A hugely important, timely response to contemporary dilemmas in education, democracy and society. Not only does it eloquently and incisively challenge contemporary norms, it explores grounded, inspiring alternatives that have the wisdom, imagination and power to help us develop new practices and possibilities. A deeply thoughtful, thought-provoking book; a book of integrity, power, possibility and occasional beauty. A book which, in its own words, helps us ‘Create the conditions for young people to write the poetry of their own futures’.

Michael Fielding, Emeritus Professor of Education at the Institute of Education, University College London, UK

This important and compelling book is a much-needed challenge to the contemporary neoliberal framing of education. Richly theorised and convincingly argued, it presents a lucid and insightful analysis of the current disquieting state of play in education, before clearly setting out the possibilities for real democratisation of education and wider society. This book is a must-read for all those concerned about growing inequalities in education and what we need to do about them.

Diane Reay, Visiting Professor, London School of Economics, UK, and Emeritus Professor of Sociology of Education, University of Cambridge, UK

Contemporary educational leadership is curiously poised between the promise of ever greater freedoms and the sober realisation of tighter regulation and control. The book is eloquent in its consideration of the inescapable paradoxes that beset educational policy and practice. Of how we are first tempted towards the possibility of a better future, espousing greater equality, liberty and inclusivity, before becoming unavoidably compromised through the pervasive exercise of power that both violates democracy and serves to naturalize instrumentalism. Such tensions and contradictions are not easily resolved and while the authors make no claim to do so they otherwise offer a sophisticated account of radically rethinking the formation of future educational practices: relations, institutions and leadership.

Dean Garratt, Editor of Power and Education Journal
Paradoxes of Democracy, Leadership and Education

*Paradoxes of Democracy, Leadership and Education* engages both critically and creatively with important social, political and educational issues, and argues that the organisational forms of contemporary schooling are caught up in politically significant contradictions. Highlighting the inescapable paradoxes that educators must grapple with in their thought and practice as they seek to reconcile democracy and leadership in education, this book addresses the question of whether socially just democratic futures can be realised through education.

Divided into two parts, the first part explores theoretical frameworks and concepts, presenting theory and raising issues and questions, while the second shares diverse examples of practice, renewing and reanimating the links between education, leadership and democracy, and providing models of alternatives. Studying a number of global developments that can be seen as potentially threatening, such as a growing inequality in wealth and income and the declining participation and trust in democratic processes, this text is at the forefront of international innovations in educational theory and philosophy.

A fascinating and vital read for all researchers and students, *Paradoxes of Democracy, Leadership and Education* considers the opportunities and challenges that are confronting and threatening education in the modern world.

**John Schostak** is Emeritus Professor at Manchester Metropolitan University, UK.

**Matthew Clarke** is Chair Professor of Education at York St John University, UK.

**Linda Hammersley-Fletcher** is a Reader in Educational Leadership and Management at Manchester Metropolitan University, UK.
Foundations and Futures of Education

Peter Aggleton, University of New South Wales, Australia
Sally Power, Cardiff University, UK
Michael Reiss, UCL Institute of Education, UK

*Foundations and Futures of Education* focuses on key emerging issues in education as well as continuing debates within the field. The series is inter-disciplinary, and includes historical, philosophical, sociological, psychological and comparative perspectives on three major themes: the purposes and nature of education; increasing interdisciplinarity within the subject; and the theory-practice divide.

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We would also like to thank Lucy Stewart and Sarah Tuckwell at Routledge, as well as the series editors, Peter Aggleton, Sally Power and Michael Reiss, for their guidance and support in working with us on this project. 

Finally, we are grateful to all the chapter authors for their enthusiasm and invaluable contributions to the book.
Introduction

John Schostak, Matthew Clarke and Linda Hammersley-Fletcher

Schools are where the future is written. For some, what is to be written is shaped under the glow of their preferred nostalgic past. For others, it is an imagined ‘good society’ yet to be created. The present realities tell of other stories. There are those whose wealth enable their futures to be clearly and comfortably mapped and those who struggle with day-to-day pressures to make ends meet, who deal with discrimination, and face disappointment and frustration while hoping for a better future. The future is written through the ideas, the tools and the resources of the present. Currently, it is a present dominated by elites who draw upon neoliberal market ideologies and neoconservative fantasies of nationalistic, pre-democratic, pre-liberal patrician pasts that should become our futures.

This book seeks to engage those who want to find ways of challenging this neoliberal/neoconservative dominance in educational policy and practice. This dominance can be seen, for example, in the promotion of academies and ‘free schools’ by the English Conservative government, fashioned to some extent in the image of US and Swedish models of schooling. Such developments represent a neoliberalising agenda that forcibly brings market processes into education with the promise of ‘driving up standards’ though increased competition, while also harking back to and elevating the elite, traditional ‘independent’ (i.e. fee-charging) school as the template that government schools should embrace. At the same time, in the US, soon after his election President Trump appointed Betsy Devos – a Charter School advocate whose billionaire family has contributed millions to the Republican party – signalling a further strengthening of both neoliberal and neoconservative trends. This dominance is nothing new but results from a long history of writing elite demands into the lives of those who for them compose simply a mass to be directed, used and disposed of according to need. The call made by Etienne de La Boetie (1552) for ordinary people to disobey and free themselves from their ‘voluntary servitude’ to dictators still has resonance, even in the liberal democracies of today, where the lives of the masses continue to be dependent on the decisions of a few.

However, this book is not a naively utopian call to loosen the shackles of the market and seize the emancipatory initiative in order to (re)create some unattainable realm of freedom and equality. Each author is all too aware of the complicity of the academy, and indeed of all those who enjoy some degree of privilege in the
circuits of power and oppression. In this respect, despite a shared democratic ethos, it differs somewhat from the work of UK scholars, Fielding and Moss (2011), who advocate a return to democratic forms of educational organisation and practice, or Benn (2012), who laments the dilution, if not the passing, of the comprehensive school movement as a vehicle for democratic equality. But neither, on the other hand, does the book adopt the line pursued by authors like Marsh (2011) and Blacker (2013, 2019), writing in the North American context, who regard education as largely incapable of challenging the political and economic conditions—indeed, they see education as irretrievably subservient to them.

Instead, as our title suggests, we highlight the inescapable paradoxes that educators must grapple with in their thought and practice as they seek to reconcile democracy and leadership in education: the necessity of both structure and agency and the need to sustain an uneasy balance between them that navigates the tricky path between governance and freedom; the obligation to respect the sometimes competing demands of equality and liberty; the imperative to embrace an expansive notion of inclusivity, while remaining mindful of the tendency of any inclusive community to define itself, in ways which may be difficult for privileged insiders to recognise, against an excluded ‘other’; and the need to address the different forms of power: as coercive, as regulatory and as productive. Hardt, in his introduction to Negri’s (1991, pp. xi–xii) book on Spinoza, signals the distinction between the two Latin terms for ‘power’ (potestas and potentia) in terms of capitalization. Thus, the powers of the individual alone are ‘power’ (potentia) and the power (potestas) that is constructed by aggregating the powers of individuals is represented as ‘Power’. Employing these differences of usage creates some useful nuances. Coercive Power then is a result of the aggregation of powers to dominate others. Regulatory Power can either be a result of laws formed under the coercive gaze of an elite, or it can be constructed through free and equal debate, or indeed, as some negotiation between the two. Similarly, Productive Power can be the result of cooperative enterprises freely entered into by the participants or as a result of elite forms of exploitation coercively imposed, or indeed, as some ‘middle way’ where people negotiate under the prevailing rules of the market place. There is a pervasive sense of being caught in the middle: between Power exercised by the State, corporations, law enforcement, militaries and so forth on the one hand; and on the other, there is ‘just me’ with perhaps a few friends and family—what can our little powers do against all that? The open secret, of course, is that Power desperately needs all the little powers since it does not exist without them. Hence, La Boetie’s question: why obey? The complexity of the answer to this is variously explored throughout this book. As educators, researchers and simply as members of the public we can at least work to minimise the violence wreaked by the excesses of Power while remaining open to the creative possibilities of individuals working together to write their futures as best they can. But can we do more?

Against the bleak background of contemporary abuses of Power, however, we also see sources for a degree of qualified optimism in developments inspired by traditions other than the neoliberal and neoconservative ones that currently dominate the educational agenda. For instance, the international growth in alternative
models of education, such as the co-operative school movement, draw on
democratic and egalitarian counter-discourses, capable – at least potentially – of
challenging neoliberal tropes of standards and competition and hence of rewriting
the common sense of educational theory and practice.

There is as always in every epoch a battle of ideas whose effects impact variously
on the lives of people and create an ever-present sense of urgency to deal with
resulting injuries. The chapters are thus timely in drawing on accounts and ana-
lyses from a range of global contexts, in which our authors seek to build on these
developments by exploring, critiquing and formulating alternative possibilities.
Indeed, the book offers a unique perspective in the current juncture. The specific
seeds of the book arose in 2016 and the centenary of the publication of Democracy
and Education. In this seminal work, Dewey argued for a mutually dependent
relationship linking a legitimate education system and a thriving democracy. A
century on, as we have argued in this book, many commentators see democracy
and education as having been decoupled and both diminished and devalued as a
result (Labaree, 2011; Schostak & Goodson, 2012). As Rebell (2018) puts it, our
schools have by and large flunked democracy. Meanwhile, the discourses of lea-
dership in education have burgeoned in the late-twentieth and twenty-first cen-
turies, supplanting those of management to a large degree, despite the lack of any
consensus on what is understood by ‘leadership’ (Lakomski, Eacott, & Evers,
2016; Samier, 2016). This book engages critically and creatively with these funda-
mentally important social, political and educational issues. In particular, we
argue that a reassessment of the relations between education, leadership and
democracy has to be engaged upon as a critical project. If democracy, in its radical
modes (e.g. Balibar, 1994, 2010; Rancière, 1999; Laclau, 2005; Mouffe, 2005;
Bouton, 2007; Fraser, 2017; Rosanvallon, 2013), focuses attention on discourses
of equality, then contemporary democracies aligned with the inequalities of
wealth, corporate monopolies, elite political governance and social divides produce
paradoxes or contradictions (Harvey, 2014) that cannot be easily resolved by
schools and ‘educational leadership’ (Blacker, 2013). Current notions of good
educational leadership are too often those where leaders will operate to ensure
that educational organisations meet market-based goals and build a system that is
fit for purpose in a competitive, fast-paced and ever-shifting global environment
(Ball, 2012).

Moreover, educational leaders are increasingly responsible for influencing and
ensuring that colleagues shift to new ways of working and thinking about educa-
tion that are grounded in a sense of markets and financial viability in ways that are
affecting their morale (Evans, 2000) and subverting their critical and professional
independence. It may be, as we argue that at least some educational leaders
themselves are becoming increasingly uncomfortable with the injustices created
through following a market-led agenda. However, discomfort is not enough.
Thus, although Marsh (2011) argues – as indicated in the title of his book – that,
‘we cannot teach or learn our way out of inequality’, we adopt a more overtly
political stance, rejecting a passive view of education where educational leadership
is reduced to a role of ‘delivering’ the instructions of policy makers (c.f. Barber,
Instead, we argue that democracy as a radical lived practice offers a way of rethinking educational relations and reworking forms of educational organisation and the discourses and practices of education to create the conditions for young people and their communities to counter inequalities and construct alternative approaches to living.

In order to build such a democracy, organisational forms of education have to be robust enough to tackle a number of developments in recent decades that can be identified as potentially undermining democracy. A non-exhaustive list of such factors includes:

- Growing inequality in wealth and income, as highlighted by a wide range of commentators, including the hardly radical OECD (2014a), as well as prominent writers such as Stiglitz (2012), Piketty (2014, 2015, 2019a, 2019b), Atkinson (2015), Varoufakis (2016) and Dorling (2015, 2017, 2018);
- Declining participation and trust in democratic processes in Western and other contexts (Mair, 2013, Brown, 2019);
- The translation in education and wider society of democratic deliberation and decision making into techno-rational matters framed in terms of instrumentalism and efficiency (Brown, 2015);
- Growing extremism in Europe, North America, Australia and elsewhere, including religious extremism and growing support for extremist political parties (Crépon, Dézé, & Mayer, 2015; Judis, 2016; Moffitt, 2016; Eatwell & Goodwin, 2018; Temelkuran, 2019)
- A growing sense that our ways of life are causing irreparable environmental and climate damage that threaten the future viability of the planet (Klein, 2014).

Meanwhile, the hegemonic spread of neoliberalism has naturalised an instrumental ethic that elevates market-based principles, techniques of measurement and evaluation, and enshrines them as state-endorsed norms across all sectors and domains of society (Davies, 2014). This includes education, where measures of school performance, teachers and students in relation to targets and indicators of performance have led to a narrowing curriculum in order to concentrate leadership resources on improving test outcomes. This, in turn, has resulted in the decontestation and depoliticisation of education as a field (Clarke, 2012), undermining and weakening its links to democratic politics. Yet as Dewey argued, “democracy cannot flourish where the chief influences in selecting subject matter of instruction are utilitarian ends narrowly conceived” (1963, p. 209). In this respect, recent developments raise questions about the vitality of contemporary links between democracy and education. This raises an obvious but complex challenge: how does education find a critical edge and the power to contribute to positive societal change?

Following Dewey, if each school was a laboratory of social innovation, then with each generation democracy could be increasingly embedded in everyday practice, thus potentially revolutionizing society. However, Dewey’s optimism was increasingly replaced by pessimism (Mayhew & Edwards, 1936) – a pessimism
seemingly borne out by the limited success that ideas and practices of democratic schooling have had in influencing mainstream schooling. There is, nevertheless, for those who continue to be willing to engage, a substantial legacy to inform prefigurative practices, that is, social practices and forms of organisation appropriate to the desired more fully democratic future society (Fielding & Moss, 2011). This must be achieved, however, against a backdrop of the decreasing need on the part of capitalists for an educated workforce, due to advances in automation and intelligent technologies (Blacker, 2013; Elliott, 2017). This suggests that there is little, if any, scope for education to bring about social justice if its purpose is focused largely upon the employability of students. The great challenge, then, is to insist on Dewey’s (1916) wider program of creating the conditions for a democratic public that go well beyond issues of employability. For that public to be democratically informed and enabled, each individual should be included, and their voice counted in any decision making impacting on their life and the lives of friends, neighbours and community. Dewey (1927) saw this as fundamental to his view of an engaged public, formed through reflection upon the consequences of decision making. Critically, however, there is more to a public than each individual or group promoting their own interests in response to a conflict, siding with ‘friends’ against ‘enemies’. In this book, we explore radical forms of democratic politics that envision futures underpinned by values of being ‘with’ rather than antagonistically ‘against’ others.

These are not futures, however, that should be merely envisioned. They are futures we need to enact in the here and now. Yes, paradoxically, a ‘here’ and a ‘now’ are only constructible by comparing them with a ‘there’ or a ‘then’ as places and times to either go to or to avoid. For that reason, each chapter of the book is both a response to a present situation – here and now – and a future vision of the ‘good society’, the place to be created and attained as well as its feared alternative. There is thus a practical logic of utopia and of dystopia to be mapped in order to guide public decision making and action. In each case, there is the critical question of the ‘truth’, or what counts as ‘truth’ for the purposes of free decision making as a basis for persuasion and action. We argue that this question is critical to the role of education in the formation of democratic publics who seek to guard and enhance their freedoms.

Overview of the book

In this book we argue that the organisational forms of contemporary schooling are caught up in politically significant contradictions that theory can map, describe and analyse, and which can also critically reveal openings within the discourses of capitalism for prefigurative practices that offer more democratically oriented alternatives. We argue that a key contradiction inherent in both capitalism and in contemporary schooling is the demand for the freedom to compete, framed as synonymous with democratic freedoms for all, despite the fact that competition requires unequal outcomes in the form of losers as well as winners (Davies, 2014). Given this context, we believe that, as Harvey urges in ‘17
contradictions of capital’, we have an “obligation to write the poetry of our own future against the background of the rapidly evolving contradictions of capital’s present” (2014, p. 99). Thus, we take the critical position that a founding principle of democracy is the co-extensiveness of freedom and equality (Balibar 1994, 2010) and that therefore ‘the political’ moment where transitions, transformations and changes become possible begins with the recognition of equality between people (Baïocchi & Connor 2013). Clearly this conception of democratic education lies in tension with the dominant focus on the role of educational leaders as the people in positions of power, who can accommodate or dismiss the knowledge and experience of others as they choose (Claxton, Owen, & Sadler-Smith, 2013). We thus seek to consider new approaches to leadership and power that enhance rather than reduce democratic processes for the formation of critically active publics.

The book interweaves the theoretical and the practical. It is divided into two parts in order to promote the development of analysis and discussion that is designed to address the fundamental questions: Can socially just democratic futures be realised through education? If so, how and in what ways? How does education that strives towards greater democracy fare in a schooling system governed by capitalist logics of individuation, competition and instrumentalism? In what ways might Dewey’s idea of the laboratory school be reinvented to ‘write the poetry of our own future’? Do recent developments, such as the UK’s trust and academy schools, offer sources of optimism or do they reveal a fundamental complicity on the part of schooling with capital and, indeed, neoliberal forms of organisation? In short, is it possible to re-think the philosophical, social, theoretical basis of educational organisation to create the conditions for young people to write the poetry of their own futures?

The chapters in Part 1 of the book explore theoretical frameworks and concepts that have been developed since the publication of Dewey’s book, including the work of Jacques Rancière, John McMurray, Michel Foucault, Nancy Fraser, Ernesto Laclau, Chantal Mouffé and Slavoj Žižek, as vehicles for rethinking the relationship between democracy, power and education. We argue that educational leadership, in this context, is a Janus-faced role that might best be reimagined as a ‘vanishing mediator’ to facilitate change from non-democratic to democratic forms of educational relationship and practice. Part 1 thus sets the scene, presenting theory, raising issues and questions for the chapters in Part 2 to address. To ensure and enhance coherence, the editors have added a critically reflective commentary that links the chapters in Part 2 with the background of the ideas and issues already elaborated and explored. The general theme will involve inquiring into the complex relations between the global and the local as they are experienced personally, and impact on organisations and communities. Thus, the chapters in Part 2 of the book share diverse examples of practice, which aim to renew and reanimate the links between education, leadership and democracy, providing models of alternatives to the contemporary view of education as a technology for the reproduction of neoliberal capitalism in the twenty-first century.
Note

1 Academies began in 2000 as an idea by Andrew Adonis, education advisor to Tony Blair, leading to the establishment of about 200 academies. It was not until the Conservative government of 2010 under a free-market ethic that the policy took off as a major policy drive to transform schools. Alongside this was the ‘libertarian’ idea of the ‘free school’, which enabled any independent group to apply to set up a school.
Notes

Introduction

1 Academies began in 2000 as an idea by Andrew Adonis, education advisor to Tony Blair, leading to the establishment of about 200 academies. It was not until the Conservative government of 2010 under a free-market ethic that the policy took off as a major policy drive to transform schools. Alongside this was the ‘libertarian’ idea of the ‘free school’, which enabled any independent group to apply to set up a school.

Chapter 2

1 This chapter draws substantially on an original conference paper, a very much extended version of which is now published (Schostak 2018).

Chapter 3

1 Office for Standards in Education.
2 We note that ethical approval was sought and that the BERA ethical guidelines were followed. Names are therefore anonymised and identifying language has been altered to disguise the schools and staff involved.
3 Listening walks were inspired by and adapted from the work of Michael Gallagher (eg: Gallagher and Prior 2013). They involved walking single file around the school and its surrounds without speaking, writing or interacting with others, which heightened participants’ senses to the environment and ways of working in unfamiliar ways. They could ‘hear’ the ‘known’ in new ways, which made it ‘strange’.

Chapter 4

2 The phrase ‘in spite of it all’ is borrowed from the recent special issue of Studies in Philosophy and Education, edited by Emile Bojesen, entitled ‘Education, in Spite of it All’, Studies in Philosophy and Education, February 2018, 37(1).
3 The term ‘neo-liberalism’ was one that these same scholars had elected to adopt at the Colloque Walter Lippmann in Paris in 1938, in order to convey their sense of the need for a revived and reconstructed liberalism to meet the economic and political challenges of modern times (Davies, 2014; Polanyi, 1944).
Chapter 5

1 Trump’s campaign slogan printed as MAGA in baseball caps.
2 The theme of the campaigns to leave the European Union.
3 Lacan never fully developed this but there are a variety of readings that reconstruct it from his writings – see in particular Olivier (2009) and Pauwels (2019).
4 It could at this point be argued that the ‘discourse of the analyst’ is allied to that of education. To the extent that listening is essential to education, this is true. To the extent that education requires a mutuality of exchange, of talk, of engaging debate, then the silence of the analyst is no longer helpful.
5 This use of ‘intelligence’ implies no relation to ideas of genetic intelligence or IQ.
6 Where perception is being used to include the perception of ideas, of symbolic and imaginative objects as much as physical objects.

Chapter 6

1 See United Nations World Population Prospects 2019: https://population.un.org/wpp/Graphs/Probabilistic/POP/20-64/300
2 In 2018 Daskalakis received the Rolf Nevanlinna Prize, considered one of the highest honours in theoretical computer science. In particular, he solved a long-standing mathematical problem concerning finding the equilibrium point in complex systems that is significant for a range of real-world issues relating to choice making, markets and optimising solutions. He gives as examples a number of applications for this that “are all concerned with how one uses algorithms in order to take a market that is outside the digital world and bring it into the digital world, and thus make it much more effectual”. The algorithms are designed to make better matches and enable transparency in the optimal allocation of resources to solve problems in contexts of scarcity and competing demands. Examples include: newspapers, Uber, WeWork, Freelancer, eBay, online dating, the kidney chain for hospital transplants. Daskalakis has often expressed his idea that any sphere of the real world becomes exponentially more effective in market terms when digitalised in order to enable the use of advanced algorithms.

Chapter 7

1 Indeed, the Cartesian roots of Lacan’s thinking are not often given enough weight but can be seen in his La Science et la Vérité published in 1965, in Cahiers pour l’Analyse (archived: http://cahiers.kingston.ac.uk/pdf/cpa1.1.lacan.pdf). It can be argued, rightly, however, that there are many possible readings of Lacan and that concepts such as ‘extimacy’ blur the binaries. Language is ‘external’ in the sense of pre-existing the birth of individuals, and yet intimate – hence the neologism ‘extimate’. Moreover, the topologies used by Lacan to explore the relations between the real, the symbolic and the imaginary in constructing subjectivity seem to blow apart the binaries – however, it is true also, amongst all the most complex of entanglements, the most knotted of knots, that the spits remain. In that sense, Lacan is the ‘analyst’ of modernities that draw from Cartesian frameworks rather than Spinozan.

Chapter 8

1 http://classonline.org.uk/pubs/item/education-justice-and-democracy
2 Maybe it can be related to the ‘democratic transmission’ dilemma that Biesta (2011: 141) proposes: ‘While the socialisation conception focuses on the question how “newcomers” can be inserted into an existing political order, the subjectification conception focuses on the question how democratic subjectivity is engendered through engagement in always undetermined political processes. This is no longer a process driven by
knowledge about what the citizen is or should become but one that depends on a desire for a particular mode of human togetherness or, in short, a desire for democracy’.

3 Note that in Rancière’s (1991) account of Jacotot it is the recognition that all individuals are ignorant of something but that each can share their intelligence and understandings in mutual education. Hence rather than assuming that teachers are ‘supposed to know’, this discourse of mastery is undercut by the recognition that like all people their ‘knowledge’ is framed by ignorance. To overcome this, Rancière draws upon Jacotot’s notion of co-equal intelligence as the principle for mutual learning. The shift in the discourse is from privileging knowledge to privileging the powers of intelligence employed in debate.

Chapter 9

1 All names used in this chapter are pseudonyms.

Chapter 11

2 The Office for Standards in Education, Children’s Services and Skills is a non-ministerial department of the UK government, reporting to Parliament via the Department for Education. Ofsted is responsible for inspecting a range of educational institutions, including state schools and some independent schools. It also inspects childcare, adoption and fostering agencies and initial teacher training, and regulates a range of early years and children’s social care services (www.gov.uk/government/organisations/ofsted).
3 This paper is translated as ‘Education’ in Buber’s Between Man and Man (1947). It was an address to the Third International Educational Conference, Heidelberg, August 1925.
4 The notable quality of the student’s vignettes reflects the work they did in English lessons with the researcher when learning to write and use vignettes.

Chapter 12

1 First published in Power and Education, 2018, Vol. 10(2) 5–138. Published here with minor revisions.

Conclusion

1 See also Stenhouse’s (1975) Humanities Curriculum Project that used controversial everyday materials for discussion in mainstream schooling.
2 As we write this conclusion, Facebook CEO and founder Mark Zuckerberg’s plea for governments to respect the freedom of billionaires to dispose of their wealth as they see fit, rather than appropriating significant amounts of it back into the public sphere through taxation, offers a timely reminder of the anti-democratic tendencies of capitalism. See: www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/oct/21/mark-zuckerberg-plea-billionaire-class-anti-democratic
3 See website: www.reggiochildren.it/network/?lang=en
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