

# Policy & Practice

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# Editorial

## DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION AND THE ECONOMIC PARADIGM

STEPHEN MCCLOSKEY

### Introduction

In 2019, before the world fell into the chasm of the COVID-19 pandemic, and a food and energy crisis, Ireland's President, Michael D Higgins, said: 'our prevailing neoliberal economic paradigm has been with us like a dark cloud for almost four decades now'. This 'orthodox laissez-faire economic narrative', he added, asserted 'the state's role needs to be minimal and the private sector should lead in all aspects of life including the response to climate change' (Roche, 2019). The narrative of neoliberal Ireland has been dominated by a homeless crisis with the lack of social housing and over-priced rents in the private renting sector resulting in increasing numbers of evictions. The total number of homeless in Ireland exceeded 10,000 people in May 2022, nearly 3,000 of whom are children (Roche and Holland, 2022). 'Housing and the basic needs of society should never have been left to the market place', said President Higgins, adding that 'It is the mad speculative money that is destroying our country, which we are welcoming, which we shouldn't be' (BBC, 2022). Such is the cost of accommodation in Ireland that 19 per cent of the population live below the poverty line after housing costs are factored in with that figure climbing to nearly 25 per cent for children and 50 per cent for single parents (Social Justice Ireland, 2022). In the north of Ireland, one-in-five people are living in poverty including 100,000 children and 61,597 emergency food parcels were distributed by the Trussell Trust foodbank network in 2021-22 (Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2022; Trussell Trust, 2022).

Despite the pervasiveness of neoliberalism and infiltration into every aspect of our lives most of us would struggle to name and define it. 'It's

anonymity is both a symptom and cause of its power’, argues journalist George Monbiot, despite its ‘role in a remarkable variety of crises’ (Monbiot, 2016). Rather than place the economy at the service of citizens’ needs, neoliberalism asserts that citizens should be forced to service the needs of the market. The market absolutism underpinning neoliberalism holds that growth for growth’s sake, the need to sustain the stock-market, is the altar on which fairness, justice and equality should be sacrificed to maintain profit, commodification and Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The global outworking of neoliberalism has been extreme poverty and inequality. The 2022 World Inequality Report finds that the poorest half of the global population barely owns any wealth at all, possessing just 2 per cent of the total. In contrast, the richest 10 per cent of the global population own 76 per cent of all wealth (World Inequality Report 2022: 10). On average, the poorest half of the world’s people owns €2,900 per adult, (\$4,100) and the top 10 per cent own €550,900 (or \$771,300) (Ibid).

But what has all this got to do with development education? We are educators, not economists. We have been schooled in education methodologies not the workings of the market. Well, the reality is that we are all economists now, or at least we need to be. For the past five decades ‘development’ has been aligned with growth and most developing countries forced to implement neoliberal structural adjustment programmes by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) (Hickel, 2017). Neoliberalism, as Monbiot (2016) suggests, ‘is the ideology at the root of all our problems’ and development educators’ stock in trade is to ‘tackle the root causes of injustice and inequality’ (IDEA, 2020). The corollary of that should be that we concentrate our activities on neoliberalism as the root cause of global poverty. The evidence suggests the opposite. In recent research on the extent to which the international development (ID) and development education (DE) sectors critically engage with the global economy as the main source of poverty and inequality, Harm-Jan Fricke found that neither sector ‘give anywhere near adequate attention to explorations with the public of the economic causes of poverty, inequality and injustice and of responses, through education, to the global neoliberal system’ (2022: 7). This issue of *Policy and Practice* is the culmination of several contributions to the journal over the past decade that

have been sounding the alarm about the societal and ecological fractures caused by neoliberalism (Giroux, 2022; Alldred, 2022; Madden, 2019; Bryan, 2011; Selby and Kagawa, 2011). As Giroux (2022: 99) suggests: ‘A neoliberal market-driven society has given rise to a culture of fear, uncertainty, and danger that numbs many people just as it wipes out the creative faculties of imagination, memory, and critical thought’. It is critical, therefore, that the clarion call for action on neoliberalism carried in this issue of the journal and its archive should be used as a platform for informed action in the best tradition of Freire’s *praxis*.

### **What is neoliberalism?**

Neoliberalism is the dominant, de-regulated form of global economics that has been the prevailing model of ‘development’ since the 1970s. It aims to reduce the role of the state in the ownership of public assets and stewardship of economic policy except in facilitating and accelerating marketisation and deregulation. The chief economic policies and ‘reforms’ associated with the implementation of neoliberalism include: the removal of price controls, often on key utilities and commodities such as food and energy; the reduction of taxation, particularly on highest earners and corporations; the privatisation of public assets and services such as transport, health, land, education and utilities; the expression of citizenship through consumer power and rights; the suppression of economic and social rights, particularly those advanced by trade unions and civil society movements; the downsizing of the welfare state; and the atomisation of society into individuals rather than the collective endeavour and solidarity of communities. The central thesis of neoliberalism is that an unfettered market, released from the ‘serfdom of the state’, will generate and distribute wealth to all in society through ‘trickle-down’ economics. The main architects of this ideology were Austrian economists Ludwig von Mises and Friedrich Hayek who worked as civil servants in Vienna’s Lower Austrian Chamber of Commerce applying themselves to “policy problems” and writing evaluations of new laws for the Austrian government in the inter-war years (Slobodian, 2018: 30-31). Hayek and von Mises were ‘militant globalists’ who believed that a planned economy crushed individualism and paved the way for despotism (Ibid).

The first significant institution established to advance the cause of neoliberalism was the Mont Pèlerin Society (MPS) named after the resort near Montreux, Switzerland where in 1947 Hayek invited 36 economists, historians and philosophers to apply themselves to the ‘virtues, and defects of market-oriented economic systems’ (MPS, 2022). Although the MPS attracted significant investment from wealthy benefactors who recognised the potential benefits of lower taxes and de-regulation, neoliberalism remained on the political margins until the 1970s. In the aftermath of the Great Depression in the United States (US) and the war against fascism in Europe, economic planners recognised the importance of public spending, increased employment, higher wages and welfare support. A post-war economic consensus settled on Keynesianism – named after English economist John Maynard Keynes – which represented the kind of economic stimulus package included in Roosevelt’s New Deal. Keynesianism supported a mixed economy which combined growth with an element of wealth redistribution to support the public ownership of services, the welfare state and the target of full employment.

Keynesianism presided over the golden era of capitalism from end of the war until the early 1970s when a surge in oil prices in 1973 caused a spike in the cost of consumer items which slowed the global economy and increased unemployment. The combination of high inflation and a slowdown in growth – stagflation - caused industrial disputes as wages failed to keep pace with inflation which in turn created political upheaval and a rejection of Keynesianism. Meanwhile, Margaret Thatcher was waiting in the wings with neoliberalism.

### **Neoliberalism in practice**

Neoliberalism moved from think tank obscurity to global dominance through its adoption by the Atlantic economies following the election of Margaret Thatcher in 1979 and Ronald Reagan as US president in 1980. As ideological soulmates they were adherents of the neoliberal guru Milton Friedman, an economist who worked for 30 years in the University of Chicago’s School of Economics and author of the highly influential *Capitalism and Freedom* in

1962. Friedman and graduates of the Chicago School known as the ‘Chicago Boys’ guided the imposition of neoliberal ‘reforms’ in Chile following the violent overthrow of the democratically elected socialist president, Salvador Allende, in a US-backed coup led by General Augusto Pinochet in 1973 (Hickel, 2017: 131-132). Despite his fears about state despotism, Friedrich Hayek said, on a visit to Pinochet’s Chile, ‘My personal preference leans toward a liberal dictatorship rather than toward a democratic government devoid of liberalism’ (Monbiot, 2016). Neoliberal policies are often deeply unpopular and subject to public protest and resistance which makes strong-armed autocrats like Pinochet the preferred enforcers of neoliberalism’s strictures by its leading ideologues. In the wake of neoliberal reforms in Chile, poverty rates accelerated to 41 per cent and average wages collapsed by 14 per cent as GDP per capita fell 12 per cent below the pre-coup levels (Ibid: 133).

However, an alternative, more insidious means of locking countries in the South into neoliberal programmes presented itself in 1973 when OPEC (Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries) states increased the price of oil and deposited billions of petrodollars in US banks. The banks decided to recycle this excess balance through loans to low and middle-income countries that were desperate for development finance. Many of these loans were agreed at high interest rates and irresponsibly deployed to resource unnecessary capital programmes with lucrative private sector contracts. Loans were often aggressively targeted at autocratic rulers willing to accept the economic risk of default while lining their own pockets (Ibid: 151). The debt crisis for countries in the South has not abated nearly fifty years on from the initial lending bonanza in the 1970s. The World Bank estimated in 2021 that the ‘External debt stocks of low- and middle-income countries combined rose 5.3% in 2020 to \$8.7 trillion’.

For developing countries seeking a loan from the IMF or to re-finance an existing loan means implementing the lending conditionalities in IMF structural adjustment programmes. Couched in the language of efficiency, profitability and economic freedom, SAPs are an economic straightjacket that strip away protections for workers and the environment, and remove tariffs on

imports that can undercut the indigenous domestic manufacturing sector. They remove the capacity for countries to ‘develop’ according to their own needs using economic assets to their own particular advantage.

### **Neoliberalism in crisis**

Fifty years after Pinochet’s coup and the commencement of the neoliberal experiment in Chile and economic inequality, according to Oxfam, is out of control with just 2,153 billionaires controlling more wealth than 4.6 billion people (Oxfam: 2020: 6). The world’s richest one per cent have more than twice as much wealth as 6.9 billion people and the combined wealth of the world’s 22 richest men is more than the wealth of all the women in Africa’ (Ibid). The monetary value of unpaid care work globally for women aged 15 and over is at least \$10.8 trillion annually which Oxfam calculates to be three times the size of the world’s tech industry (Ibid). The metric of choice for neoliberalism is Gross Domestic Product which ignores priceless community services like care work because it doesn’t turn a profit. And, yet, economic activities like mining and gambling which can negatively impact community health and wellbeing enjoy a more elevated status in a neoliberal system because they are profitable industries. There is, in any event, a conundrum at the heart of neoliberalism which questions the growth imperative driving laissez-faire economics. ‘The global economy has doubled since the end of the Cold War yet half the world lives under \$5.50 a day’, argues Philip Alston (2020: 15), the former UN Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights. This, he argues, is ‘primarily because the benefits of growth have largely gone to the wealthiest’ (Ibid).

Moreover, neoliberal economics are prone to crises and regularly in need of state interventions to correct market aberrations. For example, the 2008 global crisis rooted in the property market on both sides of the Atlantic demanded eye-watering bank bailouts of £850 billion in the UK (Grice, 2009) and \$16.8 trillion dollars in the US (Collins, 2015). The profits in this case were privatised but the losses socialised as public money was used to bailout errant banks. Similarly, the COVID-19 and climate crises have been persuasively attributed to a de-regulated global market: two emergencies that

emerged ‘as inevitable outcroppings of the prevailing global economic growth model’ (Selby and Kagawa, 2020: 106). Development education and international development have failed to problematise growth and both sectors have mostly taken their policy lead from the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the seventeen Global Goals agreed in 2015 by 193 member states of the United Nations ‘to end poverty in all its forms everywhere’ (UN, 2020). Like their predecessors, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the SDGs have a fifteen-year cycle and enjoy near universal endorsement of their agenda from development actors including: governments, development ministries, multilateral bodies, INGOs (international non-governmental organisations) and civil society organisations (CSOs). A crucial failing of the Goals identified by Philip Alston is that they are complicit with the ‘traditional growth paradigm’ and ‘doubling down on an inadequate and increasingly out-of-date-approach’ to poverty eradication (Alston, 2020: 13). In a withering critique that dismantles the approach to development underpinning the Goals, Alston finds that ‘economic growth is at the core of the SDGs’ and argues that ‘traditional pro-growth policies ... can have devastating effects on the well-being of poor people and the states’ capacity to reduce poverty’ (Ibid; 14-15).

The ID and DE sectors are entirely unbalanced in their activities to be, on the one hand, completely over-extended in their uncritical support of a failing SDG agenda most unlikely to be delivered in 2030 to, on the other hand, studiously omitting from their work an analysis of neoliberalism as the root cause of the problems that the Goals are trying to fix. In 2011, Selby and Kagawa found development education to be either ‘falling in with the neo-liberal marketplace agenda’ or reluctant ‘to directly, overtly and critically engage with that agenda’ (2011: 15). This complicit silence or studied omission of neoliberalism continues a decade later but the urgency of the climate crisis and accelerating poverty crisis means that neither the planet nor the global population can afford to wait for the ID and DE sectors to rouse themselves from their inertia.

### **Education and neoliberalism**

The three Focus articles in this issue of *Policy and Practice* are concerned with education as a site of contestation either resisting the infusion of market-based

hegemony into formal learning processes or struggling for the critical space to debate the efficacy and impact of neoliberal economics. Nisha Thapliyal draws upon the work of the Decolonial Futures Collective (DFC) and its Indigenous conceptions of care, earth-centeredness, social justice and solidarity to ‘deconstruct the economic logics of dominant Australian development education paradigms’. Thapliyal poses the question ‘How do we unlearn dominant economic logics of migrant settler colonialism and neoliberal development?’ and she shares her experience of introducing economic literacy into her pre-service courses in a settler colonial state (Australia). Part of the context and resistances she encounters is the SDG paradigm which:

“is not only problematic because of its ethnocentric, universal assumptions but because it continues to posit that a linear market-driven model of economic growth is the only the solution to the ever-increasing environmental issues on our planet”.

In the best traditions of a development education concerned with ‘root causes’, Thapliyal argues that unlearning the neoliberal paradigm ‘is a process which requires deeper reckonings with colonialism, empire and globalisation’.

Irene Tollefsen is also concerned with formal education and uses a critical metaphor analysis approach to explore how sustainable development is explored in the Norwegian formal education curriculum. A critical metaphor analysis is applied to two iterations of the Norwegian schools’ curriculum in 1993 and 2017 with the latter exuding a ‘taken-for-granted apolitical neutrality’ devoid of the urgency and agency needed to tackle the worsening climate emergency. The de-politicisation of the 2017 curriculum prioritises technological fixes to the climate crisis and individual, rather than collective action. In short, solutions in train with market-based ‘solutions’ to market-based problems. The article concludes with an exhortation for more political development education to restore complexity, realism and action to school-based learning.

Anders Daniel Faksvåg Haugen reflects on the socialist presidency of Tanzania's Julius Nyerere and, in particular, his understanding of development, embedded in the Swahili term *maendeleo*, which 'contributed to an alternative, tailored version of the neoliberal paradigm in the country'. For Nyerere, public education was an indelible part of national identity and 'indispensable contributor to the process of nation-building'. Haugen argues that Tanzania's collapse into debt saw it fall into the clutches of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank and their structural adjustment programmes. Although many aspects of Nyerere's socialist project in Tanzania had to be abandoned, Haugen found 'that core aspects of his development discourse of *maendeleo* endured'. 'The nation revisited its founding socialist values', argues Haugen and 'public primary education has again become fee-free'. As the battle of ideologies remains central to what we mean by international development, this article presents an interesting case study of Tanzania's ideological past and present.

In his Perspectives article, Harm-Jan Fricke presents research findings following an investigation into the extent to which INGOs in the island of Ireland are engaging with the dominant economic system, i.e. neoliberalism, and its influence on poverty, inequality and injustice. His research found that most development agencies referred to in his research do not contextualise their work in a broader, explanatory framework and 'that little consideration seems to be given to systematic explorations of global economics or of root causes of poverty, inequality and injustice' (Fricke, 2022: 7). Although this was a small-scale study focused mostly on Ireland and nine leading INGOs, its findings are significant in pointing to a lack of systemic thinking in the sector relating individual issues to neoliberal economics despite compelling evidence that the growth paradigm is causing widespread poverty (Alston, 2020; Oxfam, 2020). I have to confess an interest in the research as it was commissioned by the Centre for Global Education and Financial Justice Ireland. Our hope is that the report will be widely read and will be used as a basis for reflection and action in the ID and DE sectors.

The first of two Viewpoint articles by Suiter, Paredes and Coddou McManus asks ‘what now for Chile?’ following a September 2022 referendum that defeated a new proposed constitution which would have supplanted the 1980 constitution promulgated under the Pinochet regime. Despite offering enhanced social rights, increased environmental regulation and wider government responsibility for social welfare programmes the constitution was overwhelmingly defeated. The article asks why and where next for the constitutional reform process? The second Viewpoint article by Henry Giroux sounds the alarm about a growing authoritarianism in the United States as neoliberalism has fostered ‘an assault on public and higher education’ in order ‘to depoliticise and demobilise the majority of the population that opposes its agenda’. A series of reactionary measures have been implemented in Republican states to stifle ‘critical thinking, informed citizenship and a willingness to address social injustice’. Giroux’s article recalls the decision by the Department of Education in England to order schools ‘not to use resources from organisations which have expressed a desire to end capitalism’ (Busby, 2020). Neoliberalism is not just a threat to our social and economic wellbeing but to fundamental principles of democracy; equity, freedom and debate. ‘In the end’, argues Giroux, ‘there is no democracy without informed citizens and no justice without a language critical of injustice’.

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# Focus

## ECONOMIC LITERACY OTHERWISE: A CRITICAL REFLECTION ON EDUCATING FOR EARTH-CENTERED, CARING ECONOMIES IN A MIGRANT-SETTLER COLONY

NISHA THAPLIYAL

**Abstract:** Education systems and practices shaped by a colonial global imaginary played a central role in the settler colonial project and continue to be complicit in contemporary national and regional processes of expropriation, exploitation and hyper-consumption. How do we unlearn dominant economic logics of migrant settler colonialism and neoliberal development? How do we explicate the linkages between nature, economy and culture? How do we cultivate alternative relational rather than exploitative economic imaginaries and practices? This article presents a critical reflection on the pedagogical possibilities and complexities of interrupting hegemonic economic logics in development education in an Australian teacher education setting. In framing the article around the notion of Economic Literacy Otherwise, it takes direct inspiration from the work of the Decolonial Futures Collective (DCF) which is premised on Indigenous conceptions of care, earth-centeredness, social justice and solidarity. Specifically, I discuss selected pedagogical strategies that are responsive to two salient identities and subjectivities: 1) being teachers and 2) earthcare-centred sustainable livelihoods and living. This analysis identifies fruitful openings for decoding dominant economic logics of development as well as cultivating alternative economic and citizen imaginaries and practices.

**Key words:** Development Education; Australia; Decolonial; Indigenous Economies.

## **Introduction**

The Australian settler colony is built on a violent history of invasion, dispossession, extraction and dehumanisation (Moreton-Robinson, 2015). Education systems and practices shaped by a colonial global imaginary played a central role in the settler colonial project and continue to be complicit in a contemporary national and regional process of expropriation, exploitation and hyper consumption. How then do we interrupt and deconstruct the economic logics of dominant Australian development education paradigms?

To grapple with these questions, I draw on the educational work of the Decolonial Futures Collective (DFC) who coined the term ‘Global Education and Global Citizen OTHERWISE’ (Stein, Andreotti, Suša et al., 2020). The Collective consists of researchers, artists, educators, students and activists concerned with colonialism, racism, climate change, unsustainability, economic instability, mental health crises and the intensification of economic, social and ecological violence. Their work (including research, art and pedagogical experiments) aims to ‘enable healthier possibilities of (co)existence that are viable, but are unthinkable/unimaginable within dominant cognitive and affective frames of reference’ (Decolonial Futures Network, 2022: 3).

The DFC approach to Global Citizenship Otherwise is centered on values for pluriversality, earth-centeredness, care, social justice and solidarity as opposed to dominant narratives of human-centered, universal, market- and technology-driven notions of development and progress. In this article, I reflect critically on the possibilities and challenges of teaching about economics and development Otherwise in settler colonial teacher education settings in Australia. After providing a brief overview of dominant trends in development education in Australia, I share my understanding and approach to Economic Literacy Otherwise in undergraduate and postgraduate courses on international education and development developed for preservice teachers. In particular, I discuss selected curricular and pedagogical choices and strategies to name and deconstruct dominant economic logics that speak to salient learner identities i.e. teachers and sustainable living. The article ends with critical reflection on

enduring constraints and challenges of centering Indigenous knowledges and ways of being in development education.

### **Context**

Similar to OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) countries, the term global citizenship education (GCE) has begun to replace development education in Australian educational contexts (Peterson, 2020). The main reference text for GCE in Australia titled the Global Perspectives Framework for Australian Schools was developed and published in 2008 under the aegis of the bilateral aid agency AUSAID renamed perhaps more appropriately as the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) (Curriculum Corporation, 2008). The Framework was developed by the Commonwealth of Australia, in conjunction with then AusAID, the Global Education Project, the Curriculum Corporation and the Asia Education Foundation. Other sources of curriculum and lesson plans for teachers are international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) including WorldVision, Oxfam and Amnesty International. However, there is scholarly consensus that the subject area remains poorly defined in official curriculum and relegated to marginal locations (Peterson, 2020). In the absence of systemic support, teachers tend to rely heavily on easily accessed but uncritical GCE resources. Although an in-depth analysis of development/global citizenship education paradigms in Australia are beyond the scope of this article (see Peterson, 2020), it is useful to identify four key structural and cultural factors that reproduce dominant economic logics that dominate the global and economic imaginaries with which pre-service teachers enter my classroom.

First, the Euro-American market economies-driven Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) paradigm is the foundation of global citizenship and development education curriculum Australian schools and university education including the Global Perspectives Framework mentioned above. The SDG paradigm is not only problematic because of its ethnocentric, universal assumptions but because it continues to posit that a linear market-driven model of economic growth is the only the solution to the ever-increasing

environmental issues on our planet. Late capitalism encourages and relies on highly individualised, fragmented, and fundamentally depoliticised understandings of social or civic responsibility and participation which do not require questions about the structural dimensions of inequality whether economic, social or political (Kothari, Demaria and Acosta, 2014). Pashby (2012) describes this ‘global entrepreneur-citizen’ as someone who is oriented towards and capable of ‘selling the world’. The discourse of the free-market economy elevates competition, economic efficiency, and individual, privatised entrepreneurship and in doing so normalises and reproduces perpetual conditions of hyper-extractivism, precarity and disposability.

The two-thirds of the world (Esteva and Prakash, 1998) living in poverty and precarity for generations are labelled too needy, vulnerable and helpless to be worthy of rights and dignity (see Thapliyal, 2022). As the reproduction of capitalism and dispossession expands, the social imagination, agency and participation of the remaining social minority are confined to the marketplace and interests of private capital (Mohanty, 2003). In the SDG approach, learners become aware and engage with global issues without making connections between global and local contexts. It requires no or minimal reflection on the hidden costs of our way of life and the related scale of environmental destruction and human exploitation required to ‘maintain our comforts, benefits, securities and enjoyments’ (Andreotti, Stein, Sutherland et al., 2018: 6). I will return to this point later in the section on earthcare-centred conceptions of sustainability.

Second, pre-service teachers in my courses also often refer to prior knowledge derived from other official curriculum influences namely the Asia Literacy priorities introduced by national curriculum reforms almost a decade ago (Harrington, 2012). Asia Literacy education in Australian schools has also been dominated by ahistorical and highly selective instrumentalist, human capital engagements focused on language and culture acquisition (see e.g. Rizvi, 2012; Halse, 2015).

A third source of influence is the informal curriculum of Australian educational institutions (schools and universities) which continue to reproduce uncritical discourses of diversity and development. This densely populated terrain includes formal partnerships and exchange programmes for international education and service learning as well as the informal presence of a highly profitable edu-tourism industry that promise travel experiences that entertain and build resumes (McGloin and Georgeu, 2016). Many of these programmes intersect and derive legitimacy from the consumerist, branded humanitarianism popularised by Hollywood celebrities and social media influencers (Mitchell, 2016).

Last but not the least, students often remark that while they aspire to become and teach better global citizens, they feel ill-equipped to do so particularly in terms of teaching about diversity and difference. This resonates with decades of research findings that a majority of Australian teachers, predominantly from Anglo-Australian backgrounds, report that they do not feel competent to teach about diversity whether in relation to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders (ATSI) or refugees (see Ferfolja, Vickers, Martin et al., 2010) or migrant settlers whose backgrounds are other than Anglo- or Judeo-Christian (see Watkins and Noble, 2021).

### **Economic Literacy Otherwise**

An insistence on learning and living with the discomfort of complicity and uncertainty with ‘radical tenderness’ sets the work of the DFC apart from other critical approaches to development or global citizenship education (Andreotti, 2014; Andreotti, Stein, Sutherland et al., 2018). I am a working-class migrant settler academic who has always lived on unceded, First Nations’ lands whether in India, Turtle Island/ United States or Australia. Finding inspiration and purpose in spaces dedicated to social justice education has also meant grappling with what decolonial scholars Tuck and Wang (2012) call an ethic of incommensurability or the recognition that projects of decolonisation are distinct and sovereign from other social justice projects including critical and feminist pedagogies, human rights and so forth. In the Australian settler-colonial context, Indigenous and anti-colonial education scholars argue that

discourses and practices of diversity and multiculturalism in the education system continue to be underpinned by material, epistemic and affective dimensions of education designed to protect projects of empire and supremacy:

“that the settler colonial state is made and reshaped through these pedagogies casts education as one of the most powerful modes through which relations of the state are formed: that is, relations between people, knowledges, capital, land and feelings that constitute political normativity in Australia” (Sriprakash, Rudolph, and Gerrard, 2022: 17).

I was first drawn to the DFC pedagogical project because of the creative ways in which it problematised dominant, hierarchical modes of relationship to other human and living beings which have become so commonplace in our schools and society e.g. the humanitarianism-industrial-complex discussed in the previous section (Andreotti, Biesta and Ahenakew, 2015). Instead, the DCF approach encourages a different notion of global-mindedness – a very local and situated contemplation and conversation about our own inherently violent and unsustainable modes of existence and exposure and how we might reimagine and act for collective wellbeing and social justice. This emphasis on interdependence and shared responsibility offers a powerful alternative to discrete and disconnected forms of empathy and engagements with human and other living beings. The DCF approach also had a significant influence expanding my knowledge and pedagogical strategies from teaching critical economic literacy to teaching Economic Literacy Otherwise.

Briefly, teaching for critical economic literacy meant critically analysing historical and contemporary issues of economic inequality, exclusion and exploitation from the perspective of historically marginalised groups. This approach engages to a certain extent with the inherent limitations of capitalist approaches to development which require continuous extraction-exploitation and consumption for continuous growth. The end point of this approach, in a manner of speaking, was rejecting these narrow conceptions of progress and civilisation and seeking out alternative, radical reforms that could

transform deeply unequal and oppressive human relations and enable sustainable lives as well as livelihoods. The human-centric core to this approach became increasingly apparent to me after engaging with Indigenous-led environmental activism including the Indigenous communities who are part of the In Earth's Care network within the DCF (DCF, 2022). A core premise of the In Earth's Care Network is that 'it is not only that we seek to care for the Earth, but that we are already in Earth's care' (Stein, Andreotti, Suša et al., 2020: 60). These perspectives exemplify to me what a life- or earthcare-centred approach to teaching about economics and development might look like because of how they name and interrupt the all-pervading tendency to consumption underpinned by enduring colonial desires and entitlements (Stein, Andreotti, Suša et al., 2020).

The work of the Decolonial Futures Collective (DFC) (2022) begins with critical framings of global problems and solutions instead of assured narratives relentless futurity thanks to guaranteed technological solutions to our planetary problems. It then encourages learners to expose and deconstruct illusions related to separateness and superiority in order to interrupt human-centredness assumptions of linear progress and the possibility of continuity (Andreotti, Stein, Suša et al., 2018). Key to this approach is explicitly teaching about the separation or fragmentation that underpins not only the assumptions and logics of global capitalism and universal Western reason or rationality but also nation-states (DCF, 2022). This approach invites a different way of thinking about learning which at its core involves the discomfort of owning privilege and complicity and also letting go of certain solutions and the messiness of not knowing. The objective is not to find certainty and solutions. Andreotti, Stein, Sutherland et al (2018: 11) tell us that the work to be done first is within if we wish to learn to "hospice" a system in decline and assist with the birth of something new, undefined, and potentially (but not necessarily) wiser'.

This pedagogy of uncertainty as I have come to think of it poses the first of many challenges in a context where the identities and self-worth of pre-service teachers are predicated on always knowing and having answers or the

means to find answers. A quick anecdote to illustrate this observation: before starting my courses, pre-service teachers complete two online ‘quiz’ activities about global citizenship and reflect on what these quizzes reveal about their knowledge and self-perceptions. One quiz consists of ten questions about development and global poverty focused on Asia. Without exception, students share surprise and disappointment that they know less than they think they did about this region of the world which is geographically closest to Australia. A second quiz on sustainability lifestyles and carbon footprints provokes similar feelings of disappointment with oneself, i.e. students express surprise and disappointment that their knowledge and lifestyle choices in relation to environmental sustainability are ‘less than’ they had anticipated. While the surprise appears to be linked to not knowing the correct answers, the disappointment also undoubtedly comes from a sense of concern and responsibility for the global issue of climate change. This condition of always knowing and needing answers or solutions is intrinsic to the modernist project of linear progress and endless accumulation. However, I have learned to view this condition as potential opportunity for transformative moments of learning when given the space to be voiced and put in dialogue with care- and earth-centred worldviews.

In the next two sections, I discuss selected pedagogical strategies for teaching Economic Literacy Otherwise that are responsive to two salient identities and subjectivities: 1) being teachers; and 2) earthcare-centred sustainable livelihoods and living. This analysis identifies fruitful openings for decoding dominant economic logics of development as well as cultivating alternative economic and global citizen imaginaries and practices.

### **The teaching precariat**

In the last forty years, the Australian government/politicians has commissioned an estimated 100 reviews/inquiries into teacher quality including professional standards for university-based teacher education programmes. As elsewhere, this manufactured crisis in teacher quality has been fuelled by relentless negative media representations of public schools and teachers particularly in market-oriented news media outlets (Thapliyal, 2018). The powerful

transnational Global Education Reform Movement (GERM) has promoted a narrative where schools are perpetually failing learners and the only solutions to be had are to be found in market-style reforms such as standardised testing and relatedly, merit- or performance-based pay (Little, 2015). The resulting intensification of performance-based accountability and austerity-oriented educational cultures have not closed the achievement gap. However, they have facilitated the casualisation and contractualisation of teaching and the steady decline in the professional status of teaching and, thus, advanced the privatisation of public education.

Indigenous and anti-colonial education scholars have long argued that neoliberalism is an extension of settler colonialism. Tuck (2013) analyses the phenomenon of school ‘pushouts’ to highlight the role that educational institutions play in a continuing the settler colonial project of land management which requires First Nations to be displaced from their homelands for extraction of surplus value from land and migrant settlers (including people of colour and the working poor) to be complicit in the normalisation of these practices of dispossession and displacement. Neoliberal education and development policies merely repackage colonial beliefs and language about 1) the ability of some peoples to govern themselves; and relatedly, 2) the supremacy of some (colonial) ways of life over others: ‘Educational accountability policies are not accountable to poor and low-income families, urban communities, migrant and immigrant communities, and disenfranchised peoples’ (Tuck, 2013: 341). However, pre-service teachers have few opportunities in their programme of study to critically explore the market-oriented education and economic policies that impact teacher subjectivities, identities and working conditions.

With these considerations in mind, I have designed a teaching module called ‘The Teaching Profession in Global Perspective’ that unpacks free-market economic logics of scarcity, efficiency and merit that underpin teacher and teaching policy reform and key actors, institutions and transnational networks who profit from the precarity of teaching profession today (Compton and Weiner, 2008). We look at the working conditions of teachers, the status

of the teaching profession, and teachers' movements around the world through websites such as Teacher Solidarity (2022) and Education International (2022). Through guided inquiry, pre-service teachers learn to place dominant framings of the universal problem of teacher quality in historical contexts of systematically underfunded public education systems and assaults on teachers' unions and the right to collective bargaining. They are asked to reframe what the compelling issues are through the lens of teachers and children's rights (as envisioned by United Nations international legal human rights frameworks).

In the process, we reflect on how these are not just education policies or economic logics but fundamental social logics and imaginaries that shape how we connect or rather dis-connect and distance ourselves from one another especially the unfamiliar other. Both capitalism and neoliberalism require certain kinds of fragmented subjectivities and identities e.g. citizen-as-individualist or citizen-as-consumer in order to normalise and propagate cultures of excessive consumption, redundancy, waste and waste disposal (Bauman, 2009). Once these logics are made visible and opened up for questioning, new forms of connection and relationship emerge.

Pre-service teachers often share that this is the first time that they have had the opportunity to think about themselves in relation to other teachers whether in Australia or elsewhere. For example, the images and stories of teacher protests around the world creates an opening for some students to talk about shared experiences of working as teachers in challenging conditions across political borders and geographical boundaries. These pre-service teachers share their fears and anxieties about precarity given the unrelenting neoliberal assault on Australian public education for the last four decades. They voice their criticisms of neoliberal teaching reforms such as merit- or performance-based pay which set teachers up to compete rather than collaborate with one another. Others fail to see any connection to their own realities for reasons that highlight the persistence of social imaginaries shaped by colonialism and capitalism. For some, the collective struggles for teachers' rights in faraway places is simply another confirmation of the backwardness and other deficits of so-called Third World countries. For others, the notion of

teachers as political beings and teaching as political work is deeply confronting. These views echo the anti-labour union sentiment encouraged by conservative politicians and their allies in corporate news media outlets. The complexity of these responses reveals the deeply individualised and competitive ways of thinking and acting that are embedded in capitalist educational institutions including teacher education.

### **Earthcare-centred sustainability**

Like settler colonial education systems elsewhere, the Australian education system is just beginning to acknowledge and respond to deeply ingrained tendencies to erase other value systems and ways of knowing and suppress epistemic uncertainties and contradictions (McCoy, Tuck, McKenzie et al., 2017; Andreotti, Stein, Sutherland et al., 2018). In recent years, there has been an increase in visibility and volume of ‘green economy’ perspectives that critique the extractivist and exploitative economic logics of industries like coal mining and industrialised agriculture that bolster a struggling economy. However, these shifts do not necessarily extend to decolonial perspectives on economic development or education, particularly Indigenous understandings of the relationship between economy, culture and nature.

Australian Indigenous ways of knowing and living continue to occupy a peripheral position in settler educational institutions (Vass and Hogarth, 2022). More specifically, the curriculum on sustainability tends to remain primarily human-centric rather than earthcare-centric, for example in its focus on the relationship between fast food and human health, technological advances in waste disposal, recycling and so forth (Whitehouse, Lui, Sellwood et al., 2014). The latest reforms in national curriculum guidelines for educating about sustainability (ACARA, 2020) emphasise the connections between all forms of life and interdependence between environmental, economic, social and cultural systems. They also encourage youth to act to seek out solutions for a more socially just future. However, the language of science, technology and balanced evaluations of impact continue to define what constitutes desired solutions (ACARA, 2020).

As part of my research for this article, I also scanned the previously mentioned Global Perspectives Framework (Curriculum Corporation, 2008) for references to Indigenous Australian conceptions of sustainability. They were mentioned in two areas of learning emphasis: i) Identity and Cultural Diversity ('develop understandings to contribute to, and benefit from, reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians', [Curriculum Corporation 2008: 9]) and ii) Sustainable Futures ('explore how Indigenous peoples in Australia and internationally relate to their environments and use scarce resources in order to live more sustainably' [Curriculum Corporation 2008: 15]). Given the history and continued lived realities of dispossession, displacement, incarceration and the long struggle for treaty and reconciliation by Indigenous Australians, I expected to, but did not find, any mention in the remaining three learning areas namely: Interdependence and Globalisation; Social Justice and Human Rights; and Peace Building and Conflict Resolution.

From the perspective of Economic Literacy Otherwise, the key word that stood out for me here was the foundational assumption of scarcity in relation to sustainability. What is assumed to be scarce and why? Is this the capitalist assumption that there are not enough resources for everyone, hence we must produce even more simply to survive? One of the most accessible and eloquent rebuttals of this assumption that I have come across is in the seminal book *The Hope's Edge* by environmental activists and writers Frances Lappé and Anna Lappé (2002). They identify this discourse of scarcity as one of five Mind Traps that are foundational to corporate profit-seeking approaches to agriculture and food production where the natural abundance all around us is dismissed as waste. The DCF Collective would add that this abundance is rendered unintelligible and seemingly impossible within dominant human-centric paradigms.

In this section, I reflect on a learning module on earthcare-centred sustainability for pre-service teachers centred on issues of food and agricultural production. Despite the emphasis on sustainable development in school and pre-service teacher education curriculum, most students report that they have

never been asked to critically examine the relationship between massive overproduction of food, waste dumping, poverty and global hunger and carbon emissions or even consider food as a basic human right. Thus, the first part of the module makes visible the market logics that underpin industrial agriculture and food production through the lens of peasant and indigenous movements for food sovereignty. We explore the rights-based critiques offered by these movements about the relationship between global hunger, food waste, industrialised agriculture and climate change as well as market-driven solutions to global warming such as the corporate-led Global Alliance on Climate Smart Agriculture. Students typically express agreement with these critiques as well as an interest to learn more about ‘new’, sustainable modes of food production.

The work of Yuin, Bunurong and Tasmanian man and writer-agriculturalist-activist Professor Bruce Pascoe on Aboriginal economies and sustainable food production is particularly well-received. Students engage deeply with a TedX talk titled ‘The First Agriculturalists’ where Pascoe (2018) explains how indigenous economic paradigms offer manifestos for equitable, sustainable and culturally inclusive alternatives to neoliberal approaches to agriculture and economic growth. The talk is based on an older, seminal book titled *Dark Emu* where Pascoe (2014) revealed a wealth of evidence about Indigenous economic and agricultural activities documented by early colonial explorers and subsequently erased in European accounts of settler history. Students also respond with interest to readings about the *Buen Vivir* (Good Living) movement with roots in Indigenous Andean philosophies of *Sumak Kawsay* and *Suma Qamara* which promote community-centric, ecologically balanced ways of life (Escobar, 2015).

However, this openness to earth-centric worldviews is not without tensions and contradictions. For example, a reading about animal rights and interspecies education remains a source of discomfort and resistance for most students in which Andrzejewski, Pedersen and Wicklund (2009) raise troubling questions about how the treatment of other animals and species is interrelated with social justice, peace and ecological survival. Students respond

angrily and dismissively to facts about the environmental damages caused by the meat and dairy industry. These far from green industries remain a mainstay of Australian settler colonial agricultural communities despite the increase in warnings from the land in the form of both bushfires and floods (Steffenson, 2020). Reminders of the material and affective investments in a worldview that separates human from land/nature can clearly be seen in the continued iconic status of outback farmers and pastoralists who played a vital role in the British settler colonial project through occupation (often violent) and deforestation of unceded Indigenous lands.

In response, I have incorporated additional resources on what it means for nature to have rights. Specifically, students engage with two Indigenous perspectives on recent legal recognitions of the rights of rivers and waterways. They read about the ongoing struggle for water justice by the Tati traditional owners and river people of the Murray-Darling River Basin in Victoria, Australia. They listen to Law Professor Jacinta Ruru (Raukawa, Ngāti Ranginui and Ngāti Maniapoto) explain the connections for Māori to water and land and the significance of the declaration of the Te Urewera National Park and the Whanganui River (Tūhoe First Nations) as legal persons in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Ruru, 2017).

Responses to these learning materials about the rights of nature has been dominated by tendencies to either romanticise or extract/appropriate Indigenous knowledges instead of fundamentally reconsidering our entanglements with land/nature. For example, student responses focus entirely on the rights of the rivers without any acknowledgement of the ancient relationship between the waterways and their traditional custodians. This unthinking erasure of Indigenous peoples and their approach to living with the land always reminds me of the ever present potential for reproducing colonial habits while attempting to practice decolonial pedagogies.

## **Conclusion**

In this article, I have discussed selected experiences of teaching Economic Literacy Otherwise which represent both openings and enduring tensions in

questioning dominant economic discourses of development and education. The challenges facing teachers around the world has proven to be a fruitful space in which to interrogate capitalist discourses of scarcity of resources, self-interest, competition, efficiency, and corporate-style technomanagerial governance of educational institutions. Indigenous perspectives on education, development and earthcare-centered sustainability have created openings to amplify and prioritise historically marginalised voices and unsettle settler colonial cultural assumptions about ownership and sovereignty over nature and explore earth-centric modes of relationship and existence.

However, the resistances named in this article also underline for me that teaching about economic relations and systems is intrinsically also about teaching identity and meaning-making. The solutions offered by capitalism to our global and local problems remain seductive because they permit some of us to see ourselves as heroes and saviours. As a collective, we are also able to maintain the illusion of steady progress towards a better future through assured, almost instantaneous, hi-tech solutions. Unlearning dominant tendencies towards individualism, commodification and consumption of education and the environment is a process which requires deeper reckonings with colonialism, empire and globalisation. The modules I have discussed here are always preconfigured with discussions about the lasting legacy of colonialism on education as well as the environment and what we might learn from the past. These kinds of deep affective investments in the logics of separation and dis-connection that uphold the dominant economic paradigm cannot be permanently disrupted within the span of one or two modules or even entire courses. However, it is my hope that this reflection makes a small contribution to expanding pedagogical repertoires for teaching Economic Literacy Otherwise in classrooms situated in settler colonial, industrialised societies.

We cannot imagine and practice living well with nature without changing dominant economic forms of production or the interlinked realities of environmental exploitation, gendered and racialised forms of oppression (Amsler, 2019). In particular, Indigenous economies and epistemologies offer us a plethora of possibilities – none perfect - for alternative models of

development centred on earth-centred, caring and self-sufficient ways of life. I give thanks for the work of the Decolonial Futures Collective and continue to draw inspiration and sustenance from decolonial educational projects which urge us to think ‘otherwise’ and to be open to ontological changes ‘even before the conditions of possibility for their intelligibility or desirability emerge’ (Ibid: 925).

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# EDUCATION FOR DEVELOPMENT: THE TANZANIAN EXPERIENCE

ANDERS DANIEL FAKSVÅG HAUGEN

**Abstract:** In recent times, few nation-building projects are perceived to be more successful than that of Nyerere's Tanzania. Since independence, the nation has served as a beacon of peace and stability in the East African region. Also, Tanzania has in the past decades evolved into one of the fastest growing economies in sub-Saharan Africa and was recognised as a lower middle-income country in 2020, five years ahead of its projected schedule. According to Tanzanians and educationists alike, there is a common understanding that education has played a central role in the nation's development, both politically, socially, and economically. Tanzanian education has since the days of Nyerere been widely recognised as successful in its citizen formation, with the effective installment of a unifying national identity as a main objective. In addition, education in the country has continuously been closely linked to prevailing objectives of national development. With development being given the highest priority, discourses of development have consequently been incorporated into the Tanzanian national identity, making important unifying elements. In this article, I explore the role of development discourses in Tanzanian education and the construction of national identity. By revisiting the dominating political discourse of development, conceptualised through the Swahili term *maendeleo*, I argue that the incorporation of elements of the development discourse in the Tanzanian national identity through education has contributed to the formation of a unified Tanzania where a population, rooted in collective values from its socialist past, has provided opportunities for local understandings of the neoliberal economic paradigm.

**Key words:** National Identity; Education; Identity Formation; Development; Neoliberalism.

“But all of us are Tanzanians. Together, we are the people. Our development is our affair; and it is the development of ourselves as people that we must dedicate ourselves to” (Nyerere, 1968: 10).

## **Introduction**

Increasing global inequality has been one of the dominant narratives of international development in the past decades and presents one of the main challenges currently facing development educators (United Nations, 2020). This tendency of accelerating economic polarisation is commonly attributed to the worldwide dominance of the neoliberal economic paradigm of the past decades (Allred, 2022). As Collins and Rothe (2019: 57) described it: ‘[...] since the neoliberal project was put in place in the early 1980s, the economic divide has been magnified’. In search for solutions, exploration of alternative educational perspectives on, and approaches to, development has been called for. As African nations have ‘long created their own ingenious methods for sustaining their environments, promoting their economic interests, and protecting themselves from oppression and exploitation’ (Decker and McMahon, 2021: 12), the continent offers opportunities of unique character locally embedded in cultural and socio-geographical traditions.

Few post-colonial nation-building projects are perceived to be more successful than that of Tanzania (Abdi, 2008; Fukuyama, 2015). Since independence, the nation has enjoyed political stability and internal peace, conditions rare to the remaining East African region (Ahluwalia and Zegeye, 2010; Kimambo, Maddox and Nyanto, 2017). In addition, the past decades have seen Tanzania evolve into one of the fastest growing economies in sub-Saharan Africa (Masenya et al., 2018). In 2020, the World Bank recognised the nation as a lower middle-income country (World Bank, 2022), five years ahead of the government’s projected schedule (URT, 1999). For Tanzania’s development, both politically, socially, and economically, education is commonly recognised as one of the main contributors, by the Tanzanian government as well as educationist researchers (Block, 1998; Blommaert, 2014; Buchert, 1994; Lugalla and Ngwaru, 2019; URT, 1999).

In this article, I explore how the Tanzanian understanding of development, embedded in the Swahili term *maendeleo*, has contributed to an alternative, tailored version of the neoliberal paradigm in the country. After providing a theoretical basis for national identity formation through education, I argue that Tanzanian development education has created a shared understanding of development among Tanzanians, which has proved to be resistant to influence from neoliberalist ideology. This is done through the incorporation of *maendeleo* as a marker of national identity. Through these perspectives from Tanzanian education, I argue for educational construction of national identity as one way of effectively maintaining a local understanding of development when facing global economic paradigms.

### **Neoliberalism and development education**

Today, neoliberalism is on a global scale the dominant economic paradigm. The term has emerged as shorthand for extreme capitalism with minimal government intervention (Allred, 2022: 113). The neoliberal ideology places the market at the centre: ‘rather than placing the economy at the service of the citizens, neoliberalism has forced workers to service the needs of the market’ (McCloskey, 2020: 174). Within a neoliberal understanding of development, individuals’ participation in the global market is given priority over taking part in politics or engaging in civic life, as self-improvement is valued over the common good (DeJaeghere, 2013: 504). In other words, citizenship, in a neoliberal understanding, ‘is to be manifested not in the receipt of public largesse, but in the energetic pursuit of personal fulfilment’ (Miller and Rose, 2008: 82).

Development education is in many ways difficult to define, and, as argued by Osler (1994), defining it is perhaps also counterproductive. Taking various forms in different countries and constantly being revised as our understanding of development evolves (Ibid: 1), development education should rather be understood broadly and as dynamic in nature. Existing definitions can, however, help in identifying core aspects of development education of a more universal character.

The United Nations (UN) defined development education to concern the issues of human rights, dignity, self-reliance, social justice, and causes of underdevelopment as well as ‘the reasons for and the ways of achieving a new international economic and social order’ (Hicks and Townley, 1982: 9). The Irish Development Education Association (IDEA) (2019) defined development education as ‘an educational process which enables people to understand the world around them and to act to transform it’, a definition underpinning by the Irish Aid *Global Citizenship Education Strategy 2021-2025* (Irish Aid, 2021). With a radical character, development education is committed to critical inquiry and action, providing agency to contribute towards justice and equality in the world (McCloskey, 2020: 174).

Historically, educators from the global South have influenced and inspired development educationists (Osler, 1994). Freire (1972) understood education as a way out of oppression, marginalisation, and exploitation, while Nyerere (1968) expressed a sincere belief in development through education for the collective good. While some ask if development education should look to more contemporary figures when mobilising the sector (Allred, 2022), I argue in this article that Nyerere still offers important lessons, given the present neoliberal reality. As most current provisions of education are ‘placed within an invidious position by the context of working within the global neoliberal order’ (Allred, 2022: 112), it is my understanding that development education can benefit from alternative education perspectives characterised by collectivism and people-centeredness.

### **Nation, education and development: theoretical perspectives**

In 2015, the United Nations (UN) adopted Resolution 70/1, titled *Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development* (United Nations, 2015). This resolution, with its 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), pointed the global direction for development to 2030. A majority of the SDGs are dependent on two key tools in order to be reached: (i) a well-functioning and responsible government based upon democratic principles, and (ii) an education system contributing to citizen formation as defined by UNESCO: ‘Educating children, from early childhood, to become

clear-thinking and enlightened citizens who participate in decisions concerning society. Society is here understood [...] as a state' (Delors, 1998). These tools are also more or less found as SDGs themselves, in Goals 4 and 16, respectively (United Nations, 2015).

It is difficult to consider government and education separately. Education is defined by Bailyn (1970: 10) as 'the entire process by which a culture transmits itself across generations', and has become standardised through states' provision of public education. Aiming to make education available to all groups of society and serving a variety of societal needs, public education systems have evolved into an important state concern and, ultimately, an institution of the state (Green, 1990: 77-79). Further, as education systems act on behalf of their government, and at the same time are responsible for empowering the people that ultimately elect the government, the two are heavily dependent on each other.

Public education is commonly recognised as an indispensable contributor to the process of nation-building. Anderson (2006) defines nations as 'imagined communities'. He points to the fact that within a nation, most members will never have known nor met most of their fellow compatriots. Yet, in their minds exists a deep feeling of belonging to the group through the sense of comradeship and shared identity (Ibid: 6-7). Malipula (2021) places the formation of this collective national identity at the forefront of nation-building:

“Nation building includes processes of collective nation identity formation aimed at legitimising public power within a specific territory using existing, or new acceptable traditions, customs and institutions. At its core, the process hinges on identity fusion and loyalty to national identity despite retention of the micro-identities of the people within” (Ibid: 435).

Similar to Malipula, Cogan (1998) proposes *a sense of identity* as one of five general attributes of citizenship. As the actual nature of a given population might be more divisive than unifying with the existence of

overlapping and multiple identities, Cogan (1998: 3) recognises a collective national identity of unifying character as an ‘essential ingredient of citizenship’.

Anderson’s (2006) understanding of nations as imagined communities contests nationalist views of nations as primordial and biologically based, as nations are understood as social constructs. Gellner (1964: 169) shares a similar view, and claims that ‘Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist’. Similarly, it is a common assumption that citizenship, as a product of social construction, is *educational* in nature rather than hereditary or congenital (Abdi, 2015; Cogan, 1998; Osler and Starkey, 2005). This assumption does, however, regard other aspects of citizenship than what Osler and Starkey (2005: 12-13) define as *status*, or similarly Cogan (1998: 2-4) identifies as *rights and entitlements*, which citizens are granted based on their country of birth. Rather, citizenship is understood as ‘feeling’ and ‘practice’ (Osler and Starkey, 2005: 14-18), or ‘sense of identity’, ‘fulfilment of obligations’, ‘interest’ and ‘involvement in public affairs’, and ‘acceptance of basic societal values’ (Cogan, 1998: 2-6).

Thus, with no one being born a citizen, citizenship becomes something that must be learnt, practised, and experienced. Citizenship should also in itself be understood as dynamic and subject to constant change. As described by Ndegwa (1998: 352), citizenship ‘is never fixed; as a social process, it is constantly and simultaneously being enacted, contested, revised, and transformed’.

### **National identity and its formation processes**

National identities are, according to Fukuyama (2015: 33-36), formed through four basic processes, with the first being the adjustment of political borders. In this process, political borders are either broadened or narrowed with the objective of better fitting the population given a nation point-of-departure. Recently, Russian authorities have posited arguments of this nature in their efforts to justify their invasion of the Donbas region of Eastern Ukraine. The

second process concerns population adjustment through the moving or elimination of people in order to make more homogeneous units within the existing borders. The Balkan wars of the 1990s saw both refugee migration and ethnic cleansing with the objectives of reducing the heterogeneity of populations. Thirdly, the language, culture and customs of a nation's dominant group are adopted by subordinate populations through processes of cultural assimilation. Fukuyama here points to public education and choice of language in public administration as the primary instruments. Fourth and finally, posited national identities may undergo processes of adjustment in order to better fit constantly changing political realities. According to Fukuyama (2015: 35), nation-building should be understood as 'a constant interplay between changing borders, moving populations, assimilating cultures, and adjusting ideas'.

Fukuyama's (2015) first two processes present various options for adjusting the target population of a national identity. These processes are in most cases carried out in a top-down manner of political nature by the state. The two latter processes concern the instalment and adjustment of the actual national identity and are processes that to a large extent are carried out by education systems. According to Fukuyama (2015), successful nation-building processes tend to be characterised by involvement of all four processes, as well as consisting of a mixture of top-down and bottom-up initiatives and management, allowing for lasting national identities that are sustained by their populations.

### **Discussion: The Tanzanian experience**

#### *Education and development*

Education is widely recognised as a pivotal contributor to the development of the Tanzanian nation. This is commonly credited to the *Baba wa Taifa* (Swahili for *father of the nation*), Julius Nyerere, who served as the nation's first president from 1961 to 1985 (Kimambo, Maddox and Nyanto, 2017). Nyerere considered education to be the only tool capable of transforming the country into the egalitarian, African-socialist state that he envisioned (Buchert, 1994:

94). In the education policy *Education for self-reliance* (1967), Nyerere elaborated on his understanding of education:

“[...] education, whether it be formal or informal, has a purpose. That purpose is to transmit from one generation to the next the accumulated wisdom and knowledge of the society, and to prepare the young people for their future membership of the society and their active participation in its maintenance or development” (Nyerere, 1967: 1).

In line with the perspectives of Bailyn (1970: 11), Nyerere considered education fundamental to formation processes of the future citizenry. However, as he interestingly distinguished between societal development and maintenance, Nyerere recognised education’s transformative abilities in line with contemporary understandings of development education (Bracken, 2020: 57; O’Connell et al., 2021: 11). At the same time, he displayed awareness of education’s potential for contributing societal maintenance through processes of conservation.

As both a teacher and an economist, Nyerere saw transformative potential in education through the conveyance of a unifying culture with a shared national identity, and in preparing a skilled workforce tailored for the new independent Tanzania (Saronga, 2019: 198-199). The formation and instalment of a unifying national identity have since independence been identified as main educational objectives. In addition, Tanzanian education has continuously been closely linked to the nation’s development objectives. Nyerere’s political discourse of development constructed around the Swahili term *maendeleo* consequently became a component in the educational formation of Tanzanian national identity.

### **Development as *maendeleo***

*Maendeleo* originates morphologically from the verbs *kuenda* (to go) and *kuendelea* (to go on, continue) and is etymologically connected to *progress* (Decker and McMahon, 2020: 6). The Swahili term has evolved into an essential part of the postcolonial lexicon in East Africa, as it embeds local

understandings of development throughout the region (Ahearne, 2016). While these understandings often share common ground, Mercer (2002: 111) notes that ‘maendeleo is not a unitary, fixed discourse over time and space, but rather is mutable, contingent, and open to local reinterpretation and appropriation’.

In the Tanzanian context, *maendeleo* is inherently connected to development as Nyerere envisioned it in the context of his particular version of African socialism called *ujamaa* (Swahili for *familyhood*) (Lal, 2015). As the new independent nation took on the task of building the new Tanzania, they strategically looked to Swahili, the new national language, and embedded the nation’s new development discourse within the term *maendeleo* (Decker and McMahan, 2020: 154).

People-centredness was at the heart of Nyerere’s conceptualisation of development. Around the term *maendeleo*, Nyerere constructed an understanding of development as being *of, for* and *by* the people (Haugen, 2022). Having identified *ignorance* as one of the three sworn enemies of the country, Nyerere considered development of the people through education as essential for Tanzania’s future. As stated in his seminal essay on development, *Uhuru na Maendeleo* (Swahili for *Freedom and Development*): ‘By developing the people of Tanzania, we are developing Tanzania’ (Nyerere, 1968: 9). Further, development should be for the people. Being well-rooted within African socialism, the development of the nation should be of benefit to the whole nation: ‘For Tanzania is the people, and the people means everyone’ (Ibid: 9).

Further, Nyerere saw each citizen’s personal development as a part of the collective development of the nation. Consequently, a person’s development should not be seen as an opportunity to self-enrichment but rather to contribute to the common good. With education as the example, Nyerere (in Smith, 1971) provided the following illustration:

“Those who receive this privilege of education have a duty to return the sacrifice which others have made. They are like the man who has

been given all the food available in a starving village in order that he might have the strength to bring supplies back for a distant place. If he takes this food and does not bring help to his brothers, he is a traitor” (Ibid: 21).

Understanding development as to provide for *all* Tanzanians, illustrates the significance of collectivism as a permeating aspect of Nyerere’s developmental discourse. Equity and unity were fundamental values to his nation-building project and considered as cornerstones. Further, societal cohesion through a unified population would according to Nyerere provide favourable conditions for national progress. Therefore, development *by* the people was recognised as a crucial factor for success to the extent that central components of the development discourse of *maendeleo* were seen as markers of Tanzanian national identity by the Nyerere administration (Mercer, 2002: 111-112).

In summary, Nyerere represented a people-centred development as embedded in the Swahili term *maendeleo* strategically adopted from the ‘language of liberation’ (Decker and McMahan, 2020). As development should be *of, for* and *by* the nation, understood as its people, equity, unity and collectivism were central values and principles for development in Nyerere’s African socialism. Understood as preconditions for development, these principles and values of *maendeleo* were incorporated into Tanzanian national identity as markers. Working for and contributing to development understood as *maendeleo* consequently became synonymous with what it meant to be Tanzanian, having made a particular discourse of development an identity marker.

*Maendeleo* and development in Tanzania during the country’s socialist era had mixed outcomes. Importantly, public education and health services were expanded and contributed to an improved standard of living for many Tanzanians (Decker and McMahan, 2021: 154). *Ujamaa* also promoted community building and a philosophy of African socialism grounded in collectivism and people-centeredness that still holds sway in Tanzanian

culture. However, Nyerere's policies failed to deliver the desired results, and involved the suffering of inhabitants (Kaiser, 1996: 231). Among the policies that can be criticised, Operation Vijiji (Swahili for *village*) forced more than half the population to resettle in ujamaa villages, envisioned as self-reliant agricultural communities sustained by their own production (Ibid). The project dramatically disrupted existing food market systems in the country, and the famine that followed cost the lives of many Tanzanians (Kimambo, Maddox and Nyanto, 2017: 184).

## **Educational formation of national identity**

### *Population adjustment*

Immediately after independence, Tanzanian authorities with Nyerere at the forefront started the process of transforming the nation's education system. As Nyerere considered education as the chief impetus for national development, making education available to the whole population became a key objective. At these early stages, two colonially inherited obstacles caused concern, and the initial changes were concentrated around hurdling these barriers. Upon independence, Tanzanians found themselves with a discriminatory education system based on race inherited from the British. As Nyerere 'sought to define the character of sovereignty in the new nation as nonracial' (Bjerk, 2015: 61), structural changes were inevitable. Thus, a new system with one nationalised, state-provided education for all citizens regardless of ethnicity based on one, harmonised curriculum was introduced in 1963 (Mutahaba et al., 2017: 383). While marking a milestone of strong symbolic character, the limited capacity of Tanzanian education soon stood out as the government's main challenge in their efforts for universal provision of education.

Being almost equally divided religiously between Christianity and Islam, while at the same time consisting of over 120 tribes with a similar number of languages between them, the heterogeneity of the Tanzanian population provided president Nyerere with a challenging point-of-departure for his nation-building project. However, instead of adjusting borders or regulating the population within them, Nyerere looked to education for ways

to adjust his population. This was done through processes of *inclusive* character, as no tribe or religion was excluded. Through leaving behind its previous structures of racial segregation and exclusion, education became an important structural contributor of great symbolic character towards the unification around a collective national identity that replaced contesting identities of divisive character.

The removal of the structural hindrances that were inherited from the British colonisers as well as working on expanding educational capacity should not only be seen as population adjustment through education. Additionally, these changes arguably served as measures for rigging the Tanzanian education system for contribution towards the development of Tanzania in line with the understanding of *maendeleo*.

### **Cultural assimilation, or national unification?**

With the *Education for Self-Reliance* policy, Nyerere (1967) launched Tanzania's first education policy since independence. Being the educational component of Nyerere's *ujamaa* politics, the policy brought the country's education in the direction of African socialism. From a content perspective, the 1967 curriculum reform brought about complete transformation of Tanzanian education, as three overall principles were incorporated into the nation's curriculum: (i) equality and respect for human dignity; (ii) sharing of the resources; and (iii) work by everyone and exploitation by none (Nyerere, 1967). Through education, Nyerere aimed to unify the diverse Tanzanian population by installing a national identity constructed around the values of his particular breed of African socialism. Tribalism and religion, representing factors of divisive character, were neglected as educational content. Instead, by incorporating principles and values of *maendeleo* such as equity, unity and collectivism as markers of national identity, Tanzanian education contributed to unifying the Tanzanian population around a development discourse. How the nation went about its development became synonymous with what it meant to be Tanzanian, and thus had a powerful impact on the success of Tanzania's nation-building project.

## Identity adjustment

In the 1970s and early 1980s, Tanzania experienced times of economic struggles. The 1973 oil crisis together with key Tanzanian exports such as cotton and coffee experiencing a dramatic decline in value, caused the nation's socialist economy to falter (Decker and McMahon, 2021: 154; Ahluwalia and Zegeye, 2010: 38). Also, financing the nation's ambitious development projects of *ujamaa* and Nyerere's African socialism had, despite the slogan of self-reliance, left the country heavily indebted. As a result, Tanzanian authorities were eventually forced by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank to abandon socialism and adopt a structural adjustment programme (SAP), causing gradual changes of liberalisation both politically and economically (Decker and McMahon, 2021: 154). Consequently, the nation's previous one-party system was replaced by a multiparty democracy in 1992 (Msekwa, 1995), and the economic sector shifted towards neoliberalism with the introduction of a capitalistic understanding of development constructed around individualism, private ownership and the free market as preconditions for economic growth (Kimambo, Maddox and Nyanto, 2017: 190-191).

Nyerere, refusing to accede to the changes enforced by the SAP, stepped down as president in 1985, staying true to his political principles (Ahluwalia and Zegeye, 2010: 38-39). Throughout the decade-long reign of his successor, Ali Hassan Mwinyi, neoliberal policies were rapidly introduced (Mwapachu, 2018: 372). This period has come to be known as the *Ruksa* (Swahili for *do your own thing*) years, denoting a diversion from former means of development in post-independence Tanzania (Hyden, 1999: 144).

Tanzania's first post-liberalisation change in development policy came in 1999, when the third phase government of President Mkapa introduced the country's new development plan, The Tanzania Development Vision 2025 (URT, 1999). The document set the course for the nation's development in the next quarter century in line with recent reforms of economic and political liberalisation (Samoff, 1994), and highlighted five main attributes that the nation should be imbued with come 2025: i) high quality of livelihood, ii)

peace, stability and unity, iii) good governance, iv) a well educated and learning society, and v) a competitive economy capable of producing sustainable growth and shared benefits (URT, 1999: 2-5).

The influence of neoliberalism became particularly prominent in descriptions of a liberalised Tanzanian economic part of the global market, standing in sharp contrast to Nyerere (1967) and his emphasis on community development:

“It [education] must also prepare young people for the work they will be called upon to do in the society which exists in Tanzania – a rural society where improvement will depend largely upon the efforts of the people in agriculture and in village development” (Ibid: 8).

While much of Nyerere’s African socialism was abandoned as neoliberalism gradually took root in Tanzania, core aspects of his development discourse of *maendeleo* endured:

“A nation should enjoy peace, political stability, national unity and social cohesion in an environment of democracy and political and social tolerance. Although Tanzania has enjoyed national unity, peace and stability for a long time, these attributes must continue to be cultivated, nurtured and sustained as important pillars for the realisation of the Vision” (URT, 1999: 3-4).

Despite seeing changes in the nation’s development goals as well as economic sectors and markets, elements of the *maendeleo* development discourse remained at the core of the Tanzanian government’s envisioned development and policies regarding development facilitation. By being thoroughly integrated into the Tanzanian national identity since the early days of independence, *maendeleo* endured as a relevant development discourse in the face of neoliberalism.

The neoliberal shift in Tanzania and the nation's new development vision soon made its mark on the country's education sector. Government funding towards education decreased as one effort to reduce public spending, which over time had a negative effect on both enrolment and the quality of education (Vavrus, 2003; 2005). Simultaneously, the liberalisation of the education sector caused a corresponding increase in private initiatives. In total, this caused an increase in educational costs for students and their families (DeJaeghere, 2013: 504). Also, as education became gradually more privatised, the influence of stakeholders outside of the Tanzanian authorities like NGOs, social entrepreneurs and corporations grew considerably (Mundy, 2006). The 1990s also saw reforms within educational policy as the *Tanzania Education and Training Policy* (MoEVT, 1995) replaced the *Education for Self-Reliance* policy (Nyerere, 1967). Introducing human rights, democracy and globalisation as topics into the curriculum, the Tanzanian educational authorities tailored the educational content for the nation's new political reality (MoEVT, 2005).

The neoliberal tendencies in Tanzania's development have, however, changed over time. The government gradually recognised several of the country's neoliberal policies, and particularly those involving privatisation, as foreign and a diversion from the nation's envisioned development as described in the Development Vision 2025 (URT, 1999; Mwapachu, 2018: 37). Hence, the nation revisited its founding socialist values, retracting from the foreign landscape of neoliberalism. Public primary education has again become fee-free (Nyirenda, 2021), and the moral component of the nation's social science subject at primary level was recently strengthened to 'enable the pupil to respect and value for the community' and develop 'virtues like responsibility, resilience, integrity and peace maintenance' (MoEST, 2020: 2). Maintenance of a unifying Tanzanian identity continues to be an educational objective of highest priority. Based on the development discourse of *maendeleo*, the country's national identity has allowed for and contributed to a local, tailored version of neoliberalism based on values and principles from *maendeleo* such as equity, unity, and collectivism. As a result, Tanzania has found herself in a

unique position of political stability, national unity, and with both a collective approach to and understanding of development within the neoliberal domain.

### **Conclusion**

The formation and instalment of one, unifying, national identity has been the main educational objective from the early days of independent Tanzania (Abdi, 2008). Further, Tanzanian education has continuously been closely linked to prevailing development objectives. By incorporating a political discourse of development, conceptualised through *maendeleo*, into Tanzanian national identity, education has contributed to the formation of a Tanzanian nation with a population rooted in values and principles from its socialist past. These prevailing values have contributed to alternative interpretations and a local version of the neoliberal economic paradigm.

The Tanzanian experience provides valuable perspectives in the area of development education. The incorporation of a local development discourse in national identity formation has proven effective in resisting more extreme aspects of neoliberalism. In contrast to the neoliberal ideology with its individualistic focus and prioritisation of the market, development as *maendeleo* reminds us of the importance of collectivism and people-centredness. In the spirit of Nyerere's *maendeleo*, development education should inspire students to serve the common good rather than pursue personal prosperity.

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# DEVELOPMENT'S DISAPPEARANCE: A METAPHOR ANALYSIS OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN NORWEGIAN CORE CURRICULUM

IRENE TOLLEFSEN

**Abstract:** The article presents findings from a critical metaphor analysis of 'sustainable development' in the current and former versions of the Norwegian formal education curriculum. By combining conceptual metaphor analysis with an interaction approach, the article explores how experiences with 'reality' shape sustainable development and discuss how the metaphor's content in turn might shape perceptions of 'reality'. The former version reads like a priest's sermon placing sustainable development in a context of crises, complexity, and conflicts, requiring a holistically oriented education encouraging a collective effort. In the current version the interaction process of 'sustainable development' has culminated in a tension-reduced, individually oriented, and technology-optimistic metaphor. What then becomes backgrounded is the focus on sustainable development also being about meeting the needs of the present. With no explicit economic content, there is little in the curriculum that encourages debates about economic growth, the current economic paradigm, or exploration of alternative paradigms. These central issues are left out and the metaphor is falling asleep. Development education (DE), as a field of research and exploration of approaches to discuss and teach about the missing issues, can be a useful source of inspiration and contribute to reawakening the dormant metaphor.

**Key words:** Sustainable Development; Critical Metaphor Analysis; Development Education; Economic Growth.

## Introduction

“When two metaphors, such as sustainability and development, are parts in an interaction, the soundscape becomes a cacophony that few

understand the consequences of’ (Lippe, 1999: 199 – own translation).

In this article approaching ‘sustainable development’ as a metaphor is understood as exploring how our experiences with reality shape language and how language in turn shapes reality. ‘Sustainable’ and ‘development’ are concepts rich in connotations. Combined, they cover many concerns and suggested solutions, and ‘sustainable development’ as a metaphor has potentially great potency in meaning creation. However, this potency, and its transformative power, depends on what connotations are brought to the fore, and how. It is, therefore, of interest to explore what connotations are brought to the fore and what is being pushed towards the back in the presentation of sustainable development as part of the Norwegian formal education core curriculum.

Defined as meeting today's needs without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs (WCED, 1987), sustainable development was fashioned to reconcile environmental considerations and the fight against poverty and social injustice. This reconciliation has proven difficult as sustainability has been understood as living within planetary boundaries and development has been understood as economic growth and therefore irreconcilable with these boundaries (Redclift, 2005). These irreconcilable considerations reflect some of the sustainable development metaphor’s tensions.

How sustainable development is presented in the Norwegian curriculum is part of shaping how the concept is understood and taught in primary and secondary education. The Norwegian curriculum comprises a ‘core curriculum’ describing the value foundation of education, a section describing the subjects and time division, and the subject syllabuses (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, undated). Sustainable development as a concept was included in the ‘core curriculum’ in 1993 (Kyrkje- utdannings og forskningsdepartementet, 1993). Since then, the concept has steadily been attributed more space through reform processes. The

Knowledge Promotion reform of 2006 saw the introduction of competency goals, taking curriculum towards an output-oriented focus, and sustainable development was included in competency goals in the natural- and social science subjects through this reform. In the latest Knowledge Promotion reform of 2020 (LK20) the concept has been included in more subjects.

Through the LK20 reform the ‘core curriculum’ of 1993, hereafter named the ‘General part 93’ after its Norwegian title, was replaced with the ‘Overarching part 2017’ (Ministry of Education and Research, 2017). Through an open public consultation process, anyone with an opinion was invited to provide input to the renewal of the ‘core curriculum’ and to the subject syllabuses (Ministry of Education and Research, 2016). These inputs reflect some of the cacophonies of potential meaning indicated in Lippe’s introductory citation (1999). It is therefore of interest to explore how both the ‘old’ and the new ‘core curriculum’ reflect this cacophony.

A critical metaphor analysis of the former (1993) and current ‘core curriculum’ is conducted to understand what sustainable development conveys. As the value foundation of the curriculum, how sustainable development is presented in this part has implications for how the topic is understood and is provided space throughout the subject syllabuses. The analysis looks at what is being brought to the fore, what becomes hidden, and how this has changed from the former to the present core curriculum. The article then discusses what implications the findings might have for the potency of sustainable development to enact transformative change.

First, the theory and method of metaphor analysis are presented, followed by the metaphor analysis of sustainable development in the two versions of the core curriculum, and then implications are discussed.

### **Critical metaphor analysis**

A critical approach to metaphor analysis takes departure in critical pedagogy and critical curriculum theory as inspired by Freire, Giroux, Pinar and Apple. A key emphasis is on the power of language and on the effort to make visible

structures of power shaping the contexts in which our actions unfold. Insights from critical pedagogy and critical curriculum theory is thus part of shaping how the analytical framework is utilised.

Within the dichotomy of realism and relativism, a distinction is made between what Ortony (1993: 2-3) describes as the *literal*, that language is a literal description of reality - and the *metaphorical* - that our understanding of reality is constructed through language. This dichotomy also describes a way of understanding how a metaphor works. Realists, on the one hand, will claim that science can describe the world objectively and literally and that the metaphor is unnecessary and confusing. On the other hand, relativists argue that our understanding of the world is constructed through language and that metaphor is a tool in this process. A metaphor, therefore, can have great power.

By using critical metaphor analysis, Charteris-Black (2004) believes that we can become more aware of how something is highlighted, and other things are suppressed. In this way, we can also ‘challenge the metaphor and suggest alternative ways of thinking about the topic’ (Ibid: 251). He argues that the development of cognitive semantics has contributed to a focus on metaphors as a tool for conceptualising political questions and worldviews. In his studies, he finds, for example, that political speeches based on ‘religion domains’ build up a ‘new ethical political discourse’ (Ibid: 48). An analysis of what ‘domains’ are utilised in a political document such as an education curriculum can therefore provide insights into the conceptualisation of political questions and worldviews.

The metaphor analysis of the two value documents of the Norwegian curriculum takes inspiration from the dichotomy between reality shaping language and language shaping reality by combining two different ways of understanding metaphors. It builds on Lakoff and Johnson’s (2008) conceptual metaphor theory of how our experiences with reality shapes our language. This is combined with Max Black’s (1962; 1979) interaction perspective to see how our use of language is part of shaping how we understand reality.

Lakoff and Johnson define the essence of metaphor as ‘understanding and experiencing one type of thing in the form of another’ (2008: 4). They describe metaphors as a hierarchical system where conceptual phenomena inspire conceptual metaphors which create structurally arranged abstract metaphors. An example of a conceptual phenomenon, termed ‘source domain’, is how our *spatial* experience of up and down has led to conceptual metaphors where what is or moves up has a positive connotation, while what is down or moves down has a negative connotation: heaven and hell; how we bounce up in a good mood or how we slouch down when in a bad mood; views of being up and down a ladder, etc. Per Espen Stoknes (2020) exemplifies how naturalised good = up has become when he tries to explain why ‘zero growth’ is difficult to promote. Growth as going upwards, is so naturalised as something positive that zero growth, or stagnation, is difficult to perceive as positive. In this sense, the structure, or ‘framework’, around growth becomes a filter that appears difficult to change.

All words in our language evoke specific associations that belong to what Lakoff (2014) calls a ‘frame’. Such a ‘frame’ has a filter effect in that it steers our focus towards specific associations. Conceptualisations and their structuring of metaphors into frames are not always the same across cultures. They can manifest differently as exemplified by how the future can be understood as being both in front and back of us, depending on cultural use (Lakoff and Johnson, 2008: 11). Frames are also deliberately used to instil certain ideas or images. An example Lakoff (2014) explores is the metaphor ‘tax relief’. According to Lakoff, this metaphor is a successful attempt at ‘framing’ by the conservative side of United States politics, using the framework for ‘relief’. Relief can be associated with removing or easing from something that is oppressive or painful, and ‘relief’ therefore frames ‘tax’ as someone being ‘saved’ from paying taxes, and the person doing the relieving becomes a ‘hero’.

Where Lakoff and Johnson point to how the frame shapes the focus of a metaphor, Max Black (1962, 1979) emphasises how both the focus and the frame can affect each other. In his interaction perspective, both the focus

and the frame have associated common places or connotations which influence each other. An example he uses is ‘man is a wolf’. Here, ‘man’ is understood as the focus and ‘wolf’ is understood as the frame. In the interaction perspective, the idea is that it is not only the connotations of ‘wolf’ that highlight certain characteristics of ‘man’, but that also ‘man’ can shape which of the connotations of ‘wolf’ are played upon. In this way, the wolf is also humanised according to Black (1962). As such ‘sustainable’ and ‘development’ can be understood to affect each other. The connotations of each interact and transfer meaning to each other. Consequently, we can say that both the focus and the frame of the metaphor turn our gaze in specific ways. Like a filter, it organises how we see the world. The filter causes some connotations to be highlighted while other connotations are ‘pushed away and overlooked during the interaction process’ (Lippe, 1999: 199). Such metaphorical interaction can lead to new insights or to a cementation of existing insights. The interaction can also be understood as a change of opinion or an expansion of meaning (Flatseth, 2009: 82). Consequently, it matters how the metaphor is used and understood.

When using a metaphor, there is always uncertainty about how the ‘listener’ understands what the ‘speaker’ conveys. A field of tension opens where the listener is invited to draw on elements of the focus and the frame and construct a parallel ‘implication complex’ (Black, 1979: 28) that matches the focus, which in turn also affects the frame. ‘In this speaking and listening, there may be a shift in the participant in the discourse that gradually changes the meaning given to the words in the expression’ (Stoknes, 2011: 37). Such shifts are where ‘metaphoricity’ arises and reflect the metaphor’s potency. By drawing on different elements of the connotations, a tension is created in what the metaphor conveys and means. However, some metaphors have gradually acquired such established meanings that they can be considered ‘extinct’ or ‘dead’. They no longer have a creative force or a field of tension that is actively interpreted. According to Black (1979), some metaphors can also be called ‘sleeping’, i.e. they have the potential to be awakened again. Active or ‘living’ metaphors are those metaphors where there is still a field of tension and interaction between the focus and the frame.

Using a conceptual metaphor analysis and searching for source domains in the two value documents provides an understanding of how experiences with ‘reality’ and conceptual metaphors shape the language of the two versions of the ‘core curriculum’ in which sustainable development is presented. In the analysis, the two texts are understood as contexts for the metaphor. The interaction analysis looks at what connotations of sustainable development are brought forth and how, and looks at how these change between the two different contexts.

### **Analysis**

A conceptual metaphor analysis involves looking for, isolating, and sorting metaphors in the text (Foss, 2017). This is done by searching for source domains using Nvivo to find how often selected metaphors are mentioned. These are presented in tables, inspired by Charteris-Black (2004: 56). Where ‘0’ is used in the tables it is to indicate that the word is used in one of the two documents. A challenge is that of translation, exemplifying Lakoff and Johnson’s (2008) point about cultural differences in language. Despite conveying the same meaning, a translated word does not necessarily take inspiration from the same source domain, or experience with reality.

First, an analysis of the ‘General part 93’ as a context is presented, before sustainable development is analysed within this context. Then the same order follows for the ‘Overarching part 2017’.

### **The ‘General part 93’ as context**

The ‘General part 93’ is a text divided into eight parts of which one part is the introduction and the remaining seven are titled according to different human qualities: ‘the meaning-seeking human’; ‘the creating human’; ‘the working human’; ‘the educated human’; ‘the cooperative human’; ‘the environmentally conscious human’; and the ‘integrated human’. Figure 1 shows source domains shaping the text.

Figure 1. General Part 93 (Kyrkje- utdannings og forskningsdepartementet, 1993).

Source-domain	General part 93
Spatial orientation = 147	Wide x 7, unfold x 2, up x 7, down x 1, deep x 2, in-depth learning x 0, expand x 5, open x 8, in x 10, out x 11, 'utdype' = 'out-deeping'(elaborate) x 6, 'opplæringa' = 'up-learning (education) x 47, upbringing x 15, 'oppleve' – 'up-living' (experience) x 7, 'utfolde' - 'outfold' (elaborate) x 3, across x 11, tverrfagleg' = 'across-learning' (interdisciplinary) x 1, surrounds x 3, overarching x 0, direction x 1
Building = 47	<i>Build /to be built</i> x 6, ground x 2, foundation x8, base education x2, education framework x3, room x8, basic view x1, strength x 3, power x 2, frames x 3, tufted on x 1, concrete x 5, structure x 1, sustainable (bærekraftig) x 2
Nature = 69	Stream x 1, unwiltingx1, force of nature x 1, cultivate x 1, force x 5, tracks x 2, natural x 1, nature x 24, grow x 2, environment (incl. learning-) x 25, wild x 1, growths x 5

In the text, there are many examples of the spatial orientation domain, which corresponds with Lakoff and Johnson’s assertion that ‘most of our fundamental concepts are organised in terms of one or more spatialisation metaphors’ (2008: 14). There are also many examples of ‘building’ as source domain, and a few which represent nature. The use of ‘building’ as a source domain is common according to Charteris-Black (2004). According to him, ‘building’ is often used as a source domain because it expresses positive associations about ‘ambitions for desired social goals’ (Ibid: 71). In his analysis of political documents, he shows how parties use building metaphors to create positive associations with something well worth building, namely ‘society’, which is also interpreted as a building. Building metaphors can be connected to something that is stable, and that provides security by ensuring shelter. Some implications of using a building as the source domain can be interpreted to mean that the building has a goal that is to be positive, stable and

provide security. The metaphor thus also indicates a form of organisation and structure that sets the framework for further development towards a goal. If we elaborate on the idea of the ‘General part 93’ as a building to further understand the context, what kind of building can we envision based on the language?

### **The ‘General part 93’ as a building**

In the language of the ‘General part 93’ there are several sentences that point to the dualities of education (Kyrkje- utdannings og forskningsdepartementet, 1993). Examples are dualities between the individual and society, between the past and the present, the present and the future, between specialised and generalised knowledge, between the steady and the changing, between the close and the distant, between being loyal to the inherited and at the same time wish to create the new. These dualities reflect acknowledgement of balancing between contradictions, between the good and the bad, and through emphasising common values and frames of references the narrator provides and encourages a path to be followed. As such the text can be interpreted to have similarities to the sermon of a priest. This impression is perhaps amplified by the religious pictures, often related to Christianity, accompanying the text. Another feature that contributes to the impression of the text being a sermon is the normative admonitions of the prose. By using sentences such as ‘education *must* encourage each individual to empowerment and close collaboration for common goals’ (Ibid: 3 – own translations) and ‘children and young *must* understand moral demands and let these become leading for their actions’ (Ibid: 4 – my emphasis) the narrator invokes a position of power in terms of directing education, teachers, and students. If we allow such similarities to be interpreted as a sermon, perhaps the ‘General part 93’ can be understood as a church?

### **Baptism of sustainable development**

In the ‘General part 93’, sustainable development is mentioned under the title of ‘the environmentally conscious human’ (Ibid: 22). In the imagined context of a church, it is fitting that there is power to the language used to describe sustainable development and the congregation’s situation. The priest points to ‘how the interaction of the economy, ecology, and technology presents our

current time with particular knowledge - and moral challenges to ensure a sustainable development' (Ibid: 22 – own translation). The sermon refers to *Our Common Future's* (WCED, 1987) definition and reflects the complexity of sustainable development by referring to the 'interconnected crises' exemplified in 'improved health and population growth in the world; in how modern technology provides both benefits yet contributes to overconsumption of resources; in economic growth which pollutes and destroys nature; in poverty and destitution' (Kyrkje- utdannings og forskningsdepartementet, 1993: 22). These examples emphasise the priest's message of the inherent contradictions, potential conflicts of interests, and the scope of the challenges. The critical view of economic growth is accentuated by emphasising how the 'Interconnection between economy, ecology, and technology (...) must be based on the limits that nature, resources, technological levels, and social conditions require' (Ibid: 22 – own translation). This perspective of the economic dimension opens for critical discussions about it.

Understood as a sermon, it is also appropriate that the priest emphasises the moral challenges and the importance of solidarity with the 'world's poor' (Ibid: 22). Education, therefore, must focus on ethical nurturing. Education must also provide a broad knowledge of the connection between society and nature. It must counteract disjointed teaching and encourage an interdisciplinary approach connecting holistic knowledge of natural sciences with economics and politics of the social sciences.

This 'contextual church' brings complexity, conflicts of interests and politics, solidarity, and environmental concern to the fore, and as such has connotations of both 'sustainable' and 'development'. This acknowledgement of the concept's inherent contradictions, complexity, and interconnectedness reveals a potent metaphor in terms of meaning creation. At the same time, the text is written in an admonishing prose, that despite its normativity reflecting a certain positioning, might not actively encourage others to enter other positions.

### **The ‘Overarching part 2017’ as context**

The ‘Knowledge Promotion’ reform process of 2006 did not include renewing the ‘General part 93’, and so the ‘General part 93’ was in use until 2017, when it was replaced by the ‘Overarching part 2017’ as part of the ‘Knowledge Promotion 2020’ reform (Ministry of Education and Research, 2017). Where the ‘General part 93’ was structured according to seven qualities of human, the new ‘Overarching part 2017’ is divided in three: ‘Core values of the education and training’; ‘Principles for education and all-round development’; and ‘Principles for the school’s practices’. The first section addresses values, the second section is content oriented, and the last section addresses conditions for learning (Ibid).

Compared to the former ‘General part 93’, the new ‘Overarching part 2017’ is both shorter and has less variety of words. However, the presence of ‘building’ as a source domain is even more prominent. The text has the same number of examples referring to the ‘building’ source domain as there are ‘spatial orientation’ domain examples, and more references to the ‘building’ domain than in the ‘General part 93’.

Figure 2. ‘Overarching Part 2017’ (Ministry of Education and Research, 2017).

Source- domain	Overarching part 2017
Spatial orientation = 97	Wide x 1, unfold x 0, up x 7, down x 0, deep x 0, in-depth learning x 4, expand x 0, open x 1, in x 2, out x 2, ‘utdype’ = ‘out-deeping’(elaborate) x 2, ‘opplæringen’ = ‘up-learning (education) x 42, upbringing x 0, ‘oppleve’ – ‘up-living’ (experience) x 7, ‘utfolde’ - ‘unfold’ (elaborate) x 2, across x 5, ‘tverrfaglig’ = ‘across-learning’ (interdisciplinary) x 4, surrounds x 5, overarching x 11, direction x 2
Building = 98	different versions of ‘base’ (Norw. “grunn”) x 18, ‘foundational’ education x 15, room(ing) x 9, build(ing) (v) x 15, educational framework(s) x 14, frame(s) x 3, foundation x 4, reinforced x 1, tufted=built on x 1, doors x 2, concrete x 2, sustainable (bærekraftig) x 7, structure x 2, tools x 5
Nature = 28	stream x 0, unwilting x 0, force of nature x 0, cultivate x 2, force x 0, tracks x 2, natural x 1, nature x 8, grow x 0, environment (incl. learning-) x 15, wild x 0, growths x 0

Though many of the values conveyed in the two texts are the same, one of the main differences between the two is how the values are administered. Developing the new ‘Overarching part 2017’ included a public consultation process where anyone could contribute with input. As such the intent behind the ‘building’ appears to be inclusive. However, the balancing act of appeasing all these inputs might explain why much of the text is written in such a generalised way that it is difficult not to agree with most sentences there. Many of the inputs conveyed contradictory opinions (Tollefsen, 2017), yet the text does not reflect these contradictions and it can be read as tension-free and harmonious. This impression is strengthened by the general lack of urgency and contextualisation of the text.

Where the ‘General part 93’ changed between using ‘*must*’, ‘*shall*’, ‘*can*’ and ‘*will*’, with ‘*must*’ used most often, the ‘core curriculum’ almost exclusively uses ‘*shall*’. After ‘student(s)’, ‘shall’ is the most used word in the text. Where the former text reflects normativity through its admonishing prose, which can be read as one position amongst others, the ‘Overarching part 2017’ takes a more ‘objective’ position leaving an impression it is the only position. With no positions to discuss, what ‘shall be done’ simply *is*. The inclusive process of creating the text has ended in an administrative voice ‘neutrally’ stating what is to be done.

Another shift is that where the ‘General part 93’ speaks of what ‘*education must*’, the ‘Overarching part 2017’ to a greater extent speaks of what ‘*students shall*’ and often it is what ‘*students shall get*’ (own emphases). Though the focus is still also on what ‘*education shall*’, it appears to have shifted somewhat from education to the student. Another feature of this shift is that it coincides with a change from balancing an individual and societal focus, perhaps leaning somewhat to the latter in the ‘General part 93’, to shifting the scales more towards the individual in the ‘Overarching part 2017’.

If the focus in the value document is changing from being on what the education and the school environment must do to focusing on what the individual student shall get, then the ‘building’ the text is constructing can resemble that of a company structure in which students are consumers of skills and competency to be delivered by teachers. What does such a company structure imply for sustainable development?

### **The dilemma of sustainable development**

Unlike in the ‘General part 93’ where sustainable development is a mentioned concept within the section about ‘the environmentally-conscious human’, sustainable development in the ‘Overarching part 2017’ is positioned as a sub-heading and interdisciplinary topic next to ‘democracy and citizenship’ and ‘health and life skills’. On the one hand, being provided its own sub-heading gives the topic more prominence. On the other hand, one could argue that the

other two interdisciplinary topics could have been part of sustainable development. Consequently, certain connotations such as social and political issues and participation, and life style questions can appear to be outside of the sustainable development topic.

The description of the sustainable development topic refers to the definition and mentions ‘environment and climate, poverty and the distribution of resources, conflicts, health, gender equality, demography and education’ (Ibid: 13) as examples of issues the metaphor contains. Here some of the connotations of the metaphor emerge. Again, the ‘students *shall* learn about the connections between the various aspects’ (Ibid: 13). It is, however, not pointed out that there are contradictions or conflicts between these ‘aspects’.

Teaching about sustainable development ‘should facilitate so that students can understand basic dilemmas and developmental features in society, and how they can be handled’ (Ibid: 13). The word dilemma makes it appear as though the alternatives already exist and that it is first and foremost a matter for the individual to choose between them. The focus on the responsibility of the individual is also evident in the sentence ‘Students shall receive understanding for how the actions and choices of the individual matter’ (Ibid: 13). Stating that the actions of individuals matter could be encouraging, but what is silenced is how our actions also depend on the structures in which we find ourselves, and there is no mention of structural levels or systemic thinking.

The final paragraph, one out of three, is exclusively addressing technology. It starts by stating that technology has ‘significant impact’ and that ‘technological competency and knowledge about the interconnections’ of sustainable development is ‘*central*’ to the topic (own emphasis). It acknowledges that ‘technology development can solve problems, but also create new’ ones. Therefore ‘knowledge about technology entails an understanding of which *dilemmas* can arise through the use of technology, and how these can be *handled*’ (Ibid: 13 – own emphasis). Emphasis is placed on how the students ‘shall receive understanding’ and ‘shall develop competence’ (Ibid: 13). The focus on providing students with predefined competencies to

handle dilemmas fits with an administrative approach as it delineates a certain area of expertise that can be approached pragmatically. This reflects and reinforces the impression of a company with packages of knowledge and competencies to be delivered to reach some predetermined solutions.

Connotations of ‘sustainable’ and ‘development’ are present, but the lack of contextualisation in time and space appears to put a smokescreen on their urgency, complexity, and inherent contradictions. The crisis conveyed in the priest’s sermon is gone. From being about crises, solidarity with the world’s poor, conflicts of interests, and politics, the ‘Overarching part 2017’ presents a timid metaphor about dilemmas to be solved by individuals through the use of technology.

## **Discussion**

The texts present two quite different contexts in which sustainable development is situated. Where the admonishing prose of the ‘General part 93’ acknowledges a situation of complex crises requiring a collective effort from society, the ‘Overarching part 2017’ appears disconnected to the current situation and therefore lacks the feeling of urgency. This difference is striking considering where we are, and what we know of our current and future predicament in terms of growing inequality, economic uncertainty and unrest, and risk of triggering tipping points (Armstrong McKay, et al., 2022). Where the ‘General part 93’ had a strong admonishing prose not exactly encouraging opposition, the administrative prose of the current text exudes a taken-for-granted apolitical neutrality which makes it seem as though there are no opposing opinions or conflicting interests and consequently, nothing to oppose. This lack of politicisation is strengthened by the impression that the focus should be on individual-level action and the belief in technology to be central in solving the dilemmas the individual is facing. As was stated in an input to the renewal process of the new curriculum specifically pertaining to how sustainable development was described: ‘the one-sided technology focus simplifies complex problems and downplays the understanding of responsibility. We cannot understand and solve problems related to migration, climate, hunger, inequality in living conditions, and conflict through

technology alone.’ (NDLA, 2017 – own translation). Downplaying socioeconomic issues and focusing on technology as the solution coincides with findings elsewhere (Kagawa and Selby, 2015). The result is a lack of focus on these issues and their underlying drivers (Ibid: 33).

A change in curriculum that reinforces the impression of socioeconomic issues being downplayed is how economic growth is no longer mentioned in the mandatory subjects addressing sustainable development. It could be argued that this has to do with the less detailed language of the curriculum. However, it is a concern that economic issues are provided little space in the curriculum and therefore have few avenues to encourage teachers to address them, or economic growth specifically. Despite little explicit economic content, the ‘company’ framing of the ‘Overarching part 2017’ reveals an implicit economic mode of thinking. The apolitical-, individual- and tech-fix-oriented approach to sustainable development aligns with globalising forces described in Norwegian literature to compromise efforts to instil an education for sustainable development (ESD). Sinnes and Eriksen (2016) claimed that globalising forces of the PISA tests of the OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) have created changes in the Norwegian curriculum towards more output-oriented goals and a focus on basic skills, a development that obstructs efforts for ESD. It has also been questioned whether these forces cause a ‘de-politicisation of school’s social mandate, disempowerment of students and consequently a weakening of the political democracy’ (Heldal, 2021: 246 – own translation). These experiences reflect an education Kirby (2012: 25) describes as being ‘battered into complete subservience to the dominant neo-liberal, commercial paradigm that is the fundamental cause of the crisis’.

A way to reawaken the metaphor is to take inspiration from development education to bring forth the connotations of ‘development’ and strengthen the focus on global and local socioeconomic issues to understand its fundamental drivers. Kirby (2012) and Kagawa and Selby (2015) point to how Freire’s conscientisation is constructive in building powerful counterforces that can challenge the dominant paradigm. Kirby explores how

this conscientisation has contributed to an ‘empowered and socially aware consciousness’ (2012: 28) in several Latin American counties, creating spaces of debate and exploration of new paradigms. The consciousness, and these spaces, he argues, are preconditions for movements to emerge and grow. Such spaces can be connected to Selby and Kagawa’s (2011) ‘shadow spaces’ in which individuals and sub-groups can explore ways to inform the larger structures in which they find themselves. Within such shadow spaces questions that address values and power can be raised: ‘What values matter most to us, and why?’, ‘Who is the global citizen? (...) Whose interests are represented here? (...) Are we empowering the dominant group to remain in power?’ (Selby and Kagawa, 2011: 26-27). In a Norwegian context, for these questions to be raised, it would require a critical re-politicisation of how we convey and understand sustainable development.

## **Conclusion**

The two core curriculum texts examined in this article portray different contexts bringing forth and hiding different connotations of the sustainable development metaphor. The metaphor has interacted, implying it is alive. Where in the ‘General part 93’ sustainable development conveys an urgent crisis, the ‘Overarching part 2017’ downplays the tensions of complexity, conflict, and contradictions, and one of sustainable development’s most debated issues, economic growth, is removed. While some elements of ‘development’ are explicitly mentioned, poverty being one example, the metaphor’s diminishing field of tension risks either the omission or diminished urgency of political issues and debates. The combined effect of putting crises, conflicts of interests, structural and holistic perspectives, economic growth, and politics in storage, is that the tension evaporates, the metaphor dies, and we only understand and discuss a fraction of our problems. Consequently, we become incapable of finding relevant solutions and explore alternatives to transform society.

Sustainable development is provided more space in the new curriculum and new avenues of exploration are opened through its presence in more subject syllabuses. A further exploration of what this entails can reveal

stirring approaches reawakening the metaphor. Such approaches should take inspiration from development education and Freire's conscientisation in terms of thematic issues and through enabling spaces for debate and discussion addressing values, power, and alternative paradigms.

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# Perspectives

## ADDRESSING ‘ROOT CAUSES’? DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES, DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION AND GLOBAL ECONOMICS

HARM-JAN FRICKE

**Abstract:** How much attention to the global economic system do the international development and development education sectors give? Based on a small scale research assignment concerned with the situation in Ireland (but including references to elsewhere in Europe) the answer has to be: not much. Although within both sectors evidence exists of attention to economic systems and their impact on poverty, inequality and injustice, most development agencies referred to in the article do not contextualise their work in a broader, explanatory framework. Aside from that, both sectors appear to give little attention to engaging the public in educational processes that attempt to explore, discuss, reflect on and respond to such structural economic issues.

The article outlines the findings from the research, based on the premise that for the sectors to be successful in creating a lasting impact on poverty, inequality and injustice they need to give attention to the root causes of those issues, and that this will require attention to systemic economic processes and ideologies and to the development of educational approaches involving the public with those issues, processes and ideologies. Conceptually, the article discusses global economic processes as an expression of neoliberalism / ‘free market’ economics. In investigating how those processes operate according to development agency policy analyses the research referred to Systems Thinking as a means of investigating and clarifying global development phenomena, making use of an adaptation of the Development Compass Rose to highlight the interlinked and dynamic nature of global economics. Without coming to firm conclusions, but hoping that it will lead to further work on this, the article also addresses the question of what helps or

hinders the sectors from giving attention to global economic systems in their education work with the public.

**Key words:** Development; Education; Neoliberalism/Free Market Economics; Systems Thinking; Local-Global.

### **Exploring and addressing ‘root causes’ of poverty, inequality and injustice**

The research that led to this article involved a small scale assignment relating to the Irish international development (ID) and development education (DE) sectors. It focussed, firstly, on the attention given by the ID and DE sectors to global economic processes and their influence on poverty, inequality and injustice. Secondly, the research aimed to get a sense of how that attention was used by organisations in educational efforts that enable enquiry, discussion, reflection and responses to the reasons for the existence of poverty, inequality and injustice. The intention was to obtain an indicative analysis of the situation which, it is hoped, will lead to further work and discussions by ID and DE organisations in furthering education work that engages the public with the system of global economics and with explorations of potential responses.

Underpinning the research were two assumptions, namely that:

- for their work to have lasting impact, international development and development education efforts need to give attention to ‘root causes’ of poverty, inequality and injustice and involve the public in investigations of and responses to those causes;
- and that to do so requires attention to structural-systemic (economic) processes and ideologies.

Investigations included a review of webpages produced by a selection of nine Irish Non-Governmental Development Organisations (NGDOs), the NGDO networks Dóchas and CONCORD, the Irish Development Education Association (IDEA), Irish Aid and the European Union / Commission. This involved a study of their introductory pages to establish what the agencies’

main concerns were, of relevant policy documents produced by the agencies, and of the attention given by them through formal and non-formal education work that enquires into and enables responses to such issues and analyses.

The ID sector was seen as being primarily concerned with efforts to advance the amelioration and eradication of poverty, promoting sustainable development, and advancing human rights (ID Web, 2022). The research viewed DE as primarily concerned with educational processes that ‘... enable people to participate in the development of their community, their nation and the world as a whole ...’ (Ishii, 2003: 9, quoting FAO-JUNIC, 1975), enabling investigations into, discussions of, reflections on and responses to issues and processes (DE Web, 2022; Freire, 1970; Hope and Timmel, 1984; Bourn, 2015). The nine Irish NGOs were selected mainly because of their established nature within the Irish ID sector, i.e. ActionAid, Children in Crossfire, Christian Aid, Concern Worldwide, Oxfam, Plan International, Trócaire, UNICEF and World Vision.

The reviews of webpages and agency policy analyses was added to by reference to literature concerning the growth and development of the current global economic system. In addition, a questionnaire was circulated to some two hundred ID and DE sector practitioners and two seminars were organised gathering responses to the research findings. Both questionnaire and seminars involved respondents from the island of Ireland as well as from other parts of Europe. The questionnaire, which obtained twenty-nine responses, asked about the priorities of the agencies in which respondents were involved and about respondents’ opinions relating to the issues of the research. The seminars, involving twenty-two participants, focussed on the challenges and opportunities that ID and DE organisations have in addressing global economics through education. Neither the questionnaire responses nor the seminar conclusions can be seen as representative of the range of experiences and opinions in either sector, however findings from both sources do provide perspectives that are worth further investigation if the sectors are concerned with addressing root causes of poverty, inequality and injustice.

Although the research had a particular focus on findings from the island of Ireland it is likely, also given responses from questionnaire and seminar participants, that findings in contexts elsewhere in Europe will not be significantly different.

### **A systems approach**

Understanding and impactful responding to issues of poverty, inequality and injustice requires an ability to place specific, seemingly unique cases and experiences in a broader context. This involves the ability to conceptualise and systematise: viewing the whole as more than the sum of individual, single development phenomena, and viewing that whole as a dynamic, interconnected web that affects how development issues are perceived or can be responded to (Hanvey, 1976; Pike and Selby, 1988: 27-29; Anderson and Johnson, 1997; Ramalingam, 2013: 141-142; Green, 2016; Veltmeyer and Bowles, 2022). Questionnaire and seminar respondents were in agreement with the intention that within an education context attention to creating ‘... comprehension of key traits and mechanisms of the world system, with emphasis on theories and concepts ...’ (Hanvey, 1976: 19) is an important tool of enquiry as well as a prompt for discussion about, a means to reflect on, and a stimulus for creating responses.

One way of categorising and systematising experiences of poverty, inequality and injustice (such as those highlighted by the ID and DE sectors) is through the use of a Development Compass Rose (Tide, 1995). In this, the usual cardinal points of North, South, East and West are replaced by Nature, Society, Economy and Who Decides? (i.e. politics). The resulting ‘compass’ enables investigation of a locality, of an issue, or of a process: raising questions or identifying features that relate to, for instance, social organisation and culture (S), production and trade (E), decision making and power (W), or the natural environment (N). In between the four cardinal points relationships can be explored, such as the impact of economic activity on the natural environment (NE), the decision making process and powers that enable or prevent protection of the natural environment (NW), the way in which people are organising themselves to create change (SW), or the accessibility or not of

economic activity to particular groups in society (SW). Similar relationships can be highlighted between Economics and Who Decides?, for example about decisions to do with the division of benefits of economic activity (‘who gets what and how much?’), or between Society and Nature, for instance regarding the attitudes that people have towards the natural environment. It is through identification of those relationships that the dynamic influence of, for instance, an economic philosophy and practice on the rest of life can be explored.

### **The concerns of sampled agencies**

A review of ‘What we do’, ‘About us’ and similar webpages of selected ID sector agencies in Ireland (ID Web, 2022) highlights the sector’s concern for sustainable development (e.g. Irish Aid), addressing inequality (for instance, ActionAid, Irish Aid), and ending poverty (Trócaire and Oxfam amongst others). For many NGOs in Ireland those concerns are particularly related to work with children (e.g. Children in Crossfire, Plan International, World Vision). Some agencies in their introductory webpages make explicit reference to structural issues they wish to address (for instance in relation to women (ActionAid), economic inequalities (Christian Aid) or food systems (Oxfam)), but most do not place their work in such a systemic context – at least not in these webpages.

In their introductions, the nine sampled NGOs refer to work involving the public in Ireland mainly in the context of fundraising, although references to ‘awareness raising’, ‘advocacy’ and ‘campaigning’ are also made by the majority of organisations. Reference to ‘education’ is rare and where this is made at all it, with the exception of Children in Crossfire, refers to work ‘overseas’ and not in Ireland.

Looking at similar ‘What we do’ pages concerning development education (DE Web, 2022) key words that are highlighted relate to education, global citizenship (e.g. Irish Aid, IDEA), lifelong learning (Irish Aid, a.o.), awareness (e.g. Dóchas), and empowerment (e.g. IDEA) - all in respect of issues of, amongst others, climate change, inequality, poverty, sustainability. Irish Aid, IDEA and the Dóchas Development Education Working Group all

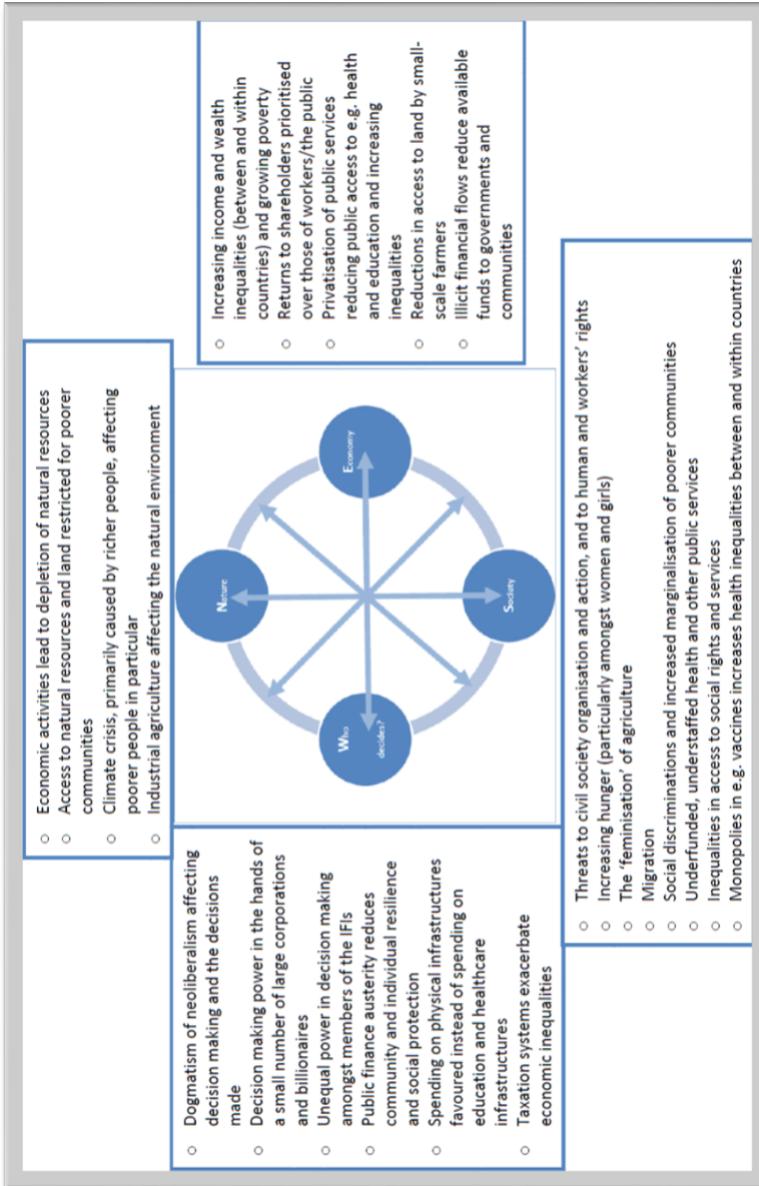
make reference to the ‘Code of Good Practice for Development Education’ (IDEA, n.d.) which lists twelve core principles relating to both educational and organisational practices that are seen as core to the provision of good quality DE. However, it is noticeable that, for example, ActionAid, Oxfam and World Vision appear to be neither members of the Dóchas DE Working Group (which involves 17 of the network’s 57 members), nor of the DE network of IDEA (with some 63 organisational members).

### **Analyses of development**

Although most of the selected ID agencies publish case studies of the work they carry out or support, most do not appear to publish policy analyses of the issues that are of their concern, or if they do then they do not make them easily accessible through their sites. Policy making bodies, such as Irish Aid and the European Union will state their strategies (Irish Aid, n.d.; European Union, 2017; European Commission, 2019), but tend not to provide an analysis of the reasons for the existence of the issues they aim to address.

Reviewed reports by those ID sector agencies that do provide a more thorough analysis focus on: an analysis of reasons for increasing food insecurity and malnutrition (Trócaire, 2018), the structural reasons for the existence of inequalities (CONCORD, 2019), the consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic given the current economic system (Dóchas, 2020), an analysis of IMF (International Monetary Fund) policies that promote or lead to public austerity measures (ActionAid et al, 2021), and the symptoms of and reasons for widening economic, gender and racial inequalities (Oxfam, 2022).

Although focussed on different areas of development, when viewed together, the reports suggest that there is a clear and direct relationship between economic structural causes and its effects not only on economic well-being, but also on social organisation, natural-environmental conditions and on decision-making. The illustration below presents some of the issues identified in the reports in the shape of a Development Compass Rose (adapted from Tide, 1995).



## **The growth of a globally dominant economic philosophy, ideology and practice**

The NGDO reports mentioned above all refer to a structure and system that underpins, causes or exacerbates the development phenomena that the agencies experience through their work. Giving that system a name, such as ‘neoliberalism’ (ActionAid et al., 2021: 5), is often avoided. The reasons for that lack of conceptualisation may be multivarious: amongst economists the term ‘neoliberalism’ is regularly avoided since its interpretations are considered imprecise, contested, or pejorative (with some preferring to use ‘free market economics’ instead), while for others policies described as neoliberal are disowned as such by their authors (Williamson, 2002; Eagleton-Pierce, 2016; Rowden, 2016; Harvey, 2019; Babb and Kentikelenis, 2021).

Despite confusion and disagreement about interpretations of the term (a type of confusion that should be well familiar amongst those involved in development education and other forms of adjectival educations), for questionnaire respondents and seminar participants conceptualising the global economic system by use of a term such as ‘neoliberalism’ is useful (although most are also of the opinion that use of such a term when communicating with the public may not be helpful). At the risk of over-simplification and while ignoring many of its various forms (such as those sketched out by Dobre [2019] when discussing interpretations of the concept in European policies), what are (some of) the core characteristics of ‘the doctrine sometimes called neoliberalism’ (Friedman, 1951)?

For the past 40 or 50 years the world’s economic, social, political and environmental affairs have increasingly become geared towards an approach that values individual, or rather private business, initiative in industry and commerce. This involves a leading role for markets in allocating investments, combined with a role for the state that is focussed on enabling such private initiatives to flourish through competition and on creating a policy environment for largely unrestricted trade across international borders. This is more often than not combined with a deliberate reduction in the role collective action by civil society in influencing, steering or determining economic affairs

(at least when compared with previous decades) (Clarke, 2005; Eagleton-Pierce, 2016; Harvey, 2019; Babb and Kentikelenis, 2021). The philosophy underpinning this development was initially offered as a response to what was seen as undue influence of the state on directing economic activities: the role of ‘free’ markets was believed to be (economically) more efficient and effective in creating economic growth and welfare (Eagleton-Pierce, 2016: 118-125; Goldin, 2016: 29-34).

In the post-Second World War period of reconstruction and in the initial post-colonial period of the 1950s and 1960s, state governments played a significant role in directing and supporting economic and social development: re-building or building societies through national planning of investments, preferential treatment for certain types of economic and social activity through laws, tax regimes and subsidies, and greater or lesser forms of protection of the national economy against competition from abroad (Goldin, 2016: 18-36; Polanyi Levitt, 2022). It was against that ‘faith in collectivism’ as a driver of economic growth and social welfare, and hence against the role of the state in directing the development of the economy, that economist Milton Friedman proposed in 1951:

“a new faith [...that...] must give high place to a severe limitation of the power of the state to interfere in the detailed activities of individuals; at the same time, it must explicitly recognize that there are important positive functions that must be performed by the state [in particular in respect of]:

- [ensuring] conditions favorable to competition [...]
- [preventing] monopoly [...]
- [providing] a stable monetary framework [...]
- [relieving] acute misery and distress” (Friedman, 1951: 3-4).

That neoliberal faith became a mainstay of economics teaching in many of the world’s higher education institutions, influencing policy makers

across the globe and through them the policies that have been made (Babb and Kentikelenis, 2021: 8-9; ActionAid et al., 2021: 7, 16). Although various forms of neoliberalism exist (in the case of Europe see, for instance, Dobre, 2019) in broad terms its practical development and spread can be characterised as having gone through a number of stages (Leeson, 1988; Williamson, 1990; Dorn, 1997; Williamson, 2002; Eagleton-Pierce, 2016; Goldin, 2016; Rowden, 2016; Harvey, 2019; Harriss, 2019; Babb and Kentikelenis, 2021; Polanyi Levitt, 2022).

Amongst the ‘early adopters’ three countries stand out: Chile, under the dictatorship of Pinochet following a military coup against the government of Salvador Allende in 1973, the United Kingdom (UK) after 1979, during the government of Margaret Thatcher, and the United States (US) after 1981, during the Presidency of Ronald Reagan. This led, amongst other policies, to various forms of privatisation of public and state enterprises, restrictions on the organisation and influence of labour and other collective associations, and trade liberalisation.

A second phase in the implementation of Friedman’s ‘new faith’ was entered in response to the late-1970s and 1980s debt crisis in which many developing countries found themselves. It led to an expansion of the range of countries that implemented core policies of free market economics. To relieve their indebtedness, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and other financial institutions offered support to affected countries. In return for such support indebted countries were obliged to introduce ‘structural adjustment programmes’ which drew upon many of the policies introduced in Chile, the UK and the US, involving abolishment of state support for, amongst others, import-substituting enterprises and ending the state’s direction of agricultural development (Eagleton-Pierce, 2016: 40-46). The lead for agricultural and industrial development was switched from the state to private enterprise – with the state focussing on introducing those regulations that were seen as a proper role for the state (see above regarding Friedman’s suggestions), combined with an emphasis on enabling a largely unfettered access to investments from and trade with companies from other countries.

A third phase in the development of neoliberal practice, making it the truly globally dominant form of economic practice, followed the collapse of the Soviet empire (in the early 1990s) and, particularly, the opening up of China to trade with the rest of the world (since the late 1990s). That phase is characterised by increased globalisation of economic activity, exemplified by ‘global value chains’ involving ‘developing’ and ‘developed’ countries alike in a production and trade process that is based on multiple transactions between multiple locations before a final product is provided to an ultimate user (World Bank, 2020: 19). This stage of neoliberalism has also been accompanied by further restrictions in public spending, for example on welfare programmes, particularly following the financial, banking crises of 2008-09; public spending restrictions that were additional to those already implemented during the second phase (their effects are explored in many of the reviewed NGDO reports).

The intentions of neoliberal policies as initially advocated by Friedman, for instance regarding economic growth and relief of ‘acute misery and distress’, have not always been fulfilled. For example, structural adjustment programmes often resulted in economic decline rather than growth (Goldin, 2016: 34). Reductions in the state’s involvement in economic affairs typically led to increased unemployment, rising costs of living and growing poverty accompanied by hunger, and where growth did occur, any benefits tended to accrue to a small segment of society – in both ‘developing’ and ‘developed’ countries (Eagleton-Pierce, 2016: 43-44, ActionAid et al, 2021, Oxfam, 2022). Although income inequalities *between* countries have significantly gone down since 1980 (around the start of phase two as outlined above), income inequalities *within* countries have seen a sharp rise, with global income inequalities within and between countries in 2020 being comparable to the situation in 1880-1890 (Chancel et al., 2021: 56-58). Although global and individual ‘wealth’ (ownership of financial assets, such as equity and bonds, and non-financial assets, such as buildings and land) and of its growth are difficult to calculate, the World Inequality Lab (2022) comes to the conclusion that wealth inequalities have risen sharply between 1995 and 2021. Of a total growth in wealth per adult of 3.2 per cent during that period, the top one per

cent captured thirty-eight per cent of this growth, against a bottom fifty per cent capturing only two per cent (Chancel et al., 2021: 90-91).

The policy response to the negative effects of neoliberal policies has been a somewhat greater recognition of the need for the state to influence investment in social and physical infrastructures, typically involving the development of ‘public private partnerships’. Design of the Millennium Development Goals, in 2000, and particularly of the Sustainable Development Goals, in 2015, can also be seen as a recognition of the need to address some of inequities caused by the current economic system – however, without fundamentally addressing its core features (Eagleton-Pierce, 2016: 44-45; Goldin, 2016: 34-36; Van Wayenberge, 2022: 119).

Comparing the various characteristics of neoliberalism outlined above with the experiences of the ID sector as analysed by their reports and as illustrated through the Development Compass Rose, highlights the dynamic, mutually reinforcing relationships between the ‘doctrine sometimes called neo-liberalism’ (Friedman, 1951), its implementation in economic affairs and its effects on society and social justice, on decision making and power, and on the natural environment.

The consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic, referred to in both the Dóchas (2020) and the Oxfam (2022) papers, and the effects of the current war in Ukraine – leading to interrupted international trade flows, increasing inflation, and growing costs of living - question some of the foundations of the third phase of neoliberalism as sketched out above, not least the reliance of (business and national) economies on global value chains. Responses to these consequences may lead to a retrenchment into core neoliberal policies of the ideology, or to a further adjustment of neoliberalism, or to a transformation of the doctrine into something different. The analyses by Dóchas, ActionAid, CONCORD, Oxfam and Trócaire all offer starting points for further exploration of options to address the issues highlighted by the reports. Such an exploration potentially offers opportunities too for involving the (Irish) public in an education process that investigates, discusses, reflects and responds to

the global and local relevance of the issues: building the agencies' constituencies in support of their stated intentions. Unfortunately, it seems that the agencies, with the possible exception of Trócaire, do not make use of that opportunity; the absence of a dedicated education programme means that most don't even have that ability.

### **Global economics and development education**

Most of the sampled NGDOs have not developed and published analyses that place (aspects of) their work in a broader structural context and most, including the minority that does carry out such analyses, do not give attention, or seem to have the intention, to involve the public in educational processes that explore the systems that underpin, cause or exacerbate the issues that are of the agencies' concern. The main activities involving the domestic public which the agencies employ – fundraising, awareness raising, campaigning – appear based on the creation of 'global awareness': eliciting a response from the public that is based on the public's *existing* empathy or compassion based on their *existing* understanding of the world and their *existing* disposition towards action (Lissner, 1977: 138-45; Lattimer, 1994: 329-336; Kingham and Coe, 2005: 84-88; Darnton and Kirk, 2011; Green, 2016: 179-195). Opportunities to explore and develop additional or new perceptions of global realities, including its systemic nature, appears largely absent. However, without attention to the systemic nature of the causes of poverty, inequality and injustice it is likely that agencies will contribute little to a sustained transformation of the existing realities of poverty, inequality and injustice – although such a transformation is what many of the selected agencies seem to be looking for:

- 'working to end poverty and inequality' (ActionAid)
- 'committed to ending poverty worldwide' (Christian Aid)
- '[striving] for a world free from poverty, fear and oppression' (Concern Worldwide)
- 'to bring about lasting solutions to the problems of global poverty and inequality' (Dóchas)
- 'empower learners of all ages to become active global citizens' (IDEA)

- ‘[mobilising] the power of people against poverty’ (Oxfam)
- ‘life-changing support for some of the world’s poorest people’ (Trócaire)  
(DE Web, 2022; ID Web, 2022).

For such a sustained transformation to happen awareness needs to include a recognition of the local conditions ‘there’ *and* ‘here’ as part of a globally interrelated system. For that to be successful would require a recognition and questioning of existing empathies, compassions, understandings and dispositions: a process of transformative learning or ‘conscientisation’ involving, for example, investigations, discussions and reflections on current realities and options, and drawing conclusions on the basis of that learning that leads to personal and communal responses (Lissner, 1977: 138-145; Fricke et al, 2015: 14-23 and 45-51; Bourn, 2022: 121-138; Freire, 1970; Hope and Timmel, 1984).

Arguably, quality DE would provide the opportunity for such a process, but practically DE does not seem to do this often. Information about European Union (EU DEAR, n.d.) supported Development Education and Awareness Raising (DEAR) projects in Ireland indicates that, although quite a few projects relate to issues of poverty, only some appear to have placed their discussions and work in a broader systemic or economic context. Similarly, a review of DE publications produced in Ireland in the period 2013 to 2016 (Daly et al., 2017) seems to indicate that few of these resources relate to a global framework or to a pedagogy that explores the structures underpinning the issues that the resources deal with, leading the authors of the review to comment that ‘Many resources [...] present simplistic analyses of issues ...’ or, in the contexts of the SDGs, are ‘simply PR focussed rather than educationally analytical’ (Daly et al, 2017: 32 and 39). Participants in the seminars also referred to this, for example by mentioning that the current, often uncritical, focus on the SDGs typically involved awareness of issues that are ‘a mile wide, but only an inch deep’.

## **Challenges and Opportunities**

Questionnaire respondents and seminar participants were of the opinion that both the ID and the DE sectors are not doing enough to explore the economic causes of poverty, inequality and injustice and that systems thinking is an important means by which to explore such causes. Assuming that ID and DE organisations are serious about wanting to address root causes, ‘global awareness’ as described above will not be adequate in doing that and different approaches will be needed.

Enquiry based education approaches potentially can assist – and are likely necessary – in creating the sustained transformations (globally and locally) envisaged by many (most?) in both the ID and the DE Sectors. They also offer opportunities to more closely engage members of the public with the challenges faced by the sectors: rather than consumers of agency designed products (be it ‘consumption’ of a fundraising ask, a campaigning action, or an awareness raising activity), enquiry based education offers learners, including the facilitating organisations, to become producers of new understandings and (collective) responses to the issues they face.

Which is not to say that there are no challenges to overcome in doing that. Seminar participants started to identify such challenges of which some are mentioned below. Although this listing is far from complete it may offer a starting point for discussion by ID and DE organisations on what needs to be done to address current hiatuses in the sectors – if the sectors are to contribute to sustained transformations that address root causes of poverty, inequality and injustice.

Some of the challenges may be based on fear: a fear that giving attention to the ‘domestic’ relevance and experiences of ‘overseas’ development issues will be controversial and as a result it will negatively affect the domestic fundraising of organisations, be it to do with income from individuals or with that from the state. The will of agencies to act on stated intentions through involvement of the domestic public in explorations of contentious issues may, therefore, be weak.

For the past forty or so years neoliberalism, as characterised in this article, has played a central role in our economic affairs – and from that has influenced our politics, our way of living and of relating to each other, and, arguably, our natural environment. The precedence given to individual enterprise has probably affected all our thinking and behaviour (Taylor-Gooby and Leruth, 2018): giving priority to individual, single issue considerations and actions rather than systemic, holistic explanations and collective actions. One of the seminar participants mentioned in this context the sectors’ ‘focus on individualism e.g. carbon footprints [which has meant a] lack of tools for collective measures’.

A further challenge relates to terminologies. As mentioned previously, conceptualising the global economic system under the banner of ‘neoliberalism’ can be problematic. Not only since the term, for instance in public discourse, ‘has now become a kind of catch-all expression or “explanatory catholicon”’ (Eagleton-Pierce, 2016: xiii), but also because of the complexity which is hidden by such a concept. Rather than clarifying, its use can be obfuscating. Making the complexity of concepts, systemic relationships and their implications understandable in plain language is a challenge: terminologies can be a ‘turn-off’. Exploring the complexities of the global economic system and its impact can also be daunting, particularly where organisations and educators, amongst others, lack confidence.

Opportunities to address such challenges do, however, exist. Irish Aid, in its latest relevant strategy, includes reference to the ‘Code of Good Practice for DE’ (Irish Aid, n.d.: 5), enabling funding requests for activities that explore root causes through education. The European Commission’s latest objectives for the DEAR grants programme refer to ‘empowered EU citizens’ and ‘addressing global challenges (notably global inequalities and ecological crises)’ (European Commission, 2021: 14-15) which build on aspects of the EU’s development strategy and its attention to an ‘enabling space for civil society’ addressing ‘root causes’ of ‘poverty, conflict, fragility and forced displacement’ (European Union, 2017: 33).

Good quality DE provides a way to address issues of complexity and confidence. Whilst not shying away from contentious issues (are there any that are not contentious when discussing ‘development’?) quality DE offers an educational process:

“by which people, through personal experience and shared knowledge:

- Gain experience of, develop and practice dispositions and values which are critical to a just and democratic society and a sustainable world;
- Engage with, develop and apply ideas and understandings which help explain the origins, diversity and dynamic nature of society, including the interactions between and among societies, cultures, individuals and environments;
- Engage with, develop and practice capabilities and skills which enable investigation of society, discussion of issues, problem-tackling, decision-making, and working co-operatively with others;
- Take actions that are inspired by these ideas, values and skills and which contribute to the achievement of a more just and caring world.”

(Regan and Sinclair, 2002: 50).

Such an approach would offer an opportunity to address obstacles and challenges mentioned above: both the current economic situation, with its growing inequalities in Ireland, Europe and globally, and the approaches of development education, with its use of participatory learning, offer ample opportunities for ID and DE sectors and organisations to enable people to participate in development.

The research on which this article is based had a limited scope and more attention to the issues raised by it would be worthwhile. Investigations and discussions could, for example usefully address the question of how the

practices of organisations, that are currently often focussed on ‘single’ issues, can incorporate the facilitation of global systems thinking in their work, in particular through education approaches that actively include people in a process that enquires into, discusses, reflects on and responds to the dominant global economic system.

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# Viewpoint

## WHERE NOW FOR CHILE?

**JANE SUITER, FELIPE PAREDES AND ALBERTO CODDOU  
MCMANUS**

2022 has been quite some year for Chile. Following an uprising and street protests that began in 2019, a former radical student leader Gabriel Boric was sworn in as Chile's youngest ever president on 11 March 2022, and in July, following a year of deliberations, a constitutional convention proposed the world's most progressive constitution. But by 4 September, the promise was snatched away when Rechazo, or reject, chalked up sixty-two per cent of the vote. If accepted, it would have given the state a front-line role in providing social rights, increased environmental regulation and given the government wider responsibility for social welfare programmes. So, what went wrong? Moreover, where does Chile go now?

The roots of the failed constitutional draft lie in October 2019, when student protests erupted over a hike in metro fares. These protests escalated into a social uprising, or *estallido social*, which saw more than 1.2 million people take to the streets of Santiago to protest social inequality and were only halted by a governmental promise to navigate an inclusive process to a new constitutional text. Sections of the population whose perspectives have been historically under-represented or excluded from governance and policymaking were given a voice in that process (Hilbink, 2021: 225).

The process had a promising start; in October 2020 Chileans were almost unambiguous in their welcome of the possibility of a new constitution, with seventy-eight per cent of voters supporting writing a new constitution and seventy-nine per cent saying an elected constitutional convention should write it (Gay et al., 2022). That process was revolutionary in its scope. Gender and

indigenous quotas ensured that women made up fifty per cent of the delegates elected to it while twelve per cent were indigenous. The body was notably left-wing, young, feminist, and inexperienced. As a result, the proposed draft text strongly emphasised indigenous self-determination and the protection of the environment, dismantling the highly privatised water rights system, insisting on gender equality in all public institutions and companies, and respect for sexual diversity.

But with its rejection, for now at least, the partially amended version of the Pinochet 1980 constitution remains in place. General Pinochet ruled Chile brutally from 1973 to 1990. His constitution was the postcard for Latin American 1980s neoliberalism (Taylor, 2006: 1). Influenced by the so-called “Chicago Boys”, United States (US)-educated economists who advocated widespread deregulation and privatisation, in the 1980 constitution, the state plays a subsidiary role, meaning that it can only intervene where the private sector cannot (Couso, 2017). The result is that large swathes of life in Chile are privatised, with dramatic differences between public and private education and health, as well as myriad conflicts over water and other natural resources such as copper and lithium (Alemparte, 2022).

The failed Chilean new constitutional experiment is puzzling and needs to be explained in the context of the crisis of democracy. We believe combining the following considerations can contribute to sketching an explanation.

### **Limitations of the process**

For three decades, right-wing Chilean parties stood in the face of change and only accepted partial reforms once they could no longer defend or benefit from them (Zúñiga et al., 2021). Following the 2019 crisis, the overwhelming popular clamour could not be ignored and right-wing parties had to accept the possibility of significant constitutional changes (Heiss, 2021: 39). However, they bargained to set up a process fraught with obstacles and without second opportunities (Verdugo and Prieto, 2021: 162). Consequently, the process faced severe limitations. These included: a constrained budget; a lack of

support for technical logistics, especially under president Piñera's administration; and a tight schedule for debating the most fundamental issues.

### **Turmoil in the convention**

Widespread criticism of political parties led to the creation of independent lists, which meant many non-political party independent candidates were elected to the constitutional convention. These candidates included academics and activists, but others emerged from street protests and were politically engaged by the uprising. However, few of the 155 candidates had political experience and were given only twelve months to agree and write an entirely new constitution, a seemingly impossible task. The process was convoluted and bureaucratic. Many delegates had issues they were elected on: indigenous rights, water, education, and so on. That independence and inexperience caused many unforced errors and were the focus of much negative coverage in the media. Although many of the clauses in the draft were technically well-supported, many debates included no thought about the political realities and likely counterarguments to different proposals. In a scenario where social networks amplify extreme views and polarisation dominates the public sphere, drafting clauses without considering political consequences was possibly almost irresponsible. The general political environment also played a role: there was controversy around some of President Boric's close confidants resigning; a worsening security situation in the southern Chilean region of Araucanía; and increased crime more generally. Other controversies around the use of the Chilean flag beset some rallies.

A further factor leading to the rejection of the text was the role performed by the political right in the convention. The constitutional amendment that created the Constitutional Convention established a two-thirds quorum to pass every provision. These rules were originally intended to give a veto in favour of the right-wing parties to block radical reforms, but they won only a quarter of the seats in the election. This meant many proposals passed without support from established parties in the centre-right and right. Although the draft enshrined liberal rights, contained checks and balances, and a decentralisation process managed by congress, the right-wing delegates soon

started to resent not being part of the negotiations. With a huge voice in the media and capacity for shaping public opinion, they exploited every programmatic ambiguity with the worst-case interpretation, including many false statements, transmitting a permanent feeling of discord in wider public opinion.

### **Deficits in deliberation and public involvement**

The lack of funding for broad civic participation in the convention's deliberations, plus the necessity to comply with tight deadlines, shaped an internal political pragmatism that was detrimental to a wider democratic debate in the development of the proposal. The draft, written mainly by the left and centre-left parties, resulted from a myriad of closed negotiations that gave each leftist group its own clause. However, there was little involvement outside the Convention.

Passing an entire constitutional text was always going to be an uphill struggle, with people disagreeing on various aspects in good and bad faith. The convention constantly struggled to agree on a text, and constitutional maximalism was overused. Ultimately, it failed to explain a proposal that *The New York Times* described as one of the world's most expansive and transformational national charters (Nicas, 2022). People hardly understood what changes the text proposed and what they meant in everyday life. For example, in Petorca, a city severely affected by the drought caused by water privatisation, or Alto Bío Bío, a mainly indigenous community, the proposed constitution was rejected, though it recognised the human right to water or autonomy rights for indigenous communities. Indeed, indigenous issues were particularly controversial, with provisions on recognising customary law being misrepresented as allowing Indigenous communities to flout the law.

### **The dirty war on the media**

Chile is probably one of the most concentrated media markets in the world, with two economic groups associated with right-wing sectors controlling more than ninety per cent of the national press (Coddou and Ferreiro, 2016). While television is a mix of public and private enterprises, radio is dominated by a

few private consortiums (Mellado et al., 2012: 64). In this context, conservative groups have privileged access to agenda setting and shaping public debate.

In the last week of March 2022, the weekly *Cadem Plaza Pública* poll placed Approval for the constitution ten points above the opposite option (forty-six vs thirty-six). However, a turnaround left Reject six points above (forty-six vs forty) one week later. That week, the right began spreading extreme and unrealistic interpretations about provisions on pensions, arguing that pension savings would be expropriated. The strategy was repeated in other sensitive areas such as health (there will be only public hospitals, and waiting lists will increase), housing (home ownership will not be guaranteed), and education (private schools will disappear) (Segovia and Toro, 2022). There were also false allegations that the proposed constitution banned private property, allowed abortion into the ninth month of pregnancy, and allowed private companies to count votes, among many more (Villegas, 2022). The research found that some sixty-five per cent of respondents reported encountering misinformation in the last week of July 2022 by public polling company Datavo (Reuters, 2022).

This disinformation offensive covered almost five months (three outside the legal campaign period). A journalistic investigation detected at least thirty-six unregistered organisations campaigning on social media outside electoral regulation while expenditure on political advertising on YouTube, TikTok and Google was not transparent (Segovia et al., 2022). Of the total spending on Meta platforms by unregistered organisations, those that campaigned for rejecting outspent by far those that campaigned for accepting the new text; roughly \$127,600 (116,000,000 Chilean pesos) versus \$727 (661,000 Chilean pesos) for those that supported approval (Segovia et al., 2022).

### **So how will Chile advance now?**

The *Cadem Plaza Pública* poll released after the referendum demonstrated that sixty-seven per cent of Chileans still favour a new constitution (CADEM,

2022). Meanwhile some right-wing parties (UDI, RN and Evopoli) published a document outlining some general points and specific commitments, including a commitment to a guarantee of social rights, which was discussed in 2005 during the constitutional reform led by Ricardo Lagos, a Chilean lawyer, economist and social-democratic politician who served as president of Chile from 2000 to 2006, but opposed by the right (Pareja and Roblero, 2022). However, at the time of writing (September 2022) the parties have not clarified how the discussion on a new constitution will be conducted now that the original draft has been rejected.

The defeat is certainly a rebuke to newly elected leftist President Boric, a long-time campaigner for better public education, more social justice, and equal opportunities (Cabalin, 2012). Boric's priority will be establishing how the process should be continued. Writing a new draft with broad public support will be an enormous challenge. Campaigners hope Chile's commitment to democracy remains firm and includes citizens in an eventual new process. It seems likely that if new elections are held to elect another constitutional convention, political parties may make it far more difficult to elect independents, thus giving the parties more control over the agenda and the text. A cabinet reshuffle brought in more cabinet members from the centre-left (rather than the hard-left). Street riots started again following the rejection, indicating people's anger was still there. Chile will probably have a second chance, but a period of general social unrest could return if that process fails again.

Comparative constitutional studies show that constitutional referendums are unsuccessful without elite involvement or a broad political consensus. It is precisely here where the Chilean experience failed. The electoral results and the procedural rules of the Convention provided no incentives to include elites in the broader constitutional agreements. Moreover, the lack of understanding of broader political and societal consensus provided the groundings for a constitutional debate plagued by disinformation and political naivety. In this scenario, the lessons of the Icelandic and Irish cases of deliberative democracy could provide some way forward for Chileans. In

the failed Icelandic process, the lack of political support by the elite, as represented by formal political parties, was allegedly one of the leading causes of one of the most interesting cases of democratic innovations.

In the successful Irish case, evidence shows that democratic innovations such as citizens' assemblies provided the grounding for broader societal consensus that sorted out contentious issues through public deliberation followed by referendums (Farrell and Suiter, 2019). Chilean politics must act smartly and strategically to include democratic innovations into formal political ecosystems that could provide a way out of the current Chilean political conundrum.

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# **RESISTING FASCISM AND WINNING THE EDUCATION WARS: HOW WE CAN MEET THE CHALLENGE**

**HENRY A. GIROUX**

Across the globe, democratic institutions such as the independent media, schools, the legal system, certain financial institutions and higher education are under siege. The promise and ideals of democracy are receding as right-wing extremists breathe new life into a fascist past and undermine the social imagination. Reinventing a sordid fascist legacy with its obsession with racial purity, white nationalism and the denial of civil liberties, white supremacists are once more on the move - subverting language, values, courage, vision and a critical consciousness.

Education has increasingly become a tool of domination as right-wing pedagogical apparatuses controlled by the entrepreneurs of hate attack workers, the poor, people of colour, refugees, undocumented immigrants, LGBTQ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender) people and others considered disposable. In the midst of an era when an older social order is crumbling and a new one is struggling to define itself, there emerges a time of confusion, danger and moments of great restlessness. The present moment is once again at a historical juncture in which the structures of liberation and authoritarianism, fascism and democracy, are vying to shape a future that appears to be either an unthinkable nightmare or a realisable dream.

We now live in a world that resembles a dystopian novel. Since the late 1970s, a form of predatory capitalism, or what can be called neoliberalism, has waged war on the welfare state, public goods and the social contract. Neoliberalism believes that the market should govern not just the economy but all aspects of society. It concentrates wealth in the hands of a financial elite and elevates unchecked self-interest, self-help, deregulation and privatisation to the governing principles of society.

Under neoliberalism, everything is for sale and the only obligation of citizenship is consumerism. At the same time, it ignores basic human needs such as health care, food security, decent wages and quality education. Neoliberalism views government as the enemy of the market, limits society to the realm of the family and individuals, embraces a fixed hedonism and challenges the very idea of the public good. Under neoliberalism, all problems are personal and individual, making it almost impossible to translate private troubles into wider systemic considerations. In its recent incarnation, neoliberalism works to depoliticise and demobilise the majority of the population that opposes its agenda. At the same time, it supports gerrymandering, voter suppression and the power of big money to drive politics, while undermining all viable forms of civic and public education.

We live in an age when economic activity is divorced from social costs, while policies that produce racial cleansing, environmental destruction, militarism and staggering inequality have become defining features of everyday life and established modes of governance. Clearly, there is a need to raise fundamental questions about the role of education in a time of impending tyranny. Or to put it another way: What are the obligations of education to democracy itself? That is, how can education work to reclaim a notion of democracy in which matters of social justice, freedom and equality become fundamental features of learning to live with dignity in a democracy?

The growing authoritarianism in the United States (US), led largely by a far-right Republican Party, has revealed in all its ugliness the death-producing mechanisms of white supremacy: systemic inequality, censorship, a culture of cruelty and an increasingly dangerous assault on public and higher education. We now live in an age in which the threat of authoritarianism has become more dangerous than ever. This is evident as a number of red (Republican) states have put in place a range of reactionary educational policies that range from banning books and the teaching of ‘critical race theory’ to forcing educators to sign loyalty oaths, post their syllabuses online, give up tenure, allow students to film their classes and much more.

Not only are these laws aimed at critical educators and minorities of class and colour, this far-right attack on education is also part of a larger war on the very ability to think, question and engage in politics from the vantage point of critical thinking, informed citizenship and a willingness to address social injustice. More generally, it is part of a concerted effort to destroy public and higher education and the very foundations of political agency. Under the rule of this emerging authoritarianism, political extremists are attempting to turn public education into a space for killing the social imagination, a place where provocative ideas are banished and where faculty and students are punished through the threat of force or harsh disciplinary measures for speaking out, engaging in dissent and advancing democratic values. In this case, the attempt to undermine schooling as a public good and democratic public sphere is accompanied by a systemic attempt to destroy the capacity for critical thinking, compassion for others, critical literacy, moral witnessing, support for the social compact and the civic imagination. Schools that view themselves as democratic public spheres are now disparaged by Republican politicians and their allies, who sneeringly define public and higher education as ‘socialism factories’.

The growing threat of authoritarianism is also visible in the emergence of an anti-intellectual culture that derides any notion of critical education. What was once unthinkable regarding attacks on public education has become normalised. Under attack by Republican legislators are teachers, students, parents and librarians who oppose book bans and support critical pedagogy. As such, they are increasingly harassed, threatened and smeared as paedophiles by far-right extremists. Furthermore, calls for social justice, racial equality and a critical rendering of history are disparaged as unpatriotic. Ignorance is now literally praised as a virtue.

This right-wing assault on democracy is a crisis. It cannot be allowed to turn into a catastrophe in which all hope is lost. It is hard to imagine a more urgent moment for taking seriously the necessity to make education central to politics. This suggests viewing education as a social concept rooted in the goal of empowerment and emancipation for all people, especially if we do not want

to default on education's role as a democratic public sphere. This is a form of education that encourages human agency by creating the conditions that enable students not only to be critical thinkers, but also critically engaged social agents. This is a pedagogical practice that calls students beyond themselves and embraces the ethical imperative to care for others, dismantle structures of domination and be subjects rather than objects of history, politics and power. If educators are going to develop a politics capable of awakening our critical, imaginative and historical sensibilities, it is crucial for us to remember education as a project of individual and collective empowerment - a project based on the search for truth, an enlarging of the imagination and the practice of freedom.

This is a political project in which civic literacy infused with a language of critique and possibility addresses the notion that there is no democracy without knowledgeable and civically literate citizens. Such a language is necessary to enable the conditions to forge a collective resistance among educators, youth, artists and other cultural workers in defence of public goods. An international movement for the defence of civic literacy, historical memory and critical pedagogy is crucial at a time when the right wing is flooding the media with falsehoods and conspiracy theories, further undermining the public's ability to distinguish between truth and lies, good and evil. Critical education - on multiple levels and in diverse spheres - is especially important in a society in which the democratisation of the flow of information has been subverted into the democratisation of the flow of misinformation. Moreover, since critical pedagogy connects knowledge to the power of identity and self-determination, it is deeply attentive to a language that is historical and contextual while keeping students aware of the questions that need to be asked in order for them to speak and act from a position of agency and empowerment.

It is important for us as educators to note that the current era is marked by the rise of 'disimagination machines' that produce manufactured ignorance on an unprecedented level, and in doing so give authoritarianism a new life. Even worse, we live at a time when the unthinkable has become normalised, in which anything can be said and everything that matters is left unsaid.

Consequently, the American public is rapidly losing both the language and the ethical grammar to challenge the political and racist machineries of cruelty, state violence and targeted exclusions.

In an age of social isolation, information overflow, a culture of immediacy, consumer glut and spectacularised violence, it is even more crucial to take seriously the notion that democracy cannot exist or be defended without critically literate and engaged individuals. Education, both in its symbolic and institutional forms, has a central role to play in fighting the resurgence of false renderings of history, white supremacy, religious fundamentalism, militarism and ultra-nationalism. As far-right movements across the globe disseminate toxic racist and ultra-nationalist images of the past, it is essential to reclaim education as a form of historical consciousness and moral witnessing. This is especially true at a time when historical and social amnesia have become a national pastime, further normalising an authoritarian politics that thrives on ignorance, fear, hate and the suppression of dissent. The merging of power, new digital technologies and everyday life have not only altered time and space, they have expanded the reach of culture as an educational force. A culture of immediacy, coupled with a fear of history and a 24/7 flow of information, now wages war on historical consciousness, attention spans, and the conditions necessary to think, contemplate and arrive at sound judgments.

Under such circumstances, it is important to acknowledge that education as a form of cultural work extends far beyond the classroom and that its pedagogical influence, though often imperceptible, is crucial to challenge and resist. We must remember that education and schooling are not the same, and that schooling must be viewed as a sphere distinctive from the educative forces at work in the larger culture. Education is more than schooling, and that reinforces the notion of how important it has become as a tool to shape consciousness, the public imagination and agency itself. One important pedagogical lesson to be learned at a time when language is under assault and stripped of any viable meaning is that fascism begins with hateful words, the demonisation of others considered disposable, and then moves on to attack ideas, burn books, arrest dissident intellectuals, attack gender minorities, and

expand the reach of the carceral state while intensifying the horrors of jails and prisons.

This is especially important to remember now, since education in the last four decades has diminished rapidly in its capacities to educate young people and others to be reflective, critical and socially engaged agents. Increasingly, the utopian possibilities formerly associated with public and higher education as a public good capable of promoting social equality and supporting democracy have become too dangerous for the apostles of authoritarianism. Public schools more than ever are subject to the toxic forces of privatisation and mindless standardised curricula, while teachers are deskilled and subject to intolerable labour conditions. Unfortunately, public and higher education now mimic a business culture run by a managerial army of bureaucrats. At the same time, all levels of education are under attack by right-wing Republicans who seek to censor history, forbid discussions about racism, ban books, eliminate tenure and impose restrictions on teacher autonomy.

The current forces of white supremacy are not the only threat to public and higher education. Since the 1980s, conservatives and liberals have increasingly sought to model public education after business culture, standardise curriculum, teach for the test and flood teachers with ‘one-size-fits-all’ models of teaching. This model was reinforced during the pandemic with its heavy emphasis on a crude instrumentalisation of pedagogy. This continues to be seen in an endless emphasis on training exercises to familiarise teachers and students with Zoom, Teams and other methods of online teaching. The commanding visions of democracy are in exile at all levels of education.

Critical thought and the imaginings of a better world present a direct threat not only to white supremacists but also to ideologues who embrace a narrow, corporate vision of the world in which the future must always replicate the present in an endless circle, in which capital and the identities that it legitimates merge into what might be called a dead zone of the imagination and pedagogies of repression. One consequence is that the distinction between

education and training has collapsed, and the most valued educational experiences are geared to job preparation. Corporate models of education attempt to mould students in the market-driven mantras of self-interest, harsh competition, unchecked individualism and the ethos of consumerism.

Young people are now told to ‘invest’ in their careers, reduce education to job training, and achieve success at any cost. It is precisely this replacement of educated hope with an aggressive dystopian neoliberal project and cultural politics that also represents another dangerous assault on public and higher education. Under this corporate and market-based notion of schooling, the mantras of privatisation, deregulation and the destruction of the public good are matched by a toxic merging of inequality, social sorting, racial cleansing and the nativist language of borders, walls and camps.

In the shadow of this impending nightmare, the lesson we cannot forget is that critical pedagogy provides the promise of a protected space within which to think against the grain of received opinion, a space to question and challenge, to imagine the world from different standpoints and perspectives, to reflect upon ourselves in relation to others and, in so doing, to understand what it means to ‘assume a sense of political and social responsibility’. If the emerging authoritarianism and rebranded fascism in the United States is to be defeated, critical education needs to become an organising principle of politics. In part, this can be done with a language that exposes and unravels falsehoods, systems of oppression and corrupt relations of power while making clear that an alternative future is possible. Hannah Arendt was right to argue that language is crucial in highlighting the often hidden ‘crystalized elements’ that make authoritarianism more likely (The Hannah Arendt Center, 2016).

The language of critical pedagogy and literacy are powerful tools in the search for truth and the condemnation of falsehoods and injustices. Moreover, it is through language that the history of fascism can be remembered and the lessons of the conditions that created the plague of genocide can inform the understanding that fascism does not reside solely in the past and that its traces are always dormant, even in the strongest democracies. Paul Gilroy

argues correctly that it is crucial in the current historical moment to re-engage with fascism, to address how it has crystallised in different forms and in doing so to ‘work toward redeeming the term from its trivialization and restoring it to a proper place in discussions of the moral and political limits of what is acceptable’ (Gilroy, 2000: 144).

The ongoing threat of fascist politics and its assault on the foundations of critical consciousness is one more reason for educators to make the political more pedagogical and the pedagogical more political. Pedagogy is always political in that it is first and foremost a struggle over agency, identities, desires and values while it also has a crucial role to play in addressing important social issues, defining the future and defending public and higher education as democratic public spheres. Critical pedagogy makes clear that education is not neutral and that matters of agency, knowledge, consciousness, and desire are the grounds of politics. Making the political pedagogical, in this instance, suggests producing modes of knowledge and social practices that not only affirm oppositional ideas and pedagogical practices but also offer opportunities to mobilise instances of collective outrage, coupled with direct mass action, against a ruthless casino capitalism and an emerging fascist politics. Such a mobilisation must oppose the glaring material inequities of our society as well as the growing cynical belief that democracy and gangster capitalism are synonymous. At the very least, critical pedagogy proposes that education is a form of political intervention in the world, one that can create the possibilities for individual and social transformation.

Ignorance now rules America. Not the simple, allegedly innocent ignorance that comes from an absence of knowledge, but a malicious ignorance, forged in the arrogance of refusing to think hard about an issue or to engage language in the pursuit of justice. James Baldwin was correct in issuing this stern warning in *No Name in the Street*: ‘Ignorance, allied with power, is the most ferocious enemy justice can have’ (Morrison, 1998: 437). In the far-right fascist playbook, thinking is now viewed as a threat - and thoughtlessness is considered a virtue. All traces of critical thought appear only at the margins of the culture, as ignorance becomes the primary organising

principle of American society. As is well known, Donald Trump's prideful ignorance is still on display daily and lives on through a Republican Party thoroughly taken over by far-right extremists.

A culture of lies and thoughtlessness now serves to prevent power from being held accountable. Ignorance is the enemy of critical thinking, engaged intellectuals and emancipatory forms of education. Ignorance is now increasingly dangerous, especially when it defines itself as common sense while exhibiting a disdain for truth, scientific evidence and rational judgment. There is more at stake here, however, than the production of a toxic form of illiteracy celebrated as common sense, the normalisation of fake news and the emerging discourse of white supremacy. There is also the closing of the horizons of the political, coupled with explicit expressions of cruelty and a 'widely sanctioned ruthlessness'. Such ruthlessness is evident in the attack on women's right to abortion, an expansion of gun rights fuelling mass violence in the United States, staggering levels of inequality, voter suppression laws and ongoing incidents of state violence against minorities of colour and class. The very conditions that enable people to be knowledgeable and socially responsible are under siege as schools are defunded, media becomes increasingly corporatised, opposition journalists are labelled as 'enemies of the people' and so-called reality TV becomes the model for mass entertainment. We now live in a new age in which we are told that the central mark of our age is to be at war with others, unleash our most ruthless and competitive side and learn how to survive in the war against all, survival of the fittest jungle of neoliberal capitalism.

Under such circumstances, there is a full-scale attack on thoughtful reasoning, empathy, collective resistance and the compassionate imagination. Words such as love, trust, freedom, responsibility and choice have been deformed by a market logic that commercialises and commodifies all relations of exchange. Freedom now means removing oneself from any sense of social responsibility in order to retreat into privatised orbits of self-indulgence. And so it goes. The new forms of illiteracy do not simply constitute an absence of learning, ideas or knowledge. Nor can they be solely attributed to what has

been called the ‘smartphone society’. On the contrary, ignorance is a wilful practice and goal used by the Republican Party and its allies to actively depoliticise people and make them complicit with the forces that impose misery and suffering upon their lives.

Given the current crisis of politics, agency, history and memory, educators need a new political and pedagogical language to address the changing contexts and issues facing a world in which anti-democratic forces draw upon an unprecedented convergence of resources -financial, cultural, political, economic, scientific, military and technological - to exercise powerful and diverse forms of control. If educators and others are to counter the forces of market fundamentalism and white supremacy, it is crucial to develop educational approaches that reject a collapse of the distinction between market liberties and civil liberties, a market economy and a market society. It is also crucial to make visible and attack all attempts to turn public education into white supremacy factories that erase history, degrade LGBTQ and students of colour, and define any talk about racism, equality and social justice as un-American or unpatriotic.

In this instance, critical pedagogy becomes a political and moral practice in the fight to revive civic literacy, civic culture and a notion of shared and engaged citizenship. Politics loses its emancipatory possibilities if it cannot provide the educational conditions for enabling students and others to think against the grain, and to realise themselves as informed, critical and engaged individuals. There is no radical politics without a pedagogy capable of awakening consciousness, challenging common sense and creating modes of analysis in which people discover a moment of recognition that enables them to rethink the conditions that shape their lives.

As a rule, educators should do more than create the conditions for critical thinking and nourishing a sense of hope for their students. They also need to responsibly assume the role of public intellectuals and border-crossers within broader social contexts, and to be willing to share their ideas with other educators and the wider public by making use of new media technologies and

a range of other cultural apparatuses, especially those outlets willing to address critically a range of social problems. Educators can speak to more general audiences in a language that is clear, accessible and rigorous. More importantly, as teachers organise to assert both the importance of their role as citizen-educators in a democracy, they can forge new alliances and connections with broader social movements that include and expand beyond working with unions. We see evidence of this movement among teachers and students currently organising against gun violence and systemic racism or aligning with parents, unions and others in order to fight the gun lobbies and politicians bought and sold by the violence industries.

Education operates as a crucial site of power in the modern world. If teachers are deeply concerned about safeguarding education, they will have to take seriously how pedagogy functions on local and global levels. Cultural apparatuses are no longer bound to national boundaries. Critical pedagogy has a key role to play in both understanding and challenging how power, knowledge and values are deployed, affirmed and resisted within and outside traditional discourses and cultural spheres. In a local context, critical pedagogy becomes an important theoretical tool for understanding the institutional conditions that place constraints on the production of knowledge, learning, academic labour, social relations and democracy itself. Critical pedagogy also provides a discourse for engaging and challenging the construction of social hierarchies, identities and ideologies as they traverse local and national borders. In addition, pedagogy as a form of production and critique offers a discourse of possibility - a way to provide students with the opportunity to link understanding to commitment, and social transformation to seeking the greatest possible justice.

This suggests that one of the most serious challenges facing teachers, artists, journalists, writers and other cultural workers is the task of developing discourses and pedagogical practices that connect a critical reading of the word and the world in ways that enhance the creative capacities of young people and provide the conditions for them to become critically engaged agents. In taking up this project, educators and others should work to create the conditions that

give students the opportunity to acquire the knowledge, values and civic courage that will enable them to struggle toward make desolation and cynicism unconvincing - and hope practical. Hope, in this instance, is educational, removed from the fantasy of an idealism that is unaware of the constraints facing the struggle for a radical democratic society. Educated hope is not a call to overlook the difficult conditions that shape both schools and the larger social order, nor is it a blueprint removed from specific contexts and struggles. On the contrary, it is the precondition for imagining a future that does not replicate the nightmares of the present, the precondition for not making the present into the future.

Educated hope provides the basis for dignifying the labour of teachers. It offers up critical knowledge linked to democratic social change, affirms shared responsibilities and encourages teachers and students to recognise ambivalence and uncertainty as fundamental dimensions of learning. Educated hope is tempered by the complex reality of the times and is understood as a project and condition for providing a sense of collective agency, opposition, political imagination and engaged participation. Without hope, even in the direst times, there is no possibility for resistance, dissent and struggle. Agency is the condition of struggle, and hope is the condition of agency. Hope expands the space of the possible and becomes a way of recognising and naming the incomplete nature of the present. Such hope offers the possibility of thinking beyond the given and learning to act otherwise. As difficult as this task may seem to educators, if not to a larger public, it is a struggle worth waging.

The current fight against an emerging authoritarianism and white nationalism across the globe is not only a struggle over economic structures or the commanding heights of corporate power. It is also a struggle over visions, ideas, consciousness and the power to shift the culture itself. It is also, as Arendt points out, a struggle against 'a widespread fear of judging' (Berkowitz, 2020). Without the ability to judge, it becomes impossible to recover words that have meaning, to imagine a future that does not mimic the dark times in which we live, and to create a language that changes how we think about

ourselves and our relationship to others. Any struggle for a radical democratic order will not take place if ‘the lessons from our dark past [cannot] be learned and transformed into constructive resolutions’ and solutions for struggling for and creating a post-capitalist society.

In the end, there is no democracy without informed citizens and no justice without a language critical of injustice. Democracy begins to fail and political life becomes impoverished in the absence of those vital public spheres such as public and higher education in which civic values, public scholarship and social engagement allow for a more imaginative grasp of a future that takes seriously the demands of justice, equity and civic courage. Without financially robust schools, critical forms of education, and knowledgeable and civically courageous teachers, young people are denied the habits of citizenship, the critical modes of agency and the grammar of ethical responsibility. Democracy should be a way of thinking about education, one that thrives on connecting pedagogy to the practice of freedom, social responsibility and the public good. I want to conclude by making some suggestions, however incomplete, regarding what we can do as educators to save public education and connect it to the broader struggle over democracy itself.

Amid the current assault on public and higher education, educators can reclaim and expand its democratic vocation and in doing so align itself with a vision that embraces its mission as a public good. They can also acknowledge and make good on the claim that there is no democracy without informed and knowledgeable citizens. Education should be defended as a crucial public good and funded through federal funds that guarantee a free, quality education for everyone. The larger issue here is that education cannot serve the public good in a society marked by staggering forms of inequality. Inequality is a curse and must be overcome if public and higher education are to thrive as a public good. In order to keep alive the critical function of education, educators should teach students to engage in multiple literacies, extending from print and visual culture to digital culture. Students need to learn how to become border-crossers who can think dialectically. Moreover, they

should learn not only how to consume culture but also how to produce it; they should learn how to be both cultural critics and cultural producers.

Educators must defend critical education both as the search for truth and also the practice of freedom. Such a task suggests that critical pedagogy should shift not only the way people think but also encourage them to shape for the better the world in which they find themselves. As the practice of freedom, critical pedagogy arises from the conviction that educators and other cultural workers have a responsibility to unsettle power, trouble consensus and challenge common sense. This is a view of pedagogy that should disturb, inspire and energise a vast array of individuals and publics. Such pedagogical practices should enable students to interrogate common-sense understandings of the world, take risks in their thinking, however difficult, and be willing to take a stand for free inquiry in the pursuit of truth, multiple ways of knowing, mutual respect and civic values. Students need to learn how to think dangerously, push at the frontiers of knowledge and support the notion that the search for justice is never finished and no society is ever just enough. These are not merely methodical considerations but also moral and political practices, because they presuppose the creation of students who can imagine a future in which justice, equality, freedom and democracy matter and are attainable.

Educators need to argue for a notion of education that is inherently political - one that relentlessly questions the kinds of labour, practices and forms of teaching, research and modes of evaluation that are enacted in higher education. While such a pedagogy does not offer guarantees, it defines itself as a moral and political practice that is always implicated in power relations because it offers particular versions and visions of civic life and how we might construct representations of ourselves, others, our physical and social environment and the future itself.

Finally, I want to suggest that in a society in which democracy is under siege, it is crucial for educators to remember that alternative futures are possible and that acting on these beliefs is a precondition for making radical change possible. At stake here is the courage to take on the challenge of what

kind of world we want to build for our children. The philosopher Ernst Bloch (1995) insisted that hope taps into our deepest experiences, and that without it reason and justice cannot blossom. Now more than ever, educators must live up to the challenge of keeping the fires of resistance burning with a feverish intensity. Only then will we be able to keep the future open.

The fascist plague is upon us, making it all the more urgent for educators and others to think differently in order to act differently, especially if we want to imagine and fight collectively for a future grounded in the principles, values and institutions of a socialist democracy.

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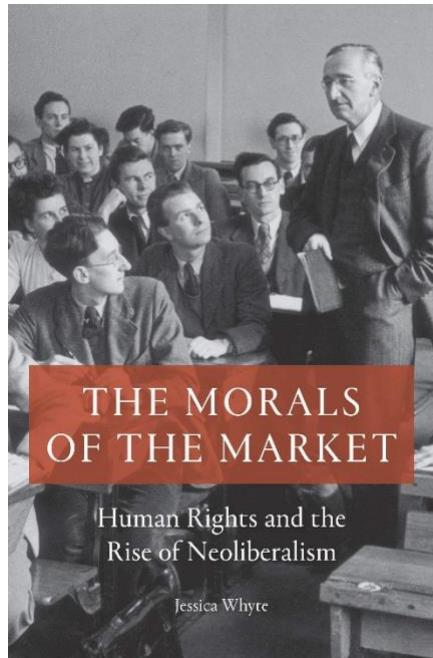
# Resource Reviews

## THE MORALS OF THE MARKET: HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE RISE OF NEOLIBERALISM

NEIL ALLDRED

Whyte, Jessica (2019) *The Morals of the Market: Human Rights and the Rise of Neoliberalism*, London: Verso.

Many readers of *Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review* will perhaps have construed neoliberalism as an essentially economic doctrine, brought into prominence by the actions and choices of United States' (US) President Ronald Reagan and United Kingdom (UK) Prime-Minister, Margaret Thatcher. Indeed, neoliberalism has been presented, perhaps especially by thinkers and activists on the left, as an economics manifesto, championing so-called 'free' markets, the privatisation of formerly state-owned assets, the deregulation of business procedures, and taxation policies



favouring the owners of capital, to the detriment of the owners of physical and intellectual labour. Jessica Whyte carefully deconstructs this presentation, in a gentle and understated manner, with no histrionics or soapbox denunciations. She examines the political genesis of the neoliberal agenda as we know it

today, concentrating on two important time frames – the immediate post-war period of the late 1940s, and the more generally accepted ‘coming out’ period of neoliberalism in the 1970s/1980s. In both periods, she seeks to examine the ways in which neoliberal thinkers sought to pre-empt collective action which might in any way impinge on the privileges of the wealthy.

After several centuries of European wars between monarchs, emperors, religions and various elite factions, the early Twentieth Century saw increasing efforts to bring peace, security and prosperity to populations across the continent and in the wider world. The setting up of the League of Nations after the First World War led to the creation of structures such as the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in 1919, as a tripartite decision-making structure bringing together governments, business communities and working peoples’ organisations, to improve the conditions, pay and security of workers across the world. Such collectivist sentiments appealed to ordinary working-class people but alarmed the holders of capital, who began to examine how the protection of private assets, wealth and property could be guaranteed throughout a century seemingly bent on promoting the interests of working people rather than those of the affluent and comfortable.

Whyte’s introduction is a short chapter outlining her overall thesis – that the fashioners and pioneers of neoliberalism were meticulous in understanding that the emerging consensus on the benefits of social welfare must not be allowed to impinge on the rights and privileges of capital. Just as the United Nations (UN) was being structured after the Second World War to offer humanity the benefits of peace, security, development and prosperity, so the defenders of capitalism were busy constructing a game plan that would counter that huge global movement for social solidarity, welfare and collectivism which threatened to promote the rights of the majority at the cost of the rights of the privileged minority that was the capitalist class.

Whyte carefully examines the work of the more ‘classical’ liberal and neoliberal thinkers – from Adam Smith, Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill to Friedrich Hayek, Milton Friedman, Ludwig von Mises and the creators of

the Mont Pèlerin Society, the alma mater of neoliberalism. She builds on, and expands, the sharply critical work of Wendy Brown (2015) who had drawn our attention to the falsity of an undue insistence on the ‘economisation’ of neoliberalism. In a scintillating chapter entitled ‘Neoliberalism, Human Rights and the “Shabby Remnants of Colonial Imperialism”’, she also calls on the work of a number of well-known thinkers and politicians from poorer countries to strengthen the view that decolonisation and international development were challenged and thwarted by the neoliberals precisely because they were supportive of collective welfare and threatening to private capital.

Colonial empires were being challenged and the demands of peoples everywhere for peace, democracy and what our generation have come to call the basic human rights (of education, health, freedom and opportunity) were recognised and built into the UN’s founding documents. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), for example – ratified in 1948 – challenged many of the racist and gendered assumptions that underlay colonial empires, and the aspirations of everyone, in all communities and territories, to a better life constituted a serious challenge to the then holders of power, privilege and profit (UN, 1948). The neoliberals worked hard to counter these democratic trends and they did this by generating and widely publishing an alternative vision of rights that installed the right to property as an absolutely central tenet of the new liberal orthodoxy. In Whyte’s own formulation: ‘... the drafters of the UDHR developed an account of social and economic rights that was ultimately compatible with a privatised, neoliberal approach to the management of poverty’ (Whyte, 2019: 32).

Just as Eleanor Roosevelt worked hard to influence the drafting of the UDHR, so – fifteen years earlier – did President Franklin Roosevelt seek to impose a New Deal that much of the world has seen as essentially economic, but which Whyte convincingly argues was highly political. She builds the case that the New Deal ‘took over central planks of Henry Ford’s model by combining welfare provision with racial segmentation and discrimination, a gendered division of labour, state paternalism and social pacification’ (Ibid: 86). She shows how Hayek had argued that Roosevelt’s initial leanings were

towards more democratically empowering policies but then convinced him and others to adopt more modest and less empowering strategies. According to Hayek, Roosevelt ‘had transformed an older tradition of human rights, entailing limits to the power wielded over individuals, into positive claims for benefits’ (Ibid: 85) and this had to be changed in order to support private capital.

Accordingly, many of the structures, processes and assumptions of the UN family of organisations were subverted from their original collectivist perspectives into a more conciliatory world view which tolerated the unequal distribution of wealth, and allowed and even encouraged, paradigms of economic growth as a panacea for all social ills. The freedom for businesses to pursue profit strategies was to become increasingly seen as the *sine qua non* of Twentieth Century capitalism. Just one example among many was the original draft of the charter of the ILO which had been prepared by the Canadian socialist John Humphrey and prescribed rights to ‘good food and housing and to live in surroundings that are pleasant and healthy’ (Ibid: 96). The US submission, in contrast, outlined a ‘right to enjoy minimum standards of economic, social and cultural well-being’ (Ibid: 96. [Whyte’s emphasis]).

The book is very careful in its delineation of the hurdles faced by democrats in reconstructing the world in the first half of the Twentieth Century. Many of the would-be drafters of UN ideals were themselves the product of imperial heritage – especially civil servants from France and the UK – and their views on the ‘backwardness’ of colonial peoples propelled them into discourses about ‘civilisation’ that were not just time-bound but utterly anti-democratic. Whyte dissects the work of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations (1919-39) to show how norms of Western behaviours, practices and prejudices were built into the interwar global architecture of decision-making. The needs of US manufacturing to have working-class white males in their factories presupposed a gendered structure in which women were closeted at home for childcare and other domestic duties. Hayek considered redistribution of assets and wealth to be a throwback to tribal collective identities – something he clearly saw as inimical to capitalist modes of

production and reproduction. Von Mises had bluntly stated that ‘Nothing is as “ill-founded as the assertion of the alleged equality of all members of the human race... Men are altogether unequal”’ (Ibid: 24). Consequently, throughout the Twentieth Century, the defenders of capital worked hard – and successfully – to counter the idea that ‘human rights’ should include any economic and social rights. Instead, they urged the adoption of what they defined as human rights to emphasise only legal and constitutional rights: ‘attempts to enshrine rights to housing, food, education and medical care were supplanted by a narrow focus on civil and political rights’ (Ibid: 6).

Whyte doesn’t shy away from calling out some egregious errors committed by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) that exist to support and defend human rights. Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International, in particular, are excoriated for readily turning away from people’s economic and social rights and concentrating instead on issues of torture, imprisonment and the loss of ‘freedoms to’ - in contrast to the important ‘freedoms from’ which have long characterised socialist and community struggles. Her dissection of the well-known role of the Chicago School of economists in supporting the ideological decision-making of President Pinochet in Chile is particularly impressive, as she lays bare the need for neoliberals to impose their views by force, since no democratic majority will ever vote for austerity, social cutbacks and the promotion of privatisation over public services. She also examines the role of Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF), which shamefully threw in its lot with neoliberal ideology and agreed to work in conflict situations without ever taking a stance on the political character of the regimes whose victims it sought to help. Indeed, MSF founded an organisation called Liberté Sans Frontières which was specifically designed to promote the new and emerging emphasis of the human rights movement on political choices that deliberately excluded economic and social rights, prioritising civil and political rights, which allowed those with wealth to avoid any redistribution and those without assets to continue their road to immiseration.

Whilst many of us may see the growth and increasing power of neoliberalism as the principal problem, Whyte is gently insistent that we need

to consider other perspectives. Some of us may prefer to see ourselves as the quiet heroes who work for NGOs in a dispassionate and altruistic way for human betterment, but Whyte refuses to let us off lightly: ‘Rather, in conceptualising the problem as politics and the solution as law, the human rights NGOs have bolstered the liberal dichotomy between violent politics and peaceful markets, secured by constitutional restrictions.’ (Ibid: 32-3). Indeed, as development education practitioners and activists, we should see Whyte’s book, and much of her earlier work (e.g. in Whyte, 2007, 2014, and 2018), as a persuasive reminder that our own path has not been blameless, and we have perhaps been remiss in accepting too many of the benefits of neoliberalism in a hideously unequal world, whilst displaying pusillanimity in the face of neoliberalism’s clever, careful, persistent and (so far) successful challenges to the world we claim to wish to see.

*The Morals of the Market* is an exercise in intellectual history, examining with care and diligence the evolution of the concept of human rights over the last one hundred years or so. It neatly and convincingly unpacks the myth that neoliberalism was simply the evolution of economic forces during the Twentieth Century and, instead, shows how hard the neoliberals worked to subvert the global movement towards economic rights for citizens into a much less threatening movement for certain - carefully defined – freedoms to speak, to write, to express political dissent and so on. Any feel good factor experienced by DE practitioners and activists when they reflect that they are working for human rights globally should be quickly corrected when reading this excellent book, since we have been, as Whyte argues in one of her chapter headings, more ‘fellow travellers’ than ‘powerless companions’.

The book’s reading list is an impressive source for readers to inform themselves more on the issues of the rise and seeming inevitability of neoliberalism. The book overall is radical and challenging to the contemporary metanarrative that capitalism is here to stay. It portrays the current hegemony of capitalism as a carefully constructed, and forcefully imposed, ideological straightjacket that can be understood and deconstructed by dedicated radicals

committed to understanding the situations of working-class communities across the globe: change is possible.

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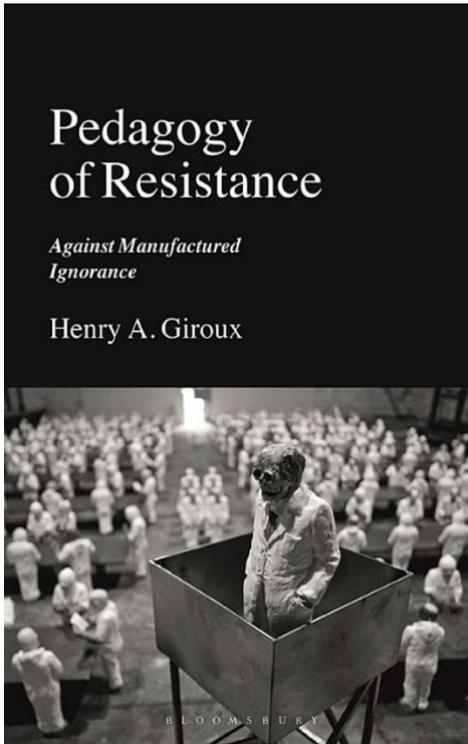
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**Neil Alldred** spent 23 years up to 1999 in numerous would-be development initiatives in sub-Saharan Africa, where he realised that many problems of the global South originate in behaviours and structures created in the global North. In the 23 years since then, he has worked in Ireland in teaching, research, campaigning and networking, to seek system change in areas such as the climate crisis, politics and economics.

# PEDAGOGY OF RESISTANCE: AGAINST MANUFACTURED IGNORANCE

**BERNIE GRUMMELL**

Giroux, Henry A (2022) *Pedagogy of Resistance: Against Manufactured Ignorance*, London: Bloomsbury, Academic.



Giroux's *Pedagogy of Resistance: Against Manufactured Ignorance* (2022) offers a compelling argument about the growing threat of fascism under neoliberal capitalist regimes, building on his lifetime's work as an educator, theorist and activist. He offers a detailed analysis of how the current economic, political and social climate of neoliberalism has been exacerbated by the political regime of Trump's presidency and the continued rise of gangster capitalism. The book focuses primarily on the context and events in North America but has widespread relevance due to the global impact of capitalism.

Giroux's overall manifesto about the critical role and transformative potential of education to rebuild democratic values offers an introduction for readers new to the political critique and the transformative theory offered by critical education. It also offers a more sustained analysis for readers familiar

with Giroux's work of how culture and education have evolved in the context of the increasingly neoliberal and conservative regime of North American capitalism. For development educators, it offers a sharp reminder of the need for critical analysis of the politicised context of education, the intersectional nature of inequalities and the need for a collective pedagogy of resistance rooted in the ideals of freedom, democracy and social justice.

This argument is outlined in three parts moving from an analysis of the crisis in democracy, exploring the crisis of pedagogy to a focus on hope and resistance. This is preceded by a foreword by Brad Evans which reminds us of the wider context, and full corpus and development of Henry Giroux's work and writings, and his tireless activism and courage. This acknowledges the shift in Giroux's analysis from one on the politicised nature of education to a greater recognition of the importance of cultural forces and 'the demand to speak with multiple grammars' (2022: ix).

The introductory chapter reminds us of the significance of education as a politicised force, as it has become a key site of struggle for the reproduction of anti-democratic, corporatised and managerial cultures that are part of neoliberalism. Crucial within this is Giroux's emphasis on how these forces create an instrumental logic that 'sweeps matters of political and moral responsibility under the carpet' (Ibid: 5). It also outlines his core argument about language and the forces of terror, where 'people become too fearful to develop a language in which they can both understand and challenge the world in which they live' (Ibid: 13). This is a vital part of the value of Giroux's book for development education, reminding us not only of how repressive regimes operate in cultural guises but of our collective responsibility to develop possibilities of hope and resistance.

Part one of the book outlines the crisis in democracy and traces the deep roots of racial terror in three opening chapters that explore 'the dictatorship of ignorance and the crisis in the public imagination' (page number missing). These remind us of the importance of historical remembrance, of rethinking with the ghosts of the past and how the terrors of

the past are always evident in the present. Giroux not only analyses the emptying of American culture and politics but its profound impact in terms of normalisation of high levels of individualism, atomisation, historical amnesia, the crisis in public imagination, violence as performative and the lack of a collective consciousness. Giroux systemically documents the ‘long legacy of manufactured ignorance that informs the political and media culture of the US’ (Ibid: 38). This offers a powerful analysis of how culture including education can deploy and reflect power, normalising and creating conditions for the ‘unthinkable’.

Chapter two roots this analysis in an insightful and detailed account of ‘America’s Nazi problem and the plague of violence’ (page number missing). This is a very deliberate naming and locating of this crisis in a fascist and Nazi context by Giroux which highlights its deep roots in racial hierarchies and terror. This enables Giroux to reveal how the politics of disposability pick off the most vulnerable in society and create power dynamics whereby ‘habits of thought reinforce and sustain habits of power’ (James Baldwin, 2007: 87 cited in Giroux, 2022: 63). This type of in-depth cultural and political analysis is key for development education to understand the impact of education and thinking in the struggle over relations of power and the potential for social change. Chapter three continues this analysis by documenting the impact of ‘Trumpism and its afterlife’ as a form of ‘turbo-charged militarized power... [that empties] politics of any substance by turning it into a spectacle’ (Giroux, 2022: 106). This provides an in-depth analysis of American society during this period and its negative impact for the many groups disenfranchised from the brutality of this ideology.

Part two analyses the challenges and crisis of pedagogy as it increasingly becomes a tool for domination as part of the rise of a ‘Fascist Culture’ and the ‘Scourge of Apartheid Pedagogy’. Giroux has traced the growing influence of neoliberalism and marketisation on the consequent decline of education as a democratic and social good. In this book, he explores further how it works on a cultural level in the types of knowledge permitted and what it silences, especially critical race theory and critical pedagogy. He

analyses how language and discourse has been used as a brutalising force through ‘manufactured ignorance ... the refusal to think hard about an issue, to engage in language in the pursuit of justice’ (Ibid: 140). This is evident throughout what Giroux gives as the title of chapter five, ‘The Scourge of Apartheid Pedagogy’ that normalises racism, class inequities, and economic inequalities and silences any attempts to tackle them. Giroux issues a call for us to reclaim education as a force for critical consciousness and to create modes of analysis which supports people to ‘rethink the conditions that shape their lives’ (Ibid: 143). He offers a vital discussion on critical pedagogy’s role in analysing power, knowledge, ideas and transforming greater agency which is key for development education, reminding us that ‘Agency is the condition of struggle and hope is the condition of agency’ (Ibid: 147).

Part three reflects Giroux’s insistence as a critical educator on hope, possibility and a pedagogy of resistance. This outlines a vital and insightful analysis of how we move from hope to resistance in the ‘Age of Plagues’ which draws on Freire’s Pedagogy of Hope (2014). It allows us to counteract the despair and understand how education is always political and key in creating the conditions for a pedagogy of resistance and change. Giroux has a keen sense of the politicalised nature of Freire’s work and also how knowledge and learning are formed in ‘particular relations of material and symbolic power’ (Giroux, 2002: 182). The significance of education in supporting people to become critical and knowledgeable actors who can make power visible, build solidarity and challenge oppressive effects is clearly outlined. Key to this is how ‘hope had to be approached as a political project and an ethical ideal... rooted in both a historical consciousness and the concrete realities of the time’ (Ibid: 184). In the final chapter, Giroux draws together the intersectional nature of this struggle towards a pedagogy of resistance, evident in movements like Black Lives Matter and Indigenous rights movements worldwide. This allows Giroux to name and learn from what has happened in United States, outlining how ‘politics follows culture’ in terms of what is allowed to be thinkable and what and who are silenced. Education is key in rethinking the future and a developing a pedagogy of resistance that can rebuild critical democracy.

This book enables Giroux to offer a powerful analysis of how culture is used as ‘the primary vehicle through which people engage and understand the material conditions that affect their lives’ (Ibid: 109). In so doing, it provides key learning for development educators to consider in terms of what this might mean for the types of development education that allow us to recreate our futures on a sustainable global level.

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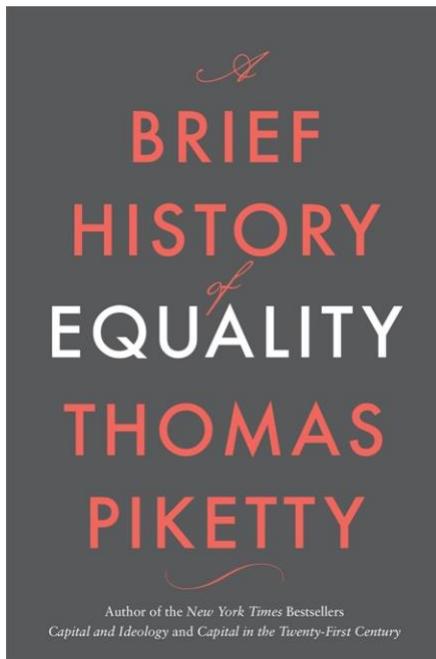
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# A BRIEF HISTORY OF EQUALITY

GERARD MCCANN

Piketty, Thomas (2021) *A Brief History of Equality*, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press.



Equality is key to global development. This is the hard fought for conclusion of over twenty years of research by Thomas Piketty from L'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS). Distilling down his three tomes of macro-economic analysis - *Top Incomes in France in the Twentieth Century: Inequality and Redistribution, 1901-1998* (2001), *Capital in the Twenty-First Century* (2014) and *Capital and Ideology* (2020) - into this brief history, he collates evidence for his contention that 'equality is a battle' in the historic 'transformation of power relationships' (Piketty, 2021a: viii). The point being made

and arguably proven is that there has been a historic trend towards global equality, albeit disrupted by war, economic depression and the fight back by elites. For Piketty, 'progress' can be registered across citizens' legal status, income differentials, educational attainment, welfare systems and the accrual of rights, across national boundaries and timelines, and between societies. On a global scale, equality can be seen to be being made.

Piketty comes from a long tradition on the Left who have sought to analyse patterns of socio-economic development and shifts in class relations within that. Very much in the continental network which has its provenance in the Annales School going right back to the 1930s, the methodology is informed by an economic systems approach that looks to, for example, changes to tax regimes, income distribution, property and inheritance laws, profit margins and de/regulation, to survey changes to class relations over time. This methodology has also been significantly enhanced by the computerisation of a myriad of datasets through the likes of the World Inequality Database (WID, 2022), which can knit together research on a global stage to highlight reutilisations and patterns of development, discerning not only pressures on socio-economic activities but positive interventions.

There is an assertive voice throughout this text, and it comes from the authority of a highly respected academic. The positions taken are solidly stated throughout and backed up by research: ‘Inequality is first of all a social, historical, and political construction’ (Piketty, 2021a: 9). For Piketty, the systemic nature of inequality and indeed socio-economic injustice is within the sphere of political engagement, change or reaction. The caveat to progress is that social movement in its most egalitarian form has been contested at every point and has struggled for every advance. Lifting from the ‘history from below’ tradition also - although I do think it could have been name-checked better - what we can see in Piketty’s thinking is the potential of human agency to change circumstances and systems for the better. Indeed, collective agency, including the ‘accumulation of knowledge’ (education), is what he argues has brought equality forward and framed a human development process. His historic reference points emphasise this process, looking forward from the Enlightenment’s fulcrums of ‘Liberté, égalité, fraternité’ and the French Revolution, he cites the Saint-Domingue slave revolt of 1791, global independence struggles and the ongoing fight to decolonise, the civil rights movements of the 1960s, through to Black Lives Matter, #MeToo and Fridays for Future. The message is very strong, that agency and social movements remain central to the process of egalitarian building through human history.

Interestingly, anticipating the influence of fields such as development education and a pedagogy for democratic citizenship, he positions education at the centre of this movement towards global equality. It is seen as an essential social activity capable of combating dehumanisation in all its nefarious guises. In this education liberates. ‘Historically, it is the battle for equality and education that has made economic development and human progress possible, and not the veneration of property, stability, and inequality’ (Piketty, 2021a: 139). Later, he notes that ‘the diffusion of knowledge has always been the central tool enabling real equality, beyond origins’ (Piketty, 2021a: 176). It is great to see faith in the role of education as a force for progress and equality through history.

While absolutely following Piketty in his optimism and call to arms, there remains a niggling caution from the field which deserves more attention, issues that will need to be picked up on in respect to Piketty’s thesis and indeed the profiling of equality in the balance of human development. Particularly, there are the extremities of reversals vis-à-vis progress. For example, climate change and its implications anticipate a historic juncture in human development. If the rich world, the global North, does not act on this, the ramifications will be catastrophic for all, and especially the global South – equality goes into reverse. Action on this, as many have pointed out, would require unprecedented multi-level international interventions to mitigate the effects – and it does not look as if this is coming soon. Furthermore, COVID-19 saw another reversal to equality, with the global divide becoming very evident at every wave of the pandemic as seen through inequality in vaccine distributions, necropolitical care provision disparities, inequity across all health systems and protectionism in medical supplies on a global scale (Oxfam, 2022).

Beyond this, but just as challenging, there is the changing nature of global conflict and the technologies emanating from this. The outcomes are something that development timelines cannot anticipate. For example, according to the World Economic Forum, in 2020 global foreign aid was a mere \$161.2 billion (WEF, 2021), and yet in 2021, according to Statista, \$2.11

trillion was spent on military expenditure (Statista, 2022). The trajectory of this culture of war through market expansion and the political economy behind it, suggests that states in permanent conflict will become more common - a market need - and the means of military engagement hypercomplex.

The impact on human development (as portrayed by Piketty) of factors such as the lack of genuine mitigations on climate change, protectionism in its necropolitical forms and changing patterns of warfare, could be more difficult than his march towards equality suggests. The drive of his brief history though is to send a message out on the continual grinding need for affirmative action and change. In this motivational aspect of the book, he offers a very hopeful intervention. Without saying too much about it - he does this in other books – Piketty understands that history breaks at times and often it is for the good (Piketty, 2021b; Piketty and Vauchex, 2018). His appeal, as noted in the last paragraph of the book, is for ‘Citizens’ to ‘help grasp the changes that are occurring’ (Piketty, 2021a: 244). Education has an important role to play in seizing these opportunities.

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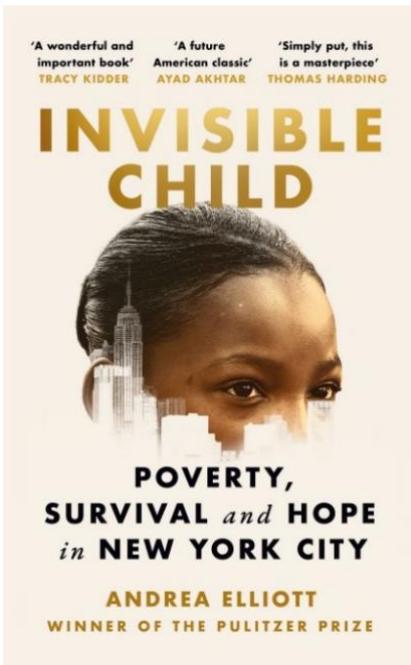
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# INVISIBLE CHILD: POVERTY, SURVIVAL AND HOPE IN NEW YORK CITY

STEPHEN McCLOSKEY

Elliott, Andrea (2022) *Invisible Child: Poverty, Survival and Hope in New York City*, London: Penguin Books.



Here is a remarkable study of poverty in the wealthiest country in the world that leaves an indelible imprint seared by a compelling narrative, made more so by the horror of it being non-fiction. This is a social polemic categorised as ‘narrative non-fiction’, a factual account written in the form of a fictional story. It has the propulsive pacing of a good novel but is firmly framed in the non-fictional world of the homeless and marginalised in one of world’s most unequal cities, New York. It takes us on an eight-year journey in the life of Dasani Coates, an African-American child who is eleven years old when we meet her living in a homeless shelter in Brooklyn called Auburn, a ten story

brick building built on the site of an old hospital. The book is a study in immersion in which the author-as-researcher becomes a fly on the wall witness of Dasani and her family’s struggle to survive and stay together as they negotiate the homeless system in America. The author, a journalist with the *New York Times*, initially planned a series of articles about poverty and homelessness among young people which drew her to Dasani and her family.

These articles were indeed published but developed into the larger narrative of *Invisible Child* amid growing social unrest and mobilisation in the United States (US) manifested through Occupied Wall Street and other social movements following the 2008 financial crisis.

*Invisible Child* is in many respects a work about neoliberalism though I'm not sure the term is ever used in the book. For example, Dasani is named after a bottled water from the Coca-Cola stable which was withdrawn from the UK market for excess levels of Bromate, 'a substance linked with an increased cancer risk' (Wright, 2004). Her younger sister, Avianna, is named after the more expensive *Evian* water (Elliott, 2022: 18) and their mother was named for that sweet French fragrance *Chanel*. As Chanel later recognises, 'Even the names of her daughters bowed to a white material world' (Ibid: 125).

*Invisible Child* contrasts the gentrification of New York and the growth of luxury high tower accommodation with the withdrawal of welfare supports from impoverished families that might induce 'dependence' on the state. Dasani is one of 22,000 homeless children in New York in 2012 when the story begins and, by 2016, this figure has climbed to 100,000 (Ibid: 39). Across America by January 2020, there were 580,466 experiencing homelessness including 34,210 unaccompanied minors and 171,575 children like Dasani living in families (National Alliance to End Homelessness, 2021). Sixteen million children in the US grow up poor and 47 million Americans are on food stamps (Elliott, 2022: 40). The question looming over the book, posed with barely controlled anger, is how a country with a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita of \$63,593.44 (World Bank, 2022) can subject so many of its citizens, most of them African Americans, to such an appalling existence. The real strength of the book is that it attempts an answer to this question by using Dasani's personal narrative to highlight systemic failings and racism rooted in slavery and the Jim Crow laws created in the 1830s to enforce racial segregation. We have seen through the murder of George Floyd and so many other African Americans over the past decade, often at the hands of law enforcement, how unresolved these issues remain (BBC, 2021).

### **A day in the life of Dasani**

Dasani shares a single room in Auburn with her parents, Chanel and Supreme, and her seven siblings. Their building has been cited 13 times by city inspectors for lead paint, mould, roaches and vermin. The family sleep on mattresses on the floor without dignity and privacy with fellow residents including addicts, prostitutes and severe mental health cases. For a child moving from the family room to a common kitchen area to heat a bottle in a microwave means the possibility of running a gauntlet of threats and behavioural problems. Dasani is the first to rise and checks immediately on the heaving bodies of her siblings. She is what one of her teachers describes as the ‘typical parentified child’ who ‘will put the mask on everyone else and the oxygen runs out’ (Elliott, 2022: 167). The long line for breakfast in the communal area will often mean skipping a meal to escort her younger brothers and sisters to school or a bus. Despite the stress of living with poverty and regularly observing traumatic family arguments and crises, Dasani exhibits an “intuitive” approach to learning’ (Ibid: 25) with her heroic principal and teacher acutely aware of the load she is carrying. Dasani’s family lives on \$65 a day which amounts to \$6.50 per person when their benefits are totalled and divided by the eight children and two adults. So much for welfare scroungers and benefit cheats milking the system; a myth advanced by Republican and Democrat politicians and presidents alike for political ends.

In the Fort Greene area where Dasani’s ‘family residence’ is located, the top five per cent of residents earn 76 times the income of the bottom quintile (Ibid: 155). The mayor of New York from 2002-13, the publishing billionaire Michael Bloomberg, ‘broke ground’ on 19 luxury buildings in Fort Greene in a period of three years using ‘aggressive re-zoning and generous subsidies’, increasing white residents by 80 per cent (Ibid: 155-56). Bloomberg’s administration also launched a string of success academy schools which will displace public schools like McKinney’s Secondary School of the Arts attended by Dasani. Bloomberg closes 137 public schools while opening 174 charter schools (Ibid: 59). Places at success academies are ‘determined by a random lottery’ which reduces education to the luck of the draw rather than a state-provided human right (Success academy, 2022). While the academies

claim to ‘prioritize diversity, equity, and inclusion in all that we do’ (Ibid), New York’s school system remains ‘among the most segregated’ (Elliott, 2022: 14).

Bloomberg comes to personify a contemporary form of Mark Twain’s satirical gilded age of greed and corruption (Twain and Dudley Warner, 2001 [1873]). The number of homeless families increases by 80 per cent during his administration (Elliott, 2022: 62) and ‘[a]lmost half of New York’s 8.3 million residents are living near or below the poverty line’ (Ibid: 5) with 250,000 New Yorkers on the public housing waiting list (Ibid: 12). The reader is unsurprised to learn that in 2012, New York is the most unequal of the ten largest cities in America (Ibid: 533).

### **Historical antecedents**

The author traces the earliest ancestral roots of Dasani’s family back to a slave called David in 1835 under the ownership of a slaver of English background called Sykes based in North Carolina. Her great grandfather, Wesley Junior ‘June’ Sykes, fought as part of an all-Black division in the Second World War. June Sykes joined the great migration of six million African Americans from rural areas of the Southern states to urban centres in the North and West between 1910 and 1970 (Ibid: 84). These newly arriving migrants soon found themselves marginalised and largely segregated, denied access to home ownership, the ‘key to accruing wealth’ (Ibid: 86). ‘The exclusion of African Americans from real estate – not to mention college, white-collar jobs and the ability to vote – laid the foundation of a lasting poverty that Dasani would inherit’ (Ibid: 86). By 1975, Black families represented 44 per cent of the eleven million Americans on welfare and yet represented 10 per cent of the nation’s population (Ibid: 184). The ‘welfare queen’ became a political stick used by Democrats and Republicans alike to reduce welfare spending (Ibid). The political priority was to move people off welfare with time limited cash support as a ‘culture of deterrence’ took effect (Ibid: 185). For decades, the New York authorities had helped homeless families jump the waiting list which resulted in only a small number returning to homeless shelters. But Bloomberg believed this practice incentivised families to enter shelters in the

first place and so stopped prioritising the homeless on housing lists (Ibid: 116). Dasani's family, like so many other inner city African American families in the 1980s, suffered terribly from the crack epidemic that claimed lives, increased crime and scarred communities. Dasani's parents and grandparents wrestle with addiction and we find poverty, homelessness, addiction, AIDS and separation regularly intersecting in her story. But the author is clear that the social disadvantages and racism encountered by African American communities in New York underpin the conveyor belt of problems they confront.

When Dasani's story appears in a series of articles in the *New York Times* in 2013, the newly elected Mayor, Bill de Blasio, denounces the homeless crisis in New York. 'The kid was dealt a bad hand', argues outgoing Mayor Bloomberg, 'I don't know quite why. That's the way God works. Sometimes, some of us are lucky and some of us are not' (Ibid: 212). He ignores the one million people who have swollen the ranks on food stamps also dealt a 'bad hand' on his watch (Ibid). Dasani is invited to the swearing in of Mayor de Blasio where she comes face-to-face with the city's political elite including the architect of 'success academies'. We learn later that Mayor de Blasio has 'left a trail of disappointments: a still-segregated school system, a public housing system so broken it has required federal intervention, a police department that is far from reformed' (Ibid: 501). The number of homeless New Yorkers, we learn, has climbed from 60,000 to 72,000 since de Blasio took office on a social justice platform (Ibid: 502).

### **Education for the poor**

The reader anticipating that Dasani's brief exposure to headlines and political glad-handing will alter her trajectory will be mostly disappointed. Thanks to her own acuity and educational alertness, and the considerable efforts of her school, she secures a place at the Milton Hershey School, funded by a trust with a controlling share in the Hershey Chocolate Company. Thirty-three per cent of the school's students are black with places reserved for children from families on low income (Ibid: 252). The school resembles a form of child sponsorship by lifting a young person from the mire of poverty and catapulting

them into ‘the richest private school for children in America’ (Ibid: 253). It does nothing to tackle the systemic causes of Dasani’s poverty or her family’s, and by separating her from her parents and siblings, it creates anxiety and guilt for the unravelling of the family unit while she is away. Like many children exposed to long-term poverty and stress, Dasani is prone to aggressive behaviour and resistant to authority. She struggles to reconcile her new regimented ‘home away from home’ with its ‘top-notch personal attention’ (Milton Hershey School, 2022) and concern about the welfare of her siblings now living without her support.

Dasani would have been helpless, however, to prevent the mushrooming problems that enveloped her family in her absence. Her mother, Chanel, enters cycles of addiction and on treatment programmes and her step-father, Supreme, struggles to maintain the health and well-being of seven children as a private landlord repeatedly ignores a succession of pleas for emergency repairs to their apartment. The alphabet soup of investigating agencies appears more interested in moving the children into foster care than maintaining the family unit with practical assistance that would improve their living environment and welfare. We learn that ‘the federal government is giving ten times as much to programs that separate families (most of them poor) as to programs that might preserve them’ (Elliott, 2022: 316). To be poor is to be constantly monitored and the author sifts through 14,325 family records in the course of her research reflecting the extent to which the family was tethered to an unending series of meetings with social services and federal agencies and appearances at family courts (Ibid: 532). The logistics of attending these meetings with seven children in tow much less fulfilling the requirements of each agency between meetings is seemingly unconsidered. And, yet, *Invisible Child*, is not sparing of Chanel and Supremes’ parental failings nor does it sentimentalise their story to induce pity.

### **The invisibility of poverty**

In an introduction to Jack London’s immersive study of poverty in Edwardian England, *The People of the Abyss* (2015 [1903]), author Iain Sinclair describes London’s ‘social polemic’ as demonstrating the ‘fault lines of what we are

presently experiencing: empty Babylonian towers of spectacular hubris overshadowing rough sleepers, who must remain invisible under foot' (Ibid: xiii). Andrea Elliott similarly points to the invisibility of chronic poverty when she suggests that Dasani's childhood 'was shaped by the encounter with two worlds – the homeless and the housed, black disadvantage and white privilege, the seen and the unseen' (2022: 518). Her book recalls another immersive study on the invisibility of poverty, Orwell's *Down and Out in Paris and London* (1940), another book of moral authority marching in step with the dispossessed. *Invisible Child* was researched over eight years and drew upon 132 hours of audio recordings and 28 hours of video with more than 200 interviews conducted. Development educators may be wary of what novelist Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie (2009) describes as the 'Danger of a single story' in which one dominating narrative can shape our perceptions and knowledge of a place. Thus, our knowledge and understanding of the entire African American or homeless population of New York can become dominated by or truncated to the life experience of Dasani and her family. However, *Invisible Child* escapes this trap by constantly locating Dasani's family life in the wider context of homelessness, poverty and racism experienced by the African American population in New York and the US in contemporary and historical terms.

Another potential criticism of Elliott could be her role as researcher in influencing the outcome of the story she observes by intervening in it. For example, the stories in the *New York Times* result in donations to Dasani's family which the newspaper puts into a trust. However, as Elliott suggests, 'whatever power came from being in the *Times*, was no match for the power of poverty in Dasani's life' (2022: 522). She refers back to the Old English word for understand – *understandan* – meaning to 'stand in the midst of' in describing her own methodology (Ibid: 520). '[W]e have experienced enough of something new', she says, 'something formerly unseen, to be provoked, humbled, awakened or even changed by it' (Ibid). Few readers of this fine book will be unmoved by its powerful content and some might even be changed by it or moved to try to change the despicable racism and neoliberalism underpinning Dasani's life experience.

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# DOUGHNUT ECONOMICS: SEVEN WAYS TO THINK LIKE A 21ST CENTURY ECONOMIST

CAROL DOYLE

Raworth, K (2017) *Doughnut Economics: Seven Ways to Think Like a 21st Century Economist*, London: Penguin Books.

## ‘What enables human beings to thrive?’

‘What enables human beings to thrive?’ (Raworth, 2017: 44). This is the guiding question behind the model of Doughnut Economics, originally presented as a discussion paper for Oxfam in 2012, where Kate Raworth worked as a researcher for ten years. (Raworth, 2012). From the outset it captured the imagination, as for many it visualised what they already thought about sustainability. The visual was even used by negotiators



Figure 1: ‘The Doughnut of social and planetary boundaries’, (Raworth, 2017: 44).

in the development of the United Nations’ Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as a reminder of the ‘big picture goals they were aiming for’ (Raworth, 2017: 24). The book *Doughnut Economics* followed in 2017, and became an international bestseller, translated into twenty languages (Nugent, 2021). The *Financial Times* (2017) listed it as their business book of the year in 2017 and a 2018 TED talk has received 4.5 million views to date (Raworth, 2018). The concept and thinking behind the doughnut has been quoted by David Attenborough, Pope Francis and President Michael D Higgins (Nugent, 2021; Áras an Uachtaráin, 2020).

Inspired by those already attempting to apply the ideas, Raworth co-founded Doughnut Economics Action Lab (DEAL) in 2020 as an online, community platform to connect and support change makers (DEAL, 2022a). In 2020, Amsterdam adopted Doughnut Economics as part of their Circular Strategy to guide their city development plan, as they emerged from COVID-19. The idea stemmed from an initiative of C40 cities, a coalition of ninety-seven cities committed to action on climate change and following Amsterdam's decision, other cities and municipalities and regions have since followed (Nugent, 2021).

The concept generated much wider interest and traction than Raworth could have imagined (Raworth, 2022: 294). From the outset she was clear that the ideas are not new, and beyond being presented through a playful doughnut image, the work is based on decades of existing work and thinking on sustainability and humanistic economics. Raworth credits some of the success to good timing and the power of pictures to shape our world view and a goal to strive towards (Robin, 2022).

### **The doughnut as a compass for humanity**

The goal of the doughnut is 'to meet the needs of all, within the means of the planet' (Raworth, 2017:10). The basis and arguably the main strength of Doughnut Economics is as a model built on a clear set of social and ecological indicators, representing an 'ecological ceiling', beyond which lies planetary degradation and a 'social foundation' which sets out the basics of life, beyond which no one should be left behind. The space between the rings is the 'ecologically safe and socially just space in which humanity can thrive' (Ibid: 45). The metrics used in the doughnut are derived from the earth system science on planetary boundaries from researchers at Stockholm Resilience Centre and the social priorities of the Sustainable Development Goals (Raworth, 2017: 295-299).

The book lays out seven steps and aims to replace the economic mantra of 'growth at all costs' (Ibid: 264), measured by Gross Domestic Product (GDP) as a key indicator (Ibid: 31). It presents a new economic story,

using words and pictures. The starting point is to embed the economy within society and the living world, and highlight the role and interaction of the ‘household, commons, market and state in meeting our many needs’ (Ibid: 286-287). Raworth addresses rising income and wealth inequality and highlights the negative impact of inequality on society, democracy and the environment (Ibid: 170-173). Chapters five and six present alternative views on the distribution of resources and reimagine production, business and design, in an attempt to rethink growth and shine a light on fundamental issues, which are externalised in current economic decision making (Raworth, 2017: 213).

Contrary to the critique that it discards existing economic theory (Schokkaert, 2017), the invite is to make it relevant to the twenty first century context. The conclusion and challenge to change makers and policy makers and economists and decision makers is to become ‘agnostic about growth’ and design an economy that prospers and ‘thrives’ regardless of growth (Raworth, 2017: 30).

### **Why economics?**

Raworth names economics as ‘the mother tongue of public policy, the language of public life and mindset that shapes society’ and economists as having the ‘front row seats’ to determine future policy’ (Raworth, 2017: 5). However, the path of prevailing economic development is caught in a trap of ‘growing social inequality and deepening ecological destruction’ (Ibid: 131), based on outdated theories and often flawed assumptions (Ibid: 8). The Doughnut Model was designed to offer an alternative, with up to date and evolving tools, replacing the goal of exponential economic growth, with a new goal of ‘thriving in balance’ (Ibid: 53).

The book is a valuable reference, placing ‘values and goals’ at the heart of an economic mindset and revisiting the work of thinkers, who placed humanity at the centre of economic thought (Ibid: 42). Raworth’s background as a student of economics and career in overseas development with women in Zanzibar, the United Nations and Oxfam and as a mother of twins all lend

context and credibility to her holistic reframing of economics and proposal of alternative metrics to measure prosperity (Ibid: 9).

### **Doughnut economics and global citizenship education (GCE)**

Education is identified as the key to bring about the ‘scale of transformation required’ to move to the ‘safe and just space’ of the doughnut (Raworth, 2017: 57-60). There is a clear symbiosis between the values and approach of ‘Doughnut Economics’ as a theory and practise and GCE, as outlined by UNESCO (2018). The doughnut model is built on human rights, social justice, and climate science. The aim of the DEAL platform is to turn the ideas in the book into action, using an approach rooted in collaboration, participatory methodologies, reflection and learning through experimentation (DEAL, 2022a). The social foundation of the Doughnut Model is based on the SDGs; it offers a complementary framing of the SDGs, contextualising them within a circular framework that can highlight the interconnectedness, and impact of decisions.

Applying the ideas of Doughnut Economics has become more accessible and practicable thanks to a series of tools to ‘unroll the Doughnut’ available since April 2022. They explore citizenship through exploring ‘local aspiration’ in a context of ‘global social responsibility,’ using four lenses combining a local, global, social and ecological perspective (DEAL, 2022b). The strength of GCE is to hold the global context and draw local and global interconnections. An approach of collaborative consultation has the potential to create space for ‘debate and new thinking’ (Kirby, 2012:19) and engage in ‘unlearning’ and ‘relearning’ to bring a ‘different reality into being’ (Andreotti, 2014: 57 cited by Allred, 2022: 117). Through these methodologies, Doughnut Economics provides an opportunity for GCE educators to engage outside the sector.

Doughnut Economics offers practitioners a viable pathway and methodologies to engage with economics, and a platform to engage on active citizenship. It also offers opportunities towards SDG 4 and ‘Vision 2025 Towards a Society of Global Citizens’ (IDEA, 2022).

### **‘We are all economists now’**

Raworth set out to write the book that she would have liked to have in her own university education and the result is a book, she contends that should be part of every ‘economist’s toolkit’ (Raworth, 2017: 11). The concluding chapter is titled ‘We are all economists now’ (Ibid: 286) and this review concludes that that the concept of Doughnut Economics and the book, tools and peer support from the DEAL community make this resource very valuable in all our toolkits. Whilst outside of the scope of this review, the skills of ‘emotional literacy’ (Bryan, 2020) for practitioners and participants to enact transformational change amidst social and ecological crises are also critical.

The transformational action and thinking required to adopt and move into Doughnut Economics is indeed radical and may seem naïve (Ibid: 286) as Raworth wrote in 2017 as the tools and thinking are still only evolving. Arguably it seems significantly less naïve or radical in today’s context. The question can legitimately be asked whether it is any more radical than the policy choices made to bail out the banking system in 2008 or the radical policy decisions and measures put in place to tackle COVID-19 in 2020 and 2021?

Doughnut Economics as a compass and map, has the potential to be a very powerful tool and provide focus and direction in a time of crisis. It offers methodologies, metrics, vision and hope, as well as an invitation to all to participate and co-create. The spirit of this review is to open the conversation and explore the framework of Doughnut Economics within GCE practice. It offers exciting prospects for collaborative action and draws clear connections between people, places and issues. Integrating the doughnut into GCE has the power to address values and behaviour change, reflecting back values that have led to today’s many crises and opening a space to learn and take action to move towards a ‘safe and just space’ (Raworth, 2017: 293).

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