Geography

ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rgpy20

Confronting the crisis: towards a curriculum framework for school geography at key stages 4 and 5

John Huckle

To cite this article: John Huckle (2024) Confronting the crisis: towards a curriculum framework for school geography at key stages 4 and 5, Geography, 109:1, 18-26, DOI: 10.1080/00167487.2024.2297609

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/00167487.2024.2297609

Published online: 02 Feb 2024.

Confronting the crisis: towards a curriculum framework for school geography at key stages 4 and 5

John Huckle

ABSTRACT: In this article the author argues that older school students (14–18 year-olds) deserve a curriculum framework that focuses on the causes and possible solutions to the current global crisis affecting their lives. This should draw on the philosophy of critical realism to explain how the world works and how global citizens can effect change to make it work more sustainably. It also argues that affective learning, which seeks to counter the dualism of modern culture, is key to such change.

Keywords: curriculum, crisis, capitalism, modernity, critical realism

Introduction

The World Economic Forum's *Global Risks Report* (WEF, 2023), published before the war in Gaza, focuses on the impact of the war in Ukraine:

> '*The health and economic effects of the COVID-19 pandemic have quickly spiraled into compounding crises. Carbon emissions have climbed, as the post-pandemic global economy fired back up. Food and energy have become weaponized by the war in Ukraine, sending inflation soaring to levels not seen in decades, globalizing a cost-of-living crisis and fuelling social unrest. The resulting shift in monetary policy marks the end of an economic era defined by easy access to cheap debt and will have vast ramifications for governments, companies and individuals, widening inequality within and between countries*' (Zahidi, 2023, p. 4).

The report claims that the persistence of these crises is already reshaping the world we live in by ushering in economic and technological fragmentation, and that geopolitical dynamics are also creating significant headwinds for global co-operation which can act to address global risks. The report is underpinned by the WEF's annual Global Risks Perception Survey, which draws on 'the collective intelligence of the world's foremost risk experts' (Zahidi, 2023, p. 4). This saw the crises of energy supply, cost-of-living, rising inflation and cyberattacks on critical infrastructure as the top risks for 2023. Looking further ahead, failure to mitigate climate change, failure of climate change adaptation, natural disasters and extreme weather events, and biodiversity loss and ecosystem collapse are ranked as the top risks that may have the most severe impact over the next ten years (WEF, 2023).

The WEF represents the world's business and political elites and its report is just one overview among many of what amounts to a global environmental, economic, political and cultural crisis. While this impacts on the UK's older school students, their awareness and understanding of the crisis and the ways in which it manifests itself locally are limited. The Children's Society's annual household survey, reported in *The Good Childhood*

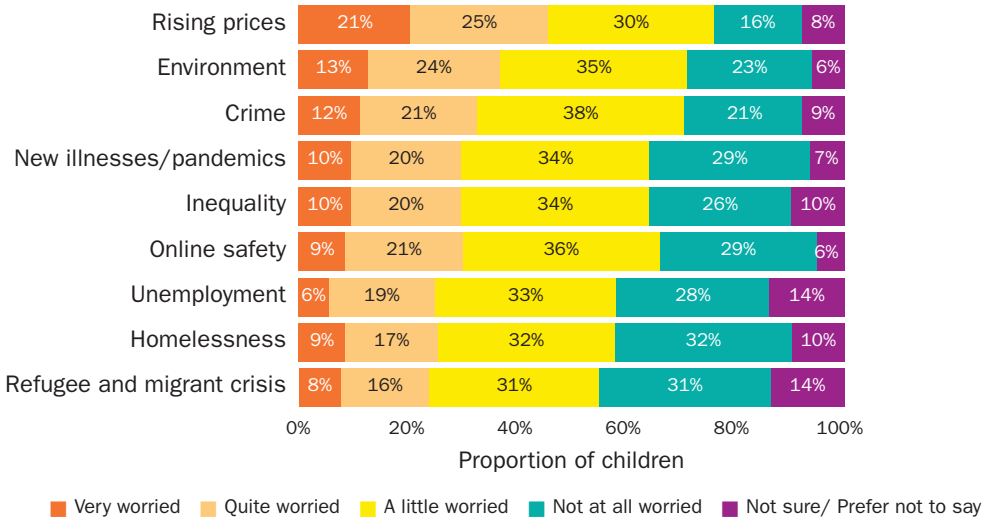

Figure 1: *Extent of children's (aged 10 to 17) worries about broader issues. Source: The Children's Society's household survey, wave 22, May to June 2023, children aged 10 to 17, UK, weighted data. The Children's Society,* The Good Childhood Report 2023. *© The Children's Society 2023. The copyright of all material appearing in this publication belongs to The Children's Society. It may not be reproduced, duplicated or copied by any means without our prior written consent.*

Report 2023 (Children's Society, 2023), asked children and young people about a range of social issues, their own future, that of the country and that of the world. Beyond such immediate concerns for their future as having enough money, being able to find a job and getting good grades, their worries about broader issues showed rising prices and the environment to be their top concerns (Figure 1). While 74% felt positive about their own future, fewer felt positive about the future of the country (38%) and the world (36%) (Children's Society, 2023). The 2022 *Youth Index Report* (Prince's Trust and NatWest, 2022) found that the happiness of 16–25-year-olds had fallen to the lowest level in the report's 13 year history. Such findings are reflected in rising levels of mental ill-health (NHS Digital, 2023) and the failure of school attendance rates to return to pre-COVID-19 levels (Gov.uk, 2023; Toynbee, 2023).

Given the global crisis and students' related concerns, there are strong arguments that curriculum frameworks, seeking to guide the selection, delivery and assessment of knowledge, should address these. Frameworks should outline the knowledge, values, and life skills required by active and critical global citizens who have the capability not only to understand the world, but also to change it for the better.

The GA's framework

An article by the Geographical Association's (GA) Chief Executive and the lead author of the GA's *Framework for the School Geography Curriculum* (see Kinder and Rawling, 2023; GA, 2022) makes it clear that the principal aim of this 'major policy initiative' is to influence future national curriculum thinking and development as widely as possible and, thus, enable the GA and its members to act independently of 'official' accounts of the subject produced by government, awarding bodies and publishers. As such, the framework (GA, 2022) is a welcome response to failings in the processes of national curriculum and qualification production in recent decades. These have been explored by Rawling (2020) – a former QCA subject officer – and by others (see e.g. Morgan, 2019) and have resulted in a number of professional and educational debates including that over the politics of curriculum knowledge and the geographical traditions or ideologies that should inform such a framework (Rawling, 2001).

The framework outlines 'the nature of geography as a school subject, its disciplinary foundations and the significant features that should underlie any geography curriculum or course, which makes it incontrovertibly geography' (GA, 2022, p. 17). Its framework, on which curriculum is to be developed (see Figure 6, p. 12) consists of four key concepts (place, space, Earth systems and environment) along with related enquiry questions; associated concepts, and examples of experiences to provide (as appropriate for different age groups). Elsewhere there is a conceptual grid for school geography, subtitled ways of thinking about the world (see Figure 4, p. 8) that cross-links the four key concepts to a further five 'organising concepts': time, scale, diversity, interconnection and interpretation (GA, 2022, p. 7). In that it puts the geography curriculum on clear conceptual foundations (Lambert and Morgan, 2010) the GA's framework is to be recommended.

The GA's framework and the crisis

The term 'crisis' appears only once in the GA's framework:

'*At a time of crisis about the fragile state of life*

> *on planet Earth and fears about resources, health, disease, social injustice and human conflict, the distinctive insights about space, place, environment and Earth systems, gained from geography and considered at all scales, assume a higher significance'* (GA, 2022, p. 3).

The subsequent rationale fails to return to the crisis, and the purpose of this article is to suggest that the GA's framework does not equip teachers to address the crisis, since its account of how geographers think about the world ignores what makes and remakes place, space, Earth systems and environment. It risks serving as ideology obscuring the real nature of the world and preventing older students (i.e. 14–18 year-olds) from understanding the causes of the current crisis that is affecting their well-being and their capabilities to live the lives they choose to live. My argument is based in the philosophy of geographical knowledge.

Critical realism and dialectical materialism

Elsewhere (Huckle, 2017) I have argued that geographers employ a range of philosophies of knowledge each with a distinct ontology (what exists or what it is possible to know) and epistemology (how it is possible to know it). I compared empiricism, positivist, structuralist, interpretivist and critical realist theories of knowledge and suggested that only geographical knowledge based in critical realism can claim to be powerful knowledge in that it provides an adequate account of how the world works and how it can be changed to work in ways that enable citizens to realise their full potentials or capabilities. Critical realism informs the free ebook, *Critical School Geography,* which I self-published in 2020 (Huckle, 2020) and a more recent article on the Curriculum for Wales (Huckle, 2022). These can be seen as attempts to revive the reconstructionist/radical tradition in school geography (Rawling, 2001) that has been neglected in recent decades.

Critical realism is a dialectical and materialist philosophy (Bhaskar and Hawke, 2017; Huckle, 2020), that finds application in geography (see e.g. Cox, 2021; Pratt, 2009) and education (Warwick Education Studies, n.d.; Wheelahan, 2010). Materialism maintains that everything that exists has a material foundation, including knowledge and values that are related to ways of organising society. Dialectics maintains that things are related and that change in one thing causes change in another (Huckle, 2020). Critical realism suggests the world is best understood not as a complex of ready-made things, but as a system of processes through which all things come into being, exist and pass away. Things like mountains, forests, people, cities, governments, schools, language and ideas are related and changing systems of processes, as are place, space, Earth systems and environment. Relations between things enable systems to function with powers to transform themselves and other systems. Things, like places, are constitutive and constituted moments of systematic processes, or flows of matter, energy and information, and it may be impossible to separate things from the network of systems within which they are embedded (a place within global capitalism). Part and whole, organism and environment, nature and society, near and far, self and other, knowledge and values, are all dialectically related. The one constitutes the other (the argument against dualism) and there can be few grounds for knowledge that seeks to understand the one without reference to the other (the argument for holism).

As a dialectical and materialist philosophy, critical realism seeks to explain the general laws of movement or development in nature, society and thought and reflects four principles:

- Totality – everything is related.
- Movement – everything is constantly being transformed.
- Qualitative change – the tendency to self-organisation and complexity.
- Contradiction – the unity and struggle of opposites.

These principles are key when ascribing meaning to the GA framework's organising concepts.

Ontological depth, Earth processes **and** social processes

Critical realism exists in three forms: basic critical realism (BCR), dialectical critical realism (DCR) and the philosophy of metaReality (PMR) (Bhaskar and Hawke, 2017). Basic critical realism (BCR) is a guide to curriculum enquiry and integration since it proposes ontological realism or the existence of real phenomena of which we may or may not have knowledge. These are stratified with those in the biological world arising from those in the physical world, and those in the social world arising from the bio-physical world. All phenomena on Earth's surface (nature, place, space, environments, geography curricula) are hybrids: part bio-physical and part social. BCR collapses the dualism

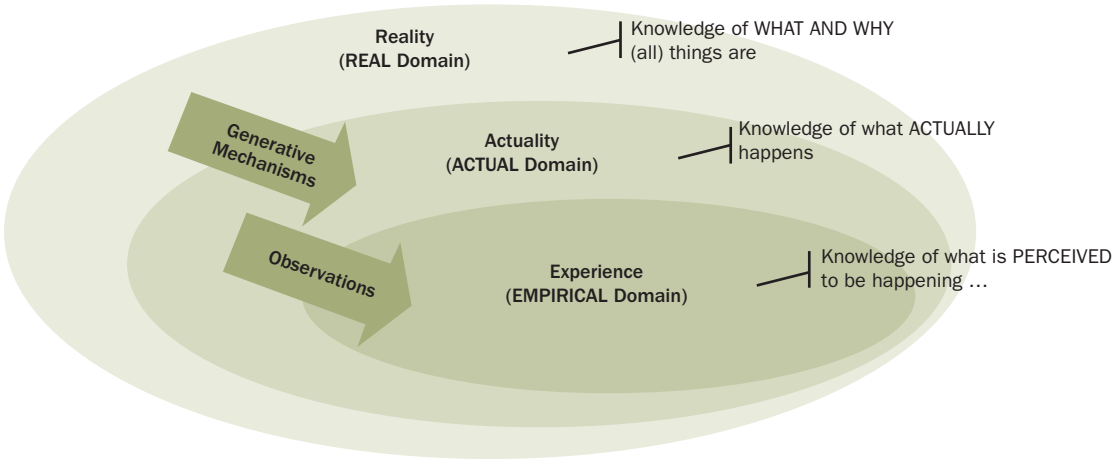

Figure 2: *The three domains and three kinds of knowledge proposed by basic critical realism. Source: after Alexander, 2013.*

between society and nature, human and physical geography, and invites a distinctive way to investigate and understand the world as a geographer. This can be explained by reference to Figure 2.

At the deepest ontological level (the reality of the real domain) are the real objective powers of phenomena made possible by the relations within and between them (the powers of bio-physical and social systems such as the atmosphere and the fossil fuel-based economy). At the intermediate level (the actuality of the actual domain) are events that are contingent upon a particular configuration of causal mechanisms in the domains of the real and actual (e.g. global heating caused by increased burning of fossil fuels). These events may or may not be experienced or perceived at the surface level (the experience of the empirical domain). Global heating was not widely recognised until the mid-20th century.

Seeing the world as a geographer requires us to relate everyday experience of nature, place, space and environment in the empirical domain (e.g. the homeless person on the street) to events in the actual domain (e.g. failure to build social housing) and structures and processes in the real domain (e.g. neoliberal social policy) – see Huckle (2020, pp. 165–89).

The weakness of the GA's framework is that it recognises bio-physical structures and processes operating in the real domain, which it terms 'Earth systems and processes', as a key concept but does not give similar recognition or status to social structures and processes. Economic and cultural systems appear as substantive knowledge (see GA, 2022, p. 4) and while the role of processes in shaping place and space are acknowledged (see Figure 6, p. 12), they are nowhere associated with modernity/coloniality (Bhambra, n.d.) or capitalism/post-capitalism (Harvey, 2014). Critiques of modernity and capitalism are at the core of critical social theory, which explains the global crisis, suggests how it can be resolved and informs much contemporary academic geography. The absence of capitalism, and related concepts such as power, inequality, conflict and social class, is a major weakness of the GA's framework (Castree *et al*., 2023).

The crisis of neoliberal global capitalism

Critical social theory suggests that the current crisis is one of neoliberal global capitalism in decline. Its key features will now be summarised by reference to the four principles of dialectical materialism outlined above.

Totality

Capitalism is best understood not as an economy but as a global society or institutionalised social order that is based on the accumulation of capital (monetised value) for investors and owners while devouring the non-monetised wealth of everyone else. Accumulation takes place on a global scale, continually shaping and reshaping all nature, places and environments as social, environmental and spatial relations (the power relations between people, people and nature, and people in space) are continually reshaped in search of profits. In addition to capitalist economies (production, wage labour, exchange and finance), global society encompasses four non-economic conditions or structures and processes that support these economies (Fraser, 2022).

- Those that allow wealth to be extracted from subjugated peoples, especially from racialised and presently/formerly colonised peoples. This wealth consists of land and natural resources as well as unwaged and under-waged labour.

Structures and processes of colonialism/neocolonialism/imperialism.

- Those that sustain unwaged and under-waged labour that is devoted to social reproduction and mostly carried out by women. Care work within the home and civil society that sustains human beings. Structures and processes of social reproduction.
- Those that provide free or very cheap inputs from non-human nature. The raw materials that labour transforms, the energy that powers machines, the foodstuffs that power humans and a host of ecological services that sustain life. Ecological or Earth systems.
- Those that provide public goods supplied by states and other public bodies: legal orders, repressive forces, infrastructures, money supplies, public education and health care, and mechanisms for managing systemic crises. Structures and processes of public provision and global governance.

Movement

Capital, along with energy, technology, knowledge, materials and people, is constantly moving through networks and spaces within the capitalist world system. Capital movements determine the fortunes of places variously located within the global division of labour, lead to and result from competition over territory or space (geopolitical tensions) and give rise to environmental issues as they shape relations between human and non-human nature. Movement is also a feature of language, knowledge and ideas. As capitalism and its associated crises evolve, its supporters develop ideology to justify their power. A prime function of schooling is to reproduce skills, knowledge and values supportive of capital.

Qualitative change

Global capitalism moves through long waves of growth and decline linked to the rise and fall of new products, services, technologies and markets. The current neoliberal age (1980–present) saw capitalists and their supporters eroding the gains that workers and citizens had won in the age of social democracy (1945–1980). Neoliberalism involves such processes as the deregulation of markets, privatisation, deregulation, financialisation of assets, anti-egalitarianism, social liberalisation, globalisation, austerity and the digitalisation of media and information. It reflects the power, interests and values of a coalition of class interests and has resulted in the hegemony of an elite who control the technology and finance sectors along with their allies in the political and managerial classes. They have the capacity to organise society, schooling and social change to their advantage but are opposed by a global coalition of anti-capitalist and anti-hegemonic forces (Gilbert and Williams, 2022).

Contradiction

In addition to crises in capitalist economies (falling productivity and profits, falling real wages, precarity and rising inequality), there are crises in each of the four non-economic conditions on which they depend. People and communities in the Global South are exploited (neo-colonialism, poverty, migration, racialised violence); care workers are exploited (women's domestic labour is undervalued, welfare services are cut back); nature is exploited (climate and biodiversity crises, failure to respect planetary limits); and democracy (public power) is eroded by global markets and large corporations that exert power over elected politicians and governments (corruption, lies, political apathy, rising populism, nationalism, authoritarianism, breakdown of multilateralism) resulting in a crisis of global governance. These crises expose contradictions between opposites (what exists versus what could exist) while a radical global democracy offers the prospect of all the world's people living together sustainably in conditions of economic and social justice.

Anti-capitalist and anti-hegemonic forces consist of labour unions, radical political parties and movements of radical de-colonialists, feminists, environmentalists and others, united in urging more radical forms of democracy and citizenship. Their campaigns focus on radical democracy or popular control of the economy, politics and culture, with radical democracy contradicting and opposing existing forms of governance in order that public power can resolve the linked crises of work, neo-colonialism, care, nature and global governance with the aid of new technologies and new forms of environmental and social relations (see e.g. Progressive International (n.d); Berggruen Institute (n.d.)). Anti-hegemonic forces use reformist and transformative knowledges that are developed by intellectuals and activists in both the Global North and the Global South (Kothari *et al.*, 2019). These differ from conservative knowledges and are tested and revised through action in the world (a process of critical enquiry or praxis). A school curriculum that does not engage in critical enquiry into aspects of the current crisis, its contributory contradictions and the social forces that seek to resolve them, can be seen to contribute to the crisis and leave young adults impotent as agents of social change.

Towards an alternative framework

The above considerations would suggest that the 14–18 geography curriculum needs to address the crisis with the key ideas summarised in Figure 3. This is not a conceptual grid or curriculum framework and its translation into these requires further thought and space. Sufficient to say that *Critical School Geography* used UNESCO guidance on education for sustainable development and global citizenship as a framework (Huckle, 2020, pp. 20–8) to address aspects of the crisis (schooling, happiness, housing, work, etc.) as explored by critical academic geographers.

DCR and critical pedagogy

Dialectical critical realism (DCR) focuses on the dialectical relationship between the agency of citizens and the social structures in which they are embedded. Citizens inherit these structures and play a role in deciding whether they are more or less reproduced or transformed via such activities as generating air miles or living a low-carbon lifestyle. Critical pedagogy (Gadotti, 1996) seeks to enable students to reflect and act on social structures and the desirability of radical alternatives, a process it associates with emancipation and self-management.

Bhaskar (2002) starts from the claim that it is impossible to emancipate anybody and that all learning comes from within and from already lived experience. The role of the teacher is to draw out knowledge via a process akin to critical pedagogy or praxis, and link this to the student's growing sense of identity, self-worth, capability and fulfilment. Critical pedagogy should develop students' judgemental rationality (what kind of ethics and political economy best enables us to resolve the crisis?) and their ability to articulate their beliefs concerning politics and citizenship in agonistic debate with others (Ruttenberg, 2009). In outlining geographical practice in classroom and field (GA, 2022, Figure 6, p. 10) the GA's framework creates space for critical pedagogy. However, if teachers and students are to occupy this space, they will need clearer guidance on the role of critical geography in enabling them to analyse, explain, make connections and envision and evaluate social alternatives.

The PMR, the development of learners as non-dual beings

A further dimension of critical pedagogy stems from the philosophy of metaReality (PMR) that focuses on self-improvement and spirituality. It suggests that education should foster transcendence or a state of being in which individuals become one with the world, each other and themselves. Bhaskar (2002) proposes that there is a spiritual substrate to social life – humanity's ground state – in which principles of reciprocity, solidarity and trust hold sway. It prompts non-instrumental reasoning, unconditional love, spontaneous creativity and solidarity, and can be used to resolve conflicts and guide decision-making. It is a focus of much religious and secular moral education.

The related concept of 'co-presence' is a mechanism of identification in which the learner comes to see the other (other human and non-human beings) as not distant from themselves, but something they have reciprocal relations with and that they identify with empathetically and transcendentally. The other is part of them, is in them and they are in the other. Being co-present with all other ground states enables global citizens to realise sustainability since it involves having no sense of my interest separate from others' interests, no ego.

Under modernity and capitalism, individuals have departed far from their ground state due to radical changes in their material conditions of life. The Gesturing Towards Decolonial Futures Collective's study guide *Global Citizenship Education Otherwise* (Andreotti *et al*., 2019) offers resources to address three modern denials (denial of systemic and violent complicity in harm elsewhere; denial of planetary limits; and denial of entanglement in a cosmology of duality) and help learners to know, be, relate and desire differently. Its exercises are based on two strategies. First, the use of social cartographies (maps and diagrams) to explore and connect challenges and possible solutions. Second, the development of 'radical tenderness' (practicing transcendence) via the recovery of exiled capacities and support for dealing with the circularities that draw learners back to what they seek to transcend, and for 'hospicing' or nursing their hopefully declining commitments to an unsustainable modernity. The Collective (Andreotti *et al*., 2019) advocates curriculum knowledge that goes beyond the epistemological and ontological hegemonies of modern knowledge and its approach

Confronting the crisis: towards a curriculum framework for school geography at key stages 4 and 5

Crisis of…	Totality	Movement	Qualitative change	Contradiction
Economy **CSG 1 & 5** **CC 1 & 6**	Capitalism is a global system that produces wealth for a minority and keeps many in poverty	Global capitalism moves through waves of growth and decline. The neoliberal wave that began around 1980 is now in decline	New technologies such as AI and renewable energy can power a new wave of growth and provide new kinds of work, leisure and learning	Between work and lives under capitalism **and** work and lives under post-capitalism. The labour movement
Nature **CSG 6** **CC 4**	Nature is the foundation of all else. It exists in human and non-human forms that are thoroughly mixed as they co-evolve	Capitalism fails to reproduce ecological resources and services leading to the breakdown of ecological systems	While capitalism claims to be seeking clean, circular, or sustainable production, its critics claim that such change is too slow, or mere 'green washing'	Between economic growth **and** post-growth or degrowth. The environmental movement
Space **CSG 7** **CC 2**	Capitalism continuously organises and re-organises global space (including cyberspace) to aid profit making	Modern history shows a series of world empires and systems underpinned by colonialism and imperialism. With the decline of US hegemony, the world is in flux	Geopolitics involves the rise and fall of 'great powers' and the related rise and fall of peoples. This often involves armed conflict	Between development defined by dominant world powers **and** development defined by local citizens. The decolonial movement
Place **CSG 8** **CC 3**	Capitalism makes and remakes places where we work, consume and care for each other. Places are connected via global flows of many kinds	Capitalism seeks to reduce the costs of reproducing workers and citizens by cutting welfare services and transferring the costs of caring to workers and their families	As welfare services are cut back there is increasing inequality between prosperous and 'left behind' places. More care work falls on the voluntary sector/civil society	Between unhealthy, uncaring and 'placeless' places **and** healthy, caring and distinctive places. Feminist and urban municipal movements
Governance **CSG 9** **CC 5 & 6**	Global citizenship refers to citizens having rights and responsibilities in all spheres of public life at all scales from the local to the global	Modern history reveals the gradual extension of citizens' rights and responsibilities. Liberal representative democracy is a very limited form of democracy and may be replaced by more radical and participatory forms	As the global crisis worsens there are calls for new forms of global citizenship and democracy capable of confronting and solving the crisis. These require global citizens to be responsible for other humans and non-humans, near and far, present and future	Between global crisis **and** democratic global governance. Movements for global democracy and global citizenship

Figure 3: *A framework of key ideas for addressing the global crisis at key stages 4 and 5. Note: the numbers in column one refer to relevant chapters in Critical School Geography (CSG, Huckle, 2020) and Cannibal Capitalism (CC, Fraser, 2022).*

and exercises have considerable potential to enrich the geography curriculum, as does the Collective's advocacy of place and land-based pedagogies that involve students in the regeneration of local ecological and cultural systems.

While the GA framework seeks to enable students 'to use their geographical understanding to live in harmony with others and share responsibility for the well-being of the planet' and to ensure that they are 'morally and ethically aware and able to develop their own values and potential as citizens in the 21st century' (GA, 2022, p. 3), there is little in the framework that relates these outcomes to the aim of 'inspiring wonder, joy and passion' (p. 4). The affective domain of learning and teaching is overlooked. However, if Bhaskar's (2002) arguments stemming from PMR are accepted, it is key to reconnecting students to their ground state and to their adopting and applying such ethical principles as those outlined in the Earth Charter (n.d.)

The challenges ahead

Writing a curriculum framework for geography is a political act, endorsing certain views of geography and education and sanctioning others, knowingly or unknowingly. The GA's framework (GA, 2022) is too silent on the range of traditions/ideologies shaping the school subject; too reluctant to make the distinction between mainstream and critical variants; and too ready to put the global crisis to one side. It thereby fails to reflect global realities; fails to provide students with adequate understanding of injustice and unsustainability; and fails to provide an adequate preparation for global citizenship. While the framework allows a critical school geography it does not prompt one and thus leaves GA members only partly prepared to confront a world in crisis.

So, what should be the way ahead? Kinder and Rawling (2023) inform us that those who wrote the framework engaged in multiple evidence gathering and drafting and consulted a wide body of research and professional perspectives. At least one of the advisory group members appears sympathetic to the argument I have presented here (Mitchell, 2022) and perhaps it is time for the GA to engage in a wider debate with its members. What is involved in acting independently of official accounts of the subject? What does currently existing or much needed research tell us about the prevalence of mainstream/conservative and critical/radical ideas in existing curriculum guidance and materials offered by awarding bodies and publishers? How should these ideas be balanced? What do students, parents/carers, and society at large consider to be a relevant school geography? Would an integrated curriculum, as in Wales, provide a more comprehensive environmental and social education?

Answers to such questions would leave the GA well prepared for possible consultation on curriculum reform in England that may follow the election of a new government in 2024/5. Meanwhile, perhaps there is a publisher and/or awarding body out there that is ready to take up the challenge this article outlines.

References

Alexander, B.M. (2013) *Design in Socio-technical Change Management Process: A critical realist perspective*. Available at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/264046432_Design_of_a_Socio-technical_Change_Management_Process_A_Critical_Realist_Perspective/figures

Andreotti, V., Stein, S., Suša, B., Čajkova, T., d'Emilia, D., Calhoun, B., Elwood, J., Amsler, S., Cardoso, C., Swek, D. and Fay, K. (2019) *Global Citizenship Education Otherwise: Study guide*. Available at https://decolonialfutures.net/portfolio/global-citizenship-education-otherwise

Berggruen Institute (n.d.) https://berggruen.org/about

Bhambra, G.K. (n.d.) *Global Social Theory*. Available at https://globalsocialtheory.org/about

Bhaskar, R. (2002) *From Science to Emancipation: Alienation and the actuality of enlightenment*. London: Routledge.

Bhaskar, R. and Hawke, G. (2017) *The Order of Natural Necessity: A kind of introduction to critical realism*. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform.

Castree, N., Oakes, S. and Sinclair, D. (2023) 'Exploring "power" as a concept in geographical education', *Teaching Geography*, 48, 3 (Autumn), pp. 100–2. Available at https://portal.geography.org.uk/journal/view/J9781899086213

Children's Society (2023) *The Good Childhood Report 2023*. Available at https://www.childrenssociety.org.uk/information/professionals/resources/good-childhood-report-2023

Cox, K. (2021) 'Massey, Marx, and human geography: disjunctures and provocations', *Human Geography*, 14, 1, pp. 5–16. https://doi.org/10.1177/1942778620973097

Earth Charter (n.d.) https://earthcharter.org

Fraser, N. (2022) *Cannibal Capitalism: How our system is devouring democracy, care, and the planet – and what we can do about it*. London: Verso.

Gadotti, M. (1996) *Pedagogy of Praxis: A dialectical philosophy of education*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Geographical Association (GA) (2022) *A Framework for the School Geography Curriculum*. Available at https://geography.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/GA-Curriculum-Framework-2022-WEB-final.pdf

Gilbert, J. and Williams, A. (2022) *Hegemony Now: How big tech and wall street won the world (and how we win*

it back). London: Verso.
Gov.uk (2023) *Pupil Attendance in Schools*. Available at https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/pupil-attendance-in-schools
Harvey, D. (2014) *Seventeen Contradictions and the End of Capitalism*. London: Profile Books.
Huckle, J. (2017) 'Powerful geographical knowledge is critical knowledge underpinned by critical realism', *International Research in Geographical and Environmental Education*, 28, 1, pp. 70–84. https://doi.org/10.1080/10382046.2017.1366203
Huckle, J. (2020) *Critical School Geography: Education for global citizenship*. Available at https://john.huckle.org.uk/critical-school-geography
Huckle, J. (2022) 'Critical realism: the philosophy of knowledge that is missing from the Curriculum for Wales', *International Journal of Development Education and Global Learning*, 14, 2, pp. 14–27. https://doi.org/10.14324/IJDEGL.14.2.02
Kinder, A. and Rawling, E. (2023) 'The GA's Framework for the school geography curriculum', *Geography*, 108, 2, pp. 101–6. https://doi.org/10.1080/00167487.2023.2217633
Kothari, A., Salleh, A., Escobar, A., Demaria, F. and Acosta, A. (eds) (2019) *Pluriverse: A post-development dictionary*. Available at https://globaltapestryofalternatives.org/_media/publications:en:pluriverse_a_post-development_dictionary.pdf
Lambert, D. and Morgan, J. (2010) *Teaching Geography 11–18: A conceptual approach*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
Mitchell, D. (2022) 'GeoCapabilities 3 – knowledge and values in education for the Anthropocene', *International Research in Geographical and Environmental Education*, 31, 4, pp. 265–81. https://doi.org/10.1080/10382046.2022.2133353
Morgan, J. (2019) 'The cultural economies of national curriculum-making: the case of England and Wales', *Curriculum Perspectives*, 39, 2, pp. 181–9. https://doi.org/10.1007/s41297-019-00076-2
NHS Digital (2023) *Mental Health of Children and Young People in England 2023 – wave 4 follow up to the 2017 survey*. Available at https://digital.nhs.uk/data-and-information/publications/statistical/mental-health-of-children-and-young-people-in-england/2023-wave-4-follow-up
Pratt, A.C. (2009) 'Critical realism/critical realist geographies' in Kitchen, R. and Thrift, N. (eds) *International Encyclopaedia of Human Geography, Volume 2*. Oxford: Elsevier, pp. 379–84.
Prince's Trust and NatWest (2022) *The Prince's Trust NatWest Youth Index 2022*. Available at https://www.princes-trust.org.uk/about-us/news-views/princes-trust-natwest-youth-index-2022
Progressive International (n.d.) https://progressive.international
Rawling, E. (2001) *Changing the Subject: The impact of national policy on school geography 1980–2000*. Sheffield: Geographical Association.
Rawling, E. (2020) 'How and why national curriculum frameworks are failing geography', *Geography*, 105, 2, pp. 69–77. https://doi.org/10.1080/00167487.2020.12094091
Ruttenberg, C.W. (2009) 'Educating political adversaries: Chantal Mouffe and radical democratic citizenship education', *Studies in Philosophy and Education*, 28, 3, pp. 269–81. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11217-008-9122-2
Toynbee, P. (2023) 'Too many pupils miss lessons, says Ofsted, and that's right. Call it the Michael Gove effect', *The Guardian*, 28 November. Available at https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2023/nov/28/too-many-pupils-miss-lessons-ofsted-michael-gove-effect
Warwick Education Studies (n.d.) *Critical Realism*. Available at https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/ces/research/current/socialtheory/maps/critical
Wheelahan, L. (2010) *Why Knowledge Matters in Curriculum: A social realist argument*. Abingdon: Routledge.
World Economic Forum (WEF) (2023) *Global Risks Report (18th edition)*. Available at https://www.weforum.org/publications/global-risks-report-2023
Zahidi, S. (2023) 'Preface' in WEF *Global Risks Report (18th edition)*. Available at https://www.weforum.org/publications/global-risks-report-2023

All URLs last visited 21/12/2023.

John Huckle is a retired teacher educator who writes on geographical and environmental education (email: john@huckle.org.uk; ORCID: 0000-0002-1956-1268).