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Article

The Making and Shaping of the Young Gael: Irish-Medium Youth Work for Developing Indigenous Identities

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Abstract
Identity exploration and formation is a core rumination for young people. This is heightened in youth where flux and transition are characteristic of this liminal state and intensified further in contexts where identity is disputed and opposed, such as in Northern Ireland. In this post-colonial setting, the indigenous Irish language and community recently gained some statutory protections, but the status and place of the Irish-speaking population continue to be strongly opposed. Drawing on focus group data with 40 young people involved in the emerging field of Irish-medium youth work, this article explores how informal education offers an approach and setting for the development of identities in contested societies. Principles of emancipation, autonomy, and identity formation underpin the field of youth work and informal education. This dialogical approach to learning and welfare focuses on the personal and social development of young people and troubles those systems that marginalise and diminish their place in society. This article identifies how this youth work approach builds on language development to bring to life a new social world and space for Irish-speaking young people. It identifies political activism and kinship development as key components in strengthening individual and collective identity. This article proposes a shift in emphasis from the language-based formal education sector to exploit the under-recognised role of informal education in the development of youth identity, cultural belonging, and language revitalisation.

Keywords
Gaelic; identity; Indigenous; informal education; Irish language; Northern Ireland; youth work; youth

Issue
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1. Introduction

As a result of centuries of colonial force and plantation in Ireland, Northern Ireland inhabits the status of one of the legal jurisdictions of the UK. This political and social scenario is fiercely contested, providing the backdrop for this study where Irish language use is contentious, with limited protections and advancements for the language (Sharma, 2020).

The specific context under scrutiny in this article is the Irish-medium youth work (IMYW) sector—a relatively new mechanism of informal education for Irish-speaking young people. Drawing on focus groups carried out in 2020 with 40 young people, this study seeks to capture the specifics of this new youth work approach which upholds and promotes this marginal identity, prioritises association, and fosters political activism.

This article uses the lens of youth identities to view the phenomenon of IMYW. We outline the factors involved in the creation of a social Irish-speaking world for young people and the role herein for informal education approaches. Next, we consider how political engagement and the reclamation of indigenous language and culture intersect in this unique youth work setting.

Finally, we identify the potential to shape strong youth identities through this youth work approach, with transferability beyond the Irish-language sector.

2. Youth Identities, Language, and Performance

The complexity of identity formation presents the backdrop for this article. Identity is conceptualised as fluid and malleable (Lundgren & Scheckle, 2019, p. 53) with multiple aspects of the self developing rather than a single bounded entity (Bucholtz & Hall, 2010, p. 19). The liminal identity of youth has salience here with the formation of selves inhabiting the "between space" of adult and child. Drummond (2018, p. 171) reflects on this experimental and experiential period of identity-testing, with youth involved in "the negotiation, construction and performance of emerging identities." The formation of identities is iterative, involving both the central actor and the social witness, or "other," and invokes multiple "performances'' to create a public identity or self (Goffman, 1959). Ideas of "being" and "becoming" thus can be practised in social interactions and settings as a way of testing different impressions of self in a public world (Furlong, 2013, p. 125).

Whilst youth identities are ostensibly moulded by culturally and institutionally defined age-related milestones (Furlong, 2013), this influence is finite. Jones (2009, p. 61) notes that youth as identity is "partly self-achieved and partly ascribed by social background." Moving outside the specific ascribed labels allows for an affinity or affinities *towards* an aspect of self, rather than a fixed identity. However, these conceptualisations of youth formation do not make explicit the added complexity of identity-shaping within a contested political and post-colonial context.

Although fluidity presents as a feature of identity development, it is boxed within context and culture, "shifting and responsive to perceived boundaries and positions" (Bhabha, 1994, as cited in Lundgren & Scheckle, 2019, p. 53). Within Northern Ireland, the local context is of colonialism, whereby one state takes political control of another independent sovereignty, typically by force and sows hegemonic roots of economic, cultural, and linguistic sovereignty and dependence (Mac Ionnrachtaigh, 2021, p. 367). The ownership and reproduction of the language of the dominant class provide a pervasive legitimacy to the colonising incumbent (MacKenzie et al., 2021, p. 7). The power of language in this context is symbolic and the associated "symbolic violence" is realised through the normalisation of the English language in everyday social and economic structures of contemporary society (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 167).

Vandeyar (2008, p. 233) proposes that identity is "always influenced by history, culture and power" but that iterations of cultural reclamation are not solely straitjacketed by the past. Rather than culture as a fixed entity of "strategic essentialism," Vandeyar's conception is of culture as a creation being constructed, with ties rather than chains to the past. Furthermore, language variation and evolution are viewed as "not just a reflection of the social, but essential to its construction" (Eckert, 2016, p. 70). This opportunity for language variations and twists by new young Gaels allows for this contemporary Irish language to form part of the "social performance" of identity (Drummond, 2018, p. 173).

3. Language Loss and Restoration

Language is an indicator of both social and cultural vitality (Pine & Turin, 2017). Chandler and Lalonde (1998, pp. 209–210) set forth a series of factors involved in sustaining Indigenous communities, termed "seven cultural continuity factors"—characterised as social, political, and cultural spheres that the Indigenous community *feel* in control of or have influence in (Hallet et al., 2007, p. 392). Language is but one of these factors, with similar weight given to a degree of self-governance and having the "resources to preserve and promote cultural artefacts, traditions and histories" (Hallet et al., 2007, p. 393).

The value of language is both operational and symbolic—for communication and as a gateway to a cultural identity. Chandler and Lalonde (1998) propose that culture is symbiotic with personal strength of identity, so sought after in youth; whereby a waning culture erodes the stability of identity and self. This notion of "cultural distress" refers to the erosion of cultural histories, influences and connections (Hallet et al., 2007, p. 394). When juxtaposed with "cultural continuity," the suggestion is that distress can be experienced in two ways—first by distance from the primary culture and way of life; second, through a sense that the Indigenous community has a fragile or waning sense of control over their future. Thus, cultural distress can be both retrospective and future-minded. Lanza and Svendsen (2007, p. 293) note how "language might become important for identity when a group feels it is losing its identity due to political or social reasons.''

For Irish-language speakers on the island of Ireland, the status, policy, and practice of the Irish language is markedly different between North and South. While Irish is the first national language of the Republic of Ireland, embedded in the formal education system, with mainstream support and resourcing, within Northern Ireland the language is framed as contentious and debates over its protection and usage remain unresolved. The language has often been used as a political football (representing points "won" or "lost" in an overly simplistically unionist and republican binary). NicCraith and McDermott (2022, p. 3) purport that "the very speaking and/or promotion of a particular language by an individual or a community can…be viewed as a hostile political act." Affording language rights to one community is widely posited as the privileging of one over the other (NicCraith & McDermott, 2022, p. 3). Statutory instruments and legal provisions for the Irish language and

Irish-medium education do exist; however, the recommended protections contained in the Belfast Agreement of 1998, the St. Andrews Agreement, 2006, and the New Decade, New Approach of 2020 have been sparsely implemented. Even where the statutory duty exists for the Department of Education in Northern Ireland to "encourage and facilitate Irish-medium education" (Government UK, 1998, Article 89), its implementation is at best "imperfect" and at worst "discourage[s] and impede[s] Irish-medium education growth" (McVeigh, 2022, p. 50). To counter these faltering legal directives, the public pressure associated with An Dream Dearg ("The Red Gathering") grass-roots campaign has been instrumental in publicly agitating for Irish language structures, resources, and legislation (Mac Ionnrachtaigh, 2021, pp. 394–403); and in 2022, it successfully lobbied for Irish language legislation through Westminster (Government UK, 2022). It is within this precarious legal and political context that IMYW sits, with young Irish speakers inhabiting an awkward marginal position across policy, legislation, resourcing, and rights.

4. Youth Work, Informal Education. and Political Development

Youth work within the UK and Ireland is viewed as a distinct form of practice, different to other methods of working with young people (Hammond & Harvey, 2021). Its unique character is as an informal experiential approach to learning and development outside the formal educational curriculum. These informal approaches emphasise the personal and social development of young people and are easily integrated into contemporary policy and practice. What is often less integrated is youth work's concern with political development, described by Forrest (2010, p. 68) as "a level of collective empowerment [that] seeks to problematise the world, and to activate individuals into challenging existing social policies and political decisions."

Hurley and Treacy (1993), in their sociological analysis of youth work, outline the gradations of practice, ranging from the sociology of regulation (teaching young people how to take their rightful place in society) through to the sociology of radical change (teaching young people action skills for social transformation). For youth workers who are drawn to the ideology of radical change, their practice seeks to illuminate the structural and social issues constraining or limiting the growth of young people rather than individualising blame for social problems that have emerged from the unequal distribution of power. Within this tradition, the drive is to "try to examine ways in which…control and domination can be counteracted" (Hurley & Treacy, 1993, p. 6). The practice, both personal and political, requires a two-pronged attack: "changing human consciousness" and "changing structures" (Hurley & Treacy, 1993 p. 6). This Freirean pedagogy of conscientization works to demythologise the accepted illusions of our given realities and to awaken consciousness of oppressions (Dawson & Avoseh, 2018) with a view to using these insights towards action. For youth work, this approach is promoted and practised to deliver emancipatory learning.

5. Study Background and Methods

This work is a partnership between researchers from Ulster University and the IMYW sector. This article is derived from qualitative research, carried out in 2020, with young Irish speakers who attend Irish-medium youth clubs.

Researchers used purposive sampling, with urban and rural representation from Belfast (n = 12), Derry (n = 11), and Omagh (n = 17), with a total of 40 young people participating in focus group interviews. The sample comprised of 17 young men and 23 young women, aged 11–16 years. On average participants had been involved in IMYW for four years.

The study was designed and conducted in line with research integrity policies and granted ethical approval by the School of Applied Social and Policy Sciences at Ulster University. Participant and parental information sheets and consent forms were distributed and completed to grant permission for participant data to be used for this academic article. A coding framework was developed that enabled the data to be analysed thematically, identifying patterns of meaning and experience across the data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006) while also allowing for individual experiences to be retained.

This research process utilised a community-based participatory approach (Schubotz, 2019). This methodology is "mutually empowering" (Schubotz, 2019, p. 43) for both researchers and the respective community in generating new academic insights on contemporary youth work and new practice knowledge for application in IMYW.

6. Findings and Discussion

The findings build a picture of the development of a strong young Gael identity against a backdrop of political, social, and cultural marginalisation. Whilst IMYW practice is seen to contribute to this distinct identity, this investigation seeks to identify significant elements within this approach. Here we explore three intersecting phenomena of note in the process: first, the building of linguistic competence and confidence; second, the formation of an Irish social world for young people; and lastly, the practice of youth political activism and resistance as a response to exclusion.

6.1. The Drive to Keep the Language Alive

While the Irish-medium youth club was seen as useful in educational terms for those attending an Irish-medium post-primary school, it was particularly important amongst those no longer attending Irish-medium

schools as a means of keeping the language "alive outside of the classroom":

> I don't go to an Irish-speaking school so I could go a whole week and not speak in Irish. It's [the youth club] the only place I can get to speak in Irish, it's just great practise for me. It means I won't lose it.

This idea was repeated by a number of young people who talked about how, through attending the club, they could "keep the language up." Notions of not "losing" the language were deemed important without a clear articulation of why this was the case:

> I think it has helped me not to lose my Irish and lots of other people. This is the only chance we get to speak Irish. If you don't use it, you are going to lose it. I just think it's important that we do use it.

> I come to the club 'cause it means I can keep up [with] my Irish.

> It's good for speaking Irish if you don't go to an Irish school.

For some research participants, the importance of improving their Irish held a deeper significance tied to identity and status. According to Crystal (2000, p. 195), being a "keeper of the language" is significant, with a status *and* a responsibility attached. The status and identity of keeping the language act as drivers. Others, who did not transition to Irish-medium secondary schools, expressed their frustrations at being denied opportunities to continue their Irish language use, with one young person stating: "We will just have wasted eight years of our lives." While young people expressed the importance of keeping the language and culture alive, they also bear the burden and guilt of being part of the generation who fail to pass it on to the next (Sallabank, 2010, p. 192).

6.2. A Language That Binds

For young people navigating concepts of belonging and their place in a social world, ideas of uniqueness and similarity to others become prominent for identity formation. Self-concept here was connected to young people's shared usage of the Irish language, which offered a sense of belonging but also heightened their difference and marginalisation. Young people made a connection between their Irish language use and the intimacy created with their peers:

> When you speak Irish and you don't know anyone else that, like, does, it makes you, like, closer.

A central concept within youth work is association. Essentially, this refers to the value of belonging to something and the significance of "playing one's part in a group or association" (Doyle & Smith, 1999, p. 44). While association is less explicit within contemporary youth work generally, it was more apparent in IMYW. Young people describe it thus:

> Everyone knows each other.

> I go to the Irish club because I feel more comfortable here. If I were to go to another club, I would feel out of place but here everyone knows Irish, so I feel comfortable.

> It was like a safe zone for me.

Although young people had links to one another in the usual ways (e.g., from the same area or same school) their use of the language and their shared desire to see the language flourish elevated these connections. Being an Irish speaker brought young people into a community of other Irish speakers:

> You've a connection with people as well, with other people that have Irish. You've got, like, something in common and when you see each other in the street you can just talk it there.

> Yeah, there's a big sense of togetherness.

Community and kinship are alluded to here by the young people. Johnston-Goodstar (2020) recognises the role of Indigenous values and philosophies such as these in re-imagining of ancient cultures for contemporary living. Kinship is one such ancient ideal that is heavily nurtured and cultivated through IMYW. This notion of kinship recognises how these young Gaels inhabit a minority identity that encounters inherent tensions—the push and pull of majority and minority identity, alongside the polarities within youth identity of belonging and uniqueness.

For these young Gaels, being the bearer of the Irish language strengthens their youth identity and communal identity, generating a sense of belonging so greatly sought after in youth. It is the symbolic power of the language that yields such pride, with its connections to Indigenous roots. Being part of this language and culture offers supplementary outcomes, as it "provides its members with meaningful ways of life across the full range of human activities" (Kymlicka, 1995, as cited in McDermott & NicCraith, 2019, p. 163).

6.3. "Loose Space" for an Irish Social World

Beyond the formal school setting young people noted the significance of being able to engage with their peers in the casual, everyday engagements of "playing games," "team building," and "making food" together in the IMYW setting. The importance of having unstructured time with others was emphasised:

> The rooms to chill out, there's sofas and tables, and you can make cups of tea and you can relax.
>
> We are all friends here. No one cares here if you are acting the wag. It's a better way to get on with one another. It's not like school, you are not stressed. You can come here for a couple of hours and do whatever you want.

Whilst the environment and activities appear unremarkable, their significance lies in the creation of a social Irish-speaking world that young people can inhabit. While some live in Irish-speaking homes and attend Irish-speaking schools, what made this space distinct was how it exhibited the characteristics of what Franck and Stevens (2007) note as "loose space." These spaces move beyond the "rigid rules of curricula" (Killakoskis & Kivijarvi, 2015, p. 49) whereby negotiation and navigation of interaction become the modus operandi. The ambivalence of this informal learning environment enables change, adaptability, and non-conformity (Killakoskis & Kivijarvi, 2015, p. 49). This informal space allows for the norms of traditional formal learning to be "troubled," not just in terms of the rules of social interaction and engagement but also the rules of right and wrong that usually form the basis for formal education.

6.4. Loose Approach for a Living Language

IMYW provided a space that was not necessarily associated with the "proper performance" of the language. Speaking Irish in this setting was said to feel "more natural." Unlike school it was not about being corrected should you get it wrong, rather it was about learning through the everyday usage of a language. One young person noted:

> Because in school you are just doing boring work all day but then you get to come here, and you can get to meet with all your friends and have fun and still speak Irish.

The non-formal setting, the youth work methodologies employed, and the approach of staff and volunteers created new and vastly different learning environments from what young people were familiar with. The following illustrates what young people noted as the distinctions between school and the club:

> The way you have to talk to teachers is different from the way you talk here, to your friends in Irish. You've to be more sensible around teachers, what you say to them….I talk differently to the workers here than I would to my teachers in school.
>
> In school it's more like *you have to*, but [here] it's more like you are choosing to, so it's more better [sic].

While Killakoskis and Kivijarvi's (2015) application of "loose spaces" were related to parks and unsupervised spaces, in this case, the loose space is created by a specific approach to learning the language that permeates this informal space. Young people can have experiences of doing ordinary things in the Irish world of the Irish-speaking youth club, offering a contrast to the Irish-medium school space.

The "loose" nature of the settings (Franck & Stevens, 2007, p. 4), the shared interest in the language, and the comfort afforded through engaging with a youth programme in your primary language were significant. The informal approach of IMYW holds underdeveloped potential for language revitalization. The key lies in the creation of an Irish social world, where the young Gael can flourish.

6.5. Unique or Weird? Dual Perceptions of Marginal Communities

Young people noted feeling different to their peers because of their Irish-speaking identity. This presents a juxtaposition between being unique and special or being peculiar and at odds with societal norms. Feelings of being unique were noted by young people:

> It's something different from everyone else and, I mean, you've more than one language as well.
>
> Some people, like, friends in the English school…some of my friends be, like, "wow, it's class the way you can speak Irish."
>
> I feel special because I get to talk to people in a language that nobody else understands.

Part of this uniqueness lay in the exclusivity of their language. Being able to communicate with others in private added a furtive edge to their identity. This was mentioned here in jest but was reflective of their feelings of being part of something special: "It's like a secret club."

Being "strange" was also conveyed. They noted that some people "think it is weird" or that people in their English-speaking school would refer to them speaking in Irish as "jibber-jabber." Outside of the classroom also, young people commented that they were sometimes cautious when speaking Irish in public for fear that they would be "judged" for it. As one young person noted:

> Yeah, 'cause when you are out in public you want to speak it less, 'cause you think you'll be judged for speaking it because it's not the normal language that everyone is used to hearing.

For these young people, membership of Irish-medium youth clubs counters the prevailing sense of isolation or strangeness they might experience in an English-speaking club:

> Yeah, I think it is [better] 'cause if we were to walk into an English-speaking club we'd be out of place and we wouldn't feel how we do when we are around people who know the language that we know. You're able to get on easier.

> I think 'cause there's less of us we are more close. I think if it was an English group, there'd be more of them and you'd have friendship groups but with us, we are all friends with each other. It's better 'cause we are all friends with each other.

Reflecting this, McDermott and NicCraith (2019, p. 161) highlight the significance for minority communities in having their language recognised, as it "can be seen as a gauge by which the minority is accommodated and accepted within the majority community." They further note that the corollary also holds true—that non-recognition undermines the value, worth, and place of the minority community and identity (p. 163).

6.6. Squeezed In and Squeezed Out: Finding Space in a Hostile Place

Space, as presented by Lefebvre, is a "complex social construction" (as cited in Robinson, 2009, p. 505) whereby layers of social meaning are associated with the space, as a result of perceptions and the depth of relationship to place. These aspects of space are to be found in how young people describe and attribute meaning to the spaces they inhabit for IMYW.

For those who attended an Irish-speaking youth club in a dedicated Irish-language space, they noted how they did not have to "squeeze Irish into" non-Irish spaces—rather, this aspect of individual and collective identity was fore-fronted and celebrated. More often the Irish-speaking clubs met in rented or temporary spaces, usually populated by English-speaking clubs. Many young people made comparisons between having your own space and having a space belonging to others. They highlighted the value of a space that spoke to them in their primary language—from the posters on the wall to the chit-chat of the staff. On every level, belonging was prominent or absent:

> Where it had other youth club names up on the wall, it wasn't our hall but now this will be ours. Like the things on the wall will be in Irish. The names and things like that will be Irish. You'll feel more comfortable.

> Like what she said, like on the walls of other clubs there's this one wee page about us in Irish, but now everywhere we can just put whatever we want.

Where the space given for IMYW was felt to be squeezed into existing English-speaking youth centres, young people and workers interpreted this as undermining of their culture and identity. This "peripheral space" assumed further social significance, of an identity which is also peripheral, described by Thomassen (2009, p. 19) as "betwixt and between, home and host."

The squeeze into the space is reflective of the squeeze of funding and resources. The underfunding of IMYW was understood by many young people as an "attack" on the Irish-language sector. This perspective perceived a hierarchy within youth services, with IMYW on the bottom rung. Young people saw other English-speaking clubs open more regularly, with better-resourced centres and a wider range of programmes available:

> Like so we don't open five nights a week.

> We don't get the funding like [local statutory youth centre]….They got funding for a new club and we didn't and we've been waiting on funding for a long time, [for] an extension to our club.

> And…they go on, like, better trips than us as well, and they went to America and all.

This perceived funding hierarchy holds further significance for young people. They saw a relationship between the funding of the club and its stability and security, with the IMYW clubs "waiting on funding for a long time" in an even more precarious position. Similarly, a place that does not display the symbols, language, or markings of an Irish language identity has the capacity to erode the very values it intends to embed. This becomes a place of dissonance wherein ownership, language and the youth club participants are simultaneously belonging and outsiders. The club is not your own:

> It doesn't feel good, 'cause, like, it feels like you are being contained. So, you can't really say what you want or do what you want.

6.7. Rights, Resistance, and Fight: The Rise of Political Youth Work

Young people were aware, to varying degrees, that their Irish-medium club was not part of the mainstream, and that campaigning, protesting, and lobbying were often required to highlight the need for the funding of such provisions. As such, young people recognised that their clubs were not a guaranteed resource but rather something that had to be agitated for. They noted how they engaged with funders and policymakers as a means of raising awareness and lobbying for resourcing and protections:

> We went to the E.A. [the Education Authority has statutory responsibility for the funding of youth services in Northern Ireland], like the E.A. place, and we did a protest outside and sat down, done notes. We went down and we left, like, all notes.

> We wrote a letter about if it [Irish-medium youth club] closed down they'd have nowhere else to go.

While lobbying may have initially been instigated out of concern for their own clubs and services, the focus soon expanded as young people campaigned and protested to protect and preserve the very language itself:

> We are coming together to support the Irish Language Act.

> I think it's important that more people know about the Irish language and that they start learning it….In the club we talk about it and plan out what we are going to do. We talk about why we need it [Irish Language Act] and what we need it for.

Their engagement in various protests over cuts to funding and the status of the Irish language increased their understanding of protest, culture, heritage, and rights more generally. Through this, they developed an understanding of local politics, representation, and democracy. Having increased awareness of the differential services they experience, they exhibited greater empathy and understanding of other groups within society that were treated unequally. This was evident in projects undertaken that explored issues such as marriage equality and other social justice topics. The engagement of young people with political processes and structures is complex and often unfairly characterised as apathetic (Pontes et al., 2018). However, what was evident here was how the personal nature of their struggle enhanced their interest in and engagement with local political systems and the sense of belonging to the wider community.

Political engagement and youth activism are dominant methodologies within IMYW. The impetus for these emerges to combat the status and non-recognition of this marginalised community. However, the focus which began with the protection of Irish-medium youth services expanded into wider issues of social justice. Whilst the benefits of political development through IMYW are evident here, this approach is absent from youth work policy in Northern Ireland (Department of Education for Northern Ireland, 2013). This omission in the policy framework and subsequent funding of youth services underestimates the developmental opportunities that youth activism and political engagement offer young people.

7. Conclusion

IMYW has embraced many concepts of identity—a personal identity and a cultural identity connected to a collective identity. Kinship and belonging add to this sense of collective identity. Whilst this might ostensibly develop through a common connection to the language, this common bond tightens with the creation and sharing of a social world. Acts of resistance, political consciousness, and action add an element of resolve to this community of young people. The approach is fearless—it is not a polite youth work nor a polite approach. Fundamentally, it takes a systems-based analysis of the issues facing young people, challenging the structures and systems that exclude them. In doing this, the work is action-oriented and outward-looking, with young people feeling a strong sense of ownership and responsibility to act on their own behalf and on behalf of others. The consequence of this is a politically engaged youth population, with activism burgeoning from their own self-interest into acting for wider social justice issues. These approaches run counter to current neo-liberal individualistic hegemony and lifestyles; yet present a methodology to strengthen youth populations and youth voice.

This article proposes a missing link for language revitalization of how to create a social world for young Gaels. Language is a central element of IMYW but not the only defining feature. The development of a social world through loose space and loose approach brings the language and the language-speakers to life. For language revitalization, the teaching of language through formal education is but one strategy. Greater opportunities for growing a living language lie in the complementary non-formal education approach here outlined.

IMYW has too often been viewed as a political proxy for those language revivalists wishing to indoctrinate a new generation of young people into a collective Irish identity. This oversimplified analysis of IMYW has obscured unique approaches for youth development and identity formation, much sought after in youth culture. These approaches, rather than innovations in youth work, hark back to Indigenous philosophies of identity, kinship, and political engagement reclaimed for contemporary young people—not new ideas but ones that have lost favour in a contemporary neo-liberal society.

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Conflict of Interests

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