Forty Years Since Brisbane '86 and the Need for School Geography to Foster Radical Global Citizenship is Greater Than Ever

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Abstract

This article revisits and updates the author's keynote address to the AGTA conference in 1986. It considers the relevance of Wallerstein's modern world-system to understanding the ongoing global crisis, outlines the present culture war or hegemonic struggle between right and left populisms, and suggests ways in which advances in the theory and practice of global citizenship education can guide geography teachers as they seek to develop global citizens with the capabilities to help create a better world.

Introduction

2026 marks the fortieth anniversary of *Brisbane '86*, the tenth Australian Geography Teachers Association (AGTA) conference. The brochure publicising the conference described it as "a conference with a difference for geography teachers". If this difference is to be summed up in one word, that word might be *relevance*. Under the title of *Teaching Geography for a Better World*, the conference sought to enable attendees to consider how best to incorporate important contemporary global issues into their teaching in ways that encouraged "students to reflect on and to clarify their perceptions of the world and their place within it" (AGTA, 1985, p. 2). It led to a book with the same title as the conference (Fien & Gerber, 1988) which according to McElroy and Smith (2017) had a significant influence on the theory and practice of geography teaching in much of the English-speaking world and is "a splendid blend of intellectual rigour and down-to-earth teaching methodologies" (p. 22).

My argument in 1986

My keynote to Brisbane '86, and my chapter "Geography and world citizenship" (Huckle, 1988) in the subsequent text, argued that before we can teach Geography for a better world, we need an understanding of how the world works, what the causes of its major problems are, and which of the proposed solutions seem most realistic and desirable. It explained how the world worked in terms of Wallerstein's (1997) world-system theory and sketched an alternative world order suggested by democratic green socialism. It then drew on Taylor's idea that most people are unable to explain their everyday experience in terms of the reality of global structures and processes because so much of what they are told and taught is centred on the nation state and could be considered ideology (Taylor, 1985). Therefore, the key to geography teaching for a better world was to focus on global citizenship and apply Wallerstein's and Taylor's ideas while developing students' political literacy in ways suggested by the Programme for Political Education (Crick & Porter, 1978; McElroy,1988).

Updating this argument forty years on requires us to revisit Wallerstein's theory and identify key changes in global structures, processes and events that shape students' perceptions of the world, their place in it, and suggest new or revised content for the geography curriculum. It also requires us to consider key developments in the theory and practice of global citizenship education that, when applied to school geography, make it more likely that students will become reflective and active global citizens.

Revisiting Wallerstein's modern world-system

Agnew (2020) revisits and re-evaluates Wallerstein's modern world-system or the "idea of a progressively global capitalist world-economy spreading out from Western Europe and structured geographically to exploit peripheral areas for the benefit of the capitalist class in the core" (p. 17). He notes that the model proved attractive to some radical geographers "because

of its global reach, historicity, critique of state-centrism, and reliance on a spatial conception of distinctive labor processes associated with different geographic zones" (Agnew, p. 17). Among Agnew's other conclusions is that the model has not kept pace with overall reality and that its conception of hegemony does not account for the contemporary American impasse in the world economy as well as Wallerstein hoped it would.

According to Wallerstein who died in 2019, five elements of the modern world-system account for its difference from pre-existing ones: a single world market, spatial division amongst states, an international division of labour particular to different phases of expansion, a temporally cyclical pattern of growth and expansion, and the "glue" of dominant political ideologies and their challengers (dominant and counter hegemonies) that holds everything together. Agnew's re-evaluation of his ideas is wide ranging examining Wallerstein himself, the essentials of his modern world-system, Wallerstein's critique of the modern social sciences and their Eurocentrism, an assessment of his radicalism, the fragmentation of the impact of his original model, and his influence in human (development, regional, political) geography. Much of this is relevant to school geography where, as in universities, Wallerstein's model has proven its pedagogic virtue "in laying out an intelligible and totalistic account of problems of development across the modern world and has paid dividends in longevity even if the framework is more of a baseline now rather than a fully-fledged version of the original" (Agnew, 2020, p. 26). This article cannot follow all the leads that Agnew provides. I intend to focus on changes in the world-system since 1986, related developments in critical geography and geographical education, and the continuing need for school geography to develop students as global citizens.

Neoliberalism reshapes the world-system

The continuing crisis in the world-system (environmental, economic, political, cultural and existential) can largely be explained by the rise of neoliberalism, the mode of regulation that shaped the system from the 1970s to the financial crisis of 2007–2008 (Monbiot & Hutchison, 2024; Politics for the People, 2024). As Blakeley (2024) makes clear, this was a project planned by corporations, banks, states, and empires (notably the US as global hegemon) to reshape the global political economy in ways that further favoured the ruling class and eroded the wages, welfare and rights of workers. It involved processes of financialisation, globalisation, privatisation, deregulation, and individualisation, and met with resistance from organised workers, political parties on the left, and progressive social movements.

Following the financial crisis when governments bailed out the banks, the money they printed found its way to the rich while most citizens suffered cuts to their wages and public services as indebted governments cut spending. This pattern was repeated with the COVID pandemic in 2020–2022 which revealed the fragility of global supply chains, increased inflation and the cost of living, and prompted a slowdown in globalisation. China's power and standing in the world continues to rise based on an autocratic form of state capitalism that seeks technological supremacy (AI, electric vehicles, robotics, and aerospace) and, an expanding informal empire based on the Belt and Road Initiative and an alliance with the BRIC countries that include Russia. Putin weakens Russia by attempting to reclaim parts of its former empire in Ukraine while Trump has adopted a security strategy that sees the US dominant in the Western Hemisphere (the Donroe doctrine, Borger, 2026) and seeks to further erode the rules-based global order, its institutions and value systems. While often flouted by the US and others, this order and the theory and practice of global citizenship education based upon it (Unesco, 2015), now face a crisis of credibility and legitimacy. Trump's action in Venezuela and his designs on Greenland, together with his statements and those of his chiefs of staff, suggest that the US is prepared to abandon its allies and leave Putin and Xi Jinping to pursue their own territorial ambitions. The world is experiencing an interregnum (Wintour, 2025) as a new world order is born:

> It is one where increasingly authoritarian powers use brute force to subjugate their neighbours and steal their resources. What once might have sounded like dystopian fantasy is being assembled in plain sight. The question is whether we have the means, willingness and ability to fight back (Jones, 2026).

The failure of the Australian and UK governments to condemn Trump's actions over Venezuela and its assault on international law, have provoked deserved criticism (Partlett, 2026; Smith, 2026) and their alliances with the US face uncertain futures. Revised foreign and defence policies are likely to feature greater self-reliance, more defence spending, a search for new partners (Doherty, 2026) and impose new limits on welfare spending. Citizens are likely to experience continuing insecurity, linked to debt, inequality, the "cost of living crisis", and the introduction of AI. This will prompt support for right populist leaders who misdirect their legitimate

grievance towards false targets—notably migrants, mainstream parties, and "woke" liberal progressives—rather than towards the rich who seek to sustain neoliberalism by giving right populists financial and media support.

Critical geography and the global crisis

Wallerstein's world system theory can be considered an application of earlier Marxist ideas particularly in its critique of capitalism and focus on economic history. He critiqued Marx for not adequately accounting for geography and for focusing too much on a single uniform path to development. Since the 1980s, Marxist geography has further evolved as a form of critical theory which provides accounts of the changing contradictions and crises within global capitalism, the restless and uneven geographies these produce, the commodification of everything, the "tangled human geographies of difference, inequality, solidarity and protest", and the role of critical geographers as public intellectuals offering signposts to post-capitalist futures (Castree, Charnock, & Christophers, 2023). Das (2022) outlines contemporary Marxist geography and draws attention to class as the causally most important social relation which explains how human beings live their lives. Capitalist class relations shape gender and race relations which in turn influence class relations, the geographical organisation of society, and its going development. The goal of Marxism, and Marxist geography is to

> arm the exploited masses with adequate ideas that describe, explain and critique the world from their standpoint, so they can engage in the fight to produce an alternative social-spatial arrangement, i.e. a democratic and classless society which is ecologically healthier and which avoids geographically uneven development intra-nationally and internationally (Das, 2022, p. 33).

There is much written by critical geographers that enables us to teach for a "better world", for example its accounts of society and nature (Robbins, 2004), green capitalism (Williams, 2024), rentier and financial capitalism (Christophers, 2020), and the phases of neoliberalism (Said-Filho, 2021). Geography teachers can also gain access to critical ideas by reading political economists who are not geographers but offer powerful insights into a world in crisis, (e.g., Fraser (2023); Blakeley (2024)) where digital degrowth coupled to radical democracy offers the kind of sustainable and classless society that Das (2022) envisages (e.g., Bastani, 2019; Dyer-Witheford & Mularoni, 2025).

Radical democracy and radical global citizenship

The Progressive International, launched in 2020, is a non-aligned alliance of progressive voices from around the world that has initiated a new global process to present, deliberate, and develop proposals for a New International Economic Order (NIEO) fit for the twenty-first century. Its collection of articles NIEO 1974–2024 (Progressive International, n.d.) reveals it to be what Wallerstein would term an anti-systemic movement, seeking a popular left alternative to the capitalist world-system or the kind of post-capitalist and classless society that Das (2022) envisages. This would establish a radical ecological democracy (Kothari, 2019) in which communities and collectives, rather than corporations and states, are at the core of the economy, and democracy is extended to all spheres of social life. Radical political parties and progressive movements would engage citizens in popular planning (Blakeley, 2024) and deliberative, decentralised decision-making that acknowledges dissent and antagonism. Citizens would then seek more sustainable and equitable futures that promote human wellbeing via alternatives to the current dominant model of economic growth. These would democratise economic, political and cultural structures in ways that respect ecological limits and adopt a holistic view of wellbeing that includes physical, social, cultural and spiritual dimensions.

Citizens of a radical democracy are required to be radical global citizens who adopt a critical stance to current global structures and processes that sustain a worsening global crisis. They seek new forms of global governance that require all global actors (citizens, productive enterprises, government, and inter-governmental organisations, NGOs) to exercise responsibility towards others, including those distant in space and time, and other species. In return, global citizens would enjoy universal basic rights including arguably rights to universal basic income and services to guarantee their wellbeing or welfare. Akkari and Maleq (2019) draw on Aktas et al. (2017, p. 4) who state that the role of the global citizen is to "challenge the hegemony of economic globalization and build solidarity across marginalized groups to fight oppression" rather than focusing on the neoliberal aim of building economic relationships across the globe.

Hegemony and populisms

In campaigning and lobbying for radical democracy and citizenship, progressive parties and movements must form a counter-hegemonic bloc to oppose the current "common-sense" view of the world held by the majority. Following

Gramsci (Mayo, 2014), Fraser (2017) defines hegemony:

> "Hegemony" is his term for the process by which a ruling class naturalizes its domination by installing the presuppositions of its own worldview as the common sense of society as a whole. Its organizational counterpart is the "hegemonic bloc": a coalition of disparate social forces that the ruling class assembles and through which it asserts its leadership. If they hope to challenge these arrangements, the dominated classes must construct a new, more persuasive common sense or "counterhegemony" and a new, more powerful political alliance or "counterhegemonic bloc." (Fraser, 2017, p. 46).

Gilbert and Williams (2022) explain that hegemony comprises material, institutional, and technological components alongside the cultural or ideological, including "a set of entrepreneurial, competitive, individualistic norms that are encouraged across a range of social sites from schools to reality television shows and internet influence culture." (Gilbert & Williams, 2022, p. xii). They maintain that citizens in core states like Australia and the UK, neither actively consent to, nor actively dissent from, neoliberalism. Their passive consent is a mix of cynical resignation at their lack of political agency, a conscious but ineffectual critique of the selfishness and harm that capitalism engenders, and an embrace of the everyday pleasures that consumerism, the popular media, and digital platforms provide.

Gramsci termed the periods of crisis when hegemony is in flux, "interregnums", times "when the old is dying and the new cannot be born" and a "great variety of morbid symptoms appear" (Achcar, 2021). Naughton (2025) provides examples of current morbid symptoms: "tech billionaires genuflecting to authoritarianism, trillion-dollar payouts to individuals while democracies fracture, great powers realigning along civilisational lines, and political movements calling for the 'extermination' of their opponents" (para. 12).

In the current interregnum, the struggle for hegemony takes the form of a culture war between right and left populism. The European Centre for Populism Studies (ECPS, n.d.) provides a comprehensive guide to populism and Lizotte and Kallio (2023) provide an introduction to the geographies of populism and populist geographies. ECPS has an interview (Riboldi, 2025) that outlines how corporate influence and elite career pathways are hollowing out democratic representation in Australia. Elsewhere, Doherty (2025) assesses whether Australia's political centre can hold off the populist embers being set ablaze by Trump 2.0.

Table One is an attempt to summarise the current culture war between right and left populisms. It is designed to act as a heuristic device to aid thought, draws on my recent writing on critical realism and the GeoCapabilities project (GeoCapabilities, n.d.; Huckle, 2024, 2025), and is likely to attract many suggested revisions.

School geography, social realism and GeoCapabilities

As one would expect, critical education that explores the struggle for hegemony has not fared well in neoliberal times. Advocates (notably Morgan, 2012, 2018) have kept it alive among geography teachers, but it has gained greater attention and application in the adjectival educations: environmental, development, and citizenship education. While some countries, for example Australia and Wales, have national curriculum guidance that can accommodate both subjects and adjectival educations, England has clung to subjects. Such adhesion has been strengthened by those who argue, following Young (Young & Muller, 2010; Young, 2014), that a socially realist curriculum and powerful disciplinary knowledge (PDK) benefit all students. This is a change to his earlier argument (Young, 1971; Morgan, 2019) that advocated the loose classification and framing of school knowledge in the interests of working-class students.

Incorporated into the GeoCapabilities project, social realism is perhaps the major influence on school curriculum and Geography in the past decade, an influence that is reflected in the Australian curriculum and AGTA's resources for teachers. While GeoCapabilities acknowledges the need to develop the capabilities of global citizens, the relation of social realism to critical realism remains somewhat obscure and questions remain as to whether both mainstream and critical geography are equally powerful, whether one is more powerful than the other, and what combination of mainstream and critical geography can best serve to question neoliberal hegemony (the knowledge of the powerful) and allow consideration of counter hegemonies (the knowledge of the powerless). In what he sees as an "over hasty" critique of PDK from writers drawing on decolonial theory, Lambert (2025) now appears more prepared to accept the power of critical realism to enable a curriculum that can promote students' capabilities.

Table 1. Right and left populisms compared

	Right populism	Left populism
Slogan	"Take back control"	"For the many not the few"
Interests served	Claims to support "the people" but really supports the rich.	Supports the people including the precariat and immigrants.
Source of citizens' grievances and anger	Insecurity, lack of "decent" jobs, housing, public services affordability, etc. Blame placed on migrants, globalisation, centrist and left politicians, human rights law, all things woke.	Similar grievances but blame placed on capitalism that "cannibalises" workers, people in the South, carers, the rest of nature, and democratic governments (Fraser, 2023).
Ideology	Disaster nationalism (Seymour, 2025) Neoliberalism.	Green democratic socialism.
Global outlook	Nationalistic	Cosmopolitan
Global heating	Denial	Acceptance
Democracy	Authoritarianism, proto-fascist, pretence of liberal democracy.	Radical/agonistic democracy
Style of government	Conservative/Autocratic/Chaotic/ Top down	Participatory/Bottom up and top down
Examples of leaders	Trump, Putin, Farage, Hanson	Ocasio-Cortez, Navalny, Polanski, Waters
Social theory	Mainstream	Critical
Social class	Favours the ruling class.	Promotes class consciousness (Banfield, 2015) and equality.
Race and coloniality	Racist. Rejects decolonial theory.	Anti-racist. Draws on decolonial theory. Rejects migration myths (de Haas, 2024).
Identity politics	Nativist. Can foster hate for foreigners	Multi-cultural but critical of identity politics (Sarkar, 2025)
Knowledge	Knowledge of the powerful. Prone to post-truths, conspiracy theories, and relativism	Knowledge of the powerless. Truth determined by debate over knowledge claims.
Pedagogy	Didactic, mainstream, closed	Participatory, critical, open
Philosophy	Positivism. Ontologically dualist and epistemologically objective.	Critical realism. Ontologically holist and epistemologically relative.
Citizens' capabilities	Seeks to keep most citizens in a state of dependency, false consciousness and under development.	Seeks to develop the capabilities of all to their fullest extent including those relating to radical global citizenship.
Powerful curriculum knowledge	That which enables one to have a chance to get rich.	That which enables citizens to "reflect on and to clarify their perceptions of the world and their place within it" (AGTA, 1985, p.2).
Schooling	Class based	Comprehensive

Global citizenship education (GCE)

> Global citizenship education aims to be transformative, building the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes that learners need to be able to contribute to a more inclusive, just, and peaceful world. Global citizenship education takes a multifaceted approach, employing concepts and methodologies already applied in other areas, including human rights education, peace education, education for sustainable development and education for international understanding and aims to advance their common objectives. (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 2015, p. 15).

This definition makes clear that GCE embraces the themes explored at Brisbane '86 and in Fien and Gerber (1988) and can accommodate the move to radical democracy and global citizenship as outlined above. GCE has long been a topic in the debate on the role of citizenship in secondary geography (Lambert & Machon, 2001).

Critical School Geography, Education for Global Citizenship (CSG)

In 2020, I self-published an ebook with the above title (Huckle, 2020, Stringer, 2021). This adopts UNESCO guidance on GCE and education for sustainable development and applies it in ways that counter UNESCO's bias towards welfare capitalism by acknowledging the political economy of the world-system and incorporating Mouffe's ideas on citizenship and radical democracy that link it to left populism, hegemonic struggle, radical reformism, and agonism (Mouffe, 2013, 2018). Each of the nine chapters in CSG is based on a global citizenship topic, a sustainable development goal, an issue of concern to older school students, and an article by a critical geographer. Each is accompanied by a curriculum unit. In developing these units, I followed guidance found in Gilbert & Hoeper (2014) and the ebook format was chosen to allow the reader to follow links to supporting definitions, articles, videos, and follow-up readings.

Mouffe defines citizenship as "political activity involving a struggle for hegemony possible at any site from an engagement with the state, in the economy, or in everyday practices of identity formation" (Mouffe, 2000, p. 178). She compares actual existing democracy with what democracy should or might be and suggests that it is possible to use features of liberal democracy (e.g., division of powers, civil rights, impartial administration, and checks on government), as it exists in Australia and elsewhere, to advance democratic demands. Unlike Das, Mouffe does not give the working class a privileged role in anti-capitalist struggle but echoes intersectionality theory in recognising many sites of identity formation and subordination from which citizens struggle in ways informed by their situations, beliefs and affects. Her argument regarding liberal democracy can be extended to institutions of global governance. Should the UN, for example, recover its purpose by abandoning universality, rejecting those states that refuse to abide by charter values, and refocusing on delivery of those values (Malloch-Brown, 2025)?

Mouffe's concept of agonism is based on two assumptions: that the political refers to the dimension of antagonism that is inherent in human relations and the making of society. And that politics comprises those practices, discourses and institutions which seek to establish a certain order and organise human existence in conditions that are always political. Conflict, contradictions and emotions are central to radical or agonistic democracy and pluralist politics. Antagonism should be turned into agonism in ways that view one's political opponent not as an enemy but as an adversary, someone whose ideas you may disagree with but whose right to defend those ideas you do not question. Such agonism, or disagreeing agreeably, is essential at a time when free speech is used to defend hate speech, political violence is a feature of culture wars between populisms, and spaces for democratic debate and public discourse are becoming rarer.

Radical GCE

Ruttenburg (2009) draws on Mouffe to suggest that radical GCE should educate the emotions (Mouffe's affects) by developing understanding of the difference between moral and political disputes and how power constitutes global society. It should also develop political literacy—the ability to "read the social order in terms of political disputes over liberty, equality and the hegemonic relations that should shape them", (Ruttenberg, 2009, p.3). As they study, articulate and debate global issues, students should understand the differences between private and collective emotions and moral and political anger, the ways in which emotions are collaboratively constructed in movements and parties; and how they are associated with views of desirable social and environmental relations and hegemonic orders. Radical GCE should explore how movements and parties have developed solidarity across space, time and species; why it is justifiable to feel anger on behalf of those (including other species) who suffer injustice; and how proposals to reform global governance would give global citizens greater voice (Global Citizens Initiative, n.d.).

Table 2. Radical agonistic pedagogy and global citizenship, based on Snir (2017).

	Radical democratic or agonistic pedagogy
Perform	Students perform their discursive identities: how they see themselves as global citizens and how their relations with the rest of nature and others at a distance in time and space that give meaning to their lives. They reveal and debate valuable truths about themselves including their preferred futures.
Connect	Students connect with discourses of global citizenship, including those of the populist right and left, recognise antagonism between them, and engage in agonistic debate that may change the way they understand and experience the world.
Transform	Students' identities change as they engage in agonistic debate. They connect issues and positions and may or may not become part of a hegemonic front seeking a radical global democracy.

Snir (2017) examines what is involved in developing students' ability to articulate their political differences, identities and demands. He suggests that agonistic pedagogy has three elements (Table Two) that take place simultaneously rather than sequentially. It reflects the work of counter hegemonic agents outside the classroom in that it is about building chains of equivalence (what we have in common) and discourse coalitions; growing to understand one another; broadening and deepening one's identity; and arriving at positions that acknowledge that there will always be disagreement about how to interpret and apply such concepts as democracy, sustainability, and citizenship. Sant et al. (2018, 2021) provide further insights into agonistic pedagogy that geography teachers can apply to the development of global citizenship.

GCE Otherwise

In his evaluation of Wallerstein's writing on the world-system, date Agnew (2020) draws attention to Wallerstein's critique of Eurocentrism:

> The fact that capitalism had this kind of breakthrough in the European arena and then expanded to cover the globe does not however mean that this was inevitable or desirable or in any sense progressive. In my view it was none of these. And an anti-Eurocentric point of view must start asserting this. (Wallerstein, 1997, p. 105).

Wallerstein critiqued Europe's two cultures of science and humanities and the fact-value dualism in modern thought that derived, in his view, from the commodification of knowledge under capitalism. Critique of Eurocentrism and modernity is now central to decolonial theory and decolonial geography and the Gesturing Towards Decolonial Futures Collective offers a study guide to global citizenship education "otherwise" that is based on such theory. This provides a series of cartographies or maps to help teachers and students explore modernity and post-developmentalism (Andreotti et al., 2019). Cartography 3 (Andreotti et.al., p. 51) suggests that to address the culture war between right and left populisms school geography should explore societies and environments within the soft reform, radical reform, and beyond-reform spaces provided by different philosophies of knowledge This will enable teachers and students to question the epistemological and ontological hegemonies of mainstream school geography (see philosophy, Table One) and draw on critical realism along with a pluriverse of post-colonial/decolonial knowledges (Kothari et al., 2019) including those of Australia's first peoples. It will also allow teachers and students to challenge modern notions of development and offer examples of societies living with a holistic worldview that rejects such modern dualisms as those between nature and society and fact and value. Such holism is a feature of much left populism.

Critical realism and GCE

Following my intervention in the debate over GeoCapabiliities and powerful disciplinary knowledge (Huckle, 2017), I have continued to argue that critical realism (Buch-Hansen & Nielsen, 2020), a philosophy of knowledge that "under-labours" for critical social theory, including Marxism, is the key to truly powerful knowledge (Huckle, 2024, 2025). In this regard, I am supported by Granados-Sánchez (2023) who, after reviewing the literature, claims that at the heart of sustainable global citizenship are five opposing dualisms which, like other dualisms, critical realism seeks to transcend in ways that replace either/or thinking with both/and thinking.

Granados-Sánchez (2023) argues that students should explore ways in which they can become:

- BOTH a citizen of a state of territory (territorial) AND a citizen of the world (non-territorial) Where is the locus of governance? (the governance dimension)
- BOTH a bearer of individual rights and responsibilities AND a bearer of collective rights and responsibilities What is my status as a citizen? (the status dimension)
- BOTH a passive citizen AND an active citizen. Should I be both shaped by the socio-ecological system and attempt to shape it? (the socio-ecological system dimension)
- BOTH a private, individualistic citizen AND a public, community-orientated citizen. Do I have a social conscience? (the social conscience dimension)
- BOTH a citizen who expects incentives and rewards (having mode) AND a citizen who acts in accordance with concepts of virtue and justice (being mode). To what extent and how should I get engaged? (the engagement dimension) (see also Wise & Shine, 2022).

Agonistic pedagogy is a means of fostering such thinking and readers should consider in what ways the dimensions are reflected in the current culture wars, summarised in Table One, and whether left populism, along with such powerful transformative knowledges as degrowth and radical ecological democracy, offer the prospect of resolving them under the umbrella of radical democracy and radical global citizenship.

And the next forty years?

> We can continue to allow a minority to run the world in its interest and therefore continue to be subject to the oppression, injustice, and mounting threats that this involves. Alternatively, we can work with others to reclaim the world and bring about a social revolution which new technologies now make a possibility rather than a utopia. (Huckle, 1988, p. 30)

Forty years since Brisbane ’86, and we have a deeper understanding of what is needed to educate global citizens in ways that provide them with the capabilities of creating a better world. New technologies, coupled to radical democracy, continue to offer routes to that world and the means to free older school students from the anxieties that currently preoccupy them (Hart, 2024; Khan, 2024). School geography can assist in the struggle for a counter-hegemony and a better world as I suggested at the conference, but this now requires engagement with the current culture war between right and left populisms in ways that this article begins to explore. The present generation of geography educators should rise to the challenge.

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