Propelling development through education and innovation in Latin-America: A comparative analysis of the autonomous and voluntary organizational ideas in Oppenheimer and Malatesta

Impulsando el desarrollo por medio de la educación y la innovación en América Latina: Un análisis comparativo de las ideas sobre organización autónoma y voluntaria en Oppenheimer y Malatesta

Camilo Osejo-Bucheli ⓘD

PhD(c) en Administración, MSc en Administración, MA(c) en Gerencia Social
Universidad de Nariño. Universidad del Valle. Unidad Central del Valle
Ágora Latinoamericana, Nuevo Pensamiento Administrativo - Colombia
camiloosejo@udenar.edu.co; camilo.osejo@correounivalle.edu.co
ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6712-6228

Abstract

The article aims to review, synthesize, reorganize, and present the ideas about economic development in Latin America regarding education and innovation identified by Andrés Oppenheimer. Based on his thesis, the article presents a comparative analysis with the ideas posed by anarchist thinker Errico Malatesta, highlighting their coincidences, differences, and possible contributions from the anarchist ideas of organization to the improvement of contemporary education and innovation in Latin-America. The article argues that economic development

can be fostered with 1) a culture of involvement with the education of children, the aspiration to higher education, and guidance to STEM degrees; 2) the improvement of meritocracy, the promotion of local, national, and international collaboration and association among universities, and the recognition of the dignity of professorship; and 3) the fostering of entrepreneurship and association for industry development, the encouragement of internationalization, and the creation of advocacy groups. The article ends with the identification of some implications for voluntary and non-hierarchical organizations, as well as possible ideas for future research.

Keywords

Latin-America, Political Economy, Innovation, Development, Anarchism, Malatesta.

Resumen

El artículo tiene como objetivo revisar, sintetizar, reorganizar y presentar las ideas sobre el desarrollo económico en América Latina en materia de educación e innovación identificadas por Andrés Oppenheimer. Basado en la tesis llevada a cabo por Oppenheimer, el artículo presenta un análisis comparativo con las ideas planteadas por el pensador anarquista Errico Malatesta, y destaca sus coincidencias, diferencias y posibles contribuciones de las ideas anarquistas de organización a la mejora de la educación y la innovación actual en Latinoamérica. El artículo argumenta que el desarrollo económico puede fomentarse con 1) un estímulo de la cultura de involucramiento con la educación de los niños, la aspiración a la educación superior y la orientación a los programas de CTIM (STEM); 2) la mejora de la meritocracia, la promoción de la colaboración y asociación local, nacional e internacional entre universidades, y el reconocimiento a la dignidad de la cátedra; y 3) la promoción del espíritu empresarial y la asociación para el desarrollo de la industria, el fomento de la internacionalización y la creación de grupos de presión. El artículo termina identificando algunas implicaciones para las organizaciones voluntarias y no jerárquicas, así como posibles ideas para futuras investigaciones.

Palabras clave

América Latina, Economía Política, Innovación, Desarrollo, Anarquismo, Malatesta.

I. Introduction

The Economist Joseph Stiglitz identified the key to economic development in Latin-America as the reduction of poverty by improving education (Oppenheimer, 2018, pp. 10-11). Argentinian economist, political analyst, Pulitzer Prize winner, author, and columnist for the Miami Herald, Andrés Oppenheimer, has interviewed many Latin-American political leaders through the years regarding the alternatives of Latin-American countries for development. The ideas and experiences gathered through those interactions with world leaders are published in a book critical of left-wing Latin-American politics (pp. 2, 70, 89, 110, 122…) about education and innovation: *"Enough of stories, the Latin-American obsession with the past and the 12 keys to the future."* The book compiles the experiences of several countries that have reached economic development regarding the two mentioned subjects, and compares them with the initiatives put into practise in Latin-America. Despite his American-liberal views, Oppenheimer's core argument in the book is that "[E]ducation is too important to leave it in the hands of the government" (pp. 127, 213, 228). In the text, this statement comes as a call for autonomy, independence, and self-reliance, values strongly associated with "anarchist principles" (Malatesta, 2014).

The term anarchism could mean the momentary chaos between two forms of government; direct and revolutionary action; or voluntary, non-hierarchical, horizontal, democratic, organisation (Fiala, 2021). We will use the term to talk about the political theory that proposes voluntary, autonomous, non-authoritarian, organisation that results in freedom in human interaction. In this article, we will compare the ideas proposed by Oppenheimer regarding the improvement of education in Latin-America with those of the anarchist and political theorist Errico Malatesta (1853-1932) to highlight the commonalities and discrepancies of both streams of thought, gain an understanding of Oppenheimer's ideas through anarchist thinking, and uncover possible research opportunities.

Malatesta was a prolific anarchist author and revolutionary socialist at the beginning of the twentieth century, whose writings inspired people in many countries. He founded at least two influential anarchist journals, where he published regularly and wrote about diverse subjects regarding the society of his time, and about his anarchist ideals. He lived and wrote in Italy, Switzerland, and France, and spent fifteen years in exile in Argentina when his ideas gained traction in Latin-America (Malatesta, 2015).

We have chosen to perform a comparison with Malatesta's theories on anarchism because of the congruence with the autonomy expressed by Oppenheimer in his thesis; because of the influence of both authors' ways of thinking in Latin-America in their respective times; and because of the opportunity to contribute to the generation of theory regarding policymaking in voluntary organisations (Osejo-Bucheli, 2023c), this time from Malatesta's political thought. We have chosen to use the comparative method because it helps to explain ideological similarities and differences across time and space between the authors analysed (Simon, 2020). This article is also part of a larger research project on organisations in Malatesta's theories.

In the following pages, we intend to support the argument that, *whereas Oppenheimer announces government policymaking for economic development through the improvement of education and innovation, he steps on anarchist grounds in his core argument by proposing autonomous organisations outside the government. While the ideas proposed by libertarian anarchist Errico Malatesta about organisations, based on freedom, independence, and self-government can illustrate how to improve education and innovation autonomously.*

After this introduction, in the methodology section, we present a brief discussion about the comparative method and then the specific methods and procedures used in the article. Later, in our findings section, we present our comparison based on three greater categories: culture, organisational ethics, and collaboration, all regarding education and innovation, before ending with some conclusions and suggestions for future research.

II. Method

Before selecting our method, we needed to discuss anarchistic individualism with respect to its paradigmatic epistemological position in organisational research (Osejo-Bucheli, 2021; 2022b). Anarchistic individualism is an intellectual movement in the radical humanist sociological paradigm. In this paradigm, the research interests emphasise change instead of stability (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). Based on Sartre's concept for "being-for-self," anarchist individualism advocates the maximum human freedom, untrammelled by external or internal regulation. To the extent that Stirner emphasised the primacy of the individual and rejected universal laws governing social life, ideas such as "the State is the enemy of human freedom" rule the axiology of this position. Therefore, we can say it emphasises emancipation through the

removal and rejection of the existing institutions, by means of the exhortation to rebellion of individuals of all classes. In turn, freedom is attained through the association for the pursuit of individual interests ([1907]1995).

Regarding the comparative analysis, Silverman (1970) and Lijphart (1971) offer some pointers. Silverman (1970) suggests focusing on these concerns in research: (a) the nature of the predominant meaning-structures in organisations, and the identification of the varying degrees of coercion or consent present; (b) the patterns of involvement of the actors; (c) the strategies used by actors to attain their ends; (d) the possibility of different actors to impose their definitions of facts upon others; and (e) the origin and patterns of change of the meaning-structures (pp. 171-172). Considering the application of the comparative method, Lijphart suggests: (a) to increase the number of cases as much as possible, not only geographically, but longitudinally, if possible, and to formulate analogies between political institutions of various times and locations; (b) to reduce the number of variables in the comparison to closer to two; and (c) to focus the comparative analysis on comparable cases (1971).

Modern studies on the comparative method, such as Simon's (2020), point out at least four dominant orientations of the method nowadays. All of them work under the assumption that political ideas are the solutions proposed by political thinkers to, background problems; therefore, the method intends to uncover the authors´ proposed actions. These orientations are as follows: first, the comparative method derives from the method offered by John Stuart Mill ([1843] 1974), which proposes two approaches, the "method of agreement" and the "method of difference", while the first one selects different cases and identifies their agreement, the second selects similar cases and identifies their differences. Second: Gadamerian philosophical hermeneutics (Gadamer, [1960] 1999) inspires the most influential stream of thought in recent comparative methodology; in essence, this variant of the method aims to identify the prejudices in the author´s narratives (p. 306). Third: Another stream of thought is the "hermeneutic of existential understanding." It suggests that the ideas should not only be understood by analysing concepts but also be oriented by practise, aiming towards transforming experience (Godrej, 2009). And fourth: the orientation inspired by Marx's historical materialism that tries to identify the conscious intention based in their social interactions (Marx, [1859] 1972).

Guided by our brief discussion, we have committed to a method that follows these principles:

(a) We did not opt for the hermeneutical or existential influence, because, as we mentioned in the first paragraph of this section, we are not located in the interpretive paradigm, nor are we interested in the historical materialist ideas of the structuralist paradigm described in the Marxist tradition (Burrell & Morgan, 1979); (b) Following the same authors, we committed to an anarchist point of view in the sense that ideas expressed by the authors selected for the study aim at the achievement of freedom and responsibility, either individually or collectively; (c) In accordance with Silverman (1970), we also highlighted the consent derived from the ideas presented; we identified the actors and their involvement in the author´s initiatives; and (d) Following Lijphart's suggestions, we used the wide range of cases proposed by Oppenheimer's empirical study, and performed our analysis by categorising and conceptualising small sets of variables in theme sets, that are mentioned in the following titles, and used the differences in times and scenarios of the authors to discover generalisations.

Regarding the selection of sources, since we aimed to compare a given set of ideas that are documented in a single book from Andrés Oppenheimer with a larger set of other thoughts expressed primarily by anarchist thinker Errico Malatesta, we used mainly *Basta ya de historias* (2008), by the former author, and the set of bibliography produced by the latter, freely available online at Anarchist Library.org, including at least four books produced by the author, that compile a total of 139 texts. We have used these texts in other articles researching Malatesta's anarchism (Osejo-Bucheli, Contributions to anarchist-cybernetics, identifying committee directorates in Errico Malatesta's theory: content analysis using dynamic causal diagrams and viable system modelling., 2023); In terms of data analysis, we will use argumentative analysis (Hajer, 1993) where we selected categories and concepts containing the variables of analysis in each argument.

In the following titles, we will present and compare the ideas of the two authors mentioned before.

III. On people and culture

Regarding people and culture, Oppenheimer points out the value of investing in quality education for adults and children. He also makes the case for creating a culture of individual and collective effort in education, for hard work and financial investment, and finally, for steering students' degree choices towards STEM degrees (Sciences, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics).

A. The wealth of a nation rests on its people

According to the author, Latin American countries are trying to migrate from an extractive economy to a productive economy, but the world's top economies today have migrated to economies of knowledge. An example of this is Singapore. The country focused on developing its human capital because of a lack of natural resources (Oppenheimer, 2018, p. 47). We see this in most developed countries nowadays; these countries sell services instead of products (pp. 11,20,22-24). In recent times the knowledge economy has achieved higher productivity than industry, to the point that Google is worth more than Bolivia's GDP (p. 23). In fact, the World Economic Forum concluded that Mexico's limitation to economic growth was neither credit, economic instability, politics, or taxes, but the low quality of its educational offering (pp. 170-171). Therefore, Oppenheimer suggests improving Latin-American economies by reforming the countries´ educational systems (p. 26). India's history confirms that the export of technological goods and services produced by highly skilled labour is significantly more productive than the complacency of exploiting natural resources (p. 73), the country puts human development above infrastructure development (pp. 66-69). India has also placed universities' headquarters in every province, to achieve the decentralisation of knowledge (p. 68). Brazil followed a similar path; the country acknowledged that it was necessary to export knowledge and intelligence to achieve development (p. 133).

Likewise, anarchist thinkers acknowledge the value of human capacity. Although technology increases the power of human labour, we still need the know-how; and the craft of organising work is still a human capacity (Malatesta, 2014, p. 345). Malatesta thinks that the maximisation of wealth is a collective effort and a matter of free agreement (p. 117). Furthermore, social wealth should be put at the disposal of all for solving social problems (p. 120). He notices that not even a government would wish the destruction of the community, for it represents the wealth to be exploited (Malatesta, [1891]1999, p. 14). He stated that the promotion of social wealth is the anarchist ideal, as opposed to the hoarding of natural resources and capital, which promote "social wrongs" (Malatesta, 2014, p. 316). This first title introduces the core idea of economic development through the improvement of people through education and innovation. As we see here, the anarchist position relies more on individual and collective initiative and responsibility than on the introduction of state's policies.

B. Care for the education of the children

The author also argues in favour of high-quality basic education as a preparation for superior studies, for countries' strategic priorities, and for life. He states that one key to a country´s development is to prepare its population to be competent university students. This is done with a quality preschool, primary, and secondary education (p. 205). For example, Finnish basic education aims to prepare people for teamwork; also, in Finnish schools, there are fewer students per teacher than in Latin-America. Israel focuses on entrepreneurship and innovation, therefore, encourages intellectual curiosity in young people to prepare them for future challenges. In developed countries in general, early education fosters complex thinking and the integration of art and technology. Singapore, for example, sends primary school students abroad on excursions to promote internationalisation (p. 49). Some countries in Latin-America are now understanding that incentives to insert children in the educational system are key to development. For example, President Lula, from Brazil, set up a programme subsidising US$50 per family per month to promote sending children to school (p. 141). And in Uruguay, the project CEIBAL gave a computer with free internet connectivity to every child in elementary public schools (p. 160).

Similarly, for anarchists, the education of children should be a democratic effort "parents, teachers and all, who are interested in the progress of the rising generation, will meet, discuss, agree and differ" on the best method to educate children (Malatesta, 2014, p. 115); they should get together with the goal of warranting their development and wellbeing, and to prevent them from the need to provide for themselves (p. 218), as it is a moral duty to care for the weak and the children (p. 34). The model of education envisioned by Malatesta was an education free from the indoctrination of religion, which he considered poisonous for the minds of the children (p. 33). We must remember when President Chaves' government invested in a significant increase in education for children by the Venezuelan state. This also increased the number of private schools, probably because of the fear of indoctrination or for a better quality of education (Oppenheimer, 2010, p.196). Although Oppenheimer recognises that indoctrination in schools is a concern, he suggests making long-term pacts with major political parties to improve education (p. 209). Despite any political position, we see a strong coincidence on the need, importance, and means of educating children, both in Oppenheimer's liberal view and Malatesta's anarchist perspective. As we have discussed here, both streams of thought, acknowledge the need to avoid indoctrinating children in early education; again, the anarchist proposes a strong reliance on autonomy from parents and teachers.

C. Promote the cultural aspiration of education

Oppenheimer claims the need for a culture of education and elaborates on the importance of social recognition of academic accomplishments. Scholarly competence is an investment, and he argues that education should not be free. In the eyes of the author, students and their families must pay for education. For example, in Korea, families invest in the education of their children, dedicating time to help them in their learning during primary school, and investing significant portions of their family´s income in professional education. Parents also make sure that their sons/daughters have access to the best private lessons, spending up to 30% of their yearly revenue on them. Something similar happens with Chinese families; they also invest significantly in formal education. Contrary to common belief, education is not free in China (pp. 83-95). In Singapore, according to Oppenheimer, this creates awareness of the need for a salary after graduation and increases students' engagement with their studies (pp. 57-58). The author concludes that people from Asian countries invest more than Latin-Americans in the education of their children (pp. 209-210). The successful experiences of Chile and Brazil show comparable results. In Chile, public university students pay for their tuition when they graduate, so they make their study decision as an investment. Students in public universities in Chile pay lower tuition costs than students in private universities, yet they are not cheap, they pay on average $3,200 per year and up to $7,000 for degrees with a higher demand (p. 112). While Brazilian universities are free of charge, they are immensely demanding (p. 135), so students decide based on their available time.

In contrast, while Oppenheimer argues that education should not be free because this promotes effort from students, the approach to this issue taken by anarchists is different. The weightiest decision is to educate and provide a favourable environment for the younger generation. Anarchists think miseducation, ignorance, and poverty are the root of crime, and they are social in origin; thus, the basic needs of the young must be satisfied to prevent miseducation (Malatesta, 2014, p. 42). Malatesta continues saying that there should be enough to live on, to guarantee school attendance, and to maximise the exploitation of human capacity (p. 21). "Every individual born is entitled to be reared, fed, and educated technically, comprehensively, and equally by the collective" (p. 8). Only physiological grounds should be responsible for any difference in the potential (p. 35). Education ensures the wellbeing and development of the "useful and happiest adult possible" (p. 41). The anarchist view is to ensure access to education and the environment for it, to prevent

the evils of society, and to promote happiness. Although the result is expected to be the same for the two points of view, the enhanced freedom proposed by anarchists guarantees education for all, which is a responsibility of the collective but not the government.

D. Guide students' preference towards STEM, instead to humanities degrees

As the economic development of a nation strongly depends on technological development, Oppenheimer emphasises on the importance of promoting students' choice in STEM degrees over degrees in the humanities. In most Latin-American countries, students prefer degrees in the humanities over degrees in STEM. Argentina is an example. With 57% of students in the humanities and 16% in STEM, the country graduates more psychologists than engineers (p. 143). Even knowing it is easier to find a job as a computer programmer than holding any other degree, people choose not to study engineering. According to the Dean of Engineering at UBA (University of Buenos Aires), it is a cultural issue, people prefer to study philosophy, literature, or psychology (p. 144). Furthermore, Argentinian universities do not have an admission exam, but they do have a preparatory year, so most of the students enter the university and try out many courses. Given that secondary high school is of low quality in Argentina, most of the students end up choosing the humanities (p. 148). As a result of this disparity, Argentina does not report any patents related to research in its universities (p. 143). In contrast, countries that have recently achieved economic development, assign quotas to degrees. In China, for example, there is one student of humanities for every 75 students of engineering (p. 6) partly due to quotas. In Chile, student quotas account for one student in the humanities vs. six in engineering (p. 112). And in Singapore, more student places are deliberately allocated to science and engineering at the state's university (p. 58). Other ways governments influence career decisions indirectly are through subsidies and exceptions. In Israel, for instance, innovation is heavily subsidised by government agencies; therefore, young people choose to study engineering to demonstrate their capacity for innovation and to be able to access funding for their start-ups (pp. 95-100). Another example is the software industry in India, which is tax exempt (p. 66); therefore, engineering graduates can access more competitive salaries from industries in software than in other sectors (p. 73).

Three issues are raised in this context that are analogous to anarchist thinking: (a) the importance of education in science and technology; (b) the need to ensure subsistence before studying; and (c) the issue of freedom of choice, in this case, the degree choice. On the first issue, Malatesta agrees with Oppenheimer's idea, and in the last two, the anarchist view is different than the one presented by Oppenheimer. Science is the way to advance in solving economic problems (Malatesta, [1891] 1999, sec. 3). In fact, science is not only the means but also the end; the ideal world is a world with access to freedom, bread, and science (Malatesta, 2014, p. 244). But Malatesta wonders how science can be preached when there is poverty (p. 31). It's also a concern expressed by the Palermo Congress, saying that "he who does not have enough to live on, is in no position to go to school" (p. 21). This reasoning led to the proposal contained in the Principles of the Neapolitan Federation that "Every individual born is entitled to be reared, fed, and educated technically;" furthermore, it is stated that the collective has the duty to guarantee freedom of choice (p. 8). Malatesta, as signee of those principles, noticed that this is because necessity, most surely economic, constrains free choice (p. 126). The achievement of anarchy means the voluntary attainment of free choice in how people wish to live (p. 172). Furthermore, the state of wellbeing in men is the result of not only work, barter, travel…but also study "without feeling the need for somebody to tell them how to behave" (Malatesta E., [1891] 1999, sec. 6). In anarchism, freedom of choice supersedes society´s interests, and in the anarchist ideal, in the end, the result of freedom is the wellbeing of society.

IV. On organisational ethics

Regarding the ethics of education and innovation for development, three themes are important. First, the implementation and improvement of meritocracy; second, constant monitoring; and third, giving recognition for achievements.

A. Choose meritocracy over tribalism

In 2009, the Competitive Report of the Economic World Forum said that what was holding back Mexico's academic development was the syndicate of schoolteachers. The syndicate is large, well organised, determinant in presidential elections, and, according to Oppenheimer, does not implement corrections to improve transparency in administration. Oppenheimer proposes

to focus on improving meritocracy for professorships and elevating the quality of the teachers as a way to enhance the economic development of Latin-America (p. 206), following the example of India's educational revolution, which involved the implementation of meritocracy in many aspects (p. 68). Analogously, Israel, as a country whose economic development involves improving innovation, chooses the principals of state's universities by means of contests; in the country, principals and deans demonstrate experience in the private sector because the country aims to promote entrepreneurship (p. 211). Likewise, when Chilean President Piñera decided to select his ministerial cabinet, he did not choose his people based on political favours; instead, he looked for people with an outstanding professional trajectory, a public service vocation, and who had graduated from prestigious European and American universities (pp. 125-126). Another example is that of the Brazilian company Embraer, which started as a public company, but almost went bankrupt in the seventies after its privatisation. When it decided to update its workforce by choosing its personnel based on their professional competence, the company systematically succeeded economically (p. 136).

Correspondingly, the discussion on the need for meritocracy in Latin-American institutions is about the objective and fair treatment of people. Equally, this issue is relevant for the voluntaristic organisations proposed by anarchism. For example, Malatesta recognised there is a bias towards familiarity and a need for objectivity: defining patriotism, he said, is the love of birthplace and the preference for the local, "…as long as those preferences do not blind us to the merits of others and to our own shortcomings" (Malatesta, 2014, sec. 47). Tribalism is frequent in Latin-American institutions, as Robinson & Acemoglu (2012) relate; choosing tribalism over meritocracy is one of the factors that keeps countries from developing in Latin-America and Africa. An anarchic organisation based on trust and personal relationships will need a greater deal of control to prevent corruption and disintegration. Paskewich (2014) also anticipates issues for anarchist groups in understanding and managing merit, as well as deciding the best approach to organise. While meritocracy imposed by the government has been sufficient to ensure competence, the discussion brought in anarchism towards the sustainability of organisations not based on merit.

B. Keep constant monitoring

Constant monitoring is necessary to assess performance. Oppenheimer defends a culture of evaluation of students´ and teachers´ standards alike.

This is done by applying standardised, international tests. Latin-American universities have exceptionally low international standardised test rankings. In the PISA tests, for instance, Latin-American countries occupy the worst positions. We identify three types of monitoring proposed by Oppenheimer: (i) a culture of evaluation, (ii) evaluation for selection, and (iii) constant monitoring. The application of international standardised tests such as the TIMSS math test is ideal. In the TIMSS, Colombia and Chile are at the bottom of the list (p. 11), but at least they appear in the ranking, unlike most Latin-American countries. The problem lies in the lack of effective evaluation, control, and monitoring; e.g., in Argentina, the UBA university has resisted external programme quality evaluations (p. 151), which has impeded diagnosis and the application of improvement plans. On the contrary, in China, there is a large qualifying exam to enter the university called *Gaokao* (p. 88). While in India, the IIT has a rigorous selection process for accepted applicants; it only accepts one in 130 (p. 69). In Singapore, education is geared towards rigorous examinations in primary school. Such examination is extended to teachers´ knowledge (pp. 50-51). In India, the culture of examination goes back even to kindergartens, where there are demanding entrance exams (p. 75). On the same line, constant monitoring allows educational systems to correct their pathways. For example, Brazil publicises their results in the PISA tests to identify the municipalities that need more investment and attention (p. 133). Finland even implemented a computer programme that connects teachers, parents, and students, to track students´ progress so teachers can adjust work structures to improve performance in international assessment tests (pp. 30, 35). Furthermore, Colombia improved education, both in primary schools and in universities, by applying continuous examinations (p. 200). Oppenheimer argues for the implementation of an economic indicator of education in Latin-American countries, that measures the quantity and quality of education (pp. 204-205).

The authors, again, coincide in that evaluation, or monitoring, as Malatesta named it, is deemed indispensable. Nonetheless, anarcho-collectivists have a two-fold approach to monitoring. On the one hand, Malatesta does acknowledge the need of performance monitoring for bureaucrats and government officials in a democracy (Malatesta, 1995, p. 73); on the other, he thinks constant monitoring of the executive committee of a syndicate would render the committee inoperable (Malatesta, 1995, p. 99). Analogously, in an authoritarian school system, constant examination would render the learning process inoperable, because students and teachers would be dedicated to the examination process instead of the learning process. For instance, Finland produces the most educated students, with some of the highest test results

focusing not on examination but on specialised teachers for students who need them the most, and on continuous self-monitoring using technological aids such as the "Wilma" programme that connects parents-teachers-and-students (Oppenheimer, 2018, p. 34-35). Regarding the monitoring of pedagogy, Malatesta suggests the adoption of a constant-monitoring, evidence-based method for deciding the education of children when he says, "[T]he method for educating children will be whichever experiences [the] best results…" (Malatesta, 2014, p. 41). While we have provided three examples of monitoring that are autonomous in nature from anarchism and away from government initiative, we pointed out that those alternatives are available without the need for authoritarian direction.

C. To give recognition to professorship

Oppenheimer also endorses the idea of giving recognition to professorships. This comes in two forms: public recognition as status and dignifying remuneration. He presents the example of Finland: the country pays its professors highly on the salary scale of their society, and they enjoy significant social recognition. Furthermore, they choose potential candidates for professorships as soon as they graduate from university, so society knows professors are the most academically capable. In Singapore, the economic remuneration of teachers is significantly higher than the average salaries (pp. 51-52), and in India, all tenured professors must hold a doctorate degree to teach. This is appreciated by society as well (p. 76). Regarding the need for recognition, Oppenheimer advises giving professors a better salary at the start of their careers (p. 207), offering bonuses for teachers subject to academic performance (p. 208), and rewarding people who win worldwide academic contests (pp. 209-210).

The importance of social recognition and the acknowledgement of dignity to academics is also relevant for anarchist thinking. Malatesta discusses the importance of recognising the dignity of manual labour in comparison to more "pleasant" jobs in an anarchist society ([1884] 2022, p. 14). He even recognises that some professors, among other professions, can live in comfort, while some others, along with "compositors, bricklayers, shoemakers, [and] all sorts of [other] hand-workers" of his time, were half-starved. In anarchism, human consciousness and dignity can be attained by means of material comfort, and fraternal treatment (Malatesta, 2014, p. 250), raising the value of life, encouraging activity and enterprise, respecting individuals, and whatever

natural or voluntary associations into which men may enter (p. 273). This activity is a civilising one, according to the author. Furthermore, in a recent piece, Scott (2012) praises the capacity of anarchist systems to achieve the dignification of work. In this discussion, once again, Oppenheimer finds common ground with anarchism. Yet, in the anarchist ideal, not only material comfort but also respect and fraternal treatment are important.

V. On collaboration and association

To improve collaboration and cooperation for economic development, Oppenheimer recommends fostering entrepreneurship in academia, encouraging internationalisation and forming advocacy groups.

A. Foster entrepreneurship through collaboration

Some countries aim to drive economic development by reforming education, while Israel does it by promoting innovation and entrepreneurship. Israel does it by adopting a cultural strategy regarding entrepreneurship and a collaboration strategy regarding universities. First, Israel has a culture of social acceptance of start-ups, and the most relevant part of this acceptance of entrepreneurship is the acceptance of failure. A prerequisite for propelling entrepreneurship is that Israeli society strives to be non-hierarchical, encourages people to take risks and not be afraid of ridicule and failure. Second, the country promotes research collaboration between academia and private companies to foster innovation. The experience of countries that have successfully built an innovation environment, such as Israel, shows that it is necessary to create an institution dedicated to its promotion. At the state level, the country has created an agency dedicated to identifying research projects with commercial potential (p. 103). It has also identified an opportunity to insert itself in the knowledge economy, by marketing, branding, and developing products (p. 24). Tel Aviv University, for example, has teamed up with several start-ups dedicated to helping in the development and commercialization of innovation-related projects, and at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, there is a company that supports professors during patent registration.

The anarchist position is similar regarding collaboration and division of labour, but association between private organisations and public universities is not imaginable in an anarchist environment, given that entrepreneurs are

focused on property rights and tend to express hostility towards "anarchist ideas" (Riot, 2014, p. 824). Meanwhile, the need for combining free action and cooperation is important for anarchists (Malatesta, 2014, p. 365). Collaboration and the division of labour are fundamental in anarchist organisations, given the preference for horizontal organisations instead of vertical hierarchies. The division of labour would lead to mutual aid (Vieta, 2021, p. 803), "no man can do everything for himself and poor results from labour could affect everyone," while delegation of roles and trusting others is the anarchist approach (Malatesta, 2014, p. 168). Also, large-scale projects, technical direction, and administration—such as the one described in Israeli universities—need the assignment of individual roles (p. 109). This division of labour requires complete reciprocation (p. 36) and solidarity (p. 100). Furthermore, new technological developments, like new roads, production processes, and the satisfaction of consumer needs, require the distribution of tasks and work (p. 36). In turn, in a voluntarist organisation, we should gear economic production towards "well-being for all," by "giving society the greatest number of useful products with the least waste of human energy" (Wigger, 2014, p. 745). Again, the position in anarchism regarding collaboration relies more on individual and collective collaboration than of state intervention, as suggested by the example of Israel.

B. Encourage internationalization

Oppenheimer puts forward some impactful ideas for academia, such as establishing English as a second and universal language, international student mobility, and cooperation among universities in different countries. All have the underlying idea of a universal language and the aim of transfering knowledge. For example, all Chinese students must pass an enabling English exam to enter the university; Finland and Singapore institutionalised English language in education (p. 48); in India, which is the largest English-speaking country in the world (p. 64), primary schools teach in English (p. 75), and the language is mandatory for all teachers (p. 78); and in Chile, where Spanish is the only official language, university students must take a minimum number of classes in English (p. 114). The impulse to study abroad is also critical for development. China encourages the best students to do their postgraduate degrees abroad. The same goes for India (p. 72). About 84,000 Indians have graduated from American universities (p. 66). Singapore invests in sending students to universities in western developed countries (pp. 49-50) and in bringing foreign students to their own universities (p. 51). Something similar happens in Brazil, luring foreign students to their universities. Similarly,

with the rise of the price of the commodities in the 2000s, Chile invested in education, offering scholarships for postgraduate studies overseas (p. 110). India also gives scholarships to their best students to study abroad, even if that means the risk of them not returning to the country (pp. 70, 110). Another way to promote internationalisation is to build connections between universities: China, India, and Singapore invite U.S. universities to operate in their countries (p. 50). Another way is to cooperate with foreign universities: the National University of Singapore has sixty-six programmes in conjunction with foreign universities (p. 57); and the Indian Institute of Technology in Kharagpur has a curriculum based on MIT's programmes with professors imported from the United States (p. 68).

Here, once again, Oppenheimer's position and anarchism meet at the intersection of "the boundaryless" world. The anarchist view would be a borderless freedom of association, and the autonomy of local governments would help promote internationalisation. We remember the Neapolitan Workers' Federation constitution, where Malatesta signed "the cause of labour recognises no borders, has no fatherland other than the world … [but] the precepts of freedom and autonomy" (Malatesta, 2014, p. 8). In fact, *the International Working Men´s Association* was an organisation that harboured a faction of the anarchists Malatesta identified with, and it had an international outreach with the intention of joining workers regardless of their nation (Malatesta, [1884] 2022, pp. 23-25). In their words "…the International wanted to see all men amalgamated into a huge, organic whole –humanity–" (Malatesta, 2014, p. 36). Furthermore, Malatesta talks about human mobility as the key to the improvement of wellbeing by means of bringing people together "in a tighter single body whose parts can only find fulfilment and freedom to develop through [the]wellbeing of the other constituent parts as well as of the whole." (Malatesta, [1891] 1999, p. 15). Again, while collaboration between universities in different countries and internationalisation are libertarian ideas, anarchism proposes the obliteration of nations, enhancing freedom and autonomy.

C. Organise NGO advocacy groups

The cooperation of both the private and public sectors to compel governments to improve education is an initiative proposed by Oppenheimer. The idea comes from the experiences of Israel and Brazil (p. 204). Forty-five percent of Israel's population holds a professional title, and it is the country with the highest number of academic publications (p. 109). Yet, the fastest-growing segments

of the population in Israel are the Arab-Israelis and the ultra-Orthodox Jewish population. These groups resist the teaching of mathematics and English at school, so they cannot insert themselves in the workforce. Some consider Israel to be an underdeveloped country for that reason (p. 107). There was cooperation among the public, academia, and industry, which founded an NGO called *Hakol Jinuj,* "education is everything." The NGO tries to improve the quality of public education in Israel. Their premises are: (1) private education is a threat to cultural and social solidarity; (2) make professors a priority for the country; (3) adopt a country wide curriculum emphasising English and Math; (4) ensure that the poorer schools receive more funding, (5) empower the school directors to make decisions regarding quality education objectives. An analogous situation has happened in Brazil. There, the private sector, public, and government joined forces to improve education and leadership, forming a movement (pp. 128-129). They put pressure on the government to improve education; the effect has been so significant that the government eventually copied the movement into a national programme (p. 130).

Finally, the biggest coincidence between Oppenheimer and the anarcho-collectivists is the idea of creating a collaboration among the public sector, industry, academia, and the private sector in an NGO that works as an advocacy group to improve education. As an idea, the involvement of a pluralistic political movement that gathers the interest in education at the intersections of all concerns, is in line with Malatesta's programme for education (Malatesta, 2014, p. 40-43). We have mentioned in other parts of this text what anarchists think about teaching science and the dignity of teaching work. As we are ending this article, we will briefly mention the anarchist thought regarding public education, solidarity, and autonomy. Anarchists asked themselves the question of who would take care of public education in the absence of the state. They answered it in the same way as they did in Israel. When the state is prevented from providing quality education, the solidarity of the people will take care of public schooling (Malatesta, [1891] 1999, p. 17). The next issue raised on the Israeli NGO is social solidarity. The quest for solidarity is also an aim agreed upon by anarchists. Although imperfect, when not forced, solidarity is the norm, and the effort of anarchism is to look for perfect solidarity (Malatesta, [1884] 2022, p. 25).

The final issue we would like to raise regarding the anarchist organisation is autonomy. NGOs strive for a non-standardised administration and give more power and autonomy to the principals of each school. The most relevant characteristic behind an "anarchist organisation [is that it] must allow for

complete autonomy and independence, and therefore full responsibility, [for] individuals and groups" (Malatesta, 1897). As we have presented in all the titles, every initiative presented by Oppenheimer has an alternative, if not explicitly contemplated by Malatesta, paralleled in voluntaristic, autonomous, organisations. Therefore, undermining the need for a governmental authority that makes decisions regarding education and innovation.

VI. Reflections and projections

We have shown in this article that the most valuable asset in an organisation (or, in fact, a nation) is its human capital, as opposed to natural resources or technology; therefore, the most logical way to increase economic wealth is to develop talent. We also discovered that every member of the family should actively participate in the education of children by nurturing and helping the formation effort, but the collective society has the duty to provide the most favourable environmental conditions for the development of children's capacities. Three implications are identified among our findings: that education should be a full-time undertaking for children as it is the creation of wealth for adults; that play and education of children should be undifferentiable, see also Osejo-Bucheli (2022a) for a discussion on ludics; and finally, that scientific and technical education should be conveyed in day-to-day interactions, in such a way that anyone could aspire to a life dedicated to science.

We discussed the importance of meritocratic job selection, as it is the only way to assure competence in work positions. We identified that, in small organisations as those of anarchism, the bias for familiarity could pollute meritocracy. We have also evidence that syndicates in some countries in Latin-America have been detrimental for meritocracy and competence. These ideas imply the need for programmes of knowledge development in parallel with the growth of the voluntaristic or autonomic organisation, to prevent bias, increase competence, and maintain meritocracy.

We also presented the idea of constant monitoring at all levels of the organisation. We showed that organisations must embrace a culture of evaluation to maintain constant monitoring. The implication related to this idea for autonomous organisations is the possibility of promoting the spontaneous formation of groups dedicated to monitoring and auditing. This would result in increased transparency in management.

The final idea regarding organisational ethics is the social recognition of education-related professions. The implication of the recognition of professorship is that which facilitates the entrance of people who value social recognition in the profession despite the financial remuneration. Likewise, we discussed the idea of choosing the best alumni to continue a career in academia as soon as they graduate. The implications of this are that professors and trainers will always be the most diligent students, and those who oversee knowledge management are those who have demonstrated great competence in academia.

On collaboration, we presented that, in general terms, organisations should identify their strategic objectives and collaborate towards their achievement; universities can and should collaborate with private companies in product and technology development. Collaboration allows peers to specialise and deliver more competitive products and services. An alternative form of collaboration is internationalisation; for this, we showed the importance of a shared language. All these suggestions presented by Oppenheimer for the economic development of Latin-American countries point towards the anarchist ideal of borderless federative organisations.

In the article, we have shown how Oppenheimer suggests establishing NGOs that act as curators of the quality of education and as advocacy groups for the government in the generation of policies that improve education. The implication of this idea is, again, the vindication of anarchist activism in the economic development of a nation and the improvement of education. Activism is a significant part of anarchist history and theory. And we are presented with a new way to see activism, because if activism is formalised through NGOs, it has the expectation of not being socially rejected but respected and publicly supported.

Further studies

Regarding future research on people and culture, it would be interesting for academics in management-related fields to study both the wealth and wellbeing creation by education in cooperative organisations and, in a more general way, in the economic sciences, the wealth and wellbeing creation by education in a country. Another line of research could be in the field of behavioural economics, to explore the idea of education as a reward for effort. A final research idea regarding people and culture in behavioural sciences could explore how to guide students to STEM degrees in Latin-America peacefully and without coercion.

Regarding organisation, management, and ethics, a research idea we can feed the discussion with is how to recognise fairness, remuneration, and compensation, in voluntary organisations and cooperatives.

In therms of collaboration and association, we identified some research opportunities that we would like to point out in the management sciences. Based on the experience we discussed concerning education in Finland, it would be interesting to research the process and effects of the involvement of arts and aesthetics in management. Another relevant line of research related to our study in behavioural economics could be the transfer of ethical standards related to academic mobility. A third and final idea regarding collaboration in the fields of political sciences and law would be the voluntary organisation for taking responsibilities in education and their collaboration with academia.

Acknowledgements

References

Burrell, G., & Morgan, G. (1979). *Sociological Paradigms and Organisational Analysis.* Hants: Ashgate.

Fiala, A. (2021, 03 21). *Anarchism*. Retrieved from The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Winter 2021 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.),: https://n9.cl/fsmxc

Gadamer, H.-G. ([1960] 1999). *Truth and Method. trans. Joel Weinsheimer and Donald Marshall.* New York: Continuum.

Godrej, F. (2009). Towards a Cosmopolitan Political Thought: The Hermeneutics of Interpreting the Other. *Polity 41(2)*, 135–165.

Hajer, M. A. (1993). *The argumentative turn in policy analysis and planning.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Lijphart, A. (1971). Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method. *The American Political Science Review, (65),3*, 682-693. Retrieved from https://n9.cl/dhfvn

Malatesta, E. ([1884], 2022). *Between Peasants: A Dialogue on Anarchy. Thoughtcrimeink. com.* Elephant Editions. Retrieved from https://n9.cl/vfknjs

Malatesta, E. ([1891]1999). *Anarchy* (1st ed.). Los Angeles: ICC.

Malatesta, E. (1897). *Anarchism and Organization*. Retrieved 11 5, 2022, from The Anarchist Library: https://n9.cl/o8mhf

Malatesta, E. (2014). *The method of freedom.* AK Press.

Malatesta, E. (2015). *Life and Ideas: The Anarchist Writings of Errico Malatesta, (Vernon Richard, ed.).* Oackland: PM Press.

Maltesta, E. (1995). *The anarchist revolution, Polemical Articles 1924-1931.* Freedom Press. Retrieved from https://scholar.google.com/scholar_url?url=https://mirror.anarhija.net/usa.anarchistlibraries.net/mirror/e/em/errico-malatesta-the-anarchist-revolution.a4.pdf&hl=es&sa=T&oi=gsb-gga&ct=res&cd=1&d=14506922154536115936&ei=tH2uYay-LsySy9YP_K2EwAs&scisig=AAGBf

Marx, K. ([1859] 1972). A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy. In *The Marx-Engels ed. Robert C. Tucker, 2nd ed.* (pp. 3–6). New York: Norton.

Mill, J. S. ([1843] 1974). *"A System of Logic, Raciocinative and Inductive." In The Collected Works of John Stuart Mill VII, ed. John M. Robson.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Oppenheimer, A. (2018). *Basta ya de historias, la obsesión de latinoamérica con el pasado y las 12 claves para le futuro.* (1st. ed.). Buenos Aires: debolsillo.

Osejo-Bucheli, C. (2021, 02 20). Hacia una filosofía de la administración centrada en el caracter. *Revista de Filosofía, 98(2),* 715-743. https://doi.org/10.5281/ZENODO.5528973

Osejo-Bucheli, C. (2022a). Theory evaluation and formulation: a reply to Ludic Theory through A.N.Whitehead´s Aesthetic Experience. *Philosophy of Management.* doi:https://doi.org/10.1007/s40926-022-00194-4

Osejo-Bucheli, C. (2022b). Hallazgos epistemológicos en la investigación en gestión aplicando la crítica inmanente, desde el humanismo al currículo humanista. *Revista GEON 9(1)*, -en impresión-. doi: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6712-6228

Osejo-Bucheli, C. (2023). Contributions to anarchist-cybernetics, identifying committee directorates in Errico Malatesta's theory: content analysis using dynamic causal diagrams and viable system modelling. *Kybernetes.*, ahead-of-print. doi: https://doi.org/10.1108/K-07-2022-0944

Osejo-Bucheli, C. (2023c). Whiteheadian Experience in Beer's Cybernetic Model: Policy-making in Cooperative Societies. *Philosophy of Management.* doi:10.1007/s40926-023-00235-6

Paskewich, J. (2014). Rethinking organizational hierarchy,management, and the nature of work with Peter Drucker and Colin Ward. *ephemera, 14(4)*, 659-672. Retrieved from http://www.ephemerajournal.org/issue/management-business-anarchism

Riot, E. (2014). 'Anarchy by the book? Forget about it!'. *ephemera 14(4)*, 811-834. Retrieved from http://www.ephemerajournal.org/issue/management-business-anarchism

Robinson, J. A., & Acemoglu, D. (2012). *Why nations fail: The origins of power, prosperity and poverty.* London: Profile. Retrieved from https://n9.cl/p6p4o

Scott, J. (2012). *Two cheers for anarchism: six easy pieces on autonomy, dignity, and meaningful work and play.* Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press.

Silverman, D. (1970). *The Theory o f Organisations.* London: Heinemann.

Simon, J. (2020). Institutions, ideologies, and comparative political theory. *Perspectives on Politics, 18(2)*, 423-438. doi: https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592719001178

Stirner, M. ([1907]1995). *Stirner: the ego and its own.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Vieta, M. (2021). The stream of self-determination and autogestión. *ephemera 14(4)*, 781-810. Retrieved from https://n9.cl/tfv3b