

**Learners as Leaders, Leaders as Learners:  
Education for Active Citizenship and Social Change<sup>1</sup>**

Dr. Ted Fleming  
Teachers College Columbia University  
New York  
Email: [ejf2129@tc.columbia.edu](mailto:ejf2129@tc.columbia.edu)

This presentation will have three sections:

1. A brief focus on Facebook and how it is used
  - a) As a tool for keeping in contact with family and friends and self-presentation
  - b) As a means of informing and being informed about community and social events
  - c) As a means of exploring and understanding the systemic issues with FB as a business venture harvesting data and turning this into a commodity.
2. Use Facebook example as a way of suggesting that there are three similar ways of being a citizen.
  - a) As an individual who has rights and responsibilities – mostly votes.
  - b) As a member of a community who is active maybe as a volunteer or supporter of good causes.
  - c) As a more critical citizen whose activities involve a structural analysis of power in society is motivated to see connected and critical understanding of power and inequality and organize for social change and social justice.
3. An exploration of the relationship between these insights and the connection with democracy. What has all this got to do with Education and Democracy?

## **1. Facebook and its Uses**

*Three ways of approaching Facebook.*

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<sup>1</sup>Fleming, T. (2021). Learners as leaders, leaders as learners: Education for active citizenship and social change. Paper at *Learners as Leaders: Developing Democracy through Change-Oriented Community Education in Ireland* Conference during AONTAS Ireland's Adult Learners' Festival 2021 (#BetterTogether), March 1, 2021.

1. Facebook as a way of keeping in contact and of presenting oneself to friends and a wider public Erving Goffman's work (1959) is useful here for further ideas.
  - a) This is a really useful platform and media that keeps people connected and is particularly useful in a Covid-19 era.
  - b) The skills involved are sometimes more complex than we assume and often require a good deal of learning,. Many community and adult programs teach important courses in this fundamental skill for today.
2. Facebook as a way of organizing involvement in community and social activities
  - a) AONTAS uses FB in this way as do many people in their local organizations (Literacy, advertising for classes and programs, keeping members in contact with supports and is essentially a way of increasing social and community involvement.
  - b) Must be learned (usually) and is taught occasionally in public programmes but is mostly self-taught.
3. Facebook used and understood as a result of a critical analysis of how FB is a vehicle for exercising power in society.
  - a) Understanding how Facebook operates as a system for making money, how it operates as a business model; how other platforms (YouTube, Instagram, Whats App) operate in a similar fashion.
  - b) The learning here involves a critical analysis of the ways that FB harvests data (my data) and behind our (my) backs and turns gathered data into a product to be sold, exploited for commercial and often political gain by powerful (moneyed or political) entities in the world.

Taking this third way of using FB and take one aspect of a very large and complex system and explore very briefly the ways in which FB harvests our information, information to which we freely gave them access in order to join their site. If I buy a book or look at a possible holiday or second hand cars, within a very short time my FB page looks like a site designed for me! Emails I send, my Amazon searches, my Twitter Tweets all seem to make FB jump into action with surprising accuracy with tailor made suggestions of what to buy or what else to look at.

Facebook and all internet platforms get access to every item of data, every click we make. This reminds me of the famous song:

Every step I take, every move I make  
I'm trying to spend my life without you  
I turn, I run, I hide, but I know deep inside  
A part of me has died, yeah, yeah

Billy Joel, The Police or Puff Daddy and many more recorded versions. Take your pick, the message is the same.

Every like, every click. FB harvests this and turns it into a commercial product that is sold, exploited, and generates income for FB. So what if I get a deluge of holiday advertising, it may encourage me to go back to Greece! The uses are a little more sinister if we think of this data being used to understand my political leanings and target my FB news feed with political or fake news. The supporters of fake news, conspiracy theories, right wing groups will target my site with misinformation and other manipulative strategies. So what you might think, I am not susceptible to that. However, many others are and if that misinformation is loaded with fake Covid-19 data, anti-vaccine or white supremacist propaganda then we see some of the results unfolding today and not only in the United States.....

Zuboff (2021) calls this an 'epistemic coup' in which unaccountable power, unregulated by any democratic system harvests data for their own powerful purposes and beyond my power to control how my data is used. She says FB is not interested in facts, only data. This is reminiscent of Mr. Gradgrind in Dickens (1995) *Hard Times* who was at least interested in facts. FB has no interest in facts or truth. They are only interested in data. Who owns this data? It is mine but who owns it now? Who knows this information? In whose interests is it known, or used or abused?

Profit driven algorithms amplify, disseminate and micro-direct an audience with information. Zuboff (2021) calls it a form of 'surveillance capitalism' and it can cripple the ability of a democratic state to maintain its own legitimacy; it contaminates public discourse and the public sphere; raises the level of disbelief in facts, in science and in truth; and valorizes conspiracy theories so easily. This advertising on the FB site is a way of renting out this (my) data to micro-target fertile audiences to manipulate, foster clicks or engagements and encourage epistemic chaos.

How powerful are these algorithms? In March 2020, 50% of news content on FB related to Covid-19, very understandable. And 20% of the Covid information launched by politicians, and celebrities attracted almost 70% of the engagements. Other research (Avaaz, 2020) found a core group of 34 right wing web-sites linked to misinformation, covid, got 80 million clicks while CDC and WHO got 6.4 m and 6.2 million respectively. The 10 most popular FB Covid misinformation sites got 300 million clicks. The 10 leading Covid health information sites got 70 million clicks (Redlener, 2020).

These three approaches to Facebook can also be applied to how we approach and use Instagram, YouTube, Twitter, WhatsApp and other platforms that give access to the internet. The real focus in the above comments on FB is on internet companies all employing the same

scheme. The three approaches are not mutually exclusive. One can be engaged in any or all of these, and they overlap.

## 2. Facebook use Indicates Three Types of Citizen

The second area I promised to discuss: How does this indicate ways of being a citizen?

Citizens can be:

	<b>Personal Responsible</b>	<b>Participatory</b>	<b>Justice oriented</b>
<b>Description</b>	<p>Works hard, obeys laws</p> <p>Volunteers esp. at times of crises</p> <p>Acts responsibly</p> <p>Actively recycles waste and rubbish</p>	<p>Active in community organizations &amp; Organizes with others to care for people in need.</p> <p>Delivers groceries in lockdown</p> <p>Knows how local and national government works</p> <p>Has abilities and skills to engage in society and community activities</p>	<p>Critically assesses social, political and economic structures seeing beyond surface realities</p> <p>Searches for areas in which people suffer injustice and inequality</p> <p>Knows about social movements that actively address systemic change</p>
<b>Actions (sample)</b>	<p>Will contribute food to make food parcels</p> <p>Will support actions for refugee and direct provision centers</p>	<p>Will organize a food parcel delivery</p> <p>Will engage in working with refugees in centers</p>	<p>Understands and has the skills to know why people may be hungry and understands root causes.</p> <p>Understands the global systemic causes of refugees and how climate change, poverty and war are related.</p>
<b>Basic Assumptions</b>	<p>It is most important that citizens are good, have strong values such as honesty, a sense of responsibility and obey the laws of the land</p>	<p>Citizens must participate actively and exercise leadership in local community and in existing structures</p>	<p>It is the task of citizens to ask critical questions in order to gain knowledge, exercise accountability and work to change unjust social structures</p>

This chart is adapted from Westheimer (2008) and Weistheimer & Kahne (2004) <sup>2</sup>

### **3. Facebook used and understood as a result of a critical analysis and how is this analysis connected with Democracy?**

Many education programs teach the first two kinds of knowledge outlined above – either about Facebook or about being a citizen. Older people are taught in adult education classes how to access a variety of platforms from FB, Instagram, Skype, etc. Many also teach or learn about engaging in social or community activities on the internet. However, there is a third set of questions and knowledge and learning and ways of being a citizen that are not often taught or learned. I have indicated the kind of questions and knowledge that are neglected very often when we looked at FB. And this final section addresses these questions: What has this to do with democracy? How is this kind of learning linked with democracy?

Critical learning and such critical questioning are not just confined to exploring FB or being a citizen but can be applied to every subject and topic taught. In the world of adult learning it is also called transformative learning (Fleming, 2016a, 2016b) or Freire's (1972) critical pedagogy.

**The kinds of discussions and critical questioning of power, the kind of critical enquiries that lead to this kind of learning are the exact same kinds of discussions that we need to have in order to bring about and actually be a democracy.**

We could settle for a kind of democracy that involves occasionally voting or engaging in other functional and important activities such as recycling one's rubbish or a myriad of other activities that may change things in society, especially if a large number of people engage in this way. Contributing to good causes or even political activities will count here too.

We could lift our game a notch and join an environmental group and so become active in some important and interesting venture to change the direction in which the planet is moving. We

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<sup>2</sup> These ideas are part of a research project on the public sphere currently undertaken with Saskia Eschenbacher, Akkon University Berlin (Eschenbacher & Fleming, 2020).

might even join something, for example a Youth Council, become active in the Grocery Store and other food distribution projects, we could get involved in Men's Sheds or work with migrant or traveler communities, become a literacy tutor or mentor. Sometimes these activities are more than just a basic involvement and may be a more extensive engagement such as joining Concern and work in Africa on a Development Aid project or join another social movement that addresses real needs for change in society.

Finally, in this third kind of activity we could exercise our imagination and our critical faculties at a higher level and reach an understanding of how power is exercised in our societies. This might involve asking critical questions that unpack the ways in which inequalities are reproduced. One could understand and identify how in the pandemic certain groups of people in our societies (always the same groups) are disadvantaged and emerge (if they survive) in a worse place relatively speaking than before the pandemic. Olga Tsiourva (2021) states, quoting the World Economic Forum (2021), that;

For women and girls, who are already being significantly negatively affected by the pandemic, there is a particular risk in the realm of education. The pandemic puts girls at an increased risk of dropping out of school, being vulnerable to domestic violence and other Gender Based Violence (GBV) threats, facing child marriage and early pregnancy, and being exploited as child labor. UNESCO has projected that 11 million girls may never return to school following the pandemic.

(Tsiourva, 2021)

A recent article in *La Monde Diplomatique* makes the same case and shows how **vulnerabilities build on vulnerabilities** and the new situations make matters worse. In care homes the most vulnerable are cared for yet Covid has increased their vulnerability. The same is also true of other groups. A good example of this third way of understanding the world may understand that **Covid is a social disease** and is not only a health issue needing medical responses. Those with preexisting conditions are not always medical conditions. Their pre-existing social conditions are indicators of vulnerability too (Napier & Fischer, 2020).

**The kinds of discussions that adult education tries to engage in for learning are the same kinds of discussion we would propose that democracies engage in, in order to bring about the following:**

**identifying the real needs of citizens;**

**an analysis of the current causes and consequences of existing power and policy situations and;**

**bringing those ideas, needs and proposals to be made actual in the political, legal and economic arenas.**

But let me say one thing on which I hope we can all agree. When you look at the most successful civil society organizations whether in the Ireland or any other country they are to a great extent **learning organizations** in the most astonishing ways. They are unique in that they are not often the result of an adult education program in the local Education and Training Board. We do not need any of the great philosophers of education – Dewey, Freire etc. to understand how these organization had to learn in order to be effective in pressing forward with its work **and see how learners learn and lead:** I take as an example the Hepatitis C scandal in Ireland where the blood transfusion service infected women with Hepatitis C we could take many other examples such as Women in Mother and Baby Homes in Ireland, or those in Magdalene Laundries or Children in Residential Care who were frequently abused and sometimes illegally adopted or placed in care in the first place. I call these forms of internal exile (that we usually associate with the USSR or Russia). They are our own form of Gulag (Fleming, 2009). Don't forget that we still have internal exile for asylum seekers, some of whom are in accommodation for 5, 10 15 years and a few for longer. They come from countries such as Syria, Pakistan, Albania, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Afghanistan, South Africa, Iraq, Libya and the Democratic Republic of Congo (WorldData, 2021). The government has in an insulting way, promised that these will end the Direct Provision Centers (places of internal exile) by 2024. The system or institution for rectifying these injustices is totally inadequate – always! It seems that every week the Health Service Executive is in the High Court apologizing for another mis-diagnosis – almost always of women and children. There will be tribunals in the future about the Direct Provision fiasco and also about the approx. 2,000 elderly adults in Ireland who needlessly died in the Covid years of 2020-2021. It is the indignation of citizens that drives social change (Fleming, 2015). Lots of learning to be done and lot needed.

Getting back to the Hepatitis C scandal: Individual women found that they were infected by contaminated blood transfusions and this had long-term consequences. They began to see they were not alone, they began learning about their subject matter as a medical issue and learned all they could about biochemistry; they learned how to form groups and co-operate. They learned how to organize and operate in a civil society. They learned how to act in ways that confronted the state who wished they would not pursue their actions for damages. They learned about Public Relations; computers; lobbying; the law; forming collaborative and supportive relationships. They learn as groups in civil society that bureaucracies and/or right wing governments or councils fight with all the considerable resources at their disposal to hide, obfuscate and delay or even deny justice and compensation for wrongs and injuries. These groups frequently have to vindicate their human and legal rights through the European courts. These kinds of groups are well worth studying in some detail, especially as they are seen to be

hugely successful, inclusive, insightful, agents of change and powerful levers against vested interests – speaking truth to power. Above all they indicate how the struggle for recognition is developmental at an individual and social level (Fleming 2014).

### **Democracy is developmental**

Well-being is a good outcome from democracy participation and from adult learning.

Taking up a theme from Hegel, well-being in one area is connected with well-being in another: As individual, as member of a family/community and society in general. We cannot be a well society unless individuals are well! And the same with individuals, if so many individuals and family members are having mental health problems and challenges un resolved, we will not be a well society. Well-being and indeed freedom are only realized in the three areas of individual, family/community and society (including work) and each relies on the other (Fleming, 2021a, 2021b).

Mezirow (and Habermas) see democratic participation as an important means of self-development that produces individuals who are more tolerant of difference, sensitive to reciprocity and better able to engage in discourse (2000). Engagements with democracy or democratic engagements are developmental and of themselves increase well-being.

The struggle for recognition is the driving force for personal and social change (Fleming, 2014).

### **Democracy**

Let us assume that we know that democracy is not just voting and not just consulting. To consult someone or a section of society is a relatively low level of democratic engagement. The question for democracy is how to exercise power and how to engage with each other and with each sector of society in the exercise of power. Too often traditional forms of democracy (representative) only consult. There is nothing wrong with consulting. But there is more to the possibilities of democracy and that more is about direct involvement in the decision making process – beyond consultation and advisory committees.

### **There is a Crisis in the Lifeworld**

From the critical theory tradition Jürgen Habermas is an import source of ideas how adult learning is important in a democratic society and refers to democracy itself as an adult learning project (Habermas, 1987). He (1979) also states: “I can imagine the attempt to arrange a society democratically only as a self-controlled learning process” (p. 186). By implication adult education and adult learning become projects in democracy, a project in citizenship education. Habermas (1987) also postulates an adult learning crisis in modern society, arguing that adults are not sufficiently prepared for what is central to his vision of a democratic society, namely



they are not well prepared for participation in public discourse (Fleming, 2016a, 2021a). I call this a crisis in the lifeworld. The entire horizon of meanings to which we have access, and which we use to interpret the world is restricted by our culture and traditions. This is the lifeworld and for many the range of meanings to which people have access can be restricted by background, social class, education, culture and so leave many (it seems today) open to conspiracy theories and distorted meanings (e.g. masks impinge in unacceptable ways on freedom, etc). There is a pathology in the lifeworld and learning to critique, expand its horizons is an important kind of learning.

Axel Honneth (2014a), also a critical theorist, reorients critical theory and states that in order to realize social freedom (or well-being) individuals must be able to view each other's freedom (and well-being) as a condition for their own. Members of a free (healthy) society are defined as free by their ability to enhance and initiate mutual recognition and respect. Honneth seeks a vision of democracy involving not only the political sphere but emancipated democratic families and socialized markets. These are like the areas of individual, relationship and community. For Honneth (2014a), the realization of freedom in any one of these areas depends on its realization in the others as democratic citizens, emancipated families and ethical markets 'mutually influence each other, because the properties of one cannot be realized without the other two' (p. 331). Everything is connected.

This means that freedom and well-being are inherently social as they cannot be realized if one is not involved in the 'we' of democratic will-formation where the same weight is afforded to the contributions of all citizens (Honneth, 2014b). Places such as work, friendships, family, laws, are all justified only if they promote, support and bring about a free society for all. All these institutions can be evaluated as successful to the extent that they encourage and bring about social freedom and a better life.

Social movements have been important in enhancing democratic moments of the public sphere and current indignations and insurgent social movements in places such as Barcelona, Athens and Wall Street and today Myanmar are typical of the expanded 'we' that are, in Honneth's view, spheres of social freedom (Fleming 2015). Only through agreed and mutually supportive cooperations with others can there be political freedom. This is reminiscent of Dewey's affirmation that 'democracy is a name for a way of life of free and enriching communication' (Dewey, 1966, p. 148). A new vision of citizenship education would involve supporting through tuition, seminars and its entire pedagogy and indeed its management systems a collaborative environment that supports and teaches how to be democratic.

**There are threats to Democracy: Contradictions between democracy and capitalism**

The threats to democracy today are real. Not only are there specific political threats (Golden Dawn - Χρυσή Αυγή) but other less easily identifiable threats including forms of capitalism that resist democratic accountability (Fleming, 2020). This neoliberal economy includes a view that everything can be bought and sold and only what can be bought and sold is worthwhile in our lives. These ideas when connected to the crises in our world such as Covid-19, climate change, etc. pose a significant threat. We cannot assume that democracy is a given or that it will survive unless we treat it as something that must be learned every day and every year.

We also know from research that support for democracy does decline if the real experience of democracy falls too far below ideal expected by the citizens (Glaser, Gille, Kruger, & De Rijk, 2010).

We live in a capitalist society, not much can be done about this. However, this choice influences so much in our society. The system of capitalism we have today we neo-liberalism (Watson, 2015). The rules of the neoliberal game are about making sure that if conflicts arise between collective well-being and saving feral banks, the banks are saved. According to Harvey neoliberalism is

A theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade.

(Harvey, 2005, p. 2)

Neoliberalism does not aim to increase the well-being of everybody but increases social inequality and this in turn drives a more competitive society and economy. In this environment education is tasked with producing resources for the workplace and through a leaner system of education it is required to meet the needs of the economy for skilled workers. It also attempts to re-focus the educational curriculum to be more business friendly and produce graduates who are more 'work-ready'.

(Fraser, 2016, p. 7)

The shifting of care from men to women; from women to poorer women; from women to immigrants; from global north to global south (and east) is a more obvious side effect of this neoliberal economic model.

As well as diminishing public provision and recruiting women into waged work, financialized capitalism has reduced real wages, thus raising the number of hours of paid work per household needed to support a family and prompting a desperate scramble to

transfer care work to others (Fraser, 2016). To fill the 'care gap', the regime imports migrant workers from poorer to richer countries. Typically, it is racialized, often rural women from poor regions who take on the reproductive and caring labour previously performed by more privileged women. But to do this, the migrants must transfer their own familial and community responsibilities to other, still poorer caregivers, who must in turn do the same—and on and on, in ever longer 'global care chains'. Far from filling the care gap, the net effect is to displace it—from richer to poorer families, from the Global North to the Global South.

(Fraser, 2016, p. 8)

Neoliberalism is a political economic paradigm that refers to the policies and processes whereby a small number of private interests are permitted to control as much as possible of social life in order to maximize their personal profits. Neoliberal initiatives are characterized as free market policies that encourage private enterprise and consumer choice, reward personal responsibility and entrepreneurial initiatives, and hold the view that everyone has equal opportunities if they are willing to work hard. Central to this thesis is the belief that the market should be the guiding force for all political, social, and economic decisions of a nation state. From this market-driven perspective, according to Giroux (2004), profit making and the exchange of capital take precedent over social justice, the development of socially-responsible citizens, and the building of democratic communities (Alfred, 2016).

**If you like what this does to the health system, you will just love what will be done to the education system, including adult and higher education.** Again privatization, commercialization, individualization and for-profit colleges will thrive. If we broaden out this comment we can build on what we have learned about the economic model in this Covid-19 era, we could be forgiven for wondering whether 'if you like what the neoliberal state did with the threats of Covid-19, you will also like what they are doing and will do with the fast approaching climate crisis'.

Neoliberalism is not just an economic policy designed to cut government spending and ... free market forces from government responsibilities; it is also a political and philosophical ideology that affects every dimension of social life (Giroux, 2004). Citizens are defined as consumers, customers, clients. There is no future outside the market. There is only the sovereignty of the market and no political sovereignty. Harvey (2005, p. 2) defines neoliberalism as a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within the institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade. It places the onus on the individual rather than the state to take care of social welfare and education. It is not about improving the conditions for all (Harvey, 2005, p. 9) but only for economic elites. It

attempts to control the wealth of an increasingly global elite. Inequalities are structural in the neoliberal world (Harvey, 2005, p.16).

We could also show how other sectors are implicated in this project. So too education is implicated. Everything is for sale. Only what can be bought or sold or so valued is worthwhile. However what is valued in education can neither be bought nor sold. Freedom, care, justice, fairness are traditionally the values of education.

I am both skeptical and deeply suspicious of forms of education that reduce learning to the instrumental, that reduce cities to economic entities and learners to consumers and/or workers. I am not a believer in the idea that 'a rising tide lifts all boats' in the economy. In fact relative poverty has increased each time the economy has progressed (boomed). Poverty is not the same in rural and urban areas though they are connected as rural departures increase urban arrivals. Cities have been particularly vulnerable to inequality and poverty, more so now as half the world's population lives in cities.

### **Are there preconditions for engagement in this kind of democracy?**

Attachment, abilities that are required for domination free conversations; a secure base; an ability to hold different positions at the same time – even contradictory one; an ability to base opinions on evidence; an appreciation and acknowledgement of each one in the conversation; a clear focus on making life better for everybody and not just sectional interests; an ability to deliver and accept recognition from others; respect; secure in conversations that may mean compromising decisions – at least temporarily. This may be also the exact same requirements for engaging in adult education and adult learning programs.

### **A charter for a Democracy that Learns**

Once we go down that road and see education in this way the following emerge as real agenda for education:

Teaching how to hold on to the imagination so we can picture how it is for others and how it ought to be.

Making opportunities for exercising creativity through art, dance, literature, theatre and all works of creativity and play.

Assisting young people and adults with the difficult tasks of making decisions about what to do with their lives.

Creating the possibilities of empathy and valuing one's own feelings and of others so that we can communicate with civility.

Learn to recognize our own uniqueness and that of others; Respond to the need for all to be recognized.

How to debate, discuss, argue, defend points of view, opinions and values in a community of equal respect in solidarity.

Teach respect for others, especially those we perceive to be different – refugees, youth, other religions, travellers, disabilities, gender, respect by men for women. Men must move over (slightly or a great deal to make room for our sisters on public platforms and in all social areas).

To see the world as connected.

Teach how to care – young children often learn this with animals and dolls.

Teach against bullying and other violent activities. Teach how to deal with bullying.

Focus on justice, injustices, teach how to feel injustice and discuss.

Teach that there are always multiple realities, multiple and varied ways of seeing the world.

Encouraging voice and agency.

Teaching how to create community.

How to deal with fake news and other modern internet and social media issues.

Teach values like equality, justice, diversity, truth, caring and the great joy of solidarity.

Teach how to take action against injustice and actively support of social change.

Apply all of these in whatever discipline one is involved in, e.g. science, engineering, geography, history, etc.

Learn how to discuss respectfully even in the midst of political fights whether major or minor.

Make each workplace a place of respect, and equality.

So much learning!

It is no wonder that we must spend so much time as in education and it is also reasonable that a learning project like this may well be life-long. Lifelong learning!

And all this comes with the usual school and college curriculum or history, mathematics, geography, philology, engineering, anatomy, etc.

John Adams, was aware of the importance of recognition, learner voice and of the power of this for democracy:

Wherever men, women or children are to be found, whether they are old or young, rich or poor, high or low, ignorant or learned, every individual is seen to be strongly actuated by a desire to be seen, heard, talked of, approved and respected by the people about him/her and within their knowledge.

(Adams, 2004, pp. 318-319)

It is the task of a democracy to transform social structures and institutions towards more dialogue, equal and just forms in the light of the prevailing injustices in society.

In the work of Paulo Freire he proposes the primacy of hope that allows us denounce injustices and announce the possibility of a better life. The main threat against this hope is the idea that this current situation is inevitable and any situation is the result of bad choices made by individuals or those at the bottom of society. Freire's thought is driven by a hopeful critique of injustice and each moment in history offers a unique opportunity to become more human. Even though in each moment the challenge looks different and the task more challenging the work to be more human is constant. Always on the move, forward.

Our hope has to fix on specific targets and at this moment we are faced with the task of making choices and decisions and to make history, to depart from the present and create a better future. This requires political imagination, the capacity to reflect and think, critique, asking questions, rigorous work to understand and challenge and rebuild unfair structures.

In other words to learn. We are condemned to learn.

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