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The Power and Peril of Global Professionalization: The Global Knowledge Economy, The World Bank, and Higher Education

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THE POWER AND PERIL OF GLOBAL PROFESSIONALIZATION: THE GLOBAL KNOWLEDGE ECONOMY, THE WORLD BANK, AND HIGHER EDUCATION

by

Jeremy Cole

Under the Direction of Dr. Deron Boyles

ABSTRACT

Since 1962, the World Bank has involved itself in higher education discourse and practice through the provision of loans and grants to developing nations. Initially, such involvement focused primarily on tangible infrastructure projects such as building schools and providing textbooks for students. Over time, however, the Bank has increasingly come to involve itself in less tangible projects such as policy work, technical assistance, and educational discourse – including the creation of the imaginary of the Global Knowledge Economy (GKE). Through this increased focus on higher education policy and discourse, the Bank has come to wield increasing authority over the discourse of knowledge and its means of production. In order to better elucidate the rising authority of the World Bank over higher education and discourses of knowledge production, this dissertation explores the historical development of the Bank's work in higher education broadly, as well as in two specific countries, Morocco and Indonesia. The dissertation studies the Bank's involvement in higher education through a critical historical method, which combines traditional historical analysis with a critical policy studies lens. Through this analysis, I argue that the authority of the World Bank over the discourse and practice of higher education and knowledge production has increased significantly through time

due to the Bank's role in the creation of a new global profession of higher education economists, and that this increased authority reveals an underlying irony in the Bank's thinking and operations. The irony is that the Bank relies upon a fundamental belief in the power of free markets in the economic sphere, but increasingly deploys methods of centralized planning over higher education and knowledge production through these new professionals. This profession is allowed to flourish in part because the Bank and the GKE both exist within a global realm in which the global public sphere has not been clarified. This dissertation adds to the historical record of the Bank's involvement in higher education discourse, policy and practice, while also exploring the need for more robust theories of the public sphere and for alternative views of knowledge and education at the global level.

INDEX WORDS: World Bank, Higher education, History, Global knowledge economy, Morocco, Indonesia

THE POWER AND PERIL OF GLOBAL PROFESSIONALIZATION: THE GLOBAL
KNOWLEDGE ECONOMY, THE WORLD BANK, AND HIGHER EDUCATION

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Chapter One

Introduction

...in the age of knowledge capitalism the next great struggle after the ‘culture wars’ of the 1990s will be the ‘education wars’, a struggle not only over the meaning and value of knowledge both internationally and locally, but also over the means of knowledge production.¹

Defining the Problem

Founded in 1944, on the heels of a Depression that seriously challenged the assumptions of capitalist ideology, and at the tail end of the Second World War that challenged the limits of modernity itself, the World Bank was, at the beginning, a fortress of defense for capitalism and modernity. In the past six decades, the World Bank has come to wield enormous social, economic, and political power, accumulating both profits and technical expertise. Situated at the forefront of global social action, operating through opaque procedures, as a non-democratic organization that relies on the modern financial system for both its assumptions and sustainability, the World Bank exists within the complicated space created by globalization,² ideology and capital in the modern world, a space with tremendous creative and enormous destructive capacities. Much like Neil Postman’s argument about technology – that it is both a

¹ Michael A. Peters, “Classical Political Economy and the Role of Universities in the New Knowledge Economy,” *Globalisation, Societies and Education* 1 (July 2003): 153-168, 165.

² Instead of taking the oft-used notion of the “global” and “globalization” as a given in this study, I proceed from the assumption that the global itself is a created imaginary – one that overly simplifies otherwise complex phenomena. As Kamola argues, it is important to examine the asymmetrical relations of knowledge production that emerge from the given-ness of the term global itself. This dissertation seeks to further explore these asymmetries – and the asymmetrical power relations that result – in the Bank’s higher educational work. See Isaac Kamola, “Producing the Global Imaginary: Academic Knowledge, Globalization and the Making of the World,” A Dissertation Accepted by the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota, May 2010.

friend because it “makes life easier, cleaner, and longer” and an enemy because it “creates a culture without a moral foundation”³ – the World Bank is both beguiling and bewildering.

This unique characteristic of “creative destructiveness”⁴ found in the entity of the World Bank⁵ extends to the sharply contrasting dual foundations upon which the Bank was formed: first and foremost, as a *bank* that lends money and makes a profit for its investors; and second, as an *organization* devoted to helping nations develop. These dual goals suggest that the Bank is, by its very nature, an institution that sits uncomfortably between traditional notions of public and private. On the one hand, as a financial institution with aspirations to help nations develop, the Bank is not content to simply loan money and collect payments on those loans. On the other hand, as a bank with investors seeking returns, the mission of the Bank always includes making money for these investors. Although it has certain similarities to other development agencies, it is important to remember the Bank’s fundamental and foundational “appeal [is to] economics rather than ethics.”⁶ Rather than justifying its work as a moral good, the Bank has always sought to make the business case for investing. As Kapur, et al. point out, this was a political decision situated in a particular historical context,⁷ with clear consequences for the Bank’s work, particularly in social fields like education, which are steeped in questions of ethics and morality.

This focus on the bankable aspects of international development is one that is relatively easy to understand in the context of the Bank’s involvement in sectors like physical

³ Neil Postman, *Technopoly: The Surrender of Culture to Technology* (New York: Knopf, 1992).

⁴ A phrase used by David Harvey to describe one of the unique attributes of capitalism and the institutions, like the World Bank, that sustain it. See David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1990).

⁵ Also referred to throughout this dissertation, at times, as “the Bank.”

⁶ Devesh Kapur, John P. Lewis, and Richard Webb, *The World Bank: Its First Half Century, Vol. 1* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 1997), 70.

⁷ *Ibid.* As Kapur, et al., argue, “the case for development lending by the Bank was argued more on grounds of general world recovery and interdependence than human solidarity. This appeal to business, rather than moral obligation, was probably good, indeed necessary, politics and, over the long run, has probably been the best stance for the Bank.” (70).

infrastructure and agriculture. Activities such as building bridges and roads, or providing seeds and equipment to farmers, are naturally connected with helping improve the economic lives of individuals and nations, and can fairly easily be measured for success by looking at the financial returns on those investments. Improving roads, for example, leads to more ease and speed of commerce, thus reducing costs and potentially increasing economic growth.

The bankability of less tangible projects, such as work in the field of education, is less clear. In the realm of education, overflowing with ethical and philosophical questions about what it means to be human, the Bank finds itself in complicated territory in which it has sought to impose a level of measurability and control through the years. Since 1962, the World Bank has invested in education at all levels. This work has resulted in over \$68 billion in investments in education to support over 1,500 projects.⁸ These investments have provided numerous tangible and intangible products for nations, from building schools, to training teachers, to providing equipment for school systems and supplies to children, to providing technical assistance to administrators, and much more. Increasingly in education, as part of a larger trend since its founding in 1946, the Bank has significantly shifted its operations from a focus on tangible, physical infrastructure to a focus on intangible, epistemological infrastructure. Whereas at one time the Bank was content to help build a school, it has increasingly come to influence how a nation thinks about education, thus extending its authority from the small scope of specific tangible projects to the open-ended leverage of intellectual and ideological power. By exerting its leverage in the form of loan conditions⁹ over debtor nations, the Bank has enabled itself not merely to influence the number of classrooms in one particular school, but also to

⁸ World Bank website, "Learning for All: World Bank 2010 Sector Strategy," http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EDUCATION/Resources/ESSU/Education_Strategy_4_12_2011.pdf. accessed 2/2/2012.

⁹ Phillip Jones, *World Bank Financing of Education: Lending, Learning, and Development 2nd ed.* (New York: Routledge, 2007).

influence important moral, political and policy questions about the nature, structure and objectives of education and schools. As Klees, Samoff and Stromquist argue, “over the past three decades or more, the World Bank has sought to play a major role in education” and “has worked to situate itself as the architect, implementer, and enforcer of global educational policy.”¹⁰ In so doing, it has positioned itself as the objective arbiter providing supposedly unbiased advice to national education systems to overcome the subjective views of any particular nation. As Steiner-Khamsi argues, “although the World Bank has not decreased its role as a lender of money, it has acted increasingly... as a global policy advisor for national governments.”¹¹ And, as the current Bank education website states, “The Bank helps countries achieve their education goals through finance and knowledge services in the forms of analytic work, policy advice, and technical assistance.”¹²

Such analytic and technical work has led the Bank to use its leverage as a financial lender to impose its view of education on many developing nations. What this means is that the Bank involves itself in the complex questions that have traditionally been left to local and national communities related to the broad philosophical question of what it means to be well-educated.¹³ As Jones argues, “the Bank’s conventional instruments of financing have been accompanied from the outset by demands that borrowers adopt its preferred view of educational futures.”¹⁴ As an institution that emerged after the Second World War, born from the theories of United States

¹⁰ Steven Klees, Joel Samoff, Nelly Stromquist, eds. *The World Bank and Education: Critiques and Alternatives* (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2012), xv.

¹¹ Gita Steiner-Khamsi, “For All by All? The World Bank’s Global Framework for Education,” in Klees, et al., 5.

¹² World Bank website, “Education: Overview,” World Bank, <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTEDUCATION/0,,contentMDK:20575742~menuPK:282393~pagePK:210058~piPK:210062~theSitePK:282386,00.html>, accessed 1/02/2013.

¹³ Neil Postman, *The End of Education: Redefining the Value of School* (New York: Random House, 1995).

¹⁴ Phillip W. Jones, “Taking the Credit: Financing and Policy Linkages in the Education Portfolio of the World Bank,” in Gita Steiner-Khamsi, ed., *The Global Politics of Educational Borrowing and Lending* (New York: Teachers College, 2004), 189.

and British economists,¹⁵ the Bank has the very real ability to impose views of education, learning, and knowledge that are rooted in Western thinking upon nations around the world – many that are not born from the thinking of the West.¹⁶ The Bank is increasingly able to claim authority over global educational discourse and policy, and to impose that authority directly on developing nations.

Considering the complicated nature of an economically globalizing world, the debate over the waxing or waning influence of nation-states, and the increased scrutiny of the Bank's internal and external operations, the Bank's increased authority and widening jurisdiction over global educational policy and discourse is thus an important area of study that fits into broader themes in a globalizing world. First, it connects nicely with the broader homogenizing trends of our global world.¹⁷ Second, it relates directly to the important issues of rising inequity and the concentration of wealth and power in our world today. World society theorists have been exploring the question of the homogenization of cultures for years.¹⁸ From this perspective, “worldwide models define and legitimate agendas for local action, shaping the structures and politics of nation-states and other national and local actors in virtually all of the domains of

¹⁵ Most notably Harry Dexter White and John Maynard Keynes. For more, see, Benn Steil, *The Battle of Bretton Woods, John Maynard Keynes, Harry Dexter White, and the Making of a New World Order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013).

¹⁶ See Cholene Chabbott, *Constructing Education for Development: International Organizations and Education for All* (London: Routledge Falmer, 2003), in which she argues convincingly that the right to development and education did not emerge from “national governments taking rational, measured steps to address the specific needs and unique interests of their particular nation-states,” but rather that these rights were constructed on “Western Enlightenment ideas about progress and justice and the unique role that science plays in promoting them” (2).

¹⁷ The decline in the number of languages around the world is one symptom of the broader tendency toward homogeneity in our world today, which “parallels the increasing concern over the loss of the world's biological diversity, and for related reasons: the loss of isolated and self-sustaining habitats in the face of encroaching urbanization, economic concentration and the consequences of homogenization of human cultures.” Christopher Moseley, “Introduction,” in Christopher Moseley, ed. *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger, 3rd edition* (Paris, UNESCO, 2010), 8.

¹⁸ See, for example, John W. Meyer, John Boli, George M. Thomas, and Francisco O. Ramirez, “World Society and the Nation-State,” *American Journal of Sociology* 103 (July 1997): 144-181.

rationalized social life.”¹⁹ In this way, a relatively homogenous culture emerges, particularly in the post-World War II era, where “there exists a level of isomorphism of social structural and organizational forms across world societies that is far too great to be solely explained in terms of functional necessity or task demands.”²⁰ As Buttel points out, there is a striking similarity today in nations of the world across a wide variety of sectors. In many nations, there exists a homogeneity in “the number of ministries (defense, agriculture, finance, etc.), the same tripartite organization of the military (army, navy, air force), and quite similar educational systems (state-organized schooling with strikingly similar curricula).”²¹ This homogenization of particular models of world culture suggests an increasing scale and scope in policy thinking despite the lack of an increase in the global polity. In other words, there are increasingly fewer words and concepts used to describe an increasingly broad swath of educational geographies, discourses and policies. Questions of scale (e.g. is a bigger polity always better? Is the global superior to the local? How many people can / should be subsumed under a particular model of educational thinking?) are, unfortunately, often unasked in educational policy discussions, despite their vital importance. And yet, increasingly, the production and transfer of knowledge is being influenced by this global tendency to homogenization, led by institutions of increasing authority like the World Bank. In the realm of global educational policy and discourse, the question of the homogenization of knowledge and its production is therefore an urgent one.

¹⁹ Ibid., 145.

²⁰ Frederick H. Buttel, “World Society, the Nation-State, and Environmental Protection,” *American Sociological Review* 65 (February 2000): 117-121, 117.

²¹ Ibid.

On the question of centralization of wealth, as the United Nation's Children Fund points out, our world today is characterized by severe inequity.²² In this world, "the richest population quintile gets 83 percent of global income with just a single percentage point for those in the poorest quintile... and approximately 50 percent [of children and youth] are below the \$2/day international poverty line."²³ These figures help support Nancy Fraser's argument that we are now living in a "dual society" in which there exists "a new kind of segmented governmentality: responsabilized self-regulation for some, brute repression for others," wherein "a hypercompetitive, fully networked zone coexists with a marginal sector of excluded low-achievers."²⁴

The issue of global and national inequity is currently in vogue, particularly with the publication of Thomas Piketty's recent book, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, which argues that growing inequity is an inherent feature of capitalism.²⁵ As he shows, since historically the rate of return on capital has been greater than the rate of economic growth generally, there is a tendency toward the concentration of tangible capital in our world. His argument is focused on tangible capital but, as we shall see, the Bank's currency of choice today (along with many economists) is increasingly *knowledge capital*, which is seen as a global public good capable of driving unending economic growth. With the Bank's increasing involvement in educational policy and discourse, its authority today rests in large measure on its ability to position itself as a producer and repository and distributor of knowledge capital. If knowledge is considered a

²² Isabel Ortiz, Matthew Cummins, "Global Inequality: Beyond the Bottom Billion: A Rapid Review of Income Distribution in 141 Countries," (New York: Policy, Advocacy and Knowledge Management, Division of Policy and Practice, 2011).

²³ *Ibid.*, vii.

²⁴ Nancy Fraser, "From Discipline to Flexibilization? Rereading Foucault in the Shadow of Globalization," *Constellations* 10 (2003): 160-171, 169.

²⁵ Thomas Piketty, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, trans. by Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014).

significant factor of production in our world today, then how and where and why it is accumulated is a particularly important topic of interest.

The questions of the homogenization of culture and the centralization of power are linked in global educational policy issues. With the increased emphasis on knowledge by economists and the Bank, the production and re-production of knowledge has become a significant question for economists and economic institutions in the past twenty years, and has been positioned as a way to reduce inequities in the global community. By viewing itself as a Knowledge Bank, and by focusing on education and knowledge as the key factor in economic growth, the Bank has sought to steadily increase its authority over the field of education, educational policy, and schooling since its founding, and particularly since the mid-1990s. This increased authority has been helped along significantly by the broader shift in focus at the Bank from tangible, physical projects to intangible, epistemological projects, and in the larger trend of the imperialism of economics over educational thinking and policy.²⁶

Defining the Questions

Considering the problem of the Bank's increasing authority over global educational policy and discourse through its use of knowledge capital as the currency of choice in a rapidly homogenizing and centralizing global world, what are the central questions that this study seeks to answer?²⁷ Most critically, this dissertation asks questions of authority: first, how has the Bank come to have such authority over global educational policy and discourse? Second, and related, in what kind of world does this authority reside? Third, what are the consequences of this

²⁶ Ben Fine, "Economics Imperialism and the New Development Economics as Kuhnian Paradigm Shift?", *World Development* 30 (2002): 2057-2070.

²⁷ Throughout this dissertation, I ask a significant number of questions – political, educational, ethical - many of which remain unanswered or only partially answered. The large number of questions reflects the complexity of the issue at hand, as well as the need for additional research on the Bank and its role in education.

increased authority over the production and re-production of knowledge? Underlying these questions are important ethical and political questions that are explored and posed, although not fully answered, throughout this dissertation: is the Bank's policy jurisdiction too large, and is it advocating for an increasingly centralized model for educational policy and discourse, contrary to the Bank's commitments to free markets and its critique of centralized planning? What is the ideal scale and scope of educational discourse and policy? Is education too narrowly conceived within the Bank's conception of knowledge and its production and, if so, how? And, finally, does the Bank's conception of our global education landscape, concisely defined under the imaginary of the Global Knowledge Economy, create or abate inequity in our world?

Because the problems and questions posed above relate directly to the notion of knowledge production – as opposed to school policy, or pedagogical techniques, or the transfer of knowledge through schooling – this dissertation examines the Bank's work in higher education specifically. Since the Bank as an institution has positioned itself as a producer and distributor of knowledge, examining how the Bank approaches and acts upon higher education (a significant vehicle for knowledge production) in developing nations helps to better uncover the rising authority of the Bank. Furthermore, because the Bank is one of the biggest global champions of the newly authoritative global economic imaginary (the Global Knowledge Economy; also referred to as the GKE), and because this imaginary is reinforced through the production of knowledge, examining how higher educational interventions by the Bank have changed through time can help to better outline the world in which the Bank's authority resides.²⁸ Because the Bank's involvement in the production of knowledge through its

²⁸ I use the term "imaginary" to describe the concept of the Global Knowledge Economy in much the same way that Isaac Kamola describes the imaginary of the term "global." As he argues, the term "is not merely a fantasy, illusion, false consciousness, or the detritus of bourgeois society." Rather, following Althusser, "the imaginary is the register at which structured material relations are lived by subjects. The *global imaginary*, therefore, informs the very

involvement in higher education lays the foundation for its approach to education generally, studying this work can shed light on how education generally is being conceived in a fundamentally different way in our world today, at a fundamentally different magnitude of scale and scope as a result of the Bank's influence. And, finally, because the university is a contested space within, outside, and above the public sphere, it is important to understand how power is constructed in and through the production of knowledge in higher education, and how this construction relates (or not) to building democratic processes for distributing this power.

The question of power and its distribution through the equitable (or not) distribution of knowledge capital is therefore of central concern in this dissertation. While institutions of higher education have the unique capability to examine how power is constructed in and through knowledge capital and its distribution, and to challenge unjust constructions of power relations, many are concerned that far too often such institutions are on a path to distancing themselves from the solemn responsibility of questioning power, and instead have joined the bandwagon of seeking it with unfettered enthusiasm. As Pusser argues succinctly, "all too often, the various interests contending for control of the contemporary university seek to obtain rather than to illuminate power."²⁹ How the Bank positions itself as an institution supporting higher education, how it defines the GKE and role of higher education within this imaginary, and how it constructs knowledge economies in developing nations are therefore all important questions to explore the rising authority of the Bank, and the rising centralization of power and homogenization of culture in our world.

terrain within which subjects inhabit the world, informing how people interact with each other, what decisions are made and how societies reproduce themselves. Imaginaries, however, do not simply reflect 'the real world' but are produced within structured material relations and, as such, reproduce these relations of production." See Kamola, "Producing the Global Imaginary," 84.

²⁹ Brian Pusser, "Power and Authority in the Creation of a Public Sphere," in Brian Pusser, Ken Kemper, Simon Marginson, and Imanol Ordorika, eds., *Universities and the Public Sphere: Knowledge Creation and State Building in the Era of Globalization* (New York: Routledge, 2012): 27-46, 43.

Defining the Gap in the Literature

Considering the increasingly significant belief in knowledge as a driver of economic growth, and the Bank's rhetorical shift to arguing for the need to focus on higher education as the key component in producing knowledge, one would think that there would have been an increased focus in the literature on the Bank's higher education lending in the past few decades. Beyond a few important exceptions, including the work of Susan Robertson and Michael Peters, this has not been the case.³⁰ While there is a small but growing literature on the Bank's involvement in higher education, much more spadework is required considering the significance of the issues at hand.

This dissertation therefore addresses two gaps in the scholarly literature. The first is the need for additional studies on the Bank's involvement in the higher education sector generally. Because the Bank, as we shall see, de-prioritized higher education for the better part of five decades (from the 1940s to the 1990s), few studies of this field emerged. Instead, much of the focus in the literature has been on primary and secondary education. And yet, with changing attitudes about knowledge and the belief in the inherent connection between knowledge and economic growth, and increased rhetoric about the Bank's need to invest in higher education, more scrutiny is needed. The power of knowledge production is significant in our world today, because, as Kamola argues, "academic knowledge produces the world."³¹ In this way, the very concept of the *global* has been produced by and for the West; thus, "scholars seeking to develop

³⁰ See, for example, Susan Robertson, "Market Multilateralism, the World Bank Group and the Asymmetries of Globalising Higher Education: Toward a Critical Political Economy Analysis," in R. Bassett and A. Maldonado, eds., *Thinking Globally, Acting Locally* (London: Routledge, 2009); and Christopher S. Collins and Robert A. Rhoads, "The World Bank, Support for Universities, and Asymmetrical Power Relations in International Development," *Higher Education* 59 (2010): 181-205.

³¹ Isaac Kamola, "Producing the Global Imaginary," 3.

radical and alternative ways to conceptualize ‘the global’ must also engage in the politics of reimagining and reworking the university.”³²

The second gap to be filled is the relative lack of historical studies of the Bank’s work in higher education. Much of the existing literature on this work emerges from policy studies. These studies, which examine important questions such as how educational policy is lent and borrowed across nations,³³ help clarify existing power dynamics between and among nations and the Bank. And yet, many of these studies are relatively ahistorical. As Gubser and Lewis argue, there is a “presentist bias” to global policy work.³⁴ This is especially true at the Bank, as we shall see. Further, as Grew argues, historians must “establish the global context,” in order to better understand history itself, as “our contemporary awareness alerts us to new questions about globalizing processes of the past.”³⁵ This dissertation will help to fill this gap by focusing on the Bank’s work in higher education in Morocco and Indonesia as illustrative cases for the historical record.

More and more comparativists of education are asking that history play a larger role in comparative educational studies, and that historians must consider the notion of time as more than just a linear progression.³⁶ The view of history as a linear progression – from uncivilized to civilized, from undeveloped to developed, from uneducated to educated, from unenlightened to

³² Ibid., 4.

³³ Gita Steiner-Khamsi, ed. *The Global Politics of Educational Borrowing and Lending* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2004).

³⁴ Michael Gubser, "The Presentist Bias: Ahistoricism, Equity, and International Development in the 1970s." *Journal of Development Studies* (2012): 1-14; David Lewis, "International Development and the ‘Perpetual Present’: Anthropological Approaches to the Re-historicization of Policy," *European Journal of Development Research* 21 (2009): 32-46. See also Michael Woolcock, Simon Szreter, and Vijayendra Rao, "How and Why does History Matter for Development Policy?" *The Journal of Development Studies* 47 (2011): 70-96.

³⁵ Raymond Grew, “Finding Frontiers in Historical Research on Globalization,” in Ino Rossi, ed., *Frontiers of Globalization Research: Theoretical and Methodological Approaches* (New York: Springer, 2007): 271-286, 277.

³⁶ On this point, see Robert Cowen, “Moments of Time: A Comparative Note,” *History of Education* 31 (2002): 413-424, and Andreas Kazamias, “Reinventing the Historical in Comparative Education: Reflections on a Protean Episteme by a Contemporary Player,” *Comparative Education* 37/4 (2001): 439-449.

enlightened – is a central feature of national historical metanarratives, but it has the potential to be a detriment when analyzing transnational and global historical trends, ideas and institutions.³⁷

When taken to the global level, this particular view of history often pre-figures the subject being studied to such an extent that it becomes not much more than an ancestor of modern times.

Thus, historical self-awareness is needed at the global level to explore the nation-state, but also to go beyond and above it. As Grew reminds us, in doing global history, the “unit of comparison need not be a state or any other political entity but can be a historical process, institution, social practice, or particular circumstance.”³⁸ And, as Popkewitz argues, “American historians in general tend not to engage the broader intellectual debates in the field or recognize the comparative difference as related to theoretical, epistemological, and historical questions about the constitution of historical inquiry.”³⁹ Engaging in comparative and global perspectives thus serves to better inform and confirm historical knowledge.⁴⁰ A historical study of the Bank helps to explore and map the development of, and changes in, its approach to higher education, and how this approach has contributed to the increased authority of economic thinking over global and national educational discourse and policy.

Defining the Argument

This dissertation fills these gaps by exploring the historical development of the Bank’s involvement in higher education, from the origins of the Bank during the Second World War to

³⁷ See Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Random House, 1978).

³⁸ Grew, 279.

³⁹ Thomas S. Popkewitz, ed., *Rethinking the History of Education: Transnational Perspectives on Its Questions, Methods, and Knowledge* (Palgrave Macmillan, Gordonsville, VA, 2013), xiv.

⁴⁰ Carl F. Kaestle, “Standards of Evidence in Historical Research: How Do We Know When We Know?” *History of Education Quarterly* 32 (Fall 1992): 361-366.

the present, as a way to trace the construction and development of the GKE imaginary in and through a particular institution that has contributed significantly to the authority of this imaginary in our world.

In this dissertation, my central argument is that the authority of the Bank over the discourse and policy of higher education and knowledge production has increased considerably through time due to the Bank's significant role in the creation of a new global profession of higher education economists, and that this increased authority reveals an underlying irony in the Bank's discourse and operations. This new global profession of higher education economists – particularly, although not exclusively, residing at the Bank – has established a new public science of educational economics, and has created and relies upon a notion of the Bank as a professional institution, and the GKE as a professional imaginary, to advance a homogenized, monotone vision of education as “consumption education” upon the developed and developing world.⁴¹ This new profession of consumption education professionals treats knowledge as only raw material and education as a consumer good to be produced and re-produced for economic growth within institutions focused solely on this goal. Crucially, this new profession has no polity to legitimize or criticize its assumptions or authority; rather, it has emerged in the vacuum that exists in a global world with precious few public spaces to counteract the forces of global capital.

⁴¹ This new profession requires, in my view, a new name to delineate its global nature and its reliance upon new ways of thinking about knowledge and its production and consumption. I propose, and discuss below, the concept of consumption education professionals, and thus whenever I discuss this new profession (consumption educational professionals or consumption education economists) it is to this new category of profession that I am referring. In this dissertation, I explore the professionalization of the institution of the Bank, and the professionalization of the GKE imaginary, which I argue support the professionalization of consumption economists. For notions of professionalism and cultural authority, I rely on Paul Starr's *The Social Transformation of American Medicine: The Rise of a Sovereign Profession and the Making of a Vast Industry* (New York: Basic Books, 1982); Eliot Friedson, *Professionalism: The Third Logic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); Tracey L. Adams, “Profession: A Useful Concept for Sociological Analysis?” *Canadian Review of Sociology* 47 (2010): 49-70; Andrew Abbott, *The System of Professions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988); and Magali S. Larson, *The Rise of Professionalism: A Sociological Analysis* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977).

The irony that is revealed in this increased authority through the creation of a new global profession with no public to legitimize its work is that global educational policy and discourse is increasingly created through centralized planning in institutions like the World Bank that is directly contrary to its basic commitment to the power of free markets. Said another way, the Bank asserts increasingly centralized notions of education and knowledge across an increasing area of jurisdiction even as it professes to advance a deep suspicion of centralized planning. In this worldview, the economic exchanges of human beings are left unfettered, while the ethical exchanges (in the realm of knowledge and education, for example) are increasingly tightly controlled and homogenized at the global level. This suggests that the commitment to free markets by institutions like the Bank is one that extends only to economic markets, and that perhaps this commitment to economic free markets increasingly utilizes centralized planning to control and define values, ethics, and morals in fields such as education.

By drawing on the concept of professionalization, I seek to explore how the complex relationship among economists as individuals, the Bank as institution, and the GKE as imaginary have come together to effectively establish cultural authority and jurisdiction over a broadly-conceived imagined global community that is unintelligible to existing notions of the public, and that creates a monotone perspective on education, which has the strong potential to produce a world that advances, rather than challenges, the growing centralization and homogenization of power, wealth, culture and knowledge in our world.

The territory over which these consumption education professionals claim to have jurisdiction is large, both geographically (over developing nations in particular, but global in scope) and in the global imaginary of the GKE. This new profession therefore provides a powerful, authoritative voice in global educational discourse that is creating a centralized and

homogenous view of knowledge and education. This view is based on knowledge as an economic commodity, and education as increasingly outside the purview of individual nation-states. Such a centralized view of knowledge has relatively few internal checks to explore the inequities it has the potential to create, because there is no existing, strong and legitimate global polity to challenge the legitimacy of this new profession.

There are several points to elucidate from this thesis. First of all, by examining the Bank's authority through the literature on professionalism, this analysis draws on past studies that help to clarify how authority is established in academic communities and in communities of practice. The literature on professionalism provides significant research regarding how bodies of knowledge are transmuted by groups of individuals into authoritative and protected classes of individuals who have knowledge upon which others depend.⁴² In particular, as Starr explores, professions exhibit a particular kind of authority, of the type that involves "the authority to interpret signs and symptoms, to diagnose health or illness, to name disease, and to offer prognoses... [and thus] by shaping the patients' understanding of their own experience, physicians create the conditions under which their advice seems appropriate."⁴³ While Starr was speaking of the medical profession, his point resonates with the World Bank's authority over education, which claims an ability to interpret, diagnose, and treat the maladies of higher education systems worldwide.

Furthermore, there is, as Starr points out, a strong element of dependency required when a profession is created, as the professional creates and protects knowledge upon which others

⁴² See, for example, Friedson, *Professionalism*, 2001; Abbott, *The System of Professions*, 1988; James R. Faulconbridge and Daniel Muzio. "Professions in a Globalizing World: Towards a Transnational Sociology of the Professions." *International Sociology* 27 (2012): 136-152; and Jonathan V. Beaverstock, James R. Faulconbridge, and Sarah J.E. Hall, "Professionalization, Legitimation and the Creation of Executive Search Markets in Europe," *Journal of Economic Geography* (2009): 825-843.

⁴³ Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine*, 14.

come to depend. How is it that higher education economists have come to claim professional authority that “can be defined, in part, by a distinctive type of dependency condition – the dependence on the professional’s superior competence” such that the subjects addressed by this profession “accept the claim that they should obey”?⁴⁴ The very process of building the cultural authority required for a profession, then, is one that shifts the discourse from the public to the private realm; from knowledge that is public and attends to public ends, to knowledge that is private and is positioned as a commodity. This means that publics must exist to serve as a counterbalance to the professionalization process, so that the professional and private knowledge base that is created does not overwhelm the diversity of opinions that continue to exist outside of this private knowledge base. At the global level, no such public yet exists.

Second, examining the Bank’s work in higher education through the lens of professionalism shows how, over time, the Bank has marginalized competing and alternative views. Because, as I argue, the Bank’s approach to higher education presents itself as an economic public science, the Bank has been effective at creating a global imaginary that privileges certain epistemological perspectives without explicitly making these perspectives clear. The process of creating a public science involves, as Gieryn, et al. argue: 1) differentiating itself as a valued commodity; and 2) labeling and then excluding alternative views as “pseudoscientists,”⁴⁵ thereby creating a seemingly settled notion of the broad global educational landscape where economic growth is seen as the savior for all problems and knowledge is viewed as a commodity that is both reduced (to technical knowledge) and then made authoritative (as a sovereign in its own right) as the key engine of global economic growth.

⁴⁴ Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine*, 10. See also Bernard E. Harcourt, *The Illusion of Free Markets: Punishment and the Myth of the Natural Order* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011): 63-77, 151-175.

⁴⁵ Thomas F. Gieryn, George M. Bevens, and Stephen C. Zehr, “Professionalization of American Scientists: Public Science in the Creation/Evolution Trials,” *American Sociological Review* 50 (June 1985): 392.

Furthermore, as Starr explains, the process of creating a profession involves

three distinctive claims: first, that the knowledge and competence of the professional have been validated by a community of his or her peers; second, that this consensually validated knowledge and competence rests on rational-scientific grounds; and third, that the professional's judgment and advice are oriented toward a set of substantive values, such as health.⁴⁶

Finally, professions have traditionally been viewed by sociologists as “a local, geographically bound process,” bounded by the nation-state that regulates them.⁴⁷ As such, the authority of professions tends to be granted by, and to mostly remain within, the national bounds. At the global level, professions emerge and exist in a variety of ways, whether embedded within global markets (professional musicians, for example), or in fields where there is relatively clear international jurisdiction (international criminal law, for example).⁴⁸ However, as Fourcade shows, there is another, less clear way in which global profession emerge: through “the reconstruction of an existing jurisdiction through the diffusion of a particular set of norms and practices.”⁴⁹ The norms and practices related to higher education advanced by the Bank and ascribed to the GKE help to reconstruct and expand the jurisdiction of economists over the field of higher education and knowledge production. This expanding jurisdiction creates a field of authority for consumption education professionals. Thus, the concept of professionalism allows me to explore how authority is collected in a profession at the global level, particularly in a field like education when there would appear to be no agreed-upon rational-scientific grounds upon which to build a body of knowledge.

Every culture defines education, learning, and knowledge in different ways. What the consumption education professional must do to create and maintain this profession, therefore, is

⁴⁶ Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine*, 15.

⁴⁷ Marion Fourcade, “The Construction of a Global Profession: The Transnationalization of Economics,” *American Journal of Sociology* 112 (July 2006): 145-194, 147.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 148-150.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 150.

to create and defend a static view of the value and goal of education that glosses over cultural differences. The broad jurisdiction of these new professionals is concerning, particularly in the realm of education, because it establishes authority and homogeneity on crucial issues of how local communities think of the future, their children, knowledge itself, and the basic ethics upon which to build a good life. The Bank has built a broad and static view of the value and goal of education under the imaginary of the GKE – an imaginary which operates with tremendous scope and with increasing authority⁵⁰ – thus centralizing the way the Bank thinks about education and knowledge so that such a view is given the authority of a profession.

This centralization has many significant political, economic, and social consequences, and is particularly ironic coming from an institution that professes a neoliberal worldview with a deep suspicion of centralized planning and large-scale policy initiatives. As knowledge becomes narrowly defined in the interests of this professional class, it “does not acknowledge or sufficiently differentiate among various definitions of knowledge: economic, sociological, and philosophical.”⁵¹ This singular end of economic growth relies on the creation and marketing and selling of knowledge and knowledge services, and on a consumption mentality related to knowledge, learning, and, indeed, the world. In this world of consumption education, knowledge is viewed only for its material utility, learning is only a consumer transaction, and higher education becomes an institution designed only to encourage transactions of information for material benefit. Considering the inherent irony in an organization that has been well-documented in its commitment to neoliberal principles for a number of years, and has worked to centralize the discourse and practice of education globally, I argue that the Bank’s work in higher

⁵⁰ On this point, see, for example, Michael Peters, “National Education Policy Constructions of the ‘Knowledge Economy’: Towards a Critique,” *Journal of Educational Enquiry* 2 (2001): 1-22.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 13.

education incorporates, but also moves beyond, the neoliberal position. It therefore requires a critique that goes beyond the existing arguments against neoliberalism.

Method

Considering the complex nature of studying the authority of the World Bank as a political institution with a long history, and in accord with Young's argument that "educational policy studies, as it is typically viewed, used, and reported, is restrained in its theoretical and methodological tools,"⁵² this dissertation uses a multifocal approach. While the general approach is historical, the work is undergirded by a critical policy studies perspective that blends elements of discourse analysis and political philosophy. This diverges from traditional policy analysis, in which, as Young argues, "policy studies is typically viewed as a neutral scientific approach carried out by rational and expert researchers who use theory-supported models that facilitate responsive and effective change."⁵³ Studying a transnational institution like the World Bank – an institution that is easy to praise or critique, depending upon one's point of view, and an institution with a complicated relationship to nations, history, and power – benefits from a critical perspective that is multifocal. From this critical perspective, I emphasize the "relational, dialectical, and co-constitutive nature" of education policy across borders, which "means placing education policies into a series of contexts – from the production of the policy to its movement and new point of fixity," understanding that "these contexts are themselves understood, not as

⁵² Michelle D. Young, "Multifocal Educational Policy Research: Toward a Method for Enhancing Traditional Educational Policy Studies," *American Educational Research Journal* 36 (Winter 1999): 677-714, 678.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 682.

neutral backdrops or convenient launching and landing places, but as co-constitutive.”⁵⁴ Thus, rather than doing a standard policy critique, or solely a historical study, this dissertation grounds the work in history, but also acknowledges the power of discourse and the need for a critical policy study that moves beyond traditional policy analyses. In this way, I proceed from the advice of Popkewitz on “the importance of ‘theory’ in the interpretive framing of the evident taken as ‘archival.’... the importance of comparative approaches....[and]... the significance of examining the social, cultural, and political principles through which schooling is governed and what is selected and organized as the ‘subjects’ taught in schooling.”⁵⁵

By grounding this dissertation in historical methods, I rely on archival work at the Bank in Washington, D.C., as well as on their website, which has a baseline of documents related to most of the Bank’s loans. In choosing to pursue a historical method, I avoid the inherent challenges of standard or critical policy critique that relies too heavily on the text and not enough on the historical context. Such context, as I show, is actually a crucial aspect of the Bank and the GKE that needs to be considered, particularly because both seem to resist history itself in the futuristic, global rhetoric that appears to float above national boundaries and historical critique. History is needed in international policy studies to contextualize the work, but also simply to begin establishing a historical context for the Bank and the GKE to better understand the authority of consumption education economists in our world today. The historical methods of this dissertation blend institutional history (of the Bank) with policy history (of the Bank’s policy work in higher education) and intellectual history (of the GKE).

⁵⁴ Roger Dale and Susan L. Robertson, "Towards a Critical Grammar of Education Policy Movements," in *Policy Borrowing and Lending in Education*, ed. Gita Steiner-Khamsi and Florian Waldow (New York: Routledge, 2012): 21-40, 33.

⁵⁵ Popkewitz, xv-xvi.

Intellectual history plays a particularly prominent role in this dissertation. This is so for several reasons. First, the Bank is a transnational organization that rhetorically exists above any particular nation and yet that resides physically within the United States, born from the ideas of Westerners. As such, its ideas and policies must speak to the diversity of transnational audiences and yet are nonetheless firmly grounded in a particular tradition. Intellectual history helps to explore the ideas behind the policies of the Bank's work in higher education, thereby revealing the gaps between its transnational nature in theory and its practical grounding in a particular nation and tradition, at a particular time. As LaCapra argues, "intellectual history, closely allied with critical theory, not only investigates problems in the history of thought or representation by narrating sequences of pertinent facts or past formulations..." but crucially, "with a critical-theoretical inflection, also raises questions about the very way problems are articulated."⁵⁶ In this way, texts are treated as having the potential to "symptomatically reinforce prejudicial assumptions or become invidious markers of socioeconomic superiority and professional elitism."⁵⁷ Considering my analysis of the global profession of consumption education economists and the ways in which this profession gathers authority, along with my critical policy lens, an intellectual history is therefore a very helpful method for my study.

Second, intellectual history is particularly suited to cross-cultural historical work. By exploring the intellectual history of the Bank and its thinking about development and knowledge, this approach allows for the opportunity to address "the question of reading together texts from different genres or areas of culture as well as different cultures in ways that may help to elaborate a critical frame of reference," helping "to create an intellectual orientation, *formativa*, or *mentalité* that is able to address complex issues with an awareness of the interaction

⁵⁶ Dominick LaCapra, *History and Its Limits: Human, Animal, Violence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 4.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 6.

between past and present and the way it can be directed toward an openness to possible futures.”⁵⁸ Third, as LaCapra points out, there is an inherent interdisciplinary nature to intellectual history.⁵⁹ The Bank, as an institution involved in so many disciplines, is well-suited for an intellectual history approach that allows for interdisciplinary thinking. The Bank’s work in education generally, touches not just on one aspect of schooling (curriculum, or infrastructure, or teacher training), but on a multitude of philosophical, economic, and political issues.

I am certainly conscious of Peter Novick’s caution that writing intellectual history is like “nailing jelly to the wall,” and yet also convinced, as is Novick, of the notion that historical self-consciousness – the history of the idea of history itself - is important in its commitment “to the autonomy and rationality of either intellectual life in general, or of the work of a particular disciplinary community.”⁶⁰ I am also aware of the possibility that intellectual history can devolve into pure commentary, detached from the archives and texts of history. Hayden White and Willson Coates make this point well, arguing that “the vast body of raw materials generally known as the history of ideas [can be] subject to capricious manipulation by the intellectual historian. The ideas, whether the intellectual historian likes them or not, make their demands on him.”⁶¹ This means that the historian “should not play the easy game of making an era in the past look ridiculous.”⁶² As I try to make clear throughout this dissertation, intellectual history provides a framework for respecting the tradition from which the Bank emerged without capricious dismissiveness, while also providing the space for critique.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 17.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 11.

⁶⁰ Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The “Objectivity Question” and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 9.

⁶¹ Willson H. Coates, Hayden V. White, and J. Salwyn Schapiro, *The Emergence of Liberal Humanism: An Intellectual History of Western Europe Volume I* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), vi.

⁶² Ibid.

Finally, as Philo Hutcheson argues, it is helpful to consider intellectual history when exploring policy histories, chiefly because policy is informed by ideas, which in turn shape how individuals view social problems and the policy solutions meant to address those problems. In a traditional policy history, these underlying ideas are often taken for granted. Instead, foregrounding the ideas and assumptions that go into policy solutions is important to establish for the historical context the various ways in which political actors are influenced (consciously and unconsciously) by the ideas of the time. The urge to create prioritize standardized testing – with the underlying assumptions about knowledge as information and the need to quantify learning in order to assess teachers and schools in order to provide resources, or not, to schools – would not, could not, have occurred to local leaders starting common schools in the 19th century, because knowledge and learning and teaching were all viewed so differently.⁶³

As a policy study embedded within an intellectual and institutional history, this dissertation argues that the Bank’s loan conditions in its higher educational lending are, and should be considered, public policy. This view may be challenged by those who argue that the Bank is not a state, and does not speak to a specific polity. The traditional view of public policy encompasses “those policies which are made on behalf of the state by its various instrumentalities to steer the conduct of individuals, such as teachers or students, and organisations, such as schools or universities.”⁶⁴ This view would seem to preclude the Bank from being a policy-making body because it is not a state entity. My assertion that the Bank does indeed make public policy foreshadows my argument that our current understanding of the public and private realms is inadequate to understand the Bank and its educational lending. By

⁶³ Philo Hutcheson, “Writing Through the Past: Federal Higher Education Policy,” Chapter 13 in Marybeth Gasman, ed., *The History of U.S. Higher Education: Methods for Understanding the Past* (New York: Routledge, 2010).

⁶⁴ Miriam Henry, Bob Lingard, Fazal Rizvi, and Sandra Taylor, *Educational Policy and the Politics of Change* (New York, Routledge, 1997), 1-2.

treating the Bank's higher education involvement (lending, research, etc.) as public policy, this dissertation will focus on analysis of the problems that have been created by the Bank that require policy solutions in higher education within the landscape of the GKE imaginary: namely, how were these problems constructed? How were the Bank's activities legitimated so as to take on the authority of public policy? What assumptions were built into the processes, and in what ways are these assumptions now hidden? Such a method requires an analysis of the Bank's educational ideology and policies by exploring the construction of social problems and issues that are left off of the Bank's agenda in its creation of this ideology and these policies.

Theoretical Underpinnings

In exploring the GKE imaginary, I am careful not to fall into two potential traps. The first is to superimpose critiques of modernity onto critiques of globalization; the second is to rely too heavily on post-structural theory that would take my argument too far toward nihilism and pure critique. To avoid these problems, I must clear some theoretical ground – starting with the acknowledgement that I am influenced by Foucault's concept of a discursive field, but that I do not limit myself to this concept and, indeed, argue that it does not fully apply to a study such as this with global themes. Therefore I will not explicitly draw on Foucault in my analysis. Nonetheless, his basic notions of power and its relations to knowledge and disciplines are here, as I explore the discursive field of the GKE in order to “grasp the statement in the exact specificity of its occurrence; determine its conditions of existence, fix at least its limits, establish its correlations with other statements that may be connected with it, and show what other forms of statement it excludes.”⁶⁵ In these connections, I seek the normative limits that are set by the

⁶⁵ Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 30.

concept of the GKE, and therefore the alternative ontological and epistemological paradigms that are marginalized, and hidden, in and through these limits.

And yet, while I rely on Foucault's insights in this paper, I am cautious about the limits of his thinking in the context of a globalizing world. On this point, I agree with Nancy Fraser's argument that a purely Foucauldian analysis of a globalized world is not a good fit, because Foucault's project was a critique of modernity and Fordism that studied the ways in which power expresses itself after the fall of the sovereign.⁶⁶ As Fraser argues, such a critique centers on the nation-state, and the power it imposes through disciplinary institutions (the prison, the school, the mental institution, etc.). In the post-Fordist world of globalization, Fraser says that the key question to ask today is: "How does power operate after the decentering of the national frame, which continued to organize social regulation long after the demise of the monarch?"⁶⁷ The question of the expression of power through global knowledge outside of the national frame is at the heart of my exploration of the authority of the Bank in higher education and knowledge production.

Furthermore, while I will draw on important insights within post-structural /post-modern⁶⁸ theory in my analysis, I am conscious of the limits of such thinking: on the one hand, I agree with the basic premises of post-structuralism, which suggest that signifieds and signifiers are displaced from one another, and that language and reality do not have a clear

⁶⁶ Fordism refers to the historical time period after the Second World War in highly developed nations in which there was steady and sustained economic growth characterized by, among other things, mass production, mass consumption, and relative balance between labor and management.

⁶⁷ Nancy Fraser, "From Discipline to Flexibilization," 170.

⁶⁸ I use these terms following Caplan, who argues that postmodernism is a historical era, post-structuralism is a group of theories and practices derived from engagement with structuralist thinking, and deconstruction is a method of reading. See Anna Green and Kathleen Troup, *The Houses of History: A Critical Reader in Twentieth-Century History and Theory* (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 297, where they quote Jane Caplan, "Postmodernism, Poststructuralism, and Deconstruction: Notes for Historians," *Central European History* 22 (1989): 262-268.

correspondence.⁶⁹ On the other hand, I argue that this insight does not then lead to the conclusion that language cannot ever correspond to reality, nor that reality does not exist outside of our language about it. Indeed, I agree with those who argue that positioning language as emptied of all or even most connections to reality – some going so far as to deny an ontological essence to reality itself – fits in nicely with the needs of late capitalism, particularly in the creation of consumer education.

Alex Carey offers strong evidence for this connection between post-structuralist thinking about language and the interests of late capitalism in his analysis of the ways in which language, stripped of meaning, is reduced to propaganda.⁷⁰ Such propaganda has been used by corporations throughout the 20th century in increasingly sophisticated ways. Carey’s basic argument is that there have been three great developments of the 20th century: the growth of democracy, the growth of corporate power, and “the growth of corporate propaganda as a means of protecting corporate power against democracy.”⁷¹ As he argues, propaganda is defined as “communications where the form and content is selected with the single-minded purpose of bringing some target audience to adopt attitudes and beliefs chosen in advance by the sponsors of the communications.”⁷² Such a view is echoed by Knorr-Cetina’s belief in the modern-day market as a “scopic system” – a mechanism that prefigures and simplifies an otherwise complex set of phenomena. She describes a scopic system as

like an array of crystals acting as lenses that collect light, focusing it on one point, such mechanisms collect and focus activities, interests, and events on one surface, from whence the result may then be projected again in different directions. When

⁶⁹ See Jacques Derrida. *Of Grammatology*, translated by Gayatri Spivak (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), and Jean Francois-Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984).

⁷⁰ Alex Carey, *Taking the Risk out of Democracy: Corporate Propaganda versus Freedom and Liberty* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997).

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 20.

such a mechanism is in place, coordination and activities respond to the projected reality to which participants become oriented. The system acts as a centering and mediating device through which things pass and from which they flow onward.⁷³

While she was describing the market with these words, I argue that that the concept of the GKE can also be viewed as a scopic system that orders an otherwise complex set of questions (What does it mean to be well-educated? What is knowledge? What is learning? How should we educate?) into a simple formula.⁷⁴

Furthermore, if language and policy are reduced to propaganda, the potential for erosion of faith in the public realm becomes more real. As Lohrey argues in his introduction to Carey's *Taking the Risk Out of Democracy*, the propaganda in the United States that identifies "business interests with national interests" and "the identification of patriotism with the 'freedom' of business interests,"⁷⁵ has a corrosive effect on the national public sphere, generating "public cynicism in the capacity of governments to protect, represent and enhance the public interest."⁷⁶ At the global level, the potential exists for post-structuralist thinking to mistakenly equate the interests of global corporations with the global public realm, and thus the potential of the GKE to exacerbate global inequities could be simply overlooked from a post-structuralist perspective. This dissertation emerges from an era of distrust in government in the United States, and a waning belief in the effectiveness (and perhaps even importance?) of the national public sphere.⁷⁷ It thus draws on political philosophy to explore new theories of the public as a way to

⁷³ Karin Knorr Cetina, "From Pipes to Scopes: The Flow Architecture of Financial Markets," *Distinktion* 7 (2003): 7-23, 8.

⁷⁴ Knorr Cetina has also written on knowledge economies, societies, and cultures. See Karin Knorr Cetina, "Culture in Global Knowledge Societies: Knowledge Cultures and Epistemic Cultures." *Interdisciplinary Science Reviews* 32, no. 4 (2007): 361-375.

⁷⁵ Andrew Lohrey, "Introduction," in Carey, *Taking the Risk Out of Democracy*, 2-3.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁷⁷ See, for example, Pew Research Center, "Public Trust in Government: 1958-2014," <http://www.people-press.org/2014/11/13/public-trust-in-government/>, accessed 3/4/2015, where the Center reports that "public trust in

better situate the institution and policies of the Bank, to contribute to thinking about what the global public is, and to consider how it might act as a counterbalance to the Bank's increasing authority over educational discourse.

The Structure

The authority of the Bank that I have been discussing does not emerge from one place – neither from the sword, nor from legitimized political power, nor capital alone. Instead, it comes from a complex network of political, historical, and economic forces that have helped to build the new profession of consumption education economists. There are three aspects of the Bank's authority that are explored in this dissertation: the authority of the institution of the Bank, the authority of the GKE imaginary, and the authority of the Bank's projects in higher education. Each is given its own proper method. I begin with political philosophy, in Chapter Two, exploring the intellectual history of the concept of development and, in particular, how this concept relates to evolving notions of the public and private in our global world, in order to situate the Bank within its intellectual and institutional context. I then move to the historical work in Chapters Three, Four and Five, exploring, in turn, the historical foundations of the Bank's work in education (from 1944-1963), evolving views of education and higher education at the Bank (from 1963 to the present), and two particular case studies that provide specific historical instances where the Bank is doing work in higher education. In this historical work, I also weave in critical policy theory to examine the authority of the institution of the Bank, of the GKE, and of projects in higher education. In examining the Bank's origins in educational lending, for example, Chapter Three takes the categories discussed in Chapter Two –

the government remains near historic lows.” According to the data, a full 75% of respondents reported that they trust the government either never or only some of the time.

development, *homo economicus*, etc. – and offers a narrative of the marriage of economic man and education, a marriage which ultimately leads to the GKE. In so doing, Chapter Three explores the nature of the public as it relates to the institution of the Bank in these years. Chapter Four traces the increasing intangibility of the public upon which the Bank relies (and helps to create) at the global level.⁷⁸ This focus on the “public” emerges from my core assumption that the creation of the profession of consumption education economists requires an increasingly intangible, unclear public realm in which to operate. In the absence of a global public polity, the authority of the Bank proliferates.

Chapter Five examines the cases of Morocco and Indonesia and brings together my argument about the changing nature of the public, the emergence of professionalism as a key theme in Bank higher education authority, and the increasingly centralized planning that is happening in global education policy. I have chosen to proceed relatively chronologically, aware of the some of the challenges in so doing, including a proclivity to write a linear history, and the possibility of dividing the eras under study too neatly. The advantages to this approach in the current study, I believe, outweigh the potential problems. Part of the goal of the study is to show how current policy issues can and should be informed by factors that have changed through time. Thus, a thematic approach, while offering benefits, could not capture the historical flow of events that helped to lead to the Bank’s increased authority. Furthermore, while I have structured the study chronologically, I return to significant themes in each of the chapters. Underlying the chronological study, I explore the authority of the institution of the Bank, the GKE imaginary, and the authority of the lending project to provide evidence for my thesis.

⁷⁸ As will become clear, an intangible public is a public that has no clarity in terms of its members, make-up, goals, or vision – and yet still exists in and through the consequences of global social action.

Chapter Six (the final chapter) offers alternative and critical policy perspectives that do not fit within the current paradigm of educational thinking at the Bank, but that would help counterbalance the dominant voice of the Bank on important issues of higher education, the nature of knowledge, and knowledge production. It also provides general concluding remarks and implications for future study.

A Note on the Sources

The histories of the Bank's involvement in higher education, including the relationship between higher education and the Bank itself, the construction of higher education priorities built upon the GKE imaginary, and the location of the public in this imagined community, have yet to be fully explored. To further advance these histories, this dissertation examines the history of the Bank's discourse and practice in higher education in order to critically analyze the development of the Bank's higher education policy as it relates to the GKE. It does so by drawing on existing Bank publications on higher education since 1971, with a particular focus on the increased literature from the mid-1990s, and on my archival work on the Bank's lending to higher education.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ This archival work was conducted in three visits to the Bank's archives in Washington, D.C. (in January 2012, May 2014, and July 2014), and through research on the Bank's website. The number of books and reports published by the Bank and Bank staffers on higher education and the knowledge economy in the last 20 years is large. The works that were analyzed for this dissertation include: The World Bank, *Education Sector Working Papers* (Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 1971); The World Bank, *Education Sector Working Papers* (Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 1974); The World Bank, *Education Sector Policy Paper* (Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 1980); The World Bank, *Higher Education: The Lessons of Experience* (Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 1994); The World Bank, *Priorities and Strategies for Education: A World Bank Review* (Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 1995); The World Bank, *Education Sector Strategy* (Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 1999); The World Bank, *Constructing Knowledge Societies: New Challenges for Tertiary Education* (Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 2002); The World Bank, *Lifelong Learning in the Global Knowledge Economy: Challenges for Developing Countries* (Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 2003); The World Bank, *Education Sector Strategy Update: Achieving Education for All, Broadening Our Perspective, Maximizing Our Effectiveness* (Washington,

It is important from the outset to discuss the limitations of archival research at the Bank, including the physical archives located in Washington, D.C. and the growing online resources that are being made available on the Bank's website. Regarding the online documents that are available, the Bank website has basic records that include, at a minimum, the initial loan agreement and the final report on the loan (if the project is closed) for every higher educational loan that has been given by the Bank. In addition, the number of books, articles, essays, chapters, and reports published by the Bank itself on higher education is quite large. A simple search of the number of publications and reports written and published directly by the World Bank reveals 578 publications in dozens of languages in the last thirteen years alone.⁸⁰ These materials range from country-level reports⁸¹ to regional work⁸² to works that speak to global concerns in higher education.⁸³ This is in keeping with the Bank's notion that it is an objective researcher and distributor of important knowledge. These published reports and books represent official policy papers that yield fruitful analysis of how the Bank wants to position itself publicly vis-à-vis higher education through time.

Regarding the physical archives, first, the records in the archives are primarily Bank documents written by Bank staff members working on the loans in question. The number of records representing the voice of the nations where the Bank is doing its work is relatively small.

D.C.: The World Bank, 2006); The World Bank, *Building Knowledge Economies: Advanced Strategies for Development* (Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 2007); The World Bank, *Accelerating Catch-Up: Tertiary Education for Growth in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 2008); The World Bank, *Education Strategy 2020, Learning for All: Investing in People's Knowledge and Skills to Promote Development* (Washington, D.C., The World Bank, 2011); OECD, *The Knowledge-Based Economy* (Paris: OECD, 1996).

⁸⁰ World Bank website, Education – Publications and Reports, "Tertiary Education," <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTEDUCATION/0,,contentMDK:22130988~menuPK:282405~pagePK:210058~piPK:210062~theSitePK:282386,00.html>, search performed and accessed 3/1/2013.

⁸¹ For example, The World Bank, *Entrepreneurship Training and Self-Employment among University Graduates: Evidence from a Randomized Trial in Tunisia* (Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 2012).

⁸² For example, The World Bank, *Equity in Tertiary Education in Central America: An Overview* (Washington, D.C., The World Bank, 2012).

⁸³ For example, Philip G. Altbach and Jamil Salmi, eds. *The Road to Academic Excellence: the Making of World-Class Research Universities* (Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 2011).

The dearth of such records was surprising, considering the fact that these nations were corresponding regularly with the Bank on these loans. As a consequence, the histories told here from these records underrepresent the voices of the borrowing nations. This dissertation tries to mitigate this issue by exploring and emphasizing the importance of the educational histories of the two nations examined herein (Morocco and Indonesia). Second, the materials are redacted by the archivists. For example, the CVs of potential job candidates for Bank projects in-country are redacted in many instances. This is not entirely unusual, but it does mean that more data exist that are likely important for the historical record and yet are inaccessible. And, as the redaction of the CVs makes clear, this makes it difficult at times to identify the people behind this work. Third, many of the records read just as they are: bureaucratic documents related to the technicalities of a bank loan. Memos detailing the payments made, or slight alterations in the loan agreement, are common. This is a good reminder of a point made by many others that, beyond all of the arguments about the Bank as a development organization, a knowledge broker, a technical expert, or an organization that violates national sovereignty; in the end, the Bank is just that: a bank that lends money and expects to receive returns on that money. It is therefore tasked with keeping the minute details in order. Finally, at the archives, only documents that are older than twenty years can be reliably accessed, and a vast amount of archival material older than twenty years has not yet been de-classified.⁸⁴ Thus, it is necessary to explore what is available in the past twenty years on the Bank's website, including Bank loan documents, project assessments, and project reports.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ While documents from 1994-2014 can be requested, they are still in the hands of the departments where they were produced, and so requests can take years – or might never be filled at all.

⁸⁵ My own personal experience with the Bank archives was friendly but challenging to navigate. While the staff in the archives were very helpful, the process for requesting archival material was opaque. For records that have been previously requested and reviewed, access is quite easy. My initial research on Presidents Black and Woods

This dissertation explores two particular countries, Morocco and Indonesia, that have been subjected to decades of intervention in higher education, but that have also explicitly been targeted for loans to encourage the growth of the GKE. Studying two countries that are predominantly Muslim also allows me to explore the possible disjuncture between how Muslim countries view knowledge, authority, and higher education and how these are viewed by a quasi-Western institution like the Bank. This gap between the worldview of the Bank and its debtors is certainly not restricted to Muslim countries; rather, the goal is that by illustrating one point of disjuncture, a clearer understanding will emerge of the various differences that exist between the Bank and nations with which it does business.⁸⁶ In addition, Morocco and Indonesia are good fits for my analysis because the Bank has had a significant and sustained interest in each country's higher education sector through time. Finally, considering my interest in exploring the authority of the GKE, I sorted the Bank's higher education lending based on the countries where there had been loans in the past 30 years whose primary theme (as delineated by the Bank itself) was "Education for the Knowledge Economy."⁸⁷ In both Morocco and Indonesia, the Bank has a stated interest in creating knowledge economies through specific higher education loans, although in very different ways, as we shall see.

required simple requests that were granted within weeks. For all other materials at least 20 years old or older which have not yet been released, these records must be formally requested, and then the Archivist must go through each document, line-by-line, before being released. This process can take months, or even years. My second and third visits to the Bank came over a year after the initial request. Making this all the more challenging was that it is not clear which documents have been previously released, thus when making the request initially it is unclear how long it will take to get access. For documents from the past twenty years, I was advised that these were held by their departments, as they had not yet been sent to the Archives, and, while I had the right to request them, they might take many years to be accessible. Without a Freedom of Information Act governing these records, there is little opportunity to request documents that the Bank may not want to be seen.

⁸⁶ Indeed, my focus on the Muslim influence in these two nations in Chapter Five does not take into account other significant influences in these nations, including non-Muslim influence, indigenous African culture, and more. For the purposes of this study, I focus on what I deem to be one of the primary influences of the cultures of these two nations, i.e. Islam, while being conscious that I am not considering all of the other significant elements of cultural influence, which are outside the scope of this dissertation.

⁸⁷ All Bank loans in education can be easily exported to an Excel spreadsheet that has a long list of categories by which these loans are classified. One of the classifications is entitled "Theme 1," and I sorted by this classification to separate out all loans where Theme 1 (the primary goal of the loan) is "Education for the Knowledge Economy."

The advantage of studying Morocco and Indonesia is that each represents a distinct geographic zone (North Africa and Southeast Asia) but they are nonetheless similar in income levels (both classified as “lower middle income” by the Bank⁸⁸) and united by a common religious identity (Islam). By examining diversity in geography and ethnicity but homogeneity in the majority religious views of these nations, I am able to explore more fully the influence of Islamic norms and beliefs in accepting and/or challenging Bank discourse and lending in education. The disadvantage in studying these two countries is that they do not provide a level of diversity in terms of religious norms or national income level. Nonetheless, offering two distinct case studies provides sufficient data to give a perspective (albeit limited) on the Bank’s higher education projects in specific times and places.

The story of the Bank’s involvement in higher education is a significant one for both historians of education and critical policy theorists. Such involvement provides insights to more fully understand the ways in which the public and the private realms are changing, and how power and authority are being established by global institutions over global educational discourse and policy. It also helps explore the consequences of all of this for how children are educated around the world, and how knowledge and power are increasingly concentrated in certain places, and among certain people, in ways that are potentially dangerous for the stability of our global future. I begin the next chapter with an exploration of a term the Bank relies upon in its work, “development,” and an arena complicated by a global institution like the World Bank, the public.

⁸⁸ The classification of countries into various income tiers by the Bank is something that, in itself, is open to critique, but such critique is outside the scope of this dissertation. The classification for 2015 are as follows: low-income economies (GNI per capita of \$1,045 or less in 2013); middle-income economies (GNI per capita of more than \$1,045 but less than \$12,746); high income-economies (GNI per capita of \$12,746 or more). See World Bank website, <http://data.worldbank.org/about/country-and-lending-groups>, accessed 3/7/2015.

Chapter 2

The Public and Private in International Development

The two institutions which will result from our labors at Bretton Woods are the expression of a success attained by concerted effort, inspired by a single ideal—that happiness be distributed throughout the face of the earth.⁸⁹

In this chapter, I argue that modern development thinking, which draws on neo-classical economics as its driving forces in most cases, has helped to shape a global world that has an increasingly strong private sector operating globally with a weak global public to serve as the important and necessary sparring partner in advancing the goals and objectives of local, national, and global communities. It has done this through the creation of a Western corporate form, based on Western notions of development that were originally designed with the public good in mind, but have since become unmoored from public ends, and instead have become protected from risk by weak and intangible global publics. The institution of the Bank exists in this uneasy space between public and private objectives and methods, and within a global arena that has no official public polity. As a consequence, the privatizing momentum of establishing and maintaining authority through the creation of global professions is powerful at the Bank, particularly in fields like education, which are highly contested sectors deeply embedded in the public polity at the national level. To make this argument, I begin with an examination of the concept of development, and then explore its connection to the modern corporate form, and how the Bank sits within and outside of this modern corporate form, pioneering a new path of publicness and privateness that is undertheorized.

⁸⁹ The World Bank's Bretton Woods 60th Anniversary Virtual Exhibition website, "Arthur de Souza Costa, delegate from Brazil, address to delegates at the end of the Bretton Woods conference, 1944," <http://external.worldbankimflib.org/Bwf/whatisbw.htm>, accessed 9/14/2011.

The concept of development⁹⁰ has, since the end of World War II, come to be a central tenet of the discourse of Western modernity, and a primary goal of the Bretton Woods institutions and the global economic order promoted by these institutions.⁹¹ As an essential Western concept in post-World War II thinking in the West, development is both a clear way to manage the political and discursive space of the “developing world,” and an effort to bring growth, happiness, and prosperity to an increasingly global world.⁹² As Ferguson argues, the concept of international development is, much like the concepts of “God” in the 12th century and “civilization” in the 19th century, “the name not only for a value, but also for a dominant problematic or interpretive grid through which the impoverished regions of the world are known to us.”⁹³ For those who are privileged by this concept, development is a wholly positive force in the world. For those who are marginalized, development is often viewed as a neo-colonial attempt to control through epistemological means.

In its origins after the Second World War, and through the era of de-colonization in the post-war era, the concept of development formed the basis of a common understanding, particularly between elites in the developing world and a broad range of individuals in the developed world. As Cooper and Packard argue, the notion of development “appealed as much to leaders of ‘underdeveloped’ societies as to the people of developed countries,” creating a

⁹⁰ By this I mean the discourse of international economic, political, and social development which – as this dissertation will argue – was most fully developed in the middle and second half of the 20th century, but which finds its roots in the Enlightenment project and modernity. While the term is also used in the realm of psychology, such notions of individual human development (while not altogether entirely separate from social development) are outside the scope of this dissertation.

⁹¹ The original Bretton Woods Institutions were the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD – now one part of the World Bank Group) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

⁹² In using the term “discursive space,” I mean the construction of ideational spaces that have consequences in the world through knowledge. An example of this is seen in Edward Said’s argument about the discursive space of the “the Orient” created by the West. See Edward Said, *Orientalism*, 1978. I also rely on Laclau and Mouffe’s argument that discursive space makes “possible relations of representation strictly unthinkable within a physicalist or naturalistic paradigm.” Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*, 2nd edition (London: Verso, 2001), x.

⁹³ James Ferguson, *The Anti-Politics Machine: “Development,” Depoliticization, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), xiii.

shared understanding and “conviction that the alleviation of poverty would not occur simply by self-regulating processes of economic growth or social change... [instead]... it required a concerted intervention by the national governments of both poor and wealthy countries in cooperation with an emerging body of international aid and development organizations.”⁹⁴ Note, importantly, that this shared understanding was between the small, elite leadership of post-colonial, developing nations and the broad understanding of the people of the West. Thus the basis for understanding this term is between a broadly shared and understood representation of the developing world in developed nations, in contrast to a very narrow understanding of this term by elites in the developing world.

While the original concept of development was based on the “concerted intervention” of national governments mentioned above, through time this belief in intervention by the state has been replaced by a belief that the state should essentially get out of the way, in order to let the supposedly efficient private markets drive economic growth. As I trace in this chapter, this shift is an important one that provides evidence for the multiple ways in which the concept of development can be understood, and has been understood, through time. As a broad and opaque concept, then, the word itself is a good example of the struggles of structuralism and post-structuralism in the past century to rationalize the fullness and/or emptiness of language. Development is so broad, in other words, that it can at the same time mean everything and nothing at all. Unless we trace the intellectual tradition from which it came, as well as the changing ways in which this term is used through history, we cannot get a proper handle on the term. This chapter seeks to provide that historical context.

⁹⁴ Frederick Cooper and Randall Packard, “Introduction,” in Frederick Cooper and Randall M. Packard, *International Development and the Social Sciences: Essays on the History and Politics of Knowledge* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), 1.

The concept is also essential to the notion of education in the modern world.

Development – traditionally thought of in terms of economic development (as I will explore further in this chapter) – has been connected to education for centuries in the West.⁹⁵ At the beginning of the 21st century, the connections between education and development, particularly in the discourse of globalization,⁹⁶ have sharpened. Indeed, as Apple argues, “education cannot be understood without recognizing that nearly all educational politics and practices are strongly influenced by an increasingly integrated international economy that is subject to severe crises...[and]... immigration and population flows from one nation or area to another.”⁹⁷ As globalization challenges the sovereignty of the nation-state system through the migration of capital and people across increasingly porous borders, education has come to play a crucial role in the development of individual subjectivities and collective imaginaries.⁹⁸ Such subjectivities and collectives are thoroughly shaped by the institution of mass schooling, but have become confused in the process of globalization. Accordingly, it is important to explore the types of collectives (national or global) and individual subjectivities that are created through the discipline of mass schooling.

Unfortunately, the connection between education and development is very much under-theorized. On the whole, the formula *more education equals more development* is unquestioned.

⁹⁵ See Margaret Jacob, *The Enlightenment: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford, St. Martin, 2001).

⁹⁶ See Joseph Stiglitz, *Globalization and Its Discontents* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2001). Here, Stiglitz offers a good overview of the costs and benefits of globalization in the current global system, with a strong critique of a world that is globalizing and yet has “no world government, accountable to the people of every country, to oversee the globalization process in a fashion comparable to the way national governments guided the nationalization process [of the 19th century]. Instead, we have a system that might be called global governance without global government, one in which a few institutions – the World Bank, the IMF, the WTO – and a few players – the finance, commerce, and trade ministries, closely linked to certain financial and commercial interests – dominate the scene, but in which many of those affected by their decisions are left almost voiceless.” (21-22) While the United Nations is a central institution established in the hope for global governance, its authority does not match that of the institutions mentioned by Stiglitz.

⁹⁷ Michael Apple, ed. “Introduction,” *Global Crises, Social Justice, and Education* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 1.

⁹⁸ See, for example, Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

What do we mean by education? And what do we mean by development? Acceptance of the formulaic notion that education helps people get jobs, which helps national economies to grow, buries a host of assumptions about the human being, social justice, and his/her role in creating individual and collective identities.⁹⁹ While many argue that what the world needs is “Education for All,” this claim cannot be substantiated without asking the question: whose education, and to what ends?¹⁰⁰ As Apple argues, the consequences and dynamics of globalization “are now fundamentally restructuring what education does, how it is controlled, and who benefits from it throughout the world.”¹⁰¹

Furthermore, the role of education in both the colonization of lands by Europeans in the 19th century and in the de-colonization of these same lands in the 20th century is an important part of the story. The colonial legacy, particularly in Africa and Southeast Asia, remains decidedly present in the world today for at least three important reasons. First of all, the coming of colonial powers “disconnected the continuity of... indigenous institutions, including education and replaced them with the new Eurocentric institutions through time.”¹⁰² The educational traditions in colonized nations before colonization were, in many cases, pushed aside during the time of colonization, and then erased from history in the post-colonial era. This severe rupture was not therefore something that happened at the time of colonization, but rather is something that continues today. Second, post-colonial and anti-colonial legacies in higher education are not

⁹⁹ See, for example, Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom* (New York: Anchor Books, 1999); and Martha Nussbaum, *Frontiers of Justice: Disability, Nationality, Species Membership* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2006). They challenge the notion that justice is found only through the social contract between the individual and the state. Since so many individuals live outside of state protection in our world today – refugees, internally displaced persons, immigrants, etc. – the incessant growth of capitalist development does not make room for broader theories of justice.

¹⁰⁰ The Education for All movement began with the 1990 World Conference on Education for All hosted by the United Nations in Jomtien, Thailand.

¹⁰¹ Apple, 1.

¹⁰² Emnet Tadesse Woldegiorgis and Martin Doevenspeck, “The Changing Role of Higher Education in Africa: A Historical Reflection,” *Higher Education Studies* 3 (2013): 35-44, 36.

a monolith, and should not be treated as such. The colonial legacy in higher education was very different in different lands: whereas the British sought to use higher education “to produce the ‘elite’ required for colonial administration,” the French used higher education to advance their project of assimilation, and the Portuguese in many instances did not invest in higher education in their colonized lands at all.¹⁰³ The diverse ways in which colonizing nations approached their colonized lands, and dealt with de-colonization, is a legacy that continues in our world today.¹⁰⁴ And yet, despite this diversity, there is a similarity that runs through the ways in which colonial powers used higher education in their colonized lands: broadly speaking, using the case of Africa, “the objective of establishing higher education institutions in their colonies was not to address the socio-economic problems of Africa; instead it was basically to facilitate the smooth running of their colonial administration.”¹⁰⁵ Such a position left institutions of higher education woefully inadequate at the moment of de-colonization in most developing nations. Finally, the legacy of colonialism is important because there is a strong literature providing evidence for the ways in which the soft power used by institutions like the Bank in the post-colonial era is a form of neocolonialism.¹⁰⁶ The concept of development is thus a key theme in post-colonial educational studies. Therefore, studies of education and globalization, like this dissertation, benefit from exploring the intellectual and historical context of the concept of development.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 37.

¹⁰⁴ As Kapoor argues, “Anti-colonial positions and the prospects for decolonization are embedded in specific and multiple histories and cannot be collapsed I to some pure monolithic and homogenized oppositional essence, i.e., the various legacies of modern colonialism across the globe have given rise to separate historical trajectories of conquest and resistance on the ground, even as they share some obvious features. Dip Kapoor, “Education, Decolonization and Development: Perspectives from Asia, Africa and the Americas,” in *Education, Decolonization and Development: Perspectives from Asia, Africa and the Americas* (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2009), 4. See also Ania Loomba, *Colonialism / Postcolonialism*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2005), and Philip G. Altbach, *Higher Education in the Third World: Themes and Variations* (New York: Advent Books, 1987).

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 38.

¹⁰⁶ See, for example, Joanne Barker, *Sovereignty Matters: Locations of Contestation and Possibility in Indigenous Struggles for Self-Determination* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska, 2005); Atilio Boron, *Empire and Imperialism: A Critical Reading of Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri* (London: Zed, 2005); and Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. by C. Farrington (Markmann, NY: Grove Press, 1963).

What are the assumptions that must be made through which development comes to have an ethical component? In my view, these assumptions consist of the fundamental first principles of modernity, principles which I will explore in this chapter. Such assumptions are fundamentally rhetorical, as they represent years of collected decisions based upon persuasive arguments. As Peet, et al., argue, “development is a form of social imagination. Its theories are as much persuasive ideologies as they are models of deduced understanding.”¹⁰⁷ This is very much in line with Neta Crawford’s argument that, at the global level, “political argument, persuasion, and practical reason are fundamental processes within and among states,” and, as such, understanding the underlying belief and culture of arguments and normative values at the global level is crucial.¹⁰⁸ In essence, the normative argument in development that has been accepted by so many since the Second World War is that economic growth leads to global and national political stability. Since the concept of development has embedded within it ethical persuasive arguments about the world, and it has evolved and been shaped by the legacy of colonialism and post-colonialism, studying the roots of this concept helps in the exploration of the World Bank’s role in higher education and development.

The belief upon which these ethical claims are made come from the concept of development itself, which is theoretically linked to modernity, and institutionally linked to post-World War II thinking about the world.¹⁰⁹ This chapter explores the theoretical links of

¹⁰⁷ Richard Peet, Elaine Hartwick, and Katie Willis, *Theories and Practices of Development* (New York: Routledge, 2005).

¹⁰⁸ Neta C. Crawford, *Argument and Change in World Politics: Ethics, Decolonization, and Humanitarian Intervention* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 2. Crawford’s core argument is that the de-colonization of much of the developing world happened not through the magical forces of economics (since the economics of colonization were still working well at the time of de-colonization), nor through brute force, but rather through ethical argument. The implication of this argument is that persuasive, ethical arguments are important forces for change, and as such understanding the “processes of argument and reason” (Crawford, 2) is necessary. The importance of both de-colonization in history and the role of persuasive argument are both part of this story, and will be touched upon later in this dissertation.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 104.

modernity and development, laying the groundwork for a look at the history of one institution on the post-World War II landscape: the World Bank. In this chapter, I provide a brief survey of the intellectual history of the concept of development through an examination of how classical economics laid the foundation for the belief in the primacy of economic growth in order to establish political stability. This history is not intended to be an exhaustive intellectual history of the foundations of the concept of development from the 18th century to the present day, which is outside the scope of this examination. Rather, the goal in this chapter is to connect the historical roots of classical economics to both modern conceptions of the public and private, which in turn provides evidence for how the discourse of development has shifted from concerted intervention by the state to a shrinking of state action and resources to allow the free market to purportedly guide humanity toward unending economic growth and global peace and stability. The connections to be made between the ideas of classical economists and the institutions that emerged from these ideas are important, then, to the historical context of the founding of the World Bank, and of its work in the field of education.

Theoretically, the concept of development finds its meaning within the discursive field outlined by the concepts of modernity, economic rationalism, modernization, and *homo economicus*. In the following section, I explore each of these concepts in turn. In these concepts, development is seen as the responsibility of the West in managing (and controlling, according to post-colonial theorists) what was originally termed the third world, and is now called the developing world. On the whole, then, development has been used since World War II as primarily an economic term. Through these concepts, a natural link developed between economic growth and human well-being. It is through this link that the term development – and its connections to education – can be more clearly articulated.

Economic Rationalism, Modernization, and Homo Economicus

In today's global world, in both our economic and political lives, existing conceptions of development are primarily economic in nature. In these conceptions, there is both unimaginable technological progress and unthinkable inequality among human beings. This is a world in which economic markets have created trillions of dollars of wealth, and yet where "the 80 wealthiest people in the world altogether own \$1.9 trillion... nearly the same amount shared by the 3.5 billion people who occupy the bottom half of the world's income."¹¹⁰ This is a world in which the rationalization of everything (what Heidegger called the process of creating the world as "standing reserve"¹¹¹) has led to the triumphs of rational bureaucratic governance that have created the modern welfare state. This modern nation-state has advanced liberal republican values at the same time that some of its forms have been responsible for the creation of oppressed colonial subjects and such atrocities as genocide (in Germany under Hitler) and famine (with the British Empire, for example, in the late 19th century).¹¹²

The modern concept of development has embedded within it epistemological, political, and anthropological assumptions about the world that form the core of its discursive field, and yet remain primarily out of view. The hidden assumptions behind the concept shape how we think about both economics and politics in unconscious ways. In particular, development thinking in modern times has been dominated by economics to such an extent that economics and politics are too often conflated. More specifically, politics has come to be the handmaiden of economics:

¹¹⁰ Patricia Cohen, "Oxfam Study Finds Richest 1% is Likely to Control Half of Global Wealth by 2016," *The New York Times* (January 19, 2015) <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/01/19/business/richest-1-percent-likely-to-control-half-of-global-wealth-by-2016-study-finds.html>, accessed 1/19/2015.

¹¹¹ Martin Heidegger, trans. by William Lovitt, *The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays* (New York: Harper and Row, 1977).

¹¹² See, for example, Mike Davis, *Late Victorian Holocausts: El Niño, Famines, and the Making of the Third World* (London: Verso, 2001).

where economic innovation happens, it is assumed that political innovation will follow. This has led to global economic structures being put in place before the political structures to govern them are established. In this way, globally, the role of politics in international development has been de-prioritized, as the political realm has been constructed to be one that is immeasurable, uncontrollable, and a fundamental barrier to progress through economic development. Thus, economics has come to be seen as the savior of humankind, based on the development of freedom from both nature and human social conditions. As Peet argues,

Development entails human emancipation, in two of the senses of the word: *liberation from the vicissitudes of nature*, through greater understanding of earth processes followed by carefully applied technology; and *self-emancipation*, control over social relations, conscious control over the conditions under which human nature is formed, rational and democratic control over the cultural production of the human personality.¹¹³

With the great historical upheavals of urbanization and industrialization that began in the 18th century, based in large measure on the financial innovations of the West beginning in the 14th century,¹¹⁴ new theories emerged relating to the ability of human society to progress beyond regular battles over material scarcity and the ability of social institutions to manage this progress. These theories were based on core principles of economic rationalism, modernization, and the human being as *homo economicus* – all of which constitute a vast portion of the current discursive field of development.

Economic rationalism is a late 20th century re-articulation of neo-classical economic views. Neo-classical economics was a field founded on the ideas of Adam Smith, and furthered by Jeremy Bentham, John Stuart Mill and David Ricardo, and which was critiqued and refined

¹¹³ Peet, Hartwick, and Willis, 3. Italics mine.

¹¹⁴ Niall Ferguson, *The Ascent of Money: A Financial History of the World* (New York: Penguin Press, 2008).

by Thorstein Veblen in the early 20th century.¹¹⁵ The basic idea is that human beings are fundamentally rational (a Cartesian view that would not have been possible before the advent of modernity) and that they act on this rationality in their decisions in order to maximize profits and utility on the basis of full information. Rational choice theory thus builds an entire discourse around these assumptions. A key aspect of this theory is that it requires information that is clear, comparable, and measureable. As Pieterse argues, “Development is primarily economic development and as such is measureable.”¹¹⁶ Such development is led by private, free markets, regulated loosely by the state. Thus, modern economic rationalism oscillates “between neoliberal and neomercantilist perspectives, between the self-regulating market and state intervention.”¹¹⁷

This conception of economic liberalism was based upon division of labor and the importance of capital accumulation. Adam Smith theorized that development in any nation could arise only when self-interested individuals were protected in their individual pursuits to accumulate capital. In this way, he was arguing in favor of the emerging bourgeois class of his day, and against both the nobles (who held much power) and workers. Fundamentally, Smith’s theory was that in a situation where one can create the conditions for perfect competition, markets are the most efficient means to balance supply and demand in both their production and consumption. Later, in the tradition of Smith, Ricardo advanced Smith’s claims to a national level, arguing that free trade must be based on the concept of “comparative advantage.”¹¹⁸ According to this theory, which is a foundational notion of globalization, a country that is naturally suited to grow coffee, for example, should focus the bulk of its agricultural investment

¹¹⁵ See, for example, Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912).

¹¹⁶ Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *Development Theory: Second Edition* (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2010), 25.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Peet, Hartwick, and Willis, 36.

to support growing coffee, leaving a diversity of crop growing behind in favor of entering a world market in which wealth could be generated (although decidedly not self-sufficiency) through exports.

This line of thinking connected the idea of economic growth to national economic growth, as the nation-state has been the agreed-upon unit of political action and responsibility in the West since the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 (and the imposition of this system upon the colonized world).¹¹⁹ These proponents of economic liberty therefore advanced an agenda based on the notion that economic growth and stability equals political growth and stability, and thus that the path to development must necessarily run through the modernization process. As Pieterse argues, “when development thinking broadened to encompass modernization, economic growth was combined with political modernization, that is, nation building, and social modernization such as fostering entrepreneurship and ‘achievement orientation.’”¹²⁰ In this way, the process of modernization was seen as crucial to development,¹²¹ and through discourse on this process, social change came to be seen as “natural, directional, immanent, continuous, necessary, and proceeding from uniform causes.”¹²²

As Blockland argues, the key aspects of modernization are “rationalization, differentiation, and individualization.”¹²³ The modern mind has come to believe that it can order everything according to the rational mind, such that the focus is on what Weber calls

¹¹⁹ The Treaty of Westphalia of 1648, signed by the Holy Roman Empire, the Kingdom of Spain, the Swedish Empire, the Dutch Republic, and several other smaller sovereign cities, ended the Thirty Years’ War, initiated a new political system in Europe, and ushered in the era of sovereign nation-states that still exists today.

¹²⁰ Pieterse, 6.

¹²¹ An interesting account of the rise of the discourse of “the modern” can be found in Richard Foster Jones, *Ancients and Moderns* (New York: Dover, 1961).

¹²² Pieterse, 20.

¹²³ Hans Blockland, *Modernization and Its Political Consequences: Weber, Mannheim, and Schumpeter*, trans. by Nancy Smyth Van Weesep (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 2.

instrumental rationality over and above value rationality.¹²⁴ In this view, “people increasingly seek the optimal means to an end – to attain a given value or a particular goal with the least outlay of resources.”¹²⁵ Efficiency, over the aesthetic, is prioritized. Differentiation follows along the lines of division of labor, where “more and more human activities are organized within an ever-growing number of increasingly specialized institutions” leading to an increase in social complexity “while mutual functional dependencies expand.”¹²⁶ Individualization relates to the shift to people identifying less and less with a particular social group and instead more and more as “exponents of a specific pattern of values, norms, customs, and expectations.”¹²⁷

The concept of development, therefore, relies upon assumptions about knowledge (economic rationalism) and society (modernization theory) in the modern era. Each of these conceptions rests on the theory of the human being as *homo economicus*. In this view, the human being is not merely rational, but is limited to selfish rationality: *homo economicus* seeks to meet the demands of his/her own self-interest. In so doing, according to this theory, the individual is satisfied, and society benefits as well.¹²⁸

Corporations and the Institutionalization of the Private in the Modern World

From this concept of the human being, there emerged a clear and tangible institutionalization of the private sphere through the emergence of the modern corporate form.

¹²⁴ Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, ed. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978).

¹²⁵ Blockland, 2

¹²⁶ Ibid., 4.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ This brief overview of classical and neoclassical economics is not a comprehensive intellectual history. Rather, as I discuss in the next section, my aim is to connect the conception of the human being that emerged from this thinking (*homo economicus*) and the conception of the world (a world shaped significantly by economic exchanges prioritized over political exchanges, and concepts of modernization) to the institutionalization of this view in the modern corporate form. For more on the intellectual history of liberal humanism broadly, see Coates, et al., *The Emergence of Liberal Humanism*.

The significant role played by modern global corporations in the early 21st century is the result, in part, of an intentional, protective legal framework that allowed for the institutionalization of the private sphere in the modern world. Such a corporate form is a particularity of the West; it emerged initially from 16th century explorations to the New World, and, later, the 19th century needs of industry. This form developed from the innovation of the joint-stock company, and later through legal structures that set up limited liability incorporation processes that went through administrative (rather than political) channels, and the creation of legal personhood for corporations.¹²⁹

The power of joint stock companies, which first emerged in the late 16th century, lies in their “capacity to combine the capital, and thus the economic power, of unlimited numbers of people.”¹³⁰ By pooling the capital of investors, ownership is shared among stockholders, risk is distributed widely, and private companies are able to grow exponentially. During this time, as Ron Harris shows in his analysis of the origins of the corporate form in 19th century England, corporate laws “allowed the formation of joint-stock corporations only by specific authorization of the State while outlawing other forms of joint-stock association.”¹³¹ Furthermore, oftentimes the risk taken on by early investors in joint stock companies was inordinate, and thus discouraged broad investment: if a company went under, the personal assets of all investors were fair game. With the shift to licensing companies through administrative, rather than political,

¹²⁹ For a good overview of the origins of the corporate form in 18th and 19th century England, see Ron Harris, *Industrializing English Law: Entrepreneurship and Business Organization, 1720-1844* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). See also Pauline Maier, “The Revolutionary Origins of the American Corporation,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 50, *Law and Society in Early America* (1993): 51–84; James Willard Hurst, *The Legitimacy of the Business Corporation in the Law of the United States, 1780–1970* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia, 1970); George Herberton Evans, Jr, *Business Incorporations in the United States, 1800–1943* (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1948); Ronald E. Seavoy, *The Origins of the American Business Corporation, 1784–1855: Broadening the Concept of Public Service during Industrialization* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982). For a critical view of the rise and role of corporations, see Joel Bakan, *The Corporation: The Pathological Pursuit of Profit and Power* (New York: Free Press, 2004).

¹³⁰ Bakan, 8.

¹³¹ Harris, 1.

means and the creation of legal personhood for corporations, the modern corporate foundation was set. Harris examines the relationship between legal and economic developments in 19th century England, arguing that legal developments did not develop in a vacuum, but rather in response to, and in relation with, the rapidly urbanizing English society.

The rise of the tangible global private realm, exemplified by the corporate form, therefore emerged from Western thinking. One way to see how the private (and the public) were defined differently in different places, and to see clearly the advantages gained by Western financial innovation, is to compare this Western construction of the private to other areas of the world where these innovations did not happen. Timur Kuran does this in his examination of Islamic society and financial institutions compared with Western finance.¹³² As he argues, the

Middle East fell behind the West because it was late in adopting key institutions of the modern economy. These include laws, regulations, and organizational forms that enabled economic activities now taken for granted in all but the most impoverished parts of the globe: the mobilization of productive resources on a huge scale within long-lasting private enterprises and the provision of social services through durable entities capable of transformation.¹³³

While Kuran's argument may oversimplify a complex set of phenomena, this point does not weaken his core argument that the corporate form in the West was a uniquely Western structure that helped create institutions capable of accumulating wealth in a significant way. These key components included ones already mentioned: the joint-stock company, corporate laws (e.g., limited liability, corporate legal rights), and banking. For example, as Kuran points out, there were no banks in the Ottoman Empire until the middle of the 19th century,¹³⁴ almost five

¹³² Timur Kuran, *The Long Divergence: How Islamic Law Held Back the Middle East* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 5.

centuries after the first modern banks were formed (based on standard accounting procedures, bills of exchange, and diversification) by the Medicis in Italy.¹³⁵

Interestingly, earlier legal structures existed (both in the West and in the Islamic world) that were similar in design to the modern corporate form, but set up to protect the public sphere. As Kuran points out, the *waqf* (which is a trust) was a legal instrument that allowed for the protection of wealth over time for specific public goods. Generally speaking, a *waqf* was based on a piece of land that would be set aside for some particular purpose, funded by the wealth of the original owner and whatever value the land itself held. Thus, for example, a wealthy individual could set up a *waqf* for an institution of higher learning in a city, and this institution would be funded and protected in perpetuity.¹³⁶

In the United States, protected public spheres fell originally under the corporate form, including in education. As Nancy Beadie argues, schools in the United States originated not from the state, but rather from local communities taking advantage of incorporation laws. Originally set up as corporations, local schools were eventually taken over by the state, and corporations were eventually taken over by the private sector. But, Beadie notes,

During the early republican period, acts of incorporation were still presumed to be legitimate only in cases where the resulting organisation would perform a recognisable public service. Granting acts of incorporation to associations organised simply for private gain, and in competition with individual households and partnerships, was widely considered a violation of republican principle. In this context, the first organisations to gain broadened access to corporate power were religious, educational and charitable associations.¹³⁷

¹³⁵ Ferguson, 41-48.

¹³⁶ This protected public space, through incorporation, was the structure through which many institutions of higher education in the Muslim world were established. Such institutions, it has been argued, influenced the rise of colleges and universities in the West as well. See Mehdi Nakosteen, *History of Islamic Origins of Western Education: A.D. 800 – 1350* (Boulder, CO: University of Colorado – Boulder Press, 1964).

¹³⁷ Nancy Beadie, “Education, Social Capital, and State Formation in Comparative Historical Perspective: Preliminary Investigations,” *Paedagogica Historica* 46 (February-April 2010): 15-43, 25.

Both Kuran and Beadie show the ways in which the corporate form was based upon the protection of partnerships originally set up with the public good in mind. Over time, however, the protection of the corporation has become synonymous with the protection of private interests. The commitment to performing a “recognizable public service” through laws of incorporation has waned significantly in the past two centuries, thus allowing for a flourishing of private interests to emerge that do not need justification as performing a public good.¹³⁸ By creating the legal definitions and protections for corporations, the pursuit of profit by individuals was institutionalized: private gain, and the ability to take risks based upon one’s self-interest, came to be protected by the state. This form, then, was subsequently theorized as being the basis of social progress by Adam Smith, in his defense of the invisible hand of the market.¹³⁹ Historically speaking, the corporation is an integral part of the battle in the ongoing debate between defenders of political liberty and defenders of economic liberty.¹⁴⁰

Such institutionalization of the private sphere is one factor that has allowed for the extreme centralization of wealth (and knowledge and technology and media) and the homogenization of culture that we see in our world today. This global dominance of capital and free markets and defenders of economic liberty exists on a larger scale today than perhaps at any other time in history. The forces of globalization are to be taken seriously because, as Bruner argues, “it is a broadly acknowledged fact that economic liberalism conceived as state-managed market democracy based on ‘elite’ decision making has fundamentally ‘triumphed’ over political liberalism conceived as popularly managed democratic forms of constitutional government based on systems of checks and balances

¹³⁸ Bakan, *The Corporation*.

¹³⁹ Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (London: W. Strahan, 1776).

¹⁴⁰ M. Lane Bruner, *Democracy’s Debt: The Historical Tensions Between Political and Economic Liberty* (Amherst, NY: Humanity Books, 2009).

ensuring a healthy critical public sphere, and this ‘triumph’ has had profound consequences for attitudes and policies related to global governance.”¹⁴¹ In short, global governance has lagged way behind global flows of capital. What is needed, then, are theories of the public that engage the transnational nature of our world, and the rising intangibility of the global public sphere combined with the rising tangibility of the global private sphere. Both of these factors, in my view, are significant influences upon the growth of the notion of development in our modern world, a concept that underpins the work of the World Bank.

The Construction of Publics in a Global World: The Risks of Modernity and The Rise of Global Professions

A view of the world in which the rational *homo economicus* is at the center of an always-modernizing universe that can transcend the physical limits of our world has made incredible advances across the globe, and has also brought terrible poverty and alienation to the world. Within this world, where does the public lie? Is a global, cosmopolitan public sphere possible in this world? This question is not new. Kant attempted to partially answer this question in the late 18th century, when he argued in the Fifth Thesis of his *Idea for a Universal History from a Cosmopolitan Point of View* that “The greatest problem for the human race, to the solution of which Nature drives man, is the achievement of a universal civic society which administers law among men.”¹⁴² Over two centuries later, such a universal civic society exists (particularly

¹⁴¹ M. Lane Bruner, “Global Governance and the Critical Public,” *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 6 (2003): 687-708.

¹⁴² Immanuel Kant, “On History,” in *Idea for a Universal History from a Cosmopolitan Point of View*, trans. by Lewis White Beck (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1963). <http://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/ethics/kant/universal-history.htm>, accessed 10/15/2011.

through the United Nations and its affiliate organizations), although as a relatively weak institution on the global landscape.

More recently, Beck has taken up this question of a cosmopolitan public sphere.¹⁴³ In Beck's conception, the terrain of the global sphere has shifted to a distribution of risks, which he defines as the "consequences which relate to the threatening force of modernization and to its globalization of doubt."¹⁴⁴ In the modern world, as Beck argues, "the gain in power from techno-economic 'progress' is being increasingly overshadowed by the production of risks."¹⁴⁵ While our technological progress has freed many from material scarcity, it has given rise to a new emphasis on knowledge and learning. As Beck puts it, "the sources of danger [to humanity and its existence] are no longer ignorance but *knowledge*; not a deficient but a perfected mastery over nature; not that which eludes the human grasp but the system of norms and objective constraints established with the industrial epoch."¹⁴⁶ This system of norms is growing in the current era of globalization: individuals, nations, and international non-governmental organizations rely on knowledge of, and adherence to, these norms in order to succeed.

While in the industrial age risks were fairly easy to define and manage, in today's world "along with the growing capacity of technical options [*Zweckrationalitat*] grows the incalculability of their consequences."¹⁴⁷ These consequences originate in modernity itself (represented, at least in part, by Kant) and can only be understood and properly managed by what Beck calls the development of reflexive modernization, which requires "negotiation between

¹⁴³ Ulrich Beck, *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity* (London, Sage: 1992); and Ulrich Beck, *Power in the Global Age* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005).

¹⁴⁴ Beck, *Risk Society*, 21.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 13. Italics in original.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 183.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 22.

different epistemologies and subcultural forms, amongst different discourses.”¹⁴⁸ This modernization is neither a reliance on modernity (which Beck believes greatly exaggerates the success of modern scientific-rational thought) nor a reliance on the theories of post-modernity (which Beck argues goes too far in abandoning the insights of modernity), but is rather a balanced approach that draws on both, and that engages with non-Western views of development, progress, and education, to solve the dangerous risks which humankind has imposed upon itself. As Beck argues, the risks of our world

only exist in terms of the (scientific or anti-scientific) *knowledge* about them. They thus can be changed, magnified, dramatized or minimized within knowledge, and to that extent they are particularly open to social definition and construction. Hence the mass media and scientific and legal professions in charge of defining risks become key social and political positions.¹⁴⁹

In the absence of a tangible global public to understand and respond to emerging global risks, and in the presence of powerful private spheres of influence, there thus emerges a global professional class which claims the authority to diagnose and treat the world’s problems. In Beck’s argument, this is a disabling process, as

the structuring of the future is taking place indirectly and unrecognizably in research laboratories and executive suites, not in the parliament or in political parties. Everyone else – even the most responsible and best informed people in politics and science – more or less lives off the crumbs of information that fall from the planning tables of technological sub-politics.¹⁵⁰

In short, one significant challenge of a 21st century globalizing world is the challenge of dependency. When public spheres are not well-defined (as they are not at the global level), the increasingly authoritative global private sphere outsources these risks onto a public that is not aware of itself and has precious little institutional recourse to be able to organize itself toward

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 5.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 23.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 223.

awareness. Dependency upon some external authority, which has no joint accountability, is the result.

Into this vacuum emerges global professional expertise that seeks to take the place of authority and legitimacy at the global level in the absence of global publics. This is exactly the process I uncover in my analysis of the Bank's work in higher education. The process of emphasizing the importance of professionalism in higher education at the project level reveals the ways in which the Bank positions itself as a professional institution advocating for the professional GKE imaginary to develop professional capacity within developing nations.

As I discussed in the first chapter, the process of creating a profession involves the creation of an agreed-upon body of knowledge that relies on rational-scientific grounds, that cannot be accessed by all, and that is directed toward a "set of substantive values."¹⁵¹ In order to create this specialized body of knowledge, knowledge itself must be commodified, with alternative views marginalized. In this process, dependency is created, as those not within the profession must rely on the authority and expertise of those within.

The process of building a profession, then, requires a shift from a public discourse to a private discourse, and the transformation of a body of knowledge from something that is public itself, and that explicitly seeks public goods as its ends, to knowledge that is private and that positions itself as a commodity. The concepts of development and modernization theory, then, are themselves professional discourses that have shifted from the realm of public good to the realm of private commodity. Such knowledge is based on an agreed-upon body of knowledge that, as we have seen in this chapter, emerged from a Western conception of modernization and development: one that relies on scientific-rational grounds and that is focused solely on the

¹⁵¹ Starr, 15.

substantive value of economic growth. In this way, the discourse of development upon which the Bank is based has marginalized and/or subsumed competing voices.

There are multiple examples of competing voices that have been marginalized by the dominant discourse of development. For example, for many, the international system of development is a neo-colonial discourse.¹⁵² As Edward Said argues, this discourse is constructed through the multi-layered construction of an Other – in this case the “Orient.” Accordingly, development is seen as a way of managing the developing world by keeping it powerless and crippled by debt and insecurity. More recently, through the work of Amartya Sen, Mahbub ul Haq, and Martha Nussbaum, traditional notions of development have been forcefully critiqued for their lack of humanism and their overemphasis on economics.¹⁵³ As ul Haq states, “For too long, the principal focus of the Bretton Woods institutions and the UN system has been on the processes of economic growth, not on the enrichment of human lives. It was quietly assumed that high levels of economic growth would automatically translate into high levels of human development.”¹⁵⁴ Such an assumption was not borne out by the data that has emerged from several decades of international development work. As ul Haq says, “There is no intrinsic link between economic growth and human well-being.”¹⁵⁵

Each of these critiques of development has challenged the basic assumptions and consequences of development based on the related concepts of modernity, economic rationalism, modernization, and *homo economicus*. These critiques include explorations of the marginalized

¹⁵² See, for example, Said, *Orientalism*; and Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

¹⁵³ Marc DuBois, “The Governance of the Third World: A Foucauldian Perspective on Power Relations in Development,” *Alternatives* 16 (1991): 1-30; Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom*; Mahbub ul Haq, “Humanizing Global Institutions,” in Ernest R. May and Angeliki E. Laiou, eds., *The Dumberton Oaks Conversation and the United Nations: 1944-1994* (Washington, D.C.: Trustees for Harvard University, 1998); Martha Nussbaum, *Creating Capabilities: The Human Development Approach* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2011).

¹⁵⁴ Ul Haq, 89.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

discourses of non-scientific thought, indigenous thought, religious narrative, and the humanities. Yet, while development theory has shifted somewhat over the course of the last fifty years, based partially on these criticisms, its core principles, with their reliance on largely hidden epistemological, political and anthropological assumptions about the world, have remained the same. The only significant shift in development theory has come recently in the move to count knowledge as the driver of economic growth, as opposed to material goods and services. This focus on knowledge leads us finally to the connection between development and education, almost exclusively through the ubiquitous institution of mass public schooling.

The World Bank, Higher Education, and The Public

How does global higher education policy fit within the realm of public sphere theory? Within the context of the growth of academic capitalism and the new economy as conceived by Slaughter and Rhoades, the public and private are of utmost concern. Academic capitalism - “the pursuit [by institutions of higher education] of market and marketlike activities to generate external revenues,”¹⁵⁶ - within the new economy of commodified knowledge and “non-Fordist production processes,”¹⁵⁷ is a force directly related to the public. With knowledge being commodified, societies becoming knowledge-based, production being transformed away from typical notions of Fordist production, and the increasing global nature of higher education within

¹⁵⁶ Sheila Slaughter and Gary Rhoades, *Academic Capitalism and the New Economy: Markets, State, and Higher Education* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 11; see also Sheila Slaughter and Larry L. Leslie, *Academic Capitalism: Politics, Policies and the Entrepreneurial University* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 16.

a global neoliberal order, there is no more active front on the global battleground of the public and private than higher education.¹⁵⁸

With the rise of the concept of the knowledge economy, the production and use of knowledge raises important questions about the publicness of knowledge itself as a “new factor of production.”¹⁵⁹ In this conception, knowledge takes its place alongside land, labor and capital as a crucial commodity that must be analyzed for its economic value. Knowledge is viewed as intellectual property serving as a key engine of economic growth, and as such it is privatized.¹⁶⁰ In this age of “knowledge capitalism,”¹⁶¹ knowledge itself has come to be seen by many economists as the crucial and unlimited factor of production; as a global public good that can be shared broadly, and that can supposedly lead the way for humanity to unending economic growth. In a time when the material limits of our world have, to some, been overcome by technological progress,¹⁶² unending economic growth appears on the horizon as a distinct possibility. Despite such progress, the physical limits of material scarcity still exist. Thus, unending economic growth cannot happen unless there is a resource that is never scarce but always in abundance – qualities that are decidedly distinct from the basic qualities of land, labor, and physical capital. This abundant resource, in the thinking of the New Growth Theorists,¹⁶³ is

¹⁵⁸ For a thorough overview of the development of the concept of knowledge economies, see Susan L. Robertson, “‘Producing’ Knowledge Economies: The World Bank, the KAM, Education and Development,” published by the Centre for Globalisation, Education and Societies, University of Bristol, Bristol, 2008, <http://susanleerobertson.com/publications>, accessed 4/12/2014.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 4.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 5.

¹⁶¹ Peters, “Classical Political Economy and the Role of Universities in the New Knowledge Economy,” 165.

¹⁶² See Martin Heidegger, *The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays*, trans. by William Lovitt (New York: Harper and Row, 1977), 23. The belief, among a few, in a lack of material scarcity is in direct contrast to the experience of billions of people living in the developing and developed world whose only concern is day-to-day survival - where material scarcity is the primary concern.

¹⁶³ New Growth economists emerged from a group of growth theorists who critiqued existing exogenous theories of growth, which suggested that economic growth was primarily the result of external forces outside of the model (for example, consumer changing their taste in terms of what hamburger they like). New Growth theorists, on the contrary, argue that endogenous forces are key to economic growth. See Paul Romer, “The Origins of Endogenous Growth,” *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 8, (Winter 1994): 3-22.

knowledge. As the Bank has argued, “the ability of a society to produce, select, adapt, commercialize, and use knowledge is crucial for sustained economic growth and improved living standards.”¹⁶⁴ In short, knowledge has come to be seen as the key driver of this growth rather than simply a by-product of such growth. Hence, the GKE imaginary suggests that all nations must become knowledge economies in order to be able to grow and fit into the global economic structure. Education, therefore, has increasingly become an area of concern and expertise for the Bank. With these insights, economists at the Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) and the Bank sought to build entire societies upon the notion of being a knowledge-based economy.¹⁶⁵ This work continues today, most notably in the Bank’s higher education work.

The concept of the public is therefore increasingly of interest to critical educational scholars and is a crucial aspect of an analysis of the Bank’s work in higher education.¹⁶⁶ Absent such scholarly interest in what constitutes the public, discussion of the public will continue to be dominated by economic theory.¹⁶⁷ In this realm and rhetoric, the public sphere is portrayed as an inefficient and messy entity. The concept of the private is seen as an efficient sector that is built on notion that human beings, according to economists, are essentially self-interested, rational, and always desiring of maximal choice. Without an ongoing, robust critique of the reductionist

¹⁶⁴ The World Bank, *Constructing Knowledge Societies*, 7.

¹⁶⁵ OECD, *The Knowledge-Based Economy*.

¹⁶⁶ See Chris Higgins and Kathleen Knight Abowitz, “What Makes a Public School Public? A Framework for Evaluating the Civic Substance of Schooling,” *Educational Theory* 61 (2011): 365-380; and Kenneth Saltman, “Putting the Public Back in Public Schooling: Public Schools Beyond the Corporate Model,” *DePaul Journal for Social Justice* 3 (2009): 9-39.

¹⁶⁷ Which reduces all critical analyses of education to matters of economic concern. See, for example, Mark Gradstein, Moshe Justman, and Volker Meier, *The Political Economy of Education: Implications for Growth and Inequality* (Boston: MIT Press, 2004).

economic view of education, new political economies of education will be restricted by the classical liberalist position that bounds the world within a Westphalian nation-state system.¹⁶⁸

The challenge is not merely to defend the public; after all, what do we mean when we say public? The term is used as an adjective (a public school) and as a noun (the public) loosely and interchangeably. The public as descriptor is reduced to a vague concept of accessibility and transparency. The public as noun is either reduced to the voice of the masses, seemingly understood only by polling and mass surveys, or it is equated with a political force (usually the state) that is constantly intruding upon one's private affairs. The public, when equated with a national citizenry, seems clear, but it is not so clear when one speaks about global publics. At the global level, because there is no polity to legitimize the authority of global professionals, and such professionals live inherently in a world of distinctly different and diverse views of the world, there must be a global public arena that is truly open to different epistemological views of the world.

Conversely, the concept of the private is quite clear at both the national and international levels, deriving from a conception of individual freedom in the economic and social spheres. In economic affairs, the private realm is equated with the market. In the social arena, the private realm is the realm of individual rights. Interestingly, the concept of the private is seen only as descriptor (the private market, private affairs, private schools, the private sphere) or as verb

¹⁶⁸ The Westphalian system of nation-states (from the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648, which is commonly viewed as the origin of the modern nation-state system), combined with a capitalist economic structure, led to an uneasy but important relationship between markets and the state. See Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2001). This in turn led to the traditional view of the public and private realms that continues to exist today, a position perhaps made most clear by Robert Mnookin, in a 1982 *Pennsylvania Law Review* special article on the public/private distinction. In this article, he argued that "the distinction between public and private connects with a central tenet of liberal thought: the insistence that because individuals have rights, there are limits on the power of government vis-à-vis the individual. Public and private are the descriptive labels I will use in this essay to distinguish spheres or clusters of activities that are presumptively outside the legitimate bounds of government coercion and regulation (the private sphere) from those where government has a legitimate role (the public sphere)." Robert Mnookin, "The Public/Private Dichotomy: Political Disagreement and Academic Repudiation," *Pennsylvania Law Review* 130 (June 1982): 1429-1440, 1429.

(privatization). The private is never conceived as a noun; “the private” as a stand-alone concept is meaningless. Furthermore, the concept of privatization has no corollary when thinking about the public: there is no sense of the public as verb. The private, as a concept, is much more well-defined in our world today than the public.

In a world without a clear sense of the public, historical analysis is difficult. Historians of education tend to shy away from this debate, staying safely within the bounds of traditional theories of the public which rely primarily on what Weintraub calls the classical-liberal model.¹⁶⁹ In this model, the state is equated with the public, and the markets are equated with the private. This model presents an important and easy framework for historians of education, by allowing public education to be written into history as synonymous with state education. What happens, however, when education expands beyond the realm of the state? Such is the case when large international organizations like UNESCO and the Bank involve themselves in education. In this case, the methodological statism¹⁷⁰ of the historian is inadequate to examine the role of education in the historical evolution of the public and private space in our globalizing world. Because of this, the Bank and its involvement in education rarely make it on to the agenda for the historian of education, but are relegated instead to the world of the economist.

The World Bank, as both a material institution and a rhetorically constructed discursive field, is an exemplary representation of the antagonistic debates around the terms public and private in the 20th and early 21st centuries. Indeed, the Bank itself does not have a singular identity.¹⁷¹ The two main institutions of the Bank reflect this public-private tension well. The

¹⁶⁹ Jeff Weintraub, “The Theory and Politics of the Public/Private Distinction,” in *Public and Private in Thought and Practice: Perspectives on a Grand Dichotomy*, eds. Jeff Weintraub and Krishan Kumar (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997):1-42, 7.

¹⁷⁰ See John Tomlinson, *Globalization and Culture* (Cambridge: Polity, 1999).

¹⁷¹ The World Bank is actually made up of five agencies that make up the World Bank Group: (1) The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), established in 1945 to provide loans and financing for countries

first is the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), which mostly provides loans to middle income and credit-worthy low income nations for long-term development and is financed by global capital markets (mostly in the form of bonds), and thus ultimately answers to the needs of private investors. The second is the International Development Association (IDA), which provides interest-free loans, or credits, and grants to the poorest of countries, and is financed by contributions from wealthy nations. This ultimately answers to the needs of national interests within the international public arena.¹⁷² And yet, the Bank's official history makes clear that it considers itself a "*public sector* institution."¹⁷³

One of the core issues regarding the Bank's legitimacy, then, rests on the meaning of the public – how the Bank imagines the public, whether the Bank itself is a public institution (making public policy and legitimated by a material polity), and whether and how the Bank fosters the creation of public spaces. Far too often in current political analyses of the Bank, the public and private spheres are considered to be settled and fixed notions. In most accounts, the private sphere is equated with free economic markets, and the public sphere is equated with bureaucratic governmental institutions and policies. This is the traditional liberal-economic distinction between public and private realms.¹⁷⁴ In this conception, the private sphere is often constructed (particularly by neoliberals) as being the most efficient, effective way to allocate resources while maximizing liberty and the ability to take risks and innovate. The public sphere is often constructed as an inefficient bureaucracy that creates dependencies and dampens the

on a wide range of development issues; (2) the International Finance Corporation (IFC), founded in 1956 to provide opportunities for private capital investment in the developing world primarily to encourage private sector development; (3) the International Development Association (IDA), founded in 1960 to provide low interest and interest-free loans and grants to developing nations; (4) the International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID), founded in 1965; and (5) the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA), founded in 1988. Unless otherwise noted, this dissertation focuses on two of the Bank's five agencies: the IBRD and the IDA. Chapter three provides additional information on the origins of the IBRD and the IDA.

¹⁷² The World Bank. *A Guide to the World Bank: Third Edition* (Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 2011), 2.

¹⁷³ Kapur, et al., 2, italics in original.

¹⁷⁴ Weintraub, "The Theory and Politics of the Public/Private Distinction," 7.

drive for innovation. As Peter Lindert shows, this liberal-economic model is not merely a question of theory: the centuries-old debate over how much governments tax, and how much of those taxes are spent on social programs to redistribute wealth, is determined in large measure by where one falls on the line dividing the public and private realms.¹⁷⁵ Thus, the liberal model is an important one to keep in mind when thinking about the public and private spheres.

It is not, however, the only way to conceptualize the public and the private. As Jeff Weintraub points out, the public-private dichotomy is not “unitary, but protean. It comprises, not a single paired opposition, but a complex family of them, neither mutually reducible nor wholly unrelated.”¹⁷⁶ Despite this complexity, however, the dominant view of the public at the level of global discourse today is an over-simplified, dualistic view of the liberal-economic distinction – the materially rich but intellectually sparse polity mentioned earlier. In this landscape, the concept of the public is largely conflated with state and national governments, while the private is seen as the realm of economic markets. Such a view is the dominant perspective from the perspective of neoliberalism.¹⁷⁷ In this conception, the public is equated with both an inefficient government that seeks to increase its own powers at the expense of individual liberty and amorphous, non-rational masses of collective interests that need to be rationalized and controlled. The private is posited as both a sophisticated system of capital markets that (supposedly) disperses power naturally as well as precisely organized, rational collectives that achieve quantitative goals with maximal efficiency. Seen in this way, the public is

¹⁷⁵ Peter Lindert, *Growing Public: Social Spending and Economic Growth Since the Eighteenth Century*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). In this book, Lindert traces the growth of social spending from the 18th century onwards, with its particular acceleration in the second half of the 20th century. As Lindert argues, this debate theoretically hinges on the self-interest of at least two distinct parties: those who are wealthy and must pay more in taxes, and those who receive the benefits (through social programs) of the redistribution of wealth through taxes. As he says, “there will always be a political tug-of-war between those who are more likely to benefit from redistribution and those who would be taxed by it” (4). Lindert ultimately argues that social spending contributes to, rather than stifles, economic growth.

¹⁷⁶ Weintraub, 2.

¹⁷⁷ See Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*.

fundamentally defined by the parameters of the private; the public is a bureaucracy that supposedly seeks only to expand its own power in the face of otherwise highly efficient and effective private markets.

Locating the place of World Bank higher education thinking, action, and policy within the public accounting and public polity of today's global world is therefore a tricky business. Scholarly public accounting – that is, scrutiny that adheres to standards of logic, reason, open critique, review and discussion – of Bank higher education involvement requires, at a minimum, access to sources that provide ample evidence upon which to draw conclusions and theories, as well as the willingness and ability of the academy to examine its own place in society. Neither is forthcoming. Defining the increasingly unclear, imagined public in the global arena requires theories of the public that look past the nation and that prioritize the role of history and historical thinking in the creation and understanding of public spheres. Neither yet exists fully. A thorough accounting of the Bank's historical involvement in higher education is very difficult in a world in which the meaning of the public itself is not clear, and where the historian cannot comfortably locate a public space in which to work.

Without a clear sense of a public that serves as the background, context, and check for historical forces at work in any particular set of events, how does the historian situate the narrative, particularly as it relates to issues of policy? When the historical subject is bounded within federal policy, one can place the narrative into the context of issues happening at the national level. There is certainly a context in which the World Bank resides as an institution founded at Bretton Woods in the waning days of Second World War. Such a context, however, has become less and less clear through time, as the Bank has lived within the foundational

tension between the institution as a bank and the institution as a development agency.¹⁷⁸ The former prioritizes private financial gain, the latter public development. In the process described in this chapter of an increasingly tangible private realm in global affairs, and a weak public realm, the historical context has been de-prioritized, erased, marginalized or simply lost.

A crucial question that can move historians toward a fuller historical accounting of the Bank is thus: in which public domain does the World Bank reside? From a political standpoint, the Bank's publicness does not rest in the public domain of a particular nation-state. From an institutional standpoint, the Bank does not exhibit traits of being public: internal decisions are not made by those accountable to a public, and proportional representation at the Bank is based on wealth rather than population size or elections. From the historian's perspective, the Bank is not public because access to its sources is so restricted, and because the Bank resists historical scrutiny.

This is not to say, however, that the World Bank's actions and ideas do not affect the public sphere. Quite the contrary: a great deal of the Bank's work involves what is traditionally defined as the public sector, and the Bank exerts tremendous influence on how the very distinction between the public and private is made at the global level. From the Bank's early focus on physical infrastructure in the 1950s and 1960s, to its shift to poverty alleviation under McNamara's Presidency in the 1970s, to its well-known structural adjustment lending of the 1980s based on the emerging "Washington Consensus,"¹⁷⁹ the Bank has focused on public

¹⁷⁸ A point made clear in an interview with former World Bank President Robert McNamara in an oral history interview. See Robert McNamara, "World Bank History Project," Brookings Institution, Transcript of interview with Robert S. McNamara, April 1, May 10, and October 3, 1991. Interviews conducted by John Lewis, Richard Webb, and Devesh Kapur, Session 2, April 1, 1991, Washington, D.C. http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTARCHIVES/Resources/Robert_McNamara_Oral_History_Transcript_04_01_and_10_03_1991.pdf, accessed 10/22/2013.

¹⁷⁹ A term first coined by John Williamson, *Latin American Adjustment: How Much Has Happened* (Washington, D.C.: Institute for International Economics, 1990). The Washington Consensus is a set of policy ideas around the values of privatization, deregulation, open and free trade, and liberal financial markets.

infrastructure, public poverty, and public debts throughout its history. In all of this work, the public is very much in the foreground: the public sector was both empowered and critiqued by the Bank at various levels, in various contexts, with varying degrees of success. In all of this work, the public remained a tangible subject.

Something changed, however, in the mid-1990s. While continuing to rely on neoliberal critiques of the public sphere in its work, the Bank shifted its discourse as it began to think about knowledge itself as a major factor in economic development. This led the Bank to define itself more explicitly as a Knowledge Bank, as “an unmatched repository of experience and understanding about development issues.”¹⁸⁰ This re-positioning happened in the context of a new emphasis on universities as the “key driver of the knowledge economy.”¹⁸¹

As such, the World Bank’s involvement in higher education, up until now, does not have a history. What I mean is not that the Bank has not been involved in higher education through the years. On the contrary, the Bank’s commitment to higher education has always been clear, even if the Bank’s definition of the ends of higher education has changed. Instead, I argue that history does not exist in the Bank’s higher education work in large measure because the Bank as an institution, and the vision of society it is advancing today, has no need for a public history. Inhabiting the space where the meaning of the public is not clear, and a public history is not needed, is an important aspect of the Bank’s self-legitimacy. A historical perspective is particularly important, then, because one critical aspect of history is the creation and scrutiny of

¹⁸⁰ The World Bank, *World Bank Development Report* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 1, as quoted in Karen E. Mundy, “Retrospect and Prospect: Education in a Reforming World Bank,” *International Journal of Educational Development* 22 (2002): 483-508, 498, n. 42. On the Bank’s explicit use of the term “Knowledge Bank,” see Lyla Mehta, “The World Bank and its Emerging Knowledge Empire,” *Human Organization* 60, no. 2 (Summer 2001): 189-196.

¹⁸¹ Mark Olssen and Michael A. Peters, “Neoliberalism, Higher Education and the Knowledge Economy: From the Free Market to Knowledge Capitalism,” *Journal of Education Policy* 20 (2005): 313-345, 313.

public history.¹⁸² Thus, the question “in which public domain does the Knowledge Bank, and therefore the knowledge and epistemology of the Bank, reside?” becomes important to the historian.

This chapter has sought to lay the groundwork for the key concepts that drive the Bank’s work: development, modernization, rationalization, *homo economicus*, and the public and private realms. It has argued that the global public space is filled with a strong and growing private sector that is really just a public sphere subsidized by weak notions of global publics that do not have the institutional or legal form to fully emerge. This unhealthy imbalance between public and private realms advances the homogenization and centralization of wealth in today’s world. With this context in mind, I turn now to the actual history of the Bank’s involvement in higher education to provide one perspective on the public history of the Bank, beginning with the origins of the Bank’s thinking on education, before moving on to explore the Bank’s action in higher education.

¹⁸² See, for example, David Glassberg, “Public History and the Study of Memory,” *The Public Historian* 18 (Spring 1996): 7-23.

Chapter Three

The Marriage of Economic Man and Education, and the Birth of the Global Knowledge Economy: The Origins and Development of the World Bank’s Educational “Public Policy,” 1944-1963

In a speech to the graduates of Macalester College in the spring of 1959, Eugene Black – who was by then into his tenth year as the Third President of the World Bank – expressed the grave optimism and grave risk of the era, hinting at the coming marriage of modern economic man and education, and the eventual birth of the Global Knowledge Economy. In the speech, he said

This modern economic man we have created is a complicated being; he is like a machine in that to function efficiently he must have the right parts connected in the right ways. While we know all that needs to be known to create him – all the technology and all the necessary policies and institutions to make him effective – we still have not discovered how to communicate this knowledge to others without running a grave risk of turning out robots instead of men.¹⁸³

The issues that Black raised in his speech that day – the concept of “economic man,” the optimism about technology and knowledge, and the fear that education had the potential to turn out robots instead of men – all speak to the growing bond between modern development economics and education in the middle decades of the 20th century, and the power of this bond to engineer humanity toward particular ends. Coming just a year after the passage of the National Defense of Education Act, in the midst of rising tensions with the communist threat in the West and the rapid de-colonization of Africa, and in the time period in which the life adjustment curriculum was taking hold in America, Black was previewing the growing belief within the

¹⁸³ Commencement address by Eugene Black (President of the World Bank from 1949-1963) to the graduates of Macalester College, June 8, 1959, World Bank Archives, Records of Eugene Black, Speeches, Folder 1769195, Box 209323B.

international development community in the power of education to modernize, Westernize, economize and civilize the world.¹⁸⁴

Not coincidentally, that very same year, 1959, Theodore Schultz wrote an article on his notion of human capital, arguing that “a much more comprehensive concept of capital is required – one that will include human capital. Once we take this more comprehensive view, the central puzzle in our estimates of economic growth looks solvable.”¹⁸⁵ This faith in the savior-like quality of economic growth, and the incredible optimism in the concept of human capital was, of course, tempered by the very real fear at the time of what human technological knowledge had created and deployed in the prior decade, a theme that John F. Kennedy addressed in the very first lines of his inaugural address two years later, when he said: “The world is very different now. For man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life.”¹⁸⁶

Three years after Black’s speech to Macalester graduates, in September of 1962, he authorized the first Bank loan specifically targeted to the education sector through a \$5 million loan to support the building of six secondary schools in Tunisia, based on the idea that “the Bank... should be prepared to consider financing a part of the capital requirements of priority education projects designed to produce... trained manpower of the kinds and in the numbers

¹⁸⁴ As Urban describes it, “the life adjustment curriculum, with its goal of serving the needs of students living in a democracy, judged subjects on the basis of their social usefulness. For example, business arithmetic or business English were preferred to the more traditional versions of these two subjects, since these business oriented courses dealt with problems and issues that students would soon be facing in their adult lives.” Wayne Urban and Jennings Wagoner, *American Education: A History*, 4th ed. (New York: Routledge, 2009), 331-332.

¹⁸⁵ Theodore Schultz, “Investment in Man: An Economist’s View,” *Social Service Review* 33 (June 1959): 109-117, 117. It is interesting to note that Schultz felt compelled to address the ethical concerns of treating human beings as capital, arguing that “if by investing in themselves people enlarge the choices that they can exercise, it follows that this is one way of enhancing, rather than impairing, the role (welfare) of free men” (110). Schultz, of course, was not the only thinker theorizing on the connection between knowledge and the economy / economic growth. For a good overview of mid to late 20th century theories of knowledge, economics, and human capital, see Michael Peters, “Greening the Knowledge Economy: Ecosophy, Ecology and Economy,” *Economics, Management, and Financial Markets* 6 (2011): 11-38, 14-15.

¹⁸⁶ John F. Kennedy’s first inaugural address, January 20, 1961, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=8032>, accessed 3/6/2015.

needed to forward economic development in the member country concerned.”¹⁸⁷ A year later, in early 1963, the Bank established a permanent Education Department, a department which would go on to support over 1,500 projects (to date), representing a total investment in the education sector – from building schools, to training teachers, to affecting policy, to prioritizing spending, to building institutions of higher education, and so much more – of over \$68 billion.¹⁸⁸ Such lending has made a significant impact on the way education has been envisioned, managed, planned, taught, and spoken about all over the world today.

While Bank education lending originated in 1962, it had taken many years for the Bank to get to the point of deciding to invest in education. Indeed, as I will discuss in this chapter, the story goes back to 1944, when delegates from 44 nations gathered in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, to agree upon a new global economic order which would create the World Bank. It was at Bretton Woods that the foundations were laid for a new global economic order to emerge.

How is it that a bank that is sustained by private investment comes to be involved in public education discourse and public schooling practice? The answer to this question is far from clear, considering the Bank’s uneasy position as a seemingly public institution devoted primarily to meeting the interests of private capital, and also considering the lack of full access to the Bank’s records on the subject.¹⁸⁹ While many general histories of the World Bank exist, and there is an emerging literature on the Bank’s role in education today, as discussed in Chapter One, there is a gap in the literature on the foundations of the material and intellectual history of

¹⁸⁷ October 1963 memorandum from President George Woods entitled “Proposed Bank/IDA Policies in the Field of Education,” *The World Bank, 1974 Education Sector Working Paper*, 49.

¹⁸⁸ World Bank website, “Learning for All: World Bank 2010 Sector Strategy,” http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EDUCATION/Resources/ESSU/Education_Strategy_4_12_2011.pdf, accessed 2/2/2012.

¹⁸⁹ On this point, see, for example, Marcia Annisette, “The True Nature of the World Bank,” *Critical Perspectives on Accounting* 15 (2004): 303-323.

the Bank's role in education, and how this foundation relates to a shifting view of the public within the landscape of the GKE.¹⁹⁰

This chapter begins to fill these gaps, by exploring archival records¹⁹¹ within and outside of the World Bank in the period between 1944 and 1963, in order to begin to tell the story of how it came to be that education landed on the radar of the World Bank, and the implications of this shift for global educational rhetoric. A key theme that emerges in examining the historical foundations of the World Bank's involvement in education is the muddled concept of the public that runs throughout the narrative. The transition of notions of the public from national to international with the founding of the World Bank in 1946, the question of whether the Bank itself is a public institution or not, and the question of what influence the Bank has had – and continues to have – on public educational discourse are all major aspects of the story. Within these themes, the question of how one tells the history of public education policy that emanates from an organization that is neither entirely public nor that explicitly makes policy looms in the background. With the founding of a transnational institution empowered to make loans to developing countries, combined with the eventual move to invest in education using the work of human capital economists¹⁹² to legitimize such investments (in an era when education came to be tied to national defense, de-colonization, and international development), the seeds of the GKE were planted.

¹⁹⁰ See Jones, *World Bank Financing of Education*; Phillip Jones, *Education, Poverty and the World Bank* (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2006); Kapur, et al., *The World Bank*; Ngaire Woods, *The Globalizers: The IMF, The World Bank, and Their Borrowers*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006); Katherine Marshall, *The World Bank: From Reconstruction to Development to Equity* (New York: Routledge, 2008); Eric Toussaint, *The World Bank: A Critical Primer* (London: Pluto Press, 2008).

¹⁹¹ One of the challenges for the historian doing archival work at the World Bank is that access to materials is relatively restricted, as discussed in Chapter One. In addition, the archival materials are not categorized under the subject heading "education," making it difficult to find all of the appropriate materials related to education.

¹⁹² For example, see Theodore Schultz, "Investment in Human Capital," *The American Economic Review* LI (March 1961), 1-17; J. Douglas Brown and Frederick Harbison, *High-Talent Manpower for Science and Industry* (Industrial Relations Section, Princeton University), 1957; and Gary Becker, *Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis, with Special Reference to Education* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964).

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first examines the time period between 1944 and 1959, when the Bank was explicitly not involved in education, and yet there were many events happening, intellectual and material, that would portend educational investment in the 1960s. The second section examines the time period between 1960 and 1963, when the Bank first began publicly talking about the need for educational financing, through the Bank's first loan for education (in September 1962), and ending with the Bank opening a Department of Education in early 1963. The third and final section is a reflection on the challenges facing the historian of education when constructing this narrative, challenges which arise at least partially from thinking through the concept of the public and the ways in which this concept was shifting in the middle of the last century. Finally, as I noted in Chapter One, this dissertation draws on primary sources from archival research at the World Bank in Washington, D.C., as well as from the extensive (and growing) online archives at the Bank's website. Public speeches from top executives, oral histories, annual reports, transcripts from meetings of the Board of Governors of the time, the founding documents of the International Development Association (IDA), and the initial loan documents from the Bank's first investments in education from the 1940s to the 1960s are relied upon to construct this narrative. Additionally, this chapter utilizes important secondary literature on the Bank, its involvement in education, the Bretton Woods conference, globalization, and public sphere theorists. Regarding the primary sources, there are certainly challenges to accessing fully the archival records available on this subject. While the Bank's archivists could not have been more helpful, the policies in place for accessing archival records make it difficult to find and examine all of the proper sources for any particular topic. As an institution created by international treaty, there is no Freedom of Information Act related to the Bank, which means that there is no public process for requesting documents.

Building the Machine that Came to Be Homo Economicus: 1944 – 1959

*We and other nations of the western world first showed man that there was an alternative to poverty; we demonstrated this by promoting the spread of science and technology and the radical idea that man can have at least some say over his own destiny. In the process we upset, more or less completely, all the traditional societies of the world and made it impossible for people there to continue to live in poverty or to leave to others the management of their affairs without feeling that they were losing their national, racial and individual self-respect.*¹⁹³

In the summer of 1944, as the Second World War was nearing its end, the Allied nations, optimistic after important victories on the coast of Normandy and in the seas around Japan, faced the prospect of a new world order. Having just lived through the consequences of a global economic system that crippled Germany with debt, restricted international trade, and no longer maintained stable monetary exchange rates tied to gold, new thinking was needed on global structures. Gathering for a conference in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, delegates from 44 Allied nations considered competing plans based on, respectively, the interests of the United States and the interests of Great Britain.¹⁹⁴ In the end, the delegates adopted a framework for a global economic system that began the shift from British to U.S. world dominance and a move away from the gold standard. This was the first global agreement that sought to move the world beyond purely national economic interests by setting global monetary standards that transcended nation-states. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) were created in the process. Bretton Woods is important to this story because it represented a transfer of certain powers from nations to a transnational organization, confusing the historically understood notion of the national government as the primary and sovereign defender of the public.¹⁹⁵ The transfer

¹⁹³ Eugene Black, *Commencement Address to the Graduates of Macalester College*, June 8, 1959. World Bank Archives.

¹⁹⁴ Woods, 16-17.

¹⁹⁵ On this point, see Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*. Originally published in 1944 – the year that delegates met in Bretton Woods – Polanyi argued that the transformation to a Market Society (which had its roots in 19th century

of this power, however, did not go entirely smoothly. As Simha points out, getting national governments to agree to the Bretton Woods accord was necessary for the World Bank and IMF to come into being, but this process was not easy.¹⁹⁶ In England, the Bank of England, *The Times*, and *The Economist* were all against the idea. In the U.S., many in Congress as well as those in the banking community opposed these new institutions. In India, as Simha documents, there was much debate about the worth of such an institution.¹⁹⁷ Despite these concerns, two years after the Bretton Woods conference, in 1946, the Bank opened for business.

Throughout the early years of the Bank's history in the late 1940s and 1950s, it focused mainly on capital projects related to "project loans" that "were seen as investments, mainly in physical assets that consisted primarily (in the early years) of infrastructure of one kind or another."¹⁹⁸ During these years, education was not a focus of the Bank, because it was seen as a "soft" area where analysis of the rate of return of loans was too difficult. While the connections between education and development were being made in other places – notably by economists¹⁹⁹ and UNESCO²⁰⁰ – in the 1950s, the Bank avoided discussion of investments in education for the time being. Nonetheless, the foundations for the Bank's involvement in education were being laid in multiple ways at this time.

England) created a society in which the economy was no longer embedded in social relations, but rather social relations became subservient to economic relations. In this shift, the inertia of Market Society was always toward being totally disembedded from society, and national governments came to play the role of protecting their publics from a total takeover by Market Society.

¹⁹⁶ S.L.N. Simha, *Fifty Years of Bretton Woods Twins (IMF and World Bank)*, (Chennai, India: Institute for Financial Management and Research, 1996), 62.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, Chapter Three.

¹⁹⁸ Kapur, et al., 8

¹⁹⁹ See Friedrich Hayek, "The Use of Knowledge in Society," *The American Economic Review* XXXV (September 1945): 519-530.

²⁰⁰ On the founding of UNESCO and, in particular, the politicization of literacy within Cold War ideology, see Charles Dorn and Kristen Ghodsee, "The Cold War Politicization of Literacy: Communism, UNESCO, and the World Bank," *Diplomatic History* 36 (April 2012): 373-398. As Dorn and Ghodsee argue, the World Bank was ultimately unwilling to invest in basic literacy in the early years, because such an investment was not considered directly related to economic goals. In contrast, Communist countries like Cuba, during the same time period, focused intensely (and relatively successfully) on increasing literacy.

During the 1940s and 1950s, the Bank was competing with private banks for capital, seeking its competitive advantage in the private markets of international banking. It found this niche in its self-promoted role as an international development bank with the ability to provide technical assistance to borrowing nations. In this role, the creators of the Bank were careful to make the Bank's work quantifiable from the beginning, as delegates to the Bretton Woods conference "took pains to ensure that the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) would avoid the kind of lending that had proliferated in the 1920s – lending for vague or non-specified purposes, often in the absence of evidence concerning the creditworthiness of borrowers."²⁰¹ In order to avoid a high rate of default on its loans, or unclear projects, the Bank involved itself from the beginning in policy discussions to insure the environment for its loans would set the project up for success. Such involvement meant that the Bank, from its founding, had a very large role in shaping national and international policy thinking on a range of issues. In so doing, it could conveniently market itself as an institution with expertise in development. In short, from the very beginning the Bank sold itself to capital investors as uniquely situated to provide development advice and assistance to developing nations, purportedly providing a global public good while also making money.

During this time period, then, the Bank's "basic objectives... evolved from a relatively straightforward focus on financing reconstruction to aspirations to act and speak for the poorest segments of society worldwide."²⁰² Originally the Bank was a transnational organization that was founded on Keynesian principles of maintaining "a system of fixed international exchange rates" and supplementing the "financing that depression- and war- shocked private financial

²⁰¹ Jones, *World Bank Financing of Education*, 15.

²⁰² Marshall. *The World Bank*, 23.

markets would provide toward the reconstruction of war damage.”²⁰³ Through time, however, the Bank evolved into an organization dedicated to fighting poverty across the developing world, thus broadening the scope and reach of the Bank’s influence. This ultimately laid the groundwork for investments in education. It also raised the question of the very meaning of the public itself. Now that the Bank was seeking to speak for the poorest segments of society, could it be considered a public institution? Did it represent the public interests of member nations, or among borrowing nations?

While the Bank was broadening its focus during the decade of the 1950s, it did not begin investing in education. These years were important to the story however, for several reasons. First of all, it was during this time that the Bank shifted from a focus on traditional bank lending procedures to an increased focus on technical assistance. In essence, this meant that the Bank was not only lending capital, but was also lending staff members (and the ideologies they carried with them about development) to increase the capacity of those who would ultimately sustain the Bank projects. Part of this shift meant that the Bank was beginning to find its niche as a repository for global professionals (many of whom were individuals looking for work after decolonization in Africa).²⁰⁴ The other aspect of this shift to technical education was the creation of the Economic Development Institute (EDI) – now called the World Bank Institute. The EDI was the Bank’s training department, and it came to be the theoretical wing of the Bank that produced papers on international development issues. The EDI eventually began pushing the Bank to think even more clearly about the limiting factor in making Bank loans successful, which it argued was oftentimes human, rather than financial, capital. The shift to the Bank

²⁰³ Kapur, et al., 9.

²⁰⁴ Phillip Jones, *World Bank Oral History Project*, “Transcript of an Interview with Duncan S. Ballentine,” November 21, 1986, World Bank online archives, <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/1986/11/17968661/transcript-oral-history-interview-duncan-s-ballantine-held-november-21-1986-vol-2-2-main-report>, accessed 10/19/2012.

portraying itself as having an inherent educational component is found in the early work of the EDI.²⁰⁵

Second, it was in 1949 that Eugene Black, quoted at the beginning of this chapter, came into office. Black was important because he was instrumental in moving the Bank to think about, and ultimately act upon, investing in education. While George Woods, the Bank's President after Black retired in 1963, did a great deal to further educational investments by the Bank, it was Black who made the all-important decision to begin this work. Black hired Duncan Ballentine, a historian from MIT, who ultimately became the first head of the Education Department of the Bank and had great influence on shaping early Bank educational policy.²⁰⁶ In addition, Black brought in Harvie Branscomb, then the Chancellor of Vanderbilt University, to consult on matters related to education.²⁰⁷ In the late 1950s, Black was laying the groundwork for Bank investment in education.²⁰⁸ In a letter from Hector Prud'homme (a World Bank staffer at the time working specifically with Iran) to Eugene Black on June 14, 1958, Prud'homme argued for increased focus on education and technical assistance, saying that the leaders in borrowing countries "will very gradually become able to use this 'know-how' that we have been offering."²⁰⁹ In addition to Bank staffers like Prud'homme, the EDI, along with other staff members of the Bank, were advocating for the Bank to consider training individuals who would

²⁰⁵ Jones, *World Bank Financing of Education*, 22.

²⁰⁶ It was Ballentine, for example, who was the lead author on the Bank's first Education Sector policy paper in 1971. Jones, *World Bank Oral History Project*, Duncan Ballentine oral history.

²⁰⁷ World Bank, *Summary Proceedings of the 1962 Annual Meetings of the Boards of Governors*, September 17-21, 1962, http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2010/08/03/000356161_20100803015012/Rendered/PDF/534020BR0board10Box345609B01PUBLIC1.pdf, accessed 4/3/2013, 9.

²⁰⁸ The late 1950s was also, not coincidentally, the time when economists were proposing new theories of human capital.

²⁰⁹ Letter from Hector Prud'homme to President Eugene Black, June 14, 1958, World Bank Archives, Correspondence 02 (M-W), File unit 1769157, Box # 209321B, Records of the Office of President Eugene Black.

help to sustain Bank projects: what good was building a bridge if you did not have people on the ground who were able to maintain that bridge over time?

Third, the 1950s were crucial to the story because it was during this time that human capital economic theories were first being discussed. Economists such as Theodore Schultz, Charles Meyers, Gary Becker, and Frederick Harbison were presenting their ideas about the importance of human capital to the economic development of any nation. In this model, rather than focusing on the quantifiable nature of material goods, human beings are seen as commodities with the capacity to grow in value, in which those with money can, and should, invest. As George Psacharopoulos, a major figure in Bank educational work since the 1970s, noted by invoking M.J. Bowman, this time period “witnessed what has been described in the economics literature as the ‘human investment revolution in economic thought.’”²¹⁰ Schultz was a crucial figure in this work, arguing in favor of thinking about human beings as capital.²¹¹ Not only did Schulz lead the way in terms of human capital theory, but he also was influential with Bank staff members, as he was “very frequently consulted by senior management on Bank policy matters throughout his career.”²¹² As one would expect, education at the Bank was an entirely economic matter, and thus the scholars influencing the Bank’s educational ideas – despite the fact that there were a multitude of educational scholars available at the time – were almost entirely economists.

Finally, this increased scope of the Bank’s work coincided, not coincidentally, with the de-colonization of nations throughout Africa and Asia. As Third World nations (as they were referred to at the time) were gaining independence from Europe, education systems were coming

²¹⁰ George Psacharopoulos, “The Profitability of Investment in Education: Concepts and Methods,” *Human Capital Development and Operations Policy Working Papers* (December, 1995), 1, quoting M.J. Bowman, “The Human Investment Revolution in Economic Thought,” *Sociology of Education* (Spring 1966): 117-37.

²¹¹ Theodore Schultz, “Investment in Human Capital,” *The American Economic Review* Vol. LI (March 1961): 1-17.

²¹² Jones, *World Bank Financing of Education*, 21.

to be seen as an important aspect of growth in the post-colonial era. The transfer of power from colonizers to independent nations in the developing world went through organizations like the World Bank, and institutions like education, thus muddying the waters of what sovereignty meant in these nations, considering their increasing debt to these organizations and the increasing focus on Western forms of education in these nations through the middle decades of the 20th century.²¹³

With all of this activity, by the late 1950s, education was slowly coming onto the radar of the Bank, but only in vague terms. Despite Black's mention of *homo economicus* during his speech to graduates of Macalester College in 1959,²¹⁴ an analysis of Black's other speeches from that year shows that he was only speaking about education in the broadest possible terms, with little hint that the Bank itself would become involved in education projects and policy.²¹⁵ Even though the Bank was still reluctant to speak publicly about investing in education, the influence of emerging scholarship on human capital is clear. This raises important questions about the interesting connection between scholarship on education and policy-making at the global level and the reciprocal relationship between human capital economists and the Bank. Did this scholarship follow from the Bank's need to justify its own desire to educate borrowing countries in order to be able to report successful (and profitable) project outcomes? Or did human capital theories simply happen to appear at the same time that the Bank was thinking about investing in education? The historical evidence is likely not sufficient to draw a conclusion either way, particularly since the question involves delving into intention, but these are questions that are

²¹³ For more on the influence of the World Bank's role in education as it relates to decolonization, see Jones, *Education, Poverty and the World Bank*.

²¹⁴ From the quote at the beginning of the chapter.

²¹⁵ See, for example, his remarks to the Economic Club of Detroit on April 20, 1959, and to the Annual Convention of the Savings Banks Association of New York in October, 1959. World Bank Archives, Records of President Eugene Black, Folder 1769195, Box 209323B.

certainly worth the attention of historians and others who are interested in the connection among knowledge production, education, and the interests of global institutions.

As the 1950s came to a close, the Bank was relying on the advice of economists in its earliest consideration of supporting education projects, while working to sell itself to private investors as a sound financial investment. Bank leadership realized that the Bank could succeed in raising capital by claiming expertise in advancing the global public good through international development. This would become an important point once the Bank explicitly began making loans for education projects in the early 1960s. To gain this expertise, the Bank needed research to support their ideas and to legitimize their position. This self-promotion of the Bank helping increase the public good as “a *public sector* institution,” as the first official history of the Bank claimed, is something that requires close scrutiny by historians of the Bank’s work.²¹⁶ Can the historian take at face value the assertion that the Bank itself is a public sector institution?

Furthermore, should the historian accept the fact that the Bank was an expert in international development? What role did academia play in legitimizing the institution of the World Bank? Considering the strong critiques that have been leveled at the Bank over the years for its miscues in terms of international development, these are questions that are very much worth asking.²¹⁷ With the Bank’s need to appease private capital markets, the fuzzy relationship between the conclusions of human capital economists and Bank interests, and the fact that Bank decisions about education (and archives related to these decisions) are hidden from public view, the question of whether the Bank itself, as well as its ideas and actions related to education, are public is an important one.

²¹⁶ Kapur, et al., 2. Italics in original.

²¹⁷ See, for example, Toussaint, *The World Bank*.

These questions become all the more important when considering the histories of education and schooling, which are dominated by themes of the public, in terms of access, control, financing, and so much more. By the end of the 1950s, several factors were converging that would lead the Bank to become actively involved in education. First, new human capital theories were being offered by some economists, with more specific concern for analyzing the rate of return to investments in human capital. Second, the Bank was beginning to have a need to protect its private credit rating in order to raise additional capital, and to need protection from, but also involvement in, the least developed nations. Third, deficiencies in borrowing countries' capacities to manage Bank projects were being posited. And finally, President Black, in the 1950s, was coming around to the idea that the Bank should invest in education, particularly secondary education, in order to provide human capital stocks for vocational productivity. While it would take until 1963 for the Bank to take action in the education sector, the 1940s and 1950s were key in establishing the justification for the Bank to expand its focus and reach into education and educational rhetoric.

The Marriage of Homo Economicus and Education: 1960 – 1963

*Educational expenditures serve social and cultural, as well as economic, objectives. For purposes of determining whether the Bank / IDA should finance a given project in the education sector, however, I believe that only economic factors should be taken into consideration.*²¹⁸

In a lecture delivered at Oxford University on March 3, 1960, Eugene Black publicly mentioned education, saying that international development requires a commitment to “a liberal supply of technical education, liberally spread among the population.”²¹⁹ The notion of technical

²¹⁸ The World Bank, Memo from World Bank President George Woods. Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 1963, Presidential Records of Eugene Black, Speeches 02, Folder A19920941, Box 209323B.

²¹⁹ The Cyril Foster Lecture, delivered by Eugene Black at Oxford University, Oxford, England, March 3, 1960, World Bank Archives, Presidential Records of Eugene Black, Speeches 02, Folder A19920941, Box 209323B.

education, mentioned here in 1960, is a key theme throughout the Bank's long history in educational projects, and speaks to the foundational assumptions the Bank had about the nature of knowledge and its belief in the need for professional knowledge to serve as fuel for the sole goal of economic growth. Such a commitment to education, however, was challenging within the confines of the IRBD, which gave loans to countries at competitive rates, and which needed to insure repayment of loans with profit in order to continue convincing investors to place their money with the World Bank. The field of education was considered a soft area for loans, meaning that its quantifiable results were more difficult to define, and thus proposed education loans were more challenging to translate into bankable projects.

In early 1960, the Bank found a solution to this problem in the establishment of the IDA, which was founded in order to provide credits (in effect, low interest loans and grants) to the world's least developed nations. The IDA served the dual purpose of allowing the Bank to make loans to the world's poorest countries while also maintaining the high credit rating of the Bank's original wing (IRBD) by shielding the IRBD from high risk loans, thereby ensuring continuing flows of capital investment for the Bank's main activities.²²⁰ With the opening of the IDA, the Bank now had more flexibility to consider loans to areas other than its traditional bricks and mortar focus, providing "capital on more liberal terms of repayment" able "to help finance a wider range of projects than the Bank."²²¹

The opening of IDA did not mean, however, that educational lending was unanimously supported by Bank staff. In its first year of operations, through June 1961, the IDA funded four specific projects, one each in Honduras, India, Sudan and Chile. Three of these loans were for building highways; the other was to build an irrigation system in Sudan – all very traditional

²²⁰ Jones, *World Bank Oral History Project*.

²²¹ International Development Association, First Annual Report, 1960-1961, World Bank Online Archives, <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/document-type>, accessed 10/2/2012.

Bank loans. Clearly the decision to branch out to different fields (like education) had not yet been made. Between July 1961 and September 1962, however, the Bank made its move into education, even as there was internal disagreement about this involvement. Leonard Rist, for example, as an economic director at the Bank during this time (and later a special representative for Africa), was an early advocate for educational lending. In the early 1960s, Rist communicated directly with President Black about the opportunities and challenges inherent in educational lending.²²² Others, however, were more skeptical, including the Assistant Director of the Technical Operations Department at the time, Hugh Ripman, as well as some members of the Board, including Dr. Otto Donner and Peter Lieftinck.²²³ The skeptics were instrumental in arguing that the Bank could not provide lending to the educational sector without exerting a good deal of leverage on borrowing countries. As Ripman explained it in a memo on September 11, 1962, in order to lend to the education system, the Bank would “need to be satisfied that the administration and organization of the educational system were going to be efficient. We should expect to find arrangements made for exercising a continuing planning function.”²²⁴

Despite the critiques of educational lending, by early 1962 it was clear that the IDA was moving toward educational lending, and with a clear vision of exerting some measure of control over how countries managed their educational systems. As Jones explains, “such senior management personalities as Iliff, Knapp, Aldewereld, Rist, Demuth, and Ripman circulated good quality papers among themselves, and had frequent discussions... on education.”²²⁵ It is worth noting that none of the senior management staff members involved in thinking about education in the early 1960s had significant educational backgrounds. They were lawyers

²²² Jones, *World Bank Financing of Education*, 33-34.

²²³ Jones, *World Bank Oral History Project*, Duncan Ballentine oral history, 6.

²²⁴ Hugh Ripman memorandum, September 11, 1962, quoted in Jones, *World Bank Financing of Education*, 35.

²²⁵ Jones, *World Bank Financing of Education*, 58.

(Demuth), bankers (Rist), members of the British civil service (Iliff), among other things, but not educational specialists. It was not until early 1963, with the hiring of Ricardo Diez Hochleitner, that the Bank finally hired a “professional education staffer,”²²⁶ although even that claim is rather dubious, considering that Diez Hochleitner was trained as an engineer. In addition, it is clear that the decision-making processes about education and educational lending at the Bank were neither public nor transparent, but rather were made behind closed doors, among a handful of senior leaders exchanging memos and papers on the topic. Educational ideologies and policies were being derived (and ultimately imposed on nations) in private, with consultation from economists and few others.

With all of this interest in education, it is unsurprising that Eugene Black began explicitly mentioning education in his public speeches in 1962, saying to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations in April of that year: “Before long we expect to be able to report more varied lending, particularly in the educational field, where we have been working on the preparation of projects in cooperation with UNESCO.”²²⁷ As discussion of education came to be more and more public, the central question that the Bank repeatedly asked in relation to education was one that Diez Hochleitner posed in a February 1963 memo: “what investments in specific education and training projects will contribute most to accelerate the processes of economic development?”²²⁸ This reduction of education to pre-determined economic ends is a key theme of the Bank’s evolving narrative on education, and one that assumes there is an easy answer to development through growth, and one that precludes alternative ends to education from being posited.

²²⁶ Ibid., 46.

²²⁷ Eugene Black’s Address to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, New York, April 24, 1962, World Bank Archives, Presidential Records of Eugene Black, Speeches 03, Folder 1769197, Box 209323B, 8.

²²⁸ Diez Hochleitner memo to senior management, February 1963, as quoted in Jones, *World Bank Financing of Education*, 46.

Despite this, there were alternative voices on education in the early 1960s, particularly from UNESCO, although these alternative voices were quickly silenced. Having been founded in November 1945 specifically to support the reconstruction of education and cultural systems after the war, UNESCO had taken the lead in advocating for educational support in developing nations. As Black mentioned, the Bank worked with UNESCO in the early 1960s to establish the key priorities of its educational lending. These priorities were much narrower than the early priorities of UNESCO, which saw education as an avenue for improved health, agriculture, the development of the arts and culture, citizenship, and international understanding – in addition to its role in economic development. The Bank, however, made clear that it would focus on education only to the extent that education served an economic purpose. In practice, this meant that the Bank would be focused in its early educational lending on “an expansion of vocational and technical education and training... and... an expansion of general secondary education, to provide middle-level manpower for government, industry, commerce and agriculture.”²²⁹

The partnership with UNESCO, combined with the opening of the IDA and the new economic thinking of the human capitalists, led the Bank to provide its first loan specific to the education sector in Tunisia in 1962. This loan funded the building of six schools in Tunisia – “a teacher’s training college, a secondary school emphasizing mathematics and technical courses, and a new secondary schools for girls.”²³⁰ In January, 1963, Eugene Black retired from the Bank, and the new President, George Woods, immediately set about to expand educational lending. He established an Education Division within the Technical Operations Department in January, approved an additional loan in December 1963 to Tunisia, and then four new loans in 1964, all

²²⁹ The World Bank, Memo from World Bank President George Woods, 1963, 1.

²³⁰ *IDA Annual Report*, 1962.

related to building and equipping schools. With the opening of the Education Department in 1963, the Bank was beginning to institutionalize education lending.

Thus, in the years between 1944 and 1963, a subtle but consequential shift occurred in global educational policy and rhetoric. In short, a transnational institution arose that needed to answer to, and help create, specific constituents, modes of communication, ideologies, and currencies. Shaped by a Cold War mentality, the process of de-colonization, emerging concepts of economic man, an optimistic sense that Western man was bringing a new mentality (of control over one's own destiny rather than retreat into an unknown fate) and the dogmatic belief in education tied to economic development alone, the World Bank was able to establish multiple, unchallenged precedents in educational thinking in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s – precedents that remain in effect in large measure today. Historically speaking, the ideology that connected economic man to education was catalyzed by the creation of an institution that had the means to spread this ideology relatively unchallenged. Whatever one thinks of the ideology of World Bank educational lending, the processes through which the creation of this ideology happened were not part of a transparent, democratic dialogue about the nature and function of education, development, or economic growth. Instead, it was the interests of a transnational institution answering to capital investors that shaped Bank educational lending in the developing world, and ultimately educational discourse around the globe.

In a very real sense, then, capital investors of this era shaped the way we think about education today, from the global level all the way down to the local level. This trickle-down ideology is hidden within a widely-held view of the Bank as an authoritative institution that is able to objectively expand global public goods through capital investment and technical assistance. One of the fundamental questions, however, is whose public is the Bank serving?

Did the Bank establish a new form of a global public by its very existence, one that legitimized itself by being above the fray in terms of national disputes and subjective claims? What role did the academy play in this legitimization? Was there emerging a new peaceful world order where benevolent educational opportunities would be offered to all, or was there emerging a post-colonial institution intent on intellectually re-colonizing the developing world?

The World Bank, the Landscape of the Global Knowledge Economy, and Publics

Basically we weren't a bank just in terms of wanting to lend money and get repaid with interest, but we were interested in the effects of our operations on the development of the country, and that development was going to be very much more affected by what the country did with the 90 percent of the resources that came from domestic sources or other financing agencies than by what it did with just the small percent, the small fraction, that came from us.²³¹

What happened between 1944 and 1963 that led the Bank to accept the ideas and optimism of human capital and manpower forecasting (and ignore the real dangers of technology) to such an extent that it was ready to loan money specifically to support education? For the historian of education, this question turns out to be quite problematic, considering the ambiguous position of the World Bank on the global stage, and the relative lack of sources. Because so few sources have been de-classified by the Bank, and because the process of de-classifying is onerous, the historical evidence is limited. From this, one might simply conclude that the Bank is a private institution, and, as such, will never be a subject about which a full historical accounting can or will be made. Perhaps this is why there is relatively little written about the Bank in the history of education. The problem with this conclusion, of course, is that

²³¹ World Bank oral history project, Interview with Richard Demuth, August 10, 1961, Assistant to the President, 1946; Assistant to the Vice President, 1947-1951; Director – Technical Assistance and Liaison Staff, 1951-1961; Director – Development Services Department, 1961-1973; Member of the President's Council, 1961-1973, 54, http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTARCHIVES/Resources/Richard_Demuth_Oral_History_Transcript_44_01.pdf, accessed 10/10/2012.

even if one believes that the Bank's archival records, governance structure, transparency policies, and funding sources are not public, the effects of its actions very much are, particularly in the field of public education. And, as the quote from Richard Demeuth above indicates, top executives at the Bank thought the Bank's work was more than just seeking private gain by lending money in order to make money. Thus, the public-ness of the Bank is an issue that goes beyond access to sources and into the realm of the material and discursive consequences of its work. In the global arena, what is public and what is private, anyway? Who legitimates and defends this global public? And where does the Bank fit in this conception?

Because historians of education tend to be focused on histories of education within the national framework, these questions might feel unimportant and settled. This is because, within this national framework, the traditional liberal model of the public sphere is often assumed. In this model, the public is conflated with the government that protects those things that we share (broadly speaking), and the private consists of social interactions, exchanges and markets that must be protected from this government. This, however, is the very model that limits the historian's analysis of an organization like the World Bank, not only by keeping the Bank's role in education off of the historical agenda, but also by restricting the analysis of the Bank's role in education to one of two positions: ideological critique on one side (the Bank as neoliberal, post-colonial hegemonic empire) or triumphant defense (the Bank as savior) on the other. If, on the one hand, the public is the national government and policy is made only by such governments, and, on the other, the World Bank is not a nation with the authority to create and enforce policy, how does the historian tell a public policy history when the subject is neither public nor policy?

In order to answer this question, educational policy histories that take as their subjects global institutions like the World Bank must seek new ways to define and demarcate the public

and private arenas. In the absence of doing so, the historical narrative will be prefigured in ways that do not allow for a robust and rigorous historical literature on the Bank's role in education to develop. On the one hand, assuming the Bank is a public policy-making institution grants the Bank, and, more broadly, the emerging network of transnational organizations, a large measure of public legitimacy and efficacy in identifying and applying policy solutions to "public" problems. In this case, the historical narrative – either the policy history, or the historical narrative of the Bank's influence in a particular country – would quite likely assume a progressive, benevolent transnational organization like the Bank to be the logical next step in the historical evolution from local to global forms of governance. What happened between 1944 and 1962, in this conception, is that the Bank identified an urgent global public need for strengthening education systems in the developing world (of the type outlined in Coombs' 1968 book *The World Crisis in Education*),²³² and decided to invest in order to help these nations develop their human capital. Any analysis of the Bank's effects on an education sector in a particular country would likely be forced to rely on the Bank's own metrics, and such a historical narrative might be open to critique for being too concerned with the center, and too unconcerned with the periphery.²³³

On the other hand, assuming the Bank is a private, non-policy making body would likely pre-figure the historical narrative from a position of critique: the public-ness of the Bank would be seen as neither legitimate nor effective, and thus the Bank would be subject to criticism for meddling in the arena of global and national policy when it had no authority to do so. In this case, the historical narrative might include characterizations of the Bank as a hegemonic,

²³² Philip H. Coombs, *The World Educational Crisis: A Systems Analysis* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 99.

²³³ This critique is interesting, considering that all attempts to explore the history of the Bank's involvement in education will necessarily involve an exploration of the global "periphery" (the developing world), since the Bank is exclusively involved in these countries, particularly in terms of material loans.

transnational organization causing the historically evolving public sphere to be overtaken by an insidious neo-liberalism. Under this view, what happened between 1944 and 1962 is that the Bank decided to destructively commodify both the human being and knowledge itself, prioritizing the possibility of knowledge over its consequences, and thus the private realm of opportunity over the public sphere of consequence. Such a historical narrative, of course, might be open to criticism for being too “ideological” in nature, and lacking the balance, intellectualism, and relative objectivity necessary for a rigorous historical account.

Finally, in either case – whether criticizing the Bank for meeting only the interests of private capitalists, or praising the Bank for being a pioneer in raising global public educational standards – where does the historian locate the various publics that are created by the Bank in the nations where it is involved? How does one position *homo economicus* within the global public arena? When can the historian ascribe historical agency to this figure, particularly if the ideology of the Bank’s educational ideals is so strong that such agency might be erased, in much the same way that Black worried about creating robots in the process of educating populations in the developing world? Over and above the suggestion of making an argument for the Bank to make its archives more accessible, what is the historian of education to do? How to approach the Bank in a way that is historically grounded, and yet theoretically clear in one’s concept of the public and private – concepts that helped to construct the Bank?

To begin to answer some of these questions, first and foremost, historians of the Bank’s education work may seek to negotiate their way into a middle ground between the apologists for the Bank’s role in education and those who would criticize it. The building of six secondary schools in Tunisia beginning in 1962 cannot be all bad, but it raises important questions about education and national sovereignty within a post-colonial landscape, and the ways in which the

Bank's focus on education for economic development narrows our global perspective on both the optimism and threats that knowledge and its reproduction presents to us in our time.

Second, because the concept of the public is increasingly of interest to critical educational scholars, public sphere theory can be extremely helpful to the historian of education.²³⁴ Indeed, the World Bank's involvement in education and schooling is an exemplary representation of the oft-unstated confusion that exists around the terms public and private in our early 21st century globalized world. This confusion, at its core, is located in the overlay of increasingly fixed and antiquated understandings of the terms "public" and "private" that emerged from modern political and economic thinking (and that were fueled by both liberal and neoliberal discourse) upon a rapidly globalizing landscape. In this new global landscape, for example, our very conception of justice itself remains bound by the notion of national citizenship, and our rights and responsibilities are explicated through national Constitutions, laws, customs, and norms – even in a world where national borders are endangered.²³⁵

Finally, without consideration of the public and the private in relation to the World Bank, the historical narrative will continue to be dominated by economic theory,²³⁶ which posits a public that is entirely born from, and dependent upon, a private sphere of individual liberty and free markets.²³⁷ The primacy of the private realm in our times – in both material reality and

²³⁴ See Higgins and Abowitz, "What Makes a Public School Public?" and Saltman, "Putting the Public Back in Public Schooling."

²³⁵ See Martha Nussbaum, *Frontiers of Justice: Disability, Nationality, and Species Membership* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2007).

²³⁶ Reducing all critical analysis of education to matters of economic concern. See, for example, Gradstein, et al., *The Political Economy of Education*.

²³⁷ This is a position that is grounded in classical liberalism and social contract theory, which posit the human being as inherently interested in pursuing only his or her self-interest, and thus in need of government to lightly manage the connections and communities between people, while also firmly protecting the rights of individuals to pursue these self-interests.

discourse²³⁸ – is something that has been fully enabled by the Western philosophical tradition and Western institutional forms, and yet requires challenges from the very same. Without an understanding of the reductionist economic view of education and all of the assumptions about the public and private sectors contained in this view, new historical narratives of education will be stuck in the classical liberalist position that bounds the world within a Westphalian nation-state system, allowing global actors to fully define the global educational landscape on their own terms.

Summary Thoughts

In constructing a historical narrative of the World Bank’s initial involvement in education, several key points emerge. First, the very definition of the public seems to have shifted with the Bretton Woods agreements and the founding of the World Bank, which led ultimately to important implications for education. The very existence of the World Bank suggests that we live in a different era from the one where the public was defined as the national government, and the private was defined as free markets. This shift occurred not only in a transfer of some sovereignty from nations to global institutions, but also in the ways in which public discourses about social institutions (like education) were constructed and disseminated. Therefore, and second, this changing definition of the public included both a retreat of national sovereignty and a changing definition of the public for both institutions and ideologies. The Bank positioned itself as public, but answered to (and continues to answer to) investors seeking private profits in a non-democratic system of representation. Its educational ideologies mirrored

²³⁸ Evidence of the primacy of the private realm is everywhere – from the power of multi-national private corporations, to the newly activist legal tradition of the Supreme Court in the *Citizens United* case, to the prison-industrial complex, to the glaring inequalities and stark centralization of wealth in our global world made possible by a system that David Harvey calls “accumulation by dispossession.” David Harvey, *The New Imperialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), Chapter 4.

this positioning by appearing to promote public knowledge (legitimized by the academy and, in particular, economics departments) while being created mostly in private. And thus, third, the main themes that many national policymakers draw on to speak about education today (almost always related to competing in the GKE, as we shall see) were created in non-public ways, behind closed doors, in the middle of the 20th century, at a time and a place very different from ours. Thus it is in this era – the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s – that the World Bank’s increasing interest in the education sector around the world came to create, disseminate, universalize and cement the apparently common sense relationship between education and economics, laying the conceptual foundation for the Global Knowledge Economy. While there was much good that came out of this shift (as well as much to be questioned), the central and complicated questions of Eugene Black’s speech to Macalester graduates in 1959 – of how best to educate, of the meaning and maximization of economic growth, of the role of knowledge and technology in this growth, of engineering humanity to certain ends – remain unanswered. This is perhaps because the public, at a global level, has not been clarified, and therefore cannot be consulted.

In the next chapter, I explore the Bank’s involvement in higher education since 1963. I draw on the themes of an increasingly intangible public that, historically, laid the groundwork for the rising authority of the Bank over the discourse and practice of higher education and knowledge production through the creation of a new global profession of higher education economists, and how this shift has led to global educational discourse that is increasingly planned centrally, in contradiction to an overall suspicion of central planning by economists, who created in the past thirty years a seemingly uncontested belief in the power of free markets.

Chapter Four

World Bank Investing in Higher Education, 1963 – 2012

*The world economy is changing as knowledge supplants physical capital as the source of present (and future) wealth.*²³⁹

Since the earliest days of the World Bank's involvement in education in the early 1960s, higher education has been on the agenda, initially seen as an investment not worth making, and later seen as a central driver of economic growth worthy of substantial investment. Throughout its history, the Bank has exerted significant influence over higher education policy and financing in developing nations. This influence has been haphazard over time, reflecting the shifting priorities of the Bank through the decades that have led to major shifts in investment in higher education. When the Bank supported vocational education in the 1950s and 1960s, so did many developing nations. When the Bank suddenly de-prioritized higher education in the 1980s, so too did many developing nations, thus creating significant underfunding of higher education for years.²⁴⁰ Now that the Bank has come to prioritize higher education lending in its rhetoric – justified through the dogmatic belief of many Bank leaders that knowledge is a global commodity and a global public good that drives growth – many developing nations are again turning their attention to the importance of higher education.²⁴¹ Overall, thinking about higher education has been moored directly to economic thinking, such that there has never been much room for thinking about educational issues outside of economic ones. This is in line, of course, with the concept of the Bank as a private finance institution.

²³⁹ The World Bank, Task Force on Higher Education and Society, *Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise* (Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 2000), 9.

²⁴⁰ See, for example, Akilagpa Sawyerr, "Challenges Facing African Universities: Selected Issues," *African Studies Review* 47 (April 2004): 1-59.

²⁴¹ See, for example, Peters, "Classical Political Economy and the Role of Universities in the New Knowledge Economy."

Thus, from the beginning of its educational lending in 1962 until the mid-1990s, the Bank focused a great deal of its resources on primary education, based on a purely economic rate-of-return analysis which argues that it is more efficient to invest in primary education than in higher education. This view was not, of course, shared by everyone at the Bank; some argued for increased investment in higher education based on the notion that educational lending must be evaluated not just for economic efficiency, but also for the social and public value produced.²⁴² However, this argument, suggesting that economic rates-of-return should not be the only criteria for analyzing educational lending, was originally dismissed by many economists until new theories about the importance of knowledge for economic growth emerged. With the increasingly prevalent argument that knowledge is a global public good,²⁴³ and that knowledge is a crucial driver of economic growth, the Bank has increased its attention on higher education in the past two decades, after several decades of neglect, particularly in low income countries.²⁴⁴ As Robertson argues, “the knowledge-economy meta-narrative promoted by the Bank and other international agencies not only provides the legitimacy for the Bank and other agencies to move into higher education, but the crisis in the sector as a result of three decades of under-funding has generated a set of conditions that demand an urgent response.”²⁴⁵

The Bank today is a significant player both in convincing nations of the urgent and inevitable need to become knowledge-based societies, and in producing and disseminating knowledge for and about higher education. In terms of influencing nations through the conditions imposed on Bank loans, the Bank has a long history of financial investment in higher

²⁴² See Stephen Heyneman, “The History and Problems in the Making of Education Policy at the World Bank, 1960-2000,” *International Journal of Educational Development* 23 (2003): 315-337.

²⁴³ See Joseph E. Stiglitz, “Knowledge as a Global Public Good,” *Global Public Goods* 1 (1999): 308-326.

²⁴⁴ Here I use the income categories, created by the Bank, in full recognition that the ability to categorize is one crucial aspect of authority exhibited by the Bank, but also fully realizing that there is not an alternative categorization model currently existing in development discourse.

²⁴⁵ Robertson, “Market Multilateralism,” 12.

education. Since its initial loans to support higher education in Bangladesh, Pakistan and the Philippines in 1964, the Bank has consistently, if unevenly, invested in higher education – with a total of 511 total projects initiated since 1964 listed on the Bank’s website as of October 2013.²⁴⁶ While the dominant theme in higher education lending at the Bank for decades was the lack of a strong return on investment in this work (leading to decades of neglect of the entire sector),²⁴⁷ increasingly the Bank has come to prioritize knowledge as the leading driver of economic growth in the 21st century, and the Bank has therefore encouraged additional support for higher education. The Bank has also become a major producer and distributor of global knowledge, as mentioned in Chapter One.

Despite this active involvement over the years in producing knowledge and encouraging nations to do the same, there remains much work still to be done to trace the history of the Bank’s work in higher education. Part of the reason for the lack of focus on higher education is that the Bank has never consistently focused on higher education as a clear priority area. Indeed, if one were to rely only on the Bank’s official Education Sector papers, such lack of attention to the Bank’s involvement in higher education would make sense, as none of these documents clearly prioritizes higher education. With the global community focused first on narrow technical education, and more recently on increasing basic literacy and primary school enrollments since 1990,²⁴⁸ the Bank has always kept higher education in the background to what

²⁴⁶ As found in a search of the Bank’s Projects using the search term “tertiary education” in “Projects and Operations – Projects & Operations Advanced Search,” World Bank website, <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/PROJECTS/0,,menuPK:51563~pagePK:95873~piPK:95910~theSitePK:40941,00.html>, accessed 10/12/2013.

²⁴⁷ Mundy, “Retrospect and Prospect,” 483, 489ff.

²⁴⁸ See the *1990 World Declaration on Education for All* Agreement in Jomtien, Thailand. This agreement, which was discussed and adopted by representatives from over 150 governmental and non-governmental organizations, which set targets only for primary school education. See also the *2000 United Nations Millennium Summit*, which created the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) for 2015. The second MDG states that “by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling.” See the United

it has seen as the more urgent (and more bankable) project of increasing primary school enrollment. While there is a growing literature on the Bank's involvement in higher education,²⁴⁹ there is much more to be done to explicitly explore the historical development of this involvement. The Bank's higher education activities have thus far evaded sustained historical analysis on par with the importance that higher education now plays in Bank rhetoric about economic growth. While there are certainly important exceptions,²⁵⁰ on the whole the Bank's lack of prioritization of higher education through the years has been one cause of the gap in the literature.

Thus, a historical view of the Bank can help to bring its work into the public realm, not only by exploring the public nature of the Bank and by the various publics that it encourages through its lending, but also by helping to shape a public history of the Bank as an institution and as a producer of knowledge. As the Bank has moved, in turn, from a reliance on manpower forecasting to rate-of-return analyses to knowledge-based growth strategies, its educational policy work has relied more and more on intangible capital (knowledge and research as the key driver of economic growth) as a global public good over tangible capital (physical infrastructure, equipment, etc.).²⁵¹ As I have already argued, the broad history of the Bank reflects a shift from focusing on physical infrastructure to one focused on epistemic infrastructure.²⁵²

The central theme of this chapter is that the Bank's increasing focus on the intangible and unbounded commodity of knowledge as a driver of economic growth has led to the creation of a

Nations Millennium Goals website on education: <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/education.shtml>, accessed 8/13/2013.

²⁴⁹ See, for example, Collins and Rhoads, "The World Bank, Support for Universities."

²⁵⁰ For example, Joel Samoof and Bidemi Carrol, "From Manpower Planning to the Knowledge Era: World Bank Policies on Higher Education in Africa," UNESCO Forum on Higher Education, Research and Knowledge, July 15, 2003.

²⁵¹ W. Livingstone and David Guile, eds., *The Knowledge Economy and Lifelong Learning: A Critical Reader* (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2012), xv.

²⁵² See, for example, Mehta, "The World Bank and Its Emerging Knowledge Empire."

global imaginary, the GKE, in which the global public space is correspondingly intangible and unbounded, and constructed only as a driver of economic growth. This intangible, unbounded, and economically single-minded public is created from above through the phenomenon of what David Hawkes calls the “dictatorship of representation.”²⁵³ The dictatorship of the GKE has co-opted the concept of the public in the service of private interest. This is more than the neoliberal move; while it builds upon the neoliberalism of the late 20th century, it is substantively different in that it no longer critiques the inherent inefficiency of the public sphere vis-à-vis the private realm. Instead, the GKE outwardly praises the public and yet inwardly completely redefines it in the interests of private economic rationality. Thus, rather than a simple continuation of neocolonial, neoliberal views throughout its history, I argue that the Bank has placed itself into a new historical time period that is decidedly different from the one in which it originated. Within the landscape of the GKE, the rising authority of the Bank over educational discourse has been enabled. Historical analysis of the Bank’s work in higher education is one fruitful way to explore this shift.

This chapter analyzes the Bank’s work through an exploration of the Bank’s official statements and publications that emerged from the Education Sector in the 1960 through 2012. It begins with an examination of the challenges inherent in analyzing World Bank policy and its historical development, before moving on to a discussion of the notion of the public as it relates to the World Bank and its role in higher education. The chapter then traces the historical development of the Bank’s work in higher education within this framework, beginning with its adherence to a traditional understanding of the public as the state and its role in the

²⁵³ This theme is expanded upon in David Hawkes, *Ideology 2nd Edition* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 3.

industrialization and modernization process, and shifting toward a newly developed theory of the public based on a historical narrative that posits the GKE imaginary.

The Challenges of Examining World Bank Higher Education Policy

Despite a growing literature on the Bank's involvement in education in general, there remains much work still to be done to explore the Bank's involvement in higher education – particularly by historians. Within the context of the Bank's overall educational work, as Samoff and Carroll make clear, there are several challenges to doing historical work on Bank higher education involvement.²⁵⁴ The first is that it is very challenging to define what constitutes World Bank policy. As they argue, there is an inherent tension between “policy statements and annual allocations”²⁵⁵ – the written documents that communicate the Bank's approach to higher education on the one hand, and the actual loans provided by the Bank on the other. In the end, Samoff and Carroll make a compelling case to focus on both, and not to discredit “key ideas and their uses and influence... whether or not those ideas have been officially designated as policy.”²⁵⁶ In light of the growing literature on the imperialism of economic thinking over educational policy,²⁵⁷ and given the simple fact that the Bank is a global economic institution populated by economists, the Bank's influence over education obviously extends beyond the interactions between the institution itself and nation-states. The current chapter, therefore, takes the Bank's policy statements as significant in their own right and as highly influential over

²⁵⁴ Joel Samoff and Carrol Bidemi, *Conditions, Coalitions and Influence: The World Bank and Higher Education in Africa*, A paper prepared for the Annual Conference of the Comparative and International Education Society Salt Lake City, 8–12 March 2004, 7.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 7.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁷ See, for example, Stephanie Allais, “‘Economics Imperialism,’ Education Policy and Educational Theory,” *Journal of Education Policy* 27, no.2 (March 2012): 253-274; and Ben Fine and Dimitris Milonakis, *From Economics Imperialism to Freakonomics: The Shifting Boundaries Between Economics and Other Social Sciences* (London: Routledge, 2009).

global educational discourse, even while recognizing the complex interactions between the Bank and nations, and the important work being done on global policy borrowing and lending.²⁵⁸

The second challenge is the lack of clarity about the very nature of the Bank itself, discussed already in the Bank's uneasy existence between public and private realms. As Samoff and Carroll argue, the Bank, beyond its complexities as an umbrella institution under which five organizations reside, actually has three main components. It is, at one and the same time, "a bank... a development agency, and... a development research institute."²⁵⁹ Each of these components of the Bank vies for power. The Bank, as a bank, primarily loans money to make money on these investments. The Bank, as a development agency, seeks to help nations develop economically. The Bank, as a development research institute, seeks to become the authority and repository of global knowledge on a wide range of issues, data sets, and policy prescriptions. Interestingly, the first two categories relate generally to existing understandings of the public and the private: the Bank as bank advances private ends, and the Bank as development agency advances public ends. The Bank as a research development institute, however, does not fit easily into existing understandings of the public and private. Exploring this unclear nature of the World Bank outside of the traditional context of public-private understanding is a critical aspect of my exploration of the Bank's involvement in higher education. If one writes a political history of the World Bank, what deliberations can and should be considered? The transparency that is assumed in the creation of federal legislation in the United States, for example, just does not exist in World Bank policy. In looking at the Bank, there are no clear procedures, or transparent deliberative bodies, to examine.

²⁵⁸ See, for example Gita Steiner-Khamsi, "The Economics of Policy Borrowing and Lending: A Study of Late Adopters," *Oxford Review of Education* 32 (November 2006): 665-678.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 7.

The third challenge is that the Bank has spent the great majority of its history downplaying the role of investing in higher education, based upon a strict adherence to rate-of-return analyses. Under this analysis, higher education provides an extremely low rate of return when compared to investments in primary and secondary education. While the early years of the Bank's work in education in the 1960s saw investment in higher education, all of this was focused on basic manpower, which involved lending for vocational, technical and agricultural colleges and universities. By the 1970s, higher education took a backseat as human capital economists and rate-of-return analyses dominated Bank thinking. For over two decades, from the mid-1970s to the mid-1990s, the Bank prioritized investments in primary education over higher education. As Jones states, "from 1980 onwards, the Bank had been engaged on nothing less than a crusade to shift public monies from higher education to primary education."²⁶⁰ In the 1990s, with the emergence of the Bank as a Knowledge Bank and newly emerging theories of GKE,²⁶¹ the Bank came to use the "meta-narrative" of the knowledge-economy to provide "legitimacy for the Bank and other agencies to move into higher education."²⁶² As a consequence, most of the literature on Bank involvement in higher education focuses on the period after the mid-1990s.²⁶³

Furthermore, much of the work on the Bank's higher education involvement is embedded within larger studies of the Bank's educational work in general. Phillip Jones, for example, who has completed two important books on World Bank education lending, gives very little space to higher education in either book.²⁶⁴ This work is obviously important, because higher education

²⁶⁰ Phillip Jones, 2007.

²⁶¹ Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development, *The Knowledge-Based Economy*.

²⁶² Susan L. Robertson, "'Producing' Knowledge Economies," 12.

²⁶³ See, for example, Peters, "Greening the Knowledge Economy," and Olssen and Peters, "Neoliberalism, Higher Education and the Knowledge Economy."

²⁶⁴ See Jones, *World Bank Financing of Education*; and Jones, *Education, Poverty and the World Bank*.

is only a part of the overall educational strategy and thus analyzing it within this larger context is crucial. However, the Bank's history in higher education lending and thinking must be considered in its own right, because it influences not only Bank education policy generally, but also discourses about knowledge and its production.

In addition to the lack of specific focus on the history of higher education at the Bank, as mentioned previously, there is a dearth of historical studies of the World Bank and international development in general.²⁶⁵ As Woolcock, et al. point out, "most historians and their discipline are absent from development policy debates, despite everyone putatively agreeing that 'history matters.'"²⁶⁶ And yet, history is a crucial aspect of development policy because, as Cowen points out, far too often time is a fixed variable in comparative histories of education, leading to histories that rely far too much on a notion of the linearity and progress of time. Instead, the discipline of history needs "complex notions of time as well as changed notions of social space"²⁶⁷ such that "the historical perspective and associated research can frame our understanding of development problems in ways that would not be obvious in the absence of such an understanding."²⁶⁸ After laying the theoretical groundwork for, and exploring the historical foundation of, the World Bank, this chapter shifts to analyzing the Bank's work in higher education by examining how the Bank has positioned higher education within its broader thinking about education since 1963.

²⁶⁵ See Michael Woolcock, Simon Szreter, and Vijayendra Rao, "How and Why Does History Matter for Development Policy?" *Journal of Development Studies* 47, no. 1 (January 2011): 70-96.

²⁶⁶ Woolcock, et al., 71.

²⁶⁷ Robert Cowen, "Moments of Time: A Comparative Note," *History of Education* 31 (2002): 413-424, 424.

²⁶⁸ Woolcock et al., 84.

Knowledge for Industry Within the Boundaries of A Tangible Public: 1963-1995

Since the earliest days of the World Bank's involvement in the education sector in the early 1960s, higher education has been on the agenda. Three of the earliest Bank loans to education (in Bangladesh, Pakistan, and the Philippines – all in 1964) involved loans to build and equip and increase the capacity of colleges of agriculture.²⁶⁹ Since these initial loans, the Bank has initiated over 500 projects to support higher education around the world. Between 1963, when the Bank made its first loan for higher education, and 1996, when the Bank began a major shift in defining itself as a Knowledge Bank and, not coincidentally, began investing in higher education as the source of knowledge production for a GKE, the Bank's work in higher education can be characterized as supporting industry for growth. In this way, the Bank treated higher education as a means to an end: increasing manpower in specific areas of the economy to help modernize and industrialize the economies of developing nations.²⁷⁰

This time period can be categorized within the confines of traditional understandings of the public and the private spheres. By “traditional,” I mean to suggest that the public is bounded by national borders, and the private exists within those national borders as an engine for economic growth. Such a view of the public and private is seen in how and why the Bank is investing in higher education, and also in the Bank's own rhetoric.

The first Bank White Paper on education expressed the Bank's early commitment to secondary and higher education as a form of practical training to increase manpower.²⁷¹

²⁶⁹ See World Bank Education # P009341, “Education Project in Bangladesh,” and World Bank Education Project # P010029, “West Pakistan Education Project,” and project ID P004412, “Education Project – College of Agriculture” in the Philippines, World Bank education website, <http://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/education>, accessed 10/3/2014.

²⁷⁰ This position is similar to the thinking behind the Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862 in the United States, suggesting an evolutionary view of history in which U.S. historical development in the 19th century was grafted onto developing nations in the 20th century.

²⁷¹ The World Bank, *Education Sector Working Papers* (Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 1971).

According to the data in this White Paper, of the 57 educational loans made between 1963 and 1971, 72% of these loans went to support secondary education, and 23% went to higher education.²⁷² Primary education, in the beginning, was not a major factor, receiving less than 2% of the Bank's overall funding during this time period. Because these were the early years of the Bank's involvement in education, "the size of [its] education loans [was] small in comparison with most other sectors."²⁷³ Of the loans that did go to the education sector, the majority of funds invested went to construction and building costs: two-thirds for construction and one-third for equipment. Very little technical assistance was provided during this era.²⁷⁴

The Bank's rhetoric on the public sphere at this time was predictably negative. The authors mention negatively the high public salaries being paid within the public sector – salaries that were often based on rigid salary structures.²⁷⁵ They also worry openly about the increases in public spending on education among many nations in the developing world.²⁷⁶ Contrasting this notion of the inefficient public sphere is a call for "less costly education... more efficient and productive education... [and] new sources of finance."²⁷⁷ This negativity toward the public realm fits within the critique of the Bank as advancing an ideology – termed neoliberalism in today's parlance – that fundamentally believes in the inherent strength of the private market over the weakness of the public bureaucracy of the government.

What is most important for the purposes of my argument is not that the Bank was suspicious of the public sphere (a well-established point), but that the boundaries and definitions of the public and private were fairly clear during this period. Emerging within the context of the

²⁷² Ibid., 15.

²⁷³ Ibid., 18.

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

²⁷⁵ Ibid., 10.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., 11-12.

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

Cold War, and advancing the interests of non-Communists nations (especially, of course, the United States), the Bank of the 1960s framed the public as a power-seeking entity that inherently tended toward social engineering that ultimately led to totalitarianism. Democracy and equality were not priorities on the global stage, even during the 1960s when democracy and equality were the top priority for many in the United States. As a consequence, compared to the rhetoric on higher education in the United States at the time,²⁷⁸ the Bank was advancing a vision of higher education that had very little mention of democracy. The basic assumption upon which Bank higher education policy was built was that economic development must happen before democratization.

This narrow vision was made even narrower by the Bank President of the mid-1960s, George Woods. Woods was committed to supporting only those higher education projects that produced “a technically skilled workforce.”²⁷⁹ In practice, this meant that the Bank only invested money in schools “dedicated to technology alone.”²⁸⁰ The core assumption of all of this work was 1) an economic perspective that viewed economic growth as the savior, and 2) a historical perspective that was attempting to graft upon the developing world the idea that the grand sweep of history led to industrialization and modernization. The World Bank loans of the 1960s read remarkably like the goals of the Morrill Land-Grant Acts, which sought to increase the capacity of agriculturalists and engineers (as well as military personnel) to support the development goals of the nation. In addition, these loans were generally supporting the public sector: Bank loans during the 1960s for higher education focused on public institutions of higher

²⁷⁸ See Philo A. Hutcheson, “The Truman Commission’s Vision of the Future,” *Thought & Action* (Fall 2007): 107-115.

²⁷⁹ Jones, *Education, Poverty and the World Bank*, 160.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

education such as the University of the Philippines College of Agriculture²⁸¹ and the University of Zambia.²⁸²

In the education sector papers of 1974 and 1980,²⁸³ the beginnings of the Bank's shift to providing more technical assistance, and less direct construction and equipping of buildings, emerge. The 1970s was the heart of the Presidency of Robert McNamara (1968-1981), whose leadership shifted the Bank's focus to overall poverty alleviation. According to the Bank's official history, McNamara "applied himself with energy, talent, and single-mindedness to expand the Bank, to redefine it as a 'development agency,' and – most controversially – to move poverty up front, from the rear of the bus."²⁸⁴

This re-defining of the Bank as a development agency appears, on the surface, to make the Bank more of a public organization by shifting the focus away from the private interests of the Bank as bank, and toward the public interests of developing nations. Ironically, however, this shift to defining itself as a development agency complicated the Bank's relationship with the public, because it forced the Bank to involve itself move directly with the policies of nations as national publics. As President McNamara put it in an oral history interview, "to me, the term 'development agency' connoted that there were certain objectives in terms of social and economic advance in the developing countries that the Bank should be sensitive to and, secondly, that achieving those objectives required not only action by the developing countries and their

²⁸¹ A project initiated in 1964 by the Bank to support construction and the provision of equipment for the College of Agriculture. See World Bank Education Project # P004412, "Education Project – College of Agriculture," World Bank Education website, <http://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/education>, accessed 10/2/2013.

²⁸² A project initiated in 1969 that expanded the Schools of Engineering and Education. See World Bank Education Project #P003159, "Education Project (02)," World Bank Education website, <http://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/education>, accessed 10/2/2013.

²⁸³ These two sector papers, while separated by eight years, were remarkably consistent in their broad arguments. As Jones argues, "the [1980] policy paper reinforced many of the principles outlined in its 1974 predecessor." Jones, *World Bank Financing of Education*, 139.

²⁸⁴ Kapur, Devesh, et al., 215.

leaders but also required... technical assistance and financial assistance.”²⁸⁵ When the Bank was simply trying to make profitable loans, it was much more easily categorized as advancing private interests. With its increased involvement in the policies and priorities of national publics, such categorization became much more complicated. As Heyneman makes clear, “the mandate of the World Bank includes the notion that the financing is only part of its purpose; that the leveraging value of policy change is at least as important.”²⁸⁶

Was the Bank serving as a public partner with nations as it sought to provide more stringent policy conditions for their loans? Or was it undermining the legitimacy of the national public? In a memo dated July 1, 1977, from W.S. Ryrie (the U.K. Executive Director to the World Bank at the time) to the President and other Executive Directors of the Bank, he argues that the Bank should consider “a much wider approach, e.g. through ‘development programme loans.’” As Ryrie saw it, the Bank should assist countries in preparing national programs of development, although it was clear he was concerned that this assistance might challenge the sovereignty of nations. As he said, this “might be undesirable in putting the World Bank more into a role of supervision of national policies than many countries would be prepared to accept.”²⁸⁷ Interestingly, in the same memo, he points out that while the staff of the Bank was around 4,500 members at the time, it was scheduled to increase to over 7,000 over the next ten years – a significant expansion no matter the historical context, providing evidence for the Bank’s increasing power and authority.

²⁸⁵ Robert McNamara, World Bank History Project.

²⁸⁶ Stephen Heyneman, “The History and Problems in the Making of Education Policy at the World Bank, 1960-2000,” 331.

²⁸⁷ W.S. Ryrie, “The Pattern of World Bank Lending,” memo from Ryrie to President and EDs of Bank, July 1, 1977, World Bank archives, <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTARCHIVES/Resources/wbg-archives-1771456.pdf>, accessed 7/15/2014, 2.

From the perspective of education, the answer to the question of whether the Bank was supporting or undermining national publics is not clear. In shifting to a focus on poverty and increased technical assistance, the Bank initiated a long-term commitment to increased investment in primary education, with a decreased focus on higher education. The justification for this was based on the need to reach a larger number of people to provide basic literacy skills, all in the name of economic productivity. As the 1974 Sector Paper argued, education systems were stagnating at the time because nations were focusing “on the development of the modern economic sector, providing employment to a small and intensively trained elite.”²⁸⁸ This led to the “neglect of the 60-80% of the population living in sectors characterized by traditionally lower productivity.”²⁸⁹ The Bank wanted to shift focus away from expenditures in higher education (“rationing secondary and higher education”²⁹⁰) in order to focus on educating a larger number of people through mass education because “the participation of a minimum education is an essential condition for the effective participation of the masses in the development process.”²⁹¹ In short, even as the Bank was positioning itself as a public development agency, it was focusing on the private returns in education. As Robertson notes, “the eclipse of manpower planning by rates-of-return analyses, with its emphasis on costs and benefits, resulted in higher education sectors of developing countries being constructed as offering no social, only private, returns.”²⁹²

In one way, the Bank here can be seen as speaking about the development of publics through basic literacy training. By providing a broad base of support for primary education, the Bank determined that it could educate more people at a relatively cheaper cost. The Bank also justified increased lending for primary education in terms of the social justice created by

²⁸⁸ The World Bank, *1974 Education Sector Working Papers*.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*

²⁹² Robertson, “Market Multilateralism,” 6.

focusing on equity in education.²⁹³ A literate population is obviously a crucial component necessary for the creation of an educated public that can understand and engage with its leaders. And yet, these publics envisioned by the Bank were purely utilitarian, justified on the basis of increased productivity they would provide, and driven by the growing influence of economists over the education sector. As the influential economist of education and long-time Bank staffer George Psacharopoulos pointed out, the Bank began its educational work in the early years with a “heavy reliance on architects to design school buildings, and vocational-technical educators to write the corresponding curricula.”²⁹⁴

By 1980, however, there existed a growing global educational architecture that involved an institution not accountable to any specific public (i.e. the Bank) increasingly seeking to influence the priorities of particular public realms (i.e. borrowing nations) in order to advance an economic view of education that appeared on the surface to be supporting the public interest, but that underneath was radically altering how the public citizenry of nations was created. This development reflects the beginning of the shift from classical liberalism to neoliberalism, as outlined by Olssen and Peters: whereas in classical liberalism individuals are seen as seeking freedom from state power, in neoliberalism individuals are actually shaped by the state as economically productive entrepreneurs.²⁹⁵

Here one sees the Bank seemingly supporting public education through investment in broad access for primary education, but at the same time creating a population ready to meet the labor demands of the private market – supposedly to support the development of the borrowing

²⁹³ See Martin McLean, “The Political Context of Educational Development: A Commentary on the Theories of Development Underlying the World Bank Education Sector Policy Paper,” *Comparative Education* 17, no. 2 (June 1981): 157-162.

²⁹⁴ George Psacharopoulos, “World Bank Policy on Education: A Personal Account,” *International Journal of Educational Development* 26 (2006): 329-338, 334.

²⁹⁵ Olssen and Peters, “Neoliberalism, Higher Education and the Knowledge Economy.”

nation. The Bank connected all of its higher educational thinking to economic ends, in stark contrast to the robust debate happening in the United States around the democratic ends of higher education.²⁹⁶ As a consequence, many developing countries that had previously prioritized higher education, particularly after de-colonization, came to neglect the sector in following the Bank's logic. There appeared to be no role in the public sector for higher education. If the social rates of return of higher education had been considered (as they are today in Bank lending), it is quite plausible that support for higher education in the developing world would not have been cut so drastically. The changing role of the public in the World Bank's educational work by the early 1980s was not merely part of a shift to neoliberal notions of efficient markets and inefficient governments that came with the elections of Reagan and Thatcher. Instead, the public – particularly those deemed to be living in poverty - was being simultaneously socially constructed and defended by a non-public global organization that was not accountable to any particular public. While this confusion was challenging, the real issue was that all of this was being done under the guise of helping publics to develop in borrowing nations.

It is for these reasons that I do not divide the Bank's work in higher education into the pre-and post-neoliberal ages. As the neoliberal age came to maturity in the 1980s, the Bank was still relatively consistent in its educational work, but it was slowly prioritizing its own knowledge production and distribution as a key aspect of its work. As Jones says, “a major outcome of the operational reviews at the end of the 1970s, seen very clearly in the 1980 Education Sector Policy Paper, was a more explicit concern with educational research.”²⁹⁷ Under the leadership of George Psacharopoulos, the Research Unit of the Bank's Education

²⁹⁶ See Philo Hutcheson, “Goals for United States Higher Education: From Democracy to Globalisation,” *History of Education* 40, no. 1 (January 2011): 45-57.

²⁹⁷ Jones, *World Bank Financing of Education*, 164.

Department churned out numerous studies to justify the Bank's lending policies.²⁹⁸ As Jones rightly points out, while the Bank certainly has the right to conduct its research, its researchers also have a responsibility to understand the institutional and historical context in which the Bank lives – a responsibility which was often avoided.²⁹⁹

The bulk of this research, then, justified the Bank's priority in focusing on rate-of-return analyses and the efficiency and effectiveness of investments in primary education. The 1980s, as with the 1970s, was an era of more of the same in higher education: de-emphasizing national and international investments in higher education and encouraging investments in primary education. All of this culminated with the Bank's 1994 report on higher education, which addressed the crisis of higher education, and the need to rely on private funds for higher education. Summing up this shift, the report argued that "rather than direct controls, the government's responsibility is becoming that of providing an enabling policy environment for both public and private higher education institutions."³⁰⁰ This sentiment was echoed in the Bank's 1995 education sector review, entitled "Priorities and Strategies for Education," which focused on "the formal education system and the role that governments can play through sound financial and managerial policies that encourage the expansion of the private sector and improvement in the functioning of public institutions."³⁰¹ As this report shows, there was an unstated understanding at the time that the public sphere was the national government, and the private sphere was the world of free markets, even in a decade when private companies were increasingly offering public good services.³⁰² The public was constructed throughout this document, following basic neoliberal

²⁹⁸ Ibid., 166ff.

²⁹⁹ Ibid., 167.

³⁰⁰ The World Bank, *Higher Education: The Lessons of Experience*.

³⁰¹ Armeane M. Choski, Forward to *Priorities and Strategies for Education*, xii.

³⁰² Deron Boyles, *American Education and Corporations: The Free Market Goes to School* (New York: Falmer Press, 2000).

principles, as inefficient and inequitable.³⁰³ As a logical result, the document argued that “In many countries, however, more educational attainment could be achieved with the same or even less public spending.”³⁰⁴ Based on this report, the Bank was, as always, keen to expand private sector involvement in education.

With the increased focus on educational policy and system-wide reform to education in the 1980s and 1990s, important internal divisions among the Bank’s educational staff about educational policy emerged.³⁰⁵ These divisions were based in large measure on the debate between those at the Bank who had adhered to the rate-of-return analysis and those who believed in a broader view of the impact of investing in education. For those, such as Psacharopoulos, who advocated for rate-of-return, the argument is simple: educational spending, by the Bank and by nations, must be based on sectors which give the best and most immediate return on this investment, where the cost per student is relatively low and the benefits to that student in terms of prospects for future income are relatively high. Because primary education is cheap, relative to higher education, and because primary education was posited as providing a more equitable service across socio-economic bounds, “rates-of-return analyses were then used to justify and legitimate the view that the proportion of public investment in education should decline as an individual proceeded up the education ladder,” a way of thinking that “resulted in higher education sectors of developing countries being constructed as offering no social, only private, returns.”³⁰⁶ This meant that, for years, the Bank focused on primary education, working to shift costs in higher education to private sources as much as possible.

³⁰³ See, for example, *Ibid.*, 10 and 17.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 67.

³⁰⁵ See Heyneman, “The History and Problems in the Making of Education Policy at the World Bank, 1960-2000,” and Psacharopoulos, “World Bank Policy on Education.”

³⁰⁶ Susan Robertson, “Market Multilateralism,” 118.

While the transition to technical assistance and a focus on research were the first steps in the Bank's move toward the creation of an intangible public, in the early 1990s the Bank was still operating under the notion of a tangible public – one that was bounded by national borders and that increasingly needed to take a back seat to private financing and private interests. By the middle of the decade, however, the economic ground under which Bank education policy shook, creating a new imaginary: the GKE.

Knowledge for Growth In a World of Intangible Publics and Limitless Growth: 1996-present

While the notion that knowledge, information, and technology are key drivers of economic growth has been around since at least the 1960s, in the mid-1990s these ideas gained increasing authority around a specific imaginary called the Global Knowledge Economy.³⁰⁷ As Godin argues, “the growth of information and communication technologies (ICT) had been measured before, but suddenly it came to be closely related to a discourse on a new economy in the 1990s.”³⁰⁸ Parallel to the historical shift from tangible projects to more intangible interventions in the Bank's work was the increasing recognition by economists that tangible commodities, due to their very scarcity, could not be the source of unending economic growth. What was needed was a commodity that was not scarce or limited – one important enough to serve as a new factor of production (alongside the traditional notion of land, labor, and tangible capital) driving economic growth. Many economists began arguing that there was significant

³⁰⁷ I use the term “imaginary” to describe the concept of the Global Knowledge Economy in much the same way that Isacc Kamola describes the imaginary of the term “global.” See footnote # 27.

³⁰⁸ Benoit Godin, “The Knowledge-Based Economy: Conceptual Framework or Buzzword?” *Journal of Technology Transfer* 31 (2006): 17-30, p. 17.

growth “in the share of intangible compared to tangible capital” in the 20th century.³⁰⁹ Drawing on the long history of thinking about knowledge and information as important sources of economic growth,³¹⁰ the New Growth economists argued that knowledge is the key factor of production in the creation of that growth. Not coincidentally, the Bank picked up on this trend and, in a speech by President Wolfensohn in 1996, began to position the Bank as a Knowledge Bank in order to re-legitimize the Bank’s work.³¹¹ As a Knowledge Bank, the World Bank was a producer and disseminator of a newly emerging, highly valuable currency: knowledge. In this way, the Bank appreciated its own value significantly by attaching itself to new thinking about knowledge.

In the convergence of new economic thinking about knowledge, global institutions seeking to expand their own legitimacy, expanded focus upon globalization, and an increasing recognition of the importance of human capital, the imaginary of the Global Knowledge Economy was born. Combining multiple strands of thought, from the management discourse of Peter Drucker in the 1960s,³¹² to the New Growth (or Endogenous Growth) Theory economists³¹³ and the sociology of Daniel Bell,³¹⁴ the concept of the GKE emerged from the desire to theorize unending economic growth. Despite the appearance of alternative development narratives in the past few decades,³¹⁵ the GKE remains today firmly entrenched in the discourse of the believers in economic growth as one of the primary means and ends of

³⁰⁹ Paul A. David and Dominique Foray, "An Introduction to the Economy of the Knowledge Society," *International Social Science Journal* 54 (2002): 9-23, 10.

³¹⁰ See, for example, Daniel Bell, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

³¹¹ James D. Wolfensohn, “People and Development,” Address to the Board of Governors, Washington, D.C., October 1, 1996, 14.

³¹² Peter Drucker, *The Age of Discontinuity: Guidelines to Our Changing Society* (New York: Harper and Row, 1969).

³¹³ For example, Romer, “The Origins of Endogenous Growth.”

³¹⁴ Bell, *The Coming of Postindustrial Society*.

³¹⁵ See, for example, Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom*, and Mahbub ul Haq, “The Human Development Paradigm,” in *Readings in Human Development*, eds. Sakiko Fukuda-Parr and A.K. Shiva Kuma, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003): 17-34.

human development. Indeed, as Robertson argues, the GKE has been part of “an increased level of policy alignment between [*sic*] the international agencies with an education mandate around what can be called ‘market multilateralism,’” which is “the way in which a coalition of global actors and states have advanced private sector governance solutions.”³¹⁶

While the GKE has been promoted most consistently by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the World Bank has also been a significant advocate for this view of the world. Two aspects of this advocacy are worth mentioning for the purposes of this dissertation. First, the Bank has published multiple papers on the topic of the GKE and on the need to increase support for higher education as a key aspect of helping to create knowledge economies in developing countries.³¹⁷ These papers all rest on the basic assumption that “knowledge has become the most important factor in economic development,” and therefore that countries must focus on higher education which is seen as “necessary for the effective creation, dissemination, and application of knowledge and for building technical and professional capacity.”³¹⁸ Second, the Bank has begun in the past decade to put a methodology around the creation of knowledge economies through the creation of the Knowledge Assessment Methodology (KAM). The KAM, according to the Bank, is “an interactive benchmarking tool created by the Knowledge for Development Program to help countries identify the challenges and opportunities they face in making the transition to the knowledge-based economy.”³¹⁹ By providing 148 variables by which to measure where a nation stands as a knowledge economy, the

³¹⁶ Susan Robertson, “Market Multilateralism,” 123.

³¹⁷ See for example, The World Bank, *Constructing Knowledge Societies*; and The World Bank, Task Force on Higher Education and Society, *Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise*.

³¹⁸ World Bank, *Constructing Knowledge Societies*, xix.

³¹⁹ The KAM produces the “Knowledge Economy Index,” which is a measurement of the nation’s readiness to compete in the Knowledge Economy. World Bank website, Knowledge Assessment Methodology 2012, <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/WBI/WBIPROGRAMS/KFDLP/EXTUNIKAM/0,,menuPK:1414738~pagePK:64168427~piPK:64168435~theSitePK:1414721,00.html>, accessed 10/1/2014.

Bank relies on four main pillars to support a knowledge economy in a country: economic incentive and institutional regime, education, innovation, and information and communications technologies.³²⁰

Thus, the GKE is an imaginary built upon economic theories and social forecasts, and advanced by global institutions like the World Bank that seek to position themselves as global public entities. The economic theories upon which it is built emerge from New Growth theorists such as Romer and Solow,³²¹ who argue that the speed of the creation and dissemination of knowledge has increased exponentially through a revolution in the means of knowledge production, and this has led to “a growing relative importance of intangible capital... compared to tangible capital.”³²² The social forecast upon which it is built originates in Daniel Bell’s 1973 book *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society*. Tellingly, the book’s subtitle is *A Venture in Social Forecasting*, and Bell opens his introduction with a lengthy discussion of the pitfalls inherent in forecasting – including its clear distinction from prediction, and the fact that “the further one reaches ahead in time with a set of forecasts, the greater the margin of error.”³²³

The GKE has been advanced with full force by the Bank through its re-positioning itself as a Knowledge Bank (as first mentioned by President Wolfensohn in his Address to the Board of Governors in October 1996)³²⁴ and its creation of measurement systems like the Knowledge Assessment Methodology (KAM) to “advance, materialize, and institutionalize the specific architecture of a ‘knowledge-based economy.’”³²⁵ It was during this time that the Bank “emerged not only as the largest single provider of educational development expertise and

³²⁰ Ibid.

³²¹ See Robert Solow, “Perspectives on Growth Theory,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 8 (1994): 45-54; and Romer, “The Origins of Endogenous Growth.”

³²² Livingstone and Guile, eds. *The Knowledge Economy and Lifelong Learning*.

³²³ Bell, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society*, 4.

³²⁴ Wolfensohn, “People and Development.”

³²⁵ Susan L. Robertson, “Market Multilateralism.”

concessional finance – but also as the only international organization with a near-to-plausible concentration of ambition, power and resources for coordinating global initiatives in the field of educational development.”³²⁶ In short, one of the most influential concepts in 21st century educational discourse, the GKE, is based on theories, forecasting, and global institutions with much power but little grounding in public scrutiny or accountability.

Thus, while the Bank’s shift to being a self-described Knowledge Bank has been described by some as “ineffectual” and as “a victory of style over substance,”³²⁷ I argue that it represents something much more significant: in the Bank’s acceptance of the authority of New Growth economic theorists, who supplanted the manpower forecasters of the middle decades of the 20th century and the rate-of-return theorists under Psachoropoulos’s leadership, lies the transition moment when the Bank began to rely on intangible capital legitimized by intangible publics.

With the emergence of the concept of the knowledge economy as a driving force behind global economic growth, the Bank’s approach to investing in higher education has shifted significantly since the early 1990s. Whereas the Bank had de-emphasized investing in higher education in the 1960s, 1970s, and particularly the 1980s, based on the notion that investing in primary education in developing nations gave a better rate of return and reached those on the lowest end of the income scale, in the mid-1990s higher education moved up the agenda, at least rhetorically.

Under President Wolfensohn, the Bank worked to move away from the so-called Washington Consensus with the hiring of Joseph Stiglitz as Chief Economist in 1996. This move led the Bank back into the realm of poverty alleviation and toward becoming an institution

³²⁶ Mundy, “Retrospect and Prospect,” 483.

³²⁷ Jones, *World Bank Financing of Education*, 201-202.

that sought “wider public consultation and borrowing government ownership.”³²⁸ Stiglitz challenged the one-size-fits-all structural adjustment of the previous decade and helped promote the notion of the importance of viewing knowledge as a global public good. In his 1999 article arguing in support of that notion, Stiglitz subtly but clearly positions the Bank and other international development organizations as the defenders of global public goods.³²⁹

With the increasingly prevalent claim that knowledge is a global public good,³³⁰ and that knowledge is a crucial driver of economic growth, the Bank has increased its attention to higher education in the past two decades, after several decades of neglect, particularly in low income countries. With the Bank’s acceptance of the idea of creating GKEs, multiple reports followed that outlined how the Bank might support such efforts. The 1998/1999 World Development Report, *Knowledge for Development*, outlined the key aspects of a knowledge-based economy.³³¹ In 2000, the Bank published a report entitled *Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise*, which was the result of a Task Force convened by the Bank and UNESCO.³³² This report explicitly challenged the rate-of-return analysis of the Bank, a type of analysis that had been advocated for by the work of longtime Bank staffer George Psacharopoulos.³³³ This view led to decades of neglect of higher education in the developing world. For the first time, this publication argued that the Bank must consider not only the economic benefits to investing in higher education, but also the social benefits, based on the logic of the knowledge economy.³³⁴

³²⁸ Mundy, “Retrospect and Prospect,” 497.

³²⁹ Stiglitz, “Knowledge as a Global Public Good.”

³³⁰ Ibid.

³³¹ This concept of the GKE includes a strong economic and institutional regime, a broad base of human capital, a significant infrastructure for information, and a national system that encouraged innovation. See The World Bank, *World Development Report 1998/1999: Knowledge for Development* (Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 1999).

³³² The World Bank, Task Force on Higher Education and Society, *Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise*.

³³³ See, for example, George Psacharopoulos, “Returns to Investment in Education: A Global Update,” *World Development* 22 (1994), 1325-1343.

³³⁴ Jones, *World Bank Financing of Education*, 222.

Peril and Promise argued that the promotion of the public interest was a strong reason to invest in higher education. As the report asserted, “higher education is no longer a luxury; it is essential to future national social and economic development.”³³⁵ The report justified this claim based on a belief that higher education served the public interest by simultaneously improving “individual lives and wider society, indicating a substantial overlap between private and public interests in higher education.”³³⁶

This significant shift from a rate-of-return analysis to reliance upon the public interest argument was based on a historical argument. As the Task Force saw it, the world was going through a “knowledge revolution,” which was a period of “major structural change” from an industrial society (in which investments in primary and secondary education made sense to support increased agricultural and manufacturing productivity) to a GKE (in which investments in higher education are prioritized to support the new engine of economic growth: knowledge itself).³³⁷ This knowledge revolution was compared to the industrial revolution that began, according to the Report, in the 18th century and was presented as the next step in the progressive march of history. This historical shift ultimately meant, for the Task Force, that “the world economy is changing as knowledge supplants physical capital as the source of present (and future) wealth.”³³⁸ The Bank’s 2002 report, *Constructing Knowledge Societies*, echoed many of the conclusions of these earlier reports.³³⁹

Starting in the 1990s, the Bank made a clear move to support higher education, at least rhetorically, in more robust ways.³⁴⁰ A brief review of Bank higher education projects by

³³⁵ The World Bank, *Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise*, 14.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, 37.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, 17.

³³⁸ *Ibid.*, 9.

³³⁹ The World Bank, *Constructing Knowledge Societies*.

³⁴⁰ See Post, et. al.

initiation date through time shows that the largest number of such loans happened in the 1990s. Whereas the Bank initiated four loans in the 1960s, sixteen loans in the 1970s, and fifty-two loans in the 1980s, the decade of the 1990s saw 209 loans for higher education.³⁴¹ Naturally, this increase in higher education lending in general went along with an increase in lending specifically for advancing the GKE. Of the loans designated as having a primary theme of “Education for the Knowledge Economy,” there were only seven between 1963 and 1996 – most related to supporting schools of engineering. Since 1996, twenty such projects have been approved that are primarily concerned with advancing the knowledge economy.

In addition to making these loans, the Bank began publishing explicit arguments in favor of creating GKEs,³⁴² and it incorporated these arguments into its most recent Education Sector paper.³⁴³ In these works, the public is no longer explicitly critiqued in the ways that it was critiqued by neoliberals in the 1980s and 1990s. Instead, the Bank presents the public in a more positive light, but also seems to construct a less tangible and bounded public. For example, as the 2011 Sector papers states:

the new Bank strategy redefines the term ‘education system’ to encompass all learning opportunities in a given society, whether within or outside of formal educational institutions. In this definition, an education system consists of all parties who participate in the provision, financing, regulation, and use of learning services. Thus in addition to national and local governments, participants include students and their families, communities, private providers, and non-state organizations.³⁴⁴

³⁴¹ The number dropped to 143 in the 2000s. These data were collected through a search for “tertiary education projects” on the Bank’s Projects and Operations website: <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/PROJECTS/0,,menuPK:51563~pagePK:95873~piPK:95910~theSitePK:40941,00.html>, accessed 7/30/2013.

³⁴² See, for example, Jamil Salmi, *The Challenge of Establishing World-Class Universities* (Washington, D.C., The World Bank, 2009).

³⁴³ The World Bank, *Learning for All: Investing in People’s Knowledge and Skills*.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 29.

This is a significant shift from the Bank's earlier explicit recognition of either public or private provision of education. It defines the provision of education at all levels so broadly that one is hard-pressed to understand where the public figures into this conception. In the Bank's increasing support for higher education and its changing rhetoric that limits criticism of the public sphere, one might think that higher education projects that support a diversity of ends – economic, political, social – might be supported. On the surface, in both the Bank's rhetoric and lending, all of this work seems to suggest that the Bank was attempting to strengthen the public sector, and to serve as the global public state for the nations of the world. And yet, despite some lip service on the role of higher education in supporting robust democracies and creating well-informed individuals able to understand and respond to those who lead, the Bank advances a purely economic end to higher education.³⁴⁵ As Salmi argues, “tertiary education helps countries build globally competitive economies by developing a skilled, productive, and flexible labor force and by creating, applying, and spreading new ideas and technologies.”³⁴⁶ While the Bank appears to be supporting the public realm, it is actually defining it so broadly and intangibly as to make it hard to grasp.

Just as this shift is happening, the concept of the GKE is starting to gain authority as an imagined global public sphere. In the realm of what Peters calls a “symbolic economy,”³⁴⁷ the increasing focus on the role of knowledge as a tradable commodity that can and must drive economic growth into the future is part of a much larger narrative of the increasing shift toward

³⁴⁵ This is a theme that occurs throughout the Bank's policy papers on education, where the civic and social goals of education are briefly mentioned in the introductory paragraphs, only to be completely ignored in favor of economic arguments in the rest of the document. A compelling example of this occurs in the Forward of the 1995 Education Sector Review (entitled *Priorities and Strategies for Education*), which mentions the importance of education “for civic order and citizenship” but spends the rest of the paper discussing only the benefits of education to economic growth. World Bank *Priorities and Strategies for Education*, xi.

³⁴⁶ Salmi, *The Challenge of Establishing World-Class Universities*, 2.

³⁴⁷ Peters, “Classical Political Economy and the Role of Universities in the New Knowledge Economy,” 156.

de-materializing the means to meet the ends of a materialist philosophy;³⁴⁸ in this shift, ideas now hold more potential for sovereignty than institutions. The intangible, unbounded public of the GKE provides the Bank legitimacy by allowing it to support the global public in words while advancing private interests in action. The GKE has come to be an imaginary in which the global public is outwardly praised, but inwardly dismissed. The history of the Bank's involvement in higher education helps uncover this significant shift in the concept of the public realm – a shift in which the commons is no longer discussed and both the public and private are skewed to meet market-based, private-interest motivated solutions.

Historically, then, the rise in legitimacy of the concept of the GKE was a pivot point for the Bank to shift its thinking toward talking about the need to prioritize investing in higher education, while at the same time allowing the Bank to position itself to define the crisis in higher education in developing nations. This crisis was created in part by the Bank's insistence that developing nations de-prioritize higher education. As Robertson argues, “the knowledge-economy meta-narrative promoted by the Bank and other international agencies not only provides the legitimacy for the Bank and other agencies to move into higher education, but the crisis in the sector as a result of three decades of under-funding, has generated a set of conditions that demand an urgent response.”³⁴⁹ Not coincidentally, the Bank presents itself as the problem solver to help nations emerge from these crises.

Summary Thoughts

³⁴⁸ This is a point made well by David Hawkes in his argument for why ideology matters now more than ever. See Hawkes, *Ideology*.

³⁴⁹ Robertson, “Market Multilateralism,” 12.

While its unique institutional position has remained relatively constant from the Bank's founding in 1946 until today, what has not remained constant is the way the Bank has approached international development. Responding in large measure to the economic and political turmoil that had overcome the globe in the fresh memory of World War I, and in the ongoing conflict of World War II at the time, the Bank was born from the shared belief of Harry White and John Maynard Keynes³⁵⁰ that "it was possible to shape the world through sheer human determination."³⁵¹ This basic belief in the power of relatively centralized institutions and ideas to positively shape human society was at the forefront of the Bank's first three and a half decades of lending, reflecting an economic vision that "favored mixed economies that were neither wholly capitalist nor wholly socialist."³⁵² This vision was comfortable with a diversity of national policy environments, some more reliant upon the public sector, and others more reliant on the private sector. The policy environment was not seen as the crucial factor in the success of any particular project, and it was obviously an area ripe for division and challenge. As a consequence, during the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, the Bank focused on specific, tangible projects that avoided the messiness of policy discussions.³⁵³

Over time, however, the Bank's general view of the private and public sectors shifted as the political discourse in the United States and Britain shifted. Rather than responding to the fresh memories of world wars, the political climate of the 1970s was responding to the significant cultural shifts of the 1960s, along with the global economic stagflation of the 1970s.

³⁵⁰ White and Keynes were the two primary architects of the new global economic system set up at Bretton Woods. They negotiated, and often disagreed on, the terms of the Bretton Woods agreement. In the end White's vision – representing the emerging power of the United States – was mostly adopted. Core aspects of Keynes vision, including the creation of a global Bank and the idea of Bancor currency, were not included in the final plan. For more on this, see Benn Steil, *The Battle of Bretton Woods: John Maynard Keynes, Harry Dexter White, and the Making of a New World Order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013).

³⁵¹ Judy Shelton, *Monday Meltdown: Restoring Order to the Global Currency System* (New York: The Free Press, 1994), 17.

³⁵² Kapur, et al., 450.

³⁵³ *Ibid.*, 456.

The shift was a profound one: it involved dismissing the traditional Keynesian view of the importance of a steady governmental touch (particularly in difficult economic times) in economic affairs, and advocating for a Hayekian view of free, unregulated, unrestrained markets and a minimization of state intervention in the economy. The Bank mirrored and - in some ways - led the charge for this economic view of the world.³⁵⁴ This shift in thinking, combined with the experience of multiple lending projects that were not deemed successful due to poor policy environments, led the Bank to involve itself increasingly in policy, technical assistance and knowledge management.

Through time, then, a major aspect of the Bank's history, intriguingly parallel to the historical development of currency in the 20th century,³⁵⁵ is a shift from supporting physical, tangible infrastructure projects to supporting mental, intangible infrastructure interventions. Since the early 1980s, the Bank's focus in most of its lending has been more on intangible interventions that almost always tie tangible projects to policy objectives.³⁵⁶ This is in large measure due to the Bank's need to continually legitimize itself in the global arena, and also due to the recognition that the Bank's loans could not be successful unless and until the Bank exerted more authority over national policies. In terms of the former, the Bank came to brand itself as a Knowledge Bank, with one of its core missions being to serve as a repository for global best practices. In terms of the latter, the Bank has increasingly imposed conditions on all of its loans, to protect against the risk of lending money in environments where the policy environment would not allow for the project to be successful from the beginning.

³⁵⁴ Richard Peet, *Unholy Trinity: The IMF, World Bank and WTO* (London: Zed Books, 2003), 13ff.

³⁵⁵ As with the evolution of fiat currency, which has disassociated itself from any tangible commodity with the decision to go off of the gold stand in 1973. See Ferguson, *The Ascent of Money*.

³⁵⁶ The most important example of this are the Structural Adjustment loans of the 1980s. For a good treatment of this period, see Daniel M. Schydrowsky, *Structural Adjustment: Retrospect and Prospect* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1995).

The Bank's uneasy position between the public and private realms, and its increasing focus on intangible, mental infrastructure (thus increasing its role in how nations budget and think about major policy issues), marries nicely with the intangibility of the GKE. By positioning itself as a public-private expert with a breadth of knowledge unequaled at the global level, the Bank has legitimized itself and allowed itself the ability to exert increasing leverage and authority upon debtor nations. This capacity to position itself as a professional expert in such matters gave the Bank a clear way to distinguish itself from other traditional banks: by presenting itself as a development Bank, the Bank discovered a brand that would help to differentiate it and to increase its market share in the worlds of banking and international development. This process of building the narrative of an organization with a specialized and inaccessible body of knowledge is at the heart of the Bank's self-creation as a professional organization.

Higher education is at the heart of this professionalization, as it sits squarely in a nebulous realm of a global public sphere, creating and protecting and selling or sharing knowledge as a global public good. As Altbach argues,

higher education, the education of people beyond secondary school, exists across the entire globe and is at the core of economic expansion and globalization where the university now exists outside of its domestic sphere and at the center of an international knowledge system based on technology and advanced communication capabilities, while remaining concerned about its cultural significance.³⁵⁷

In the absence of a global public sphere, the Bank and others have posited the GKE, which appears to stand in as a global public that exists "outside of the domestic sphere" and that is propped up by a newly emerging class of consumption education economists. Institutions of

³⁵⁷ Roberta Malee Bassett, *The WTO and the University: Globalization, GATS, and American Higher Education* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 20.

higher learning are constructed no longer as inefficient national public investments, but as important actors in the global public arena. This is a new type of public – imagined and reinforced by global professionals who are increasingly planning educational goals and futures for children all around the world with a centralized approach.

In this way, the story of the Bank's involvement in higher education through time is the story of a shift from publics managed by territory to publics managed by ideas; from authority gathered by material means to authority gathered by marketing; from a focus on material to a focus on mental infrastructure at the Bank; and from a pluralistic, contested notion of knowledge to a singular one that is tied to the ideas of certain economists. The challenge, of course, is that at the level of the global, there are disparate views about knowledge, education, and learning.

My argument is that the global public that has come to be constructed by the World Bank as an intangible and unbounded public that is solely focused on economic ends. The GKE is constructed as an imagined global public sphere based not on rights or responsibilities, nor on national borders, nor on a physical space, nor on any meaningful signifier. It is instead a theoretical public only, imposed from above, in which the central goal of life is constructed as producing and selling knowledge. Such transactions may appear on the surface to be for the public good, but they are in fact a private commodity. Higher education sits at the center of this imagined world.

The problems with a purely intangible public are many. First and foremost, how is an intangible public constituted? In a world of intangible publics, to whom does the knowledge that is produced and distributed by international institutions like the Bank belong? For Stiglitz, knowledge is information that is “gathered by public officials at public expense [and] is owned

by the public.”³⁵⁸ This makes sense if one assumes the public to be a citizenry bounded by national borders. But who owns the knowledge and information produced and disseminated by an institution unbounded by borders, advancing a vision of society that is equally unbounded?

Secondly, the problem of having an unbounded public sphere at the global level is that there is no check on its scale and scope. Without a physical public space, or the imagined space of national borders, the public that emerges in the Bank’s conception of a GKE is created to intentionally avert its eyes from the importance of the question of scale scope. The GKE seeks to create a public that adds to the economic growth of the global community, based upon a materialist conception of the world. In this conception, the public is viewed as large and homogeneous. Indeed, it is the very limitlessness of knowledge as commodity, and the public as intangible, that assumes that bigger is always better in scale and scope. More broadly, when signifiers are so divorced from that which they signify, as in the terms globalization and GKE, the possibilities to fill these signifiers become endless and ungrounded from reality.³⁵⁹

Historians are crucial to the task of grounding notions of the global, knowledge-based, and the public in the partial reconstruction of the reality of the past, and, more importantly, in the commitment to this reality itself. Historians of education, specifically, must re-stake our claim as public intellectuals in order to examine global organizations like the World Bank by telling global stories that rely on the historian’s keen eyesight to move beyond what we today think of as public and private.

Finally, in the intangible world of the GKE, how does one measure equity? If knowledge is a form of power, like tangible capital, then how can we tell if it is being equitably or

³⁵⁸ Joseph Stiglitz, “On Liberty, the Right to Know, and Public Discourse: The Role of Transparency in Public Life,” Oxford Amnesty Lecture, January 27th, 1999, <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/NEWS/Resources/oxford-amnesty.pdf>, accessed 10/10/2013, 7.

³⁵⁹ See Kamola, “Producing the Global Imaginary.”

inequitably produced and disseminated in the GKE? If institutions of higher education live in a global public arena, what mechanisms are in place to insure that the diverse views about the role of higher education are represented in this new, unbounded arena? How can we measure the equitable (or not) distribution of knowledge /power in this new global public, and who can take on that task?

In the first decade and a half of the 21st century, the Bank has consolidated its position as the primary global actor working on educational policy issues.³⁶⁰ It thus plays a significant role in constructing both the discourse and the practical construction of the GKE in the developing world. With few alternative voices existing at the global institutional level, there is very little assurance that the current focus on a GKE and the prioritization of higher education will continue even beyond the next decade. Having provided an analysis of the Bank's approach to higher education through time, I now turn to a focus on how the Bank has intervened in two specific places, Morocco and Indonesia, to elucidate how the Bank makes this work manifest and to begin to answer some of the questions posed above.

³⁶⁰ See Stephen Heyneman, "The History and Problems in the Making of Education Policy at the World Bank, 1960-2000," in which he discusses and critiques the Bank's increasing monopoly over the global educational field; see also Psacharopoulos, "World Bank Policy on Education."

Chapter 5

The Role of Higher Education in the Construction of Global Knowledge Economies Within and Through the World Bank: The Cases of Morocco and Indonesia

The sources of danger [in the modern world] are no longer ignorance but knowledge; not a deficient but a perfected mastery over nature; not that which eludes the human grasp but the system of norms and objective constraints established with the industrial epoch.³⁶¹

Introduction

Since the beginning of the World Bank's investments in education in the developing world in 1963, higher education has been on the agenda, although unevenly so.³⁶² As was discussed in Chapter Four, the Bank's higher educational lending was defined first by manpower forecasting that encouraged investments primarily in vocational training, and then later – under the powerful figure of Bank staffer George Psacharopoulos³⁶³ – by rate of return analysis, which argued that investment in primary education almost always had a higher rate of return than investment in higher education. Such a view led to decades of neglect of the higher education sector by the Bank both in the specific loans allocated and in the Bank's increasing influence in discouraging developing nations from investing in higher education. As a consequence, in many places where the World Bank was working, particularly in the most underdeveloped nations, higher education systems suffered under the ideology of rate of return analyses in education.³⁶⁴

As I have argued, in 1994 this began to change, as global views of knowledge and its value as a commodity in its own right came to be encoded in international discourse generally,

³⁶¹ Ulrich Beck, *Risk Society*, 183.

³⁶² See Joel Samoff and Bidemi Carrol, "From Manpower Planning to the Knowledge Era;" Christopher S. Collins, and Robert A. Rhoads, "The World Bank, Support for Universities;" and Susan Robertson, "Market Multilateralism."

³⁶³ Psacharopoulos has written extensively on education and the World Bank since the 1960s. See Psacharopoulos, "World Bank Policy on Education."

³⁶⁴ See Sawyerr, "Challenges Facing African Universities."

and at the Bank specifically. As Robertson argues, with a complex network of converging historical forces at work, including the collapse of higher education in many developing nations, the accelerating processes of globalization, and the “emergence of a new meta-narrative around knowledge as the engine of development,” the Bank created the intellectual architecture and the sense of inevitability necessary to “advance a radical political project – the construction of a knowledge-based economy and society.”³⁶⁵ Since this time, the increased focus on the knowledge-based economies, succinctly defined by the OECD as “economies which are directly based on the production, distribution, and use of knowledge and information,”³⁶⁶ has led the Bank to turn its attention back to higher education, although not without dissent from within the institution.³⁶⁷

Considering the increasing influence the World Bank has on the educational policy of developing nations, the significant shift in the Bank’s rhetoric and practice to increase the authority of the GKE is an important one in need of study at both the macro- and micro levels. In the previous chapters, I have explored the Bank’s increasing involvement in education, including higher education, at the global level. This chapter examines the micro level, through an analysis of the historical development of the Bank’s higher education lending in two countries, Morocco and Indonesia, in the context of the Bank’s shifting approach to the economy and education with the concomitant sharp rise in the legitimacy of the GKE imaginary in the mid-1990s. This analysis draws on existing Bank publications on higher education since the mid-1990s and archival work on the Bank’s lending to higher education to critically analyze the development of the Bank’s higher educational policy in these two nations as it relates to their

³⁶⁵ Susan Robertson, “Market Multilateralism,” 115; see also Peters, “Classical Political Economy and the Role of Universities in the New Knowledge Economy.”

³⁶⁶ OECD, *The Knowledge-Based Economy*, 7.

³⁶⁷ Stephen Heyneman, “The History and Problems in the Making of Education Policy at the World Bank 1960–2000.” 315-337.

stated intention to build knowledge economies.³⁶⁸ Considering the Bank's increasing authority in the realm of global educational policy and policy discourse, and the significant shift from devaluing higher education to holding it up as a beacon of future economic growth, exploring the histories of specific nations where the Bank operates helps to trace the historical context for the rise of the Global Knowledge Economy, the increasing authority of the Bank over educational policy in developing nations, and how both of these changes are being made manifest in developing nations through higher education policy changes. This chapter examines two of these histories by exploring the archival record of the Bank's work in these countries in the broader context of the Bank's approach to education and higher education with the emergence of the New Growth Economists³⁶⁹ and the GKE. The history of the Bank's involvement in higher education in the past two decades is thus placed within the broader history of the institutionalization of the imperialism of economics and the "transnationalisation of education policy making."³⁷⁰

This chapter does not seek to examine directly whether the Bank's policy prescriptions have been adopted or rejected by borrower nations, a topic outside the scope of this examination. Rather, it hopes to fill out the historical record a little further by presenting how the Bank has approached two countries and their higher education policies in order to provide additional historical evidence for the rise of the Global Knowledge Economy in our world today. Such an analysis will hopefully offer additional data for thinking about the authority of the Bank over the

³⁶⁸ The focus of my archival work at the Bank itself has been on records that have not yet been viewed by the public, including higher education loans to Morocco (1986-1989), and Indonesia (1991-1993). These two projects represent an investment by the Bank in producing knowledge economies by reforming higher education. In addition to these two projects, I also analyzed Bank lending to the higher education sector in these countries over the past four decades based on the documents available online.

³⁶⁹ Romer, "The Origins of Endogenous Growth."

³⁷⁰ Stavros Moutsios, "International Organizations and Transnational Education Policy," *Compare* 39 (July 2009): 469-481, 469.

educational sector in developing nations today, and how the GKE might – or might not – be broadly understood to develop the capacities of citizens as well as producers and consumers; whether the GKE has the capacity to spread education broadly, or whether it centralizes knowledge and its production and re-production in an elite, professional class; and thus how the GKE contributes to, or fights against, the forces of centralization of wealth and knowledge among an elite few and the rising and alarming disparities in our world today.

Why these two countries? First, they are both countries where the Bank has had a relatively long and deep presence in the higher education sector. Second, the Bank has been involved in higher education in these countries both before the increased emphasis on the GKE, and after. Third, these countries are located in different and distinct geographical areas. Fourth and finally, despite their geographic differences, these countries are united in being predominantly Muslim countries. Thus, the idea of choosing Muslim countries was to explore how the Bank works in countries that have very different backgrounds from the Bank's tradition.³⁷¹ By examining nations with long and deep traditions of education and higher education that emerged from Islamic societies with beliefs about education significantly different from those espoused by the Bank, the hope was that the contrast could provide an additional layer of data for exploring the ways in which the Bank's culture does, or does not, supplant local culture and tradition.

Considering my argument that global institutions and discourses need to be historically contextualized, the chapter begins with an overview of the historical context of higher education in Muslim societies, broadly speaking. The goal is to place the countries under consideration in their proper context as quite distinct from the influences and traditions that made the Bank what

³⁷¹ As mentioned in Chapter One, I am conscious of the fact that by limiting my analysis to the Islamic influence in these two nations, I am not including the other significant influences that have shaped, and continue to shape, the cultures of these two nations. These other influences are not less important, but simply outside the scope of this dissertation.

it is today. The chapter then moves to explore the histories of Bank involvement in the two specific cases examined here: Morocco and Indonesia. Through an exploration of the common themes and differences presented by these two case studies, the chapter concludes with remarks about how this historical evidence helps us to better understand the emerging history and influence of the concept of the Global Knowledge Economy.

Higher Education in the Islamic Tradition

The importance of knowledge and learning in the Muslim world, from the beginning, is a well-established point. As Hilgendorf points out, knowledge (*'ilm* in Arabic) “plays a central role in the Muslim’s attitude toward life, work, and being.”³⁷² This focus on the importance of knowledge and learning means that there were relatively high rates of literacy, and a focus on education, in traditional Muslim societies.³⁷³ As Nakosteen writes, “Europe was in its medieval period when the Muslims wrote a colorful chapter in the history of education.”³⁷⁴ This colorful chapter includes the dramatic spread of schools of all types – schools of law, circles of learning, writing schools, palace schools, medical schools, guilds, libraries, and mosque schools, among others.³⁷⁵ Out of this commitment to knowledge and education in the Islamic tradition there emerged institutions of higher learning from North Africa to Southeast Asia, including, among others: al-Qarawiyyin in Fez, Morocco (founded around 859 A.D.), al-Azhar in Cairo (founded around 970 A.D.), the Nizamiyyah Institutes in Iran (founded in the 11th century), the University of Timbuktu (founded in the 12th century), and al-Mustansiriya in Baghdad (founded in the early

³⁷² Eric Hilgendorf, “Islamic Education: History and Tendency,” *Peabody Journal of Education* 78 (2003): 63-75, 64.

³⁷³ E.H. Wilds, *The Foundation of Modern Education* (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1959).

³⁷⁴ Mehdi Nakosteen, *History of the Islamic Origins of Western Education*, 37.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, Chapter 3.

13th century). While this influence is far too often dismissed from the historical record, many have argued convincingly that there is a decidedly Islamic influence on the history of higher education in Europe.³⁷⁶ As Makdisi argues, “the great contribution of Islam is to be found in the college system it originated, in the level of higher learning it developed and transmitted to the West, [and] in the fact that the West borrowed from Islam basic elements that went into its own system of education.”³⁷⁷

The pursuit of knowledge in institutions of higher education in the Muslim world, while quite diverse in form and function, nevertheless centered around the learning of sacred knowledge, a concept which also included what we think of today as both sacred and secular knowledge. As Nasr argues about learning in the Muslim world, “knowledge has always been related to the sacred and to spiritual perfection. To know has meant ultimately to be transformed by the very process of knowing....”³⁷⁸ In this context, institutions of learning (both formal and informal) in the Islamic world – whether primary, secondary, or tertiary – have, throughout history, been focused on both religious and non-religious knowledge, all considered under the umbrella of the sacred. As Nakosteen carefully documents, the list of well-known scholars from the Muslim world who made significant contributions to the secular world, just from the 8th-14th centuries, is long.³⁷⁹ This excludes the latter empires in the Islamic – including the Ottomans, the Seljuks, and the Mughals, among others – who all had strong traditions of higher education.

³⁷⁶ See, for example, George Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981); Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Traditional Islam in the Modern World* (London: KPI Limited, 1987); and S.M.N. Al-Attas, *Aims and Objectives of Islamic Education* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1977).

³⁷⁷ Makdisi, 1981, 293.

³⁷⁸ Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Knowledge and the Sacred: Revisioning Academic Accountability* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1998), vii.

³⁷⁹ See Nakosteen, *History of the Islamic Origins of Western Education*, Appendix IV “A Partial List of Islamic Scholars and Works, A.D. 700-1350,” 221-276.

This very brief survey of the role and importance of higher education in Muslim societies through time points out the important need to take into account pre-colonial educational traditions when considering the interaction between such societies and the World Bank today. This is particularly true because the histories of nations now interacting with the World Bank are in danger of being forgotten, largely because the global forces at work have a tendency to centralize and universalize their own experiences at the expense of local histories. As we shall see, the countries under consideration here have long histories of higher education, and these traditions must be taken into account in analyzing their interaction with the Bank to illuminate how the Bank itself constructs the history of education in these countries.

As is clear in the historical record, the indigenous approach to histories of higher education in both Indonesia and Morocco were displaced by colonization. From the beginning, in many instances, European colonizers sought not only to appropriate the natural resources of their colonized lands, but also to focus on education as a means to convert citizens of these nations to the ways of thinking of the colonizers.³⁸⁰ Schools, therefore, came to be a top priority of colonizing officials in the middle of the 19th century. One example of this lies in the West's initial establishment of authority over Muslim lands after Napoleon invaded Egypt in 1798. Knowledge was prioritized in this invasion, as Napoleon not only brought soldiers, but also scholars, to catalogue the culture of Egypt. The focus on schooling came with the introduction of the Lancaster method of schooling by Ibrahim Adham in 1843, a highly ordered and regimented type of school (called the *makatib al-milla*, national schools) that sought not to prepare military men, but to create “disciplined members of the community.”³⁸¹ Later, in 1867,

³⁸⁰ Colonization, of course, was not a monolith, considering the diversity of colonizers (and their intentions and actions) as well as the diversity of the colonized. The focus on education, for example, was certainly something the French and British adhered to, while the Belgians – in a place like the Congo – did not.

³⁸¹ Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1988), 71.

Ali Mubarak, “an accomplished Egyptian administrator, teacher, and engineer,” went to Paris to learn French ways of ordering society, and, upon his return, “he was appointed Minister of Schools and Minister of Public Works.”³⁸² Mubarak went to work refashioning the Egyptian school system, continuing the work of Adham to bring a Western school system to Egypt, administratively separating civil schools from military schools, and placing schools physically at the center of the city in Cairo.

This focus on schools by Egyptian officials provides evidence for Arendt’s claim that publics are constituted entirely differently in the modern world.³⁸³ Here, citizens are disciplined into a new, Western way of viewing the world, as subjects of the state. As Mitchell argues,

The placing of schools at the centre of the city can mark the moment when a new politics of the modern state appeared. From this centre was to extend the surface of a field that had no previous experience. Education was to be set up as an autonomous practice, spread over ‘the entire surface of society,’ with a distinct purpose. The new schooling introduced earlier in the century under Muhammad Ali had been intended to produce an army and the particular technicians associated with it; schooling was now to produce the individual citizen.³⁸⁴

Thus, the colonial encounter bred a different kind of education from what had existed before; rather than focusing on identity as connected to religious beliefs, the new education constructed identity primarily through national citizenship in a colonized land. Once colonization ended, other external influences – most notably the Wahhabi influence from Saudi Arabia – also affected the education systems of the Muslim world.³⁸⁵ With this brief overview of the influences on higher education in the Muslim world in mind, we now move to consider the specific cases of Morocco and Indonesia.

³⁸² Ibid., 63.

³⁸³ See Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

³⁸⁴ Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, 68-69.

³⁸⁵ See, for example, Michaela Prokop, “Saudi Arabia: The Politics of Education,” *International Affairs* 79 (January 2003): 77-89.

Morocco

The history of higher education in Morocco is, depending on one's view, either a very recent phenomenon or an ancient tradition baked into the culture of the people of the region. From the former perspective, the history of Morocco begins with the landing of the French in Algiers in 1830, which marked the beginning of European involvement in Morocco, and which ultimately led to the creation of a modern university system that today boasts over 200 private institutions of higher education and fifteen public ones.³⁸⁶ From the latter perspective, the historical view broadens back to at least the arrival of the Islamic influence in North Africa in the early 8th century. In Morocco, this begins with what some claim is the oldest continually-operating university in history, al-Qarawiyyin in Fez.³⁸⁷

Considering the very existence and continuing operations of al-Qarawiyyin, and its continued role in educating students today,³⁸⁸ combined with the context of Islamic higher education provided above, broadening the historical scope is appropriate. Al-Qarawiyyin has a special place in Moroccan history, having trained world-renowned scholars in medieval times, including Ibn Khaldun, Ibn al-Khatib, and others who taught “grammar, rhetoric, logic, mathematics, and astronomy, and possible history, geography, and chemistry.”³⁸⁹ The institution itself has historically been free for students, and at times students were even given stipends to

³⁸⁶ See, for example, Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco* (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 2013).

³⁸⁷ Also transliterated as Al-Karaouine. See Rom Landau, "The Karaouine at Fes," *The Muslim World* 48 (1958): 104-12.

³⁸⁸ For an interesting study into al-Qarawiyyin and its pedagogy today, which the authors argue is based primarily on rote memorization emerging from the oral transmission tradition of Islam, see Glenn Hardaker and A'ishah Ahmad Sabki, "An Insight into Islamic Pedagogy at the University of al-Qarawiyyin," *Multicultural Education & Technology Journal* 6 (2012): 106-110.

³⁸⁹ Salah Zaimeche, "Education in Islam: The Role of the Mosque," Foundation for Science, Technology and Civilisation, <http://www.muslimheritage.com/uploads/ACF2C23.pdf>, 4. (Accessed October 15, 2014.)

study there.³⁹⁰ Despite the central place of al-Qarawiyyin in Moroccan history, there have been very few historical treatments of this institution.³⁹¹

The lack of historical inquiry into the university's history and operations is an example of what the historian Trevor-Roper laments in saying, "Perhaps, in the future, there will be some African history to reach. But at present there is none, or very little; there is only the history of Europeans in Africa."³⁹² In examining the interaction between a transnational institution like the World Bank and a country like Morocco, it is important to widen the scope of historical inquiry in order to counteract the obvious imbalance of power that exists between any debtor and lender. It is also important to keep in mind the vastly different sizes of the political space being represented by the two entities. The historian of higher education in Africa does well to remember that "the short interregnum occupied by colonialism... in the long history of the continent that spans millennia, does not embody the sum total of all there is to know about African higher education."³⁹³ This is a particularly important point to remember when studying the Bank's involvement in formerly colonized lands, as often the Bank itself constructs the history of these nations around the centrality of the colonization experience.

The World Bank has been operating in Morocco since 1962, with an initial loan in that year to increase the capital of the Central Bank of Morocco in order to help spur economic development. The Bank has been involved in the education sector since 1965, with an initial loan to build and equip twenty-one secondary schools "offering general and specialized

³⁹⁰ Ibid., 5.

³⁹¹ Beyond the citation by Landau mentioned above, I have yet to find other historical treatments of Al-Qarawiyyin University.

³⁹² Hugh Trevor-Roper, *The Rise of Christian Europe* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1965), 9.

³⁹³ Lulat, *A History of African Higher Education*, 1-2.

education and training at the secondary level.”³⁹⁴ Since that initial loan, the Bank has provided over \$1.5 billion to Morocco in the form of grants and loans for its education sector.

The Report and Recommendation for the initial education loan – like many of this time period – is only seven pages long. As time has passed, these documents have increased significantly in length, with many now being well over 100 pages today for each loan. In this initial education loan, the Bank’s view of Moroccan history is on full display. The entire document discusses Morocco only “since independence,” which had happened just nine years earlier in 1956. Clearly, the Bank is dealing with Morocco only as a post-colonial nation-state. Documenting the devastation of the colonial period in this loan document, the Bank points out that “seventy percent of the labor force [was] engaged in subsistence type agriculture, and 80% of the population is still illiterate.”³⁹⁵ In addition, the economy was slowing tremendously, with “the slow growth of output since independence... due in large part to a sharp drop in private investment which has been associated with the outflow of Europeans.”³⁹⁶

The first higher education project by the Bank was offered in 1971, with an \$8.5 million loan to Morocco. This loan provided dollars for construction and equipment for secondary and higher education institutions and was not primarily a higher education loan (that would have to wait until 1986). As was characteristic of the Bank’s loans in this time period, the focus of the projects remained squarely on tangible capital projects like construction and equipment.³⁹⁷ How did the Bank discuss the state of the education system in Morocco at the time and justify the need for a loan? Addressing only the public provision of education (ignoring the private and religious

³⁹⁴ The World Bank, “Report and Recommendation of the President to the Executive Directors on a Proposed Development Credit to the Kingdom of Morocco for an Education Project,” September 24, 1965, http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2002/07/02/000178830_98101902511224/Rendred/PDF/multi0page.pdf, accessed September 19, 2014.

³⁹⁵ Ibid., 4.

³⁹⁶ Ibid.

³⁹⁷ Jones, *World Bank Financing of Education*, 52.

schools), the Bank's report speaks of the French system of education and the problem of a low growth rate in enrollment in primary schools. The document also mentions a very low secondary school graduation rate and presents data that show an enrollment of 248,000 in secondary school in 1969/1970 with only 8,000 students graduating. As for higher education, the enrollment rate nationwide was only 12,000 students, or 0.9%.³⁹⁸

As is representative of many loans to the education system of Morocco in the 1970s and 1980s, the Bank drew on these data to discuss weaknesses in the education system that the Bank could apparently help to fix: high drop-out rates, "lack of properly trained graduates in most scientific and technical fields,"³⁹⁹ low female enrollment rates, and the "retention of an education system which stresses academic subjects while neglecting practical training."⁴⁰⁰ The picture that emerges here, as in multiple other educational loans to Morocco, is of an institution positioning itself to bring practical, professional training to strengthen such subjects as science, agriculture, industrial technicians, and engineers to a nation lacking such professionalism.⁴⁰¹

The early loan documents on the Bank's work in Morocco's education sector show that the solutions provided by the Bank were quite ambitious. From the first to the second loan, the Bank expanded significantly the scope of its work. It moved from the first loan, which worked on twenty-one specific secondary schools, to the second loan, which was "complex" and needed to be divided into five different project groups: educational research and teacher training, upgrading of scientific and technical education in secondary schools, vocational training,

³⁹⁸ The World Bank (International Development Association), "Report and Recommendation of the President to the Executive Directors on a Proposed Development Credit to the Kingdom of Morocco for a Second Education Project," July 8, 1971, http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2002/07/02/000178830_9810190319049/Rendered/PDF/multi0page.pdf, 4. (Accessed September 19, 2014).

³⁹⁹ Ibid., 4.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., 5.

⁴⁰¹ This includes Bank education projects 3, 4, and 5 in Morocco, approved, respectively, in March 1976, April 1979, and May, 1982.

agricultural training, and technical assistance.⁴⁰² This progression is very much in line with Jones's argument that "most project documents" – especially educational projects – "reflect inflated and unrealistic expectations about anticipated project impact."⁴⁰³ While such documents were important to help get these projects approved internally, they certainly set unrealistic expectations that undoubtedly disappointed many a nation. The reality of a Bank getting approval for funding did not always match the needs or realistic possible outcomes of the country.

In 1986, the Bank made its first loan that was primarily devoted to the country's higher education system. The most significant challenge that the Bank sought to overcome with this loan was the rapid increase in higher education enrollments, which, according to the Bank, the country could no longer absorb.⁴⁰⁴ The Bank used this \$150 million loan to encourage Morocco to slow down its enrollment of 10th-12th graders and to reduce the higher education enrollment rates. It justified this position by arguing that 1) most graduates would not find jobs, 2) college students cost too much and took resources away from the needs in primary education, 3) increased enrollment rates was reducing the quality of the schools, and 4) higher education was financially unsustainable for Morocco.⁴⁰⁵ Interestingly, the report provides no data or evidence about who was studying the unemployment issue or to support the concern that graduates would not find jobs. Nevertheless, the stated goal of the project was to reduce secondary and higher education enrollments in order to "increase literacy among Moroccan children... improve the

⁴⁰² Ibid., 6.

⁴⁰³ Jones, *World Bank Financing of Education*, 54.

⁴⁰⁴ The World Bank, "Report and Recommendation of the President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to the Executive Directors on a Proposed Loan in the Amount Equivalent to US \$150 Million to the Kingdom of Morocco in Support of an Education Sector Reform Program," February 25, 1986, http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/1986/02/01/000009265_3970625094522/Rendered/PDF/multi_page.pdf, accessed October 13, 2014, 14.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

efficiency of the education system, and to meet more effectively the country's employment needs through the redirection of a greater proportion of students into vocational training instead of general, higher education."⁴⁰⁶ One of the key quantitative goals of the project, which was subsequently met, was therefore to reduce "the promotion rate of students from grade 9 lower secondary to grade 10 upper secondary to 45% by the end of the 185/86 academic year."⁴⁰⁷

In making this loan, the Bank posited that the Moroccan education system was in crisis because it was financially unsustainable. Apparently too many students were eager for higher education, and particularly liberal arts and law education, which accounted for 75% of university enrollments at the time of the loan.⁴⁰⁸ The answer the Bank provided for Morocco was not to focus on improving and expanding the higher education system. Instead, the answer was to suppress the demand by restricting access to higher education. To do this, for example, the Bank pushed the government of Morocco to begin charging fees for higher education, despite that nation's long tradition of providing higher education for free, as documented as far back as al-Qarawiyyin in pre-modern times. In an internal memo dated February 11, 1986, the Bank makes plain that the government of Morocco "has judged that it is not feasible to introduce university registration fees before second tranche release, but it is committed to their introduction as soon as possible. It is understood that the introduction of these fees would be a requirement of any Bank financing of Phase II of the reform program."⁴⁰⁹ The Bank used its leverage to push through higher education fees, thus creating another barrier to enrollment.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid., 16.

⁴⁰⁷ World Bank Archives, Folder 902375, Education Sector Reform Program Project – Morocco – Loan 2664 – P005421 – Correspondence – Volume 1.

⁴⁰⁸ Report and Recommendation, 1986 loan, 14.

⁴⁰⁹ World Bank Archives, Folder 1345179, Education Sector Reform Program Project – Morocco – Loan 2664 – P005421 – Supervision.

In so doing, however, it ignored the local context. In a subsequent internal memo assessing the project after its implementation, dated July 1993, a Bank staffer admits that they “failed to properly assess ...the political and social pressures from urban populations for higher education.”⁴¹⁰ Interestingly, rather than taking responsibility for this, the memo states that the Bank itself “was openly agnostic” on the issue of higher education, relying “fully on the judgment of a very astute informer... as to what reforms were politically feasible.”⁴¹¹ All of this led the staffer to argue that “meaningful reforms are often fragile in that they depend upon the patronage of a few well-placed advocates.”⁴¹²

Several interesting points emerge from this memo. First and most importantly, the Bank shows here that it operates at relative arm’s length from the country where it is loaning money. This approach gives the Bank the ability to absolve itself of responsibility when there is resistance to its policy prescriptions. Furthermore, it illustrates nicely the lack of country-level knowledge – historical, cultural, and political – among the staff working on this loan. Finally, and crucially, this approach allows the Bank to position itself as an agnostic, objective observer, above the fray of politics and real disagreement and resistance.

In Morocco, the Bank’s history of involvement in higher education follows some familiar patterns of Bank lending, but diverges from those patterns in a few important ways. In the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, the Bank’s loans in Morocco were, as was typical, based on the construction / production of tangible projects (schools, equipment, etc.). To the extent that the Bank was involved in higher education, its involvement was for the purpose of boosting the country’s teacher training and developing a professional class of works (engineers, doctors, etc.).

⁴¹⁰ World Bank Archives, Folder 1078439, Education Sector Reform Program Project – Morocco – Loan 2664 – P005421 – Correspondence – Volume 3.

⁴¹¹ Ibid.

⁴¹² Ibid.

No mention is made of the role of higher education in fostering a democratic spirit, or in inculcating a sense of national or global citizenship, or of training wise and thoughtful leaders for the nation. This is all quite in line with how the Bank approached, and continues to approach, higher education – both before the advent of the concept of the knowledge economy and after.

The 1986 loan, however, is a fascinating study in how the Bank contributed to the erosion of the higher education sector in Morocco, which ties into the documented struggles of African higher education more generally in the 1970s and 1980s.⁴¹³ Where there was clear demand – particularly for education in the liberal arts and law – the Bank nevertheless encouraged and used its leverage to force the government of Morocco to make both secondary school and higher education less attainable. The only analysis of this high demand for higher education is that it cost too much and needed to be stopped. There is nothing in the documents I reviewed suggesting an analysis of how an increased investment in higher education to accommodate this demand might benefit the country, for example.

Since that 1986 loan, there have been five loans partially targeted to higher education in Morocco. Interestingly, despite the rhetoric about helping to foster knowledge economies by prioritizing higher education, and the ranking of Morocco as 102nd out of 145 nations on the 2012 Knowledge Economy Index,⁴¹⁴ only two loans have been offered, both since 2012, explicitly in support of the expansion of the knowledge economy in Morocco, totaling \$200 million. These two GKE loans are linked with the explicit goal of improving the skill levels of workers in order to decrease the unemployment rate. However, neither addresses the need for the creation of new knowledge through research – a key aspect of the Bank’s concept of the knowledge economy.

⁴¹³ See, for example, Sawyerr, “Challenges Facing African Universities: Selected Issues.”

⁴¹⁴ Knowledge Economy Index (KEI) 2012 Rankings, <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTUNIKAM/Resources/2012.pdf>, accessed October 28, 2014.

Indonesia

In contrast to the Bank's lack of support for developing the knowledge economy in Morocco, the Bank has invested heavily in the knowledge economy in Indonesia, with twelve loans specifically targeting building the knowledge economy since 1989 totaling over \$1 billion dollars. This investment comes in a country with a KEI ranking relatively similar to Morocco. While Morocco is ranked 102nd, Indonesia is 108th out of 145 countries. Since 1968, the Bank has been working in Indonesia with over 500 projects in all sectors. In the education sector, the Bank has provided just under 100 total loans / grants since 1970, for a total investment of over \$10 billion.

Of the twelve loans specifically targeting the GKE in Indonesia, the first two are not directly related to higher education. The first loan is to improve the human resources sector and the second is to improve the secondary education system. The third loan, however, represents a significant effort to influence the higher education sector in Indonesia. Specifically, the \$150 million loan has an ambitious set of objectives, including support for academic staff development, public and private research, the creation of inter-university centers, university library development, strengthening secondary school science teacher training, math and natural science education, development of accelerated engineering programs and environmental study centers, improving the management capacity of university administrators, and more.⁴¹⁵

⁴¹⁵ The World Bank, "Memorandum and Recommendation of the President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to the Executive Directors on a Proposed Loan in an Amount Equivalent to U.S. \$150 million to the Republic of Indonesia for a Second Higher Education Development Project," February 27, 1991, http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/1991/02/27/000009265_3960930070200/Rendered/PDF/multi_page.pdf, accessed October 4, 2014.

In this loan, as is typical of its approach, the Bank does not present a historical view. Its analysis of higher education in Indonesia starts in 1970, with no explanation for why this year in particular was chosen. By starting in 1970 and comparing the date from then to 1988, a number of very favorable indicators emerge, including increased school enrollment at all levels overall and increased female enrollments in particular. Historically speaking, however, there is no context given here for the Indonesian higher education system before 1970.

Interestingly, just as in the loan documents analyzed from Morocco, the Bank points to a concern about high unemployment among college / university graduates.⁴¹⁶ Unlike the Morocco loan, this document mentions specific data to back up its claim that unemployment is increasing among graduates, although it also acknowledges that “a major problem is the continuing lack of adequate knowledge and understanding of the graduate labor market.”⁴¹⁷ Whereas in Morocco the policy solution to this issue was to decrease access to higher education, in Indonesia the exact opposite was true: the Bank provided this specific loan to improve the quality of education so that the Indonesian higher education system could handle increased demand and maintain quality. The historical evidence suggests a clear difference between the Bank’s approach in Morocco and Indonesia, because Indonesia has an economic environment that the Bank sees as more favorable. This economic environment is not only about more public dollars, but also about a better allocation of higher education expenses between public and private sources, and a lower percentage of overall public dollars devoted to education.

All of this leads to a very different diagnosis of the educational problems in Indonesia, with this loan needed for “ (a) the urgent need for improvement and expansion in science, engineering, and management training at both undergraduate and graduate levels, (b) the

⁴¹⁶ Ibid., 5.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

necessity of effective accelerated engineering and basic science teacher training programs through the use of honoraria for faculty members and financial support for students in their final year; (c) the need for quality control in the development and implementation of technical assistance programs; and (d) the need to strengthen all aspects of management.”⁴¹⁸ Decidedly different from the Moroccan case, this loan provides support for research and for training of college and university faculty to obtain higher degrees. Interestingly, the Bank advocates for this training to happen in “overseas programs” which are “desirable in order to infuse new ideas and methodologies into the Indonesian university system.”⁴¹⁹

From the documents related to this loan, a theme emerges of the Bank seeking to create a class of professionals (engineers, environmentalists, technical experts, etc.), influenced at least to some extent by foreign ideas and methods. For example, as part of the goal of creating environmental study centers (about which there is much discussion in these documents), a Swedish team of environmentalists visited Indonesia on May 14, 1990 “to undertake a feasibility study of the Environmental Study centers (ESCs) as an integral part of the proposed Second Higher Education Development project.”⁴²⁰ Another theme that becomes apparent from documents is a very strong working relationship between the Bank and the Director General of Higher Education for Indonesia, Dr. Sukadji Ranuwihardjo.⁴²¹ There are multiple documents with correspondence between Ranuwihardjo and the World Bank, in marked contrast, again, to the Moroccan loan, where the local actors had very little agency. Despite this strong relationship, issues of sovereignty and the imbalance of power are evident. In a letter

⁴¹⁸ World Bank Archives, Folder 1460357, Higher Education Development Project (02) – Indonesia – Loan 3311 – P003939 – Project File Fiscal Year (FY) 1991 – Correspondence.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid.

⁴²⁰ World Bank Archives, “Environmental Study Centers Component - Terms of Reference for Feasibility Study,” Folder 1460357, Higher Education Development Project – Indonesia – Loan 3311 – P003939 – Project File Fiscal Year (FY) 1991 – Correspondence.

⁴²¹ Sometimes transliterated as Dr. Soekadji Ranuwihardjo.

Ranuwihardjo writes to one of the project staffers from the Bank, he says that he has appointed Dr. O. Simbolon as Head of the Central Project Implementation Unit (CPU). In so doing, he says “I hope this appointment could be accepted by the World Bank.”⁴²² It is difficult to discern the tone of this statement: is he asking permission or just offering a polite platitude? In the context of the other correspondence, and the general relationship between debtor and lender, however, it is certainly likely that this small issue reveals the large issue of sovereignty that looms over all of the Bank’s work.

Indeed, there are a number of documents related to this loan in which the Indonesian staff working on the project ask permission for small things. For example, in a letter dated September 4, 1991, Dr. Simbolon (the approved Project Director) asks for permission to hire a consultant for the International Study Program they have set up in Denmark. The Bank subsequently approved this request.⁴²³ These requests for permission apparently became annoying for the Bank, and in a letter on December 17th, the Bank changes the threshold for when the Government of Indonesia needs to ask for approval.⁴²⁴

Comparing the Cases of Morocco and Indonesia

A close analysis of the documents related to this loan reveals some interesting differences from the Morocco project of 1986. It also reveals key themes that appear through the documents, particularly the Bank’s desire to create a cadre of professionals in all of its work, in its encouragement of Indonesians going “overseas” (exclusively to Europe, and primarily northern Europe) for additional training, and the significant issue of sovereignty. A key

⁴²² World Bank archives, Folder 1007553, Higher Education Development Project (02) – Indonesia – Loan 3311 – P003939 – Project File Fiscal Year (FY) 1991 – Correspondence – Volume 2

⁴²³ The World Bank archives, Folder 1081624, Higher Education Development Project (02) – Indonesia – Loan 3311 – P003939 – Project File Fiscal Year (FY) 1991 – Correspondence – Volume 3

⁴²⁴ Ibid.

difference from the Moroccan case is a much more clearly defined focused on building a knowledge economy in Indonesia through support for the production of knowledge. Subsequent loans to support the knowledge economy in Indonesia deal with strengthening graduate education and research, support for undergraduate education to improve earnings for graduates, and support for improving Indonesia's distance education project.⁴²⁵

In reviewing the cases in Morocco and Indonesia, some similarities and some differences appear. As noted, both countries are very closely ranked on the KEI scale (Morocco #102, Indonesia #108), and both are classified by the Bank as lower middle income. Despite these similarities, it is clear that the Bank has made very different interventions in each nation. In Morocco, Bank support for the knowledge economy has been minimal. Whether this was due to constrained budgets, a poorly managed educational sector, or just the lack of a strong partner on the ground, the Bank in any case remained focused on primary and secondary education in Morocco. This was true even after the Bank publicly committed to support additional higher education projects in furtherance of the growth of knowledge economies. In Indonesia, by contrast, the Bank is more fully invested, as the sheer volume of Bank loans for education in Indonesia (over \$10 billion and counting) far outstrips that of Morocco (around \$1 billion).

Comparison of these two cases provides another point of evidence for the declining Bank support for education in Africa, relative to other regions. As Samoff shows, "Africa's share of World Bank lending to education worldwide has declined since the early lending years. Since the 1980s, less than 20 percent of worldwide lending for education has gone to Africa compared

⁴²⁵ See, respectively, World Bank Projects website, Project ID 004017, "University Research for Graduate Education Project" <http://www.worldbank.org/projects/P004017/university-research-graduate-education-project?lang=en>; Project ID 004004, "Higher Education Support Project – Development of Undergraduate Education", <http://www.worldbank.org/projects/P004004/higher-education-support-project-development-undergraduate-education?lang=en>; Project ID P073970, "Global Development Learning Network Project (LIL)", <http://www.worldbank.org/projects/P073970/global-development-learning-network-project-lil?lang=en>, accessed 11/3/2014.

with about 40 percent in the early 1970s.”⁴²⁶ The same trend is true specifically for lending to higher education, where “higher education’s share of World Bank education lending to Africa increased in the 1970s, remained roughly level during the 1980s, and then declined in the early 1990s. The current share of lending to higher education is the same as it was in the 1960s (just under 20%).”⁴²⁷ One conclusion from this evidence is that while the Bank’s rhetorical focus has been on building knowledge economies through support for higher education, its actual support for this vision in Africa has decreased overall. Not only has support for higher education by the Bank decreased since the 1980s, but also the focus of what remains of the Bank’s support has been primarily on areas not specifically targeting the GKE. The case of Morocco is illustrative of this trend. For any number of reasons, the commitment to knowledge economies by the Bank in Africa does not appear to be strong.

Summary Thoughts

Several conclusions and opportunities for future research emerge through my analysis of the Banks’ uneven support for higher education and the GKE in Morocco and Indonesia. The first point is that the Bank has placed itself in somewhat of a paradoxical position as it continues to centralize its power, while at the same time coming from a basic philosophical stance that advocates a deep suspicion of centralized power and planning. In the past three decades, the Bank has consolidated its position as the primary global actor working on educational policy issues.⁴²⁸ As Steiner Khamsi has recently argued, “Although the World Bank has not decreased its role as a lender of money, it has acted increasingly, over the past decade, as a global policy

⁴²⁶ Joel Samoff and Bidemi Carrol, “From Manpower Planning to the Knowledge Era,” 16.

⁴²⁷ Ibid.

⁴²⁸ See Nancy Alexander, “Paying for Education: How the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund Influence Education in Developing Countries,” *Peabody Journal of Education* 76 (2001), 285-338.

advisory for national governments.”⁴²⁹ It thus plays a significant role in constructing both the discourse and the practical construction of the Global Knowledge Economy in the developing world, through both rhetoric and a global measurement system through the KAM and its production of the KEI. As Michael Peters has shown, national policy discourses in a wide range of developed nations – from the United States to New Zealand to the UK and beyond – rely heavily for their education policy formation on the notion of the GKE.⁴³⁰ Considering the prevalence of this notion, the question of how this discourse came to have authority at the global level is therefore an important one to explore.

In short, there is an increasingly large disconnect between the Bank’s stated commitment to the power of free markets to drive economic growth without the grasp of centralized planners and its increasingly centralized view of education and its objectives, broadly speaking. In other words, analyzing the Bank’s work in higher education over the past few decades reveals a remarkably centralized planning structure for education, even within an institution that is quite suspicious of any centralized planning. The GKE is a centralized and centralizing imaginary – one that claims universality, at least in theory. Educational policy has increasingly come to be managed by this centralized and universal imaginary, even in an age where the de-centralization of school governance through the charter school movement appears to be a buzzword in education in some places. Is it possible to have such disparate views of the means and ends of education, where the aim of education is narrowed to a central global imaginary, while the means of education are de-centralized? If de-centralization truly happens, in other words, shouldn’t there emerge a wide array of ideas about the ends of education?

⁴²⁹ Gita Steiner-Khamsi, “For All by All? The World Bank’s Global Framework for Education,” in Steven Klees, Joel Samoff, and Nelly P. Stromquist, eds., *The World Bank and Education: Critiques and Alternatives* (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2012): 3-21, 5.

⁴³⁰ Peters, “National Education Policy Constructions.”

It appears that, in the view of the Bank, education for the knowledge economy, then, is not something that can be left to the invisible hand; instead, it must be centralized through a global scopic system that narrows considerably the possibilities of education and that relies on global economic professionals to manage the system.⁴³¹ Despite this view, local resistance remains and must be considered within local histories, rather than being subjugated by foreign histories created by external agents such as the Bank. Under the influence of the Bank, educational problems are being posited, and they are being glued together by a view of history that the Bank espouses. This view of history, in turn, is used to justify the need for intervention. How the Bank considers and constructs the history of education in the nations where it works is, therefore, a very important point to analyze.

Underlying this thought is another, related point: this centralized planning over education, occurring at the Bank and enabled by the imperialism of economics over education, is based on a common belief that pervades the Bank's approach to higher education related to the notion of building *professionals*. As we saw in the analysis of the Bank's involvement in both Morocco and Indonesia, despite vastly different contexts, the Bank supported the professionalization of both countries. Thus, not only does the authority of the GKE rely upon a new global profession of education consumption economists, but so too does the Bank prioritize the creation of professionals in its lending. In the examples in both of these countries, the Bank prioritizes the use of higher education to create a global public professional space where authority rests not within the bounds of the nation, but in an intangible global public imaginary.

In addition, this initial survey of only two nations suggests that the concept of the GKE is being applied unevenly. As Kamola argues, the concept of globalization is an imaginary that is

⁴³¹ Karin Knorr Cetina, "The Market," *Theory, Culture, Society* 32 (2006): 551-556, 41,

asymmetrically formed within “the highly unequal social relations in which knowledge about globalization is produced.”⁴³² In this imaginary, powerful countries have more say in shaping and defining the very concept of globalization. From the evidence, it appears that the GKE is similarly asymmetrically shaped and defined. Furthermore, what is clear in the concept of the knowledge economy and in the loans that the Bank is providing to developing nations is that there is little room for one important aspect of higher education as it has existed at times through history in both the Islamic and Western tradition: critical inquiry and the creation of citizens with concern for the public sphere and, in some places, building a democratic ethos, rooted in certain tangible geographic spaces. If both of these things are true (i.e. that the knowledge economy is asymmetrically shaped and defined, and that it rarely encourages critical thinking and democratic education), then the developing world may continue to have great challenges in building institutional capacity under the power of the GKE. In the unbounded, intangible global public arena, the production of knowledge as a commodity for economic growth is unevenly defined, distributed, and understood, with no polity to serve as a check to this uneven distribution.

Finally, the encounters between a significant, transnational global actor like the World Bank and developing nations like Indonesia and Morocco point not only to issues of sovereignty at the global level, but also to the important role that history plays in mediating the fierce and, at times, purely ideological debates about globalization. On this point, an analysis of the historical development of the Bank’s involvement in higher education through the cases presented here points to the need for a self-conscious history; that is, history that is conscious of the lack of a historical record created about transnational organizations (due to the historian’s understandably narrow, national view) and that is aware of the scale of the political entity being studied. The

⁴³² Isaac Kamola, "Why Global? Diagnosing the Globalization Literature Within a Political Economy of Higher Education." *International Political Sociology* 7 (2013): 41-58.

Bank operates within and above a massive polity that is global and undefined. Just as nations in the modern era were forced to create “imagined communities” with historical narratives that swept aside local associations, so too do global institutions and imaginaries have the capacity to continue this trend.⁴³³ Perhaps historicizing global institutions like the World Bank helps the historian to see a correlation between political scale and historical scope. That is, might it be the case that the larger the political space that is occupied by a state, institution or imaginary, the narrower the historical view of that entity? In other words, is historical scope narrowed when political scale increases? If so, history is all the more important for all institutions with claims to universality and globalism, as protection against the dangerous totalitarianism of extreme homogeneity and centralization.

⁴³³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

Chapter 6

Analysis and Implications

The dream of reason did not take power into account. The dream was that reason, in the form of the arts and sciences, would liberate humanity from scarcity and the caprices of nature, ignorance and superstition, tyranny, and not least of all, the disease of the body and the spirit. But reason is no abstract force pushing inexorably toward greater freedom at the end of history. Its forms and uses are determined by the narrower purposes of men and women; their interests and ideals shape even what counts as knowledge. Though the works of reason have lifted innumerable burdens of hunger and sorrow, they have also cast up a new world of power. In that world, some people stand above others in knowledge and authority and in control of the vast institutions that have arisen to manage and finance the rationalized forms of human labor.⁴³⁴

The dream of reason, as described by Starr, has been recast by a new class of global educational professionals into a dream of commodified, intangible knowledge capital as the engine of unending economic growth. Education is its primary fuel, managed by an emerging class of professionals who have created an imagined, professionalized global imaginary. This dream is seen by many as both the means and the ends of human life, restrained only by the scarcity of resources available to us. Knowledge, in this conception, is the greatest of renewable resources, allowing human beings to conceive of a world where unending economic growth is possible, even in a world of material scarcity, through the production, re-production, and consumption of intangible knowledge.⁴³⁵ To lift the restraint of material scarcity from humanity, therefore, requires a profound reliance upon a public global world of intangibility (the GKE), a dogmatic belief in a particular conception of the rational human mind, and the treatment of knowledge as a sovereign panacea. In this world, the economist reigns as the oracle above many

⁴³⁴ Paul Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine: The Rise of a Sovereign Profession and the Making of a Vast Industry* (New York: Basic Book Publishers, 1982), 3.

⁴³⁵ Romer, "The Origins of Endogenous Growth."

other academic fields; the economy reigns as the sovereign territory above the political realm.⁴³⁶ In this dream, just as Starr wrote four decades ago when speaking about the American health care system, “some people stand above others in knowledge and authority and in control of the vast institutions that have arisen to manage and finance the rationalized forms of human labor.”⁴³⁷

Within this dream, higher education is increasingly the handmaiden to a nebulous intangible global public space in which institutions like the World Bank are able to operate with significant authority, creating a new class of global educational professionals. Thus, the GKE provides the space for private, inaccessible knowledge about issues of great public concern to emerge. These new “doctors of education” diagnose the apparent illnesses of education around the world, positing themselves as the authoritative solution to these illnesses.

Such a perspective is not new. As far back as 1968, Philip Coombs wrote a book that would portend several other significant publications lamenting the crisis in education.⁴³⁸ According to Coombs, schools around the globe were in crisis at the time because the huge increase in students going to school had led to strains on national budgets, and schools were still designed to attend to the needs of an agricultural, rather than an industrial, society. As such, “the outputs of education systems are evidently ill-fitted, on the one hand, to the rapidly altering needs of national development, and to the similarly changing needs of individuals in changing societies.”⁴³⁹ And yet, education was also seen as the solution, because the huge increase in

⁴³⁶ This is a point made by, among others, Polanyi in *The Great Transformation*, and by Hawkes, *Ideology*. Hawkes argues that that the market has ceased “to fulfil its necessary but subordinate function as a means towards the end of civilized life.” (2)

⁴³⁷ Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine*, 3.

⁴³⁸ Coombs, *The World Educational Crisis*. See also, *A Nation At Risk, A Report to the Nation by The National Commission on Excellence in Education*, 1983, <http://www2.ed.gov/pubs/NatAtRisk/index.html>, accessed 1/5/2015.

⁴³⁹ Coombs, *The World Education Crisis*, 165.

demand for education around the globe suggested that education could liberate people from the existing monopoly on power held by a small number. As Coombs argued,

Since the 1950s, the aims of education, like other aspects of the educational picture, have expanded to a revolutionary degree. A world of people, previously immobilized, got hold of a liberating idea: that knowledge is the key to a whole family of powers – political, social, economic; that *a monopoly of knowledge in the hands of the few is but another name for the rule of the few over the lives of many; that any people who wish to be the authors of their own history and to develop in their own way must break up the existing monopoly of knowledge.*⁴⁴⁰

What I have argued in this dissertation is that the monopoly of knowledge that mass education helped to contain and partially disrupt is in danger of returning more fully in and through this new global public imaginary. Within the GKE, the potential for an inequitable distribution of commodified knowledge is very real and the ability for non-commodified knowledge to be produced is becoming increasingly less possible. The question of how knowledge is distributed equitably in the GKE is therefore one that drives the current study. The concern is nothing less than the power of the GKE to further exacerbate global inequities and erode democratic principles from within. In an 1864 letter, Abraham Lincoln wrote,

I see in the near future a crisis approaching that unnerves me and causes me to tremble for the safety of my country... [C]orporations have been enthroned and an era of corruption in high places will follow, and the money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people until all wealth is aggregated in a few hands and the Republic is destroyed.⁴⁴¹

While Lincoln was concerned with tangible capital and corporations, a significant and added concern of our time is intangible capital in the form of knowledge capital, and the intangible

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid., 99, italics mine.

⁴⁴¹ Abraham Lincoln, Letter to Col. William F. Elkins, November 21, 1864, in Archer H. Shaw, *The Lincoln Encyclopedia: The Spoken and Written Words of A. Lincoln Arranged for Ready Reference* (New York: Macmillan, 1950).

imaginary of the GKE. The question is, as Pusser asked in the quote in Chapter One, will the newly-anointed power of knowledge capital in our world (and of the institutions of higher education that produce this knowledge) be used to illuminate, or reinforce, existing power structures?⁴⁴² As Chisholm argues, “knowledge societies... theoretically offer unprecedented means to empower social actions and to add to the self-transforming capacity of society. Yet in practice they appear to be highly susceptible to recreating and reinforcing systematic social inequalities and to exacerbating economic and social polarization.”⁴⁴³

From my analysis of the Bank’s involvement in higher education as a tool for the creation of the GKE, what the GKE does is essentially reduce a complex set of political, moral and economic questions about knowledge and its transfer to a relatively simplified imaginary. The GKE as an imaginary appears to resolve the complex issues of what it means to be well educated, what the ends of education are, and even what knowledge is and how it should serve humanity.⁴⁴⁴ But in reality, the GKE is an imagined world “where knowledge is acquired, created, disseminated and used effectively to enhance economic development,” and education is reduced to meeting these seemingly clear economic objectives.⁴⁴⁵

This dissertation has explored a small but important corner of the vast room in which intangible knowledge has come to have authority over tangible capital, mirroring the increasing

⁴⁴² Pusser, “Power and Authority in the Creation of a Public Sphere.”

⁴⁴³ Lynne Chisholm, “The Transition to a Knowledge Society and Its Implications for the European Social Model,” Discussion paper, XVII European Symposium on Science and Culture, Belgium, 30 September – 1 October, 1999, in Peters, “National Policy Education Constructions,” 16.

⁴⁴⁴ See Alfie Kohn, *What Does It Mean to be Well Educated? And More Essays on Standards, Grading, and Other Follies* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004); Neil Postman, *The End of Education: Redefining the Value of School* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996); David F. Labaree, “Public Goods, Private Goods: The American Struggle Over Educational Goals,” *American Educational Research Journal* 34, (1997): 39-81; and Nel Noddings, *Critical Lessons: What Our Schools Should Teach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

⁴⁴⁵ Derek H.C. Chen and Carl J. Dahlman, “The Knowledge Economy, the KAM Methodology and World Bank Operations,” *World Bank Institute Working Paper* (2005), 2.

intangibility of much of our lives.⁴⁴⁶ In this corner rests a critically important nexus among a global institution seeking to professionalize itself, an emerging global professional class of development economists seeking to professionalize developing nations, and the realm of education in the field of international development. While the World Bank has been exerting its authority through its ability to loan capital since its inception, it has increased its authority from its ability to position itself over the past several decades as a legitimate and effective authority on knowledge, education, and international development. This capacity to position itself as an expert in such matters gives the Bank a clear way to distinguish itself from other traditional banks: by presenting itself as a development Bank (and ultimately, a Knowledge Bank) with unmatched expertise in developing the global public arena, the Bank is building a brand helps to differentiate it and to increase its market share in the worlds of banking and international development.⁴⁴⁷ This brand was built upon the notion that knowledge and its transfer are central to solving intractable development issues like poverty, income inequality, and gender disparities. The Bank thus began a slow shift from mostly infrastructure development (i.e. building schools) to more and more involvement in educational policy and politics. This shift required resources to be devoted to building and maintaining an intangible global imaginary, rather than a tangible product. Today, the Bank sells itself clearly as a service organization based upon its considerable knowledge assets. As the current Bank education website says, “The Bank helps

⁴⁴⁶ For example: the increasing intangibility of our currency, of our imagined communities, and of our social lives through social media outlets.

⁴⁴⁷ Mehta, “The World Bank and Its Emerging Knowledge Empire.” This shift has clear ties to Naomi Klein’s argument that corporations have - for the past three decades – come to realize that there is more value in a brand – an abstract representation of a company – than in the actual products that it makes. See Naomi Klein, *No Logo*.

countries achieve their education goals through finance and knowledge services in the forms of analytic work, policy advice, and technical assistance.”⁴⁴⁸

In its ongoing involvement in education and its shift to positioning itself as an expert in development knowledge, the Bank now presents itself as an institution that has the ability to define and help solve the problems of the global educational sector by manufacturing a global discourse based on a set of problems which are amenable to policy solutions that can only come from an international organization like the Bank. Such problems are presented as solvable by the production and distribution of new knowledge – knowledge that countries have to produce and sell in order to remain competitive in the global landscape. The Bank can then position itself as a repository of such knowledge, to be withdrawn and deposited by nations not only to help nations develop, but also to help the Bank differentiate itself and therefore sustain its operations. Lending in education was therefore tied directly to new conceptions about knowledge as a commodity and an asset that the Bank could trade on to insure its own sustainability. Such a strategy suggests that the Bank is a private entity, not only in terms of the relatively non-transparent processes by which its positions are created and disseminated, but also in the strategies employed by the Bank to do its work related to the privatization of knowledge itself through the Bank branding itself as a Knowledge Bank.

Despite the apparent private nature of its work, however, the Bank has positioned itself as a legitimate and effective educational actor, both at the global and national levels, as a *public* institution that creates *public policy* in the education sector.⁴⁴⁹ According to the official history

⁴⁴⁸ World Bank Website, “Education: Overview,” World Bank, <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTEDUCATION/0,,contentMDK:20575742~menuPK:282393~pagePK:210058~piPK:210062~theSitePK:282386,00.html>, accessed 1/2/2013.

⁴⁴⁹ I make this argument drawing on the two criteria for being a public, legitimacy and effectiveness, set forth by Nancy Fraser in her book *Scales of Justice*. See Nancy Fraser, *Scales of Justice: Reimagining Political Space in a Globalizing World* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), especially Chapters 4 and 5.

of the Bank, “the IRBD [the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development], the first ‘Multilateral Development Bank,’ was... a *public sector* institution” that nonetheless “would always appreciate the efficiency of self-adjusting markets for much of society’s detailed economic decision making.”⁴⁵⁰ Indeed, the Bank’s lending in general is almost entirely to public sector institutions, providing capital for projects traditionally considered to be public (i.e. funded by, and the responsibility of, the national government).

While the tension between the dual role of the Bank as both public and private has existed since the Bank’s founding, it has become all the more acute as the Bank has become more and more involved in social, rather than relatively straightforward infrastructure, projects. While it is fairly easy to justify the building of a bridge for a community to transport itself over a river (and to agree upon the parameters of the bridge, and to see both the public and private benefit through such an endeavor), it is much more difficult to justify and legitimate global action in social policy realms like education. This is because delineating the goals of education is much more difficult than identifying the objectives of infrastructure projects. As the Bank has increasingly involved itself in social policy realms like education, the confusion over its place in the public-private spectrum has also increased significantly.

What has been produced, I argue, is a new global profession that builds and maintains an inaccessible body of knowledge upon which others depend, in order to claim authority. This profession cannot be moored to national boundaries, which unnecessarily constrain concepts of international development and economic growth. The challenge is that, while at the national level there is a certain stability provided by a shared language and culture and an established set of political institutions, at the global level no such stability exists: there are neither clearly

⁴⁵⁰ Kapur, et al.

articulated paths and processes to legitimacy for a global public, nor institutions of equitable representation or critical publics that can be called effective.⁴⁵¹ All of this is of urgent concern at the global level, where the interests of economic liberty have far outpaced the interests of political liberty in our new “global risk society.”⁴⁵² As power is increasingly constructed across larger and larger material, temporal, and rhetorical distances, a global community managed by global professionals has emerged.

Within this world, public education at the global level remains firmly in the hands of economists. Education and educational institutions are more and more under the sway of global institutions like the World Bank, which wield power materially and rhetorically. The professionalization of global consumption education economists has led to a decidedly large jurisdiction under which global educational policy experts hold authority. This immense jurisdiction requires a shift toward a homogenization of culture, and a centralization of power, at the global level. Underneath the apparent authority of these global professionals lies a vast group of individuals around the globe who are affected by this work, but who have been created as intellectual dependents under the authority of this profession.

Such professionalism works best in fields where the end goal is clear, widely shared, and relatively undisputed. Medicine, for example, is a field where a global profession makes sense, even though there are also marginalized medical discourses because of the increased scope of this profession. In the field of economics, however, particularly as it relates to education, the end goal is disputed by communities of various geography, ethnicity, culture, and religious belief.

As Alex Rosenberg and Tyler Curtain recently argued in *The New York Times*,

⁴⁵¹ I use the term “effective” in the sense that Fraser describes efficacy, as the mobilization of public opinion “as a political force to hold public power accountable, ensuring that the latter’s exercise reflects the considered will of civil society.” See Fraser, *Scales of Justice*, 96.

⁴⁵² See Beck, *Power in a Global Age*; and Bruner, *Democracy’s Debt*; and Beck.

Unlike the physical world, the domain of economics includes a wide range of social constructions – institutions like markets and objects like currency and stock shares – that even when idealized don't behave uniformly. They are made up of unrecognized but artificial conventions that people persistently change and even destroy in ways that no social scientist can really anticipate. We can exploit gravity, but we can't change it or destroy it. No one can say the same for the socially constructed causes and effects of our choices that economics deals with. For the foreseeable future economic theory should be understood more on the model of music theory than Newtonian theory.... Like musicians', economists' expertise is still a matter of craft. They must avoid the hubris of thinking their theory is perfectly suited to the task, while employing it wisely enough to produce some harmony amid the cacophony.⁴⁵³

And yet, as I argue in this dissertation, the global profession of higher education economists continues to grow in authority. I argue here that the concept of a global profession – a nebulous one itself considering that it is not attached to any particular polity within which it would be given authority – is a central aspect of the story of the Bank's involvement in higher education through time.

Thus, the complex nature of the Bank as institution, the GKE as imaginary, and the projects in which the Bank is involved, suggests that a multifocal methodological approach to study the Bank's work is appropriate. In this dissertation, I have argued primarily for a historical approach in order to begin to build a public history of the Bank from the outside, but I situate this historical approach within a critical policy studies lens, with a particular focus on political philosophy and the changing nature of the public.

From the standpoint of history, the story of the Bank's involvement in higher education is a significant one in order for historians of education to more fully understand the ways in which the public and the private realms are changing. Incorporating dynamic notions of the public into the historian's toolkit inherently involves troubling the notion of the historian as public

⁴⁵³ Alex Rosenberg and Tyler Curtain. "What is Economics Good For?" *The New York Times* (Sunday, August 25, 2013): Sunday Review, 9.

intellectual. By accounting for the public, the historian must place him/herself in the arena of the public intellectual. And yet, to which public does the historian speak when analyzing the World Bank? And what public must the historian study at the global level? In telling the history of the World Bank's involvement in higher education, important historical questions that speak to emerging issues in higher education emerge. For example, in what ways can / should the historian consider higher education public or private in the world today? What is the role of higher education in creating publics? How has the strong influence of economists in higher education come to change the way we think about knowledge?

Through my historical analysis, I have argued that a significant aspect of the story of the Bank's involvement in higher education through time is the story of a shift from publics managed by territory to publics managed by ideas; from authority gathered by material means to it being gathered by marketing; from a focus on material to epistemological infrastructure at the Bank; and from a pluralistic, contested notion of knowledge to a singular one that is tied to the ideas of certain economists. This is an extremely complicated process, and this dissertation only scratches the surface of this shift. Much more work needs to be done. Fundamentally, the job of managing an intangible global public sphere falls to a new global professional class. As I have mentioned previously, creating a profession requires, among other things, the marginalization of alternative viewpoints. And yet, as the scope of this profession has broadened, the diversity of opinion – about knowledge, education, and what it means to be human – widens, suggesting that an openness to differing views should be a key aspect of the Bank's educational work. Such openness is important because, as Livingstone et al., argue, “the multiple forms of knowledge being used to facilitate improvements or innovation to products and services as well as processes of learning in the context of workplace change are both richer and more complex than advocates

of the knowledge-based economy ever intimate.”⁴⁵⁴ And, as Sen shows, when examining how traditional communities can, and should approach, integrate or reject the modern world:

There is an inescapable valuational problem involved in deciding what to choose if and when it turns out that some parts of tradition cannot be maintained along with economic or social changes that may be needed for other reasons. It is a choice that the people involved have to face and assess. The choice is neither closed (as many development apologists seem to suggest), nor is it one for the elite “guardians” of tradition to settle (as many development skeptics seem to presume). If a traditional way of life has to be sacrificed to escape grinding poverty or miniscule longevity (as many traditional societies have had for thousands of years), then it is the people directly involved who must have the opportunity to participate in deciding what should be chosen.⁴⁵⁵

Local voices are far too often drowned out by the noise of globalization. And yet, in a world where the global public is no longer clear, these alternative voices are far too often missing. In considering the implications of my argument, I therefore conclude this study by focusing on three possible alternative views that have been marginalized in the process of creating this new global profession – views that the Bank might consider in future work on higher education. I finish with a brief look at implications and future directions for this research.

Alternative Views

While there are a multitude of possible alternative visions that the Bank could pursue in its higher education work, there are three categories that are worthy of particular attention, since each is an area shared by local and global communities. The three specific marginalized discourses I examine below – religious, social and ecological – are all outside the bounds of Bank thinking generally, yet importantly represent a deeper strand of global civilization. In each

⁴⁵⁴ D.W. Livingston and David Guile, eds., *The Knowledge Economy and Lifelong Learning: A Critical Reader* (Rotterdam, Sense Publishers, 2012), xvi.

⁴⁵⁵ Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom*, 31.

case, these marginalized discourses must avoid the trap of multiculturalism as described by Buras, in which:

More progressive forms of multiculturalism focused on subaltern experience, elite power, and emancipatory struggle are being redefined by dominant groups along distinctly conservative lines and embraced as part of a decisive compromise. Through such compromise, select reforms partly speak to the concerns of marginalized communities and often win their consent while they simultaneously sustain relations of cultural domination.⁴⁵⁶

First, with respect to the religious, the Bank could consider any of a number of significant non-Western models of higher education. This is an area well worth studying considering the fact that the vast majority of humankind considers spiritual knowledge as authoritative in our world. Because I have studied two Muslim nations and their encounters with the Bank in Chapter Five, I explore below one small aspect of the Islamic tradition of knowledge.

Second, with respect to the social, the Bank could do more to include concepts of democracy, citizenship, and civic association in its approach to higher education. In so doing, it would challenge the existing tension between the current professionalization / separation of disciplines in higher education and democracy, encourage a more active role for institutions of higher education in building civil society, and decrease the widening divide between abstract, sophisticated literacies emerging from higher education and the global public. This requires rethinking the global public arena, and thus leads directly to the third area of study.

Third, ecologically speaking, the exploration of the material global public, the tangible, ecological world that is being degraded by our current global economic system, offers alternatives to our current economic system, which is based upon unending growth and the key role that knowledge must play in that unending growth. What might a global higher education

⁴⁵⁶ Kristen L. Buras, *Rightist Multiculturalism: Core Lesson on Neoconservative School Reform* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 7.

system look like in a world in which economic growth is not the only driving force? I take each of these marginalized discourses - religious, social and ecological - in turn to offer a few remarks on the implications of my argument and to suggest directions for future research.

The Religious Alternative

As Livingston et al., argue, “The more we study both ancient and modern societies, the more we appreciate the depth of the knowledge they have relied upon to survive, including informal and tacit knowledge as well as formally documented knowledge systems.”⁴⁵⁷ Far too often in the modern world, traditional ways of knowing, and of thinking about knowledge, are dismissed as part of ancient history. And yet, in the global arena, where the ideas of multiple discourse, cultures, and traditions meet, significant diverse strands of thinking must be taken into account. To do so entails not only an attitude of openness to other ways of viewing the world, but also agreement on the grounds of discussion and the proper global institutional structures and processes wherein these diverse views of the world can be appropriately expressed. Religious discourse, which stands as a significant set of assumptions about the world for the vast majority of the world’s inhabitants, is one of these alternative visions that must be considered. The Bank’s discourse of the GKE, however, appears to have no room for religious imaginaries, because they are outside of the scope of economic thinking. Michael Peters argues that what is needed is a shift from the concept of knowledge economies to the concept of knowledge societies, a world in which

Knowledge creation, production, and dissemination requires the cultural exchange of ideas, and such exchanges, in turn, depend upon certain cultural conditions, including trust; reciprocal rights and responsibilities between different knowledge partners; and institutional routines, regimes, and strategies. There is no one

⁴⁵⁷ Livingston, et al., xvi.

prescription or formula that fits all learners, institutions, and strategies.... Knowledge cultures also implies that the economics of knowledge ultimately depend upon philosophical and cultural concepts and analyses.⁴⁵⁸

Religious views undoubtedly exist within a contested political arena, with the clear possibility of fixed and reified truth claims being offered that can lead only to conflict. And yet, religious thinking and knowledge also serves to bind communities together and to build communities of justice. Religious traditions and the way these traditions think about knowledge and education, particularly within the nations where the Bank does business, must therefore be considered. The significant challenge of how these traditions are considered in a meaningful way that avoids co-optation or dismissal of these views outside the scope of this dissertation. The work to overcome this challenge is certainly a direction for future research.

Because I have analyzed two Muslim countries in this study, I briefly sketch here an alternative global imaginary based on an Islamic perspective in order to contrast the Bank's own actions within these two countries, and to show the possibility of an alternative that could be integrated into the Bank's higher educational actions in Muslim countries more generally. While the newsworthy aspects of the Muslim tradition have recently focused on the horrific acts of violence against the other, emerging from a small minority, there is, as we shall see, a long and established historical tradition of openness to other cultures in the Islamic tradition.⁴⁵⁹

As has been pointed out in many places, the Islamic tradition is not a monolith, and I do not treat it here as such. In this section, I choose the thinking of two contemporary scholars of Islam as representative examples of certain aspects of the Islamic tradition. I have chosen to explore the ideas of Seyyed Hossein Nasr, an Iranian Islamic scholar, and Recep Senturk, a

⁴⁵⁸ Michael Peters and Tina Besley, *Building Knowledge Cultures: Education and Development in the Age of Knowledge Capitalism* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006), 29.

⁴⁵⁹ See Recep Senturk, "Toward an Open Science and Society: Multiplex Relations in Language, Religion and Society," *Islam Arastirmalari* 6 (2001): 93-129.

Turkish Islamic scholar, because each has written extensively on Islamic concepts of knowledge, each is a well-known and well-respected scholar, and each represents a scholarly view of the Islamic tradition.

In Nasr's view, the modern, Western view of knowledge removed the sacred from knowledge itself by making the "thinking of the individual ego the center of reality and the criterion of all knowledge, turning philosophy into pure rationalism and shifting the main concern of European philosophy from ontology to epistemology."⁴⁶⁰ For Nasr, this shift happened because "modern man has lost the sense of wonder, which results from his loss of the sense of the sacred, to such a degree that he is hardly aware how miraculous is the mystery of intelligence, of human subjectivity as well as the power of objectivity."⁴⁶¹ As such, intelligence itself has been reduced in the modern world to "cunning and cleverness."⁴⁶² This view of knowledge is both a possible critique of the view of knowledge inherent in the GKE imaginary and also potentially an alternative point of view to be considered in global thinking about education. It reveals, at a minimum, the materialism embedded within the GKE, which, when transported across the globe through the authority of the Bank, casts a wide net of materialism that does not fit with the actual realities of many people's lives.⁴⁶³ It also suggests a possible different way of approaching education that the Bank could consider: one that detaches the goals of education from solely economic ends and opens the possibility that education is valuable and should be advanced for social, political and spiritual ends – and not just economic ends.

⁴⁶⁰ Nasr, *Knowledge and the Sacred*, 41.

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁴⁶² *Ibid.*

⁴⁶³ My argument is both that many are betrayed by the materialism of our world, as they have little ability to gain basic material goods necessary for survival, and that human beings around the globe have deep concerns that transcend the material.

As Senturk observes, such a view of education was an essential aspect of the Ottoman educational system in which students were first taught about the nature of God and the Islamic creed before moving on to study philosophy and social knowledge, which included the sciences, sociology, math, et cetera.⁴⁶⁴ This education system, then, was based upon a conception of the world in which there was a multiplex ontology. Such multiple levels of being have been reduced to a “unilayered ontology” in our world today,⁴⁶⁵ which leads to the current structure of science which

Does not allow the coexistence of different concepts of science and knowledge as it postulates that there can be only one type of legitimate science and knowledge and therefore variation in the field of science must be rejected as deviance. In a scientific milieu where variation constitutes deviation, the rise and survival of a different type of knowledge results in a power struggle. Thus an intellectual contest is transformed into political rivalry, which continues until that (sic) the system of knowledge with the more powerful advocates excludes the others and sets limits to human knowledge.⁴⁶⁶

In the encounter between the World Bank and institutions of higher education in the Muslim world, a positive attitude toward what Senturk calls “open science” would help the Bank to better understand the attitudes and values that it encounters in Muslim countries.⁴⁶⁷ What does an institution of higher education look like from this perspective? It need not be focused solely on religious knowledge. Instead, it must engage significantly with multiple forms of knowledge, both sacred and secular, that human beings seek, presenting such knowledge within a culture of openness to diversity. And, crucially, it would expand the focus of higher education from a narrow focus on knowledge as a commodity to a wide lens on knowledge in its multiple forms. Conversely, as I have shown, the Bank is advancing what I call consumption education. This view of education recasts “people’s roles from producers of public goods to consumers of

⁴⁶⁴ Senturk, 96-97.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid., 94.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid., 93.

material ones”⁴⁶⁸ in a world where “the culture-ideology holding the system together and providing its global rationale is consumerism.”⁴⁶⁹ A spiritual perspective is an important, though not the only, one that can help to balance the extreme materialism of the current dogmatic thinking in economic and educational thinking.

Of course, the inclusion of spiritual thinking in modern times raises important questions that would need to be addressed in any significant attempt to include such thinking in global discourses around higher education. Perhaps most importantly, the tendency of religious language and discourse to devolve into truth claims that permanently excludes all other voices is very real. This is a significant trap of all religious traditions, and one that is only amplified when religious discourse is included in global discussions. In addition, the significant differences in cultural and religious traditions that would emerge through the inclusion of religious discourse could hinder, rather than further, critical global public dialogue. As an example, the Western tradition of separation of church and state, which has not been shared widely in the Muslim world, would be a potentially significant area of disagreement that might not allow for reasonable debate at the global level. In this dissertation, answering such complex questions is outside of the scope of the project. These concerns, and others, are raised here because they point to the need for careful future work on these topics. Despite the challenges of including a spiritual and religious framework, the underlying point is this: we simply cannot create a global public imaginary where all the knowledge that we produce is devoid of a moral compass.

⁴⁶⁸ The National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement, *A Crucible Moment: College Learning and Democracy's Future* (Washington, D.C., Association of American Colleges and Universities, 2012).

⁴⁶⁹ Leslie Sklair, “A Transnational Framework for Theory and Research in the Study of Globalization,” in Ino Rossi, Editor, *Frontiers of Globalization Research: Theoretical and Methodological Approaches* (New York: Springer, 2007), 106.

The Social Alternative

As I have argued, the World Bank's involvement in higher education is an exemplary representation of the oft-unstated confusion that exists around the terms public and private in our early 21st century globalized world. This confusion, at its core, is located in the overlay of increasingly fixed and antiquated understandings of the terms "public" and "private" that emerged from modern political and economic thinking - and that was fueled by both liberal and neoliberal discourse - upon a rapidly globalizing landscape. In this new global landscape, as Nancy Fraser and Martha Nussbaum have argued, our very conception of justice itself remains bound by the notion of national citizenship, where our rights and responsibilities are explicated through national Constitutions, laws, customs, and norms – even in a world where national borders are endangered.⁴⁷⁰ It is within this confusion about public and private that the severe and growing inequities of our global world lie hidden in what Beck calls our "risk society,"⁴⁷¹ for when we do not know to whom or for whom we are responsible, and when we do not even know who this "we" is amidst the cloud of confusion between public and private realms, it is difficult to answer the question of how all of us came to inhabit a world in which (to give just one statistic among many) over 700 million people today cannot even access that most basic of human needs: clean water.⁴⁷²

⁴⁷⁰ The question of whether national boundaries should exist or not in the state that they do today is one that is worth considering, although the reality of such borders means that focusing on what might be, or should be, has the very real potential of distracting from the fact that these borders do exist, and yet there is incredible seepage between and among these borders. Thus, global theories of justice must be a central aspect of the discussion about the Bank and the GKE. See Nancy Fraser, *Scales of Justice; Reimagining Political Space in a Globalizing World*, and Martha Nussbaum, *Frontiers of Justice: Disability, Nationality, and Species Membership*

⁴⁷¹ Beck, *Risk Society*.

⁴⁷² World Health Organization/UNICEF Joint Monitoring Programme for Water Supply and Sanitation, <http://www.wssinfo.org>, accessed 3/7/2015.

The institution of higher education and the influence of the World Bank's financial and intellectual capital on global higher education policy is fertile ground for exploring this confusion about public and private, the inequity of our world, and the risks we as humans face. This is especially true considering the historical connection between compulsory education and the rise of nation-states, the normative understanding of public schooling as a place to provide opportunities for the reduction of inequity, recent debates around the provision of schooling by public or private means, and the increasingly homogenized discourse around schooling and its functions at the global level.⁴⁷³

Drawing on Nancy Fraser's ideas about transnational public spheres, I argue that it is vitally important that the consequences and intended beneficiaries of conjoint social action (in this case, global educational policy) are represented in discussions that clearly affect their futures. Fraser calls this the "all-subjected principle," which "holds that what turns a collection of people into fellow members of a public is not shared citizenship, or co-imbrication in a causal matrix, but rather their joint subjection to a structure of governance that set the ground rules for their interaction."⁴⁷⁴ Following in the tradition of John Dewey, this transnational conception of the public posits a public that can respond to the grand scope of global higher educational policy coming from the Bank, and would include representatives not only from national governments (Ministers of Education and the like), but also from university leadership, faculty, and students.⁴⁷⁵ This standard has multiple implications related to how we conceive of a public in our world, and in how we think about scale in educational policy-making.

One implication that Fraser elaborates upon is the notion that global publics can be labelled either strong or weak. As Fraser conceives of it, we must challenge the "sharp

⁴⁷³ See August 2011, *Educational Theory*, devoted to the question of the public in public schooling.

⁴⁷⁴ Fraser, *Scales of Justice*, 97.

⁴⁷⁵ John Dewey, *The Public and Its Problems* (Athens, OH: Swallow Press, 1954).

separation between civil society and the state,” by examining “the ‘weak publics’ of civil society, which generate public opinion but not binding laws, from the ‘strong publics’ within the state, whose deliberations issue sovereign decisions.”⁴⁷⁶ This distinction between strong and weak publics helps to provide criteria for examining the efficacy of publics at the global level, foregrounding the possibility of networks within global civil society to have agency in resisting the negative externalities of globalization. As Fraser herself points out, however, this division between strong and weak publics “neglected to challenge the Westphalian frame.”⁴⁷⁷ Furthermore, in this concept, there is no room for understanding the private sphere within a concept of public; instead, the private simply exists outside of this conception of the public as an independent variable.

In order to reclaim the publicness of the private realm, and to begin to theorize the public from the position that the political and social realms have primacy over the economic realm, rather than the other way around, I introduce here a new concept of the public that I can only briefly discuss here, as an area of potential further study. In terms of how we think about publics, I argue that, drawing from but moving beyond the concept of strong and weak publics and the all-subjected principle, we might think of two new categories of publics at the global level: active and passive. Active publics are those groups of individuals bound together in response to conjoint social action who are actively engaged in the decision-making process. In much the same way that Dewey argued for a public to arise, active publics are called into being through the indirect consequences of conjoint social action,⁴⁷⁸ and they have the necessary resources – intellectual and capital – to make and enforce decisions through a transparent and

⁴⁷⁶ Fraser, *Scales of Justice*, 83.

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

inclusive decision-making process. In active publics, the intended beneficiaries are those who are directly involved in the decision-making, and who have the means to affect real change in the world. Importantly, active publics in this view include private corporations. Because the modern private corporate form (as I argued in Chapter Two) is a legally protected public space, the private corporation is actually a network of individuals who are legally protected by the public to make a profit and have their assets (and the consequences of their own action) protected. It is the public that provides this legal protection, meaning the legitimacy of the private corporation is derived from the public, not from the market or from revenue growth or investors. The members of a corporation are an active public, with a legal framework that allows for significant value to be accumulated and spent on social action. In this conception, active publics are therefore different from the concept of strong publics, because this concept encompassed not just state, governmental actors, but also includes private actors, who currently dominate the global realm.

Passive publics, on the other hand, are the intended beneficiaries of conjoint social action who are not involved in the decision-making process. They receive the benefits and/or challenges of policy decisions, but they are not part of the process of making these decisions. And they may exist only theoretically – a passive public may or may not have a binding force, although it still exists even if there is not consciousness of it. In a direct democracy, only active publics exist. As the size of an imagined community grows, so too does the size of the passive public. Global discourses, therefore, rely upon the existence of large passive publics, whose existence at such a grand scale are possible only when technological advances create the opportunity for

mass (and now instant) communication across large, previously limiting geographical zones. Passive publics are managed by professionals; as I have argued, the very act of creating a profession establishes a global dependent class that relies upon the authority of the profession.

Importantly, this conception of the public sphere is inclusive of what we traditionally think of as private: the corporation (already treated legally as a person with rights in the United States) can now be seen as part of a public sphere dominated by an active public that is not held accountable to the passive public it creates beyond creating a product that people will buy. The externalities of doing business (whether environmental degradation, the exploitation of human labor, or something else) are forced upon passive publics who have no formal means to participate in the decision-making process to hold these active publics responsible. The modern corporate form, in this view, is therefore an active public entity that has been given public protection to pursue private interests without fear of consequences for the harm it may cause to passive publics. This view of publics as active and passive, and transnational, is also inclusive of governments, although it moves beyond the notion that the public is solely the government.

Higher education in this conception moves beyond national borders, not merely into the world of the GKE, but into the realm of active and passive publics. Institutions of higher education have the potential to reproduce existing structures that relate to the protection of large active publics and relatively small passive publics, but they also have the potential to challenge these structures. One of the clear dangers of educational policy at the global level is that it must necessarily rely too heavily on passive publics. Because such policy is global in scope, the size of its intended beneficiaries who have no say in

the decision-making process is large and captive: millions upon millions of students, teachers, and administrators across the developing world who have no formal avenue to participate in the ways in which they learn, teach, and manage. As a passive public, these individuals must accept the consequences of conjoint social action with very difficult avenues to achieve justice.

All of this means that scale and scope are extremely important considerations when examining the legitimacy and authority of higher educational (and indeed, all) policy. The Global Knowledge Economy operates at tremendous scale, with national policy-makers around the world adopting this imagined vision of the world, and yet very little scrutiny of the importance of scale exists in the literature.⁴⁷⁹ Such a professional class provides an ironically centralized and large scale educational plan in the midst of a neoliberal era of deep suspicion of centralized planning and large-scale policy thinking. Through this profession, the scale of educational discourse is increasing exponentially faster than the consideration of the consequences of this increase.

Analyzing the Bank's higher education work is helped by a conception of the public that takes into account concepts of active and passive publics, the confusing nature of publics at the global level (where private corporations appear to be inherently private, but are actually publics themselves publicly-protected from risk), and scale. Unfortunately, World Bank education policy far too often does not take into account these important themes in its work. The shared space of the global public is reduced to the private space of the market. In this space, meanings are almost entirely fixed, and the consequences of such a global policy are considered only in economic terms, with low

⁴⁷⁹ On this point, see, for example, Peters, *National Education Policy Constructions*.

levels of scrutiny and procedure. In fact, such levels of scrutiny and procedures are simply ignored in most cases – the Bank has created its own team of researchers who most often validate the Bank’s positions on education, human capital, and return on investment thinking. Social stability is prioritized over social growth, questioning, flexibility and dynamism. Defining education for its social, democratic, liberating possibilities is needed at the World Bank; a view in which education creates capacities for critical reflexivity would help create in a newly emerging global citizenry the ability to understand and address the social consequences of conjoint social action.⁴⁸⁰

The Ecological Alternative

The issue of scale is one that has already been considered in an alternative view of our global economic sphere by ecological economists. As Daly and Cobb point out, in economics the optimal scale is generally a consideration only in micro-economics.⁴⁸¹ When economists think about macro-economics, bigger is always seen as better. In global educational policy-making, the same often holds true: scale is on the agenda at the micro-level (how many students per classroom? how much funding per pupil? etc.), but not in the macro-analysis of education (how many students can/should a particular policy effect?). And yet, scale matters enormously in both micro and macro analyses of education: what size polity is ideal for educational policy? When is this polity too big, and why does it get too big? What levels of scrutiny must we apply to various policies based upon their scale? The Bank itself operates at an enormous scale, and my analysis in this dissertation troubles the notion that such a large scale is always a good thing.

⁴⁸⁰ Beck, *Power in a Global Age*.

⁴⁸¹ Herman E. Daly and John B. Cobb, *For the Common Good: Redirecting the Economy Toward Community, the Environment, and a Sustainable Future* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989), 145.

The basic challenge of the ecological economists echoes the argument of Karl Polanyi in 1944: the economy should be a subsidiary of the earth, and of our political life, and not the other way around.⁴⁸² In the GKE, the economy, lifted by the weightlessness of knowledge above the scarcity of tangible reality, is sovereign over and above our ecology, our psychology, and our sociology. It is unbounded and unlimited in the intangible public realm I have been discussing. For ecological economists, the economy is a subset of human psychology, terrestrial ecology, and communal sociology. From an ecological perspective, this means that growth is conceived not as merely an increase in Gross Domestic Product, but “an increase in throughput, which is the flow of natural resources from the environment, through the economy, and back to the environment as waste.”⁴⁸³ In simple terms, this means that the carrying capacity of the earth is a factor in analyzing growth. If we grow so quickly, as we are now, that we deplete natural resources faster than they can be refreshed, we enter the zone of uneconomic growth. This means that not all economic growth is positive, as is current Bank dogma. The basic argument of ecological economists is that we must move toward a world where sustainable development is defined as “the qualitative improvement in the ability to satisfy wants (needs and desires) without a quantitative increase in throughput beyond environmental carrying capacity.”⁴⁸⁴ This is not a Marxist critique of capitalism, but rather an extension of capitalism that responds to the challenges that are brought forth in our world by this system.⁴⁸⁵ In short, I argue that it is because we have an outdated view of the public and a global economic system that does not count the throughput of life in our equations that we are unable to understand the serious risks

⁴⁸² Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*.

⁴⁸³ Herman E. Daly and Joshua Farley, *Ecological Economics: Principles and Applications*, 2nd edition (Washington: Island Press, 2011), 6.

⁴⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 6-7.

⁴⁸⁵ For more, Daly and Cobb, Jr., *For the Common Good*; and E.F. Shumacher, *Small is Beautiful: Economics as if People Mattered* (New York: Harper, 1973).

facing humanity in our world, and unable as well to build knowledge producing systems that mitigate these risks. The Bank, in my view, could and should take into account these ecological issues and concerns in its higher education work.

Implications and Future Directions

In many ways, the alternatives discussed in this chapter cannot be considered by the Bank in its higher educational thinking unless and until higher education is unmoored from the creed of unending economic growth. If higher education were no longer the handmaiden of economic growth within both the local and the global public arena, an openness to alternative visions of the world and the future would be possible. Institutions of higher education would be free to disconnect from the inertia of academic capitalism, and from the rat race of fame and fortune. Knowledge itself might be prized not only for innovation, but also for transmitting important traditional wisdom in ways that work for modern conditions. Teaching itself might come to be re-prioritized, equal to research. Nations might reconsider the role of institutions of higher education in not only meeting civic and social objectives, but also in creating critical awareness of global threats. And they might invest in this work more seriously. From an ecological perspective, colleges and universities would have more of a focus on environmental concerns – investing, say, in departments that would train students to build sustainable business models. And finally, the inequities inherent in the GKE might be loosened, as institutions of higher education could pursue diverse and meaningful knowledge even if it did not contribute to global economic productivity.

In addition, much more needs to be done on the resistance to Bank higher educational policy. This dissertation points to two new directions in work on resistance. In the first instance,

more work is also needed on this concept of active and passive publics. New and robust theories of the public must emerge to keep pace with the rapidly growing discourse and reality of our globalized world. Concepts of active and passive publics can help to better define forms of resistance to the forces of globalization. This can be done by exploring how value and authority can be generated through global legal forms in the same way that it is generated from the active publics of the modern corporate form. Second, more work is needed on how efforts to resist hegemonic global policies and imaginaries must challenge the processes of professionalization of global institutions, global imaginaries, and global interactions. The very process of the creation of a body of knowledge that gathers authority by marginalizing other discourses must be furthered examined, challenged and perhaps even copied; this means that resistance may come from both a new discourse of the educational commons,⁴⁸⁶ as well as from grassroots movements that do not form a new discipline, but rather draw their force from direct challenges to professionalization. For example, the Committee for Academic Freedom in Africa (CAFA) was formed “in the early 1990s by initiative of North American academics, who after working in African universities, decided to leave, either because they could no longer support themselves by teaching there, or because of the escalating government repression, or both.”⁴⁸⁷ Much of this was the result of structural adjustment politics of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

Future research from this study might also consider the history of Bank work in higher education not merely from the documents, but also through a qualitative study with interviews of current and former Bank staffers. This additional data would give a more complete picture of the

⁴⁸⁶ For more on this, see Noah De Lissovoy, Alexander J. Means, and Kenneth J. Saltman, *Toward a New Common School Movement* (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2014).

⁴⁸⁷ Silvia Federici, George Caffentzis, and Ousseina Alidou, *A Thousand Flowers: Social Struggles Against Structural Adjustment in African Universities* (Trenton, NJ, Africa World Press, 2000), xi.

internal discussion and disagreements about higher education within the Bank. I have already made contact with Stephen Heyneman, a former World Bank staffer and now professor at Vanderbilt University, and he has indicated an interest in helping provide details of the history of the Bank's work in higher education, particularly since 1994.

In addition, more needs to be done in educational studies generally on the scale and scope of global (as well as national) higher education policy. More specifically, the relationship between the broadening scale of educational discourse around the Global Knowledge Economy, which suggests an increasingly centralized planning regime, and the free market dogma of much of today's world, is a curious, and curiously understudied, one. If, on the one hand, educational discourse is slowly being reduced to market discourse relying solely on market forces, then more and more people are being affected by fewer and fewer basic assumptions about the nature and purpose of education, thus contracting in type, and expanding in scale, educational discourse. If, on the other hand, the dominant political discourse of the era is the neoliberal belief in the power of individual freedom and market allocation, then it would seem to follow that educational discourse, and the basic assumptions about the nature and purpose of education, would be expanding in type and contracting in scale. In other words, under the neoliberal banner, as with the emergence of the charter school movement, there will be an increase in the various types of educational experiences and institutions available, but managed at an increasingly local level. Smaller and smaller communities, following from neoliberal beliefs, should be setting up their own educational discourses to speak to small scale communities that share similar beliefs.

Additional work is needed that keeps in mind conceptions of justice at the global level, especially of the type advanced by DeMartino, who argues for an internationalist ethic in which "a regime will be deemed just if and to the degree that it promotes harmonization of capabilities

to achieve functionings at a level that is sufficient, universally attainable and sustainable.” In doing so, a world might be created in which each member of society is provided with “equal ability to live a valued life.”⁴⁸⁸ Thus, “rather than require that distinct societies actually aspire to or achieve the same specific goals, it permits them to recognize distinct sets of functionings.”⁴⁸⁹ This means, too, that more work needs to be done to consider the voices of researchers and academics from the Global South. As Kamola has recently argued, “a turn towards the study of higher education as part of the world-making project is particularly timely given the rampant neoliberalization of higher education and the effects these changes are having on what knowledge is produced, and by whom.”⁴⁹⁰ He goes on to argue that part of this involves “reading, citing, and publishing the work of scholars currently left on the margins of academic knowledge production.”⁴⁹¹ Finally, work on additional global professions, and the authority they claim outside of higher education, would be a fruitful area of study.

Power, as expressed through the rising authority of the Bank as institution, the GKE as imaginary, and knowledge as capital, is a central concern of the 21st century. We must think of the Bank’s involvement in building knowledge economies through the lens of power relations, not only between a supranational organization like the Bank and borrowing nations, but also in the ways in which power through knowledge is valued, accumulated and dispersed. In other words, as with all forms of power, one must trace the allocation and distribution of knowledge capital to explore how and where monopolies of knowledge production are being created and maintained. Power that is consolidated through controlling the means of production of knowledge is power based on the accumulation of knowledge that is increasingly monopolistic

⁴⁸⁸ George F. DeMartino, *Global Economy, Global Justice: Theoretical Objections and Policy Alternatives to Neoliberalism*, London, Routledge, 2000, 144.

⁴⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 146.

⁴⁹⁰ Isaac Kamola, “Why Global?” 54.

⁴⁹¹ *Ibid.*

and sovereign. In the same way that the founders of the United States had to grapple with separation from an empire and from the sovereignty of the king (thus requiring a new conception of political, legal and economic public space), today the challenge is to grapple with the dispersion of the increasingly centralized and sovereign power of knowledge and the forced separation of the national framework into a global empire by global capital. Because knowledge is the main force for centralizing power today, and because nation-states are no longer fully in control of their own educational discourses, what strong, active publics exist to explore the question of equity as it relates to the GKE? Global professionals have a place, but they must be balanced by a robust and active global public that represents those who are subjected to the thoughts and assumptions of these professionals. Believing in the power of free markets for economic gain on the one hand, while building a world of centralized planning for social control on the other, is a dangerous combination. There is hope in knowledge, but only knowledge broadly defined, situated within a belief in the importance of local and diverse voices who find freedom not merely in economic gain, but also in the freedom afforded by being able to understand and transcend the conditions in which they live, and the individual and communal power to choose what it means to be and become fully human in our world.

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