision and reconstruction, by the attempt to avoid distortion when perceiving problems and to avoid preconceived notions when analyzing them, by rejecting passivity, by the practice of dialogue rather than polemics, by receptivity to the new without rejecting the old, and by permeable, interrogative, restless, and dialogical forms of life.

Liberatory education holds no monopoly on fostering these characteristics of consciousness. They are generalizations which describe the values to which all learning can subscribe. Neither are the three stages mutually exclusive. They not only admit of degrees on the vertical plane extending from semi-intransitivity to critical transitivity, but on a horizontal

⁸⁶ Heaney, Tom. “Issues in Freirean Pedagogy”, See also pages on web:

plane as well, which would indicate the direction and focus of consciousness. Consciousness is not without focus. Reality is not grasped in its totality, as the generalizations in the third stage might suggest. Rather, the inquirer has a vantage point and moves about reality, viewing it from first this, then that perspective. It is perspective which is the horizontal plane on the matrix of consciousness. The vantage point of liberatory education is political—a point of view which affirms the transforming role for humankind in history and culture and supports the political apparatus by which this role can be exercised. It links learning with action through which transformation can and does occur. It neither submerges human will under psychological determinism, nor does it subordinate it to divine or mechanical imperatives. It finds hope neither in the unconscious within, nor in providence beyond, but in historical participation in the creation of a just and a free society. It proclaims the future as ours to determine and seeks the liberation of the human will to do so through learning and social action.

On the other hand, Illich interprets of Rebirth of Epimethean Man, as Illich states, is a level of consciousness characterized by depth in the interpretation of problems, through testing one's own findings with openness to revision, attempting to avoid distortion when perceiving problems and preconceived notions when analyzing them, receptivity to the new without

rejecting the old because it is old. In striving toward critical consciousness, the individual rejects passivity, practicing dialogue rather than polemics, and using permeable, interrogative, restless, and dialogical forms of life; Critical consciousness is brought about not through an individual or intellectual effort, but through collective struggle and praxis⁸⁷

In *Deschooling Society*, a hopeful view of future society described by Illich as Rebirth of Epimethean Man, a Greek myth.

“Our society resembles the ultimate machine which I once saw in a New York toy shop. It was a metal caskets which, when you touched a switch, snapped open to reveal a mechanical hand. Chromed fingers reached out for the lid, pulled it down, and locked it from the inside. It was a box; you expected to be able to take something out of it; yet all it contained was a mechanism for closing the cover. This contraption is the opposite of Pandora's box”⁸⁸

The original Pandora, the All-Giver, was an Earth goddess in prehistoric matriarchal Greece. She let all ills escape from her amphora (*pythos*). But she closed the lid before Hope could escape. The history of modern man begins with the degradation of Pandora's myth and comes to an end in the self-sealing casket. Illich determines it as the history of the Promethean endeavor to forge institutions in order to corral each of the rampant ills. It is the history of fading hope and rising expectations.⁸⁹

Further more, as Illich says,

⁸⁷ Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 120

⁸⁸ Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 96

⁸⁹ Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 122

“Hope, in its strong sense, means trusting faith in the goodness of nature, while expectation, as I will use it here, means reliance on results which are planned and controlled by man. Hope centers desire on a person from whom we await a gift. Expectation looks forward to satisfaction from a predictable process which will produce what we have the right to claim. The Promethean ethos has now eclipsed hope.”⁹⁰

A society committed to the institutionalization of values identifies the production of goods and services with the demand for such. Education which makes people need the product is included in the price of the product. School is the advertising agency which makes people believe that all need the society as it is. In such a society marginal value has become constantly self-transcendent. It forces the few largest consumers to compete for the power to deplete the earth, to fill their own swelling bellies, to discipline smaller consumers, and to deactivate those who still find satisfaction in making do with what they have. The ethos of non-satiety is thus at the root of physical depredation, social polarization, and psychological passivity.

When values have been institutionalized in planned and engineered processes, members of modern society believe that the good life consists in having institutions which define the values that both they and their society believe they need. Institutional value can be defined as the level of output of an institution. The corresponding value of man is measured by his ability to consume and degrade these institutional outputs, and thus create a new-even

⁹⁰ Illich, *Deschooling* ____, 1971, pg. 122

higher-demand. The value of institutionalized man depends on his capacity as an incinerator. To use an image--he has become the idol of his handiworks. Man now defines himself as the furnace which burns up the values produced by his tools. And there is no limit to his capacity. His is the act of Prometheus carried to an extreme⁹¹.

Illich illustrates,

“We now need a name for those who value hope above expectations. We need a name for those who love people more than products, those who believe that

No people are uninteresting
Their fate is like the chronicle of planets
Nothing in them is not particular,
And planet is dissimilar from planet.

We need a name for those who love the earth on which each can meet the other,

And if a man lived in obscurity
Making his friends in that obscurity
Obscurity is not uninteresting

We need a name for those who collaborate with their Promethean brother in the lighting of the fire and the shaping of iron, but who do so to enhance their ability to tend and care and wait upon the other, knowing that

to each his world is private,
and in that world one excellent minute.
And in that world one tragic minute.
These are private⁹²

I suggest that these hopeful brothers and sisters be called Epimethean men.⁹³

⁹¹ Illich, *Deschooling* __, 1971, pg. 125

⁹² The three quotations are from “People” from the book *Selected Poems* by Yevgeny Yevtushenko. Translated and with Introduction by Robin Milner Gulland and Peter Levi. Published by E. P. Dutton & Co. Inc., 1962, and reprinted by Ivan Illich with their permission.

⁹³ Illich, *Deschooling* __, 1971, pg. 130.

CHAPTER IV

DATA ANALYSIS

A. THEORY OF SOCIETY

Illich's goal was society not schools. He saw schools as perpetuating the status quo. *Deschooling Society*, and his other books, promoted living a convivial life. This is one in harmonious collaboration with other people. Schooling, whether states, free, or home schooling removes young people from their families, their community, society and nature. Illich was for living convivially and simply in the vernacular.

Society, some theorists, such as Iver and Page describe it as a system of custom and convention; from authority and co-operation among many communities and groups. This changeable totality we call society. Society is a societal involvement. It is always changeable.¹

Ralph Linton states a broader definition. He describes society as a number of individuals who live and co-operate for a long time, so that they

¹ Iver, Mac R.M. and Page, Charles H. *Society, An Introductory Analysis*, Mac Millan & Co. Ltd. 1961, pg. 5. Adopted from Soeryono Soekanto's book, *Sosiologi, Suatu Pengantar*. UI Press, Jakarta, 1981. Pg. 28

can organise themselves and believe that they are a societal unity with a distinctive settled structure².

Generally, society has some factors, as Soeryono Soekanto notes³:

1. Individuals who live together.
2. They associate for a long time.
3. The individual cognise that they are a single unit, like a circle.
4. They have a joint-live system, which develop a culture. Every part of this circle consider that they are bounded each other.

Every community has each character. One times it is static that can happened in a stagnant condition, whether it is small or large community. The other side, it is dynamic, which is full of mobilisation, activity, action and response, even conflict.

In our society, it is inevitable to cope with a change. More, in a dynamic society or moving from static to dynamic society, a change is absolutely needed. Pitirim A. Sorokin defines social change as follows,

“Entire efforts to explore that there is a certain and constant tendency in social change. Cycle of social phenomenon must be observed, just for that way we can attain a generalisation.”⁴

² Linton, Ralp. *The Study of Man, An Introduction*. Student's Edition, Applleton-Century-Crofts Inc. New York, 1936. Pg. 91. Adopted from Soeryono Soekanto's book, *Sosiologi, Suatu Pengantar*. UI Press, Jakarta, 1981. Pg. 28

³ Soekanto, Soeryono *Sosiologi, Suatu Pengantar*. UI Press, Jakarta, 1981. Pg. 28-29

⁴ Sorokin, Pitirim A. *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, Harper and Brother, New York, 1928, pg. 739. Adopted from Soeryono Soekanto's book, *Sosiologi, Suatu Pengantar*. UI Press, Jakarta, 1981. Pg. 238

There are some patterns of social changes, which commonly arise in our society⁵:

1. Slow-speed change and fast-speed change.

Slow-speed change is called evolution. This change has three theories. *Firstly*, unilinear theories of evolution is that evolution goes on some stages. *Secondly*, universal theories of evolution, which evolution does not have some stages. It comes and endures naturally. *Thirdly*, multilinear theories of evolution, it studies a research on stages of evolution, whether it has some stages or not⁶.

Fast-speed change is well known as revolution. Revolution can happen if some prerequisite conditions are fulfilled⁷:

- a. There is a general need to perform a change
- b. There is a leader or a leading community who can guide the society. He is the one whom people aspire their need.
- c. The leader can accommodate such needs, assert people's criticism to settle a programme and social standpoint.
- d. The leader reveals a specific purpose to the people, as it is concrete purpose that refers to material thing, and abstract purpose, such like ideology, etc.

⁵ Soekanto, *Sosiologi*, ___. 1981. Pg. 241 – 245

⁶ Soekanto, *Sosiologi*, ___. 1981. Pg. 241

⁷ Soekanto, *Sosiologi*, ___. 1981. Pg. 243

- e. A 'momentum' of revolution
2. Small-effect change and great-effect change.
3. Intended or planned change and unplanned change

B. CRITICAL EDUCATION CONCEPTS

There are two terms that will be used to explain teaching process. They are education and pedagogy.

Education is "the process of educating, teaching or training; the process of imparting or acquiring skills for a particular trade or profession".⁸ In the other side, pedagogy is "the function, work or art of a teacher; the profession or science of teaching"⁹.

As a matter of fact, some people use the two terms simultaneously. So, for the usage of critical education and critical pedagogy term is almost the same.

Critical pedagogy can be defined as "an entry point in the contradictory nature of schooling, a chance to force it toward creating conditions for a new public sphere"¹⁰. According to Giroux¹¹, critical pedagogy should "explore how pedagogy functions as a cultural practice to

⁸ *The New Grolier Webster International Dictionary of the English Language*, Columbia University, New York. Volume 1, 1971, pg. 313

⁹ *The New Grolier* ____, New York, Volume 2, 1971, pg. 698

¹⁰ Giroux, H. A. *Theory and resistance in education*. South Hadley, MA: Bergin & Garvey, 1983, pg. 116

produce rather than merely transmit knowledge within the asymmetrical relations of power that structure teacher-student relations¹². Theorists of critical pedagogy view schools as 'contradictory social sites'¹³ in which class relations are not simply reproduced but also contested through the actions students and educators construct everyday. As such, youth could learn collectively to construct a new democratic public sphere. Critical pedagogy, then, offers a language of both 'analysis and hope'¹⁴.

Critical pedagogy can be traced to at least two different genealogical roots: *firstly*, critical theory and the Frankfurt School; *secondly*, the work of Paulo Freire and Latin American liberation movements. The Frankfurt School, which began in Germany prior to World War II, connected a Marxist analysis of class structure with psychological theories of the unconscious to understand how oppressive class relations are produced and reproduced. The culturalist paradigm of the Frankfurt School emphasized human agency, focusing on the lived experiences of people and how consciousness is formed within class struggles. The structuralist paradigm analyzed how oppressive political and economic structures are reproduced, but tended to

¹¹ Giroux, H. A. *Border crossings*. New York: Routledge, 1992

¹² Giroux, *Border* ____, 1992, pg. 98

¹³ Giroux, *Theory* ____, 1983, pg. 115

¹⁴ McLaren, P. "Critical pedagogy: Constructing an arch of social dreaming and a doorway to hope". *Journal of Education* 173 (1), 1991, pg. 9-34.

ignore or deny personal agency¹⁵. The rise of Nazism in Germany caused many members of the Frankfurt School to escape to the U.S., where theorists in many disciplines took up critical theory. Critical theorists do not necessarily practice or write about critical pedagogy. In the 1980s, theorists such as Henry Giroux and Peter McLaren applied critical theory's analytical tools to pedagogy, creating pedagogy of critical theory¹⁶. According to Giroux¹⁷, critical pedagogy seeks to bridge the agency-structural dualism of the Frankfurt School by viewing youth culture as a site of cultural production, social struggle, and social transformation.

A second genealogical root of critical pedagogy is the work of Paulo Freire and Latin American liberation movements. Freire began writing while in exile in Chile. He had promoted popular literacy in Brazil, connecting the act of reading with the development of critical consciousness. Freire has argued throughout his life that oppressed people need to develop a critical consciousness that will enable them to denounce dehumanizing social structures, and announce social transformation. In the process of teaching literacy to adults, he created culture circles in which students took up topics of concern to them, discussed and debated in order to clarify and

¹⁵ Giroux, *Theory* ____, 1983

¹⁶ Pruyn, M. "Becoming subjects through critical practice: How students in one elementary classroom critically read and wrote their world". *International Journal of Educational Reform* 3 (1), 1994, pg. 38

¹⁷ Giroux, *Theory* ____, 1983, pg. 138

develop their thinking, and developed strategies for action¹⁸. Freire did not call these culture circles 'schools' because of the passivity traditionally associated with school learning. A fundamental task in culture circles was to distinguish between what humans have created and what nature created, in order to examine what role humans can play in bringing about change. Freire's connection between critical education and political work for liberation took up similar questions to those being asked by critical theorists.¹⁹

C. IDEA OF RESHAPING SOCIETY THROUGH EDUCATION

As Illich states in *Deschooling Society*, his idea of institutionalisation of school suggests educational force through social change. In the other side, more than a century ago, Emile Durkheim rejected the idea that education could be the force to transform society and resolve social ills. Instead, Durkheim concluded that education "can be reformed only if society itself is reformed." He argued that education "is only the image and reflection of society. It imitates and reproduces the latter, it does not create it"²⁰

Most mainstream proposals for improving education assume that our society is fundamentally sound, but that for some reasons, our schools are

¹⁸ Heaney, Tom. "Issues in Freirean Pedagogy", see:
<http://nlu.nl.edu/ace/Resources/Documents/FreireIssues.html>

¹⁹ see: (<http://nlu.nl.edu/ace/Resources/Documents/FreireIssues.html>)

failing. Different critics target at different villains: poor quality teachers, pampered, disruptive or ill-prepared students, the culture of their families, unions, bureaucrats, university schools of education, tests that are too easy, or inadequate curriculum. But if Durkheim was correct, a society has the school system it deserves. Denouncing the poor quality of education is like blaming a mirror because we do not like our reflection.

The first step in improving education is to recognise that the problems plaguing our schools are rooted in the way our society is organised. We live in a competitive economy where businesses and individuals continually seek advantage and higher profits, and where people on the bottom rung of the economic ladder are stigmatised as failures and blamed for their condition. Our culture glorifies violence in sports, movies, video games, and on evening news broadcasts that celebrate the death of others through hygienic strategic bombings. It is a society where no one feels obligated to pay taxes for the broader social good and where welfare reform means denying benefits to children if their parents cannot find work; a society that promotes the need for instant gratification and uses youthful alienation to sell products; a society where those who do not fit in are shunned.²¹

²⁰ Durkheim, E.. *Suicide, A study in sociology*. Free Press, New York, 1951. Pg. 372-373
²¹ <http://www.louisville.edu/journal/workplace/issue5p2/singerpezzone.html>
written by Alan Singer and Michael Pezone

Under the circumstances, it is not surprising that our school system is designed to sort children out and leave many uneducated. To legitimise the way our society is organised, its schools teach competitive behaviour and social inequality as if they were fundamental laws of nature. Just as with the economy, some are rewarded in school, others are punished, and both groups are taught that rewards and punishment are the result of their own efforts.²²

Illich proposes a democratic movement on his view of society. He states that it is democratic rather than bureaucratic, small-scale, de-centralised, 'convivial', organised to meet real (limited) needs, then leisure-oriented²³.

John Dewey²⁴ saw himself within the intellectual tradition. He believed that democratic movements for human liberation were necessary to achieve a fair distribution of political power and an 'equitable system of human liberties'²⁵. However, criticisms have been raised about limitations in Deweyan approaches to education, especially the way they are practised in many elite private schools. Frequently, these schools are racially, ethnically, and economically segregated, and therefore efforts to develop classroom community ignore the spectrum of human difference and the continuing

²² Kohn, A.. "Punished by rewards: The trouble with gold stars, incentive plans, A's, praise, and other bribes". Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1999. Adopted from Alan Singer and Michael Pezone's article.

²³ Illich, I. *Deschooling Society*, Harper and Row, New York, 1971. Pg. 72.

²⁴ Dewey, J. *Freedom and culture*. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 1939.

impact of society's attitudes about race, class, ethnicity, gender, social conflict, and inequality on both teachers and students. In addition, because of pressure on students to achieve high academic scores, teachers maintain an undemocratic level of control over the classroom. Both of these issues are addressed by Paulo Freire, who calls on educators to aggressively challenge both injustice and unequal power arrangements in the classroom and society.

Paulo Freire was born in northern Brazil, where his ideas about education developed in response to military dictatorship, enormous social inequality, and widespread adult illiteracy. As a result, his primary pedagogical goal was to provide the world's poor and oppressed with educational experiences that make it possible for them to take control over their own lives. Freire shared Dewey's desire to stimulate students to become "agents of curiosity" in a "quest for, the 'why' of things," and his belief that education provides possibility and hope for the future of society²⁶. But he believes that these can only be achieved when students are engaged in explicitly critiquing social injustice and actively organising to challenge oppression²⁷.

For Freire, education is a process of continuous group discussion (dialogue) that enables people to acquire collective knowledge they can use

²⁵ Dewey, *Freedom* ___, 1939. Pg. 36

²⁶ Freire, P. *Pedagogy of Hope*. Continuum, New York. 1995. Pg. 11

²⁷ Freire, P. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Seabury, New York. 1970, pg. 32

to change society. The role of the teacher includes asking questions that help students identify problems facing their community (problem posing), working with students to discover ideas or create symbols (representations) that explain their life experiences (codification), and encouraging analysis of prior experiences and of society as the basis for new academic understanding and social action (conscientization)²⁸.

Table 1:

ILLICH'S VIEW ON EDUCATION ELEMENTS

	Present dominant view	Illich's alternative
Child	Passive, a vessel to be filled (even in 'progressive education'). Dependent, immature, needs motivating	No such thing as a child. Pupils to be seen as active and self-liberating with a right to control education in their interests
Learning	Learning equated with teaching. Teaching equals pushing knowledge down students' throats via various funnels	Genuine learning is only possible as the pursuit of our own interests via choice and control. Inevitably personal. Intermittent and life-long

²⁸ Freire, *Pedagogy of the _____*, 1970. Pg. 57

Knowledge	Knowledge is a commodity, alien to the real interests of the pupils (inevitably -it is always teacher-related). A hidden curriculum exists which produces a consumption-orientation and passivity	No such thing as an abstractly worthwhile body of knowledge. Emphasis on personal knowledge. Learners know best what is relevant to them
Teacher	A professional pedagogue who knows what is best and who possesses esoteric organisation and communication skills	No separate teaching profession -- general de-professionalisation. Professional knowledge a mere restrictive practice. We still need advisers and 'teachers' -- not necessarily professional ones.
School	Defined as "compulsory attendance at an age-specific, teacher -related curriculum". Deeply imbued with non-educational values from the wider society. Organised as a hierarchy, a funnel.	No schools. Instead, learning webs (sic), networks, contacts between those who want to teach and those who want to learn. All educational resources to be harnessed -- including work
Society	Bureaucratic, work-oriented, consumption-centred. Built on satisfying "false needs"	Democratic rather than bureaucratic. Small-scale, de-centralised, "convivial". Organised to meet real (limited) needs, then leisure-oriented

Source: <http://www.arasite.org/desch.html>, written by Ivan Illich on his article "De-Schooling—Brief Notes".

Table 2

FREIRE'S VIEW ON EDUCATION ELEMENTS

	Present dominant view	Freire's alternative
Child	Passive, oppressed, afraid of freedom. In a "culture of silence". Dehumanized. Accepts the oppressor and his/her reality	A "subject", naming his/her own world and establishing own definitions of reality in a critical way. A full, active human being, fully politicised and aware.
Learning	"Banking" -- storing deposits, receiving gifts. Aimed at domestication	Via "dialogues" between equals. Aimed at political ends -- " conscientisation " (raising revolutionary consciousness)
Knowledge	Rendered as "nuggets" or as abstract techniques devoid of personal meaning. Alien, value-laden (as in "hidden curriculum"). Looks neutral but is really political (ideological)	Not entirely a matter for individuals. There is a concept of "truth" and worthwhileness. Active knowledge is to be aimed at praxis , so not abstract but historically relevant and aimed at political liberation. Adult literacy programmes the only example.
Teacher	An oppressor, sometimes a benevolent one. Bosses, politicians, landlords are "teachers" too.	An organiser of "dialogue". Plays a definite committed role in fostering liberation. No fixed specialism - in dialogues, both parties teach and learn.
School	(No special analysis offered -- Freire's focus in on those who do not attend school). A place where "banking" takes place.	No mass schools. Teams of researchers and lots of organised dialogues.

Society	Analysed in "Third World Marxist" terms -- a mixture of Marx with some bits of phenomenology and other humanisms (including Christianity) -- an "alienation problematic". Society as oppressive, unequal, exploitative and alienating. Struggle as a central permanent feature.	No detailed analysis of the future society -- presumably some sort of utopian communism at the end of alienation? For the present, the major concern is the struggle within society -- after the Revolution, people will be able to decide what they want, when they are free from alienation.
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Source: <http://www.arasite.org/desch.html>, written by Ivan Illich on his article "De-Schooling—Brief Notes".

Anyway, the society Illich's wants to develop is democratic rather than bureaucratic, small-scale, de-centralised, convivial, organised to meet real (limited) needs, then leisure-oriented²⁹. Absolutely, Illich needs such elements to support his idea, social condition, people's tendencies, government policies, technology service, etc.

The alternative version of open learning as mediums of social change rise which does in most regards share common orientations with the proposals of Illich.

From education as narrowly preparing for vocational and other slots with little concern for developing a critical social awareness	To education as a broad preparation for life, including social understanding and awareness, and social criticism
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²⁹ Illich, I. "De-Schooling—Brief Notes". <http://www.arasite.org/desch.html>.

From education as a discrete experience, probably within and end on to schooling	To education as a continuous life long process of learning
From education as based on limited access, rather than choice by individuals	To education as based on open access, widely available in varied forms, within which choices can be made
From education as a determinant of life chances from an early age, on a basis which largely reproduces existing differentials and inequalities	To educate as a catalyst for social mobility throughout life
From education as the prerogative of professionals based within the formal education institutions	To education as a task shared by and sometimes led by non professional educators
From education as a centralized activity based on core curricula and centrally controlled standards	To education as a decentralized activity with curricula which are negotiated and evaluated locally

In the other hand, Mick Campion from Murdoch University rejected Illich's idea of Deschooling.

"Ivan Illich's work *Deschooling society* was first published in 1971 and, whilst at that time it caused something of a stir amongst theorists of education, it cannot be said to have had a great influence upon policies or practice related to schooling in the Western World. This, I suspect, is a product not simply of institutional inertia, but also of the shift in most of those nations away from the radical agendas of the 1960s, and of the enormously powerful grasp that the dominant notion of the place of children in our societies continues to exert."³⁰

What Anthony Daniels says may represent some opinions,

³⁰ Campion, Mick. "Open Learning, Schooling and Retooling Society or Deschooling and Societal Retooling". <http://www.aset.org.au/confs/olnt90/campion.html>.

“My attitude to Illich was composed half of admiration, half of irritation. He had a distinctly prophetic quality, but he could also be very silly, and some of the things he said were destructive of civilisation itself. In *Deschooling Society*, for example, he stated that “The emerging counter-culture reaffirms the values of semantic content above the efficiency of increased and more rigid syntax.” This endorsement of poor grammar is a little rich coming from a man who studied at the Gregorian University, had a doctorate in history from the University of Salzburg, and was completely fluent in at least five languages, all of which he spoke grammatically as well as idiomatically. No doctrine, indeed, could have been better fitted in practice to enclose forever the poor of western nations in the restricted world in which they found themselves, and exclude them permanently from the worlds of culture, science, and philosophy, while at the same time persuading the self-indulgent scions of privilege that the merest of their spontaneous vaporings was of imperishable value”.³¹

Daniels found some contradictory idea of Illich’s. In viewing *Deschooling Society*, Illich does not measure what people need, what technology has supplied to the society. It is mere a bill that we should pay,

“It would be easy to condemn Illich as a hypocrite. He believed in bicycles and speed limits of fifteen miles an hour, yet jetted around the world, crossing the Atlantic innumerable times, and never by ecologically-friendly row-boat. He condemned formal education, yet spent much of his career teaching in universities. But the obituary in *Le Monde* mentioned that for the last twelve years of his life, from the ages of sixty-four to seventy-six, he suffered from a disfiguring tumor for which he refused to seek medical treatment. No doubt his desire to prove a point lent meaning to his suffering. For myself, I find something moving in his stubbornness.”³²

³¹ Daniels, Anthony. “Ivan Illich, 1926 – 2002”, see:
<http://www.newcriterion.com/archive/21/jan03/illich.htm/>”deschooling”

³² Daniels. “Ivan Illich,___”, see:
<http://www.newcriterion.com/archive/21/jan03/illich.htm/>”conclusion”

All sorts of criticisms are possible. The writer finds irrelevancies on Illich's idea. Illich states that an ideal society is the democratic one. It should be convivial, not bureaucratic. At the same time, people today live in an organized community. They work in institutions such like factories, offices, hospitals, and so on. Even the farmers who farm in the fields, they organize themselves into small groups of farming land to minimize arrogant brokers. Every institution has its own purpose and advantage, it also has the consequences, for instance, the person who lives in this institution will be bounded with the institutional regulations.

Illich sees the school as a hierarchy, a funnel, it deeply imbued with non-educational values from the wider society. Based on that condition, Illich suggests education without school, in which educational needs will be fulfilled by learning web, network, contacts between those who want to teach and those who want to learn.

Illich was born in the middle-up economic class. His father was a civil engineer. In 1951 he completed his PhD at the University of Salzburg (an exploration of the nature of historical knowledge). He can imagine of implementing this idea of deschooling society in the middle-class society, because they have infra and supra structure to assist this concept.

On the contrary, the impecunious people, most of them lives in the third world states, has not aware of educational function yet. Without school,

merchant's child will be a merchant too, sailor's child will be a sailor, and the one who will be the leader was born in the aristocratic family, because the education system Illich offers is full of paradox. The high economic class will grow up progressively in their intelligence, the low economic class will be marginalized by this new system. Illich could be revolted with the social-class problem, but his utopist idea will lead a marginalization for the marginalized community.

Illich view on the society was based on Puerto Rican condition. He found people was restricted with every side of life institutionalization. The gaining profit group from this situation is the regime of the recent government.

To tell more simple, Illich is impractical, utopian and romantic since deschooling would not work in our society. This is not really a criticism in one sense, however, since Illich wants deschooling to produce individuals who will not fit in, and will not want to fit in to our present society.

Since, in Islam, learning order is started from baby-age until end of life. Every child was born in a pure condition and the parents will make him as they wish. It means the parents' role as the first guider is significant. For our society today, it is uneasy working hard to meet life costs, at the same time training children without school.

Deschooling is against human nature, since children need guidance and compulsion. This is in some ways an untestable philosophical issue, however. It is possible to say that radical individualism would lead to chaos, anarchy, and the war of each against each. However, Illich hopes that a new kind of social order will emerge, based on the free co-operation of individuals pursuing their own human ends.

Anyway, the writer observes that Illich's view is a counter hegemony of the arrogant capitalist. He defines schools as the major component of the system of consumer production which is becoming more complex and specialized, bureaucratic as well.

At the same time, teaching today is positioned more as a profession than an educational movement. The impact of economic problems still happens in every life side. It is not necessary to blame the teachers, but our societal structure cannot provide the better condition for them. Illich tries to break this social-lock. Unfortunately, his deschooling is impractical.

Above all, Illich's idea is a manifestation of the critical scholar today on education issues.

CHAPTER V

CLOSURE

A. Conclusion

Some criticism of school call for a transformation. The others call for reformation. Still others call for a restoration. In his criticism of schools, Ivan Illich stands in near isolation. His is a call for deschooling. As a historian and social critic, Ivan Illich has spent his lifetime questioning such modern industrial certainties such as development, medicine, health, technology, and, in the case of *Deschooling Society*, education.

In Illich's view, the modern society has got out of control, has got into a vicious circle of expanded production and consumption. It has also developed different sorts of specialists -- teachers and doctors -- and developed mass, bureaucratic organizations, which are no longer responsive to the true needs of individuals, but which provide standardized, impersonal packages to be consumed. School is perhaps the most evil of all, precisely because it promises individualized treatment, and the pursuit of a critical inquiry, but it provides the same standardized impersonal treatment and manipulation because of the way it is organized. What is needed is personal individual liberation from mass society, a return to small-scale democratic institutions, and a new humanistic approach, where individuals relate to each

other as whole people, and where individuals can choose and control their own education -- this is 'conviviality'.

Some of Illich's ideas can be remarked as follows:

1. In *Deschooling Society*, Illich demonstrates that schools function as tools which are in fact counter-productive to their best intentions and that their successes must be contemplated with human dignity and freedom in mind. Schools successfully prepare the student to need treatments, which can only be satisfied by institutions. By this process, need and consumption, each of us finds our place in consumer society. The ill of under-consumption is curable through further participation in institutional life. The school successfully indoctrinates each student with the belief in unlimited production and consumption via planned obsolescence.
2. In a deschooled society, individuals choose for themselves action-oriented lives, rather than lives constrained by the parameters of consumption. Individuals participate in learning "webs" in which each is a teacher and also a learner. Relationships among people are convivial and promote self and community reliance rather than addictions to institutions and to their product, consumption addiction.
3. In a deschooled society, the worlds of work, leisure, politics, family and community life are the classrooms and their secret and protected

spaces made more accessible. Learning, therefore, occurs in and of the world and individuals define themselves by their own learning and the learning that they contribute to others.

4. The main ideas about education and society at the heart of the philosophy of Illich are that society is always changing and knowledge is not neutral. It either supports the status quo or a potential new direction for society; people learn primarily from what they experience; active citizens in a democratic society need to be critical and imaginative thinkers; and students learn to be active citizens by being active citizens.
5. Anyway, this great analysis rise an impractical agenda for society. Many people adopt his data and refer to his analysis, but they never can implement the deschooling concept.
6. Islam obliged male and female Moslem to learn. Because Allah will lift up the believers in Him and the learners some levels beside Him, with or without school.
7. In the same time Allah blame the rich massive prayer, if he neglects the poor neighbor and abandons social problem around his life. It means the root problem of deschooling society is social problem. If all Moslems, do what Allah reveals, and if people in this world can

work side by side, life in a egalitarianism harmoniously, such institutionalization will not emerge the problematic phenomena.

B. SUGGESTION

A suggestion must be clarified for giving a more prospective view. This suggestion just to reflect education concepts that relates with global world realities. The suggestions are,

1. To the academician and scholar, to place school as a medium of education. We need to observe social-actual realities to perform more applicable education concepts. Education is a broad preparation for life, including social understanding and awareness, and also social criticism.
2. To the teacher and educator, students are the subjects of education. It means they would not be treated as objects of education. We still need advisers and 'teachers' -- not necessarily professional ones. For education as a decentralised activity with curricula which are negotiated and evaluated locally.
3. To all societies, we should aware of harder future challenges. It is caused by the antagonism of capitalisation that spread everywhere, even on education.

4. To the Allah's believers, we will never have a better future by serving Him as we are the *'abdun*, but also we serve Him by serving His other creatures as the *khalifah*.

Anyway, Illich, even though he was an academician, became a great human rights advocate and champion of the poor and oppressed all around the world. This great work of his should be read by anyone who believes in truth and freedom.

He was a flawed figure as a man and as a thinker: but so, no doubt, are we all. And unlike the other radicals of the era such as Herbert Marcuse, he still repays reading. Being not easily pigeonholed, he forces us to think. Last but not least, *wa Allahu bi kulli syai'in alim*.

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