

Teaching to think: Challenges and suitability of teaching inequality topics in a business school

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Abstract

This article explores the teaching of inequality in economics through two case studies. By employing a critical pedagogical approach that discusses non-dominant forms of knowledge, we demonstrate how two inequality topics – gender and trade – provide a platform for rethinking standard forms of economic and social knowledge. A detailed analysis of two modules, *Political Economy* and *International Trade and Multinational Business*, reveals an openness and interest in real world examples and active learning methods. Through these, student responses indicate an emerging acceptance and positive response to topics of inequality as the basis for critical thinking. Nevertheless, students also indicate frustration with the difficulty in matching the real world to current theoretical frameworks, and the uncertainty that critical pedagogical approaches point to. The findings also suggest that improved knowledge of different empirical approaches may be useful to focus student interest and address areas of frustration during the process of learning.

Keywords: Teaching Economics; Inequality; Critical Pedagogy; Educational Philosophy; Pluralism; Political Economy; Gender; International Trade; Labour; Real World Examples.

Introduction

The 2008 global financial crisis was also a moment of potential crisis for the economics discipline. Some argue that these issues derive from a dogmatic insistence by the economic mainstream¹ to rely on a limited set of mathematical and statistical methods or theoretical tools (Lawson, 1997), leading to an ‘illiteracy’ among economics students (Morgan, 2014). Others claim that the discipline’s excessively technical language and rationale has created a world of unrealistic models (Mäki, 2009), or even a fake sense of superiority among economists (Fourcade et al., 2015). Student calls for more pluralism in economics (see *inter alia* the Post-Crash Economics Society (2011), Rethinking Economics (2013) and ISIPE (2014)) show that the crisis has triggered a rethinking from economics educators (Reteaching Economics, 2015) into reconsidering what should be incorporated into the classroom.

This article explores the teaching of inequality in economics by analysing two modules taught at undergraduate level (years 2 and 3) in a business school. These case studies presented in Table 1 (section 2, below) enable us to reflect on the challenges and opportunities of bringing different perspectives on inequality into the teaching of economics. First, we consider how the recent economic crisis and its following criticism towards the teaching of economics provides the space for allowing alternative pedagogical practices, mainly active and critical forms of learning. We argue that the teaching of inequality responds more satisfactorily to the objectives and methods of “critical pedagogy” (Freire, 1970; hooks, 1994), insofar as it deploys key possibilities for presenting non-dominant forms of knowledge, debates, context and power relations. More specifically, it provides the space to situate certain theoretical constructs with more diverse empirical evidences, as well as more subjective individual student experiences. These help to both anchor student understanding and to draw out the practical relevance of critical and evidence-based analysis.

Secondly, the two case studies presented in this article contribute to the need to rethink the teaching of inequality within economics by revealing some important challenges. For instance, the inequality topics covered in the two case studies still remain isolated and discrete despite their relevance across multiple theoretical and empirical themes. Student responses to teaching inequality vary from frustration to satisfaction as the critical aspects raise unanswered questions but simultaneously connect more closely to the real world. The two case studies reveal a significant learning process during which students gradually overcome these frustrations and develop an understanding of the need to explain reality and the limitations of dominant theoretical paradigms associated with neoclassical economics.

Comparing the two case studies (teaching modules) indicates an interesting variety of similarities and differences. First, key similarities include the heterogeneity of the student body in terms of background and degree studied. The critical and active

¹ This article adopts the classification of ‘mainstream’ and ‘neoclassical’ as suggested by Colander, Holt and Rosser (2004), and Dequech (2007). For them, ‘neoclassical economics’ represents the school of thought based on the assumptions of full rationality, utility maximisation, and equilibrium; and ‘mainstream economics’ represents the set of ideas that (i) have prestige and influence in academia; (ii) are taught in the most prestigious schools, (iii) are published in the most prestigious journals; (iv) the ideas that get funding from the main research foundations. In this article, we assume that the current ‘mainstream’ is defined by the principles of neoclassical economics.

teaching methods, as well as the combination of theoretical and empirical content, also represent important similarities. Instead of embracing the traditional pedagogical approach led by mainstream economics, where theory is presented and then highlighted with evidences, the critical pedagogical approach used starts by presenting students with a real-world example, which is then explored through theoretical constructs and information. This allows for a review of the ways in which theory and methodologies to collect data shape our understanding of the real world, which goes beyond the deductive/inductive dichotomy. Both courses are taught within a business school setting to students primarily interested in working in private for-profit sector rather than in government or non-government organisations. The degree structure is not designed to attract students with any particular interest in inequality or related subjects such as the economics of developing countries, gender or poverty. The participants for both courses include students undertaking a BA/BSc Economics or BA in Business & Economics. Both modules are optional components of the degrees.

Secondly, the main differences include the total number of students across years 2 and 3, as the total cohort number in the year 2 course is twice as large as the year 3. Another difference could be seen to arise from the acquired learning and understanding rather than from the background or degree of study. It could be argued that students at level 3 may find it easier to grasp the theoretical critique and deal with complex empirical evidence more effectively. The difference in overall cohort sizes may also be less significant in that teaching is done through a combination of lectures² for larger groups, but allowing for individual active participation for example through quizzes and tutorials where numbers are restricted to a maximum of 25. A key driver for selecting these two courses also reflects the perception of the content being taught. The *Political Economy* course is perhaps more likely to be perceived to present inequality-related content whereas the *International Trade and Multinational Business* may be perceived as less likely to contain inequality-related topics. The latter course is also offered across more degree structures including BA Economics as well as BA in Business and Economics. These arguably results in a more varied group in terms of background, interests and prior economic knowledge (see Table 2 for details and a sample degree structure).

The experiences across the courses provide a platform for exploring four educational characteristics. First, the courses offer insight into teaching inequality within a setting that both introduces and criticises mainstream economic thinking. Second, they provide a perspective into teaching inequality through a combination of theoretical debate and real world evidence. Third, the subtopics of labour and gender provide the context for exploring the multiple dimensions and occurrences of inequality, for example in the case of developing countries, and questioning the validity of standard theories, types of evidence and dominant methodologies. Fourth, the role of active learning supported by critical pedagogy presents new opportunities to connect with individual student experiences and knowledge (as well as highlight the practical relevance of these topics and debates within them). These four educational

² As per the structure of UK academia, classes are run in two main complementary formats: lectures, in which the educator presents and discusses the main concepts in class, and tutorials (seminars), which correspond to a student-led session usually constituted by problem-solving, group discussion and other small-group activities that complement the concepts presented in the lecture.

characteristics allow us to interrogate the interaction between topics of inequality and critical pedagogical approaches.

The article reviews the similarities and differences in across the two-case studies and looks at the challenges as well as the opportunities for rethinking both the theoretical content as well as the educational approaches relevant to the teaching of inequality. Moreover, they point to the importance of formalising and consolidating inequality within the teaching curriculum. The originality of such discussion relies on two main aspects. First, this study provides an application of the critical pedagogical method to demonstrate how the teaching and discussion of inequalities in economics can be stimulated via critical-active learning in two economics modules of different levels. Secondly, it demonstrates that even though the broader topic of inequality manifests in a range of ways with different nuances and facets across economics sub-topics, students tend to respond positively to such discussions when combined with active and critical pedagogical practices that stimulate the rethinking of pre-conceptualised models and norms. What is less well known is the extent to which the two aspects of critical pedagogy: debating dominant theoretical frameworks and active learning have different, but complementary roles within the students' learning trajectory. Third, much of the debate has been within a juxtaposition of mainstream against alternative theories. For example, Lavoie (2015), and McDonough (2012) in this journal discuss the challenges of teaching heterodox economics in contrast to mainstream neoclassical views. This paper builds on these views by identifying the need to shift away from this black and white juxtaposition and to contextualise learning about theoretical debate and empirical analysis within themes that cut not only across multiple theoretical topics but also across multiple countries and real-world economic problems.

Inequality, as the state of being unequal in relation to status, rights and opportunities, manifests itself in different economic forms and different social contexts. More specifically, the UN (2015, p. 1) incorporates a distinction between “inequality of opportunities” and “inequality of outcomes in the material dimensions of wellbeing...that may be the result of circumstances beyond one's control (ethnicity, family background, gender and so on). Currently, inequality features as a set of topics or lectures within a debate focused primarily on growth, profits, industrialisation, wealth accumulation and, in some cases, income distribution. The evidence suggests that a broader review of the underlying themes is overdue and that inequality itself could be an overarching theme for exploring and explaining trends and developments in the real world. A second important finding points to relevance of inequality issues across many (if not all) aspects of economics modules in the sense that inequality enables us to teach and criticise theories/evidences from a different approach.

The article is structured as follows: section 1 briefly revises the principles of critical pedagogy and its connections to pluralist economics, emphasising forms of non-mainstream teaching. Section 2 presents the two case studies of teaching inequality through gender and labour. This includes an overview and description of the challenges and opportunities for teaching inequality, as well as the student reactions and experiences. Section 3 discusses the comparative findings drawing on both case studies. This explores the complementarity between topics of inequality and critical pedagogy to connect both academic content, evidence and student experiences. Section 4 presents the main conclusions on the topic, highlighting the overlap

between using a critical pluralist approach, focusing on themes of inequality, and employing real world examples and evidence.

1. Critical Pedagogy and pluralism in economics

The economic crisis of 2007/8 has promoted a rethinking on the ways economics is taught and learned in the classroom. Despite the claims that most economists have neglected educational goals and/or have advocated an ‘instrumentalist’ view of education – in which its primary goals are employability and technical ability to apply formulae or techniques – (Clarke and Mearman, 2004), recent movements from students and educators³ call for new teaching and learning experiences towards an critical view of economics as a social science that proposes an examination of the complexities surrounding the processes of social provisioning. This would include, for instance, the structure and use of resources, the structure and change of social wants, structure of production and the reproduction of the business enterprise, family, state, and other relevant institutions and organisations, and distribution. In addition, heterodox economists extend their theory to examining issues associated with the process of social provisioning, such as racism, gender, and ideologies and myths (Lee, 2009). Pluralism entails going beyond teaching opposing theories and perspectives, but rather understanding the scope and limitations of each single approach.

This section revises key concepts from the critical perspective of education, highlighting its pedagogical project of the awakening of critical consciousness through investigation. First, it acknowledges the socio-political dimension of economics, including ethics, culture and a social conscience as characteristics of a critical economist. Secondly, it connects critical pedagogy to two complementary elements: the defence of a pluralist curriculum in economics; and the use of active processes of learning in which the student actively participates and engages him/herself in a process of self-transformation.

Critical pedagogy (CP) has been championed by, for example the Brazilian Freire (1970) and hooks (1994). Critical pedagogy has Marxist roots, particularly in critical theory, including a rejection of modernist (Enlightenment) education. Freire (ibid) advocates against the concept of “banking education”, seen as ‘monological’ and constituted by teachers’ views of the world (Beckett, 2013), in which knowledge is seen as a property of the teacher, and the process of education is conceived a transaction in which educators ‘deposit’ their knowledge in students.

A liberalising education founded in CP, by contrast, is dialogical, problem-posing and constituted by students’ views of the world. CP has its roots in economic inequality, aiming to liberate the excluded and the oppressed from traditional education systems via a process of self-empowerment and transformation (Visano, 2016). For critical pedagogues, it emphasises a student-centered approach stressing the critical evaluation and re-evaluation of common concepts via a process of conscientisation. It presupposes students’ abilities to think critically about their own situations and their role in society. As Freire (1970, p. 66) argues, through CP students “come to see the world not as a static reality, but as a reality in process”. In addition, the content of the

³ See for instance, *Rethinking Economics* (www.rethinkeconomics.org), *The Post-Crash Economics Society* (www.post-crasheconomics.com) and *Reteaching Economics* (<http://reteacheconomics.org>).

curriculum should change its emphasis to stress the contributions of oppressed groups, allowing, for instance, the teaching of theories and topics not frequently discussed in some field of knowledge, such as inequalities in economics.

Consequently, CP would allow the implementation of ‘alternative’ views of knowledge; in economics, this could be deployed via *inter alia* increased pluralism⁴. Some arguments in favour of pluralism include, for instance, ontological claims that there is no single theory that can explain the world (Dow, 1997); epistemological reasons that all theories are fallible (Mearman, 2008); and pedagogical claims that to prepare students, exploring different ways of thinking will prepare them better for real-world experiences, giving them a bigger ‘toolbox’ to understand and tackle economic issues (Mearman et al., 2011).

Indeed, embracing pluralism allows the use of CP, which entails the use of active learning exercises, moving away from the traditional pedagogical paradigm of a teacher-centered approach (Peterson and McGoldrick, 2009). Economics scholars dedicated to the study of pedagogy in economics claim that teaching of pluralism in economics can have a transformative power for students (e.g. Lee 2011; Mearman 2012). Pluralism allows students to gain an understanding of the world and provide an inclusive environment in the classroom, including the exposure to a wider range of economic phenomena and human values underlying economic actions (Peterson and McGoldrick, 2009).

Put differently, a solid engagement with a pluralist curriculum and a critical pedagogical approach can provide a useful acknowledgement of the socio-political dimension of economics, including ethics, culture and a social conscience, as characteristics of a critical economist that is able to discuss topics such as economic, social and gender inequalities. As Visano (2016) suggests, CP goes beyond the simple individual interrogation of texts and the introduction of other forms of thinking. More than that, CP, as Giroux & Giroux (2006, p. 28) claim:

[...] should provide the classroom conditions that provide the knowledge, skills, and culture of questioning necessary for students to engage in critical dialogue with the past, question authority [...] and its effects, struggle with ongoing relations of power, and prepare themselves for what it means to be critical, active citizens in the interrelated local, national, and global public spheres.

Further, CP could create the necessary space for students to question and challenge abstract assumptions of material relations and methodological differences, as well as the underlying power relations in knowledge-informing economic approaches. With the benefit of a pluralist curriculum that acknowledges both mainstream and non-mainstream forms of knowledge, economics educators could embrace a pedagogical framework that considers a critical consciousness about how knowledge is situated in both the content and the narrative – about *what* is talked about, *how* it is talked about and *who* gets to decide (Visano, 2016).

⁴ The debate of the ways of how pluralism is understood are beyond the scope of this article, but a discussion can be found in Negru and Negru (2017).

Indeed, this approach can be beneficial to both economics students and economists in the sense of rethinking the current state of economics. Further, it can increase student self-awareness on the role of economists within society and his/her contribution towards economic growth, development and inequality, particularly now after the financial crisis where ‘monist’ thought (in contrast to ‘pluralist’) has proven to be ineffective.

CP, in practice, embraces techniques of active learning that seek to question and transform current paradigms. These techniques can include, for instance, cooperative and collaborative learning; a problem-posing dialogue that emanates from the experiences of the learners, such as problem-based learning; the eradication of the teacher-student contradiction via the substitution of traditional lecturing to a student-centered classroom; and fostering epistemological curiosity in teachers *and* learners (Fobes and Kaufman, 2008). Noteworthy to point out that although CP embraces active learning as a pedagogical practice to facilitate, rather than indoctrinate, it cannot be simplified or mistaken by recent techniques of the “flipped classroom”. In the age of the neoliberal hegemony, flipped learning represents a dangerous strategy to infantilise students, placate professorial egos, and justify massive spending in technology-based education at the expense of shrinking academic staff (Wright, 2012). Critical pedagogy, on the contrary, represents a challenge to the narrow confines of teaching/educator dichotomy.

When applied to economics, critical pedagogical practices can include, for instance, the adoption of empirical research and the use of non-traditional evidences in teaching that relate to the own student experience and background. For instance, deploying gender and income inequality topics can have a transformative power to students’ conceptions of the functioning of labour markets and income distribution, which clashes with the standard approach in teaching mainstream economics where most economics students do not receive a guide to contending perspectives and highlight disputed areas, but a thoroughly neoclassical training that focuses on pre-determinate solutions (Earl, 2009). Further, in subjective terms, students enjoy debate and see the benefits of both in terms of their personal intellectual development (Mearman et al., 2011). A critical pedagogical approach associated to a pluralist curriculum, however, must be done carefully, as it may confuse or, less frequently, discourage students in learning new approaches and theories.

The next section presents the two case study where inequalities were taught in the classroom from a critical pedagogical approach together with a pluralist economics curriculum. We explore how inequality was introduced in the classroom, demonstrating how different cohorts reacted to new economics materials and to an active and critical pedagogical method.

2. A two-case study analysis of teaching inequalities

The two courses (*Political Economy* and *International Trade and Multinational Business*) were selected as they reflect a range of similarities and differences in teaching inequality. In doing so, they provide a useful platform for considering the challenges in teaching inequality, the areas and teaching approaches that students responded well to, and highlight gaps in the literature on understanding critical

pedagogy and active learning. Table 1 (below) illustrates an overview of the two courses with their main elements and characteristics.

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2.1 Case study 1: Discussing gender inequality in a *Political Economy* module

In 2017, we introduced *Political Economy* to our final-year Economics programs as a semesterised, optional module. This decision was motivated by the desire to deploy alternative teaching methods and to engage our students into critical political and economic thinking as part of their independent learning process, challenging traditional paradigms that involve economic policy-making and political ideology. The syllabus was prepared to cover a pluralist curriculum, including three main core blocks. First, key topics on the history of political economy and different political approaches; secondly, practical application of different political views on issues such as poverty, employment, role of the market, gender and minorities; and lastly the history, politics and mechanics of neoliberalism.

Given this was a new initiative, we decided to adopt a combination of critical pedagogy and independent, active learning. Some topics were purposefully controversial, while others sought to incite ontological and epistemological curiosity from students, such as different political interpretations of gender inequality. The module derives from the main idea that facts and history are filtered through a given individual's perspective, which included the opportunity for students to deconstruct and rethink certain social and political norms, at the same time they engaged into a critical dialogue of how to reconstruct the notion of gender in the light of politics and economics.

Half of the course was structured around an interactive, 'lectorial' style⁵, challenging the traditional dichotomy of lecture/seminar that exists in UK universities. The use of Power Point slides was minimised to stimulate student interaction, together with the use of quick quizzes and speed tasks during the presentation of theories and concepts. 50 percent accounted for a tutorial activity, in which students were asked to share their experiences with gender inequality and discrimination, applying the concepts learned in practice. Specifically, tutorials were run from a student-centered approach, creating the necessary for them to interrogate abstract assumptions of material relations, onto-methodological differences and to question the underlying power relations in the problems discussed.

Gender inequality from a political economy perspective

Lectures and tutorials explored the issue of gender inequality from a critical political economy perspective, stemming from the notion that gender and identity are socially and institutionally constructed.

⁵ A 'lectorial' constitutes an informal lecture-tutorial combination, which proposes a formal presentation of concepts (as in a lecture model) at the same time it allows group discussion and student-led activities (as employed in tutorials).

After a general introduction of the necessity of the study of gender and feminism in political economy (Nelson, 1993), as well as a review of institutions, social constructivism and identity in economics (see *inter alia* Davis and Dolfsma, 2008), the first lecture covered the social nature and the construction of 'gender' as deployed by feminist theories, in which the binary differentiation between 'sex' and 'gender' was put in discussion with the use of (but not limited to) de Beauvoir (1949) and Butler (1990).

The second lecture explored how gender and other forms of social-ethnic inequality transcended into economic reality in the form of wage differentials, pre-designated functions for certain social groups in the labour market (e.g. household and care as predominantly female jobs). More specifically, the lecture addressed critical insights and empirical studies from Feminist Economics. This included a rethinking of standardised economic concepts from a male perspective (such as the *homo economicus*), the re-setting of economic variables such as consumption patterns, labour markets and wages settings with the use of Barker and Kuiper (eds.) (2003), as well as an empirical investigation of the wage gender gap across countries (see McGinnity and McManus, 2007).

Lastly, lecture 3 addressed some policy alternatives to tackle gender inequality from a comparative political economy perspective. Barry Clark's (2012) handbook on comparative political economy was the main reading required, which gave students an overview of the different perspectives of the nature and solutions for gender inequality from a radical, conservative and liberal view. First, the lecture provided a revision of these concepts, later including the use of additional references that addressed policy proposals to tackle gender inequality. Two case studies - The World Bank's *Globalisation and the Gender Wage Gap* (Oostendorp, 2009) and the International Monetary Fund's *Trends in Gender Equality and Women's Advancement* (Stotsky et al., 2016) – were presented to students and analysed critically in terms of its political ideologies, conceptions of gender, policy proposals and potential impacts for the groups studied.

Challenges and difficulties from educator and student perspective

The pedagogical choice involved provided students with the task of critically analyse and challenge concepts and the authority of ideas, based on the principles of critical pedagogy. Tutorial activities represented a complementary activity that discussed and deployed the concepts exposed in the lectures, consisting of a complete free-form flow of ideas.

Students were very uncomfortable with this idea at first. The thought that there are no definitive truths was unsettling for them, especially within the context of social constructions and creation of identities – students were required to understand and challenge concepts and theories, rather than simply memorising them. The theoretical background of students also represented an initial challenge, as most were unfamiliar with concepts from philosophy and social sciences. This demanded a review of core constructivist approaches, as well as main ideas on feminism, gender and economics, which suggests that applying a critical pedagogical approach requires ground preparation first: before making students *criticise* and *challenge* the mainstream, students must be *aware* of what they are criticising. Then, the use of critical

pedagogy allowed the introduction and discussion of ideas that challenge the dominant narratives of standard economics and emphasise the role of political ideology and power on economic decision-making.

By the end of the teaching block on gender inequalities, students found the theories and evidences discussed in class as ‘enlightening’ and ‘very inspiring’. In tutorial activities learners were encouraged to share their opinions and experiences with the conception of gender and discrimination, trying to connect and deconstruct their pre-existing views and provide critical views to the discussions in the classroom. Comments by the students also suggested that exploring gender inequalities from a critical perspective was an empowering approach, as learners were able to connect to real-world examples at the same time they could develop their self-awareness of gendered and/or oppressed identities.

Building a critical consciousness has also demonstrated a useful, yet challenging task for the educator. Indeed, deploying a pluralist curriculum that encompasses a *Political Economy* module inevitably requires interdisciplinary connections with social and human sciences, as well as a presentation of abstract concepts for students with diverse backgrounds. Nevertheless, the idea that students could apply the concepts learned in class as policy proposals towards gender equality contributed to stimulate student engagement. Additionally, the use of policy reports helped students to develop their critical sense of how gender equality policies could be applied and discussed among different social groups.

2.2 Case study 2: Teaching labour inequality in an *International Trade* module

The *International Trade and Multinational Business* module is an established module available to year 2 students, and designed to introduce core theory of international trade as well as specific themes that show how trade applies to real world scenarios. The course covered the evolution of assumptions, mechanisms and some of the debates around trade theories such as mercantilism, Ricardo, Heckscher-Ohlin new trade theories, intra-industry trade and gravity trade theories. These were illustrated through specific questions arising from actual trade practices and products between real countries, using data on trends and outcomes. Students were also exposed to different policy positions across trade protectionism or economic integration and the way in which these related to trade agreements, exchange rates and other policy (fiscal or monetary). The core theoretical content led to discussions on different ways to explain and understand aspects of trade such as fair trade, trade in global value chains, or looking at the impact of trade liberalisation on labour. Within this collection of topics, the focus on inequality was central through the role of labour *vis a vis* capital and was assessed in terms of the skewed power relations and unequal distribution of gains.

The course exposed students to the critique and debates around mainstream trade theory. This aligned the teaching with the critical pedagogy approach. The debate was explored by looking at how well different theories explain or fit evidence and data as well as students intuitive understanding of the real world. Students were shown a range of research findings to support the importance of understanding and considering different perspectives and contexts. For example, variation in views across firms,

governments, or workers as well as looking at how views vary from country to country or across different industries. The teaching also sought to show students the importance of considering a range of different types of evidence or data especially when looking at developing countries where the data or information may not be as complete or available.

Teaching involved two one-hour lectures and one-hour interactive seminar-style tutorials. The content included presenting the assumptions and mechanisms of the theories and considering any evolution in thinking or debates (e.g. between mainstream and critical or alternative views). The lectures also contained empirical evidence from fieldwork research or other academic output (published papers, working papers, case studies, PhD research).⁶ The teaching approach aimed to stimulate multiple senses and draw on multiple sources of information to connect with the students' own experiences and prior knowledge and to trigger thinking about the merits and limitations of different perspectives. For example, the lecture on soy agro-processing involved handling research samples of soybeans at different stages of processing and tasting an example of a consumer product containing soy (M&M chocolate). Students commented that they were familiar with the end product but were unaware of the input stages or the nature of that particular agricultural value chain. The lectures also included short videos to present theoretical or case study material (fair trade organisation promotional video, pictures from soy or clothing factories, YouTube video on the labour theory of value) as well as graphs of official or collected statistics on the employment setting, patterns and trends as well as prices for the relevant sector inputs and outputs (especially for clothing and fair trade coffee). Though not comparable with academically publishable evidence, the pictures and videos aimed to stimulate student thinking and dialogue and attempted to connect with students individual learning styles using a balance of audio, visual and textual teaching materials. These reflected the active learning interpretation of critical pedagogy. Both the lectures and tutorials involved asking students questions about the difficulties they might face as policymakers, inviting them to draw on their own experiences and form opinions. The tutorials provided the students an opportunity to consider the pathways and mechanisms by which employment may be affected and to brainstorm on the factors that would influence and shape the labour inequality resulting from trade. For example, students considered why firms would struggle to pay higher wages or improve working conditions. They also considered the difficulties in creating policies and regulation to support labour in an environment where the labour may be informal or casual and beyond the standard regulatory sphere that applies to businesses. Students were also asked to comment on how their own employment experiences reflected the tension and contrast between the interests of workers and interests of employers.

Trade and inequality from a capital-labour balance perspective

The theme of trade and labour was explored through three perspectives. First, the relation between capital and labour was introduced by looking at the impact of trade liberalisation on employment in the South African clothing and textiles industries. This highlighted the debates in the ways in which labour can be conceptualised. For

⁶ The fieldwork data covered soy agro-processing, (global) clothing and textiles (global), fair trade coffee in Ethiopia and Uganda, and tobacco production and trade in Malawi.

example, students considered whether it is sufficient to view labour as a cost or a source of productivity. Students were invited to look at how workers are a source of innovation or productivity but also an important component of demand through consumption. The notion of fair trade continued the theme of challenging existing perceptions and introduced evidence that fair trade organisations do not automatically lead to better outcomes for all employees. This drew attention to the importance of understanding the variation in the types of employers and employees and the limitations in applying single theoretical approaches to complex and different labour-capital relations.⁷ The notion of global value chains helped consider evidence from the development of soy agro-processing in Southern Africa and showed that growth of a sector does not automatically lead to increased employment in the underlying labour-intensive agricultural sector. This exposed students to considering that theories (such as the global value chain approach), with a focus on the firm as a unit of analysis, may not be adequate representations of the real world.

The common thread across the lectures was to explore alternatives to the mainstream economic views of labour as an input or resource for production as a source of credit and a source of demand for final products using the wages. The lectures highlighted the mainstream categorisation of labour as a cost or contribution to value added or profits. Alternative views consider the notion of value and the different characteristics and roles of labour and capital, which lead to tensions between the two interest groups. Students were introduced to the difference between subjective and objective notions of value and introduced to the Marxist perspective where “value should be seen as a social relation between producers and of exploitation, admittedly with a quantitative element but not one that can be reduced to a physicalist and instrumental content” Fine in Fine & Saad-Filho (eds.) (2014, p.196).

Challenges and opportunities of teaching trade liberalisation and labour

The main challenge of teaching labour inequality within a trade course was the complexity of simultaneously understanding the details of neoclassical trade theory and the critical views challenging the suitability of theories based on restrictive assumptions, notions of universality and applicability of the price mechanism.⁸ Students were frustrated by the combined need to learn standard trade theory and the discovery that it does not apply in all sectors, countries or for all interest groups, such as labour, within these settings. The theoretical imperfection and uncertainty arising from a greater understanding of complexity was a source of difficulty as well as frustration for the students.

Students found the empirical evidence from published and unpublished scholarly activity interesting and unusual. Comments by students suggested that these were

⁷ The aim is not to debate theoretical content but to highlight the theoretical perspective and nature of empirical evidence for the lectures. The lectures drew primarily on: McCullough, Winters, Xirera (2001) and Jansen et al. (2011), research into the political economy of textiles and clothing. Global value chain literature included Gereffi & Fernandez-Stark (2011) and Kaplinsky et al. (2002) as well as a soy industry interview-based policy paper. The topic of Fair Trade was introduced through Mohan (2010) and the FTEPR (2014) reports.

⁸ Core assumptions discussed included the mobility of labour within but not across countries, universal access to technology, fixed and different factors of production, identical tastes and preferences, no policy restrictions on the movement of goods or determination of prices, and perfect competition.

viewed as more relevant or connected to the real world than hypothetical examples. Students also found the inequality modules interesting because of the ability to view pictures, touch research samples and products, and to consider how these connected to their prior knowledge of production, products in different industries or countries. The inequality topics also presented an opportunity to incorporate developing country examples, again something especially some of the international students were able to reflect on.⁹

From the educator perspective, the inequality topics were useful to draw connections to other, more theoretical or abstract lecture topics. For example, the lectures on Ricardian or Heckscher-Ohlin trade theory speak of hypothetical countries and randomly selected two-good, two country models with labour and capital endowments (or prices). These concepts could be illustrated with specific sector/country examples through the soy, clothing and fair-trade coffee case studies. The focus on critical review and presentation of debates also lent themselves to using different research-led¹⁰ case studies as evidence. From the lecturer perspective this meant not being restricted to a textbook structure or set of examples.

Among the issues that remained unaddressed were the limited prior theoretical knowledge, and poor understanding of basic empirical analysis tools such as trends in graphs, bias in choice of indicators, sampling and costs arising from trade (e.g. transport, import duties, legal enforcement costs etc.). The students responded more positively to topics they were able to relate to, suggesting that an improved understanding of empirical data analysis, combined with drawing out students' own knowledge and experiences from different countries is valuable in teaching inequality. Through the research and empirical evidence on inequality, students began to show an emerging understanding of the need for critical theoretical debate, and in some cases acceptance of the lack of perfect explanatory frameworks (alternative or mainstream). For example, individual understanding of the idea that labour is not homogenous but varies by sector, country, enterprise or due to differences in policy and economic activity helped with understanding the need for more complex and multifaceted theories of employment – going beyond treating labour merely as a cost or source of revenue.

2.3 Assessment formats and student responses

The *Political Economy* assignment consisted of an essay (50 percent) and controlled exam (50 percent). One exam question was in an open format, where students were required to 'apply an ideological view explored in the module to a social issue of your choice'. The most popular answer, chosen by 15/51 students, was related to gender inequality, where learners should relate gender inequality to a certain ideology and discuss critically. Some answers challenged the naturalisation of gender inequality (or

⁹ Though the university did not wish to release information about the students' nationality or registration status (domestic, overseas), students were invited in lectures and tutorials to come up with examples from their own countries of origin or from countries they had lived or worked in. Students were also free to choose any country to base their written assessment on. The range of different countries that were discussed in the lectures, tutorials and written assignments suggests the student cohort contains a substantial amount of international experience and an interest in international issues.

¹⁰ Research-led teaching makes use of scholarly research, either published in peer-review journals or unpublished (working papers, report drafts) to benefit student learning and outcomes.

conceiving women as naturally subordinated to men), as well as the roots of wage inequality among women, relating it to household work and other forms of unpaid labour.

The *International Trade and Multinational Business* course was also assessed by assignment (40 percent) and exam (60 percent). Though there was no choice in the assignment question, students were able to select a target country to reflect different trade theories. Students were required to show understanding of the basic trade theories, but were free to choose any country (excluding UK) as their case study. Students were encouraged to select developing countries and to write about the difficulties in applying standard trade theory to their case as well as the difficulties in finding appropriate trade data. Over half of the students selected a developing country, the popularity indicating a degree of relevance of the international perspective for the students.

In contrast, the examination for *International Trade and Multinational Business* allowed students two opportunities to pick one of three topics to answer that reflected on the inequality material taught. The most popular exam question related to the trade liberalisation/labour was on trade protectionism/liberalisation theory and policy answered by 88/117 of the active students. The second most commonly answered question was on core trade theories (with no particular reference to the trade liberalisation/labour questions) selected by 73/117 students. Second most commonly selected was the question on global value chains answered by 60/117 active students. The third question on inequality was specifically on the impact on labour selected by 45/117 active students. It is important to note that students could either select the trade liberalisation/protectionism question or the trade liberalisation/labour question but not both. This may explain the lower response rate to the specific trade/labour question.

Reviewing the assessment patterns points to a key gap in the comparative analysis. It is not possible to distinguish between whether students selected topics for assessment because of their ease or because of their interest in this subject matter. Nevertheless, there is a clear possibility that students are more likely to attend and revise the topics students find interesting, and as a result perceive assessment questions on these subjects more approachable. This is underpinned by an untested assumption that students will select the assessment topics they find easier. As student feedback was not designed to explore this aspect, this remains an area for further investigation.

These comparisons point to the interest in the inequality topics. The educator experience confirms the popularity of the inequality topics, the positive response to the evidence and active learning approaches. The relatively low distribution of marks reflects on the frustration and challenges arising from the complexity and the critical approach to theory.¹¹ Though the sample and evidence available does not enable

¹¹ For example, in the *Trade* course, the most popular question on trade protection/liberalisation in developing countries also gained the highest average mark of 66%. The labour question averaged the lowest mark at 34%, and the global value chain/developing country question averaged 43%. The average exam mark was 50%. In the *Political Economy* exam, the gender and inequality topic demonstrated a high popularity, chosen by 30% of students and an average mark of 68%. This contributes to the notion that the interest/popularity and difficulty of material varies across topics of inequality and suggests the need for further research.

correlation analysis, the distribution of marks across inequality and non-inequality questions points to the need to understand the relationship between student interest and struggle with topics, theories and evidence differently for gender or for labour topics.

These observations point to the need to develop a better understanding of the interaction and overlap between the critical pedagogic approaches (active learning and theoretical debate), topics of inequality, and a variety of empirical evidence and analytical approaches to connect students' own experiences and theoretical explanations to the real world.

3. Comparative insights from teaching inequality in economics

What insights can be gained from exploring the nature, challenges and opportunities of teaching inequality across the two modules? Teaching inequality lends itself to alternative pedagogical forms, i.e. critical thinking and active learning approaches. It enables the combination of theoretical and empirical content. It provides the opportunity to draw on research-led evidence and expose students to different types of empirical evidence such as pictures, videos, and research samples. It also provides the space to draw on students' experiences or knowledge of different countries, especially from developing countries. Exploring the theoretical debates and discovering different forms of empirical analysis provides practical tools that students may transpose to other modules or work contexts. The comparison of the two modules resulted in key insights on the interaction between the topic of inequality, using real world evidence to contextualise the learning, and teaching through theoretical debate and active learning as per our understanding of the critical pedagogic approach. The diagram below presents a preliminary schema describing the complexity of this interaction.

---INSERT FIGURE 1---

Starting with the relationship between the topic of inequality and critical pedagogy, we argue that they complement each other as follows. Inequality provides the evidence and theoretical input to help identify weaknesses within dominant theoretical paradigms and their assumptions about the nature and homogeneity of economies and their subcomponents, and challenge the universality of the dynamics or the mechanisms by which change takes place. In reverse, critical pedagogy offers the space to ground the learning experience with the students' experiences using active learning.¹² We also identify a complementarity between using a critical pedagogic approach and real world evidence. Students use evidence (their own or the teaching material provided) to develop their own views on the topic, whilst also reflecting on whether their view is in alignment or in contrast with the dominant theoretical explanations. Likewise, there is a connection between presenting the topic of inequality through real world evidence.

¹² Critical pedagogy is not perceived to be the same as active learning. Active learning supports critical thinking and is one pedagogical approach that helps draw out student experiences and help develop their thinking on inequality.

The originality of the teaching is not in any single one of these connections or any single one of these three ways to structure the teaching. The combination of the (critical) debate of theories, the use of active learning techniques, and the focus on real world examples and evidence provide the space for developing original approaches to teaching students to think.

The educational experience for both the student and academic thus reflects a series of questions.

- How do we explain the real world, what tools/theories/techniques and evidence are available?
- How do these reveal inequalities?
- What different debates and views are relevant to develop students thinking?
- How can students connect with the ideas taught with their prior knowledge or personal insights/experiences?

The case studies also reveal a number of differences in the students' ability to deal with the complexity of the theoretical material, the frustrations arising from the critical discussions of theory, the popularity of evidence-led teaching and the increased need to both draw on student experiences and teach the importance of identifying the real-world connection. The discussion below explores some of these differences in the lecturer and student experiences (of the inequality topics) across the two modules. Though these are anecdotal and based on a small number of students, these insights highlight the need for further research into the overlap and compatibility between alternative (active and critical) pedagogic methods and topics of inequality. They also highlight the need to use topics of inequality to connect more effectively with the real-world context and students' knowledge, views and experiences, through more systematic approach. Finally, they suggest that addressing students' empirical analysis skill-gaps may be a fruitful way to assist student learning and address frustrations arising from the theoretical complexity, uncertainty and breadth of content. An area of further research would be to explore the extent to which frustration is an integral part of the student learning trajectory and thus not exclusive to the use of active learning, teaching through the theoretical debates or by highlighting the complexity of the real world.

Exploring the structural challenges

Exploring the teaching of inequality through gender in the *Political Economy* and labour through the *International Trade and Multinational Business* courses has highlighted a number of structural and ideological challenges. The basic structure of theoretical topics is set around a polar approach of introducing core mainstream theories and exploring alternative critical views. These not only oversimplify the complexity and overlapping nature of inequality, relegate it to a single or few discrete and isolated topics, and obstruct the possibility of using inequality as a guiding theme to explore theories, key questions and evidence. Inequality is not about a clearly defined type of individual, subgroup or setting. Inequality should not be confined to an adverse effect or an obstructing factor, addressed by a single remedy. A more holistic approach would need to explore the heterogeneity of inequality, the cross-border and spillover effects from one group, setting or activity to another, and would

need to consider a different way to approach exploring and explaining inequality than one that fits within the dominant neoclassical growth and accumulation framework.¹³ This finding is in alignment with the observations made by Shackelford (1992) with the need of using Feminist theory in the classroom, as well as McDonough's (2012) explorations in using Marxist and post-Keynesian approaches to teach macroeconomics.

Exploring how inequality is taught as a subtopic within economic debates and theories suggests the need to understand the power relations within economic structures and within theoretical and policy debates. As Lavoie (2015) discusses, mainstream economics perceives to present sufficient debate within its own boundaries ("closed system") and is not disposed to engage with heterodox views to enlarge the sphere of debate. Likewise, Resnick & Wolff (2011) find that alternative views should be taught earlier or interspersed with mainstream economics perspectives – and not left to the end of a course. Juxtaposing the mainstream view against alternative theories represents the employment of a structured pluralist view, which explores, in a non-hierarchical way the different concepts, theories and their limitations from a critical perspective.

Another observation regarding the teaching of inequality points to the importance of drawing on multiple forms of empirical evidence and connecting this to the student knowledge and experiences. Students who were able to draw on insights from another country, from work experience or from their observations as a worker, consumer or member of society were better placed to understand the role of context and other influencing characteristics (such as skill, gender, but also sector, policy or legislation). Likewise, students with empirical analysis skills (such as graphical trend analysis or ability to identify missing information) were able to identify incongruences between the real world and theoretical explanations. This suggests that active learning and improved empirical skills may be important in addressing the complexity and frustrations arising from the critical approaches that characterise political economy debates and are integral to critical pedagogic approaches.

Concluding Remarks

This article argued that the starting point to enable students to develop their thinking cannot simply prioritise or isolate three separate areas (inequality; critical pedagogy and real world content), but actually to deploy a combination of those, which invite students to develop their own perspective and conclusions. These challenge many of the debates currently focused around different teaching techniques and long-standing discussions about the theoretical content taught. The comparative analysis of the two different modules points to three important observations that reconsider both the current pedagogical trends (such as flipped learning), and the curricular content that is employed to allow learners to understand the real world.

First, there is a positive relationship between critical pedagogy and topics of inequality, in which critical learning methods lend themselves to the teaching of

¹³ This framework is driven by the underlying neoclassical principles of optimisation, restrictive assumptions about prices, individual rationality and equilibrium, and by the difficulty in incorporating social complexity.

heterodox theories. As suggested, implementing topics of economic inequality into teaching assist in highlighting the limitations of economic theories and explanations. The fact that critical pedagogy provides the space for questioning dominant forms of knowledge represents a valid path to teaching pluralist theories and employing an active and student-led learning, drawing on students' personal experiences and backgrounds to develop their knowledge and opinions. In this sense, the multidirectional connections between critical pedagogy, topics of inequality and the use of real-world evidence in teaching reveals gaps in understanding how students learn about theoretical debates, empirical evidence and methods of analysis. These gaps emphasise the necessity to move away from a teaching structure that separates theory from evidence, or one that uses abstract examples removed from reality or from the students' areas of knowledge and experiences. Instead, the two case studies build on previous research suggesting that heterodox theories should not be presented separately or as a counterfoil to mainstream theories, but instead should be part of teaching students to understand the need for and nature of theoretical debate. Even though students were frustrated at first by the growing uncertainty and lack of closure, towards the end of the modules they began to understand the need for theoretical debate and for using evidence to progress their thinking. This confirms Harvey's (2011) thesis of the benefits of exposing students to contrasting approaches, which overcomes the temporary frustration and disillusion that some may find whilst engaging in a pluralist curriculum.

Second, using real world questions and cases and a range of empirical evidence brings to life the need for theoretical debate but also helps students connect the teaching material with their knowledge and life experiences. Topics of inequality provide a fruitful platform for connecting research findings to questions that are relevant to debating theories but also to the students understanding of the world. In this light, teaching topics of inequality need also not be confined to discrete lecture topics, but could be used to draw out real-world questions and evidence across multiple lectures. Though the course design, teaching methods, student cohorts and content were different and taught separately, the case studies revealed interesting similarities as both courses incorporated theoretical debates and the use of empirical evidence to expose students to real world questions. Both courses also sought to engage students by connecting the empirical evidence to theory as well as by inviting students to draw on their own experiences, knowledge and interest in different countries. Despite varying backgrounds in empirical analysis and theoretical knowledge, students responded positively to the active learning methods. The two courses also revealed similarities in content in that the topics of inequality also reflected on the policy setting and highlighted the importance of looking at developing country evidence.

Lastly, the findings lead to a number of new research challenges. Firstly, it suggests that previous economic textbooks focused on mainstream theory and abstract examples are not sufficient for active learning or developing critical thinking. Teaching methods and material would need to systematically draw out student perspectives as well as expose students to interdisciplinary theoretical debates and connect these to multiple forms of evidence based on research or other real world examples. Among the challenges are the variation and limited nature of both theoretical and empirical skills that students bring to the course. Further research would be useful to expand the qualitative insights and student feedback presented here, and to explore the more systematic weaving of topics such as gender or labour

into teaching as well as more structured methods of connecting the teaching material to students' experiences and knowledge.

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Tables and Figures

Table 1: Overview of the courses

Teaching inequality in Economics	Political Economy	International Trade and Multinational Business
Level	Year 3	Year 2
Students	51 registered in 2017 Mixture of economics and business with economics bachelor students.	125 registered in 2017 Mixture of economics and business with economics bachelor students.
Main topics covered in the syllabus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> History of political economy: classical liberalism, radicalism, conservatism and modern liberalism; Role of the market and the state; Poverty and welfare; Employment and the labour market; Gender and minorities; Neoliberalism: history, politics and the philosophy of neoliberal thought. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Evolution of trade theories from mercantilism, Ricardo, Heckscher-Ohlin to intra-industry trade Trade tools including exchange rates, tariffs and quotas, monetary and fiscal policy Protection and integration drivers Global value chains Trade and labour Fair trade Trade agreements
Lectures and topics on inequality	3 lectures covered inequality: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Social nature of gender inequality; Economic impacts of gender inequality; Policy responses. 	3 lectures covered inequality: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Inequality in global value chains; Trade liberalisation and labour; Fair trade.
Nature of learning relevant to the inequality topic(s)	Research-led learning through the use of case-study material	Research-led learning through the use of case study material
Theoretical framework relevant to inequality	Understand the different political approaches to social and gender inequality	Understanding the relationship between trade and labour with subthemes on employment, trade liberalisation and evidence from developing countries.
Evidence type relevant to inequality	A combination of (i) feminist theories and comparative political economy; and (ii) case	Three case studies were used to highlight the position of labour: soy processing, clothing

	studies of gender inequality in labour and wages	decline, fair trade
Teaching format and assessment	<p>Weekly: interactive ‘lectorial’ 1hr, plus interactive small group tutorial 1hr.</p> <p>Assessment through written assignment 50% and examination 50%.</p>	<p>Weekly: 2 lectures of 1hrs each, plus interactive small group tutorial 1hr.</p> <p>Assessment through written assignment 40% and examination 60%.</p> <p>Students given choice of questions. One question from selection 2 or 3 across three exam sections A, B, C covering basic concepts (A), connecting theory and evidence (B), interpreting real world data (C).</p>
Programs this course contributes to	BA(Hons) Economics, BSc(Hons) Economics, BA(Hons) Business Management with Economics	BA (Hons) Economics, BSc (Hons) Economics, BA (Hons) Business Management with Economics, BA (Hons) Business and Management; BA (Hons) Banking and Finance

Figure 1: Interconnection between critical pedagogy, inequality and evidence

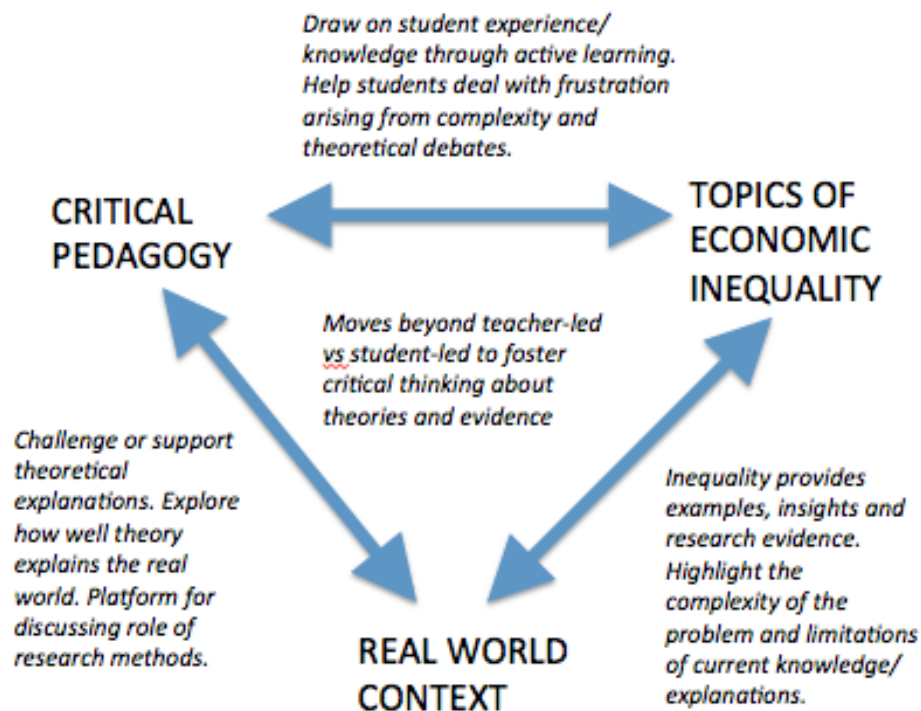


Table 1 Programme structure for BA Economics

Part 6: Programme Structure BA(Hons) Economics				
This structure diagram demonstrates the student journey from Entry through to Graduation for a typical full time student , including: level and credit requirements; interim award requirements; module diet, including compulsory and optional modules				
ENTRY		Compulsory Modules	Optional Modules	Interim Awards
	Year 1	UMED8F-30-1 Microeconomics (30 credits) UMED8G-30-1 Macroeconomics (30 credits) UMED9E-15-1 Becoming a Practical Economist (15 credits) UMED8J-15-1 Statistics and Data Management (15 credits) UMAD4V-15-1 Understanding Business and Financial Information (AEF) (15 credits) UMED9D-15-1 Developing Economic Thinking (15 credits)	None	CerHE Economics Credit requirements: 120 at the appropriate level
	Year 2	UMED8K-30-2 Applied Microeconomics (30 credits) UMED8L-30-2 Macroeconomics: Theory and Applications (30 credits) UMED8N-15-2 Economic Research Methods (15 credits) UMED8M-15-2 Introductory Econometrics (15 credits)	2 options from: (<i>subject to availability</i>) UMED8U-15-2 Good Business, Bad Business and Sustainability (15 credits) UMED8R-15-2 Emerging Economies (15 credits) UMED8Q-15-2 Economics of Money and Banking (15 credits) UMED8P-15-2 International Trade and Multinational Business (15 credits) UMED9A-15-2 Economics of Happiness (15 credits)	DipHE Economics Credit requirements: 240 at the appropriate level

Placement or Study Year Abroad (SYA)

For the award of the sandwich title (SW) students must choose one of the following options both of which aim to enable students to contextualise their academic learning in an applied business and/or cultural context:

Work Placement: a significant period of paid employment or self-employment normally in the field relevant to the specialism of the degree.

During this time students must complete and pass the 15 credit level 3 module, Placement Learning UMCDN5-15-3.

This module assesses the student's personal development, from the experience of placement and their ability to identify issues relevant to their placement's organisational context and to then frame, scale and position a critical work-based enquiry relevant to the specialism of the degree.

Study Year Abroad, which consists of two semesters of study at a partner institution abroad.

During this time students must complete and pass the 15 credit level 3 module, Learning and Development on Study Year Abroad (UMCD9Y-15-3).

This modules assesses assess the student's personal development from the experience of SYA and their ability to evidence cross-cultural awareness and analysis of the country in which they have been studying.

In addition, whilst at the partner institution students must have studied and attempted assessments in modules totalling 60 ECTS, of which 50-55 ECTS should be in modules related to their programme of study at UWE with a further 5-10 ECTS in the language of the host country. If the advent of failing any modules students must be able to demonstrate engagement i.e. that they have attended classes and sat the exams.

To be eligible for either Placement or SYA students must have passed a minimum of 210 credit

	Compulsory Modules	Optional Modules	Interim Awards
Year 3	<p>Project (30 credits – all year) UMED8Y-30-3</p> <p>Economic Theory and Policy (30 credits – all year) UMED93-30-3</p>	<p>4 options from: <i>(subject to availability)</i></p> <p>UMED8X-15-3 The Economics of Developing Countries (15 credits)</p> <p>UMED95-15-3 Sustainable Business (15 credits)</p> <p>UMED96-15-3 Econometrics (15 credits)</p> <p>UMED8V-15-3 Economics of International Financial Markets (15 credits)</p> <p>UMED98-15-3 Economics of Labour and Migration (15 credits)</p> <p>UMED99-15-3 Behavioural Economics (15 credits)</p> <p>UMEDKE-15-3 Political Economy (15 credits)</p> <p><i>Additional options, as appropriate and available, may be offered through the annual Online Module Choices process each year</i></p> <p>Students who have completed a Placement or SYA (and passed the relevant module) are required to select 3 options up to a maximum credit value of 45 credits</p>	<p>BA Economics (SW) BA Economics (FT)</p> <p>Credit requirements BA (Hons): 360 credits at the appropriate levels BA: 300 credits at the appropriate levels</p>