

# HOW TEACHERS CONTRIBUTE TO PRODUCE THE PHENOMENON OF CULTURAL REPRODUCTION: THE FACTOR OF NORMALIZED PEDAGOGY

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## ABSTRACT

*In terms of implementing social justice, education is imposed the emancipator function, referring to increasing the upward rate of social mobility for working class children through the channel of schooling in a meritocratic society. However, scholars, such as B. Bernstein and P. Bourdieu, discover the inequity of educational results and conceptualize it as cultural reproduction. They contend that this phenomenon roots in the gap between curriculum knowledge and cultural competence of working class students. This essay argues that teachers play as a crucial contributor to the issue of cultural reproduction because they do not recognize the teaching methods that they conduct normally are based on middle/upper class students. Consequently, such middle-class-oriented pedagogy tends to create advantage and disadvantage positions for middle/upper class students and working class students respectively. However, confining the narrow scope of instrumental rationality, teachers normally employ mental reasons to justify their pedagogy. In terms of uncovering this synthetic politics embedded in schooling, this essay borrows the concepts of M. Foucault, such as normalization and self-governing, to develop an argument --- normalized pedagogy.*

**Keywords:** cultural reproduction, normalized pedagogy, self-governing, instrumental rationality

## INTRODUCTION

Along with the development of industrialization, labor market requires more workers with professional knowledge/skill and, thus, the size of proletarians shrinks (Dahrendorf, 1959). This change is able to remold the type of selection at labor market, shifting from ascribed mode to achieved one (Parsons, 1961), and, this meritocracy, then, bestows a crucial value upon education (Young, 1961). Education, thus, gains its legitimate power, functioning as a gatekeeper in selection or social mobility. Normally, people believe that education is open to everyone so that educational achievements are mainly determined by someone's ability and effort (Parsons, 1951). However, most working class children fail in education and, then, reproduce their class fate. Some scholars argue that their failures do not derive from their mental deficit but cultural disadvantage. As the main stream of social cultures, which is under the control of the middle/upper class (Gramsci, 1971), functions as the main source for developing curriculum knowledge, school curriculum tend to be academic, as witnessed by its characteristics, addressing abstract concepts and logical relationship (Chiang, 2002; Chiang and Chen, 2006). Such academic curriculum, which largely projects the thought of middle/upper class, put middle/upper class students and working class students at privileged and unprivileged positions respectively (Bernstein, 1990, 1996; Bourdieu, 1993; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). Following the perspective of cultural reproduction that uncovers the

relationship among class power, culture, schooling and social mobility, this essay explores the relationship between pedagogy and cultural reproduction. Most people do not question the existing pedagogy that functions as the key filter to decide who will succeed or fail in schooling. This essay develops relevant arguments, such as normalized pedagogy and synthetic politics, to profile the relationship between pedagogy and cultural reproduction.

## CULTURAL REPRODUCTION

Although structural-functionalists contend that education is able to facilitate working class students to achieve upward mobility (e.g. Parsons, 1951), Marxists argue that educational results remain inequity. The theory of correspondence principle highlights a vivid phenomenon that a considerable percentage of working class students fail in education so that they tend to remain at the same level in social stratification as their parents (Bowles and Gintis, 1967). This class reproduction shows that education cannot practice its emancipator function (Dale, 2001) and serve as a tool for the interests of dominant groups. Some scholars further develop the perspective of cultural reproduction to decode the phenomenon of class reproduction (Bernstein, 1996; Bourdieu, 2000). Fundamentally, they argue that class reproduction does not root in production process but cultural field. This is because social value determines legitimate knowledge that is the main source for constructing curriculum knowledge. At a meritocratic society, the educational achievement is the main factor to influence someone's social mobility. Such a linkage indicates that instead of psychological accounts, the main stream of social cultures, shaped by class power, is the main element to affect social reproduction.

As Gramsci (1971) and Foucault (1972, 1991) argues, power is able to construct the main stream of social cultures or social discourse that is normally viewed as legitimate so that it becomes the main source for developing curriculum contents. The middle class background tends to make textbook editors appreciate such legitimate knowledge and, then, produce middle-class-oriented textbooks. As a result, school textbooks value abstract concepts and logical relationships.

The relationship indicates that such an academic curriculum largely project the thought and life-style of middle/upper cultures. Social studies, for example, manifests this characteristic, as witnessed by the hidden nature that its contents address middle class culture/value, such as global vision, investment, educated behavior (Chiang and Chen, 2006). Tunstall's (1973) findings show that labor work does not require mental ability but physical strength. Willis (1977) also gained a similar picture that working class explicitly displays masculinity and practical-oriented culture rather than reasoning behavior. Those findings show that the cultural competence of working class students is unable to bridge the gap between academic curriculum and their practical-oriented life. Therefore, they are forced to learn others' culture and, then, face learning difficulties. Consequently, most of working class students cannot have excellently academic performances, and, then, tend to fail in meritorious society (Bernstein, 1996).

It is argued that such failure does not derive from their mental conditions, such as IQ, EQ or motivation but their reasoning ability that is largely molded by the context in which they position. Bourdieu (1990), for example, argues that although the actor behaves like an autonomous agent, a disposition directs his/her reactions towards outside world. Such inner mechanism, conceptualized as habitus, referring to the system of perception, reasoning and reaction, is not born but shaped within a specific type of context, conceptualized as social space in which a certain type of cultural capital is provided by parents. As we can see that middle class parents recognize that a higher educational certificate bestows more competence

upon its owner in the labor force market, they develop long-term expectations, viewing the education achievement as a legitimate ticket to access the white collar club (Ball, Bowe and Gewirtz, 1997). Furthermore, they are anxious about children's future career because social development is dynamic and unpredictable (Ball, 2006). Such anxiety triggers their rational capital, referring to the actor employing the rational ability to conduct systematical actions, including vision, organization, action, monitoring and revision (Chiang, 2010a). Such rational capital is manifest on a series of educational studies, such as school selection (Ball, 1997; Silva, 2000; Wells and Crain, 2000) and participation in the child's learning (Reay, 1998). Consequently, middle class parents invest a lot of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1993) and social capital (Coleman, 1990) in constructing an academic context for cultivating the logic reasoning ability of their children.

In contrast, blue-collar jobs mainly require a limited level of training, and, further, diminish working class parents' recognition on educational functions that can be actualized in a long term. Consequently, they tend to develop a short-termism expectation, hoping their children to join the labor market as soon as possible (Ball, Bowe and Gewirtz, 1997). Furthermore, shop floor culture reveals that vigor and strength are the key elements to finish their jobs (Willis, 1977). Such characters tend to deprive the rational capital and educational recognition of working class parents. Their children are positioned within a practical-oriented context that tends to block its insiders to develop an appropriate habitus for learning logical relationship. Consequently, it is very hard for them to overpass this cultural constraint embedded in an academic curriculum.

As logic reasoning ability is reliant upon abstract linguistic terms, language ability functions as a powerful mechanism to influence children's academic performances. Bernstein (1996) argues that their linguistic ability develops in family, termed as 'initial recontextualization', because parents are the initiators to construct the learning context for their children. In terms of interaction, a democratic mode, that middle class parents employ, creates an open and interactive context for dialogue, allowing their children to have more time and space for exploring the meanings of issues that they are engaged in. Consequently, middle class children are able to develop an elaborated code, referring to abstract terms that facilitate its possessors to conduct logical reasoning, conceptualized as 'uncontext bound' competence, which is the key ability to learn academic curriculum. In contrast, working class parents generally conduct an authoritarian type to raise their children and, thus, depress them into a didactic mode that tends to make its receivers develop a restricted code, referring to substantial terms that do not facilitate its owners to engage in logical reasoning, conceptualized as context-bound competence.

### **Critique on Cultural Reproduction**

The perspective of cultural reproduction highlights that the phenomenon of educational inequity does not root in psychological aspect but social cultures. Its researchers also uncover the interplay among power, social culture and curriculum knowledge. Furthermore, in order to improve such inequity, taking social actions is necessary. However, the perspective of cultural reproduction tends to overemphasize the structural constraint and, thus, ignores the aspect of agency (Chiang, 2009, 2010b). Although cultural reproduction remains as a social phenomenon, there are about 20 % working class students whose academic performances are excellent. A relevant student further uncovers that unlike middle class students who were much like cultural capital receivers, those excellent working class students behave like cultural capital creators because they clearly understood the value of educational achievement so that they adopted an independent and active strategy of learning (Chiang, 2012). Those studies all demonstrate that in terms of agency, excellent working class students are able to

employ creative strategies for freeing themselves from the structural constraints imposed by the deficit of economic capital and cultural capital of their family. This picture also shows that the perspective of cultural reproduction neglects the actor's agency, and, thus, confines itself within a dark domain of pessimism. Such gap stimulates the school of critical pedagogy that addresses the possibility of agency. Freire (1990, 1998), for example, argues that education can function as a means for reconstructing society into a democratic form if in terms of pedagogy, problem-posing can replace banking. This is because banking pedagogy does not allow students to question textbook knowledge and pedagogy only functions to instill the ideology of dominant groups. Therefore, education becomes a tool to achieve the political intention of authoritarian society, depressing different voices. In contrast, problem-posing assumes students as independent bodies who are able to develop their belief if they position in a free context. Therefore, teachers need to view textbook knowledge as problematic and treat classroom as a cultural forum, allowing students to speak out their voice. This democratic context is able to create a two-ways dialogue between teachers and pupils (Shor, 1992, 1996).

To reach out the agency of education, teachers need to behave as a transformative intellectual for constructing an appropriate curriculum for all types of children (Giroux, 2000). Therefore, empowering teachers is a crucial condition to achieve this target because it allows them to free from the text dominated by ruling groups and to construct a better text for all types of students (Giroux, 1989). In order to maximize the function of empowerment, teachers need to be value-independent. This purpose can be achieved by adopting the strategy of desocialization that functions to free someone from the constraint of current social values controlled by middle/upper classes (Shor, 1992).

Unlike the perspective of cultural reproduction that addresses the structural constraint; critical pedagogy emphasizes the possibility of agency. Education is viewed as a vital means for freeing people, and, then, able to construct society into a democratic stage. Furthermore, such perspective puts teachers at a crucial post to achieve this object. However, by taking agency as a central theme, this perspective tends to overlook the structural constraint imposed by globalization. It also overvalues the possibility of teachers' agency because they significantly confine themselves within a narrow scope of instrumental rationality. The following section will narrate those two constraints:

As far as we know, globalization has extended its dominant influence and fused many countries into an interlocked body (Ceglowski, 2000). In order to gain a considerable amount of capital profit embedded in the global market, sustaining an isolated boundary between countries is no longer a priority in political agenda but cooperation (Frieden, 2006). In reality, the states now are voluntary to renounce their sovereignty, as witnessed by the fact that they reduce their control over tax policy for importing goods (Dale, 2003). Furthermore, international problems, like global warming, crime, the flow of capital and technology, produced by globalization, also buttress the voice of international cooperation that is able to diminish the authority of the state (Currie, 2004; Olssen, 2006). All these changes demonstrate that the role of the states is moving from the political regime to the economic domain (Olssen, 2006).

This new economic hegemony appreciates the notion of international competitiveness, functioning to let the states occupy an advantaged position in a global market. As international competitiveness is almost equivalent to global fortunate, many states are eager to cultivate human capital through the site of education for strengthening their international competitiveness. In order to achieve this purpose, they adopt the philosophy of neo-liberalism, a core concept of globalization that contends a much freer and more open market

able to benefit the majority of people because they are able employ rational mind to make the best decision for them. Therefore, education no longer needs to be viewed as a public service but a personal matter (Blackmore, 2006). This market logic is able to redefine education as a privilege rather than a basic right for citizens (Lingard, 2000). In terms of investment, like education, people always know what they need and how to do. Therefore, educational inequity does not belong to public issues or governmental obligation. Such social discourse further creates a powerful ideology because its schooling function is able to convince people that achievements belong to personal efforts and mental deficit is a crucial factor leading to failure. This redefinition remits the public obligation of the state and allows it to push social problems into the domain of personal matters. Mental conditions become the best means to rationalize failure, poverty, crime and inequity (McCarthy and Dimitriadis, 2006). The above market logic with individualism discourse allows the state to take a new role, shifting from providing public service to seeking international competitiveness (Rizvi and Lingard, 2006). Therefore, instead of social justice, the new mission for the state is to cultivate more social elites that are viewed as the essentiality of human capital and international competitiveness.

As people are convinced, enhancing international competitiveness requires more social elites because they are the main engineer, steering society to move forward (Bottomore, 1964). This social expectation, then, remolds the function of education, shifting from emancipator form to elite-oriented one. Therefore, the state is concerned with international competitiveness rather than social justice or welfare. Consequently, cultural reproduction is no longer on the political agenda, or at least declines in priority.

The other factor, that makes the phenomenon of cultural reproduction firmly stable, derives from teachers because they generally demonstrate the value of instrumental rationality. This value focuses on teaching efficiency, and, thus, deprives teachers' cultural vision. For them, academic performances are mainly determined by students' mental conditions, such as IQ, EQ and motivation. Such psychological mind makes teachers overlook the profound influence of cultural competence on students' learning, argued by the researchers of cultural reproduction. Therefore, for teaches, failure in learning does not associate with school textbooks, teachers and pedagogy. They generally believe that students' mental abilities perfectly match with the normal distribution of academic performances. This match transforms teachers into simplicity agents, viewing teaching methods that they conduct as unquestionable and even perfect.

### **Normalized Pedagogy and Self-governing**

As the above analysis shows, globalization creates the ideology of international competitiveness, driving the state to devote itself to cultivating human capital for surviving in a global market. Because human capital is broadly viewed as a key element to enhance the national force of a given country and, then, benefits all its citizens, this connection tends to brew a powerful norm/social expectation, believing that elites are the central ingredient in human capital. Therefore, in order to maximize their function, bestowing more power upon them is critical, necessary and legitimate. It is argued that such privilege eventually generates social inequity (Mills, 1956; Bottomore, 1964). Nevertheless, as institutionalized theory suggests, when the function of a social institute is approved by people, this recognition will transform into a social expectation/value forcing the state to create its system (Myer, 1977). Therefore, such elite-oriented expectation tends to function as an institutionalized force, driving the state to redefine the function of education, shifting from social justice to individualism. The new mission for education is not to benefit more working class students for achieving upwards mobility but to cultivate more social elites for stimulating economic growth. This change reveals that education is no longer viewed as a public service or citizen's

right but a personal matter. This philosophy reinforces the linkage between psychological thought and elites, and, convinces people to believe that mental abilities are the key element to condition students' academic achievements. Consequently, this psychological thought generates a new but powerful social value, pushing educational inequity into a personal domain.

When the outside value, acting on the macro level, matches with the inside thought, remaining on the micro space, this correspondence lets instrumental rationality gain legitimacy that is able to free teachers' simplicity from the accusation on their contribution to cultural reproduction. This correspondence is also able to push people, including teachers and researchers, into unconscious agents who can implement the assignment of cultural reproduction effectively.

This correspondence also mirrors that psychological notions are able to mold teachers and researchers into self-governing agents who can implement the mission given by capitalist society, like cultural reproduction. As Foucault (1991) argued that thought drives people's behaviors effectively, the best way to achieve social control is not reliant upon coercive force but schooling that is able to instill ideas. Therefore, the best strategy of domination is to transform people into self-governing agents who ensure to implement the ideas that they support. The mechanism of schooling is also able to turn society into a normalized form, depressing critical thinking and, then, viewing the current society as natural and normal. In terms of schooling, psychological ideas here serve as the vital means to shape teachers' soul. This psychological-oriented soul makes them as self-governing agents who tend to develop 'normalized pedagogy', viewing educational results as a personal matter and functioning to divide students into normal and abnormal segments. As academic performances deeply associate with psychological abilities, those students who have average or excellent level of academic performances are classified into normal part because they can understand pedagogical messages. In contrast, underachieved students belong to an abnormal category because they do not possess adequate mental abilities to receive such messages (Chiang, 2012).

This dividing takes normal part as potential and, thus, becomes the central focus of teaching, as witnessed by the predominant situation that normal part serves as the main source of feedback for teachers. When they understand the teaching message, teachers proceed their teaching. Reflection on teaching normally occurs when such normal students do not understand teaching message (Chiang, 2003, 2006, 2012). Furthermore, those students in abnormal part do not possess adequate mental ability so that their failure in schooling is regarded as a natural and unavoidable outcome. Therefore, teachers are not responsible for such result but these students themselves. Such normalized pedagogy, then, legitimizes the inequity of educational results and blocks the possibility of teachers' reflection on legitimacy of the existing teaching methods.

Consequently, teachers become self-governing agents and view normalized pedagogy as orthodoxy. This is mainly because the interwoven interaction between instrumental rationality and psychological thought makes teachers believe that students' academic performances are as the results of personal mental conditions and efforts (Chiang, 2002, 2006, 2012). Therefore, the normal distribution of students' academic performances, termed as a bell shape, is generally viewed as a natural phenomenon to project the normal distribution of their mental abilities. Furthermore, students' academic performances normally serve as the main source of feedback for the actualization of teachers' professional identity (Chiang, 2003, 2008, 2010c). Without interactions with colleagues that are mainly blocked by

the isolated setting, created by classroom-based teaching arrangement, reflections are hardly stimulated and, thus, individualism becomes prevailing in teaching (Lortie, 1975).

This individualism is able to block teachers' interactions with others and, then, narrows their vision and critical thought. The interplay between such individualism and psychological soul is able to mold teachers' unconsciousness, viewing the phenomenon of cultural reproduction as normal and natural. As argued by Freire (1998), the naïve mind depresses reflection and critical consciousness. That is why teachers deploy the phenomenon of mental simplicity (Jackson, 1968). Without reflection, teachers view teaching methods that they employ as normal even perfect. Consequently, they take the normal distribution of students' performances for granted and, thus, proceed a normalized pedagogy that contributes to the phenomenon of cultural reproduction.

This mechanism of self-governing also happens on researchers who develop teaching methods. Although those researchers are initiators to invent teaching methods, the unconsciousness, noted above, transforms their thought into simplicity, mainly putting mental conditions as primacy and, thus, taking the normal distribution of students' performance for granted. What they are concerned with confines within the scope of techno-rationality. Therefore, what they are seeking to develop cannot overpass the kingdom of psychology. Instead of cultural vision, psychological ideas become the main base to drive their behaviors and convert them into self-governing agents who devote to seeking so-called effective teaching methods. Such psychological orientation legitimizes middle/upper class students as normal because of their normal performances in academy so that they become the main objects for developing teaching methods. This approach tends to lead to construct an elite-oriented pedagogy. Because the cultural competence of middle/upper class students is embodied within those so-called effective teaching methods, they occupy advantaged position and have better academic performances than working class students. This connection reveals that the so-called effective teaching methods that those naïve researchers invent significantly contributes to the phenomenon of cultural reproduction. This relationship also shows that working class students suffer from the so-called effective teaching methods. However, simplicity blocks those researchers' mind to understand this big gap created by them.

As teachers are successfully instilled with such so-called effective teaching methods, normalized pedagogy becomes prevailing without substantial challenge and leads to produce the phenomenon of cultural reproduction.

### **Synthetic politics: Collective Unconsciousness**

The above analysis shows that normalized pedagogy serves as one of key factors to contribute to the phenomenon of cultural reproduction and, then, sustains educational inequity firmly. Teachers and educational researchers can be viewed as 'unified constructors' to develop normalized pedagogy. However, we shall be aware of social operation requiring a collective thought so that most of the public may also approve normalized pedagogy or at least cannot discover its impact. As pedagogy directly affects students' academic performances that lead to social mobility, schooling cannot be viewed as a cultural matter but politics (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1991). Implementing this political intention requires self-governing agents who do not possess critical and cultural vision but psychological ideas. Their simplicity tends to view the normal distribution of students' academic performances as normal and natural and, thus, buttresses the normalized pedagogy. Although the previous analysis contends that teachers and researchers are crucial contributors to normalized pedagogy, others, such as parents, do not substantially question their unified conspiracy. In other words, the public may also join the game of normalized pedagogy. As far as we know,

pedagogy functions as a filter to select whom will success or fail. If the public notice the relationship between the normalized pedagogy and the phenomenon of cultural reproduction, they will question the normalized pedagogy that favors middle/upper class students. Consequently, this challenge would force educational practitioners to develop another pedagogy that can benefit all types of students. Unfortunately, people remain the naïve stage, viewing the normalized pedagogy as effective even the best. This situation suggests that insiders, including educational researchers and teachers, and outsiders, including parents, possess a similar belief, viewing psychological conditions, such as IQ, EQ and motivation, as key elements to affect students' academic performance. Such psychological thought fuels the insiders and outsiders into a homogeneous group, and, then, act as co-constructors to contribute to the phenomenon of cultural reproduction. As pedagogy functions as a key channel, leading to the phenomenon of cultural reproduction that allows the offspring of middle/upper class to sustain their privileged positions, the normalized pedagogy can be viewed as synthetic politics. In terms of achieving this political intention, psychological notions serve as a key means to instill people unconscious soul. What we can see is that although the importance of psychological notions has been over exaggerated, psychology has obtained a predominant and legitimate position. Furthermore, although psychology addresses personal domain, its notions effectively fusel the public into a similar soul that transforms individualism into collectivism in social operation. In other words, because psychological notions that focus on personal domain create individualism, individual citizens are bound into the same philosophy, using mental accounts to view the world. Therefore, psychology is able to generate individualism and collectivism simultaneously that deprive the critical people's consciousness. Such relationship indicates that psychological concepts function as a crucial tool to serve for the interests of dominant groups. As the normalized pedagogy functions as a political action to sustain the privileged position of middle/upper class, they need to legitimize this pedagogy. In terms of achieving this political intention, middle/upper class needs to promulgate the importance of psychological notions that instills unconsciousness into people. Without critical mind, they become self-governing agents who support normalized pedagogy. Such a co-constructing group tends to reinforce the existing social value, blinding people to uncover the interplay among class, power, knowledge, academic achievement and social mobility. When such value becomes legitimate and predominant, the public tend to accept and, then, internalize its key points. When they assimilate this value and thought, they become self-governing agents.

## CONCLUSION

The phenomenon of cultural reproduction shows that educational results remain inequity firmly. Relevant researchers have argued that instead of mental conditions, cultural aspect plays like the main factor of resulting in this inequity. Fundamentally, the main stream of social cultures, which is under the control of the middle/upper class, functions as the main source for developing school curriculum. Consequently, curriculum knowledge embodies a considerable amount of middle/upper class cultures, and, thus, addresses abstract concepts and logical relationship. This academic curriculum tends to create a crucial constraint imposing on working class students because their culture is practical-oriented. In contrast, middle/upper class students occupy a privileged position because they are learning their own culture.

Besides, pedagogy functions as a powerful mechanism to contribute to the phenomenon of cultural reproduction because it decides how to transform knowledge or voice into message for students. Unfortunately, confining within the narrow scope of instrumental rationality that addresses teaching efficiency, teachers internalize psychological notions, such as IQ, EQ and

motivation, and employ those concepts to evaluate students. Consequently, they behave like self-governing agents whose vision and behaviors are driven by psychological soul, as witnessed by the fact that they focus on teaching efficiency and use psychological notions to evaluate students. Because this psychological soul is able to blind teachers' critical mind, they develop 'normalized pedagogy', viewing failures as the unavoidable outcome of mental deficit. Such pedagogy embodies another meaning that the normal distribution shapes of students' academic performances as normal and natural because it matches with their mental abilities perfectly. Therefore, normalized pedagogy also refers to the concept of student classification in academic performance. Underachieved students are classified into abnormal part because they cannot understand teachers' teaching messages. In contrast, others, who demonstrate average or excellent performances, belong to normal part. This dividing indicates that teachers take educational results for granted and do not question the existing teaching methods. Furthermore, as students' academic performances serve as the main source of feedback for the actualization of teachers' professional identity, teaching efficiency is meaningful for teachers. The interaction between such efficiency approach and the value of instrumental rationality is able to depress teachers' critical mind that is a crucial element to uncover the phenomenon of cultural reproduction. They are unable to realize that normalized pedagogy, which is based on average and excellent students, cannot meet the cultural competence of working class students and, thus, obstructs their academic performances. Therefore, the normal distribution shape of students' academic performance that does not derive from mental account but cultural aspect is generated. However, for teachers, the key mission of schooling is to deliver textbook contents to students completely. They worship the existing teaching methods without questions. This soul does not only transform teachers into 'docile bodies' with a self-governing mind but also legitimizes normalized pedagogy. This pedagogy also makes teachers effectively implement the control mechanism embedded in curriculum knowledge.

The above relationship shows that normalized pedagogy that teachers employ significantly contributes to the phenomenon of cultural reproduction. However, researchers also join this conspiracy. As noted above, psychology gains its primacy so that its notions become the dogma for conducting educational studies. 'Normal students' become the main objects for educational researchers to develop so-called effective teaching methods. Therefore, those so-called effective teaching methods will benefit middle/upper class students' learning. This relationship suggests that educational researchers and teachers should be viewed as co-constructors to contribute to the phenomenon of cultural reproduction.

Psychology further expands its territory from educational field to the public. While people internalize psychological notions, educational assumptions that educational achievements are determined by someone's mental conditions and effort become predominant. This individualism pushes educational achievements into the domain of personal matters and, thus, redefines failures as the unavoidable outcome of mental deficit. It also makes people concentrate on the micro level, such as IQ and EQ, rather than macro one, such as cultural reproduction. Consequently, this micro approach is able to deprive people's critical mind and, further, transform them into unconscious agents. Collective unconsciousness makes them ignore the inequity of educational results so that the phenomenon of cultural reproduction remains firmly. This relationship indicates that in terms of schooling, psychology functions as a vital means to achieve the synthetic politics that allows middle/upper classes to sustain their advantaged position.

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