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An Analysis of World Bank Education Policies as Neoliberal Governmentality

by

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With love and thanks to my family, Marian, Gary and Suzy, for finding the time and patience to support me through all my endeavors despite their own challenges. Of any accomplishment I may have, or have had, being a member of such a loving family will always be my greatest source of pride.

Abstract

By tracing intertextual shifts in policy over time, I examine how discourse is constructed in particular ways within the same institution, at different times. I look at the ways in which the construction of EFA by the World Bank can be compared and contrasted between 2001 and 2007. Guiding my inquiry are considerations of how education has been linked to economic rationality and has become understood as a means through which to improve well-being, particularly for those who are from lower income states. The questions that have guided my inquiry are as follows:

How is it that education comes to be exercised as a tool for integration in the international political economy? What type of knowledge informs the creation of the key documents and how are the appropriate ends, as constructed by the particular form of knowledge, manifested in EFA documents?

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Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations

ADB	Asia Development Bank
APTEFA	Accelerating Progress Towards Education for All Report
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
EDE	Education for Dynamic Economies Report
EFA	Education for All
EFAFTI	Education for All Fast Track Initiative Report
EPDE	Education Program Development Fund
FTIPR	Fast Track Initiative Progress Report
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HIPC	Heavily Indebted Poor Countries
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ICSID	International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes
IDA	International Development Association
IDT	International Development Target
IFC	International Finance Corporation
IFI	International Financial Institution
IGO	Intergovernmental Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGO	International non-governmental organization
KE	Knowledge Economy

MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MIGS	Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PDAE	Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness
PRS	Poverty Reduction Strategy
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program
SNA	Supranational Actor
TNC	Transnational Company
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNGEI	United Nations Girls Education Initiative
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UPE	Universal Primary Education
WB	World Bank
WTO	World Trade Organization

Chapter 1: Introduction

Education processes and practices are connected in fundamental ways to the contexts in which they operate and from which they arise. While context is often understood as referring to the local and national position of the school or education system, it is increasingly the case that forces external to the community, and even to the state, are shaping education policy and practice. Attention to education at the supranational level has been growing over the past two decades with the result that a number of supranational organizations have considerable influence on education policy, translating into an influence on local practice (King, 2007). The role of supranational organizations in naming or labeling, interpreting, and constructing solutions to perceived educational problems has had implications for states around the globe, albeit in a variety of forms, regardless of the relationship of national or local sites to the dominant supranational organizations (Lingard, 2000). Education has served to legitimize the role of some of these organizations by being placed as the solution to a number of poverty related issues (Mundy & Murphy, 2001). These solutions, while being presented as a response to global inequity, are often based in economic rationality; that is development as a 'good investment' (Chan, 2007, p. 368).

Beginning with the World Conference on Education for All in 1990 at Jomtien, Thailand, the 1990s were host to a variety of conferences focusing on the need for education to be promoted as a right and as a solution to a variety of poverty issues, seen as stemming from lack of economic development and

integration into the international political economy. Many of these conferences were sponsored by the United Nations and involved actors from the supranational realm, most often associated with agencies or organizations based in the Global North (Mundy & Murphy, 2001). The role of nongovernmental actors in education policy at the supranational level is noted as having grown exponentially throughout the 1990s, in 2000 having played a key role in the World Education Forum in Dakar (Mundy & Murphy, 2001). Since 2000, Education for All (EFA) has remained a priority for a number of institutions at the supranational level (such as UNESCO and the World Bank) and is linked to the United Nations Millennium Development Goals and UNESCO's action areas for a culture of peace (UNESCO, 2007; World Bank, 2009a).

Statement of Purpose

By tracing intertextual shifts in policy over time, I examine how discourse is constructed in particular ways within the same institution, at different times. I look at the ways in which the construction of EFA by the World Bank can be compared and contrasted between 2001 and 2007. Guiding my inquiry are considerations of how education has been linked to economic rationality and has become understood as a means through which to improve well-being, particularly for those who are from lower income states. The questions that have guided my inquiry are as follows:

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A brief history of EFA

Education was secured as a field for intergovernmental cooperation with the "inclusion of educational cooperation within the charter of the United Nations organizations" in 1945 and the introduction of the "right to free elementary education in the 1948 Declaration of Human Rights" (Mundy & Murphy, 2001, p. 95). The 1990s saw increased activity of international nongovernmental organizations in the field of education, most of which centered on the notion of education for all. This period saw a shift from the idea prominent in the 1980s that education "is an entitlement of citizenship, properly provided by a state whose capacity as service provider was expected to expand" (p. 95) to perspectives that doubted the ability of states in the Global South to provide education, as the 1980s had seen dropping enrollment and increased disorder of state education systems in the South (King, 2007; Mundy & Murphy, 2001).

Multilateral involvement in EFA grew as a result of the 1990 World Conference on Education For All in Jomtien. The process of defining education involved much debate as some organizations were proponents of a definition of education according to conventional categories[1] and others pushed for a more "inclusive concept of basic education or the rather vague notion of 'basic learning needs'" (King, 2007, p. 379). The debate was not limited to between the two

[1] Conventional categories in education are considered to be primary, secondary, technical and vocational, and higher education (King, 2007, p. 379)

perspectives; rather within each broad perspective different actors argued that a global conception of education should emphasize different variations.

Following Jomtien, the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) report by the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) in 1996 had a huge impact on the direction for global Education for All movements. This report states that "the attainment of basic literacy and numeracy skills has been identified repeatedly as the most significant factor in reducing poverty and increasing participation by individuals in the economic, political and cultural life of their societies" (as cited in King, 2007, p. 382). This report linked education to wider issues of debt relief, human rights and global equity, and emphasized country ownership. King (2007) considers the DAC Report to have shaped the global agenda on education. He notes that, while not explicit, the agenda and timeline set at Dakar, Senegal in 2000 were based on the DAC Report. Again, the idea that country ownership of the various problems relating to poverty was central to the views of many participants.

UNESCO is the coordinator of EFA; however, there are many partners involved, including bi- and multi- lateral funding agencies, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), private sector partners and civil society groups. The main funding agencies include the G8, the World Bank (WB), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the Asia Development Bank (ADB) and the World Trade Organization (WTO) (Tamatea, 2005, p. 312). The six EFA goals are:

1. Expand and improve comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children.

2. Ensure that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, those in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to and complete, free and compulsory primary education of good quality.

3. Ensure that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life-skills programs.

4. Achieve a 50 per cent improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults.

5. Eliminate gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieve gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality.

6. Improve all aspects of the quality of education and ensure excellence of all so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills. (World Bank, 2009a)

Literature Review

As outlined above, the understanding of education at the supranational level as a tool or mechanism by which to reach certain ends has been growing, particularly over the last couple decades. There is increased attention in the

literature to this phenomenon, as reflected by a 2007 special issue entitled "Global Governance, Social Policy and Multilateral Education" of *Comparative Education*, and by the book *New Arenas of Education Governance* (2007), edited by Martens, Rusconi and Leuze. Research about international and supranational-level interaction regarding education has been conducted by a number of scholars (Bloom, 2004; Chan, 2007; Jones, 2007a, 2007b; King, 2007; Limage, 2007; Mundy & Murphy, 2001; Mundy, 2007; Stomquist, 2002).

Several projects have explored the impact of EFA efforts on certain elements of education including literacy, adult education, and gender equity (Archer, 2004; Gomez, 2005; Hildebrand, 2004; Robinson, 2005; Rogers, 2004; Singh, 2004; Tilak, 2005; Wagner, 2000). These projects have served to call attention to the specific facets of educational systems in the context of increased supranational involvement in education and EFA efforts.

As EFA is promoted around the world, a number of scholars have conducted research in geographically specific locations to assess the impacts of EFA efforts on education policy and practice (e.g., Dryer, 2001; Mera, 2004). These studies involve the consideration of contextual specifics in a realm of social life that is increasingly impacted by supranational organizations.

A few projects have traced the trajectory of global education policy and EFA policy as formed at the supranational level (Bennell, 1998; Davies & Bansel, 2007; Lingard, 2000; Mundy, 2006; Ozga & Lingard, 2007; Resnik, 2006; Robertson, 2005; Tamatea, 2005). These studies have spanned a number of time

periods and have involved different approaches to inquiry. Each has examined the role of supranational actors in the promotion of EFA goals and policy.

Much of the literature discussed above has drawn on concepts stemming from, or related to, Foucauldian analysis, in particular Foucault's (1991) concept of governmentality, or the more specific concept of governmental rationality. While initially arguments were made that Foucauldian analyses failed to be applicable beyond the individual, the concept of governmentality has been a key tool in various analyses of the state (Gordon, 1991) and has been used in conceptual frameworks of analyses at the supranational level (Dean, 2004; Hindess, 2004; Kendall, 2004; Larner & Le Heron, 2004; Tikly, 2004). In the following chapter, I extend the review of this body of literature to explain how I have conceptualized my own project in order to contribute a governmentality study to the body of research specific to the EFA policy discourses that operate as both rationalities for understanding and technologies for enacting education in particular ways.

Chapter 2: Approach to Inquiry

The concept of global governmentality moves beyond grand theories of globalization to account for the particularity of forces, politics, and institutions. The politics of global spaces, in an era of global governance, can be explored using a governmentality approach. As global governance does not originate from a single source and is dispersed, it should be understood as "a particular technology of rule" that is pervasive and a part of a "much longer trajectory of liberal political reason" (Larner & Walters, 2004). Hindess (2004) notes how liberalism has had at its core an intention to govern the way in which liberty, as informed by economic and individual rationality, is engaged with and reinforced as an end in itself. He asserts that, as a governmentality, liberalism operates at the supranational level (p. 9). Indeed, over the past 30 years, liberal governance has advanced to give rise to a kind of global *neo*liberalism, a significant "restructuring of the world political economy" (Larner & Walters, 2004, p. 8) that, beyond an ideology or political philosophy, is better understood as a governmentality (Hindess, 2004; Larner & Walters, 2004).

Neoliberalism has served to portray the market as an "evolving social construct that must be protected" (Peters, 1996 p. 86), overtaking the importance of key democratic institutions that have come to be considered the necessary recipients of government protection and construction. The shift in focus of government attention and resources from the public to the private realm has been part of a depoliticizing strategy of the neoliberal agenda, in which the market is portrayed as natural, neutral and governed by effort and merit (Apple, 2004). One

of the most potent factors in the success of the neoliberal agenda has been the seemingly inarguable qualities of efficiency, individualism and competition that the market promotes. As outlined by Larner (2000), neoliberalism is usually used in one of three ways: as a policy framework, as an ideology or as governmentality. Neoliberalism as a policy framework fails to account for the shaping of individual subjectivities and political programs; neoliberalism as an ideology fails to account for the way in which neoliberal practices have been, and are adapted across groups that have very different ideological understandings and focuses. As a governmentality, however, neoliberalism can be understood based on the political rationalities and discursive practices that form, and inform, its processes of governance (Larner, 2000).

As Dean (1999) states: "to analyze mentalities of government is to analyze thought made practical and technical" (p. 18). Larner (2000) notes the usefulness of a governmentality approach to understanding the operation of neoliberalism: the complexities, ambiguities, and contingencies of contemporary political formations can be engaged with, enabling critical responses and interventions (p. 14). Larner (2000) also brings attention to the fact that it is easy to present neoliberalism as having "programmatic coherence," and that formulations that draw on neo-Marxist and socialist- feminist analyses detach neoliberalism from the historical specificities that lead to the unique and varying manifestations of neoliberalism in different contexts (pp. 14-15).

Conceptualizing the Study

At the supranational level, the concept of governmentality has been particularly useful in understanding forms of neoliberalism as they relate to educational practices (Olssen, 2006). Globally, neoliberal governmentality involves supranational influences and aspirations on educational policy, through techniques that are increasingly globalized and that follow a global set of 'rules' (Larner & Le Heron, 2004, p. 213). Although in many ways a global set of rules can be identified, the impacts of these techniques and strategies have not been homogeneous. Lingard's (2000) concept of *vernacular globalization* provides a way of conceiving of the relationship among local contexts, the state and supranational forces as contingent and specific. While it is not my intention to examine individual cases where programs of neoliberalism have been adopted, I am interested in the general ways in which the process of educational policy conception and formation at the supranational level are informed by contextual and practical interaction with the policy, much of which reflects strong neoliberal discourses.

Analytic tools from the governmentality literature

Following those who have come to understand neoliberalism as a governmentality (e.g., Dean, 1999; Larner, 2000; Olssen, 2006; Rose, 1999), I have chosen to adopt Foucault's (1991) ideas about governmentality as a way to conceptualize my study. In this section, following a definition of governmentality, I provide an explanation of the key concepts that I employ in my

analysis of the texts related to the Education for All movement: rationalities, technologies, neoliberalism, and government at a distance.

Different from the term government, the concept of governmentality "seeks to distinguish the particular mentalities, arts and regimes of government and administration that have emerged since 'early modern Europe'" (Dean, 1999, p. 2). Governmentality places particular emphasis on issues of "human conduct in all contexts, by various authorities and agencies, invoking particular forms of truth, and using definite resources, means and techniques" (p. 3). Governmentality therefore allows us to conceive of governing beyond traditional notions of government and the nation state. That is, governmentality does not exist in any one form but instead is a 'mentality' (Miller & Rose, 1993); the state is a particular form that the governing mentality has taken. State as a form of governmentality must therefore be recognized as only one possible form of government, and attention to its interventions, calculations and organization must be considered from this perspective.

Rationalities.

Different political rationalities offer different justifications and interpretations that are implicated in the networks of power in any governing body. In an analysis of policy, the political struggle among rationalities is a key focus, as each policy construction is both an attempt to highlight previous problems and to present future solutions (Miller & Rose, 1993). The questions of what, to begin with, is and is not a problem is dictated by rationalities that draw on or are informed by different knowledges. Knowledges render certain aspects

of existence thinkable and therefore addressable (Miller & Rose, 1993). In considering the rationalities of neoliberalism, the types of knowledges legitimated are key; through neoliberal rationalities, certain aspects or modes of existence are made thinkable or not.

The interaction between political rationalities and discursive devices, such as language, writing and computing, occurs within what can be considered the discursive field of governmentality. In such interaction, discourse is regarded as a technology of thought that operates through the technical devices of the discursive field (Miller & Rose, 1993). Within a discursive field, 'knowing' relates to how certain objects and subjects are rendered as knowable, or not, in particular conceptual forms of governing (Foucault, 1991; McNay, 1994; Miller & Rose, 1993).

Miller and Rose (1993) note that rationalities of government, such as those operating as the systems of knowledge or the logic of neoliberalism, are created largely out of linguistic elements that articulate government within certain discursive matrices. These systematic matrices are a complex and heterogeneous combination of "philosophical doctrines, notions of social and human realities, theories of power, conceptions of policy and versions of justice" (p. 80). The discursive matrix constituted by these rationalities serves to construct the appropriate conditions within which social life can be mobilized and organized (Miller & Rose, 1993).

Technologies.

Another dimension of governmentality involves its technical aspects - technologies. Technologies include the specific "means, mechanisms, procedures, instruments, tactics, techniques, technologies and vocabularies" [by which] authority is constituted and rule is accomplished (Dean, 1999, p. 31). A rationality, then, becomes governmental when it "attaches itself to a technology for its realization" (Rose, 1999, p. 51). Technologies are operationalized to meet certain ends; that is, technologies of government are "imbued with aspirations for the shaping of conduct in the hope of producing certain desired effects and averting certain undesired events" (p. 52).

The diversity of objects and elements that can be considered technologies of government are identifiable by their concrete and tangible form; they are the media, practices, processes, strategies, arrangements, tools, texts, and artifacts that are the material manifestations of the rationalities for achieving "certain outcomes in the conduct of the governed" (Rose, 1999, p. 52):

> A technology of government , then, is an assemblage of forms of practical knowledge, with modes of perception, practices of calculation, vocabularies, types of authority, forms of judgment, architectural forms, human capacities, non-human objects and devices, inscription techniques and so forth. (p. 53)

Government at a distance.

Neoliberal governmentality, rather than regulated by the goals of a particular nation or state, is operationalized by the technologies (i.e., actions,

calculations, strategies) and rationalities of independent authorities. Connections and alignments may be formed among these authorities or organizations, though the adoption and operation of both rationalities and technologies, such that a variety of experts or authorities from diverse cultures and political systems can interact across spatial and temporal distances (Rose, 1999, pp. 49-50). The processes and practices that relay or are relayed through the rationalities and technologies of experts of one authority or organization to others can be considered government at a distance (Rose, 1999, p. 49).

Foucault's (1991) ideas are pertinent in an analysis of the ways in which neoliberalism relies on the self-governing of individuals. Where many other forms of analysis explore concepts related to government in terms of binaries, such as public versus private, state versus civil society or domination versus emancipation, Foucault's governmentality allows exploration of power in a much more complex way; the changing concerns and ambitions of the various social authorities that influence individuals and groups are understood in relation to the rationalities and technologies that operate in the alignment of certain policies (Miller & Rose, 1993; Rose, 1996). For Foucault (1979), governmentality was the "ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics, that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power" (as cited in Miller & Rose, 1993, p. 95).

Emphasis on sites of authority represents not a decrease in the level of governmentality but rather a shift in the site of governing. Various social, political, and economic authorities are able to link the actions of individuals to

political objectives, and thereby engage in government at a distance. Because one of the central doctrines of neoliberalism is the self-limiting state, there is an increased role and importance in the technologies that relate social, economic and individual behaviour to political rationalities (Miller & Rose, 1993). Individuals may be considered 'free' and as operating in private spaces and in private interactions while still being 'ruled' and shaped according to the political objectives of certain authorities and experts. It seems counter-intuitive to assert that ruling can occur without breaching the formal autonomy of individuals and spaces but, through an analysis of governmentality, one is able to see how governance occurs through self-regulation - through the 'conduct of conduct' of individuals - who, by enacting the technologies in increasing and various spheres of society, put into play the rationalities of neoliberalism (Rose, 1999, p. 51).

Neoliberalism.

As suggested above, when considered a governmentality, neoliberalism can be seen to have relatively less role for government (although to achieve this it must make use of the power of government) and instead be more concerned with the process of self-regulation. Through technologies that translate the rationalities of neoliberalism to the individual level, governing occurs away from state institutions. While many accounts of neoliberalism focus on its declining emphasis on government, the importance of the type of governing it employs should not be overlooked. In examining neoliberal governmentality, there is perhaps even more emphasis on governing than on analyses which rely upon a more state-centered approach. That is, neoliberal rationalities, reflected in the

nature of its doctrines, perceptions of reality, assumptions about liberty and justice, theories of power, and policy conceptions are very strongly linked, even inextricably connected to economic and individually based principles. This strong emphasis on the role of the individual allows us to see how neoliberalism functions, at a distance, at the level of actors at the local site (Peters, 1996; Rose, 1996).

Where other political rationalities might emphasize socially or democratically based principles, neoliberal governmentality instead incorporates these less as principles and more as techniques through which ends are to be achieved. In this sense, the principle of individual economic freedom is not a rationality through which to gain a more socially oriented set of circumstances; it is instead the means by which individuals are enabled, through technologies and practices, to enact and reproduce neoliberal forms of logic or reason that align with the policy rationalities of various supranational organizations and authorities.

Governmentality and the World Bank and EFA documents

In examining EFA documents of the World Bank in relation to the wider discursive practices and social domains within which they interact, the concepts from the governmentality literature, outlined above, serve as useful conceptual tools (Ball, 1994). In the following section, I employ these tools with specific reference to the function of the World Bank as it relates to education and EFA policy.

The prominence of "neoliberalism extends to those capitalist countries participating in the global economy, and its impacts are more widely

geographically dispersed through the activities of such groups as the World Bank and the IMF" (Davies & Bansel, 2007, p. 247). The World Bank is involved in projects around the globe ranging in purpose but each arguably with a similar set of neoliberal rationalities. As one of the leading international financial institutions (IFI), the World Bank has been able to set the agenda on the consideration of a variety of issues that are to be addressed at the global level. As such, it has become a key authority in the area of education. Specifically, education has been taken up at the supranational level by the World Bank and its partners as both an area in need of attention - a problem, and as the mechanism with which to address areas in need of attention - a solution. Poverty, economic instability, gender inequity, just to name a few, are issues that have been tied to education, reviving the role and sparking revisions to the mandates of a variety of non-governmental and supranational organizations worldwide. The type of policy needed to address the issues identified by these organizations emphasizes the role of education in economic growth and innovation (Lingard, Rawolle, & Taylor, 2005, p. 760). Lingard et al. note that:

> In effect, the concept of educational policy as a field has multiple levels, one of which includes a global character under the increasing influence of international agencies such as the World Bank, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and UNESCO. (p. 760).

While the message sent by the World Bank and partner organizations is one of support for making the situation for people across the globe more positive,

the type of improvements both to education and contingent upon greater educational efforts are constructed almost entirely by a narrow set of neoliberal rationalities. While there are many arguments in favor of the actions of neoliberal supranational organizations and authorities in the realm of education, there is, however, "considerable evidence that the development of neoliberal discourses, policies and practices has been concertedly financed and engineered by those with a great deal to gain financially from the resulting labour practices and flows of capital" (Davies & Bansel, 2007, p. 248).

The focus on Education for All (EFA) by a number of supranational organizations, particularly the World Bank, has been at the center of critical inquiry by a variety of authors. The history and current policies and practices of EFA are strongly connected by the textual technologies of the five multilateral organizations that were involved in arranging the World Conference for Education for All in 1990. Indeed, they "remain the key international stakeholders in the EFA movement: UNESCO, UNDP, UNFPA, UNICEF and the World Bank" (UNESCO, 2008). These organizations have continued to track, report on and update EFA documents and EFA projects worldwide. The 2000 EFA conference in Dakar resulted in the creation of the Dakar framework (Tamatea, 2005). The conference report from 1990, the reports through the 1990s, and the publications resulting from the Dakar conference in 2000 reflect a high degree of intertextual coherence and, subsequently, promote a high degree of policy alignment.

Evolving EFA documents have not only been impacted by EFA reports but also by a variety of other reports. As apparent on the World Bank EFA website (UNESCO, 2008), other textual technologies that have bearing on the recent developments in the EFA movement include the processes and frameworks of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) initiated by the IMF and the World Bank in 1999:

> The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper serves as a comprehensive country-based strategy for poverty reduction with the objective of providing the crucial link between national public actions, donor support, and the development outcomes needed to meet the MDGs [Millennium Development Goals]. PRSPs provide the operational basis for IMF and World Bank concessional lending and for debt relief under the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative. (World Bank, 2009a)

The high degree of intertextuality is significant in the alignment of rationalities within and among the EFA documents. The texts operationalize government at distance. They reflect and relay, over time and space, similar and coherent understandings of relationships, audiences, and meanings (Fairclough, Jessop, & Sayer, 2004, p. 35).

Textual documents serve as technologies aiding in governmentality, by outlining, shaping and articulating, implicitly and explicitly, dominant rationalities for the conduct of conduct of individuals. Through their expression in the textual technologies of official reports and other documents, the

rationalities of particular 'expert authorities' (i.e., the IMF and World Bank) are translated and aligned among the policies of various partners (i.e., UNESCO, UNDP, UNFPA, UNICEF) and, in turn, are relayed to myriad 'stakeholder' groups and sites of practice.

Methodology

My research project engaged a critical policy analysis in which documents were understood as technological components of discursive matrices (Miller & Rose, 1993) or, in Fairclough's (1992) terms, as specific instances of language, one of the dimensions of discursive events. I visited, and revisited, World Bank EFA documents developed between 2001 and 2007. This examination of the policy documents of the website of the World Bank allowed for the exposure and identification of "historically transitory constraints of contemporary consciousness as realized in and through discursive practices" (Olssen & Codd, 2004, p. 39). In other words, in the terms I outlined in the above section on "Conceptualizing the Study," the rationalities of the World Bank are revealed in its current technologies - its documents and textual practices. In this regard, policy and practice are technologies of governmentality. As Fairclough (1989) notes, situated within social practice, policy as text is not separate from, or prior to, discursive practice:

> In seeing language as discourse and as social practices, one is committing oneself not just to analyzing texts, nor just to analyzing processes of production and interpretation, but to analyzing the relationship between texts, processes, and their social conditions, both

> the immediate conditions of the situational context and the more remote conditions of institutional and social structures. (as cited in Olssen & Codd, 2004, p. 69)

In this research, as the documents of my analysis are from the same institution over time, I paid careful attention to changes in discourse. Critical discourse analysis (CDA), therefore, offered an appropriate methodological strategy for my purposes. I provide a description of CDA as a research method (Fairclough, 2006, 2003); however, before doing so, an explanation of how I understand and utilize the concept of discourse is necessary.

Discourse: Language and power

Saussure prepared the way for a materialist theory of language. In this sense, discourse has come to "be used to embody both the formal system of signs *and* the social practices which govern their use" (emphasis in the original Olssen, Codd & O'Neill, 2004, p. 65). Discourse, then, refers to both the meaning of language and the real or material effects of language use (Olssen et al., 2004). For Saussure, discourse is a part, or domain, of lived experience as it is a part of language use. Relating these ideas about discourse to political philosophy, Althusser (1969) argued that ideology could be unconscious and embedded within a "taken for granted 'system of representations'" (p. 231 as cited in Olssen et al., 2004, p. 65). In this use of discourse, ideology "is *inscribed* in discourse rather than symbolized by it" (emphasis in the original Olssen et al., 2004, p. 65).

Foucault takes the consideration of discourse in yet another important direction. While Foucault's use of discourse can be taken up as a materialist

conception, it is important to acknowledge that it is a conception that works with dimensions of analysis other than the economic and material analysis inspired by Marxism; that is not to say that those dimensions will be excused from my analysis. Foucault's discussion of discourse is highly tied to his conception of power: "Rather than being a possession or commodity, power is exercised through dispositions, techniques, examinations and discourses" (Olssen et al., 2004, p. 66). Linking power to discourse, Foucault (1994, p. 31 as cited in Olssen et al, 2004) states that:

> In a society such as ours, but basically in any society, there are manifold relations of power which permeate, characterize and constitute the social body, and these relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse. There can be no possible exercise of power without a certain economy of discourses of truth which operates through and on the basis of this association. (pp. 66-67).

Fairclough (2003) recognizes Foucault's important contributions to discourse analysis that place discourse as a materialist conception. Fairclough's work with CDA is far more oriented toward textual analysis than that of Foucault, opening up new and important processes of inquiry (Olssen et al., 2004, p. 68). The social and political elements of Foucault's analysis of discursive practices are integrated with the linguistically oriented methodological strategy of Fairclough (Olssen et al., 2004, p. 68).

The relationship between power and discourse within the methodological strategy of CDA is understood as complex and multidirectional. Olssen, Codd and O'Neill (2004) note the following:

> The power that is exercised through discourse is a form of power which permeates the deepest recesses of civil society and provides the material conditions in which individuals are produced both as subjects and as objects. It is this form of power which is exercised through the discourses of the law, of medicine, psychology and education. These discourses, however, are more than texts. They constitute material and social practices, and as such they both mediate and constitute relations of power. (p. 67).

Critical Discourse Analysis

CDA is concerned with the "relations between discourse and other elements of social life" (Fairclough, 2006, p. 10). For Fairclough (2006, 2003) CDA is characterized by an "interdiscursive hybridity" or "interdiscursive analysis". This approach sees "texts in terms of the different discourses, genres and styles they draw upon and articulate together" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 3).

Adopting the distinction from Harvey (1996), Fairclough (2006) takes discourse as one "of six distinctive and dialectically related moments in the social process: discourse, power, beliefs and values and desires, social relations, institutions and rituals, and material practices" (p. 22). The relationship between the moments is dialectical within the framework of CDA in that it does account for flows and relations between each and recognizes "that flows crystallize into

relative 'permanences'" (p. 23). These permanences become stable as they are manifest in different social institutions and may cause some within such institutions to gain the misimpression that these crystallizations are immovable (p. 23). However, rather than a determiner of social life, discourse "signals the particular view of language … as an element of social life which is closely interconnected with other elements" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 3). In the terms of CDA, discourse has a constitutive but not a determinative character (Fairclough, 2006, p. 23).

CDA and global governmentality.

Fairclough (2006) discusses the importance of attention to language at the global level. Because the networks and flows between agencies such as the World Bank and the United Nations involved the exchange of representations and discourses of global issues and events, "it is partly language that is globalizing and is globalized" (p. 3). Fairclough argues that the involvement of the World Bank in the international economy and its promotion of global capitalism is a dramatic situation in which the real processes of globalization have served the interests of a very distinct discourse. Fairclough argues that the broad discourse operating in and through organizations such as the World Bank is globalism:

> Globalism is the strategy and discourse of globalization which has become most influential, has had most effect on actual processes of change, and is associated with the most powerful countries, international agencies and corporations. The key feature of globalism is that it interprets globalization in a neoliberal way as primarily the liberalization

> and global integration of markets, linked to the spread of a particular version of '(western) democracy', and the strategies it is associated with are aimed at shifting or inflecting globalization in a neoliberal direction. To put the point in a more contentious way, it is a strategy of hijacking globalization in the service of particular national and corporate interests. (pp. 7-8).

My critique of EFA policy documents of the World Bank website reflects Fairclough's (2006) assessment of the neoliberal strategies and discourses of globalism; however, my intention is to further this critique by tracing these strategies and discourses as they function as governmentality, with particular attention to the specific rationalities by which education is made understandable and to the technologies that operationalize those understandings in certain ways. In this approach, my analysis takes on a different emphasis than that of Fairclough; nevertheless, his methodological strategies were helpful to me as the data I examine are exclusively textual. As a linguistically oriented methodological strategy, CDA allowed me to see text as "instances of discourse practice, and as instances of social practice" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 269) and, as such, as constitutive of rationalities for education and the material technologies of practice that are, in effect, producers and mediators of truth and, in this sense, of power through knowledge (Foucault, 1994).

Method

As data, I selected the texts of the World Bank because they are publicly available and offer a number of versions over time. After identifying the texts to

be included in the analysis as those pertaining specifically to EFA, I began a process of reading and re-reading while thinking of the texts in their entirety as not only policy, but as discourse. The documents examined include:

- *Accelerating Progress Towards Education for All* (2001)
- *Education for Dymanic Economies: Action Plan to Accelerate Progress Towards Education for All* (EFA) (2002)
- *Education for All (EFA) – Fast-Track Initiative: Progress Report* (2004)
- *Education for All (EFA) – Fast-Track Initiative (EFA-FTI)* (2006)
- *Education for All (EFA) – Fast-Track Initiative (EFA-FTI)* (2007)

I started with the earliest text in my group, the report *Accelerating Progress Towards Education for All* (APTEFA) of 2001. After numerous reviews of that particular document, and before moving on to later reports, I employed the CDA strategies of reading with an eye to general topics and themes and for repetition, and I then began looking for evidence of "permanences" in the discourse - of indications where policy statements seemed to forward certain 'truths': 'logical' solutions to clearly articulated 'problems' that were indicative of certain seemingly assumed values, philosophies, or ideologies. In this work, I began to recognize policy rationalities in what was represented as coherent logic and, so, I decided to categorize significant quotes and pieces of information of the 2001 report according to Miller and Rose's (1993) five elements of discourse, mentioned earlier, that together form rationalities: philosophical doctrines, notions of social and human realities, theories of power, conceptions of policy and versions of justice. Under each of the five categories I tracked where certain

selections of the report overlapped two or more categories. In addition to repetitions, I also made note of contradictions and distinctions.

I continued this process of categorization for the reports of 2002 through 2007. Additionally, for these reports I began tracking overlaps, repetitions, contradictions and distinctions over time by comparing reports. This comparison allowed for the illumination of certain trajectories, emphasis, breaks and leaps.

After the initial identification of trajectories, the process of tracing elements through the time period involved re-examination of the reports in order to identify shifts, however subtle, in the how the trajectories fit with the Miller and Rose's (1993) elements of rationality. This more detailed examination provided the opportunity for more in depth analysis of features that were in some way notable over time.

In addition to my interest in rationalities, I was able to use CDA to identify the material dimension of discourse - discursive and social practices - specifically as these relate to the operation of technologies of governmentality. I noted all texts that were specific to putting the various rationalities into practice. Specifically, I looked for any texts that seemed to be instrumental in or actual instruments for making objects and subjects visible and 'knowable' and for putting into action 'solutions'. I looked for key strategies for keeping records, tracking, reporting, and sharing information; and I paid special attention to texts that were meant to regulate processes, procedures, organizational structures, and arrangements of time, space, or groups and individuals.

My analyses of discourse with specific attention to rationalities and technologies also allowed me to be simultaneously reading the texts through a conceptualization of government at a distance. In this regard, I made note of key authorities and organizations, and how these provided certain kinds of 'expert knowledge' that was to be translated, at a distance, vis-à-vis rationalities and technologies, from the key authorities and organizations to various local sites, groups, and individuals.

These methods and analytic strategies allowed me to think about the organization of the following chapters. To begin, it made sense to me to write about the analysis, first, in relation to general ideas about the key organizations, and about the authority and expert positions of these supranational organizations as governmental bodies involved in developing policy for a kind of globalized education. Thus, Chapter 3 is based on my research specific to how pertinent scholarly literature has defined and described the actors and the roles of supranational and local policy levels. In this chapter I argue that the World Bank, as a key supranational expert and facilitator, has put into circulation rationalities of economic developmentalism and human capital and, specific to EFA, has contributed to the introduction of the rationality of the knowledge economy to the global education policy sphere.

In Chapter 4, I look specifically at the data I generated through my examination of World Bank EFA documents, to provide a more specific analysis of the prevailing rationalities for global education policy and development. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 pick up on the analysis of the identified prevailing

rationalities to examine the implications of these in EFA policy. Specifically, I examine the key technologies identified in the EFA reports and I discuss how these technologies are linked to and reproduce, through government at a distance, the WB and EFA rationalities of neoliberal governmentality. In Chapter 8, I provide a brief summary and offer some concluding remarks and some tentative recommendations for further study.

Chapter 3: Education and Supranational Actors

Neoliberal governmentality is expressed through a combination of rationalities, which this chapter examines more fully. As the authority of supranational actors is essential in the continued expression of this governmentality, it is necessary to address the rationality of developmentalism upon which many of these organization emerged and through which the involvement of these organizations in EFA policy has been justified. The economic orientation of neoliberalism is also explored through an understanding of economic rationality that follows the logic of global capitalism. Also related to the economic rationality through which neoliberal governmentality is expressed is the rationality of human capital development. This rationality is directly related to how education is positioned as a 'solution' in the global context.

Actors

The process of globalization leads to increased complexities in interactions, not only between states, but also between a wide variety of actors. While globalization can be understood to be related to reduced barriers for transplanetary and supraterritorial interactions, the reduction of barriers allows for new and complex power relationships, and the operation of increased levels of government at a distance. It is in working with these relationships that identifying sets of actors is important in this analysis.

In naming or labeling actors some terms will be more value laden than others and will apply to certain discussions more readily than to others. In this analysis, I use the term Global South to refer to states that may have been

considered the developing countries in the developed/developing binary or the Third World in the language of post Cold War politics (Black, 2002). The term Global South is used in an attempt to minimize associations with harmful connotations while recognizing, as Black (2002) succinctly put it, "that none is satisfactory" (p. 14).

Important also to identify are the organizations acting at various levels in the globalization process; that is inter-, intra-, and supra- nationally. Supranational actors (SNAs) can be understood in broad terms to include nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), sometimes referred to as international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs), intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), international financial institutions (IFIs) and transnational companies (TNCs). As key inter- intra- and supranational players, each of these actor groups can be considered to be governmental authorities.

As many scholars highlight (both those in favor of and providing critique), globalization is often associated with power relations that favor a western market model, and more specifically, a neoliberal approach to governance generally and to education policy and practice in particular (Apple, 2000; Bloom, 2004; Tikly, 2004; Wolf, 2004). In this regard, significant are the IFIs that Gelinas (2002) refers to as the 'pillars of the system,' including the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development or World Bank (WB), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Trade Organization (WTO). There has been much research and debate as to the function, legitimacy and transparency of these pillars, yet their roles as authority and as holding expert knowledges remain

dominant (Gelinas, 2002, p. 111). In considering the authority that the actors are recognized as having, Petras (2001) notes that:

> Politically the NGOs fit into the new thinking of imperialist strategists. While the IMF, World Bank and TNCs work with domestic elites at the top to pillage the economy, the NGOs engage in a complementary activity at the bottom, neutralizing and fragmenting the burgeoning discontent that results from the savaging of the economy. (Petras, 2001, p. 138)

Supranational Government at a Distance

The ways in which neoliberal governmentality has operated among and between the various global actors, predominantly at a distance, across borders and ideologies and adapted to a variety of contexts, is particularly important to consider. Tikly's (2004) concept of new imperialism captures the way in which neoliberal rationalities and technologies operate at global or supraterritorial levels to advance and normalize the interests of the Global North, particularly the interests of the United States. He traces the promotion of neoliberal economic theories in the post Second World War era in the United States, through to their influence on the Washington Consensus of the 1980s. According to Tikly, in this era, the economic challenges to society became the assumed basis for governmental intervention and, thus, came to inform and shape the frameworks of the major supranational agencies and organizations. The development role for IGOs was emphasized and there emerged a special attention to the potential for education to have economic implications (Resnik, 2006, p.180). The

development role of IGOs has increasingly been bolstered by the policies and financing initiatives of the IFIs.

One of the most pervasive aspects of the technologies of neoliberal governmentality is the importance of the 'spirit of individual responsibility' (McNally, 2006, p. 88) or possessive individualism (Dossa, 2007). The functioning of the neoliberal mechanisms depends on the extent to which practices of reciprocity and redistribution are extinguished (McNally, 2006, p. 88). That is, it is not a natural progression or evolution that has led to the destruction of collective practices and the development of individually oriented systems; the system of capitalism that is promoted and spread by global neoliberal rationalities (Black, 2002; Ellwood, 2001; Madeley, 2002; McNally, 2006; Tikly, 2004) and their corollary technologies, such as those labeled 'free trade,' serve to regulate the market in certain ways, rendering it in alignment with policies and practices of the West (McNally, 2006, p. 97).

Beyond favoring the West in economic and trade practices, the international political economy becomes an assemblage of technologies for making global governance decisions based on capital control, often presenting the decision-making systems as democratic (Apple, 2000; Gelinas, 2002; Jubilee South, 2002). In this context, global governance is "used to capture the fact that the global polity is an evolving set of processes and interactions (rather than a fixed rule system and administrative hierarchy) that by definition involves heterogeneous private and public actors at multiple levels or scales of action: local, national, international, and supranational" (Mundy, 2007, p. 343). The role

of the local, individual actor, then, is in relation to economic processes. Thus, this kind of participation rearticulates 'democracy' in terms of economy. Tying democracy to supranational neoliberal economic rationalities, participation at all levels, including at the local level of the individual, serves to shift attention away from alternative attempts at collective and participatory democracy and decision making.

The World Bank

As one of the most powerful authorities on international development and one of the key supranational actors involved in providing expert knowledge to the EFA project, the World Bank (WB) warrants special attention. The WB is one of the most influential global governance institutions and is the largest of the main international financial institutions (IFI); it may be considered the "flagship of the entire foreign aid business" (Gelinas, 2002, p. 108). As an authority in the areas of development, finance and more recently education, it is involved in projects and policies across the globe in a range of fields, including that of global education policy. In this section, to better understand the authority role of this supranational actor in the processes of globalization and development, particularly as they relate to education, I explore the history, rationalities and relationships of the WB.

Bretton Woods

The current international financial system and the predominance of neoliberalism and its accompanying capitalist economic rationalities have arguably emerged at a global scale as a result of a particular trajectory set in place

by the Bretton Woods Agreement (Chan, 2007, p. 363). This agreement was the outcome of a 1944 post-World War II meeting in New Hampshire of 44 Allied states, including the USSR, that produced three transnational forces that remain active to this day in maintaining a specific international economic system (Gelinas, 2002, p. 106). These forces include the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which has a well-defined legal directive to restructure the economies of states with high debt levels (Brawley, 2003, p. 207); the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) which became the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1995 and is now charged with settling disputes between members (Urmetzer, 2003); and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development or the World Bank, whose role in the international economic system will be explored in more detail.

Since its inception in 1945, the World Bank has been involved in development financing. Initially the official name of the World Bank was the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, indicating the two initial missions of the bank after World War II; that of development of the Global South and the reconstruction of Europe (Gelinas, 2002, p. 107). As the reconstruction role was mainly taken over by the United States shortly after its creation, the World Bank has focused almost exclusively on development. As primarily a lender for development, the WB requires that loans are made, and that the pace of lending is kept at a rate that ensures the international importance of the role of the Bank (Gelinas, 2002, p. 107).

Today the World Bank Group is comprised of five institutions: the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the International Development Association (IDA), the International Finance Corporation (IFC), the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA) and the International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID) (World Bank, 2009b). Currently there are 185 member states of the IBRD, the original WB institution (World Bank, 2009b). The World Bank Group employs over 10,000 development professionals. People from many countries across the globe are employed in the 109 country offices and the headquarters in Washington, D.C (Ocampo & Neu, 2008, pp. 10-11).

Rationalities of Developmentalism: The Washington and Post-Washington Consensus

Identifying *neoliberal developmentalism* and *human developmentalism* as the dominant 'truths' and rationalities underlying conceptions of global governance in the Bretton Woods institutions, Chan (2007) traces shifts in and competing paradigms of global governance. The term *developmentalism* is at the core of both concepts that the WB has held as fundamental to , and refers to the "construction of a hegemonic representation of the developing world to be lifted out of poverty through western episteme (Chan, 2007, p. 360). Ocampo and Neu (2008) compare the interaction of the WB with borrowing countries to that of missionaries with the former colonial world:

> Luckily the Bank's missionaries are there to initiate salvation with specific management systems, proper reporting mechanisms, contracting procedures and auditing practices, all well-researched and proven in a

> land far away, with clear ideas of what constitutes paradise on earth but with little in common with the borrower country. (Ocampo & Neu, 2008, p. 10)

Since the 1980s, the policies and projects of the WB have been very much in line with the rationality of what has been termed the 'Washington Consensus,' which can be considered an example of neoliberal developmentalism (Chan, 2007, p. 366). This consensus refers to the policy agenda that not only the WB, but also the IMF and the US Executive Board were following in the 1980s in their dealings with Latin America (Bonal, 2002, p. 6). The policy prescriptions of the Washington Consensus placed particular merit on capitalist market values. The policies emphasized "fiscal discipline, public expenditure cuts, tax reforms, financial liberalization, competitive exchange rates, trade liberalization, foreign direct investment, deregulation, and property rights" (Chan, 2007, p. 367).

The overarching goal of this developmentalist rationality was the insertion of states of the Global South into the global economy. In order to achieve this insertion, neoliberal economic stabilization was seen as necessary and the policy prescription of the Washington Consensus required governments to take a number of concrete measures. Gore (2000) describes the national reform directions as follows:

> Pursue macro-economic stability by controlling inflation and reducing fiscal deficits; Open their economies to the rest of the world through trade and capital account liberalization; Liberalise domestic product and

> factor markets through privatization and deregulation. (pp.789-790 as cited in Bonal, 2002, p. 6)

The policies inspired by the Washington Consensus have only been a small part of the collection of WB technologies to infuse all types of human interactions, discourses and practices with neoliberal rationalities (Bonal, 2002, p.4). While the Washington Consensus can be considered an example of the neoliberal developmentalist approach, the neoliberal rationality at its base is consistent with the human developmentalist approach. Although there is a greater focus on human rights and well being within the rationality of the human developmentalist approach, what remains is the central logic that development problems require solutions based largely on global economic participation, to be provided by experts of the Global North (Chan, 2007, p. 371).

In the early 1990s, the World Bank shifted its approach to emphasize "people-oriented projects and the elimination of poverty" (Neu & Ocampo, 2007, p. 369). With increases in disparity and poverty worldwide, a new Post-Washington Consensus gained momentum in the WB, and more contextual approaches were called for in policy recommendations (Bonal, 2002, p. 12). Fine (2001) provides an account of some of the main elements of the Post-Washington Consensus:

> First, it is sharply critical of the Washington Consensus and seeks an alternative in which state intervention is greater in depth and breadth. Second, it rejects the analytical agenda of state versus market, arguing that two are compliments and can work together and not against one

> another. Third, if less explicit, it poses an alternative agenda for development economics and policy debate, seeking to establish the appropriate role of the state in view of market imperfections. Fourth, it also brings the social back into the analysis as the means of addressing, and potentially correcting, market imperfections rather than simply creating them as for the Washington Consensus for which the world would be a better place if it were made more and more, if not completely, like the market. (p.139 as cited in Bonal, 2002, p. 13)

As there is an increased emphasis on human rights and social well-being, the Post-Washington Consensus is an example of global governance based on the rationality of the human developmentalism.

Despite the change in approach, the goals of the WB agenda have remained quite similar to those originally influenced by the Washington Consensus. Essentially, the neoliberal economic rationality is still guiding the objectives of WB involvement and the "strategies against poverty do not necessarily entail a redistributive economic and social policy" (Bonal, 2002, p. 14). Ocampo and Neu (2008) note that, despite the increased attention to social responsibility in its promotion efforts and public image, the WB has not provided a clear definition of what is meant by social responsibility (p. 14). In particular, the definition of social responsibility and consciousness remains inseparable from the Bank's role as lender (Ocampo & Neu, 2008, p. 14). Although there has been increased attention in the media to a representation of the WB as having a

predominantly humanitarian role, the goals of the WB that have been consistently stated and clearly defined are:

> (1) to finance development by lending money while seeking maximum profits as circumstances dictate; (2) 'to promote private foreign investments'; (3) 'to promote the long-range balanced growth of international trade'. (Gelinas, 2002, p. 107)

It is still very much a priority for the WB that the economies of states across the world become a part of the global economy; thus, "in policy terms the Post-Washington Consensus does not differ radically from the Washington Consensus" (Bonal, 2002, p. 13).

The World Bank and Global Governmentality

Neu and Ocampo (2007) argue that the WB, among other supranational actors, functions as a facilitating and coordinating agency in the processes of global governmentality. The role of such a coordinating agency is to make possible linkages between different fields (Neu & Ocampo, 2007, p. 367). These fields may be linked across boundaries that were formerly considered local, national and supranational, or across disciplines that were formerly not considered as highly related, such as the economic and educational fields. Acting across fields and having the ability to link fields in certain ways requires that the actor have sufficient economic capital and authority to access fields that are not immediate or familiar to that particular actor (Neu & Ocampo, 2007, p. 367).

As the WB does possess the economic capital to access a variety of fields, and as it is regarded as the main authority in a number of development issues, it is

also able to access a variety of actors within those fields to establish particular connections (Neu & Ocampo, 2007, p. 373). The outcome of the WB holding this form of authority and power is that the processes of globalization are arguably skewed to favor certain neoliberal practices and linkages that center on the infusion of financial and economic rationalities into a wide array of processes (Ocampo & Neu, 2008, p. 10).

The World Bank Expertise: Economic and Human Capital Rationalities

Although not in its initial mandate, the WB has become a key player in the emerging field of global education policy. Following Foucault (1994), Davies and Bansel (2007) note that: "Education policy is a key component to a\the governmentality of supranational organizations as it structures the "possible field of action of others" (p. 248). Part of this structuring of the field is dependent on the dissemination of new discourses and rationalities (p. 248). In the emergence of a social order in which supranational organizations are of increasing importance, rationalities to organize and appropriate subjects in a way that allows for the functioning of the international systems are emerging. The supranational organizations responsible for ordering international systems have represented a narrow, even singular, outlook which focuses on the functioning of the economy to the standards of neoliberal capitalism. Foucault (1994) noted that the "modes of action" of people in power are "more or less considered and calculated," (p. 341 as cited in Davies & Bansel, 2007, p. 248), and there is evidence of this calculation at the supranational level.

The WB rationalities of the capitalist economy and of developmentalism can be considered to have a priviledged position in the current form of global governance generally, and in the field of global education policy more specifically, as the WB itself is considered to be the source of expert knowledge in these areas. Of the institutions involved in perpetuating certain rationalities in education policy, Bonal (2002) asserts that the WB is located as the main "subject of globalization of education" (p. 4). There is much evidence demonstrating that the WB, as an authority, has the "political and economic capacity to generate global changes in educational discourses and practices" (Bonal, 2002, p. 4). The WB has also been a crucial actor in fostering a convergent understanding of education policy and goals at the level of global governance (Bonal, 2002, p. 4).

The convergence of policy processes and goals promoted by the WB can be considered a process of alignment or harmonization in which the discourses of many fields of social life are translated into economic terms. Problems, obstacles and changes in these fields are then made intelligible, as rationalities, and actionable, as technologies, in the operation of neoliberal governmentality. While under the Post-Washington Consensus a greater variety of social fields have been involved in the consideration of policy processes and goals, the core consideration of these social interactions and fields is based on economic and developmentalist rationalities, which serve to reinforce the prevailing policies for education development (Bonal, 2002, p. 15).

At the root of the dominance of global neoliberalism are material ambitions of those institutions and actors who are the authorities on issues of

global governance. The neoliberal and market-led understanding of global interactions and development emphasize the involvement of states in the global economy for increased national well-being. In positioning states' well-being as contingent upon the extent of their involvement in the global economy, the WB is able to maintain and expand its role as an authority in both development and the global economy (Bonal, 2002, p. 16). Beyond merely setting the goals based on its having expert knowledge, the WB maintains "the last word" and is able to dictate and maintain despotic power in determining the best practices and processes for states to follow" (Bonal, 2002, p. 15).

Despite changes in policy recommendations and agenda, the desired outcomes and underlying economic and developmentalist rationalities of the WB remain largely consistent with regard to WB involvement in education. Bonal (2002) notes that since the late 1990s there has been evidence that commitments for education have an increased attention to social aspects; however, he questions the extent to which the underlying economic rationality of WB education policies is challenged (p. 13). Some of the basic characteristics of WB education policy are described by Bonal (2002) as being a focus on "the rates of return rationale for educational investments, the importance of private education, and the marginalization of vocational education and training" (p. 13).

Despite some shifts toward the inclusion of more social aspects in WB policy and processes, for the WB, the value of education is inextricably linked to economic growth made possible through the development of human capital. In this rationality, it is reasoned that developing human capital will make it possible

for economies to become increasingly competitive in the growing knowledge-based economy. Human capital logic asserts that economic growth and sustainability depend on the education of a highly trained and skilled workforce (Becker, 1975). Ocampo and Neu (2008) note that, by linking education so closely with economic growth, the inevitable expectation is that monetary gains can be made by investing in education infrastructure (p. 12). Having such expectations increases the likelihood that a focus on economic benefits of education will undermine or be at the cost of social, cultural and interpersonal benefits (p. 12).

As inspired by the agenda of the Post-Washington Consensus and as a strategy against poverty, one of the new 'missions' of the WB has been its highly influential involvement in education through the Education For All (EFA) commitment (Bonal, 2002, p. 14). The EFA program is consistent with other WB policy programs; instead of working to develop "context-based educational goals, it defines in advance which policy goals are desirable" (Bonal, 2002, p. 4).

The Knowledge Economy

Altbach and Knight (2007) note that global capital is highly invested in knowledge-based industries. They argue that the current level of investment in such industries is the highest it has ever been, and that this investment reflects the current emphasis on preparation of national systems to be competitive in the knowledge economy. In addition to noting the prominent position of knowledge in industry, Altbach and Knight (2007) outline the emergence of the 'knowledge society,' characterized by an increased dependence on "knowledge products and

highly educated personnel for economic growth" (p. 290). Globally competitive national economies are currently defined within WB discourse as being 'knowledge-based economies.' The trend toward knowledge-based economies is also the prescription for those national economies that are not currently competitive at the global scale. While it is hard to argue against the notion that more people around the globe should benefit from the expansion of economic interactions globally, it is important to understand what is meant by knowledge-based economy and how efforts to expand economies based on this rationality may have implications for education models.

The phrase 'knowledge economy'(KE) gained recognition in the 1980s as referring to the yielding of 'manual' or 'labour' skills to 'knowledge' as the basis for business and economic development (Peters, 2001, p. 2). Peters (2001) has defined the current mainstream use of 'knowledge economy' to have a number of characteristics, including:

- the economics of abundance;
- the annihilation of distance;
- the de-territorialisation of the state;
- the importance of local knowledge; and
- investment in human capital. (p. 3)

These characteristics come from a variety of fields and discourses. In particular business and management theory and economic theory have contributed to how these characteristics are a part of the KE. Futurology and sociology have also shaped aspects of these characteristics (p. 4).

Education for the Knowledge Economy

The restructuring of national education systems comes not only as a result of national emphasis on participation in the knowledge economy, but also as a result of the particular way the global economy is presented or constructed by supranational actors. Discussion of the knowledge economy among actors at the supranational level focuses on neoliberal understandings of human capital. It is also from this perspective that a number of states from the Global North, or western governments, have proceeded to restructure national education systems to adapt to the knowledge economy (Peters, 2001, p. 2). It has become a widely shared view among leaders of states of the Global North that "knowledge and skills now stand alone as the only source of comparative advantage" (Peters, 2001, p. 1).

The rationality of the knowledge economy has enormous implications for education systems as a number of supranational organizations, including the WB, have begun questioning the ability of current forms of schooling to meet demands created in and by a knowledge economy (Robertson, 2005, p. 153). The WB emphasizes education as crucial to participation in the new global knowledge economy (Peters, 2001, p. 1). The definition of 'knowledge economy' provided by the WB focuses on the last of the characteristics given by Peters (2001): investment in human capital. Investment in human capital is stressed as necessary to "compete effectively in today's dynamic global markets" (World Bank, 2009b). While the WB claims that assistance to develop human capital is aimed at creating "highly skilled and flexible human capital," there is an emphasis on developing the capacity of states "to produce and use knowledge," and it is this production

and use of knowledge "has become a major factor in development and is critical to a nation's comparative advantage" (World Bank, 2009b).

The role of education from the perspective of the WB is based on rationalities of economic developmentalism and human capital - the logic of developing skills for the growth of the knowledge economy. In order to structure education systems that are able to meet the needs of the knowledge economy, the WB calls for education systems to be designed based on individualism, and it places the market as a primary means for developing education for the knowledge economy (Robertson, 2005, p. 151). According to the logic of human capital development, increasing knowledge is understood to create economic growth (Robertson, 2005; Peters, 2001).

The WB promotes a knowledge-based economy and education for the knowledge economy in two ways. The first is by promoting the development of human capital to create a "framework for knowledge driven growth" (World Bank, 2009b). In particular, the dimension of this plan that attempts to "provide quality education to a larger share of each new generation of young people through expanded secondary and tertiary education," relates to WB education policy for school age children (World Bank, 2009b). The second manner in which the WB supports education for the knowledge economy is by promoting linkages between various actors at the national level. These linkages and networks are intended to take advantage of "global knowledge" by adapting it to "local needs" (World Bank, 2009b).

Chapter 4: The Rationalities of the World Bank EFA Reports

In this chapter I explore the nuances of the rationalities specific to EFA as presented in WB reports between 2001 and 2007. I analyze the rationalities with reference to the elements of Miller and Rose's (1993) the discursive matrix, which include: philosophical doctrines, human and social realities, conceptions of policy, theories of power and versions of justice. The discursive matrix within which rationalities are formed serves to construct the appropriate bases upon which social life can be mobilized and organized (Miller & Rose, 1993). Through their expression in official WB reports and other textual documents, elements of the discursive matrix are placed within a certain context, with a particular authority behind them and in relation to other documents and practices, so that some linkages are easily drawn and others not as readily drawn.

The close and detailed analysis of this chapter allows me to fully examine how the rationalities identified in the previous chapter are articulated in these documents specifically, and how government at a distance can operate through certain technologies. In the case of WB EFA reports, each of the three rationalities explored in Chapter 3, rationalities of developmentalism, economics and human capital, are evident. In exploring the processes of governing at a distance through how the desired goals and outcomes of the WB are relayed via its expertise and authority, I am able to consider these rationalities in more detail. It is through the complexity of the expression of these rationalities that their

corollary technologies are revealed as the material means by which the WB and EFA goals are to be achieved.

Philosophical Doctrines

Philosophical doctrines can be understood as principles upon which beliefs or theories arise. The philosophical doctrines examined in the EFA reports include the broad view of the world and EFA's place in it, the elements of human existence that are considered valuable, and epistemological justifications. These aspects of doctrines construct a version of human and social reality which is presented as the 'truth', or the 'correct' way of interpreting the world.

It is possible to identify the general philosophical doctrine of the report *Accelerating Progress Towards Education for All* (APTEFA) (2001) in its introductory paragraph's articulation of the WB commitment to EFA:
"Underlying these commitments is a recognition of the centrality of education in the promotion of the welfare of nations and a conducive investment climate, as well as the construction of democratic societies and knowledge-based, globally competitive economies" (World Bank, 2001, p. 1). This introductory excerpt highlights a number of facets of the philosophical doctrine guiding APTEFA 2001 and the WB stance toward EFA commitments.

Education as access to the economy

In the above statement education is linked to the economy as a way in which to promote a particular form of investment and as a way to enter global, knowledge-based economies. The focus on the knowledge-based economy and knowledge-driven development is the prevalent justification for attention to

education in APTEFA 2001. Education is presented as an 'instrument' for development and economic growth, placing it as in the service of and largely justified by economic goals. APTEFA 2001 states that:

> Education is one of the most powerful instruments for reducing poverty and inequality and for laying the basis for sustained economic growth. It is fundamental for the construction of democratic societies and knowledge-based, globally competitive economies.… Therefore, to ensure their full participation in knowledge-driven development, countries need to build their human capital and adapt their entire education system to the new challenges of the "learning" economy. (World Bank, 2001, p. 3)

The 'new challenges' of the knowledge-based economy are presented in APTEFA 2001 as requiring that individuals develop a form of human capital that is highly flexible. APTEFA 2001 links education and individual capacity to manage knowledge:

> For individuals and for countries, education is the key to creating, adapting, and spreading knowledge. Basic education develops capacity to learn and to interpret information. Higher and technical education are necessary for the effective generation, dissemination and application of knowledge and for preparing an entrepreneurial labor force that can adapt flexibly to a constant stream of technological advances. (World Bank, 2001, p. 3)

Economics is not the only facet of social life that education is linked to in APTEFA 2001; however, despite some attention to other areas, the commitment to EFA is based in neoliberal economic rationalities that connect processes of change with engagement with market principles. Social and civic elements of education are situated as mediums through which to obtain economic goals. The desired change is also measured in economic terms, relating investment in education directly to an individual's economic output. An example of this is in the following paragraph from APTEFA 2001:

> A new OECD report, *The Well-Being of Nations: The Role of Human and Social Capital* (2001), draws attention to the importance of social and civic participation for economic development. By managing choices and conflicts in more socially constructive ways, governments can help to re-build and reinforce human and social capital. The report identifies a clear economic pay-off from investment in education and training: one extra year of education leads in the long run to an increase in an individual's output per capita of between 4 and 7 percent in OECD countries. (World Bank, 2001, p. 3)

The potential for education to increase output is also linked to the national level through a study based on GDP, years of education, and area of education (World Bank, 2001, p. 9). The justification for education is that there are correlations between number of years of education that a population has on average and economic growth. APTEFA 2001 draws upon the following as evidence:

> Recent research by Barro (2001) analyzes the links between education quantity (increases in the average years of schooling of the population) and quality (increases in average student performance on international assessments) on the growth rate of real per capita GDP. He finds that an additional year of schooling is associated with 0.44 percent per year higher economic growth, but that a one-standard-deviation increase in science scores boosts the growth rate by 1.0 percent a year. He concludes that both quality and quantity of education matter, but quality matters more. (p. 9)

In elaborating on what is meant by education, especially education as it is conceptualized in EFA, APTEFA 2001 acknowledges issues of access, but the emphasis continues to be on achieving economic growth. Retention rates and learning outcomes are highlighted with reference to international research that suggests that "countries may be trapped in a low-returns equilibrium until their level of human capital accumulation rises beyond five or six years of schooling" (World Bank, 2001, p. 1).

Education and development

The link between education and development is drawn numerous times throughout APTEFA 2001. In particular, development goals and timelines set up in the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)[2] are referenced in

[2] Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) comprise 8 goals for international development that were developed by United Nations member states and other international organizations at the 2000 Millennium Summit. These goals are to be met by 2015, and include the following: eradicate extreme poverty and hunger, achieve universal primary education, promote gender equality and empower women, reduce child mortality rate, improve mental health, combat HIV/AIDS, malaria,

relation to EFA goals. There are a couple broad themes in APTEFA 2001 related to education and development. First, education is linked to a form of development that is largely defined in economic terms. Second, the focus of EFA goals is on goals that are also MDGs; specifically, primary education and reduction of gender disparity. The opening statement of APTEFA 2001 sets up this focus clearly: "The Dakar World Education Forum reaffirmed the international community's commitment to Education for All (EFA)-- achieving universal primary education by 2015 and eliminating gender disparities in education by 2005" (World Bank, 2001, p. 1).

The remaining EFA goals are not mentioned in APTEFA 2001. They are in fact all but forgotten and it is not made clear that distinct EFA goals have been created. As an introduction to the purpose of APTEFA 2001, the following is stated: "While recognizing the multiple dimensions of EFA targets, the paper focuses mainly on the two International Development Goals, namely the achievement of universal primary education and the elimination of gender inequalities in education" (World Bank, 2001, p. 1).

Similar to the connection drawn between education and economic growth, education is linked to economic development strongly and directly; other social aspects are mentioned only briefly. Unlike the justification for other social aspects as instruments or means to reach economic goals rather than ends themselves, social development goals are articulated as goals in themselves and education is positioned as a means to reach these: "Education also has powerful

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and other diseases, ensure environmental sustainability, and develop a global partnership for development (United Nations).

synergistic effects on other development objectives: empowerment, protection of the environment, better health, and good governance…. Thus, progress towards EFA has strong complementary effects on the achievement of other Millennium goals" (World Bank, 2001, p. 4).

Eliminating gender disparities in education is one of the two MDGs focused on in the discussion and rationale of EFA. This is approached from a development perspective. The justification for this effort is that women have the potential to impact the development process:

> Removing gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005 is also likely to prove very challenging to accomplish for 44 countries. While achieving this goal may be very difficult, the impact of female education on the development process is sufficiently strong to justify increased resources and effort for that purpose. (World Bank, 2001, p. 6)

The problem

Development goals and progress are mentioned throughout APTEFA 2001 as the driving factors in EFA efforts. Again, the statement used to introduce the general philosophical doctrine is noteworthy: "Underlying these commitments is a recognition of the centrality of education in the promotion of the welfare of nations and a conducive investment climate, as well as the construction of democratic societies and knowledge-based, globally competitive economies" (World Bank, 2001, p. 1).

While this statement does outline a number of general commitments, it does not articulate the aspects of the current human and social reality that make these commitments necessary, let alone desirable. In APTEFA 2001, the problem is defined as much by what is not said as by what is said. A clear articulation of the problem is nebulous at best and, instead, what needs to be addressed is defined largely by referencing the development perspectives of previous committees and reports. Each section of APTEFA 2001 focuses on development and the sources cited in the identification of needs are often development- related agencies of various IOs. The problem of progress is identified, but is not defined much further than to state that, currently, policies and practices to support the MDGs are not in place.

The decisions related to need for international action from the 2000 Dakar World Education Forum and the MDGs are put forth as an accurate representation of social and human realities. The Dakar goals are taken up as a priority for the most powerful states in the international community. The G8 and a variety of UN agencies have organized task forces and specific projects to address the needs identified in the Dakar reaffirmation of EFA goals:

> In the last two years, political commitment to primary education for all children by 2015 and elimination of gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005 has been reaffirmed through the Dakar World Education Forum and the Millennium goals. The recent G8 decision to create a task force on how to best pursue Dakar goals comes in the context of a series of significant activities by the international

> community since the Dakar World Education Forum. Of particular note: UNESCO has convened several multiagency working groups on EFA. (World Bank, 2001, p. 4)

In support of the version of the global situation that is implied by referencing development needs so frequently, is the evidence from some countries that the development plan involving education has been successful in bringing progress. APTEFA 2001 provides justification for this understanding:

> Countries, including some very poor ones, have demonstrated that with political leadership and commitment it is possible to attain rapid acceleration of progress. Further, financial projections show that for almost all of the very low enrollment countries, once the system stabilizes after an initial surge in enrollments has moved through the system (a period of about ten years) national resources should be able to sustain the system with rapidly declining external financial support. (World Bank, 2001, p. 2)

The solution: Education and engagement in the knowledge economy

While the articulation of the problem in APTEFA 2001 is not complete and relies on reference to other organizations, reports and committees, the solution is quite clearly a focus on education policy at the international level. Indeed, the education solution is so resolute that a more clear picture of the perceived problem is created in the description of the potential of education to change the current global situation. The following statement is an example of

how education is justified by its ability to address perceived economic and development problems:

> Education is one of the most powerful instruments for reducing poverty and inequality and for laying the basis for sustained economic growth. It is fundamental for the construction of democratic societies and knowledge-based, globally competitive economies. For individuals and for countries, education is the key to creating, adapting, and spreading knowledge. Basic education develops capacity to learn and to interpret information. Higher and technical education are necessary for the effective generation, dissemination and application of knowledge and for preparing an entrepreneurial labor force that can adapt flexibly to a constant stream of technological advances. (World Bank, 2001, p. 3)

However, that education is a powerful solution does not translate into a comprehensive description of what education is.

While education is taken as a major element in addressing poverty and inequality, there is a recognition that other 'good' policies must be in place in conjunction with education policy. As APTEFA 2001 asserts: "Combined with good policies, education is a key factor in promoting social well-being and poverty reduction because it exercises a direct influence on national productivity which largely determines living standards and a country's ability to compete in the global economy" (World Bank, 2001, p. 1).

APTEFA 2001 also implies that 'good' policies and changes are necessary in a wide variety of areas:

> Improvements would be needed on issues such as government commitment to education, inter-sectoral and intra-sectoral resource allocation, gender and regional equity, institutional delivery mechanisms and the role of non government agencies in the delivery of education. Macroeconomic policies would include balanced investments in complementary inputs such as health and nutrition, water and sanitation, rural infrastructure and economic opportunities. In this context, a major threat is the HIV/AIDS pandemic which undermines both the EFA goals and national productivity. (World Bank, 2001, p. 2)

The call for policy change across such a large number of sectors demonstrates the WB understanding that "education also has powerful synergistic effects on other development objectives: empowerment, protection of the environment, better health, and good governance" (World Bank, 2001, p. 4) and that, therefore, changes in one require shifts across many. The shifts are also to be brought about through changes in educational efforts, for example the WB states that "progress towards EFA has strong complementary effects on the achievement of other Millennium goals" (World Bank, 2001, p. 4). In particular, APTEFA 2001 notes that potential of education to diminish gender disparities because women's education has documented "impacts on health, family welfare and fertility" (p. 4z) and that "the HIV/AIDS pandemic is a major threat to the attainment of EFA goals but at the same time, education could be a major force to fight the epidemic" (p. 14).

EFA and the education solution

According to APTEFA 2001, the commitment to EFA is understood as follows:

> Education for All is best conceived as education system development along a continuum of shorter-term goals. The necessary first stage would be full completion of 5 years of schooling. But the expectation must be that these goals will be pushed further out over time to embrace lower secondary schooling and beyond. Indeed, in most countries, improved functioning of secondary and tertiary education is necessary for sustainable progress in basic education. (World Bank, 2001, p. 8)

It is implicit in APTEFA 2001 that commitment to EFA goals by a large number of international actors is the best way to ensure that the potential for education to have a variety of desired impacts is realized. APTEFA 2001 notes that through a commitment to EFA a number of countries have made 'dramatic' progress in achieving a number of educational goals, in particular decreasing levels of gender disparity and increasing enrollment levels (World Bank, 2001, p. 5). It is based on the level of commitment to specific educational policies and practices that countries included in the analysis of education are divided into three groups: Categorizations of 1) 'successful' countries, 2) countries likely to achieve desired enrollment rates, and 3) countries 'at risk' are based on 'education effort' (which refers to the proportion of GDP spent on education), 'reasonable' unit costs, repetition rates, education quality, pupil:teacher ratios, teacher salaries, and spending on inputs (which refers to teaching materials and pedagogical support) (World Bank, 2001, p. 11).

Implied in the categorization is that there is *a* way education should happen. The notion that education in a number of countries will be improved by a global commitment to educational policy also implies that there is a best way to organize educational systems. In a number of places in APTEFA 2001, the notion of a best way to structure education is made explicit through discussion of 'best practices' related to financing and accelerating EFA. One example is as follows:

> The cost of attaining EFA is almost twice as high in countries without the optimal policy framework. Countries cannot hope to achieve EFA unless their education systems are within reasonable norms of efficiency and their national efforts to invest in education are on par with those of other countries at similar income levels. EFA national plans, which should be seen as evolving instruments, will need to include such considerations. (World Bank, 2001, p. 13)

While the phrases "optimal policy framework" and "reasonable norms of efficiency" are used in reference to the financing structures, these have further homogenizing impacts. Within the financing structure, state and non-state actors are encouraged to make decisions about priorities. There is an essential role for the WB in this process:

> The Financing for Development Report recommends that "the Bank, in particular, should intensify its efforts to help countries identify resource and other requirements to reach the education, health and environmental goals". In this context, we propose that the financing needs for EFA be established through country-by-country analysis. This will include

tracking of expenditures from debt relief and determination of the scope for additional national resources. (World Bank, 2001, p. 14)

Helping countries to identify goals involves not only the identification process but also the input in restructuring policy to meet the goals. An example of one of the technologies that the WB uses to be involved in this process of identification and restructuring includes the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP). APTEFA 2001 states that:

> The preparation of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP) in many countries has helped to put education within a broader macro-economic context, and to ensure that education resources, policies, expenditures and expected outcomes are integrated into the country's priority economic, social and poverty reduction goals. The involvement of many stakeholders in the preparation of a PRSP can also help build the domestic political support necessary for structural policy changes. (World Bank, 2001, p. 13)

Conceptions of Policy

Conceptions of policy can be considered prescriptions or programs of action based on and deemed appropriate by philosophical doctrines. The programs or prescriptions of the EFA reports include plans in textual form, actions that are adopted by governing bodies, organizations, groups or individuals.

Throughout APTEFA 2001, there are a number of aspects of EFA policy that are reiterated numerous times. Policy is conceived as being the responsibility of both national and international actors, with the onus for policy production

being on international actors. It is also implied that successful policy must take a certain shape or format. This particular policy must not only be strived for by all around the globe, it is necessary that policy implementation be accelerated. The quote below captures each of these key facets:

> The urgency of the current situation, and the potential offered by increased international attention to education, call for a renewed global commitment, based on a rigorous financial framework and closer attention to what is already known about better teaching and learning and more efficient system management. While many donor agencies and partners are working with the countries most in need, the efforts should be consolidated in order to quickly develop the basis for a global framework and agreed action plan. Universal primary completion, no matter how challenging a goal, is only a modest step toward the ultimate goal of lifelong learning for all citizens, which is as relevant for the low-income world as for OECD countries. But universal primary completion is the necessary first step and its achievement is of global interest. With redoubled national and international efforts, it can be achieved by 2015. (World Bank, 2001, p. 15)

Acceleration

Accelerating the process of meeting EFA goals by rapid policy implementation is prioritized as urgent and necessary by APTEFA 2001. That delay in achieving EFA goals will not simply have impacts on education is emphasized. The APTEFA 2001 notes that "the Dakar goals will not be met

unless progress is accelerated sharply. As a consequence, the opportunity to help reduce poverty and inequality will diminish" (World Bank, 2001, p. 1).

Missing these opportunities not only depends on national action, but on international action as well (World Bank, 2001, p. 2-3). As stated early in APTEFA 2001, "EFA goals are achievable if increased action at the national and international level is sustained over a period of about ten years and if there is more effective coordination of the various EFA efforts"(p. 2). A key reason for emphasizing that the process be accelerated and that efforts involve international actors, is that there is already evidence that the current goals can be met using techniques learned from a variety of international sources (p. 14)

Keepers of knowledge

APTEFA 2001 discusses the aspects of EFA policy that require input and shaping as coming from a few distinct sources. The sources responsible for policy production are cited mainly as the World Bank and EFA convening agencies of the United Nations (UNDP, UNESCO, UNICEF, UNFPA). Their roles as policy producers is largely linked to the notion that these organizations have been able to identify relevant knowledge:

> Considerable knowledge and experience exist about what works (and what does not work) in achieving EFA. However, this knowledge is not widely available to the countries most at need. Strengthening mechanisms for synthesizing and disseminating this knowledge and for harnessing experience of effective development cooperation in EFA

would constitute an important element of acceleration of the EFA agenda. (World Bank, 2001, p. 14)

While it is clear in APTEFA 2001 that production of EFA policy is undertaken by supranational organizations, at the time of the report the emphasis on supporting EFA at the national level was the result of the attention of international and supranational economic organizations that took up the EFA cause. It is notable that the introduction of the report states that APTEFA 2001 is a result of the commitment of G8 officials who came together in mid 2001 to help "all countries meet the Dakar goals" (World Bank, 2001, p. 1). The importance of the G8 is also evident in the mention that this group agreed "to establish a task force of senior G8 officials to advise on how best to pursue the Dakar goals" (p. 1).

In placing this policy responsibility on the World Bank and the G8, such organizations are implicitly made necessary for the future of education in states around the globe. APTEFA 2001 also explicitly places such organizations as necessary to education, as the need for funding for education, and for EFA in particular, is highlighted. It is noted, for example, that "for the countries lagging furthest behind, national resources would need to be complemented with substantial additional external financing" and, in turn, this could increase the impact of EFA policy (World Bank, 2001, p. 2). EFA goals will be reached if "increased action at the national and international level is sustained over a period of about ten years and if there is more effective coordination of the various EFA efforts" (pp. 2- 3).

The emphasis within EFA policy places organizations such as the World Bank as the actor responsible for ensuring appropriate changes among the national actors, or recipients of support for EFA initiatives. Groups responsible for production of EFA policy are not called upon by APTEFA 2001 to make policy changes in other sectors to the degree that national governments are. APTEFA 2001 notes that:

> Improvements would be needed on issues such as government commitment to education, inter-sectoral and intra-sectoral resource allocation, gender and regional equity, institutional delivery mechanisms and the role of non government agencies in the delivery of education. Macroeconomic policies would include balanced investments in complementary inputs such as health and nutrition, water and sanitation, rural infrastructure and economic opportunities. (World Bank, 2001, pp. 2-3)

In addition to setting the policy agenda, the report supports the involvement of international actors in the process of incorporating policy. It is stated that "linking additional international support to improved policies, therefore, is more likely to increase overall impact" (World Bank, 2001, p. 2). The support is not limited to funding the implementation of policies. APTEFA 2001 positions the WB as able to determine the financial needs of individual countries in planning for and implementing EFA policy:

> The Financing for Development Report recommends that "the Bank, in particular, should intensify its efforts to help countries identify resource

> and other requirements to reach the education, health and environmental goals". In this context, we propose that the financing needs for EFA be established through country-by-country analysis. This will include tracking of expenditures from debt relief and determination of the scope for additional national resources. (World Bank, 2001, p. 14)

One best way

That there is *a* solution to issues faced by education systems in many states around the world is stated implicitly and explicitly in APTEFA 2001, although contradicting ideas stated in the report will be discussed further on. There is also the implication that there is *a* solution, through education, to problems related to poverty. It is important to recall the philosophical doctrines and notions of human and social reality that dominate the report before discussing the policy solutions proposed in APTEFA 2001; there are many instances in which the merit and inevitability of participation in the global knowledge economy are drawn out in APTEFA 2001, and that the path to becoming an active member of that economy is through education. The policy solutions to the identified problems therefore center around developing education that allows entry into the global knowledge economy. As stated in APTEFA 2001:

> To ensure their full participation in knowledge-driven development, countries need to build their human capital and adapt their entire education system to the new challenges of the "learning" economy. Education for All is a necessary first step in this process. (World Bank, 2001, p. 1)

EFA is not an end in itself. The emphasis throughout the report is on EFA as a step to further education and a way to enter the knowledge economy.

The policy that will best serve to reach EFA goals is understood to be the result of the input of a number of international actors.

> The achievement of Dakar goals cannot be attained with a "business as usual" approach. It will require sustained, intensive and coordinated action. Accumulated international experience and research explain key factors behind the differential progress in achieving EFA….
>
> Transforming resource inputs into learning outcomes requires not just a sufficient level of investment but also effective delivery and operation of the system, the right mix of resources (for example, qualified teachers and adequate learning materials), within an overall national context of sound economic and social policies. (World Bank, 2001, p. 2)

That EFA policies have not reached the intended goals at the time of the report is rationalized within APTEFA 2001 as being due to insufficient financial support for the policy and lack of appropriate social policy frameworks within the individuals nations. The issues are not discussed within the report as having anything to do with the overall EFA policy or framework. The challenge is quite squarely located at the state level:

> Without significant policy changes, existing structural imbalances will prevent attainment of the Dakar goals for many countries. The cost of attaining EFA is almost twice as high in countries without the optimal policy framework. Countries cannot hope to achieve EFA unless their

> education systems are within reasonable norms of efficiency and their national efforts to invest in education are on par with those of other countries at similar income levels. EFA national plans, which should be seen as evolving instruments, will need to include such considerations. (World Bank, 2001, p. 13)

Although the obstacles to achieving EFA are identified as existing within countries, the obstacles were identified as obstacles through the international actors. The report cites the importance of previous World Bank efforts in helping to shift education policy understanding so that it is integrated into the consideration of a variety of other national issues:

> The preparation of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP) in many countries has helped to put education within a broader macro-economic context, and to ensure that education resources, policies, expenditures and expected outcomes are integrated into the country's priority economic, social and poverty reduction goals. (World Bank, 2001, p. 13)

The importance of "a sound policy framework" in terms of social policy is emphasized as necessary to the success of EFA policy. Economic policy is mentioned frequently with reference to the potential for the success of EFA policy:

> EFA progress also requires a sound macroeconomic framework and complementary policies in other sectors. Investments in human capital have the highest returns in contexts of growth and technological change. (World Bank, 2001, p. 8)

Theories of Power

As a part of the discursive matrix, theories of power highlight forms of power which are considered legitimate and useful in achieving ends informed by the philosophical doctrines. The theories of power within the EFA reports express modalities of competency. The notion of power is important throughout the document as it is implied implicitly or addressed explicitly in terms of the actors involved, what and how goals are able to be achieved, and why such goals would be desirable.

The discussion of EFA achievement implies a top-down understanding of how the goals are to be met. Much of what it recommended and recorded in APTEFA 2001 is based on the notion that when it comes to achieving the EFA goals "linking additional international support to improved policies, therefore, is more likely to increase overall impact" (World Bank, 2001, pp. 2-3).

Central to the success of EFA commitments in APTEFA 2001 are G8 leaders and officials. These actors are identified at the very beginning of APTEFA 2001 as having a essential roles in achieving EFA goals:

> In July, 2001, the G8 leaders reaffirmed their commitment to help all countries meet the Dakar goals and urged the Multilateral Development Banks to sharpen their focus on education. The G8 leaders also agreed to establish a task force of senior G8 officials to advise on how best to pursue the Dakar goals. (World Bank, 2001, p. 1)

In addition to the G8 commitment to EFA goals, it is noted that there has been "broad-based and strong" national and international commitment to

universal primary education attainment (World Bank, 2001, p. 4). In terms of international support, UN organizations are pointed to specifically:

> Of particular note: UNESCO has convened several multiagency working groups on EFA, UNICEF is implementing the United Nations Girls' Education Initiative (UNGEI), most agencies are in the process of scaling up their support for EFA and the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries initiative (HIPC) provides opportunity for countries to devote more resources to education. (p. 4)

The WB, the G8 and UN organizations are mentioned specifically, however APTEFA 2001 also often refers to 'partners' including NGOs, national groups and others. APTEFA 2001 is itself intended to be shared with "key education partners" at the Development Committee meeting in April 2002 (World Bank, 2001, p. 3). The issues raised in the report are meant to support the "potential for increased prosperity and poverty reduction which is offered by adequate levels of quality education is sufficiently strong to make accelerated support of EFA an important global development priority" (p. 3).

Commitment to EFA from the G8 and various powerful international organizations, especially the WB, is often referenced in relation to development goals. The role of the WB is then placed as key to helping countries in need to identify the various requirements, including assessing necessary resources and appropriate expenditures, in achieving development-related goals such as education, health and environment related goals (World Bank, 2001, p. 14). The WB is deemed as a necessary organization to play this role as it is able to help in

the coordination and dissemination of information that has been accumulated internationally about "what works (and what does not work)" in achieving EFA goals (p. 14). The circulation of this knowledge is understood as critical as, previously, it had not been available to "countries most at need" (p. 14). Such countries are therefore understood as 'in need' of highly coordinated cooperation efforts with those countries and organizations that have accumulated the useful knowledge and experience (p. 14). Many countries in need have been included in WB efforts to identify strategies that help to integrate education policy "within a broader macro-economic context, and to ensure that education resources, policies, expenditures and expected outcomes are integrated into the country's priority economic, social and poverty reduction goals" (p. 13). In particular, the creation of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP) have not only been important in the process of integration of education policy with economic and other goals, they are also intended by the WB to help build political support within countries for the changes in policy and structure required for such integration (p. 13). The countries identified in APTEFA 2001 as most in need are to be involved as partners in the process of acceleration toward EFA goals and as recipients of knowledge and experience gained by others.

As was discussed in greater detail in the section on "Notions of Human and Social Realities," the driving notion of much of the discussion of EFA and development is the conviction that "economic prosperity and the reduction of global poverty cannot be accomplished unless all children in all countries have access to, and can complete a primary education of adequate quality" (World

Bank, 2001, p. 3). The way to achieve this is through the promotion of the commitment to EFA policies. As a "necessary first step" in the process of providing primary education for all, EFA is understood to be universally desirable (p. 2). Eventually, levels of education higher than secondary will be achievable for all. Ultimately, countries will have populations with high enough levels of education to participate fully in "knowledge-driven development" as education systems and levels of human capital are adapted to "the new challenges of the 'learning' economy'" (p. 3).

It is also significant that APTEFA 2001 presents the need for the changes in education policy to be accelerated. The title "Education for Dynamic Economies: Accelerating Progress towards Education for All (EFA)" itself is evidence of the way in which EFA efforts are considered vital and immediate.

Versions of Justice

As an element of the discursive matrix of rationalities, versions of justice rest inextricably with conceptions of reason and reasonableness, especially in the way people are treated or decisions are made. The versions of justice that are related to education, and APTEFA 2001 EFA commitments in particular, are strongly linked to supporting participation in the global knowledge economy and development-based goals. These versions of justice serve to focus or refocus attention on what education is considered to be (Tikly & Barrett, in press). In particular, ideas about what constitutes 'quality' in education are influenced by versions justice which, in APTEFA, are highly linked to what Tikly and Barrett identify as an economic-utilitarian approach (p. 4). In this sense, how decisions

are made, people are treated and education is conceived are understood through a lens that sees justice in terms of participation in the global knowledge economy.

It is often argued that the routes to economic prosperity and the reduction of poverty are necessarily through education. That poverty reduction and economic goals are to be reached through EFA policies is explicitly stated in APTEFA 2001: "Economic prosperity and the reduction of global poverty cannot be accomplished unless all children in all countries have access to, and can complete, a primary education of adequate quality" (World Bank, 2001, p. 1).

The type of economic prosperity is also presented as a given to be achievable through access to the global knowledge economy. EFA commitments are seen as crucial first steps in the process of educating to secondary levels and beyond. APTEFA 2001 refers to EFA as "a necessary condition to ensure that countries have an adequate basis for participating and competing in the global economy and for reducing poverty" (World Bank, 2001, p. 2).

As a result of taking justice to mean further and more comprehensive participation in the global knowledge economy, the international community, already participating heavily in this particular political economy, is to be responsible for taking action in facilitating this entry into the economy, and thereby reducing poverty.

This responsibility, in the interest of justice, is taken up in a number of ways. The groups involved in naming the problems, identifying solutions, estimating costs and setting timelines are from the Global North. The responsibility is understood this way in large part because the actors of the Global

North are deemed to have acquired and compiled much of the necessary knowledge for successfully meeting EFA goals. Making that knowledge accessible to countries considered to be in need becomes a matter of global justice as it is deemed necessary to strengthen "mechanisms for synthesizing and disseminating this knowledge and for harnessing experience of effective development cooperation" (World Bank, 2001, p. 14).

Education for Dynamic Economies Report of 2002

The report *Education for Dynamic Economies: Accelerated Progression Towards Education for All (EDE*), of 2002 contains much the same as APTEFA 2001 in terms of the 5 elements of Miller and Rose's (1993) discursive matrix. It does not add much to the stated understanding of the pursuit of EFA goals; rather, it is an action plan "intended to constitute a solid foundation for an EFA roadmap" (World Bank, 2002, p. 2) with the hope that a full action plan would be developed for later in 2002 (p. 22). The EFA agenda is still promoted as a key element of the development process and it is noted that, as a part of the MDGs, the EFA goals can "more effectively be addressed within the overarching poverty reduction framework" (p. 4). In addition to supporting the development agenda it is noted in EDE 2002 that education is critical in supporting "the construction of democratic societies and globally competitive economies" (p. 6).

The EDE 2002 does introduce a more dire situation than was estimated in APTEFA 2001 as more of the countries than estimated at that time are unlikely to meet the EFA goals at their current trajectory. The approach advocated as best in being able to meet the EFA goals by 2015 can still be summarized as having

countries in need attempt to "bring the efficiency and quality of their education systems into line with the benchmarks observed in higher-performing systems and receive significant increases in external financing and technical support" (World Bank, 2002, p. 3). A new element relative to APTEFA 2001 is that there is mention of the role of information technologies in providing the "creative delivery solutions" necessary to support countries in their attempt to meet the requirement noted above (p. 3). In 2001 information technologies were mentioned with reference to the education systems improving individual capacity to make use of them in the knowledge economy (World Bank, 2001).

The foundations for an EFA roadmap are in line with the needs stated in APTEFA 2001. It was noted in APTEFA 2001 that there have been certain features of successful education systems in pursuing EFA goals. In EDE 2002 some of these features are noted, including that there be political and national commitment to:

> (i) adequate domestic resource mobilization for primary education; (ii) efficient and effective use of resources; (iii) focus on educational quality and learning outcomes; and (iv) specific actions to make schooling accessible and effective for poor and disadvantaged children especially for girls. (World Bank, 2002, p. 3)

Also listed are common features of education systems that have achieved higher rates of primary completion listed (World Bank, 2002, p. 11). However, it is noted that despite the demonstrated success of the features listed above there is "no single recipe" in success in achieving EFA (p. 3) and that "although these

technical benchmarks can serve as a common frame of reference for all countries, the exact mix of policy actions required will be country-specific, depending on a country's starting parameters" (p. 11).

The mix of policy actions may be viewed as flexible to some extent, however, the benchmarks in the process of the adjustment of educational systems and policy are relatively more rigid in their parameters. The EDE 2002 notes the understanding of "normative policy benchmarks for EFA" stating that "average values for these parameters … are labeled 'norms' to the extent that deviating very far from them forces the education system into unhealthy adjustments" (World Bank, 2002, p. 15). The two examples of policy parameters to be used as benchmarks are readily understood by a wide audience, and include addressing the low salaries of teachers and the high pupil:teacher ratio. The benchmarks are key in the EDE 2002 are described as follows:

> In order to bring technical rigor, transparency and financial discipline into the EFA planning process, we propose that these policy parameters constitute the 'benchmarks' for good system performance. In each country, a 'credible EFA plan' would define the process of reform that would bring its performance into line with these benchmarks…. A framework with such clear benchmarks would ensure that policy actions, new investments in school expansion, domestic financing, and external assistance all lead to progressive improvements in system functioning in a convergent mode. (p. 15)

There are two key elements, fast tracking and the development compact, proposed in the EDE 2002, which are related to the action plan. Both of these elements involve and develop the idea of partnership further in terms of pursuing EFA goals. It is noted that as environments are increasingly decentralized, partnerships that engage local communities are of greater importance (World Bank, 2002, p.20). Partnership is also discussed with regard to cooperation and harmonization among international actors. This type of partnership is noted as being able to produce 'synergies' while minimizing costs (p. 20).

Fast track

APTEFA 2001 does emphasize the need to accelerate the process of the pursuit of EFA goals and lists some areas of education, including primary education, gender and quality goals that the acceleration involves. As an action plan, the EDE 2002 labels this acceleration process as "fast tracking": "The fast tracking would be done within the PRSP/CDF framework and implemented through a multi-donor education consortium that would align the external financing needs of these countries with available support from donor agencies" (World Bank, 2002, p. 5).

There is an outline of the elements of data, policy, capacity, and financing, also mentioned in APTEFA 2001, that are deemed necessary to this acceleration process (World Bank, 2001, pp. 13-19).

Similar to APTEFA 2001, the EDE 2002 calls for improvement of a wide range of educational statistics in terms of quality, quantity and timeliness. The appropriate and necessary data to be recorded at certain time frames is further

defined and it is noted that the route to obtaining this data is through the partnership of a number of different agencies with those countries that currently do not have the full set of statistics deemed necessary (World Bank, 2002, p. 14).

Mentioned above, benchmarks in policy parameters are emphasized and promoted as a necessary element in the fast tracking process. The benchmarks are set through a process of review of countries deemed successful by the WB. The benchmarks are implicitly promoted as a universally useful policy technology.

In terms of capacity, there are very specific elements that each country falling short of the EFA goals must develop. Each of the elements involves a great degree of reliance on partnership. Political commitment is required to mobilize "sound sectoral strategy" and promote "efficient resource mobilization and utilization" (World Bank, 2002, p. 16). This commitment is to be based on innovations that can be learned through partners in areas of leadership and policy.

In supporting data, policy and capability requirements, external financial support is necessary. A focus of the EDE 2002 is that even with improved efficiency of funds the required aid will increase. It is implicit that all plans that are deemed credible by the WB will require external financing. The improved efficiency and additional aid will be met through processes of partnership being developed between existing development partners (World Bank, 2002, p. 18).

The WB has an essential role to play in the fast tracking of EFA. As they are understood to be rooted in national strategies, the EDE 2002 places the WB PRSP/CDF frameworks for the recipient countries as the base for the continuation and acceleration of meeting EFA goals. Additionally, there is a specific role for

the WB outlined with regard to each of the four fast tracking elements (World Bank, 2002, pp. 21-22).

Considered to be the result of a "key lesson of experience about development effectiveness" (World Bank, 2002, p. 20) and a "step in a results-oriented implementation framework for EFA" (p. 4) the "development compact for education" is the second element introduced in the EDE 2002 that further defines the understanding of partnership. Premised on the benchmarks noted above, the compact is proposed as a way "in which governments would demonstrate their commitment to education through efforts to radically transform their education systems" and as a result "external partners would provide financial and technical support in a transparent, predictable and flexible manner" (p. 20).

Fast Track Initiative Progress Report of 2004

The *Fast Track Initiative Progress Report* (FTIPR) of 2004 is opened up by introducing Amartya Sen's (1999) "human capabilities" as important abilities developed through education. The capabilities mentioned include the power to consider and make choices, engage in the process of reflection and ultimately enjoy a better life. These capabilities had not been mentioned in earlier reports and are only mentioned once in the FTIPR 2004. The remainder of the FTIPR 2004 continues in the same direction as previous reports as it promotes education as a poverty reduction and economic growth tool. Although opening up the report with a new element to the understanding of the social reality of education, the remainder of the report generally reinforces the rationalities developed in earlier board reports.

While the rationalities are carried through in the FTIPR 2004 in a very similar way, there is an emphasis on financing and partnership issues. Quality of education is also highlighted to a greater extent. The earlier reports did mention quality, however, the focus was clearly on achieving gender parity and UPE. Attention to quality is strongly tied to economic growth. The FTIPR 2004 states:

> Underlying the implementation of FTI is a recognition of the multiple benefits of education. It is one of the most powerful instruments to reduce poverty and inequality and to lay the basis for sustained economic growth. Education also has powerful synergistic effects on other development objectives: empowerment, better health, and good governance. The attainment of EFA, however, goes beyond access to education. Education quality is the critical ingredient in boosting economic growth…. A strong positive relationship between economic growth and the quality of education as measured by test scores is documented, concluding that the length of schooling is important for growth, and that the quality of schooling is even more important… Low quality of education also limits progress towards the MDG and EFA goals by increasing the risk for children to repeat grades or drop out of school prematurely. This issue will become increasingly important as UPC is achieved in countries and education quality becomes the key constraint to improved impact. (World Bank, 2004, p. 18-19)

There is a strong element of FTI promotion in the FTIPR 2004. Previous board reports had included greater discussion of EFA as an appropriate global

initiative. The FTIPR 2004 does contain some similar discussion of the important influence of education on other sectors, however, there is a greater emphasis on the importance of FTI as a framework. For example, the FTIPR 2004 states that:

> Greater integration of FTI with EFA will help make it easier to build on lessons of experience and to address service delivery issues. Such issues include distance to school, incomplete school cycles, disability, delivery by non-government providers (including religious schools), and direct and indirect costs of schooling. These are important aspects that have not been sufficiently addressed to date but some FTI countries provide instructive lessons. (World Bank, 2004, p. 9)

A main focus of FTI in the FTIPR 2004 is the financing of EFA-FTI and the lessons learned from FTI (World Bank, 2004, p. 10). In addition to the level of funding being a central issue as in previous years, predictability and flexibility of financing are also emphasized in 2004. That the financing of EFA has been greatly improved through FTI is highlighted. It is shown that, although it remains large, the funding gap has been greatly diminished through the FTI (p. 12). There is also mention of the importance of the Catalytic Fund developed by the FTI partners. The purpose of this fund is "to share lessons of experience, maintain the political momentum for EFA, and to mobilize additional resources" (p. iii). The fund caters to the FTI framework and derives its name from the short term injection of monies that the fund provides:

> The Catalytic Fund was established in November 2003 to support countries that meet the FTI criteria, but have at present a limited level of

> donor support for education…. The fund further enables countries to scale up implementation of their sector programs and establish a track record of performance to attract longer-term support from new donors. Key principles of the Fund are that it be catalytic (providing only 2-3 years of funding to any country as a transitional boost that can enable them to launch implementation and begin to demonstrate results), flexible (enabling donors to provide support to countries where they do not have a presence and supporting any expenditure category of an endorsed sector plan), and performance based (no assured support if performance is poor). (p. 11-12)

Although the FTI is discussed with reference to the important role it has played in funding EFA efforts, the FTIPR 2004 also discusses that "the expansion of FTI has been accompanied by a shift in responsibility for resource mobilization from the global to the country level" (World Bank, 2004, p. 16). This shift is not apparent in all aspects of EFA program implementation. While the responsibility for resources to support EFA programs should be shifted to the country level, the responsibility for the EFA framework, "a common analytic framework, a clear set of performance targets and an international overview," will remain the responsibility of the international secretariat "in order to ensure consistency and equity in the treatment of all FTI countries across their different systems" (p. 16).

The establishment of a global framework, based on the global benchmarks introduced in 2002, is significant as it is a clear example of policy from the perspective that there exists a best way to engage in education reform. The

benchmarks outlined in EDE 2002 have been formalized into an indicative framework of policy benchmarks (World Bank, 2004, p. 3). The benchmarks in place mainly address issues of UPE and gender, however, it is noted that "a benchmark on education quality will be added to the indicative framework" (p. 3).

Benchmarks are also set up to be of increasing importance as it is noted that it may become important "for donor countries to be able to show the EFA impact of their financing, in order to strengthen commitment for increasing levels of development assistance" (World Bank, 2004, p. 17). The way in which countries will be able to demonstrate impact is through comparing the changes over time in the direction of reaching certain, internationally determined, benchmarks.

The benchmarks of the framework are highly tied to issues of data collection. The FTIPR 2004 notes the improvements to data quality and timeliness brought about through the efforts of the UNESCO Institute for Statistics, and mainly reported in the EFA Global Monitoring report (World Bank, 2004, p. 17). The need to improve data continues though, as the FTIPR 2004 calls for improved monitoring of the composition of aid to education, and the effectiveness of instruments (p. iv). Another area identified as not having enough data is that required to identify and measure trends in learning in a systematic way (World Bank, 2004, p. 17).

Partners are noted as critical to both the financing and data collection processes. In order to achieve the results thought possible through partnership there must necessarily be greater harmonization between partners at both the

country level, between donor and partner countries, and at the international level, between development organizations. This is not to say that FTI has not yielded results in strengthening partnership, as:

> linkages and synergies between development partners have also been strengthened under FTI: at the country level between the local aid community and the government and at the international level a greater alignment has been established between FTI and the overall EFA program, which is led by UNESCO (World Bank, 2004, p. iii).

The FTIPR 2004 calls for more of the same in terms of harmonization and cites that:

> although progress has clearly been made in donor harmonization, some development partners continue to fund activities outside of agreed sector plans.… The FTI partners are discussing adoption of a 'donor indicative framework' that would transparently monitor each agency's harmonization progress, in parallel to the monitoring of country policy performance results under FTI. (World Bank, 2004, p. 18)

While the goals of the partnerships and understandings of education between partners are largely implied to be the same as outlined in previous reports, the FTIPR 2004 introduces a new element of the partnership discussion in its explicit statement that among the partnerships there is an understanding that there exists an important space for private education providers. This understanding is clearly stated when it is noted that: "a firmly shared commitment of the FTI partnership is that the responsibility of the public sector is to finance

(not necessarily to provide) universally available primary education, free at the point of service" (World Bank, 2004, p. 13).

Education for All - Fast Track Initiative Report of 2006

The *Education for All-Fast Track Initiative Report* (EFAFTI) of 2006 was written in response to some issues raised in review of the WB education sector strategy review of 2005.[3] It remains the case that the understanding of the telos of education is to enhance economic growth and reduce poverty. These changes will be the result of quality education. It was noted that this understanding of education is the same as in the WB education strategy:

> The strategy … aims to help client countries maximize the impact of education on economic growth and poverty reduction by providing support for attaining the EFA and MDG goals and for strengthening education for the knowledge economy by building the higher level skills nations need to compete globally.... The FTI fits within this overall strategy in that it is a direct response to the MDG-EFA agenda, funding is driven by country performance and its core focus is on results. (World Bank, 2006, p. 1)

There also remains the focus on partnership and an acknowledgement of the history of FTI as a partnership-based strategy between donor and developing countries (World Bank, 2006, p. 1). Along with partnership, funding remains a large focus of improving FTI. It is stated in the background of EFAFTI 2006 that: "The directors recognized that the FTI was a valuable instrument with a strong

[3] *The Education Sector Strategy Update (ESSU): Achieving EFA, Broadening our Perspective, Maximizing our Effectiveness* (SecM2005-0488)

partnership-based framework whose potential could be enhanced by increasing its funding base and expanding its scope" (p. 1).

While it is mentioned that FTI is largely country based, one of the important elements of EFAFTI 2006 is its discussion of the two globally managed funds, the Catalytic Fund and the Education Program Development Fund (EPDF), that have been established under FTI. It is also noted that while being a country-based strategy, FTI has improved EFA harmonization of funding and resource allocation, and donor coordination (World Bank, 2006, p. 2).

EFAFTI 2006 contains more elements than any previous reports that serve to promote FTI specifically. The report is concluded with the statement that "FTI has successfully transformed from a small pilot to a key vehicle for action on the global primary education agenda" (World Bank, 2006, p. 8). Improved funding for and harmonization of EFA efforts are emphasized throughout EFAFTI 2006, and many sets of statistics related to the success of initiatives enabled through FTI are cited. There is a specific section of the report, titled "FTI Value Added," dedicated to explicitly laying out the benefits of the commitment made to the FTI strategy (pp. 5-6).

EFAFTI 2006 contains a summary of the proceedings of the third annual meeting of EFA-FTI partnership members, held in Beijing, China from November 30 to December 2, 2005. This meeting is noted to have included "Education and Development Ministers or their representatives, officials of international organizations and agencies, and representatives of civil society to review progress and issues going forward" (World Bank, 2006, p. 6). By the conclusion of the

meeting the group had agreed that expansion of the FTI partnership should continue as the demand persists. Related to expansion, it was agreed that funding should be increased at the national level so that education accounts for 10 percent of the domestic budget, and at the international level through increased support for the Catalytic Fund, especially from G8 countries. The Catalytic Fund is promoted, however, it is mentioned immediately following the call that long-term predictable funding is needed (p. 6). The Catalytic Fund is again mentioned with regard to this issue as it is hoped that a newly established task team will develop ways to use the fund "as a mechanism to provide predictable long term financing in countries facing difficulties in transiting from Catalytic fund financing" (p. 7).

The meeting in Beijing brought a proposal from Brazil that the FTI partnership serve to "facilitate South-South learning and network building" (World Bank, 2006, p. 7). It was the first mention of this type of function for the FTI in any of the reports. Previous commitments of FTI resurfaced at the Beijing meeting, including a commitment to gender parity and HIV/AIDS issues. The result was that more partners joined the efforts to propose ways for FTI to support these areas and to take the lead in facilitating cooperation (p. 7).

Finally the Beijing meeting called attention to changes in structure and management of FTI. The steering committee will be expanded to include "representatives of partner countries, civil society and of UNICEF", and in January of 2006 the Chair person of the Global Campaign for Education will participate in the steering committee (World Bank, 2006, p. 7).

Education for All - Fast Track Initiative Report of 2007

By 2007 it is noted that of the global partnerships in which the World Bank is involved, FTI is among the largest (World Bank, 2007, p. iv). Since the 2002, when FTI formally began, the WB has become less involved in financing as the number of donors increases, and instead focuses more on "the technical aspects of sector dialogue, including economic work, sector analysis and integration of education into the country-wide program" (p. vi). In considering the next steps for the WB in relation to the FTI partnership it is highlighted that the WB has had a significant role in the partnership as the WB:

> launched the partnership, in collaboration with other donors; it hosts the FTI Secretariat; and it serves as trustee and main supervising entity for FTI's two trust funds. The Bank's leading incubator role during the first four years has evolved into one of a strategic partner providing a delineated set of services to the partnership. (p. 20)

Although the WB has become less involved in the financing, the FTI partnership is an important actor in mobilizing resources (World Bank, 2007, p. 3, 21). It is very clear that the WB intends to remain involved in FTI as it is stated that:

> In countries where external funding is adequately covered by other donors and the Bank has no presence in basic education, it is nevertheless important for the Bank to maintain active engagement both on the policy dialogue on broader sector and macroeconomic issues and to contribute to FTI as a partner and member of the local donor group. (p. vii).

WB efforts to increase the focus on quality of education by monitoring learning outcomes are highlighted in the *Education for All-Fast Track Initiative* (EFAFTI) report of 2007. The WB has put effort into pushing educational quality from a number of different angles: it has supported quality of inputs, improvements in teaching and learning, increasing learning assessments and the publication of a major guidebook, *Assessing National Achievement* (World Bank, 2007, p. 17).

The support for education quality is strongly tied to the potential to have improvements for the economic. The report cited in EFAFTI 2007 is *Education Quality and Economic Growth* by the WB 2007. It is noted that "the report shows that developing countries could boost their economc growth by 5 percent a year if they improve learning outcomes" (as cited in World Bank, 2007, p. 17).

> According to the report, schooling in many developing countries has not delivered on its promise as the driver of economic success, and expanding school attainment, at the center of most development strategies, has not guaranteed better economic conditions. The report provides strong evidence that learning outcomes, rather than mere school enrollment, are powerfully related to individual learnings, to the distribution of income, and to economic growth, and that measuring education results only in terms of years in the classroom, while neglecting qualitative differences in knowledge, misses the core of what education is about. (p. 17)

The FTI is understood as a partnership that serves to improve partner countries' planning and implementation processes to achieve universal primary education:

> This includes an adherence to common standards on the formulation of credible education sector plans, mobilization and use of scaled up domestic and external resources, improvement of implementation planning and program execution, informed dialogue with civil society and development partners, employment of agreed benchmarks and monitoring indicators, and capacity enhancement. (World Bank, 2007, p. 3)

In addition to shifting roles, the WB has noted in EFAFTI 2007 that there have been changes to the operating procedures. The involvement of many other donor agencies and development partners has forced the WB to take into consideration its own accessibility. While the other donors are mainly very small in size the great number of actors, the WB itself must develop "new harmonization-friendly instruments' (World Bank, 2007 p. vii).

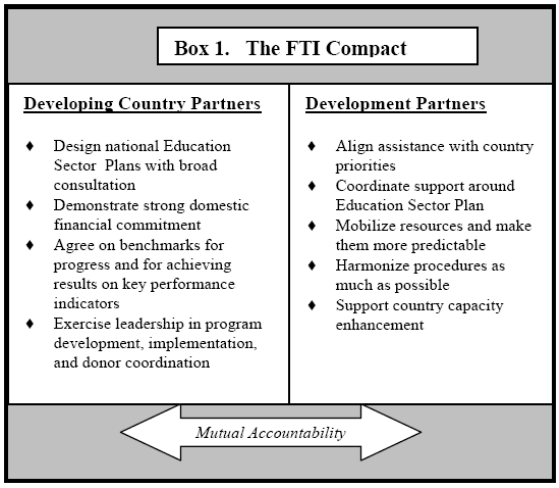
FTI itself is noted to have become a prime example of "good practice in global programs for its integration of the goals of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness within its framework, objectives and processes" (World Bank, 2007, p. 12). In terms of collaboration between FTI partners the use of common procedures, monitoring tools and reporting techniques is commonplace. As the FTI expands there is an explicit call in EFAFTI 2007 to have increased harmonization.

The language of partnership is critical in describing FTI. EFAFTI 2007 opens up with a discussion of the role FTI has played in coordinating the partnership between developing countries and development partners:

> FTI is a global partnership launched by the World Bank and other partners in 2002 to help low-income countries meet the education Millennium Development Goal (MDG) and the EFA goal that by 2015 all primary school-aged children will be enrolled in school and able to complete the full cycle of primary education. FTI provides a platform for collaboration at the country level and at the global level. Developing countries participating in FTI commit to design, implement and monitor credible Education Sector Plans for accelerating their achievement of Education for All. Development partners commit to align their support around the countries' Education Sector Plans, and to mobilize additional financial and technical resources to help countries carry out their plans. (World Bank, 2007, p. iv)

There is now a clear emphasis on FTI as opposed to EFA in EFAFTI 2007.

The themes of harmonization and country-specific plans are continued in 2007. The FTI framework is noted to be based on "an implicit 'compact'" (World Bank, 2007, p. 1) This compact refers to developing countries having PRSPs in place that included education sector plans, monitoring, benchmarking, implementation plans and outcome indicators (see Box 1).



Source: World Bank EFAFTI, 2007, p.2

EFAFTI 2007 states:

> FTI is built on the principles of country ownership and local-level empowerment, as well as mutual accountability and donor harmonization rooted in the Monterrey Consensus and Paris Declaration principles. Its vision encompasses:
>
> • country preparation of a PRSP and a credible Education Sector Plan that accelerates the country's attainment of universal primary education and that addresses their policy, capacity, data, and funding gaps;
>
> • endorsement of the Plan by the FTI development partners to signal to bilateral and multilateral funding agencies that the plan is credible and investment-ready;
>
> • alignment, harmonization, and scaling up of donor support for this country-owned Plan. (World Bank, 2007, p. iv)

On page two a paragraph introduced as "FTI's key strength is at the country level," is followed by a paragraph about how "The FTI Partnership strengthens developing countries' capacity to design credible education sector plans" (World Bank, 2007).

With the emphasis on the development of partnerships in supporting FTI, the political profile of education has been raised (World Bank, 2007 p. v). It is noted in EFAFTI 2007 that the positive reputation of FTI as a partnership has helped to raise the attention paid to education, and specifically the education MDG, in national policy and political agendas (p. 8). As a part of the FTI Sector Plan appraisal done by the WB, there is an analysis of the financial elements and linkages to the PRS (p. 14). It is also noted that, as a next step for the WB, the FTI-endorsed programs should be incorporated into the Country Assistance Strategies of the WB for each of the partner countries (p. 19).

Key Considerations of the Reports

At numerous points throughout the period 2001 to 2007, the World Bank is positioned within the reports as having expertise in the field of education policy and is placed as an authority in the development and promotion of EFA programs. The WB necessarily works at a distance in many cases, noting explicitly in later reports that its role has shifted to one of service provider, the service being expert advice. This positioning is significant in the consideration of government at a distance with regard to EFA policy.

The role of the WB as an authority in EFA policy positions the rationalities of the WB as key within the discussion of EFA. While there may be

the expectation of educationally based rationalities to underpin EFA policy, the exploration of the WB EFA reports reveals that, overwhelmingly, rationalities associated with neoliberalism are at the base of EFA policy. These rationalities include those outlined in Chapter 3: the rationality of developmentalism, the rationality of economics or capitalism, and the rationality of human capital.

Chapter 5: Technologies of Data, Statistics, and Benchmarking

The WB has emphasized the collection of education-related data in each of the EFA reports between 2001 and 2007. The attention paid to indicators by the WB "is informed by an acute awareness of education's central role in individual and economic development" (Henry et al., 2001, p. 91). The WB is not alone in its interest in gathering statistics. Other global governance organizations have increased attention to statistics. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), for example, has implemented data collection as a large part of its mandate. An interest in using statistical information to shape education has been promoted by European and American influences. A conference in 1964 of the European Ministers of Education in London provided the final political push for the OECD to take on as its major role of data gathering (Henry et al., 2001) via methods informed by applied economics (Papadopoulos, 1994, p. 50). Quantitative techniques of data collection were encouraged to be carried out by the OECD so that member countries could have access to information for "effective educational investment planning" and "so that countries represented may have a basis for the compilation of comparable statistics (Papadopoulos, 1994, p. 50).

A governmentality approach allows for an exploration of the practical aspects of governing - the technologies. At this time educational assessment plays a number of key roles in allowing for neoliberal governance to operate within educational systems. Assessment instruments are used as technologies of

neoliberal governance to render students around the globe calculable and governable. In addition to rendering students governable, education systems and actors are rendered accountable in a system of global comparison and competition.

Technologies of Performance

The practice of benchmarking, performance indicators, the establishment of quasi-markets, corporatization and privatization, and contracting out services all serve as technologies of performance guided by neoliberal rationalities (Dean, 1999). These technologies are implemented from higher, supranational levels within the multilayered process of policy making and implementation. As an element of neoliberal governmentality, performativity can be considered a set of externally imposed controls (Ranson, 2003).

The attention to data and statistics collection is important throughout the period 2001 to 2007, as reflected in the WB EFA reports. It is in EDE 2002 that the focus on generation, sharing and comparison of data called for in EFA policy is linked to creation of policy parameters or benchmarks. As cited in Chapter 4, the EDE 2002 states that:

> In order to bring technical rigor, transparency and financial discipline into the EFA planning process, we propose that these policy parameters constitute the 'benchmarks' for good system performance. In each country, a 'credible EFA plan' would define the process of reform that would bring its performance into line with these benchmarks. (World Bank, 2002, p. 15)

As a technology of performance, quantitative assessments of educational systems are not merely performance indicators and tools to allow benchmarking, they also allow results to be compared between locations and over time. In this sense, a "new formal calculative regime" emerges as the domain of educational expertise is subsumed by calculative practices (Dean, 1999, p. 169). Educational organizations are rendered a group of individuals, who are able to be governed at a distance as "'calculable individuals' within 'calculable spaces', subject to particular 'calculative regimes'" (p. 169). It is through measures of performativity that identities are generated which are disciplined by targets, indicators, measures, and records of performance" (Ranson, 2003, p. 469).

Similar to APTEFA 2001, EDE 2002 calls for improvement of a wide range of educational statistics in terms of quality, quantity and timeliness. The link to setting policy parameters and benchmarks is made in 2002 in conjunction with discussion of EFA financing and the idea of fast-tracking EFA goals. With consideration of these two factors, the provision of data is deemed necessary.

In understanding educational outcomes as sets of numbers - educational statistics - the process of translating performance to a level of system accountability is made possible. In the "framing of performativity-as-accountability" (Henry et al., 2001, p. 159) an educational system's ability to educate for success may be judged in terms of quantitative data. In addition, "these technologies of performance present themselves as techniques of restoring trust" and, as such, they "presuppose a culture of mistrust in professions and institutions that they themselves contribute to, produce and intensify" (Dean, 1999, p. 169).

As a lead coordinating agency and donor of funding, the WB sets as a requirement that educational systems must provide statistical data that provide evidence of achievement, efficiency and accountability. Considerations of data and acceleration of EFA through a fast-tracking process are linked to data in a way similar to that of financing. In order to be deemed worthy of receiving the benefit and attention of a fast-track program, educational systems are required to provide evidence of a commitment to performance.

Within a global political economy based on neoliberalism, producing objects of education that are numerically calculable makes the process of education more easily translated into practices, including, for example, benchmarking, contractualism and new managerialism. Economic theory and market models can be justified in relation to educational policy when data, as the evidence of a need to improve educational systems, is provided. By placing educational outputs in similar terms as economic outputs, the effect is the ability to treat various systems as the same. In this process, differences are masked, rendered unthinkable and, therefore, not actionable. Beyond providing simple comparisons between countries, educational assessments can be understood to allow for international benchmarking practices in education. The notion of performativity becomes an end in itself, a measure of efficiency or effectiveness detached from the broader goals of education: "Unlike earlier comparisons, benchmarking involves a treadmill of incessant learning and feedback... [and] encourages places and people to constantly reinvent themselves and remobilize

their efforts, bringing new economic spaces and subjects into being" (Papadopoulos, 1994, p. 215).

An emphasis on performativity as defined by quantitative indicators is prone to rendering important aspects of education undervalued. As the educational assessments can only evaluate in a quantitative manner, qualities that cannot be assessed risk losing their status as legitimate educational objectives, and schools may choose to focus on what is tested, that is, that which is measured (Torrance, 2006). It could be argued that in reforming and creating new policies based on the quantitative data, those areas not measured are actually delegitimated, especially in the context of education as informed by individual and economic rationality. In addition to legitimating some areas and delegitimating others, new versions of education may be brought into the discussion as "these global comparisons have come to make global imaginaries material" (Larner & Le Heron, 2004, p. 212). In some ways "new policies feed off and gain legitimacy from the deriding and demolition of previous policies (Ball, 1990), which are thus rendered 'unthinkable'" (Ball, 1998, p. 125).

While results of educational assessments are used as rationale for inspection of education system performance, what the results really mean is rarely examined "beyond the headline" (Torrance, 2006, p. 824). This is particularly relevant in the consideration of the emphasis on quality in EFA policy. In 2006, assessment is put forward directly as a main element of issues surrounding education quality. The definition of quality remains ambiguous and reporting of quality relies mainly on quantitative measures. Despite a high level of attention to

quality throughout the reports, there is no discussion of how exactly the collection and comparison of quantitative data will support quality. While it could be argued that there are too many assumptions at work within the process of large scale, quantitative assessments to use them in policy reform, it is certainly the case that, at a minimum, their results must be further enhanced by "localized qualitative enquiry about school organization and classroom processes" (Torrance, 2006, p. 833)

At the international level, educational assessments required by WB EFA efforts can be understood as a technology that has provided a quantitative mode of evaluation, allowing for international comparison. Systems are evaluated along very narrow lines of performativity. Despite strong arguments that educational accountability should reflect a wider range of factors, the level of performativity is correlated to the level of accountability of the system.

Benchmarking

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, benchmarking is a key technology of performance-based evaluations of education systems that, more and more, are shaped by neoliberal rationalities. In addition to data collection in education systems, benchmarking is a common theme from 2001 through 2007 in the EFA reports of the WB. In 2002, as mentioned earlier, the idea of a 'development compact' is introduced. Unlike the fast track initiative, the compact is not formalized to the same degree. That it is not formalized, however, does not mean that the compact is not a key element in later EFA-FTI documents. The

development compact is proposed as a way to ensure commitments to working toward the benchmarks identified in 2002:

> Based on a review of successful countries as well as those where completion rates have stagnated or declined, a set of key education policy and financing parameters was identified, which explain countries' differential EFA progress. The parameters observed in successful countries constitute technical benchmarks or "norms" against which countries' EFA plans may be evaluated and costed. The pattern exhibited by the countries with the highest primary completion rates, of relatively healthy spending on primary education as a share of GDP, moderate unit costs, and low repetition rates, represents a sustainable balance of resource allocation that is a necessary condition for EFA progress (EDE, 2002, p. 15).

While the compact itself is not developed into a more formal arrangement over the period to 2007, the benchmarks are a focus of each of the reports within that time period. The reports provide a large range of statistics and data, however, it is not the numbers themselves or their production that are of primary importance in this analysis. Rather, how they are used and the areas they allow to be compared are worth exploration. The emphasis on benchmarks within EFA documents of the WB between 2001 and 2007 provides a prime example of many of the characteristics associated with the use of global comparisons outlined by Larner and Le Heron (2004). The authors comment on the general way in which various quantitative standards, indicators, and benchmarks are increasingly

playing a key role in the process of globalizing very specific forms of economic practice.

The commitment to benchmarking within the WB EFA documents between 2001 and 2007 reflects neoliberal governmentality, wherein benchmarking is not simply a tool. Benchmarking is instead a technology, as articulated by Larner and LeHeron 2004, "*that is bringing its own spaces and subjects into existence*" (Larner & LeHeron, 2004, p. 219, emphasis in the original). In relation to the EFA documents of the WB, the use of benchmarking is promoted as a guiding principle in governing the creation and implementation of global education policies.

The EFA documents of the WB of 2001 through 2007 also provide an example of the manner in which benchmarking has become a governmental discourse. Larner and Le Heron (2004) note that benchmarking has gone from being a technical discourse and can now be considered a governmental discourse (p. 213). The authors cite Yeatman (1997): "Benchmarking has moved from being a narrow business technique, to a theory of management, to a policy/governmental agenda (as cited in Larner & LeHeron, 2004, p. 215). As a policy/governmental agenda, benchmarking is in many cases a governmental technology (Larner & LeHeron, 2004, p. 218).

Benchmarking is now associated with the rise of New Public Management and is entering the realm of governing social life as its techniques are applied to a wide range of social sectors. The WB efforts to support EFA are an example of the way in which benchmarking has come to be a key technology in the governing

of a facet of social life. Initially, benchmarking was limited to comparisons within a particular firm. The comparisons have now breached those boundaries and are used at an international level (Larner & Le Heron, 2004, p. 212). Benchmarking is now understood to be useful, and even necessary, as a tool in education, government, the non-profit sector, and the public sector in general. The use of benchmarking as a guiding principle in efforts to support EFA through the FTI is an example of the strategy broadening the scope of what is comparable: "Whereas benchmarking began by comparing like with like, these techniques now make it possible to think of organizationally discrete and spatially disparate objects as comparable (p. 214)

In the process of increasing the importance of comparisons, the spirit of competition is enhanced as countries and systems are ranked and a relative value assigned. The emphasis on competitiveness within the EFA documents warrants attention "given the centrality of the ethos of international competitiveness to neo-liberalism" (Hindess, 1998, as cited in Larner & Le Heron, 2004, p. 212). The countries and their systems are continually called upon to compare themselves to a wider and wider grouping of references. As evidenced by the EFA documents over the period 2001 to 2007, an increasingly large group of organizations and individuals are called upon to compare their processes and results with others across the globe and from other sectors. This expectation of comparison is consistent with Larner and Le Heron's (2004) finding that "increasingly, the neoliberal citizen is expected to compare themselves and their organizations in a wider sphere of reference" (Larner & Le Heron, 2004, p. 212).

The comparisons and benchmarks used in the EFA documents are aimed at improving and promoting particular economic and development rationalities across the countries in which EFA efforts are being undertaken. Increased focus on international competitiveness is a key element of this direction. Systems are given no other choice than to be compared to the existing players and to participate in the global economy. The benchmarks set within the documents measure a very specific and narrow range of elements.

As the range and areas that the benchmarks are to measure are set by the WB and other large organizations, and what is made observable through the use of the benchmarks is related to the participation of such organizations in the integration of national systems within the global economy. Larner and Le Heron (2004) have argued that many global comparisons and benchmarks are "bound up with a growing preoccupation with participating 'at a distance' in globalizing economic processes" (p. 212). This preoccupation and the consequent focus on benchmarking has allowed for a shift in the governance of global economics (p. 219). This shift includes more technologies that relay the goals of certain authorities in the development and educational fields across spatial and cultural boundaries, allowing for increased government at a distance. Through the use of techniques such as benchmarking, which allow internationally recognized experts or powerful groups to gain certain knowledge about other systems, calculative practices can be engaged to participate in and shape the global economy, not only at a distance but also on the terms set by that group (Larner & LeHeron, 2004, p. 219).

Benchmarking in the EFA documents is based on the assumption that quantitative measures can be applied across political, geographical, cultural and organizational territories. As the use of benchmarking and the elements it measures expand, systems and individuals are increasingly impacted. Larner and Le Heron (2004) note that in many instances "benchmarking encourages places and people to constantly reinvent themselves and remobilize their efforts, bringing new economic spaces and subjects into being" (p. 215). As this reinvention is based on a broadening set of benchmarks, the efforts to meet certain standards expand. It has been found that "the rise of benchmarking is associated with a new emphasis on knowledge, ideas and innovation in the context of new forms of international competitiveness" (p. 219).

I argue that this increased competitive is very much an effect of the greater attention to benchmarking in EFA documents of the WB. Within the period 2002 through 2007, there is a sense of urgency conveyed in integrating countries into the global knowledge economy. Increasingly the reports focus on the need for education systems to prepare learners to compete in the global economy and to make use of the systems and tools that are the technologies of 'best practices'. These efforts are to be in the service of achieving high degrees of coherence and cohesion. These processes of systems alignment are promoted as being of great urgency and, as a result, the 2001 focus on acceleration is formalized in the Fast Track Initiative of 2002.

The benchmarks promoted in the EFA reports are repeatedly described as part of a path and not an end in themselves. In early reports there is an emphasis

on universal primary education. This emphasis eventually shifts to quality primary education, as this is what is seen to be necessary in the work toward universal secondary education. In the terms of integration with the global knowledge economy, the reports identify the completion of secondary and post-secondary education as necessary. The reports' discussions of benchmarks uses language that is about reaching specific and prescribed goals. I argue that, in such a system where one form and route to an education is deemed proper, the status quo will remain, as every time a goal is reached a new one will be produced, in relation to which subjects will be compared and some will fall short. As stated by Larner and Le Heron (2004):

> Benchmarking is also highly selective. Most immediately it redefines core and periphery by linking up those organizations and people understood to have 'value' and discarding the rest. It is a limited and liminal technique in that not everyone can be 'best-in-class' or 'world class', and it is possible to both enter into and be pushed from these ranks. (p. 219)

It is in this process of assigning value relative to others that the processes of global inclusion and exclusion persist and take on new forms.

The discourse of quality in the EFA reports is one facet within the reports that becomes of increasing importance and contributes to the processes by which certain groups can be excluded or included, and ranked in the global hierarchy. As mentioned earlier with regard to data collection, in the EFA reports, quality is never fully defined; rather, it is communicated as something that one can measure

and consider through benchmarking. In 2002 there is brief mention of quality. However, it is in 2004 that quality is explicitly discussed as an assumed benefit of benchmarking. The reports of 2006 and 2007 reiterate the importance of the quality benchmark, and at this point quality and learning achievement are explicitly tied to ability to participate in the economy. Quality is therefore narrow in its definition while, at the same time, being extremely broad in its application. The quality benchmarks shift efforts of national systems generally, and education systems more specifically, to support reaching targets that are somewhat disconnected from context in terms of both space and time.

The reports demonstrate a commitment to increased attention to data, statistics and benchmarking. As technologies of neoliberal governmentaltiy, each of these enables students around the globe to be rendered calculable and governable. Education systems are also held accountable to the goals of the WB through the data gathered and the ability to attain benchmarks. As systems and students work to adjust to produce the benchmark levels and reach the desired statistics, they become part of a global network of comparison and competition.

Chapter 6: Responsibility, Harmonization and the FTI Compact

Government at a distance has been at the center of my analysis so far and is perhaps the most important concept in a discussion of responsibility, harmonization and the FTI Compact. This chapter examines how there has come to be a division of responsibility for EFA efforts, and how this division is supported by technologies of EFA policy. In assigning responsibility along certain lines, the process of harmonization of EFA policy and efforts is made possible. In turn, the harmonization process supports adherence to the FTI Compact as a guide to how actors will take up EFA policy and relate to other actors engaging with the same policy.

Responsibility

The discussion about quality benchmarking of the previous chapter provides a way to understanding how responsibility for EFA is to be shared. As outlined in the 2001 to 2007 EFA reports examined in Chapter 4, there exists a division in how the responsibility for EFA efforts is assigned along national and international lines. The benchmarks are defined by the WB while the ability to reach these goals is to be at the national level.

Over the period from 2001 to 2007, this division of responsibility becomes increasingly distinct. In 2002, the role of international organizations such as the WB is in the provision of expert knowledge and assistance in identifying next steps and as a key authority in organizing the financing of projects in education sectors. The role for actors at the national level is in the implementation of the

projects. By 2004, the responsibility for finding funding and financing has shifted subtly to actors at the national level. In 2007, it is explicitly stated that the WB is to act as a service provider, whose role it is to give advice on macroeconomic and social issues, a key one of which is education.

As with the process of benchmarking, the provision of expert knowledge increasingly becomes a way for the WB to govern at a distance. There are a few elements which are meant to take context into account in the process of setting benchmarks, goals and values; however, context is also often treated as similar across countries that are seen to be a long way from reaching the WB goals. By setting the goals at the international level, through the expertise of the WB and the rationalities of its framework, a very specific perspective on the shape that global order should take and on the role that education should play is established. The framework determines the benchmarks and goals, and how countries are to participate through following its prescribed policies and practices.

In each of the reports it is clear that the prescription put forward by the WB requires action, not only in the education, but across all sectors. Indeed, education is meant to drive change in other sectors, and it is strongly suggested that education cannot succeed in a context that is not supported by total national reform. In this way, education is seen to be a solution, the means by which poverty can be alleviated through accessing the global economy; to not support education in all ways necessary would be to doom the country to persistent poverty. Over time, the reports move from a general look at a number of aspects

of EFA in 2001[4] to a narrow focus specific to the MDGs and poverty alleviation in later reports. The term EFA itself appears less and less in later reports. The titles of the reports, from 2004 on, combine EFA with the Fast Track Initiative (FTI), indicative of the later emphasis on the FTI efforts of the WB that come to trump the more general and education-focused exploration of EFA of the earlier reports.

As the division of responsibility within EFA policy becomes increasingly distinct, the ability of the WB to govern at a distance is strengthened. The division assigns a clear role to the WB as the authority, whose expert advice is to guide actors engaged at levels more connected to context and the implementation of policy. It is interesting to note that while the WB in some ways has retracted its level of interaction with actors within education systems, donors and other policy actors, through the manner in which responsibility is divided, the WB remains very influential in determining how these actors will engage with each other.

Harmonization

As a part of the development of the appropriate steps and framework in achieving EFA goals, harmonization of actors is emphasized in the EFA reports. In 2002, the concept of harmony leading to synergistic effects is introduced. In 2004 the harmonization process is defined more specifically to indicate that actors follow the lead of or align with the WB EFA reports. Harmonization therefore excludes plans developed outside of the framework put forward by the WB. This

[4] As was discussed in an earlier chapter the aspects of EFA examined in 2001 are still narrow in relation to the initial EFA vision.

is extremely limiting for a variety of actors as their roles are narrowed to that of mere agents of implementation. Donor efforts are also to be harmonized, meaning that donors are to support and align only with projects within the framework.

By 2007, despite the small size of many actors and donors, their large number forces the WB to make changes to how it participates in the harmonization process. The report of 2007 notes that the WB must develop "new harmonization-friendly instruments" (World Bank, 2007 p. vii). However, while the WB must in some ways adapt to coordinating a large number of actors and donors involved in EFA, it remains dominant as an authority in determining the harmonization agenda. Specifically, in 2007 the EFA report noted that the WB partnership role in EFA had demonstrated so much success that it was to be used in the OECD's Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (PDAE) as the template for how harmonization should be approached.

The PDAE is considered to be a form of conditionality used by institutions of global governance and has been compared to the structural adjustment programs (SAPs) of the WB and IMF (Tandon, 2009, p. 357). Despite calls from developing countries for space and authority in policy-making processes so as to disengage from previous policies handed down by a variety of global governance institutions, strong policy conditions remain through agreements such as the PDAE (Tandon, 2009, p.357). The PDAE consists of 56 partnership commitments which:

> are organized around five key principles: ownership, alignment, harmonization, managing for results, and mutual accountability. It sets out twelve indicators to monitor progress in achieving results and 'encouraging progress against the broader set of partnership commitments'. Finally, the PDAE claims to create stronger mechanisms for accountability - a 'model of partnership' by which donors and recipients of aid are held 'mutually accountable'. (Tandon, 2009, p. 358)

The goals of the PDAE were reaffirmed in the Accra Agenda for Action, and challenges to meeting the goals by 2010 were identified (Hayman, 2009, p.583). While the PDAE does call for mutual accountability and recognizes that developing countries should have policy ownership, research has shown that the accountability framework places the responsibility to account on the developing countries that report to the global governance institutions. Compliance tests rarely involve social policies of the recipient country, and the twelve performance indicators are only used to highlight shortcomings of the recipient country. This provides recipient countries with no recourse in the case that the donor has not met certain standards (Tandon, 2009, p. 358; Hyden, 2008, p. 269). In addition to being considered a form of aid conditionality, the PDAE operates as a technology of enforcement, as the penalties for insufficient performance apply to the recipient and not the donor (Tandon, 2009, p. 359).

Because harmonization prescribes policy issues are included and excluded, is effects raise important questions about standardization and alignment (Alfini & Chambers, 2007). Harmonization has also been linked to a narrowing of the

vocabularies used to discuss policy issues and, by extension, a narrowing of the perspectives for analyzing issues and results. Alfini and Chambers (2007) note that, in some cases, harmonization may reduce "diversity, choice, and subtlety of expression" (p. 502), and in extreme cases may lead to the rise of new hegemonies.

In 2002, the EFA reports of the WB acknowledge the benefits of harmonization, and call for partnerships to be defined more explicitly. By 2004 that definition is narrowed to exclude any plans for EFA that are developed from outside the partnership. The harmonization process becomes an inextricable condition of EFA partnerships, as all EFA donors and partner countries are to remain committed to agendas determined by the WB's EFA partnership plan.

World Bank EFA partnerships have increasingly limited education goals and the technologies by which goals are to be worked toward and achieved. Through WB authority for EFA, issues of efficiency and economic relevance have been prioritized across school systems. Hyden (2008) notes that, through harmonization, national initiatives for education are limited.

Another interesting contradiction in the evolution of the EFA documents is that in 2002 the reports called for decentralization of services within countries at risk of not reaching certain goals. This call was made while at the same time requiring countries to address shortcomings in systems for generating national education statistics. The decentralization process is understood to improve efficiency of service provision and to identifying obstacles. This shift allows for questions of about the competency of national systems to be raised and does not

allow for the systems of global governance institutions to be examined as readily. Instead, global governance institutions are given increased attention as authorities and expert knowledge holders.

The rationality of harmonization of the EFA reports diminishes opportunities for dissent within partnerships. Over time there is a narrowing of goals within the partnership and an increase in informal pressure on recipient countries to achieve these goals. There is no discussion within the reports of opposing positions or of broadening the goals.

The FTI Compact

Over time the EFA reports formally increase their focus on FTI. In 2001, acceleration of EFA policy operationalization is discussed in depth and with a sense of urgency. The 2002 report relays this same sense of urgency calling for a fast-tracking of EFA policy. Reflecting the importance of the Fast Track Initiative (FTI) in the EFA agenda, the reports of 2004, 2006 and 2007 use FTI in their titles, and the efforts become almost secondarily associated with EFA. Simultaneously, there is an increasing and implicit emphasis on the 'compact', labeled the 'FTI compact' in 2007. As a part of the harmonization process, the compact is representative of the ability of the WB to govern at a distance, and the responsibility and accountability imbalances that exists among developing country partners, development partners and the WB. While the pressure to adhere to the compact remains implicit, the compact technologies that are to be utilized are explicit.

In 2007, when the compact is laid out in table form (see Chapter 4), the actors listed include developing country partners and development partners. In this format it is easy to overlook the importance of the WB in determining the role of each. Through the compact, the WB has defined how these groups will interact with each other. To relate to each other in ways not outlined in the compact is to act outside of the EFA partnership, and to put effort into projects that may contradict the roles defined is to betray the EFA project. In this way, there is little room for dissent. The language of the compact highlights technologies that have been increasing since 2001, such as benchmarking, consultation, coordination, alignment, upwards reporting and resource mobilization. Each of these processes is intended to support the structure of the compact as a technology for mutual accountability.

The technologies of mutual accountability promoted through the compact do not necessarily mean that each of the actors listed in the compact are equally accountable. Accountability is quite unidirectional; it is to the creator of the compact, the WB. The points in the compact outline an explicit part of the WB agenda. When the compact calls upon developing country partners to "design national education sector plans with broad consultation," it is important to notice that development partners are called to "align assistance with country priorities" and to "coordinate support around education sector plans" (World Bank, 2007, p. 2). As mentioned earlier, success in education is repeatedly, implicitly and explicitly, linked to the need to see changes across a wide range of sectors. The

education sector plans are also to harmonize with the WB developed PRSPs of the various countries.

By analyzing the discourse of the EFA documents, it becomes evident that, from 2001 to 2007, through rationalities and technologies of responsibility, harmonization, and accountability, developing partner countries are to adhere to the same and potentially normalizing and homogenizing philosophies, conceptions of policy, versions of justice and theories of power that are produced by the WB and affirmed in the EFA reports. Furthermore, these rationalities and technologies are also embedded in global development discourses and practices beyond education.

The FTI Compact of 2007 includes the key elements of what Mundy (2006) terms *The New Development Compact*. In 2006, Mundy addressed the emergence of the 'education for development regime' and its relationship to EFA. The elements of the 'new consensus on global development' have been identified as having been influenced by both neoliberal and social welfare rationalities, and education's role within that consensus results in it having a very specific and significant set of priorities (Mundy, 2006, p. 34).

Chapter 7: EFA and the New Imperialism

As Tikly (2004) argues, global governance, as it is manifest currently, is a form of new imperialism in which populations can be rendered useful to Western interests through the process of educational policy and practice (p. 174). Using the concepts of governmentality in the analysis of the World Bank's Education for

All reports of 2001 to 2007 has allowed me to see how Tikly's ideas about a new imperialism can be understood as what Foucault (1977) called a 'regime of truth', a "system of ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution, circulation and operation of statements, [linking truth] in a circular relation with systems of power which produce and sustain it" (p. 133).
That is, my analysis has highlighted the recent trajectory of WB EFA policy and the ways in which the 'truth' of the new imperialism has been established.

The truth of the new imperialism, as revealed through EFA, is exhibited in the position of education as a guiding and legitimating concern for a number of Western dominated supranational actors, the structure of supranational discussion and debate on the issues of education, and the near total disregard for non-neoliberal ways of conceiving of what constitutes education itself.

The new imperialism is also apparent in the lack of acknowledgement of historical trends, processes of exploitation, and international power stratification in explanations of the 'problem' and in understandings of the roots of the poverty issues that are meant to be addressed by Education for All 'solutions'. Disregard for these major considerations, in the processes of promoting powerful neoliberal education reforms, risks exacerbating the features of the supranational system that maintain unhealthy relationships among very heterogeneous actors.

The new imperialism incorporates low-income countries into the international economic system by stressing western notions of individualism and entrepreneurialism, while failing to acknowledge cultural explanations for shortcomings of the neoliberal model of policy making and implementation

(Tikly, 2004). Tikly's analysis of the regime of global governance calls attention to how the new imperialism allows for government at a distance by supranational 'authority' organizations and serves the interests of global capitalism.

The new imperialism subsumes states of the Global South into the western system of global capitalism, not by force but through the imposition of the global rationalities and technologies of neoliberal governmentality (Gelinas, 2002; McNally, 2006). Control of the Global South is no longer a physical process of imperialism; rather, states must align in many respects with the discursive matrix that is dominant in the West or risk suffering a variety of consequences.

Often presented as in search of value neutral rationalities, such as efficiency and accountability (Apple, 2000), the flow of economic power is, on the contrary, guided for the purposes of certain territories and groups (Tikly, 2004, p.174). However, as Foucault (1977) suggested, power operates not only in a 'top down' manner, it also circulates through the work of actors at all levels and in all sites of a system. As we have seen in the previous chapters, the flow of power often occurs across distances and contexts when the neoliberal rationalities (i.e., developmentalism, economic rationalism, human capital development, responsibility, harmonization, and accountability) asserted by authorities and expert knowledge holders, such as the WB, are put into effect by individuals and groups through the various technologies for alignment (i.e., policy parameters, benchmarking, performance indicators, standardized testing, data collection and statistics generation) of programs, such as EFA.

The 'Truth' of Developmentalism

As Chan (2007) explains, although the goals of the neoliberal and human developmentalist approaches are distinct in many ways, there is increasing blurriness between the rationalities of human developmentalism and neoliberal developmentalism; that is, development, of any kind, has come to be seen as a 'good investment' (p. 368). This position is explicitly stated numerous times throughout the EFA reports of 2001 to 2007. Education is to be the vehicle through which individuals from around the world can function successfully in the global political economy. Here, the human developmentalist approach also depends on the individualizing technologies of neoliberal governmentality to achieve the state-based accomplishment of goals determined at a supranational level. While it could be argued that the EFA goals have important ends, in meeting those ends a global culture of possessive individualism, performativity, competitiveness, and economic rationalism is promoted. Although this effect is not as explicit in the EFA reports as it is in advice from the IFIs, the notion of development of the EFA can be argued to be tied to "self-interest and possessiveness" (Dossa, 2007, p. 893).

While organizations such as the World Bank and the OECD are most often characterized as neoliberal, it is important to note that they have also been integral to the development of the human developmentalist approach. The issue arises in trying to decipher the extent to which approaches, grown out of these organizations, can be independent of the type of rationality that informs their actions. The rationalities may vary and shift slightly, but the technologies

produced and at work in their systems of logic appear to have maintained their strong neoliberal character.

For example, as Chan (2007) suggests, the rationalities of global governance institutions involved in education may be understood to be related to the truths of a developmentalist rationality. This can be seen in the WB EFA reports as involving both human rights and market principles. While these principles may appear contradictory at a surface level, both are at the core of liberal understandings of social, economic, and political order. Thus, their technologies and processes for educational policy making and dissemination have, in often assumed and naturalized ways, become enrolled in the operations of neoliberal governmentality. Specifically, as Chan (2007) argues, while human a developmentalist approach seeks to alter the IFIs and institutions of global governance, the emphasis on *solutions*, especially on a global scale, relies on technologies that are easily standardized and measured, aligned and harmonized and, thus, that have normalizing and homogenizing effects. My argument here is not to deny any usefulness in a human developmentalist approach to education policy development; rather I wish to note that the way in which the technologies of neoliberal governmentality shape and regulate such an approach in prescriptive, limiting, and potentially exclusionary ways is highly problematic. As I have come to see through my analysis, for example, the neoliberal governmentality at work through the WB agenda has restricted the possibilities of incorporating pluralistic, flexible, and contextually oriented technologies into the EFA program. This, I argue, can be detrimental to the autonomy and independence of recipient

countries and has the potential to further marginalize and, perhaps even eradicate, minority cultures and local economies as states are left with little choice but to 'get with the program' of the WB and its neoliberalizing EFA movement.

Authorizing the Truth

In examining the development and progression of 'a world education culture' (Resnik, 2006, p.175) or, more specifically, EFA, Mundy and Murphy (2001) follow the involvement of INGOs in framing the debate. INGOs based in the Global North both initiated much of the debate on certain issues and shaped the process by which the issues were discussed; in doing this the northern INGOs became understood as authorities, set the direction, and have, in effect, curtailed the introduction of alternative conceptions for education policies and practices by limiting the debate within the closed circle a supranational actors that comprises the INGOs themselves in collaboration with IGOs, the World Bank, the OECD, UNESCO and UNICEF. In noting key trends, Mundy and Murphy (2001) mention that the level of interaction between the INGOs and the IGOs was unprecedented in the period that EFA became a focus. This finding is quite significant given that, during the same period of time, IGOs were reasserting their legitimacy by providing development assistance. Education, taken up as a means to revitalize the role of UNESCO, UNICEF and the World Bank (p. 98), became tied to broader social issues and was positioned as a means to decrease global disparity (Mundy & Murphy, 2001).

There are a number of ways the rationalities and technologies of EFA are controlled by Western interests. Led by UNESCO and a key project of the WB,

EFA and, more specifically, EFA-FTI efforts are very much a project, an assemblage of technologies - arrangements, processes, practices, texts, instruments, and statistical data and records - of large global governance institutions.

For example, the very structure of many of the debates served to exclude Southern actors by limiting invitations to conferences and by following meeting procedures that were consistent with core-periphery global politics and with maintaining northern-based INGOs' control of decision making (Mundy & Murphy, 2001). The process of defining education did not involve actors who may associate education with informal processes to the extent that actors in support of formal schooling participated: "To summarize the role of southern governments, researchers and NGOs in affecting substantially the Jomtien Declaration and Framework for Action, it was minor, if not minimal" (King, 2007, p. 381). Thus, mass, formalized systems of education often held to standards set by global governance institutions are promoted at the national level (Mundy, 2007).

King's (2007) work elaborates on the project of promoting legitimacy of a variety of supranational actors (SNAs). Multilateral agencies were also facing a period of reduced momentum just prior to the emphasis on EFA, and educational issues provided a renewed direction to the efforts of the World Bank and the OECD (King, 2007). The ability of INGOs based in the Global North to shape EFA has been, in part, a result of their making use technologies already in place through IFIs and the OECD. In particular, King (2007) follows the influence of

reports and documents of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the OECD. Here, reflecting the EFA rationalities of developmentalism, economic rationalism, and human capital, education is argued to be "the most significant factor in reducing poverty and increasing participation by individuals in the economic, political and cultural life of their societies" (King, 2007, p. 382).

Structurally, the decontextualized technologies for implementation of EFA policy, as a part of the MDGs, and the mandates of a number of SNAs, are based on the DAC report, *Shaping the 21st Century: The Contribution of Development Cooperation.* The report was published in 1996 and contains highly generalized International Development Targets (IDTs) that are based on the Jomtien targets (King, 2007, p. 382). While the targets were initially developed in relation to highly contextual contingencies, they were decontextualized and made more quantifiable through the process of being included in the DAC report. These targets were used as a basis for the creation of the Dakar conference targets in April 2000, and five months later "the MDGs were, despite all the discussion around the Millennium Declaration, virtually the same as the IDTs" (King, 2007, p. 386). As the IDTs are highly decontextualized the process of implementation by national governments is difficult. As I discussed in Chapter 6, the optics are of global cooperation but, in reality, the mandated responsibility for the achievement of the targets falls to the state itself (Chan, 2007; King, 2007).

The analysis of WB EFA reports has allowed me to see how the new imperialism is a kind of regime of truth operationalized through policy rationalities and technologies. Considerations of the historical circumstances and

complexities involved in the evolution of EFA policy between 2001 and 2007 highlights the unique manner in which problems of population are related in a specific way to economic poverty, and how the solution is presented through EFA policy. The regime of truth of the new imperialism helps us to understand the political circumstances through which authorities have gained that position. As the authorities in development and education policy, the supranational actors of the Global North govern at a distance in through a reproduced and reproducing set of rationalties and technologies that support global capitalism.

The process of revealing these elements of the truth of the new imperialism through the analysis of EFA reports may not at first glance seem to offer the opportunity to engage forms of resistance to this phenomenon. However, the analysis is quite essential in such engagement, as the existing position must be understood as historically contingent, revealing that opportunities to engage with or resist the current trajectory of EFA policy can exist at all levels and in all spaces in which the program is at work.

Chapter 8: Concluding Remarks

Through this research project, I have endeavoured to analyze a specific body of documents to demonstrate in a clear way how discourse operates to change and promote certain fundamental principles by which a range of actors engage in education policy and practice. Using the concepts of rationalities, technologies, government at a distance and neoliberalism, I was able to explore the how the rationalities, including the justifications and interpretations of particular political perspectives, put into operation certain technologies, as the means or mechanisms by which populations may be governed at a distance, across spatial distance and in diverse contexts by supranational authorities. In my examination of the EFA reports produced by the WB between 2001 and 2007, I have come to understand the character of the EFA and EFAFTI projects to be indicative of neoliberal governmentality. In noting discursive shifts, changes in trajectory, overlaps and distinctions, I was able to see how certain policies have become privileged and other policy conceptions are rendered 'unthinkable'.

Educational data and measures of system performance are increasingly emphasized in WB EFA reports through the period 2001 to 2007. The production and collection of data are technologies that place educational systems in a position of reporting and being accountable to the WB, a supranational educational authority. A shift in educational policy to focus on generating quantitative data related to program effectiveness and student achievement, renders education systems and learners calculable and governable. Educational experts of the WB are able to interpret the data generated at a distance, establish EFA policies

accordingly and, in effect, produce and reproduce the neoliberal knowledges and truths of a new kind of imperialism.

The new imperialism (Tikly, 2007) may be understood as a regime of truth that privileges neoliberal discourses and has the effects of limiting alternative ideas about education and of disallowing dissent. The evolution of EFA as a focus of the WB, the structure of the debate in developing frameworks to operationalize EFA, and the rationalities through which EFA is legitimated are all quite disconnected from the voices of actors from the Global South. However, the power relations of EFA depend on alignment and harmonization that is achieved through the responsibility of national actors and their compliance in operationalizing the various technologies of the EFA policies and practices.

Specifically, within the regime, data can be generated, exchanged among actors, and translated into educational goals and benchmarks that are formulated in and through the expert knowledge of authorities, increasingly including those at local levels, and adjustments to education systems are called for and implemented. For example, the interpretation of data by authorities to this point has led the reports to call for increased attention to a certain set of educational practices and an increased focus on benchmarks. Measures of educational practices are set up through the benchmarks and, therefore, the process of benchmarking becomes in itself a technology of neoliberal governmentality in education.

Benchmarking is also integral to the process of alignment that is formally called for in the World Bank reports. Under the title 'harmonization,' the alignment of processes and practices with WB-led EFA policy has had the effect

of limiting the consideration of education issues from alternative perspectives, with different rationalities. The harmonization limits the manner and extent to which all actors, including donors and NGOs, are able to engage with education systems.

Alignment is presented as necessary and has assumed urgency through a focus on 'Fast Track Initiative' (FTI). The FTI consists of a particular and explicit set of expectations. As a rapid technology of neoliberal governmentality, the FTI allows the rationalities shaping EFA policy to be operationalized in an accelerated manner, further curtailing opportunities for discussion, debate and, perhaps, dissent and, thus, re-establishing EFA as a global movement within a regime of education truths.

Within the EFA-FTI project the knowledge economy (KE) has itself become a kind of 'regime of truth'. Based on highly simplified understandings of educational disadvantage, participation in the KE has been increasingly presented in the WB EFA reports as both a means to an end and an end in itself. The rationality of developmentism, which embraces education as a good investment, pushes recipient countries to adopt educational policy that promotes a very particular style of education that is understood to be conducive to educating for the KE. Furthermore, within the EFA reports produced between 2001 and 2007, a 'Compact' emerges to encourage states to adhere to EFA policy, with the goal of fuller integration in the KE. While the Compact began taking shape quite implicitly, in 2007 it is laid out in a more explicit manner. A table and basic set

of agreements are provided in 2007, and these serve to further stress the importance of alignment that is so prevalent in the reports.

The overwhelming evidence is that the EFA reports of this period have been inspired by a very particular form of neoliberal economic rationalism despite discussion of equity and poverty alleviation. The discourse of the EFA reports over the period 2001 to 2007 became increasingly committed to this rationality as education became the solution to a problem that has increasingly been perceived and defined within the terms of its own rationality.

The commitment of WB EFA efforts to address perceived problems is nota new phenomenon. Education policy has long been acknowledged as a mechanism through which certain political aims can be sought. Resnik (2006) notes that the world education culture generally, and more specifically EFA as a global movement, promotes a seemingly inarguable agenda that seeks to minimize global poverty issues through educational goals. It is important to acknowledge the variety of historical issues that have influenced the current international order. The European colonial process, and the disregard for local knowledges that accompanied it, set up power relations that extend into current international relations, and are mirrored and manifested at the supranational level by the actors that are authorities in identifying the issues, framing the debate, and developing policy.

Although the current global governance structure renders invisible a large struggle against the trends in educational policy (Chan, 2007, p. 371), and the trajectory of the discourse of the EFA reports has been dominated by a particular

set of rationalities, there remains opportunity for these rationalities to be challenged as the discourse of WB EFA reports evolves. While my project has highlighted how discourse has taken a specific trajectory, it has also brought to attention how this trajectory is contingent upon occurrences at particular points in time, and is, to a great degree, quite precarious and arbitrary. The direction of the EFA discourse is in no way predetermined or unidirectional. If discourse can change in one way, then it may change in another.

As mentioned earlier, in using the concept of neoliberalism to understand governmentality, it is necessary to recognize the historical contingencies that inform the operation of neoliberal governmentality in each context (Larner, 2000). It is easy to identify the power of certain ideas based on dominant rationalities relative to those that serve to contest the dominant rationalities, technologies, processes and policy trajectories. In fact, there are strong and powerful forces that contest the truth of the new imperialism and neoliberal governmentality. These forces exist at a number of levels, and as neoliberal governmentality is increasingly evident at a supranational level, so are forces that offer althernative possibilities, organizations and processes (Apple, 2000, p. 73). It is with this mention of the points of resistance that it must be reiterated that neoliberal governmentality cannot be challenged and interrupted; rather its opposition will require, and has already inspired, creative, collective and highly imaginative responses.

It is in the context of the colonization of education discourse by neoliberal rationalities (Peters, 1996, p. 81) and by the truths of the new imperialism

supported by EFA technologies, that a project of resistance is necessary. As Larner and LeHeron (2002) note: "Power works in part through its ability to name, to define, and to describe certain people and places as being different from others and in a way that excludes other definitions" (p. 417).

In spite of the dominance of neoliberalism within the discourse of WB EFA reports, the innovation of actors in the conduct of their existence must not be understated. As rationalities of EFA may be inculcated, through technologies, in an actor's way of being, so may other rationalities and technologies be introduced. Through an awareness of how they are positioned within neoliberal governmentality, individual subjects may identify and choose from a selection of possibilities, enact various and sometimes oppositional discourses, develop strategies for filtering and resisting from within prevailing discourses, and develop new and effective techniques for transformation (Fairclough, Jessop, & Sayer, 2004, p. 31).

The limitations of this study is that it has not allowed me to explore how, in specific contexts, actors actually take up and actualize the EFA rationalities and technologies. As an analysis of text alone, the purview of this study included only what could be gleaned from a thorough textual analysis. Considerations of the effects of discourse in practice could be taken up very effectively using a governmentality approach to conduct another kind of study field-based study, such as an institutional ethnography, for example. The contextual contingencies, which may have impacts ranging for extreme to subtle, would be well explored using the analytic tools that I have employed in this study.

For example, a policy actor or researcher could conduct a case study to examine the practical interactions between education policy and processes, and a governmentality approach would offer appropriate strategies for exploring the reciprocal relationship between actors and texts in the processes of government at a distance. Policy actors working with texts in this way could develop an appreciation of the power relationships that are at work in the knowledges and practices produced by these technologies. A sophisticated awareness of such relationships can be the first step to informed action. For a researcher, a governmentality approach allows for the identification and tracking of subtle shifts in discourses and, thus, in power relations, which offers ways into the often 'invisible' places and spaces for resistance and change.

Having recently returned from living in Tanzania and serving as an assistant to a broad research project investigating teacher education policy in East Africa, I am particularly interested to see case studies that involve the investigation of how actors take up EFA policy in context. My involvement in the research was part of an internship developed as a partnership between the University of Alberta and the Aga Khan University Institute for Educational Development, East Africa (AKU-IED, EA) in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania. Working on this research project gave me the opportunity to discuss educational issues with actors at the government, teacher education and classroom levels. I had plenty of opportunities to witness the importance that considerations of EFA policy have at all levels of education.

I was particularly struck when, in the process of writing a funding proposal, for which I had been involved in a discussion of relevant policy, my supervisor noted that grant application processes always made her stop and think about the use of what she called 'donor speak.' She told me that she wondered what educating students for the knowledge economy may actually mean for students in rural Uganda (an area she mentioned, as AKU-IED operates teacher education programs there). During the remainder of my time writing the funding proposal, and working to discuss how national development policies of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, were in aligned with EFA policy, I was intrigued by the extent to which it was necessary to highlight congruence and support of EFA policy goals. I am certain that any studies to explore the interaction and engagement of educational actors, in a variety of contexts, with EFA policy would yield important and interesting results.

Policy makers would be similarly interested to make use of analytic tools that allow for the consideration of diverse and often competing forms of power. In recognizing alternative interpretations of policy trajectories, for instance, policy makers may become increasingly aware of the degree of arbitrariness involved in even large or globally recognized education policy. The last two decades of the growth of EFA have been fueled by the rationalities and discourses of actors of the Global North. The most recent decade has been particularly influenced by WB conceptions and definitions. An analysis of WB reports of the period 2001 through 2007 has revealed that policy makers involved in EFA projects would be well advised to engage in a reframing of issues such that conceptions originating

from the Global South, and inspired by contextual realities, may be able to shift broad EFA policy.

Analysts of education policy, at any level, would benefit from a governmentality approach in acknowledging the complexity of interactions between sources and the intertextuality of policy. My analysis noted the importance of considerations of discourse and texts across a number of sectors; specifically, I was able to trace the way in which policy discourses of education became increasingly aligned with the policy discourses of other sectors. At the core of any potential shifts in education policy are considerations of the role of education in the process of development, and of the relationship between development and growth. Education, and more specifically EFA, has been used as a driver in the recent development agenda. The high importance placed by the WB on the EFA-FTI project within the vast array of WB projects is evidence of the critical role education has been assigned in the global development project. It is my hope that this study will contribute to better understandings of the role of the WB in education and of the possible effects the specific EFA technologies. If nothing else, I would like this work to raise more questions and spark the kind of debate that is so necessary in the face of the globalizing forces that work to implicate education - an endeavour that ought to be a fundamentally critical project - in a new imperialism that can blind us to the possibilities of knowing, thinking, and being other than we are.

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