

COLLECTIVE EDUCATION IN THE ERA OF GLOBALIZATION

EDUCAÇÃO COLETIVA NA ERA DA GLOBALIZAÇÃO

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ABSTRACT: This article talks about issues related to education that are inherent to Marxism and analyzed by various Marxist scholars. Specifically, class consciousness and the formation of the collective that must be experienced by each individual in training with the group. In the context of globalization, what is class consciousness, what should education be like, and how to relate them? Rosa Luxemburg argues that workers matured through a series of oppressions that gave them individual consciousness, but through strikes they achieved their class consciousness. The previous generations have opened the revolution for the education of the younger generation in the future. This shows us that education is not only about the individual but also about the community, or the collective. Moreover, worker's collectivities in the context of globalization will bring great significance in revolutionizing education, from individual to collective.

Keywords: Education; Collective; Marxism; Globalization.

RESUMO: Este artigo trata de questões relacionadas à educação inerentes ao marxismo e analisadas por diversos estudiosos marxistas. Especificamente, o texto trata da consciência de classe e a formação do coletivo que deve ser vivenciada por cada indivíduo na formação com o grupo. No contexto da globalização, o que é consciência de classe, como deve ser a educação e como relacioná-las? Rosa Luxemburgo argumenta que os trabalhadores amadureceram através de uma série de opressões que lhes deram consciência individual, mas através de greves eles alcançaram sua consciência de classe. As gerações anteriores abriram a revolução para a educação da geração mais jovem no futuro. Isso nos mostra que a educação não é apenas referente ao indivíduo, mas à comunidade ou ao coletivo. Além disso, as coletividades de trabalhadores, no contexto da globalização, trazem grande significado para revolucionar a educação, do individual ao coletivo.

Palavras-chave: Educação; Coletivo; Marxismo; Globalização.

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INTRODUCTION

Our enemies are not single individuals, they are capitalist corporations that cooperate with each other, with their capitalist ideology, to oppress workers. Not only are they personal ideologies, but they are deeply ingrained in habits, daily life, and most importantly, education. They educate future 'slaves' to work for them. With the speed of globalization today, the ideology of capitalist education is spreading more and more rapidly from consciousness to our lives. Capitalist education with all the bourgeois values, and consists of the division of labor between productive and unproductive workers. Including white-collar workers and blue-collar workers. Just as false consciousness blinds us to the realization of the market expansion of capital. To fight against capitalist education in the globalization context of today requires us to learn and grow from past lessons to bring self-consciousness to ourselves and our community. To gain such lessons, countless times we have learned through strikes, protests, and experiences. Even though we have failed many times to fight for our rights, the success from small strikes alone is a big result for our fight in the future. It can be seen that this is the solution for us to go beyond capitalist ideology and against globalization in education is called 'collective education'.

In the first part of this paper, I will talk about the false consciousness of workers in identifying with the ideology of bourgeois education *Ausbildung* (German). I will also discuss how the division of labor has divided workers and left them uneducated and alienated in daily life with many analyses coming from Marxist authors or Marx himself, especially the main pedagogy by Marx and Luxemburg. Throughout their life, they were not called 'educators', but their value of collective education is a big lecture for us.

In the next part, after realizing the false consciousness and ideological errors of the bourgeoisie. I will analyze, that workers will have their personal awareness of social inclusion and begin to take action to change society spontaneously. From an individual to a collective. From an individual consciousness – self-emancipation to the collective consciousness and collective emancipation.

The last section argues that for collective emancipation and collective consciousness in this era of globalization, learning as a collective through experience and group practice instead of bourgeois ideology is a priority. I emphasize the importance of collective mass organizations – which are seen as educators who will guide class – consciousness among workers.

GLOBALIZATION EDUCATION AS A FALSE CONSCIOUSNESS

According to Martha Gimenez, the term 'globalization' is a depoliticized expression that refers to the global spread of capitalism. Globalization is a powerful ideology that obscures the deepening capitalist nature, which increased inequality and a decline in living standards (GIMENEZ, 2019, p. 321). First, in this section, I will show that the education of the age of globalization that we are approaching today is a bourgeois ideology. Its consumption is considered a phenomenon of false consciousness. This education only serves the profit of the bourgeoisie value with the name of Vocational training (*Ausbildung*) in stark contrast to the comprehensive education (*Erziehung*) outlined by Marx and *Bildung* by Adorno, which we will mention mention in the next chapter. The Division of Labor chapter in Marx's Capital is one of the most important for the analysis of this issue. First, through Michael Rosen we understand the ideology as follows:

The theory of ideology is a theory about false consciousness that is itself (in part at least) to be explained as a product of non-rational belief: part of its plausibility lies in the fact that it gives the world a particularly appealing kind of intelligibility. (ROSEN, 1996, p. 522).

There's an interesting twist to Rosen's emphasis on "non-rational belief". Because Marx believes that workers live, study, and work in the capitalist educational ideology. It was impossible to get out, and all 24 hours were hours of capital gains (MARX, [1867] 1990, p.222).

In this era of globalization, the false consciousness in bourgeois education stems from the division of labor in factories. With his works, Marx carefully dissected each process and working of Capital. So, Marx's analysis of construction workers, manual labor, individual labor, and collective labor are very important to be mentioned here. Marx argued that the aggregation of manual labor forms a production process. In the manual industry, capitalists divided each worker into different types of groups with their tools. However, it is the division of these different parts of labor that creates a division between highly-skilled, educated workers and those without. For skilled, “productive” workers, the capitalist will hire to do the work and cut the investment in the cost of vocational training. As for the unskilled workers, they are said to be “unproductive”. Capitalists usually do not pay for vocational training because unskilled workers are outnumbered. These unproductive workers are often dismissed as a reserve army of labor or have to pay their own expenses to train themselves:

Hence, manufacture begets, in every handicraft that it seizes upon, a class of so-called unskilled labourers, a class which handicraft industry strictly excluded. If it develops a one-sided specialty into a perfection, at the expense of the whole of a man's working capacity, it also begins to make a specialty of the absence of all development. Alongside of the hierarchic gradation there steps the simple separation of the labourers into skilled and unskilled. For the latter, the cost of apprenticeship vanishes; for the former, it diminishes, compared with that of artificers, in consequence of the functions being simplified. In both cases the value of labour-power falls. An exception to this law holds good whenever the decomposition of the labour-process begets new and comprehensive functions, that either had no place at all, or only a very modest one, in handicrafts. The fall in the value of labour-power, caused by the disappearance or diminution of the expenses of apprenticeship, implies a direct increase of surplus-value for the benefit of capital; for everything that shortens the necessary labour-time required for the

reproduction of labour-power, extends the domain of surplus-labour (MARX, [1867] 1990, p. 303).

With the above division of labor, the fact that labor must pay to study for a major and to go to work for the capitalist has formed an absolute false consciousness about the globalized education that we are facing. Today's perception of education as vocational training divides workers, or Marx argues, creating a reserve army of workers. They are ready to be 'educated' at any time to replace the workers who are fired from the workplace.

More emphatically in the Machinery and Modern Industry chapter in the Capital, Marx analyzed that the capitalist owns the machine. Making workers dependent on their machines in fear of being fired. Child labor is used more in the industry due to their soft hands (MARX, [1867] 1990, p. 366). The machinery of capital has greatly reduced the lives of workers, forcing them to sell their wives and children, turning an entire family into a reserve army of labor (MARX, [1867] 1990, p. 366). Capitalism is getting ready for the future of sucking the blood of labor by educating young people at an early age to master capitalist machines and work for them. This horrible education through Marx's analysis is 'vocational training':

To work at a machine, the workman should be taught from childhood, in order that he may learn to adapt his own movements to the uniform and unceasing motion of an automaton (MARX, [1867] 1990, p. 367).

Through two expressions adopted by Marx, 'technological training' and 'technical training', capital trains specialists and divides labor (SARES, 2010, p. 132). Peter Mayo argues that this is an important part of false consciousness in the era where the economic production based on the work of capital has been created (MAYO, 2014). Through the lens of Mayo, he argued that Gramsci was like Marx, and in discussing Gramsci's concept of 'Vocational training', Mayo wrote that this education expanded capitalist production:

As for vocationalisation, Gramsci's Factory Council theory, with its emphasis on workers' acquiring a broader and total conception of the production process so as to combat, among other things, the threat of alienation, arising from being only a partial operation in the system, serves as an antidote to the current educational discourse. This includes the lifelong learning discourse concerning 'employability' (MAYO, 2014).

In agreement with Mayo, Sonia Rummert a Marxist educator observed that world education is built by the capitalist education system, through the productivity system (RUMMERT, 2018, p. 266):

Working-class education is also part of this scenario. Regarded by the ruling classes as a favor towards the poor, educational offers are entwined with the changes required in order to keep track of needs historically imposed by the productive system (RUMMERT, 2018, p. 265).

Education in the age of globalization has spread globally the false consciousness about education. Although capitalists still tout their education as freedom, a diversity of professions, and academic freedom, the purpose is still profit. The workers learn a profession and define specialization in this system. But in reality, our education is that of the ruling class, of capitalism, and of the workers as the main actors. Marx and Gramsci both argued that our world and the working class have always been ruled by the ideology" of the ruling class. It includes all social, political, economic, and all that is related to the exploitation of the ruling class (RUMMERT, 2018, p. 262, 263, 264).

Living in an upbringing of the ruling class almost wrote the fate of the workers. Bourgeois education is also expressed through a series of ideologies such as university (MANACORDA, 1989, p. 266) (RUMMERT, 2018, p. 265). It shows clearly in the division of labor in education between manual workers and intellectuals (RATTANSI, 1982, p. 35). For instance, capitalist cooperation only hires people with a university degree to work for them in the office. In contrast, people who cannot

afford to university could only work by hand. Capitalism create a separation between the worker and made the 'intellectual' for their own interests. That is when education is only directed towards personal goals and interests and only serves the dominant group of society (SPATSCHECK, 2010).

With the dominance and false consciousness of globalization education, workers in this era are vulnerable and Marx used the term 'alienation' to describe them. Erich Fromm describes Marx's terms as if they were alienated from work to emotion:

Marx believed that the working class was the most alienated class... [He] did not foresee the extent to which alienation was to become the fate of the vast majority of people...If anything, the clerk, the salesman, the executive, are even more alienated today than the skilled manual worker. The latter's functioning still depends on the expression of certain personal qualities like skill, reliability, etc., and he is not forced to sell his "personality", his smile, his opinions in the bargain (MUSTO, 2021, p. 12).

For Marx, In addition to 10-14 hours of a working day in the factory, when workers go home and do nothing, it means they have their own "Free time". However, in his "Free time", he is exploited even more terribly than when he is working. The workers' attendance at school, church, and outings are all consumption and reproduction and market expansion of capital (MARX, [1867] 1990, p. 228). Musto argues that Marx listed four types of 'alienation':

Alongside this general definition, Marx listed four ways in which the worker is alienated in bourgeois society: from the product of his labour, which becomes "an alien object that has power over him"; in his working activity, which he perceives as "directed against himself," as if it "does not belong to him"; from "man's species being," which is transformed into "a being alien to him"; and from other human beings, and in relation to their labour and the object of their labour (MUSTO, 2021, p. 6).

False consciousness of workers is mostly present in the above 4 lists. Of course, Marx and Engels also foresaw that this education with bourgeois ideology and false consciousness would spread at a rapid pace in the age of globalization, and leave workers alienated more quickly. Specifically, through analysis in *Bad Marxism* by John Hutnyk, he writes that:

This directly impinges on the speed question, and on how Marx shows, in *The Poverty of Philosophy* how time really does equal money. Despite increased circulation, the process of capital accumulation and expansion still operates. We would still need to evaluate the analysis of capital Marx provides, but we certainly do not want to forget it. While he notes that the 'improvement of the means of communication and transportation cuts down absolutely the wandering period of the commodities', so that goods circulate from market, and profits return to the capitalist more quickly (HUTNYK, 2004, p. 86).

Then, Hutnyk pointed out how Capital improved the technology to fasten their profit by telephone, and satellite, quoted Marx on transportation and Marx on the expansion of the market which we called today 'globalization':

The improvement of the means of communication and transportation in turn makes it imperative 'to work for ever more remote markets, in a word – for the world market' (HUTNYK, 2004, p. 87).

By Hutnyk's analysis and through the lens of Marx, the world we live in is a series of exploitations resulting from the expansion of markets, education, the media of capitalism. The workers live in ideology and false consciousness. Without acknowledging that they do. Today, with the 8-hour law, it is rare for workers to work more than 10 hours as in Marx's time (MARX, [1867] 1990, p. 190). But now after leaving work they still have to endure being called "unproductive" and having to spend their unpaid time reproducing for the giant capitalist. The reproduction process includes the entire process behind social production. Marx refers to the first

reproduction process, which is when the worker after working hours must consume the goods of capital, and use the services of capitalists (MARX, [1867] 1990, p. 493) (LY, 2021, p. 297-298). For now, in the globalization era, it included media, movies, things like Kpop, Vpop, gaming, music video, online gambling, Facebook, Twitter, Netflix, etc.

So it became clear that globalization is capitalism and its chain, of what we face today. From education, culture to media, everything is a manipulation to our lives. To further clarify this point, Morelock and Narita quote Wallerstein's phrase "capitalist world-system". They described the world as an interconnected chain of globalization and capitalism:

The world becomes united in a global industrial order, and intrinsic to this order is the culture and logic of the commodity. It is facilitated by new powers of media – first print media, then radio, then TV. The uneven integration of different regions – Wallerstein's 'capitalist world-system' – would not have been possible just because of physical connections (transoceanic cables, telegraphic lines, etc.) (MORELOCK; NARITA, 2021, p. 21-22)

In short, the problems of division of labor and the false consciousness of globalization education have caused countless brutal exploitation, alienation, and prevention of the integral development of individuals.

FROM SPONTANEITY TO CLASS-CONSCIOUSNESS

The workers are dominated by bourgeois ideology and false consciousness. Workers are exploited almost everywhere and all the time. However, that does not mean that liberation from these shackles is impossible. Marx and Luxemburg completely believed in mass power and class consciousness, as opposed to false consciousness and bourgeois ideology. In this section, I point out that individual perception comes from spontaneity and then to a collective and class-

consciousness. Dialectically, self-emancipation is also collective social emancipation.

Marx first identifies the individual with self-emancipation in society. In *Capital*, in the Working Day chapter, Marx analyzes from a single individual to a mass collective of power (HUTNYK, 2018, p. 61), from working days and working hours of individual workers to worker strikes. In Marx's theory of capitalist exploitation, he frames the issue in terms of unpaid labor time. For example, a worker who had to work 12 hours might only be paid a sum equal to half the value that they actually produce. Then Marx would say that the first 6 hours are to produce basic necessities for themselves and the next 6 hours are to produce profits for capital. In addition, to prolong the working hours, Marx wrote that the rest time of each individual worker is capitalized as "petty pilferings of minutes", "snatching a few" or "nibbling and cribbling at meal times" (MARX, [1867] 1990, p. 209).

Marx also cited numerous reports of spontaneous strikes by factory workers. Before the workers changed the labor laws in 1833. For Marx, individuals, in spontaneous strikes, made up the collective and were the strength of the collective. And the power of that collective power, originally described by Marx, was first created by the capitalist:

As a general rule, labourers cannot co-operate without being brought together: their assemblage in one place is a necessary condition of their co-operation. Hence wage-labourers cannot co-operate, unless they are employed simultaneously by the same capital, the same capitalist, and unless therefore their labour-powers are bought simultaneously by him (MARX, [1867] 1990, p. 284).

To further clarify the issue in this section, I would like to incorporate the analysis from Rosa Luxemburg. Luxemburg is not originally considered an educator and often when referring to her, some people only think of her as a late 19th and early 20th-century revolutionary. The reason for this, Damphouse and Engelmann explain that it seems that it comes from chauvinists and sexists come from men in

her party, the Social Party of Democrats (SPD). Even so, Luxemburg also attaches great importance to the issue of each individual person. A typical example is Luxemburg's theory of "Spontaneity"; she encapsulates individuals as "spontaneous", the most important individuals contributing to the consciousness of the masses (DAMPHOUSE; ENGELMANN, 2022, p. 389). In the Mass Strike, Luxemburg writes:

The sudden general rising of the proletariat in January under the powerful impetus of the St. Petersburg events was outwardly a political act of the revolutionary declaration of war on absolutism. But this first general direct action reacted inwardly all the more powerfully as it for the first time awoke class feeling and class-consciousness in millions upon millions as if by an electric shock. And this awakening of class feeling expressed itself forthwith in the circumstances that the proletarian mass, counted by millions, quite suddenly and sharply came to realise how intolerable was that social and economic existence which they had patiently endured for decades in the chains of capitalism. Thereupon, there began a spontaneous general shaking of and tugging at these chains. All the innumerable sufferings of the modern proletariat reminded them of the old bleeding wounds." (LUXEMBURG, [1905] 2008, p. 129)

Spontaneous reactions are often assumed to be unplanned, in the sense of lacking direction from a central committee, and being unpredictable (TAMBABAKI, 2020, p. 87). According to Luxemburg, the spontaneity of each individual in society is the starting point for class consciousness, emancipation, and education. So, every single step is an important process. In contrast to that assumption, for Luxemburg, spontaneity is preparation and readiness, inspired by political parties for social change (TAMBABAKI, 2020, p. 95). Furthermore, spontaneity, as Paulina Tambabaki explains:

The term captures, as we have seen, the idea of a class awakening – a process of subjectification. This awakening,

inspired and directed by political parties according to Luxemburg, makes spontaneous activity appear somewhat less spontaneous – if by spontaneity we understand only an impulsive reaction to an event (TAMBABAKI, 2020, p. 95).

Based on the above analysis by Luxemburg and clearly explained by Tambabaki, spontaneous action is said to be the idea of class consciousness. Class consciousness does not mean neglecting individual education but the fostering of individuals to lead to the collective consciousness. Of course, in a workers' strike for social change, collectives, and individual freedoms are the main premise. In addition to the individual and the collective being the workers, Luxemburg also argued that even capital is a collective, not a single individual:

The industrial capitalist of today is a collective person, composed of hundreds and even of thousands of individuals. The category "capitalist" has itself become a social category. It has become "socialized"-within the framework of capitalist society (LUXEMBURG, [1905] 2008, p. 74).

With the self-emancipation issue, the process of human emancipation requires people to acknowledge themselves beyond individuals and as social forces (RUMMERT, 2018: p. 270). And Marx, in the Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts, Estranged Labour chapter, did not ignore the self- emancipation of the individual, but to realize it requires solidarity between the individual and the collective, must be a general liberation (RUMMERT, 2018, p. 270). Collective emancipation:

From servitude, is expressed in the political form of the emancipation of the workers; not that their emancipation alone is at stake, but because the emancipation of the workers contains universal human emancipation – and it contains this because the whole of human servitude is involved in the relation of the worker to production, and all relations of servitude are but modifications and consequences of this relation (MARX, [1844] 1988, p. 82).

Marx argued that the emancipation and self-consciousness expressed through working days, long working hours, and strikes had increased the consciousness of the working people. Along with inequality and anger, fierce struggles broke out from individuals and masses. As Marx described it, workers in England in 1833, after suffering, stood up to fight and change the laws and rights for themselves. From the working day, 14 hours reduced to 12 hours. Other victories including changes to the laws for children. Reports of workers' strikes recorded by Marx are as follows:

Twelve working hours daily in the Ideal Workhouse, in the "House of Terror" of 1770! 63 years later, in 1833, when the English Parliament reduced the working day for children of 13 to 18, in four branches of industry to 12 full hours, the judgment day of English Industry had dawned! (MARX, [1844] 1990, p. 239).

The working time of children under 13 was reduced to 6½, and in certain circumstances to 7 hours a-day (MARX, [1844] 1990, p.243).

With the strike and struggle over the working day by the workers, Marx analyzed the year 1833 from 14 hours has reduced to 12 hours and by 1847, marked a successful fight for this law, 10-hour labor.

The years 1846-47 are epoch-making in –the economic history of England. The Repeal of the Corn Laws, and of the duties on cotton and other raw material; free trade proclaimed as the guiding star of legislation; in a word, the arrival of the millennium.... Despite the fanatical opposition of the army of perjured Free-traders, with Bright and Cobden at their head, the Ten Hours' Bill, struggled for so long, went through Parliament (MARX, [1844] 1990, p. 244).

The struggle for limits to the working day doesn't end there. Like Marx, Luxemburg emphasized the emancipation of the individual and that the emancipation of workers can only be accomplished by the workers themselves

(DAMPHOUSE; ENGELMANN, 2022, p. 388). In 1894 Luxemburg wrote that the 8-hour working day was protested for by the workers and passed. From then until today, most countries have worked with the 8-hour law. However, there are many things that go against this progression, which will be discussed in the next section. Luxemburg writes that at the beginning of 1856 in Australia when the workers stopped working altogether, and on 1 May 1886, 200,000 workers in Australia decided to stop working and chose this date to celebrate their strike day. In 1890, Congress recognized May 1 as an eight-hour workday, celebrated throughout the territory, known as "May Day". With the enthusiasm of the workers, Luxemburg writes:

In fact, what could give the workers greater courage and faith in their own strength than a mass work stoppage which they had decided themselves? What could give more courage to the eternal slaves of the factories and the workshops than the mustering of their own troops? (LUXEMBURG, 1894).

And in the years that followed, it spread to other countries. In 1905, Rosa wrote in Mass Strike:

The entire bricklaying industry began a strike on February 27 and demanded, in conformity with the watchword of social democracy, the eight-hour day; they won the ten-hour day on March 11 together with an increase of wages for all categories, regular weekly payment of wages, etc. The painters, the cartwrights, the saddlers and the smiths all won the eight-hour day without decrease of wages (LUXEMBURG, [1905] 2008, p.130).

From the early years when revolutions all over Europe broke out, Luxemburg was always interested in Mass Strikes. In particular, she paid attention to the mass strike of 1905 in Russia, a bloody strike, and the beginning of the Russian revolution of 1917. From this revolution of 1905, Luxemburg suggested that a "Mass strike", in

which in which the workers assemble as a mass and 'collective' - are the most important educational weapon to open up the path of worker self - consciousness:

The revolutionary struggle in Russia, in which mass strikes are the most important weapon, is, by the working people, and above all by the proletariat, conducted for those political rights and conditions whose necessity and importance in the struggle for the emancipation of the working-class Marx and Engels first pointed out, and in opposition to anarchism fought for with all their might in the International (LUXEMBURG, [1905] 2008, p.114).

COLLECTIVE EDUCATION AS A PEDAGOGY TO CHANGE THE WORLD

Although the eight-hour law has been successfully applied throughout the world, there are a few places that have gone against it. Assuming that working 8 hours a day is not enough to make a profit for the business. Because capitalist enterprises in the age of globalization have competed with each other for productivity as well as for monopoly. For instance, in China the 9-9-6 culture (working from 9 am to 9 pm and 6 days a week or longer) has become standard. Workers are required to commit to working overtime before being accepted to work at various enterprises. (SCMP REPORTERS, 2021).

Along with it, globalization education in China is very harsh as it teaches students to compete from a young age to get into high-ranking schools, schools with high reputations and extremely difficult tests. Because of these extremely complicated tests, students in addition to studying from morning to afternoon at school also have to take extra lessons outside until late at night. This clearly prepares children to work overtime in the future (YE, 2021).

In the previous section, I analyzed Marx's mention of children in Capital, as well as the issue of vocational training when capitalists force child workers to learn to use machines at a young age. Curry Mallot and Derek Ford further analyze Marx's view of education in the chapter on the Working Day as a pedagogy (MALLOT; FORD, 2015, p. 111):

The germ of the education of the future, an education that will, in the case of every child over a given age, combine productive labor with instruction and gymnastics, not only as one of the methods of adding to the efficiency of production but as the only method of producing fully developed human beings. (MARX, [1867] 1990, p. 367).

Curry Mallot and Ford describe this analysis of Marx as a pedagogy that combines 'physical' and 'technical labor' for children at an early age. Helping children and future workers develop in intelligence, skills, and health (MALLOT; FORD, 2015, p.111).

Marx's concept of educational pedagogy through the analysis of Mallot and Ford also shows similarities with Theodor Adorno's writings on *Erziehung*. Adorno discussed *Erziehung* as the work of *Erziehung Nach Auschwitz (Education After Auschwitz)*. In particular, he said that in order to combat a dictatorship, we need an educated team to fight it, as well as the idea in this article about a collective educational team against globalization (ADORNO, 2014, p. 5)

Moreover, Adorno connects with the education (*Bildung*) idea of the educator Wilhelm von Humboldt, who argues that *Bildung* must be the complete dialectical development of personality and personal growth. Education must combine personal liberation and socio-cultural liberation (SPATSCHECK, 2010). And Adorno also proposes the idea that 'academic freedom is the elimination of vocational training (ADORNO, 2000: p.5). Also, through Adorno, when educating the interests of the capitalist class, it will be reduced to *Halbbildung*, half-educated (SPATSCHECK, 2010). But at the same time, it must also become *Halbbildung*, because Adorno thinks opposition will increase and raise consciousness (ADORNO, [1966] 1972, p.111)

To fight against the globalization of education, from the strikes to the mass struggles for individual consciousness that Luxemburg and Marx pointed out, a collective education could guide workers to equip themselves with the necessary knowledge for class and self-liberation.

I would emphasize that collective education gathers consciousness against globalization and bourgeois ideas. The collective educational method is not only theoretical work but also practical actions derived from theory. One of the most important issues for overthrowing bourgeois education and consolidating social movements to form collective education is the workers' class awareness and accumulation of experience. Moreover, Rummert also argues that today's collective education, with its aim of building, collectively, training processes, embodies what Gramsci described a century ago. Rummert suggested that, through work, people learn personal skills, individual and collective living conditions (RUMMERT, 2018, p. 270-271). Also, Rummert steady pursuit of access to collectively and historically built knowledge is an essentially human feature. And she also thinks that collective education and collective emancipation is the way we can overcome bourgeois education:

The worker's training processes will only match their own class interests insofar as they are guided by the pedagogic purpose of bringing about human emancipation. Therefore, they must build on class experiences and engage in constant class dialogue. It is pivotal to bear in mind that workers cannot be formally educated or actually trained when torn from their sociocultural and historical realities, as is the norm in most educational systems. On the contrary, it is pivotal that skilling processes are in tune with the condition of individual and collective subjects who creatively build the history of their own time, even when silenced by the hegemonic discourse and driven away from the effective conditions needed to access the material and symbolic goods they themselves produce (RUMMERT, 2018, p. 272).

Furthermore, Luxemburg shows that the formation of a collective education is evident from a socially conscious individual and then spontaneity in individual struggles. This was followed by mass consciousness and the organization of mass strikes:

The remarkable, contradictory, historical situation results from this that the bourgeois revolution, in accordance with its formal tasks will, in the first place, be carried out by a modern class-conscious proletariat, and in an international milieu whose distinguishing characteristic is the ruin of bourgeois democracy. It is not the bourgeoisie that is now the driving force of revolution as in the earlier revolutions of the West, while the proletarian masses, swamped amidst a petty-bourgeois mass, simply furnish cannon-fodder for the bourgeoisie, but on the contrary, it is the class-conscious proletariat that is the active and leading element, while the big bourgeois turns out to be either openly against the revolution or liberal moderates, and only the rural petit-bourgeoisie and the urban petit-bourgeois intelligentsia are definitively oppositional and even revolutionary minded (LUXEMBURG, [1906] 2008, p. 129).

Marx also supported this idea. In *The Communist Manifesto*, Marx emphasized that the proletariat needs a party - collective educators such as democratic parties and Unions to spread knowledge and lead movements against bourgeois education:

In short, the Communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things. In all these movements, they bring to the front, as the leading question in each, the property question, no matter what its degree of development at the time. Finally, they labour everywhere for the union and agreement of the democratic parties of all countries (MARX, [1844] 1988, p.82).

Understand that Workers must feel the chains to breakthrough (DAMPHOUSE; ENGELMANN, 2022, p. 395). Marx and Engels and the First International Association held meetings with the workers and emphasized the self-emancipation of the workers. Marx emphasized the spirit and education of the organization. He was the one who set a clear purpose for the International. He brought together various international associations and produced manuscripts and

reports for the congress (MUSTO, 2020). Improving workers' awareness through political and economic history lessons will help build the future socialist movement, opening up self-education and unity of the masses (DAMPHOUSE; ENGELMANN, 2022, p. 390).

The next important thing is that Dunayevskaya pointed out that it was Luxemburg who questioned the spontaneity of the masses and raised a question for our time: the relation of spontaneity to consciousness as well. And what is "Party"? (DUNAYEVSKAYA, 1981). For Luxemburg and her SPD Party, Luxemburg understood the educational process between the individual and the collective. She also outlined the same goal as Marx and Engels. First of all, Luxemburg believes that the 'deadly weapon' of the working class must be the Marxist Method. Luxemburg asserts with its slogan 'Educate! Imitate! Organize!' (DAMPHOUSE; ENGELMANN, 2022, p. 394).

It is spontaneity and the learning experiences that result from it that Luxemburg uses for the advancement of knowledge within the proletariat and for organisational development (DAMPHOUSE; ENGELMANN, 2022, p.395).

Luxemburg talks about the importance of Union leaders. Those who will represent the voice of the masses, who will teach and spread the socialist consciousness to the masses. In particular, she emphasized the Union's mass survival. That is, the Union must experience and fight together with the masses, not centralize power in their own hands. Leaders, as Luxemburg points out, will play the role of educators, of socialists, with a Marxist method:

The specialisation of professional activity as trade-union leaders, as well as the naturally restricted horizon which is bound up with disconnected economic struggles in a peaceful period, leads only too easily, amongst trade-union officials, to bureaucratism and a certain narrowness of outlook. The trade-union movement is not that which is reflected in the quite understandable but irrational illusion of a minority of the trade-

union leaders, but that which lives in the consciousness of the mass of proletarians who have been won for the class struggle. In this consciousness the trade-union movement is part of social democracy. “And what it is, that should it dare to appear (LUXEMBURG, [1906] 2008, p.181).

The emphasis on collective education comes from Marx, Luxemburg, and the ideas of other Marxists. Today, learning from the experiences of previous struggles, workers have gradually become more mature, organized, and most importantly enthusiastic in applying their collective education pedagogy to change society.

There is a lot of fight that has applied that pedagogy today. For instance, for the first time in American history, in 2022, Amazon workers in the US voted together to achieve an independent worker-elected and governed union (CLARK; LYONS, 2022). Not stopping there, Amazon workers in other states in the US (CLARK; LYONS, 2022), and Starbucks (HSU, 2022), are continuing to fight for their rights, as well as their collective organization.

Also in 2022, Asian countries continued to have collective strikes such as the victory in the strike of the Nghe An workers, in Vietnam. Fight for an increase in the minimum regional wage, and other necessary living conditions (HONG, 2022). Or in England, railway workers strike together to demand wages (TOPHAM, 2022). Little by little, the struggles of workers have contributed to the formation of individual, experiential, and collective consciousness, whether the struggle ends in victory or defeat.

Not to mention that these strikes have gradually erased the division of labor between skilled and unskilled workers, like the Union vote rally in Starbucks that united both intellectual workers and manual workers (O'BRIEN, 2022). Or the struggle of the American World Cup soccer workers who fought for fair wages (GARG, 2022). This war has added strength to blur the lines of gender division which always causes conflicts among workers.

In short, collective education is a necessity for today's workers and social struggles. It also is a process from individual awareness to collective awareness and

collective liberation, the aim is to change society and education in the globalization context.

CONCLUSION

The globalized world we live in today exists together with the class injustices brought by capitalism. The liberation of people from those injustices comes from education and class struggle. As Marx said, our world is a world of class struggle. So how can we overthrow injustices if we don't come together, do not have collective organizations, and don't have collective education to solve them?

With the division of labor and the monopoly of capital, the education we approach today is the education of bourgeois ideology, with its countless false consciousness that make people more and more alienated. But with the conscious leadership of the organizations, fighting with the masses, and living in the masses will lead people to liberation, and will be the education for tomorrow. For the freedom of the collective.

Collective education is not only a political solution but also a pedagogical approach to the Marxist method. In which self-consciousness and class consciousness play the most important role. And this education needs to draw from the experiences of individuals and groups that have gone before.

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