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Doctoral Dissertation of Philosophy in Education

**Education Development Cooperation
and Modernity:**

**A Critical Approach of Bauman's Modernity Theory to
the World Bank's Education Development Cooperation**

국제교육개발협력과 근대성:
세계은행의 교육개발협력에 대한
바우만의 근대성 이론의 비판적 접근

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**Global Education Cooperation Major
Graduate School
Seoul National University**

Eunji YOO

Education Development Cooperation and Modernity:

**A Critical Approach of Bauman's Modernity Theory to
the World Bank's Education Development Cooperation**

Dissertation Adviser Sung-Sang YOO

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Approved by Dissertation Committee

Chair	<u>SoongHee HAN</u>
Vice Chair	<u>Duck-Joo KWAK</u>
Examiner	<u>Bong Gun CHUNG</u>
Examiner	<u>Ji-Hyang LEE</u>
Examiner	<u>Sung-Sang YOO</u>

ABSTRACT

Education Development Cooperation and Modernity:

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Eunji YOO

Global Education Cooperation Major

Graduate School

Seoul National University

The contemporary society is changing at an unprecedented scale and pace. Things that have long been considered certain and stable are dismantling, and uncertainty is filling the place instead. Now unpredictable social change is becoming an unavoidable phenomenon that takes place all over the world, not just in a specific social setting. Many of the changes taking place in society, which cannot be explained by the existing modernity, are transforming human social conditions and environment differently than before.

Education development cooperation has been pouring enormous amounts of money and effort into improving education in developing countries over the past half-century. As a result, despite its visible achievements, there

have been many criticisms in and out of the field of education development cooperation. This study explores the criticisms surrounding education development cooperation and reexamines them with modernity. As there are limitations in time and space to explore all the criticisms of extensive education development cooperation, the scope of the research is narrowed to education development cooperation of the World Bank, which holds a hegemonic position in the field of education development cooperation. As research data, this study uses secondary sources that take a critical stance on the World Bank's education development cooperation. Further, this study tries to find out the landscape and issues to be considered of education development cooperation including the World Bank under rapidly changing social conditions by reexamining the analytic results through Zygmunt Bauman's theory of modernity.

Zygmunt Bauman, a sociologist, explains the rapidly changing human social conditions and environments through the concept of 'solid modernity' and 'liquid modernity'. In the solid modern era, the nation-state system was centered, and order, universality, and uniformity were valued. It was widely believed that based on the strong trust in human reason, everything in society can be planned and controlled. This ambition of modernity led to the belief in continued progress. In liquid modern times, solid foundations and fixed things are dissolved like liquids. To survive in the liquid age, one must be able to move fast. It is in the liquid modern era that the influence of the nation-state is diminished, and only individuals are left to be responsible for everything, including their choices and accompanying consequences. Liquid modernity can be represented by uncertainty, instability, and insecurity.

To systematically review, analyze, and synthesize the existing studies on the World Bank's education development cooperation, this study uses qualitative meta-analysis as a research method. Data for analysis is collected and extracted based on specific criteria, and thematic analysis is adopted as a data analysis method. The thematic analysis of the secondary sources critically approaching the World Bank's education development cooperation results in the five themes: 'development', 'education', 'knowledge', 'neoliberalism', and 'poverty/inequality'.

To examine the criticisms on each theme, first, the World Bank not only defines development narrowly as economic growth but the development that the Bank speaks of has an ideological character. Second, regarding education, the World Bank focuses only on the economic-instrumental value of education. To be specific, education is perceived merely as an investment for and a means of economic growth. Third, the World Bank which describes itself as 'knowledge bank' has produced a vast amount of knowledge, and this knowledge has given legitimacy to the Bank's education policies and practices in developing countries. Fourth, the education reforms and measures imposed by the World Bank on developing countries contain neoliberal contents. The World Bank's education reforms based on neoliberalism have been criticized for having had an adverse impact on society as a whole as well as on the education systems in developing countries. Lastly, in the case of poverty and inequality, it has been criticized that the World Bank's education policies and activities have not had a substantial impact on poverty eradication, even though poverty eradication is one of the two goals the World Bank aims to achieve. The

pro-growth policy, pursued by the Bank's perception that poverty will automatically decrease as a result of the economic growth, is considered to have intensified inequality.

From Bauman's point of view of modernity, the World Bank's view of development, education, and knowledge is based on solid modernity, while neoliberalism is closely related to liquid modernity. And the Bank's view of poverty and inequality relies on neoliberal assumptions. The result of applying Bauman's modernity theory to the five themes implies that the World Bank's education development cooperation has led developing countries to embrace neoliberalism by using development, education, and knowledge based on solid modern perceptions, thereby deepening poverty and inequality. In the context of liquid modernity, it can be seen that the World Bank's neoliberal education policies and practices are conducive to the free movement of global elites, capitals, and finances.

How will the liquefaction of liquid modernity change the landscape of education development cooperation? First, the development of existing solid modernity, which assumes growth and progress, will transform into development as survival. In this sense, the growth-centered development paradigm should be shifted to the equality-centered one. Second, the power of the modern nation-state, which once exclusively exercised its authority and mobilized its resources, is weakened. In this environment where individuals cannot help but be fully responsible for their own choices and the accompanying consequences, there is a growing need for education to raise citizens who can respond publicly to and seek collective solutions to the problems of others. Third, with the entry of liquid modernity, the notion

of education and knowledge changes as well. The existing teacher-student relationship and teaching-oriented education shift to supplier-client relationship and personalized learning. Knowledge is used, abandoned, and replaced by new ones like a consumer product, and the hierarchy of knowledge disappears. In today's liquid age when the concept of education and knowledge have completely changed, the need for lifelong learning beyond institutionalized education is further demanded.

Keywords: modernity, education development cooperation, the World Bank, Zygmunt Bauman, solid modernity, liquid modernity

Student Number: 2013-31112

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Chapter I. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The world has always been undergoing change. But the contemporary society is going through a heightened level of change which is unprecedented in its magnitude and speed. Various changes occurring in society support the fact that “the proportion of contemporary change that is either planned or issues from the secondary consequences of deliberate innovations is much higher than in former times” (Moore, 1974, p. 2). In this sense, the leading contemporary theorists, from Habermas to Touraine to Giddens have actively explored in their writings the claim that we are living in a ‘new age’ with transformed social conditions (Elliott, 2007a).

As an example of the transformed social conditions, we have become accustomed to using words like ‘liquidity’ and ‘flexibility’ as social concept. The terms ‘labor market flexibility’, ‘liquidity risk’, and ‘flexitime’ are accepted as positive or negative changes indicating the flow of politics, economy, and society (Choi, 2018). The days when most job seekers became permanent workers at the moment of entry into the company are gone, and even if they become permanent workers, it does not mean that the job will be guaranteed until retirement. The idea of a lifetime job, which was previously taken for granted, is disappearing.

Things that were once believed to be firm and stable for quite a long time, such as the mutual bond between capital and labor, are no longer solid. The contemporary world where everything solid has melted down is dominated

by uncertainties. Unpredictable changes have become a global phenomenon, not just limited to a specific social setting. It is an ironic situation that this ever-changing characteristic has become an unchanging attribute of present-day society (Choi, 2018).

Recognizing these social changes as the evidence of the end of modernity, some argue that the modern era is over and the postmodern era has started. Others contend instead that modernity has entered its new phase. Whatever the contemporary state may be called, it is evident that today's society is experiencing unprecedented changes, deviating from the previous form of modernity.

The new phenomena spreading in society cannot be explained by the previous form of modernity symbolized by Fordist factories and the bureaucracy. These phenomena seem to bring changes to various aspects of people's lives, including social perceptions and life strategies. Now we cannot help but face up to the fact that the social context of life has changed. Without first accepting this fact, we will not be able to explain correctly and cope properly with the phenomena of social change ingraining all kinds of risks, instabilities, and uncertainties into people's daily lives.

1.2 Necessity and purpose of the study

Over the past 70 years, education development cooperation has poured a great deal of money and enormous efforts into improving education in developing countries. These efforts and financial supports have resulted in several visible achievements, such as an increase in primary school

enrollment rates. Despite its noteworthy achievements, it cannot be denied that education development cooperation has been the target of criticism from both inside and outside.

This study scrutinizes critiques leveled at education development cooperation. To be more specific, it will look at the World Bank, the principal agent that leads the field of education development cooperation. By examining the criticisms against the World Bank which has been holding the hegemonic position in the area of education development cooperation, it is possible to find how the Bank has viewed the concepts of education and development.

Education development cooperation is not immune to social contexts and backgrounds. This is because it reflects the often taken-for-granted social perceptions of education and development. Social transformation and its accompanying human consequences shake and alter the existing social perceptions and life strategies that have been firmly entrenched. As a case in point, social transformations in forms of heightened individualization and intensified globalization result in the prominence of ‘projects’ and ‘networks’. For individuals who are not protected by social systems and institutions but must cope with uncertainties alone, the only rational choice is to accept temporary forms of cooperation and teamwork. Society is no longer perceived as a stable structure, but increasingly as a network. In such transformed social conditions, long-term thinking, planning, and action become superfluous (Magerski, 2018). Likewise, as social contexts and human conditions have changed, there are growing necessities and demands for education development cooperation to adapt to the transformed social

conditions and to appropriately respond not only to these social changes but also to their accompanying consequences.

This study brings Bauman's theory of modernity to see how the criticisms of the World Bank's education development cooperation can be linked to the changes in social contexts and backgrounds. By reexamining the critiques against the World Bank's education development cooperation through Bauman's perspective on modernity, this study is to be expected to reveal how the World Bank has responded to changes in modernity. This study seeks to explore the implications of critical analysis of the World Bank's education development cooperation based on Bauman's theory of modernity.

1.3 Research questions and design

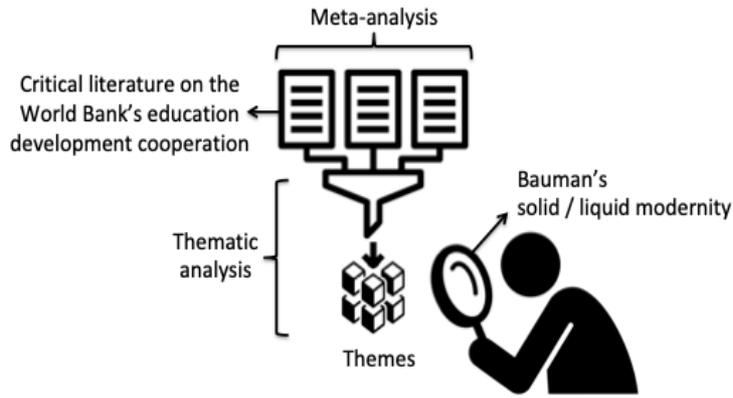
The study aims to investigate the critical discourse surrounding education development cooperation and reexamine it through Bauman's theory of modernity. However, it is almost impossible to deal with all the critical discourses on education development cooperation due to time and space limitations. Therefore, this study will review the studies which are critical of education development cooperation of the World Bank, the institution with the most significant financial and political influence to the area of education development cooperation. Since the study is aimed at identifying the criticisms of the World Bank's education development cooperation, the data originated from the Bank is not subject to this research.

For the purpose of this study, the following research questions are

formulated.

- First, how has the World Bank's education development cooperation been implemented? And what are the contents and perspectives of the critical literature on the World Bank's education development cooperation?
- Second, how can the critical discourse on the World Bank's education development cooperation be reexamined by Bauman's modernity theory?

In order to find answers to these research questions, this study is designed as Figure 1.1. It will conduct a meta-analysis, which is a systematic synthesis of the results of existing critical research on the World Bank's education development cooperation. Thematic analysis will be used to elicit the themes that the data set of the secondary documents on the Bank's education development cooperation considers important. Next, Bauman's perspective on solid and liquid modernity will be examined in the chapter on the theoretical framework to then reinvestigate the contents of the themes derived from the thematic analysis. By reviewing the identified themes through Bauman's theory of modernity, the World Bank's perspectives on each theme as well as the implications of the World Bank's education development cooperation in the context of liquid modernity can be sought.



<Figure 1.1> Research Design of the Study

1.4 Scope and terminology

The scope of this study is limited to the World Bank’s education development cooperation. A whole array of multilateral organizations, including the World Bank, has been established to channel assistance to the poorer regions of the world. The World Bank is just one of them, but its magnitude of lending and its impact on economic and social policies in the developing world make it stand out (Jones, 2006, p. ix). It is widely believed that multilateral education development cooperation we see nowadays began in earnest at around 1960, although there was much prior context. At this time, many newly independent African countries gained sovereignty, and the colonial powers that left them passed the development assistance obligations to multilateral organizations (Jones, 2006). In this context, the World Bank took the first policy step in 1962 to add education to its portfolio. In 1971, the World Bank produced its first *Education Sector Working Paper* (Jones, 2007a). Since then, there have been constant and

sometimes dramatic changes in the World Bank's education development cooperation, but more importantly, the changes have been in the context of the Bank that strictly adheres to its fixed perspectives on its core objectives and the basic principles of operation (Jones, 2006). Although in this vein, this study does not set a specific temporal scope of the secondary sources to be covered, the research that takes a critical stance on the World Bank's education development cooperation began to emerge from the 1990s to a greater extent.

Given that education development cooperation is a sub-area of international development cooperation, (Park, H. et al., 2014), to understand education development cooperation, the concept of international development cooperation must be understood first. International development cooperation refers to the act of the international community working together to resolve the development gaps between developed and developing countries, and between developing and developing countries, and within developing countries, and to ensure that people in developing countries also enjoy the fundamental human rights (KOICA ODA Education Center, 2012). Specifically, the term 'international development cooperation' is a concept that combines 'international cooperation' which pursues mutual benefits through human and financial exchanges in various fields between countries, and 'development cooperation' which means cooperation related to the development of the developing countries (KOICA, 2013).

Based on the concept of international development cooperation, education development cooperation can be seen as the effort of the international community to develop education in developing countries. In a

broad sense, this includes supporting activities in the education sector in carrying out international development cooperation (Yoon, J. et al., 2013). The basis for the international community's efforts to develop education in developing countries can be primarily understood in two ways (Yoon, J. et al., 2012). First, education development cooperation aims for the international community to support the guarantee of the rights to education as a basic human right. This view is in line with the humanitarian motivation for international development cooperation. Second, it is a view that emphasizes the role of education in poverty eradication and economic growth. The field of education has received relatively high attention among various areas of international development cooperation as a 'means of economic growth'.

1.5 Organization of the study

This dissertation consists of seven chapters. Chapter 2 reviews the literature on education development cooperation, including theories and practices, and the relationship between education development cooperation and modernity. Chapter 3 focuses on Bauman's theory of modernity as the theoretical framework for this study. His view on solid modernity is explored as the basis for comparison with liquid modernity, and then five concepts which have been changed in the context of liquid modernity are presented. Chapter 4 provides a detailed explanation of the research method and the process of the research, including data collection and analysis. Chapter 5 shows the findings of this study. The position and history of the

World Bank's education development cooperation and the five themes emerging from the critical studies are examined. Chapter 6 reexamines the findings of this study through Bauman's modernity theory. In this chapter, the application of Bauman's modernity theory to the World Bank's education development cooperation, as well as the landscape of education development cooperation in the context of liquid modernity is investigated. In the last chapter, the overall content of this study is summarized, and the contributions and limitations of this study are discussed.

Chapter II. LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews education development cooperation itself and its relationship to modernity before proceeding to the theoretical framework for this study. The overall review on theories of and practices in education development cooperation is necessary to better grasp the field of education development cooperation thus far. Then, the review focuses on the relationship between education development cooperation and modernity as related to the theoretical framework.

2.1 Education development cooperation

2.1.1 Theories of education development cooperation

This section will explore the theoretical aspects of education development cooperation. Education has been considered differently depending on development paradigms and theories. Here, education under various development paradigms and theories will be outlined according to the five paradigms of development theories grouped by McCowan (2015). The development paradigms, their related theories, and the application to education that he summarizes (2015, pp. 34-47) are presented in the following sections. The main elements of these development theories, including the link to education, are outlined in Table 2.1.

[Table 2.1] Paradigms of Development Theory and Link to Education

Paradigm	Vision	Strategy	Link to education	Variants
Liberal capitalist	Economic growth for 'catch-up' with developed countries	Modernizing economic activity and institutions, changing attitudes and enhancing workers' skills and productivity	Schooling instrumental in forming productive workers	Modernization theory; Human capital theory; Neoliberalism
Marxist	Freedom from economic exploitation for peoples and countries subjected to international and local elites	De-linking from dependent relations with former colonial or neo-colonial powers	Education systems also dependent on the former colonial power and reproduce unequal relations	Dependency theory; World systems theory; Social reproduction
Postcolonial	Critique of representation as 'other' and assertion of authentic voice	Critique and deconstruction of dominant conceptions of development	Education instrument for disparagement of indigenous cultures and for articulation of critical vision	Post-structuralism; Post-development
Liberal egalitarian	Equality of opportunity and fundamental entitlements, with individual agency, wellbeing and liberty	Constitutional guarantees, global obligations and individuals holding state to account	Educational opportunities must be distributed fairly and must equip individuals for full participation in society	Basic needs; Human rights; Human development/ Capabilities;
Radical humanist	Transformation of consciousness for the emancipation of the people and creation of a just society	Individual and collective empowerment through learning and action	Education is intrinsic to development; social transformation starts with learning; dialectic of reflection and action	Freirean pedagogy; Participatory learning and action

Source: McCowan, 2015, p. 35

2.1.1.1 Liberal capitalist paradigm

The liberal capitalist paradigm is a paradigm that encompasses modernization theory, human capital theory, and neoliberalism, and presupposes that capitalism is ideal. Modernization theory insists that in

order to grow economically, it must be converted from tradition to modernity. The process of modernization takes place in both social institutions and the attitude of individuals, and the formal education system is closely related to the modernization of these societies and individuals. The formal education system itself is a typical instance of modern institution and has also led modernization by implanting a range of norms, attitudes, and skills. Modernization theory argues that newly independent states must be underpinned by a mass education system to become a modern state.

Human capital theory belonging to the liberal capitalist paradigm focuses on skills and properties for economic productivity, not the norms and attitudes that support modern states. This theory, asserted by economists such as Becker (1964) and Schultz (1961), suggests that the fundamental role of education lies in economic growth. According to this theory, the level of education of each country's people could explain the gap in economic growth between nations. Human capital theory has gained enormous popularity and is the impetus for national investments in education.

The liberal capitalist paradigm has recently received renewed interests as neoliberalism exercises considerable dominance. Neoliberalism asserts that the goal of development, or economic growth, can only be achieved through means of market-oriented economy, which supports minimization of state intervention, and individual entrepreneurship initiatives. In this neoliberal model, through the privatization of the education system, education can produce not only productive workers but also profits in itself.

2.1.1.2 Marxist paradigm

Against the liberal capitalist approaches discussed above, the Marxist paradigm emerged in the 1960s and the 1970s. This paradigm sees the continuation of poverty as a critical component of capitalism which needs the deprived and poorly educated reserve labor force (Unterhalter, 2008). The most prominent theory in this paradigm is dependency theory. Contrary to modernization theory which places the causes of underdevelopment onto the poorer countries themselves, dependency theory points the finger at the rich countries and the dependency relations they create.

There have been attempts to apply dependency theory directly to the education field. Ali Mazrui (1975), Philip Altbach (1977/1982), and Martin Carnoy (1974) investigate how the education systems of countries that achieved independence from colonial rules continue to be dependent on the systems of former colonial powers. According to these studies, in spite of their independence, they continue to use colonial languages, curricula focusing on Western subjects, and Western publishers. This application of the dependency theory to education suggests that countries should break their links with colonial powers and pursue their own educational path. With regard to education, the idea of dependency inspires social reproduction theorists as well. Bowles and Gintis (1976), Bourdieu and Passeron (1977/1990) and Willis (1977) assert that education systems serve to reproduce class-based social inequalities, rather than to improve social mobility.

2.1.1.3 Postcolonialism

The postcolonial approach is rooted in post-structuralism in the epistemological sense. Post-structuralism, which emerged in France in the mid-20th century, challenges the basis of Western thoughts such as the promise of human progress through knowledge, and the belief in reason that enables the pursuit of truth. Post-structuralism points out that there is no universal or objective foundation to underpin what Western thoughts regard as either right or good. In line with this approach, postcolonialism notes the continuing presence of the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized. Postcolonialism argues that colonial relationships continue to order and reorder the cultural and economic hierarchies of knowledge and disciplines through the traditions of thoughts, imagery, and language in the way of serving the colonizers' interests (Hickling-Hudson, Matthews, & Woods, 2004; Prakash, 1995; Tikly, 1999).

In a similar vein, a post-development viewpoint, which takes a critical stance on conventional approaches to development emerged under the influence of postcolonialism. What post-development thinkers see as an issue in development and its practice is the imbalance of influence or domination of the West. They pay attention to the cultural onslaught and environmental destruction brought on by the Western development model, promoting pluralism in the idea of development.

The educational applications to postcolonialism and post-development are highly critical of cultural imperialism by revealing and unsettling its legacy in school curricula and the hidden Western assumptions about

knowledge and the world behind it. As an alternative to Western domination, the focus has been either on restoring indigenous forms of knowledge and education or hybridizing indigenous and Western knowledge (Enslin, 2017).

2.1.1.4 Liberal egalitarianism

The liberal egalitarian paradigm commits to simultaneously combining the value of individual liberty and substantive equality (Glaser, 2014). Contrary to the post-structuralism discussed earlier, this paradigm believes in the possibility of universal morality, and that specific measures for improvement can be realized in practice.

One of the liberal egalitarian theories is related to human rights. The rights-based approach, which has gained a prominent position in the development field since the 1990s, has redefined the people living in poverty-stricken areas as rights-holders rather than mere beneficiaries. Also, another variant, the basic needs approach prioritizes the fulfillment of basic human requirements of all the people (Stewart, 1985). Unterhalter (2008) notes that the Education for All (EFA) movement's view of educational entitlements and obligations is within the framework of basic needs.

The most recent version of the liberal egalitarian paradigm is the human development approach which emphasizes capabilities. This approach developed by Amartya Sen (1992, 1999) insists that development should be regarded as expanding individuals' capability of achieving the kind of lives they have reason to value. It embodies more people-centered development, rather than the existing economy-oriented one. The ascendancy of the

approach led to the development of the Human Development Index (HDI) which measures crucial dimensions of human development: education, life expectancy, and per capita GNI.

The application of liberal egalitarian approaches to education is about distributing the benefits of education equitably. From this paradigm, education underpins the whole set of human rights, empowering individuals to know, promote, and demand their rights or to multiply their capabilities. The growing number of literature on both the rights-based approaches to education (e.g., Greany, 2008; Spring, 2000; UNICEF/UNESCO, 2007) and capabilities in education (e.g., Saito, 2003; Unterhalter, 2009; Walker, 2005; Walker, & Unterhalter, 2007) reflects recent trends in the education field.

2.1.1.5 Radical humanism

The theorists and practitioners in radical humanism have in common a set of principles that are distinct from the previously discussed theories. This paradigm regards education not as a result of development, nor as a driving force of development, but as development itself. In these approaches, the process of learning is considered emancipation and participation, and is both the means and the end of development.

The most famous thinker in radical humanism, Paulo Freire, clarifies this view of education in his book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970/2000). For Freire, education is not neutral but political; it either maintains the status quo or encourages one to criticize and transform reality. Freire is critical of the traditional mode of education, the so-called banking education, which

perceives a learner as an empty vessel to be filled with knowledge by the teacher. Instead, he wants to develop education for critical consciousness that leads to social transformation. For Freire, the aim of education is humanization and emancipation. This is to be attained through the two key pedagogical processes of dialogue and problem-solving. His idea is similar to dependency theory and postcolonialism to some extent, but it presents a pedagogical solution which can be applied in practice, rather than merely criticizing the existing colonial education.

Freire's work has influenced education all over the world. In particular, the participatory property of his idea resonates with the general shift toward participatory development. Radical humanist approaches, including Freirean pedagogy, are distinguished by learner-centered reforms aiming beyond effective learning toward political liberation and social transformation.

This section examined some key development paradigms and theories that are relevant to education. These paradigms and their related theories have influenced the field of international development cooperation since the Second World War. Theories serve to help us understand why a particular phenomenon occurs, or to predict what will happen in the future. Furthermore, they also play a normative role in guiding human behavior and social organization (McCowan, 2015). The next section will explore practices in education development cooperation. With regard to these practices, it is possible to better understand the theories of and practices in education development cooperation so far, given how the practice is related to theory and how the theory works in practice.

2.1.2 Practices in education development cooperation

In order to know where education development cooperation is positioned, we need to know where it started and how far it has come. Based on studies on history of education development cooperation (Unterhalter, 2015, pp. 13-29; Yoo, Chung, & Kang, 2017, pp. 31-52), this section reviews the practical efforts of education development cooperation in chronological order.

2.1.2.1 Before the 1950s

In the early 20th century, education of the underdeveloped countries was only for the minority of classes who received modern education in the colonial countries. These ruling elites played an active role in enforcing colonial policies. Even after independence, they took the lead in building their school education system based on the modern education system of the imperial ruling countries (Yoo et al., 2017). Not until the Second World War did the international community pay attention to the economic and social development of underdeveloped countries, leading to the establishment of the United Nations and related UN agencies that promoted education (Mundy, & Manion, 2015). Through UNESCO's constitution ensuring "full and equal opportunities for education for all" in 1946 and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights¹ in 1948, education was recognized

¹Article 26 of the Declaration is about the right to education:
Article 26

1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional

as an important right, and the United Nations and its agencies have embraced education as a key to building international understanding and peace. In other words, the establishment of the United Nations and related international organizations right after the Second World War is an important starting point in education development cooperation (Unterhalter, 2015).

2.1.2.2 During the 1950s and 1960s

Unlike other UN agencies and international organizations that have begun to be interested in education since the 1960s, UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), which oversees the work of the UN's science, culture and education, held regional conferences during the 1950s to promote free basic education, adult literacy, and gender equality. This was a venue for education development cooperation to discuss education rights and equalities (Unterhalter, 2015). Although UNESCO focused not only on economics but also on planning and cultural diversity, the link between education and modernization was its central theme (Mundy, 1999; Vaughan, 2010).

In the 1960s, the most urgent problem for the newly independent nations was economic development. At that time, eminent economists emphasized the importance of education in economic development, and the necessity of

education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

educational development of newly independent countries emerged (Jones, 2006). The issue of education, as argued in human capital theory, was narrowed down to education as a means of economic development. With the widespread view that education is necessary as a beneficial investment to economic growth, the education budget expanded and the activities of education development cooperation by developed countries, mainly the former colonial states, began (Yoo et al., 2017).

Between 1960 and 1966, UNESCO held a series of regional conferences calling for the provision of the universal primary education as the first international goal for education (McGrath, 2018). Since then, there has been a rapid expansion of primary education and a dramatic increase in the number of school enrollments, but the population has increased at a faster pace, failing to achieve the goal of universalization of primary education (Yoo et al., 2017).

UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund), which had focused only on the health of children in its early days, expanded its focus in the 1960s. The expanded areas of interest included maternal health, nutrition, formal and non-formal education, and children's psychosocial needs (Unterhalter, 2015).

Established in 1944 as a result of the Bretton Woods conference, the World Bank did not pay much attention to education before the 1960s. In the 1960s, however, with the assertion that investment in education has a profound effect on economic growth (Jones, 2006), the World Bank began actively participating in research and policy on education development cooperation. In particular, the World Bank was interested in issues such as

economic growth, profitability, and system efficiency (Unterhalter, 2015).

In the late 1960s, there was a period of stagnation in education development cooperation because of the great lack of financial support needed to run the education system pursued by the newly independent nations (Yoo et al., 2017).

2.1.2.3 During the 1970s and 1980s

In the 1970s, the international community focused on issues of inequality that had been neglected while emphasizing economic growth in the 1950s and 1960s. As the UN became interested in basic human needs in 1978, the education field of the newly independent nations began to focus on basic education as one of the basic human needs. Here, basic education refers to formal primary education, literacy education, and education on basic skills in agriculture and industry. Since post-basic education was not continuously provided to the poor, there has been a concern that discrimination among classes may occur in terms of providing equal educational opportunities (Yoo et al., 2017).

The oil shocks of the 1970s and the financial crisis of the 1980s were critical events distinguishing the World Bank and the UN organizations (Unterhalter, 2015). The World Bank emerged as a multilateral organization that could provide the highest amount of funding for education in the 1970s and the early 1980s, exerting its influence by forcing countries in financial crisis to restructure their education systems to maximize efficiency and profitability (Mundy, 2007; Mundy, & Manion, 2015). The World Bank

asked developing countries to cut spending on education and restructure themselves. Against it, UNICEF pointed out the adverse effects of the World Bank's approach (Jones, 2007b). At the request of the World Bank, developing countries were forced to introduce restructuring programs, impose tuition fees and cut teachers' salaries. In response, UNESCO launched the Delors Commission (1996), which specified four pillars of education that focus on humanitarian values rather than instrumental and market-driven aspects. UNICEF also passed the Declaration of the Rights of the Child in 1989 with the support of the member states (Unterhalter, 2015). As such, multilateral organizations in education development cooperation have acted independently and competitively (Mundy, 2007). It was not until the 1990s that cooperation between UN agencies and the World Bank was visible through EFA and MDGs (Millennium Development Goals) initiatives (Unterhalter, 2015).

2.1.2.4 During the 1990s and 2000s

In 1990, the World Conference on Education For All was held in Jomtien, Thailand, jointly organized by UNESCO, UNICEF, UNDP (United Nations Development Programme), and the World Bank. At the Jomtien Conference, the international community and the nations affirmed their responsibility and obligation to ensure basic education opportunities for all people. The Jomtien Conference brought about a change in the international organizations' perception of basic education (Yoo et al., 2017). UNICEF, which carried out advocacy activities in the 1990s, regarded basic education

as a basic need and a fundamental human right. This has led to program development (e.g., child-friendly school programs) in the area of girls' education and basic education (Mundy, & Manion, 2015). The World Bank believed that basic education is the most attractive investment target in terms of investment efficiency compared to other levels of education such as higher education and vocational training. In addition, the UNDP saw basic education as the most effective one to redistribute wealth to the poor. At the Jomtien Conference, basic education became a major concern for developing countries, donor countries, and international organizations, and EFA became a keyword for education development cooperation during the 1990s (Yoo et al., 2017).

In addition to the emphasis on basic education in the 1990s, another focus in education development cooperation was girls' and women's education (Vaughan, 2010). Education for girls and women was not only consistent with the purpose of EFA of the Jomtien Conference but studies also showed its positive effect on social and economic development (King, & Hill, 1993; Kingdon, 1997). Thus, it became one of the priorities in the field of education development cooperation.

The qualitative dimension of education also came to the forefront in the 1990s. After the Jomtien Conference, it became clear that in order to achieve EFA, all aspects of education quality should be improved, and that quantity and quality in education should be complements rather than substitutes (UNESCO, 2004). As a result, learning outcomes in education development cooperation which used to focus solely on enrollment, became a significant concern as well (Yoo et al., 2017).

Since 2000, the EFA movement has undergone significant changes. Mundy and Manion (2015) note that education was included as an essential area for consensus on global development, and that specific educational goals and monitoring plans were established. In the 2000s, various programs and events related to EFA were held as follows:

- The World Education Forum (WEF) was held in Dakar, Senegal, in 2000 to adjust the goals to be achieved by 2015 and boost commitment to them.
- At the UN Millennium Summit in New York in 2000, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), including a goal for education were signed by the delegates of 189 UN member states.
- The annual EFA Global Monitoring Report was launched in 2002 as an initiative of the UNESCO to monitor progress, highlighting different aspects of EFA goals every year.
- In 2002 the World Bank established the EFA Fast Track Initiative (later renamed the Global Partnership for Education) to pool funds from bilateral and multilateral donors specifically to assist developing countries in achieving EFA goals.
- The Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness was publicized in 2005 (Yamada, 2016, p. 3).

In particular, the World Education Forum in Dakar set six goals to be met by 2015, which are more comprehensive than the ones of Jomtien. Also, the UN, the Bretton Woods organizations, and the OECD countries established eight MDGs to be achieved by 2015, two of which (MDGs 2 and 3) overlap with the EFA goals set at the Dakar meeting (see Table 2.2).

[Table 2.2] MDGs and EFA goals

Millennium development goals (MDGs)	EFA goals
1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger	1. Expand early childhood care and education
2. Achieve universal primary education	2. Provide free and compulsory primary education for all
3. Promote gender equality and empower women	3. Promote learning and life skills for young people and adults
4. Reduce child mortality	4. Increase adult literacy by fifty per cent
5. Improve maternal health	5. Achieve gender parity by 2005, gender equality by 2015
6. Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases	6. Improve the quality of education
7. Ensure environmental sustainability	
8. Develop a global partnership for development	

In May 2015, the World Education Forum was held in Incheon to review the achievements of the above goals and to present a new future education agenda. The Forum resulted in a commitment to achieve a new vision in education for 2030, which aims at inclusive and equitable quality education and lifelong learning for all. This new vision is closely linked to the fourth SDG (Sustainable Development Goal) to ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all (UNESCO, 2016, p. 7).

2.2 Education development cooperation and modernity

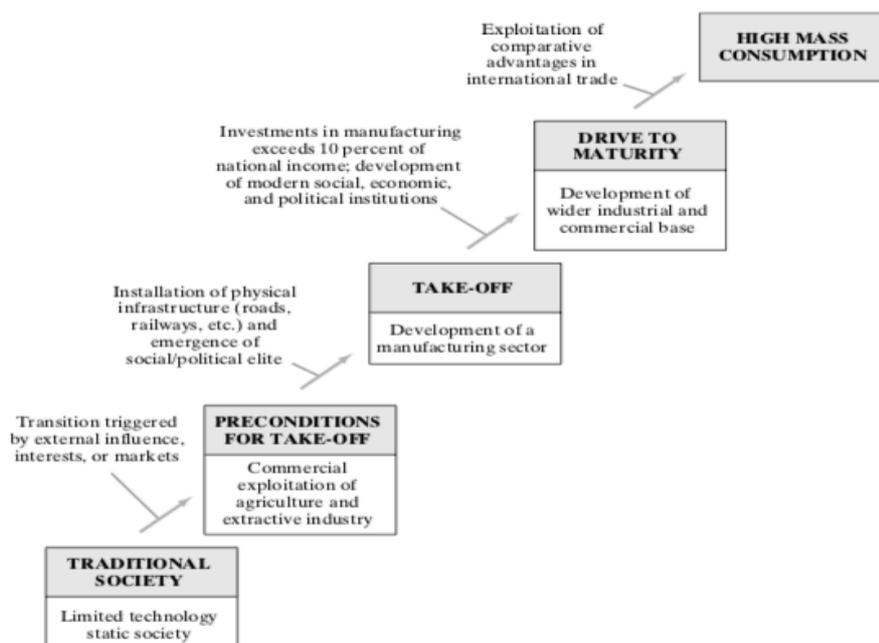
This section explores the relationship between education development cooperation and modernity. First of all, both the concepts of development and modernity emerged as exclusively European projects. It began with the Enlightenment of the 15th and the 18th centuries known as the age of reason and scientific knowledge by many philosophers. Modernity is inherently based on the notion that the world first needs to be objectively known, and

in doing so it should be controlled and improved (Howe, 1994). This idea puts forward that there are no problems which cannot be solved or improved through rationality. With this faith, a variety of schemes called the 'project of modernity' or the 'Enlightenment project' were carried out in the name of improving human society and individual lives.

Lushaba (2006) argues that it is the Enlightenment that penetrates developmental discourses and thoughts from the early modern period through the era of capitalist modernity to the present age. In other words, the current neoliberal developmental discourse must be understood as part of the larger project of modernity/Enlightenment with the goal of modernization. In line with this, many recent theories of globalization produced in the West, and particularly in the United States, and based on the understanding of industrialization, continue to recreate this view that sees non-Western culture as "a residual variable, to disappear with the advance of modernization" (Escobar, 1995, p. 44).

Another development that influenced modernity is the prevalence of capitalism as a dominant ideology after the Second World War. This view of modernity which was advanced by the Western powers after their victory in the Second World War comes with development trajectories known as industrialization and economic growth. Shils (1960) illustrates that the advocates of modernity see being modern as economically developed and progressive. The most critical thing in industrialization and economic growth is the change from the traditional to the modern. In this sense, modernity would indicate the center of impetus to modern technology, high standard of living, and industrialization. This model of modernity is based

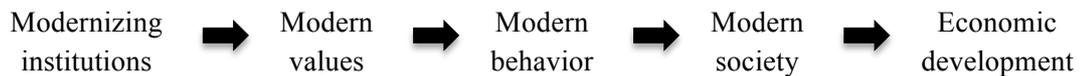
on the assumption that there is a unilinear path to development, and that the social and economic solutions which took effect in the West must be applied to developing countries as illustrated by the American economist Walt Rostow (1960). Rostow shows the five successive stages which less developed countries must pass through in order to achieve economic development like the developed countries, prescribing an economic transition along a continuum of progress from a traditional rural society toward a modern industrialized one (See Figure 2.1). He asserts that economies of all nations can be located in one of the five stages of economic growth and presents various conditions that can occur in investment, consumption and social trends at each stage.



<Figure 2.1> Rostow's Five Stages of Economic Growth Model

Source: Knox, & McCarthy, 2011, p. 142

The key to theory of modernization that embraces a single linear view of development is that if underdeveloped countries follow the course of modernization that Western capitalist societies took in the 19th century, they can achieve the same development as Western capitalist countries in every way. Here, modernization may be related not only to economic growth, but also to institutions, the society, and individuals. In particular, modernization theorists insist that in the process by which modernization occurs, there is a direct causal relationship between five variable sets: modernizing institutions, modern values, modern behavior, modern society, and economic development, as shown in Figure 2.2 (Fägerlind, & Saha, 1983).



<Figure 2.2> The Process of Modernization

Source: Fägerlind, & Saha, 1983, p. 16

According to Inkeles and Smith (1974), only when the majority of the population in a nation are modern persons, the nation can become modern. They define a modern person as having the following traits (Inkeles, & Smith, 1974, pp. 19-25):

1. openness to new experience;
2. readiness for social change;
3. awareness of the diversity of surrounding attitudes and opinions, and the disposition to form or hold one's own opinions;
4. being energetic in acquiring facts and information on which to base opinions;

5. time orientation toward the present and the future instead of the past;
6. a sense of efficacy or the belief that one can exert influence over one's own environment;
7. orientation to long-term planning both in public affairs and private personal life;
8. a basic trust in the calculability of the surrounding world, and that people and institutions can be relied upon to meet their obligations;
9. placing high value on technical skill and accepting it as a basis for the distribution of rewards;
10. placing higher value on formal education and schooling and aspiring to high levels of educational and occupational attainments;
11. respect for the dignity of others;
12. understanding the logic underlying production and industry.

Education, widely accepted as “the key that unlocks the door to modernization” (Harbison, & Myers, 1964, p. 184) is considered to play a central role in the process of modernization. For example, Inkeles and Smith (1974) emphasize the role of education in creating modern individuals. Students learn the ability to read, write, and calculate through education, naturally follow discipline, understand social change, and acquire a modern tendency in the process of being educated. In this respect, Inkeles and his followers see that the hidden curriculum, which does not appear in the formal curriculum, has a greater impact on students than direct instruction through the subject matter. Inkeles and Smith (1974) illustrate as follows:

School starts and stops at fixed times each day. Within the school day there generally is a regular sequence for ordering activities: singing,

reading, writing, drawing, all have their scheduled and usually invariant times. Teachers generally work according to this plan ... Thus, principles directly embedded in the daily routine of the school teach the value of planning ahead and the importance of maintaining a regular schedule (p. 141).

As above, schooling has the effect of modernizing the way people think and, ultimately, the way they behave, functioning as a modernizing agent. The modernization theorists argue that in order for a society to be modern (economically and socially), it must consist of a modern population that has modern values, beliefs, and behaviors. These modern values can be created through human planning, particularly social institutions such as schools where socialization occurs. Therefore modernization theorists and policy-makers have emphasized the importance of the role of education in producing modern values, attitudes and the skilled manpower necessary for the existence of modern society (Fägerlind, & Saha, 1983).

However, modernization theory dealing with development, education, and modernity faced considerable criticism. Some weaknesses remain in the claim that education constitutes an essential agent for the modernization process (Fägerlind, & Saha, 1983). Toffler (1970), for example, presents a critical perspective on this as follows:

Mass education was the ingenious machine constructed by industrialism to produce the kind of adults it needed ... the solution was an educational system that, in its very structure, simulated this new world ... the

regimentation, lack of individualisation, the rigid systems of seating, grouping, grading and marking, the authoritarian style of the teacher – are precisely those that made mass public education so effective as an instrument of adaptation for its time and place (pp. 354-355).

To view education simply as a means for modernization has fundamental problems which can lead to distorted educational activities that ignore the intrinsic value of education (Yoo et al., 2017).

Another criticism is that the goal of the modernization process is ideologically biased and ethnocentric. Given the criteria for measuring the degree of modernization, if a society is to be modern, it must be Western as well (Hoogvelt, 1976). This is because the meaning of modernity is limited to what is thought to be proprietary to developed countries in the West, such as material civilization, economic wealth, and so on. The political, historical, social, cultural, economic, and ecological factors operating in developing countries are not taken into account in modernization theory. These factors are substantially dissimilar to those in the West. Development models forged with Western values are bound to fail in that they are not interested in or capable of bridging the vast gap between theory and practice. Indeed, development policies implemented in developing countries based on modernization theory have not been markedly successful. Not only have poverty, low productivity, economic inequality, and marginalization of the poor been intensified as a result, but also the environment and people's health in developing countries have been damaged (Elabor-Idemudia, 2000). In a similar vein, Lushaba (2006) points out that Africa still remains

underdeveloped even after five decades of development planning and implementation. These development efforts are based on the Enlightenment project with the overriding objective to modernize/enlighten Africa, that is, to reproduce the same 'development' in Africa.

In addition to the liberal capitalist paradigm, including modernization theory, other paradigms of development theory have some limitations and problems of their own. Marxism underpinning the Marxist paradigm shares the underlying modernist assumption that social change moves in an evolutionary direction (Jones, Bradbury, & LeBoutillier, 2011). But Marxist theory cannot explain why the changes that are taking place now are not moving in a clear direction, such as from capitalism to communism. Even dependency theory in the Marxist paradigm which criticizes the nation-state focus of modernization theory must be understood as a part of the long-standing thoughts on modernity based in Latin America (Grosfoguel, 2000). Dependency ideas stand upon the illusion that development can be achieved from rational planning and control of the nation-state. But in reality it is far from possible to delink from the capitalist world-system or to change a country's position in the international division of labor by privileging the control of the nation-state.

As radical humanists paying attention to the inhuman attributes of society, Freire (1970/2000), and Illich (1971), a leading advocate of deschooling, regard institutional education as a tool to justify unequal structures and repressive control in society. According to them, the conscientization and deschooling is true education and the way to human liberation. However, these criticisms and alternatives have not been developed as practical

alternatives because of their neglect of the immense influence of the social structure, and they are considered to have stopped at the level of idealism. The radical humanist thought assumes a confrontational relationship between immoral society and moral humanity, and furthermore believes that a humane society will be constructed when school education as an immoral system is eliminated. In the contemporary context, the approach is very often written off as impractical and overly sanguine about human nature (McCowan, 2015; Oh, 1996).

Even though the liberal egalitarian theories are still appealing, they have some weaknesses in practice. Robeyns (2006) points out several of the theories' limitations. One of the major weaknesses of the liberal egalitarian approach is that it is often considered overly rhetorical. Unterhalter (2003) also shares a similar view:

It is widely held in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in documentation associated with the EFA movement, with the Millennium Development Targets and in the Constitutions of many countries that education is an intrinsic good for women and men. But sometimes these statements appear merely rhetorical (p. 9).

Notwithstanding a long history of declarations and statements, those with good intentions have not seen desired results thus far, and people have expressed skepticism about such declarations and grand statements.

Another limitation of the liberal egalitarian paradigm is that it is, in effect, exclusively nation-state centered. In this paradigm, it is the nation-states that

guarantee the basic needs, the agreed rights, or a list of capabilities to their people. Therefore, there is a risk that the nation-states might not go beyond their duties, even when the actual situation is not optimal. In light of contemporary conditions in which the authority and power of nation-states are waning, the position of the liberal egalitarian paradigm in the field of international development cooperation is smaller.

Unlike other paradigms, the postcolonial paradigm, including postcolonialism and post-structuralism, strongly depends on postmodernism both conceptually and ideologically (Acheraïou, 2011). Thus, the critique of this paradigm is closely linked with postmodern deficiencies. The postmodern premise with much too sharp distinctions between the local and the global as well as the particular and the general is problematic (Beyer, & Liston, 1992). Although it is true that social realities including injustice and inequality require not only local sensitivities but also concerted, collaborative actions at the global level, postmodernism which is locked into particularity and the local, hardly presents a clear direction in response to such social realities. In the same vein, McCowan (2015) points out the main limitation of the postcolonial paradigm as its absence of a clear path of action in the situation of domination.

The five paradigms in the field of education development cooperation explored in this chapter are based on stagnant conditions, either modernity or postmodernity. Therefore, they have limitations in capturing the rapid social changes resulting from the change in modernity. Here, late modernity theories have the obvious advantage of helping to better understand continuity and change in the current period of modernity. Theories such as

Anthony Giddens' late/high modernity, Ulrich Beck's second modernity, and Zygmunt Bauman's liquid modernity are key theories focusing on late modernity. Giddens, Beck, and Bauman, the representative scholars who have contributed towards the theory of late modernity may use different labels, but they all share a common viewpoint that contemporary society can be well explained as a new phase of modernity.

Giddens, Beck, and Bauman in common take special interest in and deal with many contemporary phenomena, in particular, globalization, individualization, and their respective effects on society (Sim, 2013). However, it is necessary to take note of the main difference between Giddens and Beck on one side and Bauman on the other (Dawson, 2010). Giddens and Beck take 'disembedded' perspective of individualization, whereas Bauman's liquid modernity is based on 'embedded' individualization. The former is linked to removing agents from structure and inequalities of early modernity. On the other hand, Bauman relies on the embedded perspective by contending that individualization in liquid modernity is part of an "ideology of privatization" (Bauman, 2008, p. 88), whereby macro-social problems are "privatized" for an individual to solve (Bauman, 2000, p. 32).

Taking the perspective of disembedded individualization, Giddens and Beck attempt to link individual action to collective political action. In doing so, they still ignore the point that each disembedded individual is able to exercise different amounts of power in the face of structural domination of governments and markets. Considering this criticism, it is necessary to note that Bauman's liquid modernity focuses on the differentiated consequences

of embedded individualization which accentuates structural inequalities (Dawson, 2010). Bauman's theory does a better job of explaining the contemporary phenomena instead of merely suggesting a normative vision. Therefore, Bauman's theory of modernity is more appropriate as the theoretical framework of this study dealing with the context of international development where the issue of unbalanced power relations between the developed and the developing, the rich and the poor, remains unsolved.

Chapter III. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

“All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind.”

This is one of the passages in *The Communist Manifesto* written by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in 1848. This widely known passage refers to their time of capitalism as one in which change happened so quickly that “all that is solid melts into air” (Rattansi, 2017). Based on this passage that describes the new and revolutionary features of modern capitalist society, Zygmunt Bauman (1925-2017), one of the most eminent and influential sociologists, develops the concept of liquid modernity which reflects a sense of change in modern society. In his major work *Liquid Modernity* (2000), he writes on the shift from solid modernity to liquid one and elaborates the characteristics of the liquid form of modern life in a series of books including *Liquid Love* (2003a), *Liquid Life* (2005a), *Liquid Fear* (2006), *Liquid Times* (2007), and *Liquid Evil* (2016). Through these extensive works, the theory of liquid modernity has become a comprehensive theoretical system to help understand today’s and future society at large (Elliott, 2007b).

The course of Bauman’s life changed dramatically (see Bunting, 2003; Davis, 2008; Morawski, 1998; Smith, 2000, for more details). His biographical experience gave him a wide range of intellectual interests in modernity. He was born in 1925 in western Poland into a Jewish family that

suffered significantly from both poverty and anti-Semitism. When the Second World War broke out, he, as a communist and soldier in the Soviet-controlled First Polish Army, took part in the battles against Nazi Germany. In the postwar years, after resignation from his military position, Bauman began in earnest to pursue an academic career as a junior lecturer at Warsaw University. Because of the anti-Semitic purges sweeping throughout Poland in 1968, he was expelled from his country, Poland, as well as the Communist Party and the university. From 1971, he resided in the United Kingdom and became Professor of Sociology at the University of Leeds. A succession of these personal experiences and dramatic changes in circumstances and status offered him a keen insight into modernity and today's society.

This chapter is divided into three parts. First of all, it is worth investigating solid modernity as the starting point for Bauman's modernity theory before examining the notion of liquid modernity. The prominent features of solid modernity will be reviewed in this section. Then this chapter looks into the idea and core concepts of liquid modernity, based on his work *Liquid Modernity* (2000). In this book, Bauman deals with five core concepts of liquid modernity: 1) emancipation, 2) individuality, 3) time/space, 4) work, and 5) community. In the last section of this chapter, by looking at core concepts of solid and liquid modernity together, Bauman's perspective on modernity as a theoretical framework of this study will be clarified.

3.1 Bauman's view on modernity

Bauman's thoughts on modernity are articulated in his another excellent book *Modernity and the Holocaust* published in 1989. Before this book was released, the majority of sociologists, unlike historians and theologians, did not pay sociological attention to the Holocaust, regarding it either as an exceptional case that temporarily occurred in the modern times or an abnormal episode that denotes a regression to pre-modern barbarism. Some scholars also ascribed this historical tragedy to the evil personality of people who belonged to the Nazi Germany or limited the Holocaust to a matter of a particular race, the Jews. Contrary to all of these scholars and sociologists, Bauman sees the Holocaust as a normal event which can occur in any modern era and any modern society, given some special social settings and conditions are met. In his view, the Holocaust cannot happen without the achievements of modernity that many sociologists praise, such as technical progress and organizational efficiency in the modern bureaucracy, hierarchical and functional division of labor, and maximization of reason and rationality. It can be said that Bauman focuses on the dark side of modernity which other sociologists overlooked. To put it in a nutshell, Bauman discovers the ambivalence, that is, the dual nature inherent in modernity by connecting the Holocaust which happened in modern times to modernity. This makes him stand out among peer sociologists in academia.

According to Bauman, modernity started over 300 years ago (InK, 2014). However, in the late twentieth century, which is not long ago, we reached an inflection point that existing concept and characteristics of modernity cannot

explain despite the fact that the history of modernity is not yet over. In order to distinguish the realms before and after this point of dramatic change, Bauman invents the metaphorical terms 'liquid' and 'solid'. The previous version of modernity which has lasted since approximately 300 years is referred to as 'solid modernity', whereas the new and changed modernity which emerged relatively recently is called 'liquid modernity'. Here, the features of solid modernity are examined to compare with those of liquid modernity.

3.1.1 Quest for order

As mentioned above, in the period of change from pre-modernity to modernity, all that was solid melted and all that was holy was profaned. Namely, all the traditional rules and customs that had held up the pre-modern society broke down. In fact, the pre-modern societies in Europe were based on divine authority, which had been the traditional form of authority.

However, after collapsing God-centered medieval order, humans took possession of the position of God. The process of modernizing is not merely a break-up of the ancient regime, but a reconstruction of a new order upon already deconstructed old order (Bauman, 2000). Instead of God, man, as the new creator, tried to create a social order that gets rid of, or at least mitigates, the anxious and fearful instabilities and uncertainties of life.

A typical example of this can be the change in perception of nature before and after the modern era. In pre-modern times, nature was considered

inviolable, and controlled not by man, but by God. Because nature not only profoundly affected human life, but also was unpredictable, humans were in fear and, by extension, in awe of nature. However, science, one of the major driving forces of modernity, became a weapon powerful enough to conquer previously feared nature. Throughout the modern period, nature fell in status as mere passive object impotently exploited by human needs and purposes (Bauman, 1991).

Accordingly, the project of modernity was not only based on the perception that there is no limitation to human development, progress, and self-improvement, but also relied on human will to orderly design, structure, and control everything in society. Furthermore, this kind of project of modernity was led mainly by the modern nation-state (Baek, 2008; Bauman, 2000).

3.1.2 A gardening nation-state

The nation-state took the leading part in the construction of a new order in modern society. These modern states were bent on transforming society into an ideal, orderly, rationally designed society. To achieve such a society the modern state must legislate, regulate, and evaluate all parts of society on the basis of reason and rationality. Bauman (1991) refers to this modern state as “a gardening state” (p. 20). Gardening is an activity encouraging useful plants and flowers to grow and pulling out unnecessary plants and weeds. Likewise, what the modern state performs as a gardening state is the promotion of useful parts of society and removing its ill-formed or useless

components. The population of the modern state is no exception; this gardening work can be applied to the people within its territory as well. This point is related to the Holocaust, as discussed above. Nazi Germany was active in promoting the growth of a pure Germanic race and at the same time, rooting up certain races and groups of people categorized as ‘subhuman’, including the Jews, the Gypsies, and the disabled. This sort of criteria for the human race was considered rational by the Nazi regime. In this sense, Nazi Germany is an extreme, but a fairly typical example of a gardening state (Bauman, 1989; Jacobsen, & Marshman, 2008a, 2008b).

Bauman identifies the modern nation-state with modernity and mentions that its origins go back to the early seventeenth century, followed by the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution (Rattansi, 2017, p. 91). Concretely, the birth of the nation-state is highly connected to the Westphalian settlement in its two phases – Augsburg in 1555 and Osnabrück/Münster in 1648 after suffering demolition and devastation caused by brutal religious wars. Through this agreement, a prince or ruler got full sovereignty over his territory and residents. The Westphalian formula paved the way to the substitution of ‘natio’ for ‘religio’ and the emergence of modern Europe operated by (secular) political order (Bauman, & Bordoni, 2014). Bauman (2012) defines the nation-state as below:

The pattern of nation-state – that is, of a nation using the state’s sovereignty to set apart “us” from “them” and reserving for itself the monopolistic, inalienable and indivisible right to design the order binding for the country as a whole, and of a state claiming its right to the subjects’

discipline through invoking the commonality of national history, destiny and well-being – those two constitutive elements of the pattern having been presumed and/or postulated to be territorially overlapping (para. 8).

Based on full sovereignty allowed to the ruler, the nation-state had gone through changes from a manor-centered feudal system to a centralized state. To be concrete, while local authority, tradition, and different ways of life depending on manor villages were discarded, the unification and standardization of social norms and values were pursued by the centralized nation-state. The resources and powers of local communities were harnessed for the central authority. The monopolistic use of violence, bureaucracy, the standing army, and the tax system are the key factors holding up the centralized modern state (Baek, 2008, p. 281).

As a gardening state, the nation-state offered the framework of rule and discipline which regulates all the members of the state within its territory. This framework provided a basis for classification as well. Just as a criterion for raising or weeding out is necessary when gardening, the nation-state classifies parts of society in accordance with its own framework. This classification is of great importance in terms of the establishment and maintenance of order (Baek, 2008). To take Nazi Germany and the Jews again as an example, Nazi Germany set its own framework for classification in order to construct and maintain order in its society. Based on its framework, it regarded the Jew as the social evil that undermines the order of the Nazi German society.

A key modern pattern of social control can be the concept of the

panopticon. It was first invented by the English social reformer Jeremy Bentham in the late eighteenth century, and the French philosopher Michel Foucault revived interest in the panopticon in his book *Discipline and Punish* (1975/1995). The system of control called panopticon makes it possible that all the inmates of an institution are kept under observation by a single watchman at once without the inmates noticing whether they are observed or not. In this system, because of the fact that the inmates do not know when they are being watched, they act as though they are watched at all times. As a result, the inmates cannot help but control their own behaviors, which means self-surveillance under the rules and regulations of modern authority (Bauman, 1998a, 2000; InK, 2014). As a structure of correctional institutions, the purpose of a panopticon is to send the inmates back to a normal society by instilling discipline and homogeneous patterns of behavior. In a world of panopticon, diversity, different choices, and heterogeneity are not acceptable (Bauman, 1998a; InK, 2014).

3.1.3 Conquest of space

The modern era is an “era of territorial conquest” (Bauman, 2000, p. 114). The primary goal in this era is to conquer and possess the space as much as possible and protect it completely. This modern craving for space and territory resulted in the expansion and colonization by modern empires, multitudinous wars for the acquisition of territory, as well as the technological development of transportation.

Wealth and power in this era were recognized as something firmly rooted

or deeply stored in the stratum – extremely huge, heavy and immovable like a seam of iron ore or coal. In other words, because wealth and might were thought to take up some amount of space and to be too heavy to move, whoever wants to obtain them had to first go to the place where they are tied and fixed. Consequently, modern empires were bent on spreading all over the world and seeking out a masterless land on every corner of the earth by developing transportations and technologies. Searching for empty space is just a necessary condition for acquiring the territory, but not a sufficient condition. Only when space is fully controlled and domesticated can it be said that space is truly owned. In this sense, the boundary is greatly important in terms of owning and occupying the space. Because the boundary functions as the basis for separating the inside from the outside, the boundary was guarded vigilantly. The principle of power and the logic of control works only in an occupied territory within these boundaries (Bauman, 2000, pp. 114-115).

In this context, it is no wonder that the legibility and transparency of space became one of the main concerns in the modern state's war for sovereignty. The modern state reinforced its control over the territory and people it governed, by oppressing the locality's various spatial concepts and interpretations, and by creating a centralized space. This was the battle carried out in the name of the reorganization of space, and the modern state's primary interest in this war was the monopoly over the control of cartography.

The elusive goal of the modern space war was the subordination of social

space to one and only one, officially approved and state-sponsored map – an effort coupled with and supported by the disqualification of all other, competitive maps or interpretations of space, as well as the dismantling or disabling of all cartographic institutions and endeavours other than the state-established, state-endowed or state-licensed (Bauman, 1998a, p. 25).

Through the reorganization of space, the state powers and its agents can make space legible and transparent for the purpose of grasping all the day-to-day activities of the population as the object of governmental power. Bauman argues the legibility and transparency of space were not newly invented in modern times. According to him, the only modern novelty is the point that the legibility and transparency of space were positioned as a goal and a task which needs to be carefully designed with expert assistance for administration (Bauman, 1998a).

3.1.4 Intellectual legislators

Bauman stipulates the spirit of modernity as an attempt to apply the universal standards and correct resolutions to the questions of truth, moral judgment and artistic taste (Bauman, 1992, p. 12). As seen so far, the modern nation-state with abundant resources and strong will tried to shape the social system in accordance with universality and correctness. In this process, it was the modern intellectuals that offered a preconceived model of social order based on their knowledge of the natural order. They asserted that their scientific method and reasoning give them access to superior and

objective knowledge unavailable to non-intellectuals. Hence, they were granted the authority to arbitrate in a dispute of opinions and to supply criteria for all human activities and practices. Bauman concatenates these intellectuals with the philosophes in the Enlightenment era (17th-18th centuries) (Bauman, 1987; Bellamy, 2013).

The modern state desired to implement what it considered superior, true, and universal way of life as suggested by the intellectuals to be followed by other parts of the society. Bauman (1992) calls it “the universalistic ambitions of the modern state” (p. 7). In order for the modern state to realize these ambitions, it was necessary to convert individual behavior toward a certain direction. The combination of the modern nation-state and the intellectuals included the combination of a rational government and rational behavior (Bauman, 1992, p. 10). A rational government meant the administration of the society with the aim of creating and maintaining conditions to promote good behaviors and eliminating and preventing bad ones. To encourage rational behavior, it is imperative to manipulate the cognition, values, and motives of the individual members of the society. It was the matter of altering a human seized with superstition or animal instincts into a rational human on the basis of reason (Baek, 2008).

From the view of universalistic ambitions pursued by the modern nation-state, locally accepted ways of life or normal people’s various forms of life based on superstition or animal instincts were considered imperfect and immature, and therefore objects for disposal. The modern nation-state strove to overpower the ways of life that lay scattered at the local level. Local communities’ own different ways of life in the respective regions increased

chaos and uncertainty, and remained significant obstacles to establishing a uniform order. In this modern project, legitimacy was essential for removing the local criteria, and the intellectuals made substantial contributions to securing that legitimacy (Baek, 2008; Bauman, 1992).

Naturally, there is an order of rank in the modern social system. Of course, social hierarchy already existed before the emergence of modernity. But the difference between the two is that while pre-modern society had inhibited people in different ranks from making direct contact, modern society encouraged them to come into contact, and further, more importantly, to follow the superior way of life (Bauman, 1992). As modern intellectuals were categorized as superior to others, the true and universal way of life exemplified by them was applied everywhere in the society.

Modern intellectuals also had the authority and the duty to provide criteria to classify existing practices into a superior or inferior category. This classification that determined whether practices are superior or not is objective, in principle. The intellectuals who were recognized for having superior knowledge and ability to make good judgments classified reason, science, truth, correct knowledge, reflection, and rationality as superior. Contrariwise, emotions, animal instincts, religion, magic, prejudice, superstition, uncritical existence, affectivity, and customary rules were categorized as inferior (Bauman, 1987). By extension, it is no wonder that people in a modern social system were the object of classification as well. They were assigned to specific superior or inferior categories. This classification of the population was carried out in the name of social engineering which was propped up by the modern intellectuals, including

biologists and anthropologists (Bauman, 1989).

Overall, in this regard, the metaphor of the ‘legislator’ role was used for the works of modern intellectuals, which includes exerting their authority to arbitrate differences of opinions and to present standards or rules followed by individual members of the society, as well as providing the criteria for judging and classifying the population itself, human behaviors, and practices (Bauman, 1987) .

So far, the major features of (solid) modernity have been investigated. By taking God’s position, humans believed in their ability to actually make the world orderly in accordance with reason and rationality. In particular, the modern nation-state took the lead in the project of modernity such as the occupation and the administration of space, the encouragement of a universal pattern of behavior considered rational, and the elimination of practices accepted in a particular locality or time. The modern intellectuals contributed to and played a role as a legislator in this modernizing process. The concept of liquid modernity, which describes the recent change that takes on different aspects from the previous modernity, will be investigated in the next section.

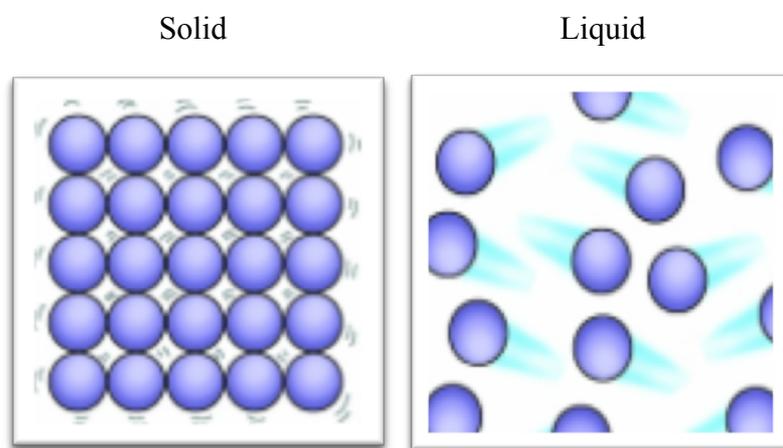
3.2 Liquid modernity

Since around 2000, Bauman has released a series of books and writings whose primary focus is on liquid modernity. Using a metaphor of the ‘liquid’ to express the different phase of modernity, he advances five main concepts which are substituted by new contents related to liquid modernity in his

book with the same name. Rather than dealing with liquid modernity as a single notion, the summation of the five concepts' new meanings in the world of liquid modernity strengthens his case (Oxenham, 2013). First, the underlying theme and metaphor of liquid modernity – liquidity – will be examined before looking at each of the five concepts Bauman chose for scrutiny.

3.2.1 Liquidity

In the foreword of *Liquid Modernity*, liquidity as a dominant metaphor of Buman's discussion on today's modernity is well summarized. Bauman has an exceptional ability to mix social science with literature (Jacobsen, & Marshman, 2008a). He prefers to use metaphors such as 'gardening' and 'weed' to explain his thought. Here, he selects 'liquidity' as a metaphor to embody his analysis and diagnosis of the present society.



<Figure 3.1> Comparison of Solid and Liquid

Bauman harnesses two natures of the liquidity metaphor in order to demonstrate the new conceptual framework describing liquid modernity (Oxenham, 2013). The first feature of liquidity is that liquids do not have a definite shape, continually changing in time. The important criteria in comparing solids and liquids are time and space, and Bauman devotes one chapter, which will be examined later in this study, to explain the connection of liquidity with space and time. Solids occupy the space steadily, neutralizing the impact of time or resisting the passage of time. In other words, what matters to solids is space, not time, because time does not have any effect on them. On the other hand, liquids do not maintain their shape for a long time but change it constantly. In this respect, the most critical thing for liquids is never space which they take up by chance, but the lapse of time. Contrary to solids, time is the significant element for liquids in that they are not immune to the impact of time (Bauman, 2002a). Liquids cannot retain its shape steadily because it flows over time. It is possible to describe their shape only through the snapshots that capture it at a given moment. Furthermore, it is much easier for flowing liquids to move, compared to solids. The ease of mobility translates into lightness. In this sense, mobility, lightness and not having a steady shape are related to one another, based on the first nature of liquids (Baek, 2008; Bauman, 2000, pp. 2-3).

The second feature of the liquidity metaphor illustrated by Bauman (2000), which is noteworthy here, is melting (Jacobsen, & Marshman, 2008a; Oxenham, 2013). Melting is a process that causes a substance to change from a solid to a liquid. What it means is that solids do not become

liquids until they go through the melting process. In order for this to happen, energy, usually in the form of heat, is needed to break the bonds that hold a solid, so that melting is associated with weakening bonds. As bonds in a solid become loose, the solid whose molecules are tightly packed and locked up has more freedom to form new shapes.

To link the second nature of liquidity – melting – with modernity, “modernity was (at least initially) a time of melting” (Oxenham, 2013, p. 17). The pre-modern western society where Christianity had been the center of life, and strong bonds to God and between people based on religion had been considered ideal, was liquefied under the influence of Enlightenment in which concepts such as reason, liberty, and the scientific methods gained importance. In this liquefying time, changes and variations were prevalent, breaking down the existing solid spaces and bonds which had held up the pre-Enlightenment era (Bauman, 2000).

Nevertheless, the melting period in modernity did not last for long. Bauman maintains that a completely liquefied state could not be reached at this stage because the society embarked on a new stage of solidification. Importantly, he points out that the most powerful motive to melt all the pre-modern solids is the wish to seek or invent a continuing solidity which makes it possible to predict and also control the world (Bauman, 2000). After the melting phase of the solids that stood firm in the pre-modern era, a new and improved version of solidity took hold instead and pursued a new utopia designed by the architects of modernity on the basis of liberty, rationality, and science. In this respect, the liquidity that occurred in the transition from the pre-modern, pre-Enlightenment epoch to the modern one

was essential but very brief (Oxenham, 2013).

The third epoch following the pre-modern and modern epochs is liquid modernity. According to Bauman, liquid modernity takes on entirely different aspects from the two previous. To a certain extent, pre-modernity and modernity have in common the pursuit of solid utopia albeit in different forms. Unlike the two, liquid modernity does not have a common telos or a shared vision of utopia (Jacobsen, 2007). What it praises is just constant change as the optimum. In the age of liquid modernity, liquidity is no longer something to pass by quickly as in the change from the pre-modern to the modern era, but it becomes a perpetual feature. This liquidity is unprecedented in history (Bauman, 2000). Also, there is no precedent for considering constant change itself as ideal, despite the fact that change happens all the time and in any society. When the pre-modern era turned into the modern times, the process of melting solids proceeded to substitute pre-modern solids with new modern solids, whereas, in today's modernity, the melting phase is continuing without any resulting solids to build on (Lee, 2005). All the bonds and solids which were vital to both the pre-modern and modern era get loosened, and a shared vision of utopia dreamed of as an ideal society ends in liquid modernity. As a consequence, people, regardless of their own will, come to obtain a high degree of emancipation, freedom, and individuality incomparable to the previous era (Oxenham, 2013). But Bauman is fully aware of the negative effects as well as the positive potentials of liquid modernity. It is worth mentioning that Bauman's liquid modernity captures the features of the contemporary society rather than having any normative character. In the following sections, these core

concepts as new narratives of the human condition in liquid modernity will be discussed based on Bauman's *Liquid Modernity* (2000) and Oxenham's *Higher Education in Liquid Modernity* (2013, pp. 18-31).

3.2.2 Emancipation

Although liberty is also pursued as a chief virtue in modernity, the concept is quite contradictory in the social framework of modernity (Oxenham, 2013). This contradiction starts from the Hobbesian assumption that a human being liberated from forceful social restraints is close to a beast rather than a man, and without these restraints, human beings' life will be "nasty, brutish and short" (Bauman, 2000, p. 20). This human nature needs not only professional social designers to offer perfect models of society but also a strong political body to realize these models. That is, genuine freedom can only be found in a perfectly designed society. The pursuit of this freedom is apparently pregnant with the possibility of totalitarianism (Jacobsen, 2007). The perfectly free society in modern times is contradictorily obsessed with models of the Fordist factory with simple routines and bureaucracy. The models of control in this era are the panopticon and the Big Brother. In turn, emancipation in modernity amounts to mere blind adherence to what is requested by these models (Oxenham, 2013).

Critical theory took the lead in demolishing this mistaken conception of emancipation. This change in the idea of emancipation is best exemplified in the dystopia of George Orwell depicted in his book *1984*. This dystopian

novel published in 1949, functioning as “an inventory of the fears and apprehensions which haunted modernity in its heavy stage” (Bauman, 2000, p. 26), warns of the danger of a totalitarian government and requests a new notion of freedom. As a result of efforts by the critical theorists, a new concept of emancipation appeared. In fact, 70 years after the publication of Orwell’s book, the anxieties and fears about which Orwell was concerned have not become reality. Bauman notes that two things distinguish the new kind of emancipation in liquid modernity (Oxenham, 2013, p. 19). The first is that the initial modern illusion has disintegrated. From the beginning of modern times, there was a belief that there would be an end of the road in which the state of perfection can be achieved (Bauman, 2001a). However, today people no longer believe in the possibility of attaining a universal telos or the idea of perfectibility. The second is that in liquid modernity, the tasks and duties for modernizing fall onto individuals, rather than society or political agency (Bauman, 2000, 2001a). Accordingly, emancipation becomes a project that individuals have to handle. No individual can expect to depend on the help of a political body or prominent leaders in the process of achieving emancipation. Unlike the original modernity, there is no panopticon or the Big Brother where everyone is under constant surveillance by the authorities and no modern architects and designers who provide the model of a ‘just’ society. No rules, norms, and order exist. In the world of individuals, collective power and the unity of communities can no longer work (Magerski, 2018; Oxenham, 2013). Bauman (2000) quotes Touraine to point out that we are recently seeing “the end of definition of the human being as a social being” (p. 22).

Bauman (2000, 2001a) introduces the metaphor of caravan life to describe how individuals tend to engage with society at present. A caravan site is available to anyone who has his or her own caravan and money enough to pay the rent. Life on the caravan site is quite simple. The customers come, park, use facilities, stay until they want, then leave when they feel like moving to another location. If they are satisfied with the campsite, they will come again and recommend it to other caravanners. If not, they will complain about shoddy service or make a resolution not to come again. In this place, there is no need for customers to feel any burden and interference. They do not care about how to run the caravan park or how to make it a better place to use (Oxenham, 2013). Since the caravanners just pass through the place and its owner, they are not allowed to demand more services than they paid for or to challenge the site owner's authority. In a caravan park, there is no sense of unity, communal identity, or shared bonds. Applied to today's society, the caravanner is an individual, the campsite a society, and the site owner a social agency such as a nation-state. Using this analogy of caravan life, Bauman shows the relationship between individuals and society and the way they interact with each other today.

Bauman does not overlook the unfortunate aspect of caravan life in the liquid modern era. Despite the fact that individuals have unprecedented freedom, it is not as good as it should be. Unprecedented freedom also brings unprecedented powerlessness and excessive responsibility on the individual for the project of identity, as well as the consequence of the unfulfilled project (Bauman, 2001a). Concerning the reverse side of unprecedented freedom in the fluid stage of modernity, however, Bauman

does not present concrete ways to cope with these difficulties or to prevent them from happening (Oxenham, 2013). Rather, he implies that we have no choice but to accept them as our fate (Bauman, 2001a).

3.2.3 Individuality

Bauman starts his discussion by comparing the concept of identity in solid and liquid modernity. Individuals in solid modernity realize their primary roles as producers. The Fordist model of production was recognized as the quintessence of solid modernity as to be called as “the self-consciousness of modern society in its heavy, bulky or immobile and rooted, solid phase” (Bauman, 2000, p. 57). This model functioned by separating engineers and producers, design and execution, ends and means, initiative and command-following. The life of the producers belonging to the latter category tended to be regulated by the former, and the primary virtue expected from producers in solid modernity was conformity. Since there was no doubt that the social engineers steer the society toward progress through the rational order, producers, who were responsible only for execution and were concerned solely about the means, did not dare to confront them (Oxenham, 2013). Rather, producer-identities required producers to settle between the lower limit on what is necessary for life as a human being and the upper limit on what one may seek, desire and have ambition (Bauman, 2000).

On the other hand, as Bauman points out in his previous work *Life in Fragments* (1995), the liquid modern society relates to its members

principally as consumers rather than producers. The difference between producers and consumers, clarified by Bauman, starts with what they pursue. While producers were committed to means, consumers are dedicated to ends (Oxenham, 2013). Unlike producers, consumers are inclined to seek new ends on their own, rather than to just accept ends predefined by others such as social engineers. In other words, if producers in modernity were faithful to manufacturing only Ford cars, consumers in the recent modern age need everything to be done “in DIY (Do it Yourself) fashion” (Bauman, 2000, p. 82). In that sense, shopping is indeed the best way for consumers to feel as if they are doing it themselves. When it comes to identity, it was at one time considered fixed and solid, but nowadays that is no longer true (Bauman, 2000). Individuality in liquid modernity is not something, to some extent, given and fixed between the lower and upper limits, but something to freely shop around, consume in the supermarket of identities and have as long as desired. In a society of individualized consumers, there are neither limits which regulate one’s life and consumption nor social engineers who provide guidance for a successful life.

Shopping for identities is connected to plural identities (Oxenham, 2013). Consumers are not interested in finding durable products anymore, but in shopping itself. In liquid modernity, consumption of products in the market means the expression of one’s identity which can be obtained only through shopping. Whenever individuals want to abandon their boring and disagreeable identity, they go to shopping malls full of new identities and replace it. It is obvious that not all people can afford to satisfy their own instant desires through shopping. Only people who have plenty of resources

to catch up with the fast-moving target can obtain the freedom to pick and choose and, more importantly, can be free from unpleasant results of making the wrong choice (Bauman, 2000).

Concerning individuality, another point is the relationship between individuality and authority. Before the time of liquid modernity, people counted on leaders to know best. However, now counsellors who help people by offering useful advice take the place of leaders (Bauman, 2000). Counsellors are not at all responsible for the customers' decisions, and customers make decisions based on the advice given by counsellors. It means that authority gets to be privatized, and multiple authorities exist in liquid modernity (Oxenham, 2013). Each customer chooses one counsellor who seems to give the best answer among many authorities. Making reference to the advice from a counsellor, an individual copes with one's trouble on one's own. What the advice-seeking clients want and expect from the counsellor is not norms and principles which can be applied to anyone or any situation, but a good example for them to follow. In the model of a producer in prior modernity, a blueprint for future was generally accepted, and the questions regarding "good life for all" and universal order captivated the people of that time. However, private investigation into "what is good for me at the moment" has taken over from the previous quest (Oxenham, 2013, p. 22).

Bauman pays attention not only to the change of individuality between solid and liquid modernity but also to the hazards accompanying this change in human condition. He points out the two drawbacks, that is, consumer addiction and instability (Oxenham, 2013). In the society of consumers,

there is no possibility for their satisfaction to last long. This is because “in the consumer race the finishing line always moves faster than the fastest of racers” (Bauman, 2000, p. 72). For this reason, the constant consumption of identity and the unceasing searching for counsel, advice, and examples are addicting; it is the destiny of consumers to choose from A to izzard. Furthermore, instability is rampant in the world of consumers as well as in the shopping mall. Bauman (2000) expresses shopping as a daily ritual to exorcise instability and uncertainty. Actually, shopping is not a good way of stamping out the instability and uncertainty that people in liquid modernity feel, because all the products on display and fashions change so quickly that identity around them cannot be molded firmly enough. Identities which are made of unstable things are necessarily unstable, and not everyone can flexibly and swiftly readjust to the rapidly changing pattern. Customers may search for a sense of comfort, certainty, and security through shopping, but they will not find what they seek (Oxenham, 2013).

3.2.4 Time/Space

As already seen in comparisons between solids and liquids, time and space are the key criteria for describing the changing human narrative in modern history. The status of time and space has varied according to the shift from pre-modernity to solid to liquid modernity. In order to make it more understandable, Bauman uses metaphors to closely fit each phase. The metaphors of pre-modern, solid modern, and liquid modern times are elaborated in Bauman’s article *Living in Utopia* (Bauman, 2005b). The three

metaphors, the gamekeeper, the gardener, and the hunter, lead us to Bauman's view on time and space as well as utopias set in each time.

Bauman selects a metaphor of the gamekeeper to illustrate the view and practice of the pre-modern world. As inferred from the name 'gamekeeper', their role was just to keep the balance and harmony of the world as designed by God (Jacobsen, 2007). For the gamekeeper, time and space were interrelated and untouchable. In pre-modern era, time and space were in God's own laps, and there was no room for the gamekeeper to meddle (Oxenham, 2013).

With the advent of modernity, the perception of time and space started to change. Bauman insists that along with modernity, space became detached from time and, more importantly, is regarded as something to be conquered. The modern times may be called the age of gardeners. The gardeners were not passive like the gamekeepers (Jacobsen, 2007). In particular, they were active in conquering the space and taking care of the small plot of land under their control. Only the gardener can design and make blueprints for it (Oxenham, 2013). In the age of heavy modernity, time was meaningful merely as a means when the value of space was maximized through time-saving and management (Bauman, 2000). Solid modernity was, indeed, preoccupied with conquering space with the gardener's rationality and planning.

According to Bauman, however, the time-space relation has now been reversed. The object of conquest has been changed from space in solid modernity to time in liquid one. The changed time-space relation in liquid modernity is revealed in the metaphor of the hunter (Bauman, 2005b).

Unlike the gardener, space is not of interest to the hunter at all. For the hunter, to conquer and guard space is not so much his role and duty as his bondage. Because he is not confined in a certain space and not associated with staying in the space for the long term, he has no consideration for the matter of space such as planning for planting and weeding, maintaining the order within the space, and blueprinting for the future (Bauman, 2005b; Jacobsen, 2007). Instead of space, time is of utmost importance to the hunter. He is driven to get the best out of time given to him. It requires the ability to swiftly move from place to place. The hunter hunts alone, which means he is able to move lightly and quietly. Contrary to the gardener aiming for progress and development for the future, the hunter is seeking for survival in the present (Bauman, 2005b; Oxenham, 2013).

As a time when everything is liquefied, the conquest of time rather than space has come to the fore. With globalization, the ‘till death do us part’ aspect of the traditional marriage vow between capital and labor is considered null and void (Bauman, 2000). Between the two, capital, in particular, which once was chained to spatial structure becomes freer to move irrespective of location. The larger-is-better notion is changed to the belief that the faster it moves the better it is. The heavy, bulky, and large things which were praised during the time of solid modernity have become a burdensome hindrance to movement. Since the large size and heavy volume must be moved more slowly, lighter and smaller things are preferred in the new phase of modernity. In order to hunt rabbits as a hunter, mobility is a necessity for survival (Bauman, 1998a). The hunter who can move freely and quickly has higher chances of survival in the liquefied world.

Bauman is notably on the alert for the way to use time and space in liquid modernity. As for space, even though there are various types of public spaces in liquid modernity, according to Bauman (2000), in none of these spaces is the otherness of others accepted, and the individual remains alone. Given that rabbit hunting is an activity done alone, the way of using time in liquid modernity has a similar adverse effect. Overall, the use of space and time now deviates from building a civil society (Oxenham, 2013).

3.2.5 Work

Before looking at work in liquid modernity, it must be examined in solid modernity first. People living in solid modernity had the self-confidence and courage to move forward or to progress. This progress is based on two beliefs that time is our ally, and that we are able to make things happen (Bauman, 2000, p. 132). Work was the primary means for human beings to progress. The pre-industrial link between land, labor, and wealth was destroyed as the Industrial Revolution began. In modernity, the laborers who had been disembedded from land were re-embedded in capital. The engagement between labor and capital in modernity resulted in favorable consequences such as rapidly growing wealth and alleviation of suffering as well as building a new order and shaping human species' its own destiny (Oxenham, 2013). At that time, it was universally accepted that labor is the source of wealth (Bauman, 2000). Bauman explains that the main reason why work had emerged as a primary value of modernity is its ability to give form to the intangible and durability to the transient.

However, modernity declined with the change in the notion of progress. The new perception of progress is distinguished from the previous one in the following sense (Oxenham, 2013, p. 26). First, progress in liquid modernity is considered a never-ending procedure. Now, nobody affirms that we are approaching a fixed goal. Progress is no longer goal-oriented, but process-oriented. More importantly, progress is individualized, to become more particular, deregulated and privatized. It is deregulated in that the suggestions to improve the present become various as well as numerous, and there always remains controversy over which one leads to genuine improvement. Also, progress is privatized for it has been transformed from a collective to an individual project. Every individual has their own task of upgrading their present life using their own ability and resource. Nonetheless, each endeavor does not converge with the human species' destiny.

Under the change in the perception of progress, it is natural that the characteristics of work have changed. People living in modernity worked in the same place, and their life's road seemed to be straight. Work played a decisive role in the process of replacing chaos with order, and contingency with predictable events, claims Bauman. Whoever started a career in Ford or Renault was sure that his or her career would finish at the same place. Whether workers like their job or not, the system that they belong to was quite stable (Bauman, 2000).

Liquid modernity is far from the Fordist model. Rather, it is the age of Microsoft. Anyone who starts a career at Microsoft has no idea where it will lead them. Now, work life is full of uncertainty. Bauman (2000) describes

Bill Gates's life-track: "the rails kept being dismantled as soon as the engine moved a few yards further, footprints were blown away, things were dumped as quickly as they were put together – and forgotten soon after" (p. 124). No one living in the present age can guarantee that Microsoft would still manage to survive in the following year. Under the redefined progress in which continuity and long-term property are absent, it is no use at all to plan work in advance. The secret to progress in liquid modernity is flexibility (Bauman, 2007). Life filled with flexibility and uncertainty cannot help but be short-term. Instead of long-term cumulation and continuity that mark the Fordist model, one-off actions and tinkering for short-term objectives have come to represent what capital does in liquid modernity (Bauman, 2000; Oxenham, 2013).

All the political agencies including modern states in liquid modernity have become powerless, facing the break up of the marriage between capital and labor (Bauman, 1998a, 2007). Bauman (2000) notes that the controlling center now would no longer be occupied by a known leader or clear ideology, and that the proclaimers of the 'Great Society' would be laughed out of court, using Guy Debord's and Peter Drucker's quotes. The notable absence of the agencies enabling the world to move forward and the destination to guide us, leads to changes in every aspect of human lives including work, undermining human self-confidence and trust in progress (Oxenham, 2013).

In this sense, Bauman (2000) uses a metaphor of labyrinth in order to explain the change in human condition. The labyrinth denotes a confusing set of passageways in which it is easy to get lost. In the world of labyrinth,

there is no map available, and rationality does not help; no one can plan his or her route in advance. Accordingly, the labyrinth can have the most demoralizing influence upon one's self-confidence and belief in future (Oxenham, 2013). The only thing people in the labyrinth can do is simply to survive. If the labyrinthine circumstances are applied to work in liquid modernity, one can infer the situation laborers are in. As they can see no further than their noses, in this condition, long-term planning for their career is no longer useful (Bauman, 2000, 2007). One's precarious position in work leads to a weakening of self-confidence. Concerning the value of work, the instant gratification takes the place of long-term security as a reasonable strategy for living in the world today (Oxenham, 2013). Since the reward is instantaneous and the waiting is taken out of wanting, it can be said that people are living in a "casino culture" (Bauman, 2000, p. 159).

Like other concepts in liquid modernity, work in the liquefied human condition has its negative sides. Trust in the future generated confidence in oneself, in others, and in institutions which held up a modern society. However, trust and confidence have imploded and collapsed because liquid modernity does not guarantee a bright future nor offer any alternatives. In liquid modernity, it is hard to expect any confidence in others, in society, and in the future (Oxenham, 2013).

3.2.6 Community

In the last chapter of *Liquid Modernity*, Bauman pays attention to the theme of community in liquid modernity. Bauman connects

communitarianism in liquid modernity to the matter of security. Bauman (2001b) deals with the tension between security and freedom in relation to a community as follows:

Promoting security always calls for the sacrifice of freedom, while freedom can only be expanded at the expense of security. But security without freedom equals slavery (and in addition, without an injection of freedom, proves to be in the end a highly insecure kind of security); while freedom without security equals being abandoned and lost (and in the end, without an injection of security, proves to be a highly unfree kind of freedom) (p. 20).

It is not possible, claims Bauman, to have both security and freedom both at the same time and to a satisfactory degree. Communitarianism is alive today, according to Bauman, since the times of liquid modernity is intrinsically insecure. In other words, communitarianism is an extremely predictable and obvious reaction to the enlarging disproportion between security and freedom (Bauman, 2000). As quoted above, today freedom is not obtained for free, but at the price of security. The absence of security makes free individuals extremely anxious about the present and future of living in an unpredictable and chaotic world. This thirst for security is a very important factor in restoring communitarianism (Oxenham, 2013). People in recent days expect to find both security and personal identity from the community regarded as “a home writ large” (Bauman, 2000, p. 171). In this sense, the archetype of the community which communitarianism speaks

of comes from ethnicity. In an ethnic community, individuals go back to their origins, expecting security and identity from the home writ large. The community of communitarianism tends to offer security and identity by establishing boundaries which divide us from them, being inside with those who resemble us and putting those who are different from us outside (Oxenham, 2013).

Unlike communities in initial modernity, today's community has no charismatic leader, strong rules and orders which restrict the behaviors of its members. Communities in the liquid modern era tend to be unsettled, transient and ephemeral (Oxenham, 2013). Bauman (2000) calls them 'cloakroom communities' and 'carnival communities' to capture the characteristics of liquid modern communities. Cloakroom communities gather individuals for a special occasion. While the performance continues on stage, individuals laugh, cry, applaud and shout for joy together. But after the event is ended, there is nothing left among the visitors. Soon after it is all over, the spectators take their personal effects from the cloakroom and return to their ordinary lives and respective roles. What is left beyond the event, claims Bauman, is nothing more than the excitement of the spectacle which does not last for long. This brief being-together for a special occasion is fundamentally beyond the realms of possibility to combine individual concerns into common interest. These communities are no more than temporary spaces where individuals can change their identities as long as the spectacle continues. It can be said that spectacles have usurped the place of common causes in the era of heavy and solid modernity (Oxenham, 2013). The same goes for carnival communities. Carnival communities offer

temporary relief for individuals to get away from the anguish and exhaustion of day-to-day life. Like all the carnivals, these communities are events letting off steam, forgetting the solitude, and making it possible to endure the daily routines to which individuals must return when the carnival is over (Bauman, 2000).

Bauman illustrates the main characteristics of communities in liquid modern society excellently in his other book *Does Ethics Have a Chance in a World of Consumers?* (2009a) by using the metaphor of the swarm. According to him, groups in solid modernity with leaders, a hierarchical structure, and a pecking order have been replaced by swarms. Oxenham (2013, p. 30) points out three distinguishing features of contemporary communities which can be deduced from the swarm metaphor. First, swarm communities have no leader and no structure. There may be a certain degree of organization, but only to organize events – not to operate the community. Second, these communities continuously move in response to outside stimuli. Because the identity of the individual is continually jumping from one to another under constant changes in the consumer environment, communities consisting of these individuals have no choice but to keep moving. Third, swarming meets the need to pursue both security and freedom in some degree because people are satisfied with ‘security of numbers’ offered by the swarm, while also enjoying the freedom to pick out their own swarm.

Overall, communitarianism is problematic because it must rely on the existence of menacing outsiders. Drawing a clear distinction between insiders and outsiders is quite dangerous socially as well philosophically

(Oxenham, 2013). According to Bauman (2000), in liquid modernity where the desire for security is unprecedentedly overwhelming, explosive communities are likely to pop up and employ strategies of violence and sacrifice to sustain communal unity and to consolidate internal harmony.

3.3 Human conditions in solid and liquid modernity

Based on Bauman's theory of solid and liquid modernity explored in this chapter, this study tries to combine the themes emerging from the criticisms of the World Bank's education development cooperation with the context in which modernity is diverted from solid to liquid phase. In order to review themes and their meanings within a particular context of transition to new modernity as distinct from the old, Bauman's theory of solid and liquid modernity will reexamine the themes emerging from criticisms of the Bank's education activities and policies. Specifically, the narratives of human life conditions in solid and liquid modernity presented by Bauman as shown in Table 3.1 will be connected to each theme.

[Table 3.1] Bauman's Typology of Solid and Liquid Modernity

	Solid Modernity	Liquid Modernity
Emancipation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Utopian – reality shaped by designers and planners • Legislative reason • Class politics • Critique of reality • Public 'colonizing' private 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • End of utopian visions • Individualization • Self-critique of individual • Private colonizes public
Individuality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Means-ends calculation • Certainty and stability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prioritizing ends • Uncertainty and instability
Time/space	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Territorial conquest – wealth and power in land • Hardware, bulk-obsessed, fixed, sluggish • Panoptic surveillance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extra-territorial, cyber-space, 'disembodied' • Light, aesthetic, bricoleur • Post-panoptic
Work	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fordist • Careers • Welfare • Capital and labor 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Post-Fordist • Rapid movement and change, 'saturated with uncertainty' • Fluid contracts and individual identities
Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nation-states • Locales • Nationalism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nations retreat behind communities • Ephemeral 'community' • Ethnic violence and cleansing

Source: Ray, 2007, p. 68

Each phase of solid and liquid modernity takes on different aspects in several areas of social life as investigated in the preceding sections. Here, Bauman's typology of solid and liquid modernity as a theoretical framework to apply to the World Bank's education development cooperation is briefly reviewed.

Contemporary emancipation discards the concept of history as having a single direction toward the pursuit of utopia as a state of perfection based on class politics and legislative reason. Liquid life means to be in constant state of self-critique and feeds on the individual's dissatisfaction with oneself (Bauman, 2005a). This constant self-critique of individuals leads to the empty public space colonized by the private.

At the level of individuality, the society of instrumental producers on the basis of certainty and stability turns into a society of consumers in which the source of self-identity is derived more from shopping rather than from occupation, and an unprecedented degree of uncertainty and instability has been created. The difference is that while individuals in the solid modern era who perceived themselves primarily as producers were reduced to quantitative figures in means-ends calculations (Bauman, 1993), liquid modern individuals who become aware of themselves principally as consumers constantly set out on their own looking for new ends other than those set in advance.

The time-space relation has been changed as well, as modernity shifts from solid to liquid phase. In solid modernity, since it was believed that wealth and power were buried in the land, territorial conquest was the most significant task. This led to the prevalent belief that the more space it takes, the better it is. A typical model of exercising power and control through the use of space can be panoptic surveillance. In liquid modernity, the object of conquest is instead time. The obsession with territory is replaced by a preoccupation with mobility and transience given by extraterritorial, disembodied (cyber) space. Unlike in the solid modern phase when the bulky, rooted, and immobile things were praised, light and aesthetic things are preferred in a liquid modern society.

Regarding work, the main icon of solid modernity was the Fordist factory which made human activities simple, routine, and predesigned (Bauman, 2001a). The Fordist factory was the site of encounter between capital and labor and a 'till death us do part' type of marriage vow between them

(Bauman, 2000, p. 116). The welfare state was one of the unexpected, but inevitable outcomes of the condition in which the divorce between capital and labor was not a viable option (Bauman, 2000). However, in the present world of work, the post-Fordist fluidity and flexibility of the workforce brought about through short-term contracts and rapid changes in technology, take the place of stability and predictability of the Fordist secure employment.

In the solid modern world, social solidarity based on nation-states was strong enough to offer security to individuals but at the same time to limit their freedom. However, the dramatic decline in national solidarity based on the trinity of nation, state, and territory (Bauman, 2002b) results in the emergence of a new type of ephemeral and transient community, such as ‘cloakroom community’, and ‘carnival community’. Despite the fact that people desire both security and freedom, community and individualism, only the latter is in their hands since its price is the former in the liquid modern setting. To have a sense of security in a liquid society, individuals tend to rely on ethnic communities, thereby greatly increasing the likelihood of ethnic violence and cleansing.

By reexamining identified themes through the theoretical framework of new human conditions of liquid modernity, the significance of the themes in particular circumstances and social settings can be comprehended. Moreover, under the context of transition from solid to liquid modernity riddled with uncertainty, insecurity, and instability, what is needed in the Bank’s education development cooperation, and by extension in the field of education development cooperation, will be clarified through the process of

reviewing the themes by Bauman's theory of solid and liquid modernity.

Chapter IV. METHODOLOGY

4.1 Meta-analysis

This study uses meta-analysis to identify the criticisms against the World Bank's education development cooperation so far and to reexamine them by Bauman's modernity theory. Meta-analysis as a research methodology has emerged since the mid-1970s (Glass, 1976) and is widely used in many fields, including social and behavioral science, and medicine. In the past, meta-analysis was recognized as a research method used only for empirical research, but in recent years, this research method has been utilized to reach new conclusions that were not found in original research by synthesizing individual research results and identifying patterns (Hunt, 1997).

In meta-analysis, the prefix 'meta' denotes behind, after, or beyond, of a higher or second order kind (Delgado-Rodriguez, 2001). In light of this, meta-analysis implies a change to a new dimension that is more logically refined and systematized on the basis of critical review of the original nature and structure. In other words, it is a research method that is carried out with an intention to start with the existing studies but also to make the second leap beyond (Park, Cho, Chae, & Jeong, 1999).

The significance of meta-analysis can be thought of in two dimensions. The first is that meta-analysis makes it possible to review existing research synthetically. Meta-analysis can surmount the significant limitation inherent in traditional narrative summaries of research. Meta-analysis provides an efficient way to summarize the results of a large number of studies and can

discover previously unconfirmed associations (Littell, Corcoran, & Pillai, 2008). This advantage of meta-analysis has a significance in that it connects the existing research and future research more desirably by integrating various research findings, and thereby helping to identify more precise research topics and directions to be studied in the future.

The key significance of meta-analysis is not limited to the primary understanding of the results of the research, but rather to advance a more profound understanding by using it as a stepping stone. The quantitative growth of previous studies requires a qualitative leap at some point, and this qualitative leap is possible by embracing existing knowledge, and further by forming a higher level of intellectual structure based on it. Analysis at the meta-level plays a critical role, not simply by quantitatively aggregating previous studies, but by finding a new structure in the process of organizing and refining them, and elaborating new perspectives that can project the phenomenon from a higher viewpoint (Park et al., 1999).

Specifically, in this study, the qualitative, rather than the quantitative and statistical, meta-analysis is chosen. The increasing body of literature on research synthesis methods, which is dominant in the field of education and healthcare, recognizes the importance of synthesizing qualitative research. Emphasizing that efforts to synthesize qualitative research should be interpretive in essence rather than aggregative, scholars have proposed interpretative methods of research synthesis in various names (Suri, 2011), such as meta-ethnography (Noblit, & Hare, 1988), cross-case analysis (Miles, & Huberman, 1994), meta-analysis of qualitative research (Jensen, & Allen, 1994), qualitative meta-synthesis (Sandelowski, Docherty, &

Emden, 1997; Zimmer, 2006), qualitative research synthesis (Major, & Savin-Baden, 2010), and qualitative meta-analysis (Timulak, 2014). As an umbrella term of different names, qualitative meta-analysis is “a secondary analysis of the primary, original studies addressing the same research questions” (Timulak, 2014, p. 481). The ultimate goal is to review, evaluate, analyze, and synthesize a group of studies investigating the same phenomenon/a “for the purposes of discovering the essential elements and translating the results into an end product that transforms the original results into a new conceptualization” (Schreiber, Crooks, & Stern, 1997, p. 314). Moreover, as Finfgeld (2003) puts it, this new conceptualization should be “more substantive than those [conceptualizations] resulting from individual investigations” (p. 894).

Even though the notion of qualitative meta-analysis was proposed first by Stern and Harris (1985), the main impact on this area was derived from the work of Noblit and Hare (1988) on meta-ethnography in education. Using the term ‘metaphor’, Noblit and Hare (1988) refer to “themes, perspectives, organizers, and/or concepts revealed by qualitative studies” (p. 14). Based on Noblit and Hare’s meta-ethnography, it is recommended that qualitative research be synthesized to develop a full and comprehensive understanding of a phenomenon rather than produce predictive theories (Suri, & Clarke, 2009).

Epistemologically, qualitative meta-analysis has characteristics of both qualitative research and meta-analysis. The epistemological approach to qualitative meta-analysis oscillates between a more dialogical and naturalistic approach that ultimately seeks to understand the original studies

through the eyes of the original studies and the participants in them, and a more theoretically laden approach that scrutinizes the original studies from the researcher's perspective (Timulak, 2014). In other words, qualitative meta-analysis can be either more descriptive in that it summarizes and gives voice to original research or more interpretative in that it provides a conceptualization of the original research and its findings based on a specific theoretical framework applied by the researcher. Between the two, researchers can choose either a more descriptive or interpretative approach, according to the aim of research and research questions.

This study aims to systematically review, analyze, and synthesize existing research which is critical of the World Bank's education development cooperation, and review it by Bauman's theory of modernity in order to see education development cooperation from a new and broader perspective. To this end, qualitative meta-analysis based on the more theoretically laden approach is conducted, first collecting the related original studies, analyzing them, and applying a theoretical framework of Bauman's modernity to the findings of this study. The following sections will describe the process of selecting the studies for qualitative meta-analysis and the procedure for analyzing them utilizing thematic data analysis.

4.2 Data collection

4.2.1 Search of the literature database

Online search is conducted to collect articles and books that critically analyze the World Bank's education development cooperation. Through the website of the Seoul National University Library (library.snu.ac.kr), it is possible to access leading academic database in the field of education. The database used in this study are 1) Academic Search Complete, 2) ERIC, and 3) SSCI (Social Science Citation Index). Through this database, peer-reviewed journals and published books with both search terms 'World Bank' and 'Education' in their titles are first extracted.

4.2.2 Criteria for selection

In addition to the identified research through database search, this study tries to secure enough relevant studies by using the snowballing technique which searches the reference lists of the primary selected studies. Among them, only the studies that meet the following criteria are subject to analysis of this study.

First, to fulfill the purpose of this study which is to examine the criticisms of the World Bank's education development cooperation, the studies to be analyzed should have a critical perspective on the Bank's education development cooperation. Therefore, explanatory and descriptive documents that simply provide information about the World Bank's education development cooperation are excluded.

Second, papers and reports published by the World Bank, or by persons belonging to the World Bank at the time of publication are excluded. This is because these papers and reports have high possibilities of maintaining an advocacy stance on the World Bank's activities and policies.

Third, the studies that are limited to specific regions, specific groups (e.g., girl's education and adult education) or particular levels of education are excluded. This is because these studies emphasize the distinctiveness of a particular region and a specific group, or the importance of a particular level. However, studies that take a critical stance on the World Bank's overall education development cooperation through case studies are included in the analysis.

Fourth, relevant studies should be written in English.

Based on the criteria listed above, among the primary selected studies and added research through snowballing technique, 37 articles and 4 books eligible for this study are finally selected for analysis. Table 4.1 below lists the literature to be analyzed in this study.

[Table 4.1] Selected Research for Analysis

Type	Author	Year	Title
	McLean, M.	1981	The political context of educational development: A commentary on the theories of development underlying the World Bank Education Sector Policy Paper
	Caffentzis, G., & Federici, S	1992	The World Bank and education in Africa
	Lauglo, J.	1996	Banking on education and the uses of research. A critique of: World Bank priorities and strategies for education
	Bennell, P.	1996	Using and abusing rates of return: A critique of the World Bank's 1995 education sector review
	Jones, P.	1997	On World Bank education financing
	Gonzales, M.C.	1999	The World Bank and African primary education: Policies, practices, and recommendations
	Babalola, J.B., Sikwibele, A.L., & Suleiman, A.A.	2000	Education as aided by the World Bank: A critical analysis of post-Independence projects in Nigeria
	Banya, K., & Elu, J.	2001	The World Bank and financing higher education in Sub-Saharan Africa
	Alexander, N.C.	2001	Paying for education: How the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund influence education in developing countries
	Mundy, K.	2002	Retrospect and prospect: Education in a reforming World Bank
Article	Bonal, X.	2002	Plus ca change ...the world bank global education policy and the post-washington consensus
	Kempner, K., & Loureiro, A.	2002	The global politics of education: Brazil and the World Bank
	Klees, S.J.	2002	World Bank education policy: new rhetoric, old ideology
	Hickling-Hudson, A.	2002	Re-visioning from the inside: Getting under the skin of the World Bank's education sector strategy
	Soudien, C.	2002	Education in the network age: globalisation, development and the World Bank
	Ilon, L.	2002	Agent of global markets or agent of the poor? The World Bank's education sector strategy paper
	Heyneman, S.P.	2003	The history and problems in the making of education policy at the World Bank 1960–2000
	Bonal, X.	2004	Is the World Bank education policy adequate for fighting poverty? Some evidence from Latin America
	Archer, D.	2006	The Impact of the World Bank and IMF on Education Rights
	Menashy, F.	2007	World Bank education policy: Do the neoliberal critiques still apply?
	Kane, L.	2008	The World Bank, community development and education for social justice
	Bergeron, S.	2008	Shape-shifting neoliberalism and World Bank

			education policy: A response to Steven Klees
	Yang, R.	2010	International organizations, changing governance and China's policy making in higher education: an analysis of the World Bank and the World Trade Organization
	Manion, C., & Menashy, F.	2013	The prospects and challenges of reforming the World Bank's approach to gender and education: Exploring the Value of the Capability Policy Model in The Gambia
	Menashy, F.	2013	Interrogating an omission: The absence of a rights-based approach to education in World Bank policy discourse
	Anwaruddin, S.M	2014	Educational neocolonialism and the World Bank
	Mundy, K., & Menashy, F.	2014	Investing in private education for poverty alleviation: The case of the World Bank's International Finance Corporation
	Molla, T.	2014	Knowledge aid as instrument of regulation: World Bank's non-lending higher education support for Ethiopia
	McClure, K.R.	2014	Education for economic growth or human development? The capabilities approach and the World Bank's Basic Education Project in Turkey
	Adhikary, R.W.	2014	Relating development to quality of education: A study on the World Bank's neoliberal policy discourse in education
	Verger, A., Edwards, D.B., & Altinyelken, H.K.	2014	Learning from all? The World Bank, aid agencies and the construction of hegemony in education for development
	Mundy, K., & Verger, A.	2015	The World Bank and the global governance of education in a changing world order
	Garomssa, H.D.	2016	The missing link in donor prescribed educational reforms: Lack of ownership (The case of the World Bank in Ethiopian higher education)
	Menashy, F., & Read, R.	2016	Knowledge banking in global education policy: A bibliometric analysis of World Bank publications on public-private partnerships
	Zapp, M.	2017	The World Bank and education: Governing (through) knowledge
	Regmi, K.D.	2017	World Bank in Nepal's education: Three decades of neoliberal reform
	Rappleye, J., & Un, L.	2018	What drives failed policy at the World Bank? An inside account of new aid modalities to higher education: Context, blame, and infallibility
Book	Jones, P.W.	2006	Education, poverty and the World Bank
	Jones, P.W.	2007	World Bank financing of education: Lending, learning and development
	(Eds.) Collins, C.S., & Wiseman, A.W.	2012	Education strategy in the developing world: Revising the World Bank's education Policy
	(Eds.) Klees, S. J., Samoff, J., & Stromquist, N.	2012	The World Bank and education: Critiques and alternatives

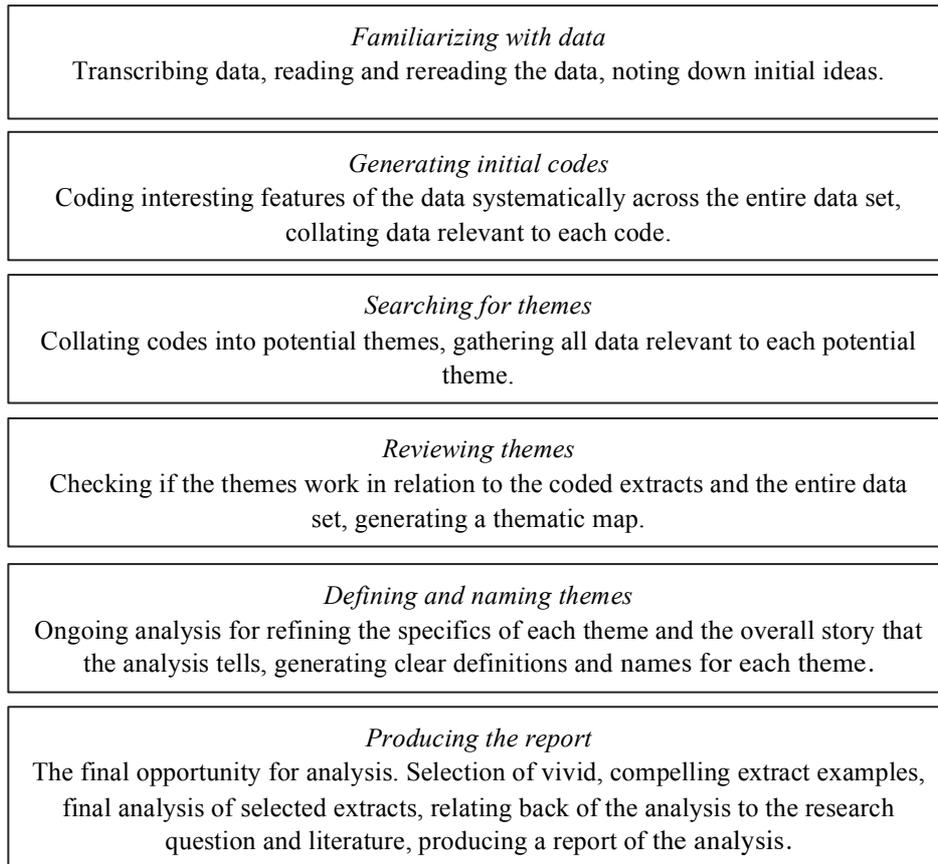
4.3 Data analysis

Data analysis is the process of systematically searching and sorting data so that researchers can gain a better understanding of the data and present what they have learned to others (Ary, Jacobs, & Sorensen, 2010). The data analysis method for this study is thematic analysis. This method is widely used as one of the qualitative analytic methods, notwithstanding being poorly demarcated and seldom acknowledged as an independent method (Braun, & Clarke, 2006). It has sometimes been described as a part of phenomenology (Holloway, & Todres, 2003), or even disregarded in the qualitative methods textbooks. While a large part of the analysis in the published papers is technically thematic, it is introduced as other analytical qualitative approaches such as content analysis, or not even recognized as a specific method (Vaismoradi, Turunen, & Bondas, 2013).

Although thematic analysis is often not named as a method, it is definitely an independent and reliable qualitative approach to analysis. Thematic analysis is mainly defined as “a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (Braun, & Clarke, 2006, p. 79). One of the great merits of thematic analysis is its flexibility. Thematic analysis is one of the methods which are independent of theory and epistemology, and thus, can be applied over a wide range of theoretical and epistemological approaches. Its theoretical freedom makes thematic analysis a flexible and useful research tool which can provide a rich and detailed, yet complex account of the data (Braun, & Clarke, 2006; Vaismoradi et al., 2013).

Given that a theme captures what is important about the data in relation to research questions, and represents some level of response pattern or meaning within the data set, the importance of a theme does not necessarily depend on the quantifiable measures such as frequent occurrence, but on the capture of what is important in relation to the overall research question (Braun, & Clarke, 2006).

In this study, the process of data analysis is conducted inductively without trying to fit the data into a predetermined coding frame, or the researcher's analytical framework. The data set is coded to identify recurring themes, first in the process of open coding and then in the process of sorting by major themes. The specific data analysis process of this study follows the steps in thematic analysis presented by Braun and Clarke shown in Figure 4.1.



<Figure 4.1> Phases of Thematic Analysis

Source: Braun, & Clarke, 2006, p. 87

Through the process of thematic analysis, several themes: 1) development, 2) education, 3) knowledge 4) neoliberalism, and 5) poverty/inequality are identified. Here is an overview of how the five themes emerge from the data set.

It is no wonder that development and education are emerging as important themes in the critiques of the World Bank's education development cooperation. Depending on how the World Bank sees development and education, the goals and direction of its education policies, practices, and activities are bound to change. But, the World Bank's view of

development and education has not altered consistently since the Bank started participating in education development cooperation.

Knowledge has been a central theme of the World Bank's education development cooperation since the mid-1990s and has thus been one of the main targets in criticizing the Bank's education development cooperation. Stressing the importance of knowledge in development, the World Bank declared itself to be a knowledge bank. The data set of this study focuses on what knowledge means and what role it has played in the World Bank's education development cooperation.

Neoliberalism has become not only a theme that penetrates the Bank's education development cooperation but also a huge part of the criticisms of its education development cooperation. Since the 1980s, neoliberalism has become a strong ideology for understanding the various education policies, programs, and projects of the World Bank, and its influence continues to this day.

Last, poverty and inequality are also an important theme in the criticisms surrounding the World Bank's education development cooperation. On the surface, poverty alleviation in developing countries is one of the twin goals of the World Bank, along with economic prosperity of the developing world. Many critics express doubt whether the World Bank has been indeed committed to the issues of poverty and inequality in the developing world, and whether, in effect, the World Bank's education development cooperation has contributed to the elimination of poverty and inequality in developing countries.

Regarding the final product of analysis, the emergence of the theme/

themes can be regarded as the result or final product of data analysis in a thematic analysis (Vaismoradi et al., 2013). More importantly, based on the themes which capture keys to the research questions, the result should be the identification of the researcher's analytic narrative which makes an argument in relation to the research questions beyond the description of the data (Braun, & Clarke, 2006).

Thematic analysis incorporates both manifest and latent content of data. It means that even when the focus of analysis is on the manifest theme, the aim is to understand the latent meaning of the manifest themes (Joffe, & Yardley, 2004; Vaismoradi et al., 2013). Thematic analysis at a more latent level goes beyond the manifest content of data and begins to find out or investigate the underlying basic ideas, assumptions, and conceptualizations which are theorized to shape or inform the manifest content of data (Braun, & Clarke, 2006). To reveal the latent meaning of the identified themes, this study tries to investigate the ideas, assumptions, and conceptualizations contained in the critiques of the World Bank's education development cooperation through Bauman's modernity theory, dealing with the manifest content within the data set.

Chapter V. FINDINGS

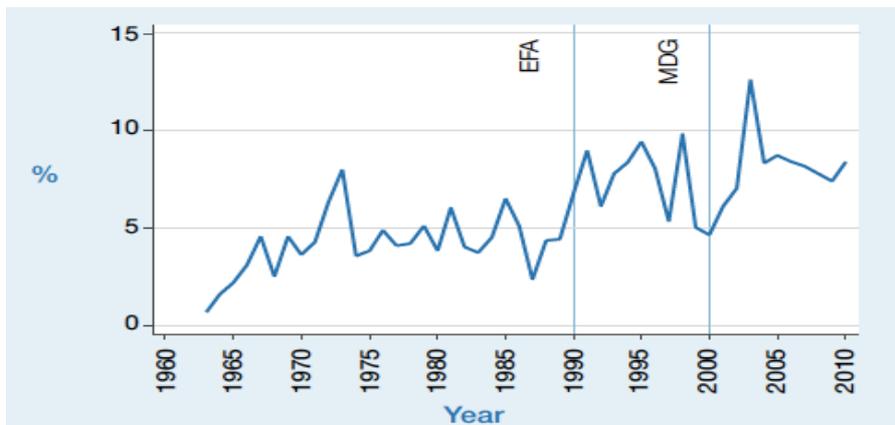
This chapter consists of three sections. In the first section, the position of the World Bank in the field of education development cooperation will be explored. Specifically, the section will find out the Bank's activities and how it maintains its hegemonic position and exerts its influence on developing countries, by examining its key papers and practices over time. The next section gives an overview of existing studies critical of the World Bank's education development cooperation as a data set of this study. Lastly, the final section of this chapter deals with the five themes emerging from the data set, focusing on the contents and perspectives of critical discourse on the Bank's education development cooperation.

5.1 The World Bank in education development cooperation

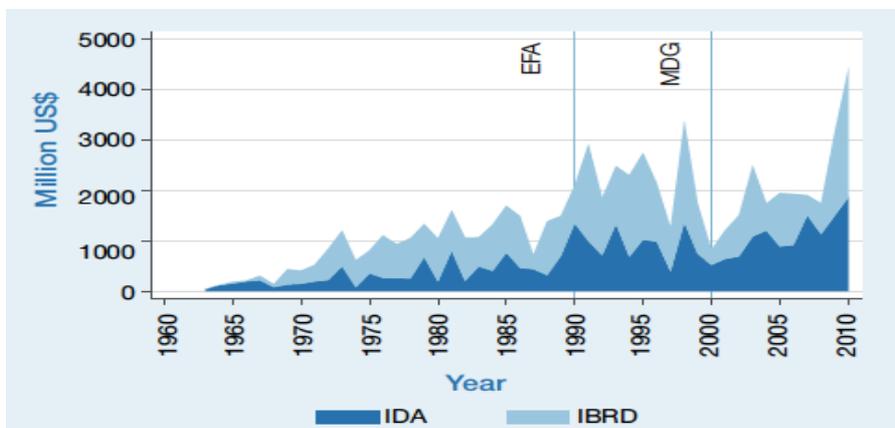
Over the last fifty years, the World Bank has become the center of global governance for social policy within emerging economies and low-income countries. The Bank is also the single largest international provider of development funding to governments. Its workforce and internal resources are so superior to those of other international organizations that other development aid providers regard the World Bank as a source of policy evidence and policy advice (Mundy, & Verger, 2016). For these reasons, the Bank appears to have “a near monopoly on the *business* of development” (Marshall, 2008, p. xv, emphasis in original).

Education has long been a critical sectoral focus in the Bank's lending

portfolios (see Figure 5.1). The importance of the World Bank in multilateral education stems from its lending scale for education development cooperation (Jones, & Coleman, 2005, see Figure 5.2). The Bank is the world's single largest source of education funding with billions of dollars in the budget for educational operations (Mundy, & Verger, 2016). The size of its assistance, including repayment loans and technical support, outweighs other UN agencies by a large margin (Jones, & Coleman, 2005).



<Figure 5.1> Education as Percentage of Total World Bank Lending



<Figure 5.2> Amount of Education Lending

Note: IDA (the International Development Association) and IBRD (the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development) make up the World Bank

Source: World Bank, 2011, p. 47

Its large number of employed staff, delegated economists, educators, and educational research and communication budget are far beyond the resources available to most universities and research institutions in less affluent countries, and the Bank has established itself as “the architect, implementor, and enforcer of global education policy” (Klees, Samoff, & Stromquist, 2012, p. xv). In particular, the Bank has consistently had a firm view on education futures, and on its blueprint for how education systems should be developed (Jones, & Coleman, 2005). Table 5.1 shows various ways in which the Bank has exercised its influence in the field of education development cooperation. Through these ways, the World Bank has played a significant role in education, both directly to borrowing countries, and indirectly far more extensively.

[Table 5.1] Pathways of World Bank Influence in Education Development Cooperation

1. Advice and recommendations (technical assistance)	World Bank representatives instruct borrowers on what they should do, when, and how. This advice carries weight, particularly when associated with World Bank loans.
2. Loan-related reports and studies	Loans are enmeshed in a web of documents that include, for example, early studies, pre-appraisals, sector analyses, public expenditure review, implementation and management reports, and evaluations, etc. These reports specify what has been done, what has yet to be done, and what should be done. Ignoring the content of these reports can compromise loan eligibility.
3. Research	The numerous studies conducted by the World Bank are influential when it comes to establishing reform priorities around the world. There is also commissioned research, which can be for studies required for project approval or for sector-wide support, for example. The technical, rational, and objective appearance of the research lends credibility to the findings. Commissioned studies can guide education policy in part by providing findings that justify certain policies.
4. General publications	The Bank’s publications include from small reports on individual projects, major studies of sectors and countries, analyses of aid and its consequences, and periodic reports on the state of the world. One of the most influential is the annual World Development Report, not to mention the journals produced by the Bank (World Bank Research Observer, World Bank Economic Review), which are claimed to

“enjoy the largest circulation of any economic title” (World Bank, 2016). As a result of its knowledge production activities, the Bank’s publications have become a global reference point for information and analyses.

5. Certifying role

The approval of the World Bank indicates to other development partners that a country government is taking appropriate steps toward reform in a satisfactory fashion, and that it is therefore trustworthy. This is how aid providers often determine whether or not a country is, for example, making progress along an agreed-upon trajectory, implementing the activities for which it received foreign support, fulfilling its commitments to modify spending patterns, or decentralize authority or democratize political competition.

6. Conditionalities

The World Bank often attaches conditions to the approval or disbursement of loans. Loans unrelated to education may include requirements for education-sector reform; conversely, education sector loans may require actions beyond this sector.

7. Management of the aid relationship

The World Bank may manage the administrative processes required as part of the aid relationship, which can be cumbersome and can drain ministerial capacity. Over the years, administrative requirements have related to discrete projects, sector-wide support, Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers, and the Comprehensive Development Framework.

8. Coordination of foreign aid

The World Bank possess more professional capacity than many other development institutions; it may also wield more macroeconomic leverage, even when not the largest lender. As such, the World Bank often oversees the provision and use of other agencies’ funds – and as such it becomes the primary point of reference for how to organize and manage development assistance. In policy coordination bodies, their voice has often carried the most weight.

9. Structuration of national education policy processes

As a frequent insider when it comes to discussions of national education policy, the World Bank formally defers decision-making to national governmental actors. However, the Bank can, at times, influence who participates and with what impact in national education policy processes by facilitating and structuring the events and administrative tasks that make up such processes. Additionally, the Bank may ally itself with the finance ministry (or the ministry of planning), which controls the national budget (therefore deciding what policies get funded). Shared epistemic perspectives facilitate this, and make it likely that the concerns, orientations, and priorities of the Bank are internalized by these national actors.

10. International events

The World Bank has often used its resources to highlight, communicate, sell, and ingrain a particular message about education through events such as international conferences/summits, seminars, workshops, colloquia, and study tours.

11. National actor recruitment and socialization

The World Bank selectively recruits professionals from developed and borrower countries who can help the agency advance its agenda. Not surprisingly, those professionals often carry with them particular assumptions, frameworks, and expectations that align with those of the Bank. At the same time, the Bank can be a powerful socializing institution that is more resilient, more persistent, and more penetrating than its individual employees. Employees tend to share certain analytic orientations and core ideas, not only about education, but also about how it should be studied and assessed.

Source: Edwards, & Storen, 2017

As the World Bank grew over the past few decades as the principal actor in education development cooperation, its priorities and strategies have diversified. Its prioritization of, and approach to education are contained in education sector strategy papers it publishes almost every decade. The focus of each strategy paper has shifted as shown in Table 5.2.

[Table 5.2] The World Bank Education Strategy Papers: Chronology and Focus

Year	Title	Focus
1971	Education Sector Working Paper	Non-formal education and training; increased used of radio and television in delivering education; ensure cheap supply of locally produced teacher materials and textbooks; strengthen education planning units.
1974	Education Sector Working Paper	Emphasis on basic education for all. Notes issues with “educated unemployment.” Enhance technical assistance, using more local experts.
1980	Education Sector Policy	Wide range of educational assistance (from elementary to tertiary, from general to specific); basic education, and flexible delivery methods to expand access; increased funding of design and production of learning material (e.g., textbooks); improve education in rural areas, including general primary education, non-formal education, and vocational training (e.g., in agriculture); improve educational management and planning; increase class size in primary school as way to save funds.
1995	Priorities and Strategies for Education	Two main priorities of education: meeting economy’s demand for workers, and supporting expansion of knowledge/technology. Human capital focus: primary and lower secondary prioritized. Urge fees on all tertiary education, and selective charging of fees for upper-secondary education. Seeks to address four challenges: access, equity, quality, delays in reform. Pro-globalization, neoliberal basis, rate-of-return analysis, economic and social environment surrounding policy implementation, privatization and decentralization; encourage central governments to set national performance standards; increase institutional autonomy, for instance through block grants to schools without restriction on allocation of funds.

1999	Education Sector Strategy	Education seen as crucial part of Comprehensive Development Framework. Working toward targets set out in EFA and OECD's Development Assistance Committee Goals. Renewed focus on partnerships with government, nongovernmental organizations, and local stakeholders. Four main focus areas: basic education (especially for girls), early childhood education and school-based health programs, alternative delivery (e.g., distance education), and systems reform (e.g., decentralization).
2005	Education Sector Strategy Update: Achieving Education For All, Broadening our Perspective, Maximizing our Effectiveness	Take into account MDGs and EFA FTI, and the 2004 World Development Report, Making Services Work for the Poor; stronger recognition of impact of HIV/AIDS on education. Increased focus on secondary education. Awareness of tertiary education and lifelong learning. Promotion of knowledge-driven economic growth. Holistic/systemwide approach to education reform; integrate education into countrywide perspective; more results oriented.
2011	Learning for all: Investing in people's knowledge and skills to promote development	Job market relevance, use of technology in education, country-level reforms (e.g., School-Based Management, good governance); support of private/non-state provision of educational services; expansion of Education Monitoring and Information Systems (EMIS); specialized focus on fragile settings, teacher policies, multisectoral approach, strengthen strategic partnerships (e.g., with UN agencies).

Source: Edwards, & Storen, 2017

Here, each sector strategy paper described in Jones' books (2006, 2007a) is briefly reviewed. The *Education Sector Working Paper* of 1971 (World Bank, 1971) for the first time stated the Bank lending criteria and for the first time made public a summary of the project experience to be published by the Bank. Its content did not contain new policies but rather summarized policy shifts over the past two years.

In comparison with the 1971 paper, the follow-up *Education Sector Working Paper* in 1974 (World Bank, 1974) was much more wide-ranging and innovative. The 1974 paper incorporated poverty focus in the Bank's education development cooperation. Yet, a closer reading of the paper reveals its failure to apply redistribution with growth principles to education.

The two papers paved the way for the next education policy document, the 1980 *Education Sector Policy Paper* (World Bank, 1980). The policy paper introduced ‘rate-of-return’ methodology as a guide to formulation of education policy, encouraging a shift in funding to areas which were more likely to generate the highest economic returns (Edwards, & Storen, 2017).

Priorities and Strategies for Education: A World Bank Review (World Bank, 1995a) was principally an elaboration of the economic precondition for educational development. The paper made little mention of education systems and processes themselves. The economic precondition the paper depicted took the neoliberal perspective of an ideal economy, which is an integrated free-market economy.

The 1999 *Education Sector Strategy* (World Bank, 1999) was different from previous strategy papers in that it lacked substantive policy positions and had an obscure sense of purpose. It set out a weak set of policy directions, reporting that holistic and comprehensive approach to education is key as if this was a recent discovery. Importantly, the paper admitted a decline in its own research and analytical work, noting that “the decline in the Bank’s role in research in education is inconsistent with the Bank’s quest to become a ‘knowledge bank’ and with improving the impact of education operations” (p. 26).

A notable feature of the 2005 *Education Sector Strategy Update* (World Bank, 2005) was to show the continued belief that education can eradicate poverty and stimulate economic growth, supported by human capital assumptions (Spring, 2015). So the 2005 update maintained all the key policy reforms, namely small government and pro-market reforms, required

by the Bank for the financing and overall management of national education systems.

In 2011, the Bank released a new education sector strategy (WBES 2020) entitled *Learning for All: Investing in People's Knowledge and Skills to Promote Development*, which was supposed to guide the Bank's activities in the education sector by 2020 in order to reconfirm its role in education development cooperation. The 2011 strategy focused on whole system reform, standardization, national learning assessments, decentralization, accountability, and privatization in education, many of which have continued to be touted by the Bank since the 1990s (Edwards, & Storen, 2017; Mundy, & Verger, 2015).

This series of Bank's education strategy papers is highly influential as they reach decision-makers in borrowing countries. Not surprisingly, these countries have used them as a crucial reference in negotiations with the Bank and other lending countries. Also, such documents reach a large audience of practitioners and academics in the field of education development cooperation (Klees, Samoff, & Stromquist, 2012). These periodic documents which are all intended to frame education policies and practices have guided the World Bank's education development cooperation.

[Table 5.3] The World Bank’s Education Development Cooperation Over Time, in Context

Context	General Bank focus	Educational assistance focus
Post-WWII	Long-term development and reconstruction (physical infrastructure) in war-torn Europe.	–
1948–52: Marshall Plan in operation.	Lending to infrastructure.	–
1952: IBRD report states lack of education as obstacle to development Late 50s: Academic research on links between human capital and national growth. 1960: IDA established	Lending to infrastructure.	50s + early 60s: WB focused on vocational education. 1962: first education loan, via IDA to Tunisia.
Early 60s: independence wave. 1963: International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) founded, by the Bank, UNESCO, and France). 1964: UNESCO-World Bank cooperative agreement signed.	Infrastructure (physical construction) for newly independent countries.	Woods pushes to make IRDB funds available for education.
By end of 1970: The Bank is the largest single provider of finance for educational development.	Focus on poverty reduction.	1968: McNamara started pushing for expansion of educational lending. Majority of education loans spent on secondary school construction, technical school, teacher colleges. 1970: 90% of education projects include technical assistance component.
Early 80s: Latin America debt crisis, which leads Bank to introduce “adjustment loans” for rapid policy change. Washington Consensus ushered in by Clausen. The Bank began to work with external actors, including nongovernmental organizations.	Neoclassical resurgence; Use of structural adjustment lending to push through “Washington Consensus” policies. Less focus on poverty under Clausen (Mundy & Verger, 2015).	1980 Education Sector Policy Paper: encouraged use of rate of return methodology. Focus on primary education, school fees, student loans for higher education (focus on these areas continues into 90s).
Widening economic gap between low-income countries and the rest. By 1985: 100 million school-aged children out of school: 70% from the poorest countries 1990: Jomtien EFA Conference: UNESCO given mandate to lead EFA initiative.	1987: Reorganization of the Bank, moving project organization to country level. Increased focus on good governance.	Conable announces significant increase in Bank lending to primary education (Jones, 1992). Education downgraded in institutional prominence under the ‘87 reconstruction (Jones, 1992).

<p>1990s: Latin America democratizing; East Asian economies expanding; 27 new borrowers from former Soviet Union + Eastern/Central Europe.</p> <p>Increased focus on climate change and global warming.</p> <p>1991: Establishment of Global Environment Facility (GEF), partnership between with World Bank UNDP, and UN Environment Program.</p>	<p>Neoliberal growth agenda (in contrast with UN agencies rights-based approach). Preston renews pledge to focus on sustainable poverty reduction.</p>	<p>Publication: 1995 Priorities and Strategies for Education, “celebration of Washington Consensus thinking” (Jones & Coleman, 2005). Primary education prioritized. Community-based management of education widely promoted into the 2000s.</p>
<p>1999: Global Campaign for Education founded, had strong coalition with WB.</p> <p>2000: Dakar World Education Forum leads to EFA-FTI, launched by Wolfensohn in 2002.</p> <p>AIDS epidemic rapidly intensifying.</p> <p>2000: Wolfensohn announces “War on AIDS.”</p>	<p>Transformation to “knowledge bank” by 2000; Comprehensive Development Framework; Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers; civil society inclusion; country ownership and leadership in development plans.</p> <p>1997: Reorganization of the Bank with “matrix reform”; increasing aid efficiency and client responsiveness.</p>	<p>Primary education; IFC begins involvement in lending to private education (1996).</p>
<p>–</p>	<p>Focus on helping Africa become “continent of hope” (Wolfowitz). Good governance central in policy recommendations.</p>	<p>Continued focus on EFA. Financing of textbooks (esp. in Iraq). Increased support of vocational training.</p>
<p>2007–2008: Global Financial Crisis</p> <p>2010: Arab uprisings</p> <p>2011: Syrian civil war, and ensuing refugee flows.</p>	<p>Continued focus on poverty reduction, especially in Africa.</p> <p>Focus on fragile states, and development in Arab world. Lending volume increased following global financial crisis.</p>	<p>2011: “Education Strategy 2020.”</p> <p>Public-private partnerships widely promoted.</p>
<p>Increased focus on climate change, forced migration, Middle East security.</p> <p>Post-2015 Development Agenda: Sustainable Development Goals.</p>	<p>Increased focus on corruption.</p> <p>2014: Bank reorganization from regions to sectors; recentralization.</p>	<p>Systems Approach for Better Education Results (SABER) provides analyses and recommendations for education, including primary, secondary, and tertiary education; workforce development; and early childhood development.</p> <p>Private schools for the poor promoted.</p>

Source: Re-organized from Edwards, & Storen (2017) by author

Looking at the World Bank's education development cooperation over time (see Table 5.3), in the 1950s and 1960s, the Bank consolidated its position as a development partner (Edwards, & Storen, 2017). The Bank's annual report for 1952 noted that low level of education is one of the significant obstacles to development (Jones, & Coleman, 2005). At that time, while UNESCO focused on basic education, mother tongue education, and adult literacy, the Bank concentrated mainly on vocational education and training. In the early 1960s, with the emergence of a large number of newly independent countries in the South, the World Bank established the IDA (International Development Agency), a lending arm aiming at offering interest-free loans to the poorest countries (Edwards, & Storen, 2017). Jones and Coleman (2005) find that the establishment of the IDA meant the Bank's success in creating a rival of the UN which had led the 'soft sectors' such as health and education since the 1950s. Another important driving force behind the establishment of the IDA is that the Bank has become able to reach new borrowers, especially newly independent African countries. The Bank's first education loan was granted to Tunisia in 1962 through the IDA, which was used to construct buildings for secondary schools and a teachers' college (Jones, 2007a). The nature of the Bank's funding for education continued to follow the tradition of lending for physical construction (Edwards, & Storen, 2017).

In the late 1960s, the Education Department was established within the Bank with the purpose of conducting analytical work to help guide the investment of the Bank (Heyneman, 2003). In the 1970s, the emphasis on education continued to intensify, and indeed by the end of the 1970s, the

World Bank became “the largest single provider of finance for educational development” (Mundy, 1998, p. 466). But the level of education for which the Bank approved loans oscillated throughout the 1970s between secondary education/technical training and elementary/non-formal education (Edwards, & Storen, 2017). Primary education had been overlooked in the 1960s, but it was emphasized to take up over 20% of total education loans by the late 1970s (Jones, & Coleman, 2005). In the early 1980s, the ‘educated unemployment’ problem in sub-Saharan Africa caused the focus to shift from primary education to vocational education (Heyneman, 2003).

In the 1980s characterized by “the intensification of globalization” (Mundy, 1998, p. 449), many Third World countries suffered from economic turmoils. During the Latin American debt crisis, the Bank responded with ‘structural adjustment loans’. These structural adjustment loans were given to the debtor countries on the condition that they would promptly adopt policies that the Bank deemed favorable for economic growth and development. These policies driven by the Washington Consensus include trade liberalization, tax reform, and privatization, as well as cuts in public spending and infrastructure such as education and health (Jones, & Coleman, 2005; Williamson, 2000). Besides, the Bank introduced the concept of ‘rate of return’ calling for the transfer of funds to areas that could yield the highest economic return. As a result, the Bank began to encourage governments to shift their spending on vocational and higher education to basic education. Re-emphasis of primary education was another significant change in the education policy of the World Bank (Edwards, & Storen, 2017).

In the 1990s, the Bank increased its investment in education and became the most influential agency in education development cooperation because of its capacity to loan, and the amount and legitimacy of its research and analytical work (Mundy, 1998). The World Bank, which lost to UNESCO the mandate to coordinate educational goals at the Dakar World Forum on EFA in 2000, was actively involved in launching the EFA First Track Initiative (FTI) instead. This initiative aimed to provide financial and technical support to the education sector by major donors and institutions so that the poor countries can achieve EFA and the MDGs by 2015 (Bermingham, 2011). Despite checks and criticisms from UNESCO, FTI became a significant education initiative for the Bank (Edwards, & Storen, 2017). In 2011, FTI was renamed Global Partnership for Education (GPE), and the World Bank is still working as a host for the GPE Secretariat (World Bank, 2018).

For several decades, the World Bank has played a decisive role in negotiations with recipient governments on national development strategies and policies because it can support low-income countries with more than \$15 billion annually through bilateral financing (World Bank, 2011). As a result, the World Bank has a monopolistic position to determine the education policy that accompanies its loans and grants. It is not too much to claim that the World Bank is the architect of what has become a global education policy (King, 2007; Klees, 2002, 2008). Once UNESCO used to have a more dominant position, but with the withdrawal of years of contributions from the United States and Britain, its role became much smaller, and the World Bank became the virtual director in the area of

education development cooperation including EFA processes (Mundy, 2002; Jones, 2007a).

With the World Bank's position as the undisputed influential agency in the field of education development cooperation, it has actively implemented education policies and practices based on periodic education sector papers and a vast amount of research and analytical work. But the fair amount of research and papers by the Bank have hardly dealt with and identified the relationship between education, development, and poverty (Jones, 2006; Klees, 2002). Under the dominance of neoliberal policies, within the World Bank, education has been considered one of the social sectors that could be reformed through marketization, privatization, and decentralization (Jones, 2006). It is no wonder that not only this Bank's perspective on education but also its education policies and practices have come under a great deal of criticism from scholars. However, while there have been many critiques of the Bank's education development cooperation, the critical voices have remained disparate and fragmented. Little attention is paid to the relationship and mechanism among the different critiques.

5.2 Overview of the data set

Before looking at the themes emerging from the criticisms, this section explores an overview of the existing studies, the data set of this study. It is in the mid-1990s that the criticisms of the World Bank's education development cooperation began to emerge in academia. In the 2000s, the number of studies criticizing the World Bank's education development

cooperation increased dramatically, and the number has remained steady until now.

In particular, immediately after each education sector strategy paper mentioned above was published by the Bank, critical analyses were released. McLean (1981) writes about the World Bank's 1980 paper. Bennell (1996), Lauglo (1996), and Jones (1997) take a critical approach to the 1995 paper. As for the 1999 sector paper, Hickling-Hudson (2002), Ilon (2002), Klees (2002) and Soudien (2002) analyze the deficiencies. Regarding the WBES 2020, which is the Bank's the latest strategy paper, some books (Collins, & Wiseman, 2012; Klees et al., 2012) bringing together the voices of several scholars who criticize it from a variety of perspectives, were published. These studies demonstrate that the series of the Bank's education sector strategy papers that contain its future direction and emphases have a great deal of significance in the field of education development cooperation.

Among the critical studies of the World Bank's education development cooperation, almost all of the research takes issue with the liberal capitalist paradigm through which the Bank approaches development and education. In particular, there are a number of papers criticizing the World Bank's neoliberal approach (e.g., Adhikary, 2014; Anwaruddin, 2014; Bergeron, 2008; Kane, 2008; McClure, 2014; Menashy, 2007; Molla, 2014; Regmi, 2017). Besides, many of the papers take a negative perspective on not only the World Bank's approach, which values only the economic aspects of education based on economic fundamentalism (e.g., Alexander, 2001; Banya, & Elu, 2001; Jones, 1997; Manion, & Menashy, 2013) but also the Bank's view of development and education based on modernization (e.g.,

Klees, 2002; Hickling-Hudson, 2002; Jones, 2007a). Bennell (1996) and Heyneman (2003) note the errors and deficiencies of the rate of return analysis, a methodology that has had a significant impact on the World Bank's education policy-making.

Some studies point to its top-down approach in disseminating the same prescriptions and knowledge, ignoring the capabilities of each country or regional diversity (e.g., Garomssa, 2016; Kempner, & Loureiro, 2002; Menashy, & Read, 2016; Molla, 2014; Verger, Edwards, & Altinyelken, 2014; Yang, 2010; Zapp, 2017), and as a result, there have been a number of studies investigating the adverse effects of these prescriptions and education policies on the recipient countries (e.g., Babalola, Sikwibele, & Suleiman, 2000; Banya, & Elu, 2001; Alexander, 2001; Bonal, 2004; Mundy, & Menashy, 2014; Regmi, 2017).

In addition to these criticisms, several studies (Gonzales, 1999; Hickling-Hudson, 2002; Klees, 2002; Lauglo, 1996) urge the World Bank's education development cooperation to reflect educators' positions and return to education using pedagogical and sociological methodologies. Archer (2006), Vally and Spreen (2012), Manion and Menashy (2013), Menashy (2013), and McClure (2014) evaluate and analyze the World Bank's education activities on the basis of either the capability approach or the rights-based approach, which all belong to the liberal egalitarian paradigm, and Anwaruddin (2014) criticizes the neoliberal mandates of the World Bank's education development cooperation from the perspective of neocolonialism.

5.3 The five themes

This section is made up of the five themes that emerged from thematic analysis. The themes emerging from the studies critical of the World Bank's education development cooperation are development, education, knowledge, neoliberalism, and poverty/inequality.

5.3.1 Development

The World Bank mentions development countlessly, but the concept has not been clearly defined or discussed. Blake (2000) summarizes the World Bank's perspective on development in relation to the historical background. Since the World Bank was founded on the background of the Great Depression and economic crisis after the Second World War, development meant reconstruction and economic development, and the Bank's role was to provide loans to long-term projects for this purpose. In the 1960s and 1970s, the World Bank saw development as 'growth with equity' and invested in human development projects including education. But due to the global debt crisis of the 1980s, the World Bank shifted its development focus back to macroeconomic and structural adjustment. In the process of carrying out structural adjustments in developing countries, the Bank was subject to global criticism. In particular, it was criticized for not paying attention to the human aspects of development and not coordinating efforts with other international development actors. This criticism led the World Bank to focus on both macroeconomic development and human

development in the 1990s. This refocus was evident in the Bank's Comprehensive Development Framework (CDF).

The CDF was proposed by James Wolfensohn, its former president, and the Bank claims that the principles of the CDF were used in the preparation and proceeding of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) (Jones, 2006; Wolfensohn, & Fischer, 2000). According to the World Bank (1999, p. 20), this CDF calls for "a holistic approach to development", emphasizing the interdependence of all aspects of development: social, structural, human, governance, environmental, economic, and financial. The CDF is based on developing a long term vision and plan. It not only emphasizes individual countries' ownership of development policies and program but also partnership and coordination with all actors and stakeholders. Its main feature is that "structural and social concerns [are] treated equally and contemporaneously with macroeconomic and financial concerns". The CDF is supposed to be "a means of achieving greater effectiveness in reducing poverty".

Although the CDF, the World Bank's perspective on development, is made up of positive words such as holistic, ownership, and partnership, the stated intention and reality are different. Against its intention, the more the Bank was led by the CDF, the more difficult country ownership became. This is because the Bank's comparative advantage over many partners and stakeholders including the country itself gives it unprecedented power over global long-term development vision and planning (Klees, 2002). Klees deduces that no one truly knows what the CDF means from many reports and from the way the Bank's staff talk about it, arguing that the CDF was

just “the rhetorical cornerstone of all Bank development work” (2002, p. 456). Now, a few decades later, it is no longer possible to find traces of the CDF within the Bank.

Adhikary (2014, pp. 5-7) reviews the World Bank’s development indicators in order to identify its definition of development inherent in them. He notes that there are three trends in the development indicators of the World Development Reports (WDRs). The first trend occurred in the period from 1973 to 1995 when development was recognized as an economic process. Development at this time existed only under or within the economic system, and the social, political, and cultural aspects of human life were not addressed. The development indicators from 1973 to 1982 were “world trade growth, GDP growth, unemployment, inflation rate, and debt service ratio” (World Bank, 1983, p. 1). From 1982 to 1995, the WDR indicators attempted to measure development in terms of economic progress with “population, country area, GNP per capita, annual rate of inflation, and life expectancy” (World Bank, 1983, p. 148; 1995b, p. 162). The development indicators of this period did not so much take into account the social, political and cultural dimensions of development.

The second trend for the period from 1996 to 2004 ostensibly focused on socioeconomics. In 1996, the World Development Report named “Socioeconomic Development Indicators” (World Bank, 1996, p. 180), but the corresponding indicators were purely economic rather than socioeconomic. Although new indicators covering the theme ‘People’ seemed to focus on progress in social development, the sub-indicators including employment and income generation were economic-oriented. As

with Klees (2002), Adhikary (2014) criticizes that there was only a rhetorical comment on social development, but no practical effort to do so. According to him, the World Bank's development seen through indicators denotes economic growth by increased production, and education and health receive the attention of the World Bank only in that they prepare human capital needed for economic growth.

The third trend since 2004 has focused heavily on the MDGs as a major development indicator. Indicators in the WDRs at this time particularly focused on improving education and health to achieve the MDGs. The WBES 2020 established by the World Bank highlights the importance of education MDGs as well (World Bank, 2011). Adhikary (2014) believes that although the World Bank has superficial interest in developing social dimensions, the focus of the indicators is still on the economy.

In addition to the above three trends, Adhikary (2014) adds the following two that can be temporally classified: the Washington Consensus-led neoliberal development in the 1990s and the Post-Washington Consensus-led development in the 2000s. Globally disseminated through stabilization and structural adjustment policies of the IMF and the World Bank, the Washington Consensus which aims at austerity and privatization of government and deregulation and liberalization of the private sector was the dominant neoliberal approach to development in the 1990s (Gore, 2000). As effort to defend the Washington Consensus turned out to be a failure, the World Bank launched the Post-Washington Consensus in the latter half of the 1990s (Fine, & Saad-Filho, 2014). This modified approach to development led to a shift from the obsession with neoliberal development,

embracing focuses on the non-economic domains (Gore, 2000; Stiglitz, 1998). Despite the efforts of proponents of the Post-Washington consensus to differentiate itself from the former one, that little has changed in practice (Bonal, 2002; Klees, 2012). The Post-Washington Consensus policies and conditionalities demonstrate a commitment to the same notion of development as the Washington Consensus previously advocated. Both regard development as a natural (financial market-driven) consequence of a series of ‘correct’ policies imposed from above and external guidelines (Fine, & Saad-Filho, 2014).

Adhikary (2014) points out the deficiencies of the World Bank’s development concept, which were examined through development indicators. He notes that the World Development Reports focused primarily on the economy, failing to identify and comment on historical causality behind the current underdevelopment/development conditions. In particular, the neoliberal penetration into the World Bank has brought about all the changes in the way it defines development, leading to some of the most significant deficiencies.

Along with Adhikary’s criticism of the World Bank’s definition of development, Bergeron (2008) criticizes that the Bank persists in defining development narrowly as economic growth and efficiency rather than equitable, sustainable, and democratic development. Not only in academia but practice, according to McClure (2014), the World Bank’s Basic Education Project in Turkey did not do much more than exercise ‘neoliberal governmentality’ in the education sector.

In the case of Easterly (2007), the World Bank’s development claims to

be characterized as an ideology. Like other ideologies, its development makes the promise of comprehensive, definitive, one-size-fits-all answers to all the problems of different societies including illiteracy, poverty, marginalization, and unemployment. Development that the World Bank speaks of is ideological in that it recognizes only one correct answer and does not tolerate contesting arguments against it. Here, the one correct answer becomes synonymous with ‘free markets’, and especially for poor countries, it is defined as doing whatever the World Bank asks them to do. The Bank shows constant devotion to a particular development ideology (Kane, 2008; Klees, 2012; Yang, 2010).

5.3.2 Education

One of the most robust and repeated critiques of the Bank’s work on education has been its economic-instrumental concept of education. This concept of education emphasizes its instrumental function for the economy, envisaging education primarily as investment for economic development and as a means of economic expansion (Bergeron, 2008; Heyneman, 2003; Ilon, 2002; Klees, 2002; Manion, & Menashy, 2013; Menashy, 2007, 2013). The Bank’s tenacious economic-centered framework in educational policies and practices can be portrayed as “what can only be deemed its obsessive attachment to human capital theory” (Fine, & Rose, 2003, p. 156).

On the basis of human capital theory which directly links between education and economic growth, the Bank has paid attention to education exclusively as a means of increasing human capital in order to stimulate

economic growth (Bergeron, 2008). Under human capital theory, the value of education is reduced to economic returns for individuals and the entire economy to some extent. This approach to education in the narrow sense has served the need of the World Bank to keep broader social, cultural and political contexts away from its policies and practices (Ilon, 2002). In this context, the increase in the World Bank's education loan was inseparably related to the simultaneous rise of studies (e.g., Psacharopoulos, 1985, 1989, 1994; Psacharopoulos, & Patrinos, 2004) supporting the theory of human capital (Manion, & Menashy, 2013).

By the 1980s, the Bank's broad approach to education programming was consistent with its strong focus on investment in human capital which frames education as an investment with a high rate of return, and as a means for economic growth, and, in turn, for poverty alleviation (Heyneman, 2003; Jones, 2007a; Manion, & Menashy, 2013; Mundy, 2002). More recent education strategy documents from the Bank still show economic-instrumental approach to education and emphasize human capital (Manion, & Menashy, 2013; Menashy, 2013). For instance, in the 1995 strategy document, it is stated that "investment in education contributes to the accumulation of human capital, which is essential for higher incomes and sustained economic growth" (World Bank, 1995a, p. 1). Similarly, the World Bank (1999) claims that "for the poor ... human capital [i]s the main, if not only, means of escaping poverty" (p. 1) and that one of the reasons why education is important comes from the logic that "human capital development → productivity" (p. 5). Although the WBES 2020, unlike previous documents, eludes the mention of human capital theory, the new

strategy demonstrated throughout the document still views education as an instrument for the accumulation of human capital to promote economic growth, labor productivity, competitiveness, and labor market skills (Vally, & Spreen, 2012).

The Bank's human capital approach converts education into a panacea for economic development, based on the assumption that investments in human capital and technology naturally increase productivity and skills (Jones, 2006; Molla, 2014). Several scholars (Hickling-Hudson, 2002; Vally, & Spreen, 2012) raise concerns over this false assumption about education and the workforce. Despite the fact that employment is more affected by external factors such as economic structure and decision-making methods than education, this perception of education ultimately shifts the responsibility for labor outcomes such as unemployment to deficiencies of individual abilities or skills. Therefore, human capital theory is not in favor of groups disadvantaged by discrimination on the grounds of sex, race, and class (Easton, & Klees, 1992; Stromquist, 2012). It does not take into account institutional and structural factors determining labor outcomes (Jones, 1997).

Another criticism of human capital theory is derived from the way it regards human beings. Within the human capital framework, an individual is a capital that, like physical capital, can increase economic returns or productivity. In other words, people are rated according to their productivity or income generation (McClure, 2014). Even Schultz (1961), one of the exponents of this approach, discerns a potential problem stemming from its concept of human capital, describing that "it seems to reduce man ... to a

mere material component, to something akin to property” (p. 2). Ginsburg (2012) argues that teachers and students should be treated not as human capital or resource that can be invested in, traded, bought, or sold as implied in the World Bank education strategy documents, but as human beings in the context of education.

The Bank’s narrow conception of education based on human capital theory cannot explain non-economic educational activities. Robeyns (2006) clarifies that “In human capital theory ... human beings act for economic reasons *only*. That people might act for social, religious, moral, emotional, or other non-economic reasons, cannot be accounted for by this theory” (pp. 72-73, emphasis in original). In addition to this problem with human capital theory, critics have stressed the point that the conception of education with extraordinary emphasis on economic benefit undervalues and even disregards the intrinsic, qualitative value, and other social benefits of education that cannot be economically quantified (Manion, & Menashy, 2013; Menashy, 2007, 2013; Vally, & Spreen, 2012).

Moreover, the human capital approach can drive people to calculate the relative return on investment for a variety of activities, drawing the conclusion that some educational investments do not produce a high ‘rate of return’ enough to be worthy of investment. On the basis of the rate of return analysis, the World Bank continues to justify the prioritization of basic education whose rate of return is found to be the highest among all education levels (Bennell, 1996; Bonal, 2004; Lauglo, 1996). On the same principle, the Bank stresses that developing countries must shift their public education expenditure from higher education to basic one (Alexander, 2001;

Banya, & Elu; 2001; Bennell, 1996; Heyneman, 2012; Jones, 2007a). Caffentzis and Federici (1992) contend, using the case of African education, that the World Bank's prescribed guideline may have resulted from its pessimistic view on the developing world's economic future and its belief that workers in developing countries are fated to remain unskilled laborers for a long while.

However, many scholars (Alexander, 2001; Bennell, 1996; Bonal, 2004; Lauglo, 1996) cast doubt on this method for calculating the rate of return to different levels of education. Omission of important variables such as youth unemployment, and sample selectivity biases result in overestimating the rate of return to education. Another weakness of this method is attributed to the low level of reliability of available data from developing countries (Bennell, 1996; Bonal, 2004; Gonzales, 1999). In that sense, Lauglo (1996) and Alexander (2001) indicate that as a key criterion for determining which investment is most beneficial, this method is too primitive and flawed to be used for policy-making.

5.3.3 Knowledge

'Knowledge', since the mid-1990s, has become one of the popular buzzwords often emphasized by the World Bank. This section tries to find out how the Bank has used the term and concept of 'knowledge' and in what respect it has been criticized concerning its view on knowledge.

In October 1996, the World Bank declared itself a 'knowledge bank' that takes the lead in producing, disseminating, and sharing international

development knowledge necessary for economic development and poverty reduction (Klees, 2002; Menashy, & Read, 2016; Molla, 2014; Wolfensohn, 1996). In its World Development Report 1998/99 entitled *Knowledge for development*, the World Bank not only highlights the importance of knowledge in the new global economy but also recommends the developing countries to close the knowledge gap by knowledge transmission (Molla, 2014). The report makes it clear that developing countries are poor due to lack of valid knowledge, and that such knowledge is produced by the North, including the Bank, and not in the developing world:

Poor countries – and poor people – differ from rich ones not only because they have less capital but because they have less knowledge (World Bank, 1998, p. 1) ... developing countries will remain importers rather than principal producers of technical knowledge for some time (p. 24).

Shortly after the report was published, the Bank's new focus on the pivotal role of knowledge in development started to be disseminated to other international agencies (King, & McGrath, 2004).

Even though the Bank touts its comparative advantage in providing development-related knowledge, the efforts to be reborn as a knowledge bank have been criticized in many ways. First of all, as the quotation above from the 1998/1999 Bank-produced report shows, knowledge for development has been produced only from the North, and Northern-produced knowledge has been transferred to the South without any consideration or diversification in accordance with different contexts of the

Global South (Klees, 2002; Menashy, & Read, 2016; Molla, 2014). The World Bank has evidently divided the North and the South into knowledge producers and knowledge acceptors or consumers, thereby making the hierarchical order of knowledge which legitimates Northern policies and prescriptions. For the World Bank, knowledge transfer can only flow from the North into the South – the reverse is impossible (Evers, Kaiser, & Muller, 2009; Klees, 2002).

Furthermore, these criticisms revolve around the discussions of what is considered legitimate knowledge in the field of international development (Menashy, & Read, 2016; Molla, 2014). Molla (2014) raises some questions about the Bank's dichotomy in knowledge between the North and the South as follows:

What kind of knowledge is the Bank talking about? Does this knowledge transmission model take into account the importance of local specificities? Must knowledge be economically productive to be noteworthy of acquisition, absorption and communication? Whose knowledge is considered economically vital anyway? (p. 233)

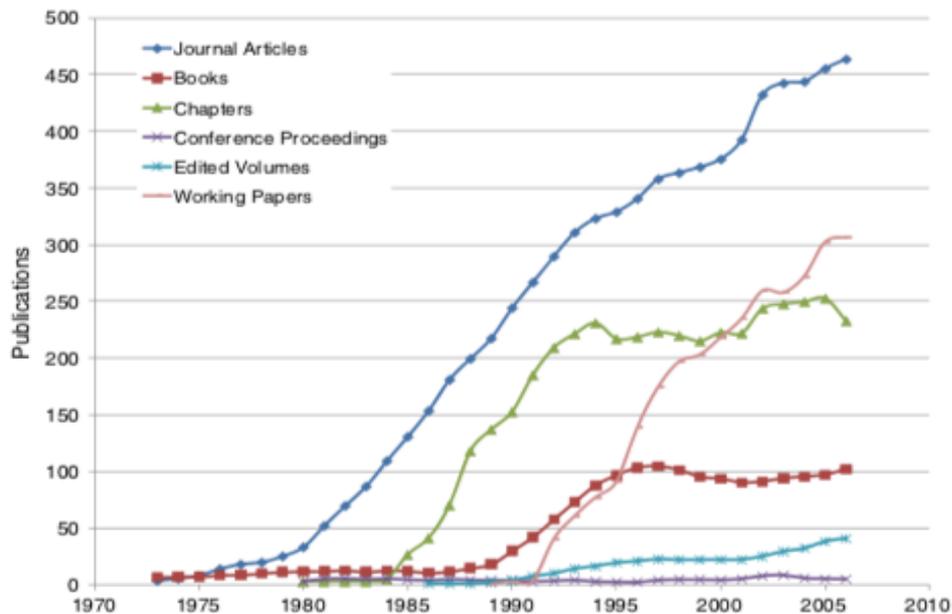
Given that “the attaching of labels such as evidence or research to particular types of knowledge are political acts” (Davies, & Nutley, 2008, p. 3), the North, including the World Bank, as one of the largest knowledge producing agencies, uses its power to legitimate specific kinds of knowledge. Not all knowledge is necessarily legitimate, and particularly local-based knowledge is considered unimportant (Ilon, 2002). More precisely, in the context of the

current international system, knowledge is confined to empirically-based, evidence-based, and scientifically-based knowledge obtained through “any systematic process of critical investigation and evaluation, theory building, data collection, analysis and codification” (Court, Hovland, & Young, 2005, p. 6). The World Bank, with dozens of millions of US\$ in annual research funding and many researchers graduating from top doctoral programs in the US and the UK elite universities, by definition is the largest development research agency, producing and strategically using knowledge as its greatest asset (Goldman, 2001, 2005; Verger et al., 2014).

Knowledge in the World Bank self-identified as the knowledge bank functions as global policy advice or in an unfavorable light, as programmatic conditionality of lending and grants. Despite the fact that the World Bank has not reduced its role as a lender, it has acted gradually as a global policy advisor to the national governments for the past decade. The World Bank’s use of ‘scientific method’ (quasi-experimental design) in research and evaluation or ‘evidence-based policy planning’ as policy tools serves to package its projects working in particular countries or regions. This particular reform package branded as ‘best practice’ is adopted and transported across national boundaries (Sensenig, 2012; Steiner-Khamsi, 2012). This utilization of knowledge by the World Bank has come under severe attack (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012).

International organizations generate and circulate knowledge through periodic publications, and the World Bank produces much more publications on development than any other major universities and international agencies (Kramarz, & Momani, 2013; Menashy, & Read, 2016;

Zapp, 2017). As the Bank’s longitudinal trend on publications indicates, all types of publications, namely ‘knowledge products’ show a notable upward trend (See Figure 5.3).



<Figure 5.3> Counts of World Bank Publications 1973-2006

Source: Ravallion, & Wagstaff, 2012, p. 352

In spite of its vast publication record and productivity, scholars criticize the knowledge that the Bank generates, synthesizes, and disseminates through publications such as books, journals, development reports, sector strategies, and so on. Steiner-Khamsi (2012) points out that the works of the World Bank as a knowledge bank are based on a self-referential system. It means that the Bank uses its own publications and database, namely its own point of scientific reference, as the only source of information which deserves consideration. For example, Samoff’s (2012) analysis of WBES 2020’s reference source reveals that most of those are from the World Bank

itself and other funding and technical assistance agencies or are written by the Bank's staff and consultants. Also, the fact that the portion of the references cited from other sources has decreased from 50% in 1995 to 28% in 2011 (Heyneman, 2012) supports the argument that the Bank still relies on a self-referential system. Through the self-referentiality of knowledge production, it is feasible for the Bank to solely absorb knowledge that supports its own system logic permanently (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012).

In line with this, what kind of knowledge has been continuously absorbed and circulated by the Bank through a self-referential system? According to many academics (Klees, 2002, 2012; Menashy, & Read, 2016; Rao, & Woolcock, 2007; Verger et al., 2014) the underlying knowledge which is inextricably linked to the Bank's systemic logic is arguably biased toward disciplinary economics (especially neoliberalism) enough to be called 'economic imperialism' (Anwaruddin, 2014; Menashy, & Read, 2016). This term denotes "the extension of economic analysis to subject matter beyond its traditional borders" (Fine, & Milonakis, 2009, p. 7). This economic imperialism is based on a belief that economics is the "only truly scientific and rigorous social science ... by virtue of its intellectual superiority" (Fine, 2002, p. 189). The superiority of economics in academia began in the 1960s, coinciding with the exercise of strong authority over development policies and discourses at development agencies including the World Bank. The Bank's then president Robert S. McNamara valued quantifiable data, which fit with economics' claim to be empirical, scientific, apolitical, rational, and objective (Menashy, & Read, 2016). Over the decades since then, the World Bank has predominantly and disproportionately employed staff with

background in economics and has given primacy to economic work (Menashy, 2013). It is highly likely for economic research to receive incentives over other kinds of research, and economists tend to occupy the highest positions in the hierarchy of the Bank (Goldman, 2005; Marshall, 2008; Weaver, 2008). Accordingly, it results in “a disciplinary monopoly that manifests itself in the fact that development policy at the Bank tends to reflect the fads, fashions, controversies, and debates of one discipline” (Rao, & Woolcock, 2007, p. 480).

Education, like other sectors, could not escape this monopoly of economics by the Bank. The central aspect of the Bank’s perspective on education is that it must respond to the needs and demands of the world market economy (Kane, 2008). Notably, under the name of ‘education for the knowledge economy’, the World Bank emphasizes the function and role of education in keeping with the ever-changing needs and demands of the knowledge economy. On its education website, it defines the term ‘education for the knowledge economy’ as “the World Bank’s work with developing countries to cultivate the highly skilled, flexible human capital needed to compete in global markets – an endeavor that affects a country’s entire education system” (World Bank, 2009, para. 2). The Bank’s idea of conceptualizing students as ‘human capital’ and education as equipping students to ‘compete effectively in dynamic world markets’ indicates that it continues to hold the neoliberal belief that economic growth should be the primary goal of education (Menashy, 2007). This is not assumed to be a political position, but a self-evident truth, so it is not recognized as a problem that responding to the labor market often is connected to a dramatic

cut in wages (Kane, 2008).

This vision of education as a major means of developing ‘highly skilled and flexible human capital’ for competition in the global market has become the rationale for educational reforms, interventions, and the restructuring of the education systems in the developing world (Peters, & Besley, 2006). In terms of the direction of the educational reform, the Bank wants education to be privatized, deregulated, and marketized, which is neoliberal transformation (Kane, 2008). Besides, the educational reform prescriptions based on the ‘education for the knowledge economy’ initiative involve its advocacy of tertiary and higher education. In the Bank’s higher education policy for the developing world, the Bank puts natural science and engineering disciplines ahead of social science education (Garomssa, 2016).

5.3.4 Neoliberalism

Since the 1980s, the biggest part of the overarching critique of the World Bank has been placed on its neoliberal mandate reflected across sectors including education. Various education policies, interventions, and measures of the Bank have been marked as ‘neoliberal’. Neoliberalism is widely portrayed as a ‘free market’ ideology. This is on the basis of the theories of economic liberalism originated from Adam Smith’s laissez-faire economics and advanced by the ensuing liberals such as Friedrich Hayek and Milton Friedman (Olssen, 1996). Olssen elaborates on the central premise of neoliberal thought as follows:

Subjects are economically self-interested; that the economy is separate from the rest of society; that the uncoordinated self-interest of individuals correlates with the interests and the harmony of the whole; that individuals are rational optimisers and are the best judges of their own interests and needs; and that a ‘flexible’, that is deregulated, labour market provides the same opportunities for people to utilise their skills and therefore optimise their life goals (p. 341).

Colclough (1991a) interprets neoliberalism in relation to international development as “reasserting the primacy of economic growth amongst policy objectives, believing poverty will thereby be most effectively reduced”, and the advocates of neoliberalism share the view that “the slow progress made by developing countries has been mainly caused by excessive economic intervention by their own governments” (p. 6). As these explanations of neoliberalism show, the main principles of neoliberalism are based on individuality and self-interest, promotion of the free market where the government’s role is reduced, and economic growth as its primary objective. These neoliberal tenets have penetrated into the World Bank’s education policies and practices. Its education policies based on neoliberal ideology involve implementing user fees, privatization in/of education, reduction of government role in education, financing to measurable educational output and performance, and the primacy of economic growth as the aim of education (Jones, 2006; Menashy, 2007; Regmi, 2017). A review of the Bank’s key papers shows that policy recommendations and prescriptions in education are driven by three principle doctrines of

neoliberalism, namely, marketization, privatization, and decentralization (Stromquist, 2012; Regmi, 2017). Indeed, there is no doubt that the World Bank has been at the forefront of espousing and propagating neoliberal thinking.

Many academics have offered sharp criticism over the Bank's neoliberal mandate reflected in its education policies and interventions, and its influence on the education system in the developing world. Neoliberalism has been "a Great Experiment" (Klees, 2008, p. 311) by the World Bank and the IMF on the developing countries to systematically transform public policy worldwide. The education sector was not exempt from this experiment. There have been many studies on the effects of this experiment through the SAPs on developing countries' education (Bonai, 2002; Ilon, 1994; Klees, 2008; Reimers, 1997; Reimers, & Tiburcio, 1993).

As one of the neoliberal policies, the Bank required cutting government spending on public services such as education and health. The rationale for this measure was that reducing costs and increasing efficiency are essential conditions for promoting economic growth (Regmi, 2017). The reduction of public spending on education prevented the expansion of public education systems, especially in Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa (Bonai, 2002). Access to education fell at all levels, yet the transition from primary to secondary education was significantly lower (Reimers, & Tiburcio, 1993). It resulted in a decline in the quality of education as well. For example, dilapidated buildings, lack of educational materials, and teachers' wage reduction, all resulting from budget cuts, severely affected the quality of schooling (Bonai, 2002; Reimers, & Tiburcio, 1993).

The World Bank actively encouraged private sectors to participate in the education system of developing countries (Mundy, & Menashy, 2012; Mundy, & Verger, 2015). Privatization of education has been advocated by the Bank on the grounds that it can make up for reduced public spending and low public investment (Bonal, 2002; Regmi, 2017). But, privatization and introduction of user fees were accused of counting on false assumptions about the consumers of education (Menashy, 2007). It was thought that through the introduction of private education, competition would occur and thereby increase efficiency. In this, the consumers, namely parents or students, are assumed to be adequate judges of efficiency (Colclough, 1991b). The assertion that the students will work harder if they are charged for schooling was condemned as presuming and unproven (Colclough, 1991b; Menashy, 2007). More importantly, these measures were criticized for impinging on equity. As asserted by Alexander (2001), user charges contributed mainly to depriving poor children of educational opportunities. Moreover, there was concern that private education is likely to be “used by the richer groups in order to maintain their elite status” (Colclough, 1996, p. 606). In this sense, it can be said that privatization and user charges served to perpetuate inequalities based on social class.

The World Bank also put a great emphasis on decentralization, one of the key neoliberal mechanisms to improve the quality and efficiency of education. The Bank ascribed low quality of education in developing countries to their centralized education system (Regmi, 2017). The logic of the World Bank was that decentralization and school autonomy are requisite for school competitiveness, and through the increased competitiveness, the

quality of education and school cost-effectiveness will improve substantially. But unlike the claims of the Bank, there is no substantive evidence that decentralization has improved the quality and efficiency of education (Bonal, 2002). Some point out that the push towards decentralization was more related to diminishing the responsibilities of national governments that should be principally in charge of implementing and monitoring social policies (Carnoy, 1999; Menashy, 2007). According to Bonal, educational reforms consisting of decentralization and marketization in Latin America have led to rising school inequality as well as inequalities between different regions during the 1980s.

Overall, the neoliberal education reforms had a huge detrimental impact on the societies in the developing world as well as their education systems (Bonal, 2002; Ilon, 1994; Klees, 2008). Klees (2008) claims that the Bank's interventions in the education sector based on neoliberalism have "harmed billions of children and adults around the world" (p. 335). Many contend that this Great Experiment turned out to be a failure, and that SAPs have been so inconducive to economic growth or poverty reduction that even the Bank and the IMF have taken a step back, trying to find a new set of development policies which supersede them such as the Post-Washington Consensus (Klees, 2008).

Did the Bank indeed retreat from these policies, eventually change its thinking about neoliberalism, and try to build a new development trajectory? It seems that the Bank shifted towards new initiatives and discourses that may respond to earlier critiques of neoliberal policies (Menashy, 2007). Nevertheless, it is evident that "the Bank proposes to deal with the failures

of neoliberalism by reinventing further rounds of neoliberal intervention” (Robertson, 2012, p. 190). Robertson explores the strange “non-death of neoliberalism” (Crouch, 2011) in the World Bank’s education development cooperation by reviewing its key strategy papers (See Table 5.4).

[Table 5.4] The World Policies, Regimes, and the Privatization in/of Education

WB Education Policy	Report No.	Regime	Locating the “private”	Interpretation
Education Policy Report 1970	1	Rostovian/ Keynesian	Expansion of state-funded education	State-led manpower planning
Education Policy Report 1974	2	Rostovian/ Keynesian	Expansion of state-funded education	State-led manpower planning
Education Sector Policy Paper 1980	3	Washington Consensus	Fees, private schools, efficiency	Pockets of private within a distinct public private sector
Education Sector 1999	4	Post-Washington	“Public-Private Partnerships,” competition/efficiency vouchers/nascent IFC	Blurring the boundary – using the private to discipline the public
WB Group Education Strategy 2020	5	New World Order/New World Bank	Redefining education system to include variety of actors/expanded role for IFC within WB group	Collapsing the boundary – redefining the education system to include the private “within”

Source: Robertson, 2012, p. 200

According to Robertson’s analysis, the Bank has continued to reinvent its education privatization policy, despite its apparent failings and the causal relation of neoliberalism to the 2008 global financial crisis. What is found in the WBES 2020 is merely a deepening of the neoliberal ideologies and strategies (Kamat, 2012; Robertson, 2012), with little evidence to support the Bank’s argument that the private sector is more efficient than the public sector (Robertson, 2012). In practice as well, Regmi (2017) who examines

major education projects implemented by the Bank from the mid-1980s to 2000s in Nepal identifies hegemonic assumptions of neoliberalism embedded in the Bank's projects until recently. Regmi claims that education policies and practices guided by neoliberal imperatives have little potential to address Nepal's education challenges. Finally, it is worth mentioning that the Bank's accumulation of misleading analyses of neoliberalism for a quarter of a century that have led to failed policies and practices in education has not gone unchallenged and will face increasing confrontation (Klees, 2008).

5.3.5 Poverty and inequality

The World Bank proclaims its mission: "Our dream is a world free of poverty". As for education, the Bank states its significance for achieving its "twin strategic goals: ending extreme poverty and boosting shared prosperity" (World Bank, 2017, p. xi). As such, the World Bank considers its core mission the alleviation of global poverty alongside the promotion of economic growth.

Under the hegemony of the Washington Consensus, the World Bank believed that the effects of economic growth with a set of reforms such as its structural adjustment programs (SAPs) would 'automatically' reduce poverty. As Mundy notes, "it is widely assumed that market-led growth resumed and government distortions were eliminated, the demand for the labour of the poor would increase, ensuring their enhanced buying power and economic betterment" (Mundy, 2002, p. 488). For the Bank, the trickle-

down effect is thought to be strong enough to mitigate the impacts of cuts in public spending in the social sectors including education. Based on this perception that poverty will be automatically reduced through economic growth, the World Bank with its neoliberal doctrine during the 1980s did not develop any development agenda toward policies for redistribution or eradication of poverty. The notion that economic growth causes an automatic reduction in poverty disregards the relationship between inequality and economic growth (Bonal, 2004). As SAPs came under severe criticism, the World Bank, through the World Development Report 1990 entitled *Poverty*, presented strategies including the promotion of labor-intensive growth, provision of basic social service to the poor in education and health, and the development of well-designed and targeted programs and emergency social funds (World Bank, 1990). Furthermore, the World Development Report entitled *Attacking poverty* (2001) proposed more extensive strategies and priorities, including

the reorientation of public spending (with allocations that offer more benefit to the poorer sectors), mechanisms aimed at making the markets function more favourably for the poor, proposals for target interventions in social programmes, improvements in administrative efficiency, stimuli for direct participation in the decision-making process by the most disadvantaged sectors, initiatives for involving all types of organisations in a coalition against poverty, strategies for generating and mobilising social capital in development projects and strategies for reducing the vulnerability of the poor (Bonal, 2004, pp. 652-653).

But, many critics are skeptical whether the World Bank's reorientation of the development model to combat poverty has brought about substantial changes. For example, several studies (Cornia, 2001; Stewart, & Van der Geest, 1995) on the effects of emergency social funds show that living conditions in the poorest sectors of societies have improved only in a tiny minority of cases. Their critical assessments conclude by pointing out that the function of these emergency social funds is to provide a specific political image of doing something good, rather than to act as an effective policy to reduce poverty (Bonafant, 2004). Indeed, as much as poverty has emerged as a critical issue in the aforementioned reports, poverty has not been appropriately addressed in practice. The World Bank acknowledges that merely 45% of the adjustment operations from FY 1998 to FY 2000 dealt with poverty issues properly. In detail, less than 20% of a sample of adjustment loans had policies that involve efforts to reduce poverty, and 22% of these loans made clauses on monitoring poverty and social indicators (Alexander, 2001). Another assessment by the World Bank supports this as follows:

The majority of [adjustment] loans do not address poverty directly, the likely economic impact of proposed operations on the poor, or ways to mitigate negative effects of reform. Even where traditional subsidy and budgeting procedures are to be dismantled, the assumption is that poverty alleviation is to be achieved through improvements in macro-economic stability and in improvements in public administration, targeting,

efficiency, etc. ... Direct efforts to address short-term impact on the poorest are rarely considered (as cited in Alexander, 2001, p. 302).

Notwithstanding that the World Development Report 2000/2001 (World Bank, 2001) presented a broad range of “pro-poor” policies (p. 17), the focus of the World Bank in the report and other statements is still on economic growth, argues Klees (2002). The lesson drawn from the experience of the 1980s and 1990s is that policies and strategies to stimulate economic growth increased inequality by making the rich wealthier and adversely affecting the poor (Bello, Cunningham, & Rau, 1994; Chossudovsky, 1998; George, & Sabelli, 1994). But the World Bank makes the opposite argument, restating that poverty and inequality can be reduced by means of economic growth. In other words, the Bank adheres to its position that policies stimulating growth are not much different from ones directly targeting the poor. For the World Bank, pro-poor is synonymous with pro-growth (Bergeron, 2008; Klees, 2002).

According to Klees (2002), these pro-growth policies that are meant to help the poor are equal to the neoliberal policies manifested in the SAPs which were already proven to be a failure in the 1980s and the 1990s. He contends that what seems different to policies during the ‘lost decades’ is just adding a little attention to the protection of the poor through the rhetorical wrapping of the CDF. Besides, the somewhat abstract CDF rhetoric was operationalized into a new form, the Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS) process. As a new approach to development policy, the PRS papers (PRSPs) like CDFs emphasize ‘ownership’ and ‘participation’ of all

stakeholders including NGOs and civil society groups. The Bank's perspective on the framework of PRSP is that it

should ensure that the needs of the poor come first. [This will] require a true transformation of society, driven by the countries themselves ... [and which] ... must enjoy broad support from the true experts on poverty: the poor themselves. Armed with poverty reduction strategies, countries become masters of their own development with a clearly articulated vision for their future. ... Countries are in charge, but they are not alone in the fight against poverty. ... [T]he World Bank and IMF stand ready to provide support to governments in the development of their strategies without in any way predetermining the outcome or undermining country ownership (as cited in Klees, 2002, p. 458).

However, in practice, as the principles that the Bank proposed such as participation, partnership, and ownership were not upheld in the process of PRSPs, the PRSPs seem little different from the previous SAPs in that both have strict conditions for loans and give restricted attention to the protection of the social sector (Oxfam International, 2001). Therefore, it is no wonder that the critics point out that "structural adjustment policies can be found today dressed in PRSP clothing" (Hellinger, Hansen-Kuhn, & Fehling, 2001, p. 4).

In terms of the education sector as well, Klees (2002) critically points out that poverty remains at the rhetorical level in the 1999 sector paper. Although the paper explains that poverty eradication is the reason for the

existence of the Bank and that the current focus of its activities and operations is on poverty, it rarely covers poverty substantively. Moreover, the relationship between education, poverty, and development is not discussed. Klees excoriates that what can be found in the report is just a repetition of the various versions of Wolfensohn's statement: "All agree that the single most important key to development and to poverty alleviation is education" (World Bank, 1999, p. iii). In the latest education strategy, the WBES 2020, the Bank takes a stereotypical approach linking economic growth and poverty reduction, and it still sticks to the assumption that education is indirectly connected to poverty reduction as long as it can be linked to economic growth (Collins, & Wiseman, 2012).

Then, do education-related policies and activities of the World Bank in fact contribute to poverty reduction? To this question, the accumulated direct and indirect effects of the Bank's education policies show that they are not effective in reducing poverty, particularly in situations where economic and educational inequalities are deepening (Bonal, 2004). Moreover, Joshi and Smith's analysis (2012) of the Bank's education strategy predicts that the strategy based chiefly on neoliberalism and human capital theory will not lead to improving educational or economic equality in developing countries, and even worse, may even increase inequality. In fact, the paradigm that has underpinned the World Bank's education policies and activities for the past couple of decades has apparently ignored the impacts of poverty on education. Verger and Bonal (2012) explain that based on the Bank's education policy paradigm of neoliberalism and human capital approach, education is considered a cause of development – a means

of investment and input – and never as the effects of social and economic policies.

In contrast with the Bank's over-simplified and insufficient notion on the relationship between education and poverty, educational development that contributes to poverty reduction is far more complex, far less direct. Additional work to understand and capture the complex relationship between education and poverty is required (Collins, & Wiseman, 2012; Verger, & Bonal, 2012). So far, the success of the World Bank's education policies and programs has been measured in terms of economic returns on investment, rather than in terms of impact on poverty (Mundy, & Menashy, 2014). Unless the impact of poverty on education is not taken into account in the Bank's program design and performance outcome measures, argues Bonal (2004), it is exceedingly unlikely that its education-related policies and programs will be effective.

Chapter VI. DISCUSSION

This chapter tries to summarize the critiques against the World Bank's education development cooperation from Bauman's perspective on modernity. This will show how Bauman's modernity theory can help analyze the World Bank's education development cooperation with a special focus on the five themes considered important in the Bank's theoretical paradigm and practices. Further, based on the results of applying Bauman's modernity theory to the World Bank's education development cooperation, this chapter will look at the landscape of education development cooperation and its issues to be considered in the context of liquid modernity when the liquefying process is intensified.

6.1 Application of Bauman's modernity theory to the World Bank's education development cooperation

In the previous chapter, by reviewing the journals and books that critically examine the World Bank's education development cooperation, the Bank's development activities and underlying theoretical paradigms were investigated focusing on five key themes: development, education, knowledge, neoliberalism, and poverty/inequality. This section summarizes critiques, including the five themes, through Bauman's perspective on modernity.

6.1.1 The five themes from Bauman's perspective on modernity

First, in relation to development, it can be seen that the World Bank has an epistemology of development based on solid modernity. It is worth noting in the criticism from Klees (2002) that the World Bank focuses on developing global long-term visions and plans, and has the most advantage in doing so compared to other development agencies. The long-term visions and plans presuppose that society is stable and predictable to some extent. In other words, based on the stability and predictability of a solid modern society, it is possible to establish long-term visions and plans. As previously seen in the chapter on the theoretical framework, in the solid modern world, human beings who pushed God out and took his place believe that they can design, structure, and control everything in society. Because of this firm belief in their ability and will to do so, it is taken for granted that the process of development and progress is quite straightforward. This solid modern perception of development makes it possible to have assurance about the future, which leads to the establishment of long-term visions and plans (Bauman, 2000, 2002a, 2005b).

In line with this, the World Bank's view on development only as economic growth, which has been criticized by many critics (e.g., Adhikary, 2014; Bergeron, 2008), can be linked to the concept of development in solid modernity. In solid modernity, development is embedded within a linear time frame and an evolutionary view (Lee, 2005). This linearity connotes by definition "a force of *overcoming*, a push factor that generates an image of creativity and progress" (Lee, 2005, p. 68, emphasis in original). Linear

development yoked to solid modernity means that it is possible to line up the countries from the farthest to the closest in relation to a specific goal. In the case of the World Bank, all countries are lined up on the basis of economic prosperity (World Bank, 2011). The Rostowian concept of development moving from a lower stage to a higher one continues in the WBES 2020, the latest in the World Bank's education strategy (Vally, & Spreen, 2012). In the Bank's solid modern epistemology of development, there is no room for other social, cultural, and political aspects of development. The World Bank regards only the measurable and quantifiable – deemed rational and reasonable – economic aspects to development or progress (Verger, & Bonal, 2012). While some development indicators of the World Bank are called social development indicators, they only indicate purely economic characteristics (Adhikary, 2014).

The World Bank has been criticized that its perspective on development works as an ideology (Easterly, 2007; Klees, 2012), and that it enforces the same economic prescriptions to all countries (Alexander, 2001; Kane, 2008; Kempner, & Loureiro, 2002). A characteristic of an ideology is that it functions as one correct answer applicable to all kinds of social problems (Easterly, 2007). Bauman describes a feature of solid modernity as the rejection of difference, distinctiveness, and disagreement, and that only one correct answer exists (Bauman, 1998a; InK, 2014). As mentioned earlier, Bauman (1992) defines the spirit of modernity as an attempt to apply universal standards and correct solutions to questions such as truth and moral judgment. Namely, universality and correctness are essential axes that sustain the formation of a solid modern society. The World Bank's

adherence to the universality and correctness of solid modernity is manifested in its old gospel, that is, globally applicable ‘one-size-fits-all’ approach to development (De Siqueira, 2012). Scholars (e.g., Alexander, 2001; De Siqueira, 2012; Menashy, 2007; Rappleye, & Un, 2018) point out that the World Bank has ignored the complex needs of each nation, different contextual problems even within a country, and countries’ historical, cultural, environmental, and political factors which may affect their levels of development. Just as solid modernity does not allow choice, diversity, and heterogeneity, the Bank only permits virtues such as order, unity, and normalization, and sees difference and uniqueness in each country or region as aspects to be abandoned or corrected. In this respect, Bauman expresses his critical views on solid modernity, exposing its inherent violence against differences, and the unnaturalness in denying diversity (Bauman, 1989). His criticism of solid modernity’s inherent violence and unnaturalness stemming from its obsession with universality and correctness can be equally applied to the World Bank which has accepted only a specific kind of development that functions as an ideology and implemented the one-size-fits-all solution.

Ignoring other various perceptions of development, different ways to reach development, and the particularities of each country or region (Kempner, & Loureiro, 2002; McLean, 1981), the World Bank has forced developing countries to follow its way of development it believes to be universally applicable. This implies that the Bank with its strong top-down approach has played a role as an intellectual legislator of solid modernity in the field of international development (Garomssa, 2016; Menashy, 2007; Yang, 2010).

Taken together, the establishment of long-term visions and plans, the unilinear development framework, and the emphasis on universality and correctness embedded in a one-size-fits-all solution, are all based on a solid modern epistemology of development.

Second, the World Bank's perception of education, in Bauman's terms, seems to be based on solid modernity. In this setting, the future is filled with promise (i.e., economic returns) (Anwaruddin, 2014), and education is a long-term project or commitment for this future. Bauman articulates the aim of education in a social climate in which notions such as 'progress', 'maturation', 'development', and 'stability' are taken for granted: "The mission of education, since articulated by the Ancients under the name of *paideia*, was, remains and probably will remain preparing the young to life" (Bauman, 2011a, p. 1). Based on this longstanding conventional aim of education, the World Bank puts a high value on the education that gets the youth prepared, in particular, to meet the needs and demands of the labor market in preparation for the future (Kane, 2008; Nordtveit, 2012; Vally, & Spreen, 2012).

Third, regarding knowledge, there is merely the one-way flow of knowledge produced by the North including the World Bank and disseminated to the South (Evers et al., 2009; Klees, 2002). This top-down knowledge flow implies that the World Bank has played an active role in producing and disseminating knowledge as an intellectual legislator of solid modernity. As the intellectual legislator, the World Bank seems to know a clear path to reach the goal of progress, and has recommended all developing countries to follow its path (Kamat, 2012). The World Bank has

provided clear directions and methods for developing countries to move forward, parading a vast amount of research and huge numbers of publications that other institutions cannot catch up with, not to mention tremendous financial resources (Anwaruddin, 2014). In presenting their studies, the World Bank uses authoritative arguments leading with phrases such as “research finds”, “research shows”, “ultimately what matters”, and “research and field experience indicate” (De Siqueira, 2012, p. 73), which give legitimacy and power as an intellectual legislator to the Bank. In other words, objective knowledge and scientific research contribute to legitimizing the Bank’s presentation of its global policy framework for education and its actions as an intellectual legislator in international development (Anwaruddin, 2014).

In the context of modernity, knowledge is considered neutral, objective, universal, and a vehicle for progress (Holtzhausen, 2013). Under this conceptualization of knowledge, the World Bank tries to disseminate ‘best practice’ universally (Sensenig, 2012; Steiner-Khamsi, 2012), and sets a high value on economics in that this discipline claims to be objective, apolitical, rational, and based on scientific methods (Menashy, & Read, 2016). Obviously, there is a hierarchy of knowledge in the solid modern world. Based on this hierarchy, scientific, objective knowledge, and rationality are considered superior, while the rest of the local and indigenous knowledge is not recognized at all (Bauman, 1987). This order of knowledge explains why the World Bank has focused on natural science and technology education rather than social science in educational reforms (Garomssa, 2016) and has disregarded local knowledge within given

countries (Ilon, 2002). The World Bank's knowledge hierarchy that belittles indigenous and local knowledge in developing countries and grants primacy to economics is in line with the perception of knowledge in solid modernity.

The World Bank's overall views on development, education, and knowledge are based on the epistemology of solid modernity. However, the Bank does not just have solid modern attributes. The fourth theme of neoliberalism underlying all the policies and activities of the World Bank (e.g., Hickling-Hudson, & Klees, 2012; Kamat, 2012; Klees, 2012; Stromquist, 2012; Regmi, 2017) is closely linked to liquid modern attributes. Because the claims of globalization and individualization are the main focus of neoliberalism and liquid modernity, it seems that there is an 'elective affinity' between them (Dawson, 2013). Even though neoliberalism and liquid modernity are respectively about the capitalist economy and the logic of social processes, neoliberalism is in close connection with liquid modernity in which the freedom that in solid modernity was bound by state control began to dissolve at both the global level and the individual level.

Neoliberalism is "releasing the brakes" of the nation-state through deregulation, liberalization, increased flexibility and liquidity, the activation of transactions in finance, real estate, and labor markets, and tax cuts (Bauman, 1998a, pp. 68-69). Transnational organizations, such as the World Bank, pressure independent nations against stopping or slowing down the free movement of capital or limiting market freedom. To open the door wide, to abandon all thoughts on independent economic policy, and to comply with its orders are prerequisites for getting financial support from the World Bank (Bauman, 1998a). The neoliberal imperative of the World Bank,

which makes it possible to negate the power and resources of nation-states and to ensure unrestricted freedom of capital, trade, and finance to move and pursue their purposes, contains the conditions of liquid modernity (Bauman, 2000). The World Bank's funds and projects are also highly fluid in that they have little restrictions in going from one country to another. Developing countries make every effort to attract the Bank's funds and projects. In the end, because it is the World Bank that approves funds to implement the projects, the Bank can choose nation-states that request funding for proposed education projects that best fit its paradigm of development (Bonal, 2002). This means that any project or funding that does not fit the World Bank's neoliberal development paradigm can be withdrawn at any time. The disobedient countries reluctant to commit themselves to the global financial market and the principle of free trade are likely to be rejected from loans or financial resources provided by the Bank (Bauman, 2000, p. 186).

At an individual level, along with unprecedented freedom, the burden of responsibility also grows larger in the liquid modern world (Bauman, 2000). In these circumstances, the following questions must be raised: "What if the policy requirements recommended by the Bank and agreed to by a country are dead wrong? Who is responsible for the adverse results?" (Heyneman, 2003, p. 331). The Bank, at least, has not taken responsibility for them in the sense that "the IMF or the WB were neither created nor structured to undertake or to be accountable for such far-reaching activities" (Woods, 2001, p. 89). Transnational organizations, including the World Bank, have the ability to leave immediately and do not have to stay in one place for long.

The Bank has the freedom to wander at any time. However, what about individuals living in developing countries where the Bank's education policies and practices have failed? Even though its policies and practices have damaged their quality life, they unfortunately cannot leave their living space (Bauman, 1998a, 2000).

Last but not least, when it comes to poverty/inequality, the World Bank's view of poverty is based on neoliberalism. For the World Bank, the most effective way to reduce poverty is, in fact, to prioritize the neoliberal ideas of development (Colclough, 1991a; Menashy, 2007). The World Bank's policies and programs are based on the neoliberal premise that poverty will automatically decrease as the economy grows (Bonal, 2004). In other words, the rationale for exceeding emphasis on economic growth has been the trickle-down effect (Bonal, 2004; Jones, 2007a). This effect assumes that if the wealth of the upper class is accumulated enough, it goes naturally down to the lower one, automatically reducing poverty (Kempner, & Loureiro, 2002). However, contrary to the assumption, the reality is that the rich have become more prosperous, but there has been no return of profit to the poor (Bauman, 2010, 2013a). All of the wealth accumulated by economic growth has become the share of the upper echelons only. Poverty and inequality have increased (Robertson, 2012) since the increased wealth has not returned to the poor (Alexander, 2001).

To sum up, the World Bank has both solid and liquid modern aspects when examining the Bank's five themes based on Bauman's perspective on modernity.

6.1.2 The meaning of mixed modernity of the World Bank's education development cooperation

In applying Bauman's modernity theory, one can see that the World Bank has made use of solid modernity's development, education, and knowledge to promote the ideology of neoliberalism to the developing world. In other words, development, education, and knowledge which are based on solid modernity serve as a means of rendering the developing countries into the fluid stage of modernity. Having economic growth as its top goal of development, the World Bank seems to know how developing countries can move from a lower stage to a higher one in a linear framework of development (Kamat, 2012). Based on long-term visions and planning, the Bank has forced the countries to invest solely in certain levels of education that are expected to generate the highest returns (Bennell, 1996; Bonal, 2004; Lauglo, 1996), looking upon their education and people merely as instruments of economic growth (e.g., Bergeron, 2008; Heyneman, 2003; Ilon, 2002; Klees, 2002; Manion, & Menashy, 2013; Menashy, 2007, 2013). Knowledge has justified the prescriptions, policies, and agendas of the World Bank (Molla, 2014; Steiner-Khamsi, 2012). With objective and scientific knowledge, the Bank has played a role as an intellectual legislator at the global level. As a result, the way the World Bank as an intellectual legislator led developing countries to promote economic growth and poverty reduction was by putting forward numerous studies and knowledge based on neoliberalism, notwithstanding the changes in rhetoric (Kamat, 2012; Klees, 2002, 2012; Verger et al., 2014). In the eyes of Bauman, the World Bank seems to be liquefying the developing world, taking advantage of its

superior position in solid modernity. Privatization, marketization, deregulation, and decentralization of the education system, which the Bank designated as one-size-fits-all solution, have rapidly shifted the education and even the society in the developing world toward the liquid phase (Kane, 2008; Kempner, & Loureiro, 2002).

As seen earlier, neoliberal development policies have worsened global poverty and inequality rather than mitigating them (Bonai, 2004; Klees, 2008; Robertson, 2012). Neoliberal doctrines are the driving force behind the liquefying process. Dissolving the solid modern bondage and rigid discipline, neoliberalism allows capital to flow in and out easily, commercializes everything including education, and opens up developing countries' markets (Bauman, 2000). Specifically, liberalization and deregulation of banks and capital movements enable the rich to become wealthier by freely moving to the best-exploited areas that will generate the greatest returns (Bauman, 1998a). On the other hand, deregulation of the labor market makes it impossible to prevent the owners of capital from expanding overseas, making the poor poorer (Bauman, 2013a). The more the economy grows, the more wealth falls into a handful of rich people. Consequently, the problem of poverty in developing countries is not solved, and the gap between the rich and the poor and the inequalities have increased.

In conclusion, from Bauman's perspective, neoliberal policies and activities of the World Bank are conducive to the free movement of global capital, finances, and elites. Bauman (1998a) argues that with unrestricted freedom to move and to pursue their ends, the extraterritorial capital,

finances and elites would all enjoy greater investment gains in “‘weak states’ – that is, in such states as are weak but nevertheless remain states” (p. 68). Weak states provide some order for businesses, but they do not effectively prevent the global and free movement of capital. These market forces can make massive investment returns from these nations. In this respect, Bauman says that the weaker countries are indispensable for maintaining and reproducing a new world order of liquid modernity. Thus, global elites such as capitalists and bankers need developing countries in order to make huge profits. In his view, it is hard to avoid criticism that the Bank’s neoliberal policies and programs create the environment and the order in which global capital, finances, and elites can freely and easily enter, make profits, and move on to other areas for higher return.

6.2 Education development cooperation in liquid modernity

As mentioned earlier, a theory is useful in helping us understand the causes of phenomena that we perceive and in predicting how they will change or occur in the future (McCowan, 2015). In that sense, Bauman’s theory of modernity also makes us understand why the social environment and conditions of human beings living in contemporary times are different from those of the past, and to predict what will happen in the future. This section will examine how the landscape surrounding education development cooperation has changed and will change in liquid times when the liquefying process is intensified.

6.2.1 Development as survival

In the transition from solid to liquid modernity, social structures – the forms that restrict individual freedom – undergo liquefaction, a process of dismantling (Bauman, 2000). Because the social system has provided individuals with stability, the dissolution of the fixed and given social structures exposes individuals to uncertainties of deregulated market forces. Such ubiquitous uncertainties make only temporary forms of cooperation and interaction meaningful, and society is gradually accepted as a network, not a stable structure. In this society as a network, long-term thinking, planning, and vision no longer have meaning (Bauman, 2000). Instead, social structures are replaced by a succession of short-term projects and episodes. Both political history and individual life get fragmented, and development no longer contains a sense of mastery, career, and progress (Bauman, 2007; Magerski, 2018, p. 2). The previous conception of development as a solidifying project collides with the liquefaction of liquid modernity, namely, disembedding without embedding (Lee, 2005).

As examined in chapter three, Bauman (2005b) illustrates development in liquid modernity using an analogy of rabbit hunting. Nowadays, the posture of the gamekeeper and the gardener are becoming increasingly rare, giving way to that of the hunter. Bauman continues:

Unlike both types that prevailed before his tenure, hunters could not care less of the overall ‘balance of things’ – whether ‘natural’, or designed and contrived. The sole task they pursue is another ‘kill’, big enough to

fill their game-bags to capacity (2005b, para. 15).

The hunters travel alone and do not stay in one place for long. Individuals in the highly individualized liquid modern world also keep moving in pursuit of instant gratification. Contrary to the fixed goal of the solid modernity, the goal in liquid modernity continues to move like a rabbit. Long-term plans and visions established under the assumption of stationary targets now become meaningless. There is no guarantee that a rabbit can be caught by following a long-term plan, and moreover, the hunter's attention is highly likely to shift to a rabbit passing by him rather than the one targeted in the long-term plan. In other words, in the liquid modern circumstance where collectivity, continuity, and long-termness are not ensured, it is either very short-lived or futile to look to a far-off future and to formulate plans and visions ahead of time. Instead, what is needed for development in liquid modernity is not long-term vision and planning, but the flexibility and adaptability to adjust directly to the floating and ever-changing circumstances, claims Bauman (2000, 2007, 2009b).

The landscape of development has changed as well in accordance with the transformation of modernity. Bauman uses the analogy of the 'straight path' for the development concept in solid modernity (Bauman, 1996), while the 'labyrinth' and the 'hunter' are the respective metaphors for the changed human conditions of liquid modernity and the individual within them (Bauman, 2005a, 2005b). What matters on the straight path is the future destination, while in the labyrinth, survival here and now is of prime importance (Bauman, 2005a). It can be said that while development in solid

modernity is goal-oriented and future-oriented, the counterpart in liquid modernity is process-oriented and present-oriented (Magerski, 2018; Tarkowska, 2006).

The liquid modern hunting-style utopia is only for the so-called ‘tourist’ in Bauman’s terms who have the means or power to chase their prey and continue their hunting. At the same time, it ruthlessly alienates those who are deemed useless, defective, or worthless, named the new poor in liquid modernity: the vagabond, the flawed consumer, and the human waste (Jacobsen, 2007). By using the metaphor of the tourist/vagabond, Bauman accentuates that not all individuals enjoy the same degree of choice, opportunity, and freedom (Jacobsen, & Marshman, 2008b; Tester, 2004). In liquid modernity, the utopia of the affluent minority is the dystopia of the poor or disadvantaged majority (Jacobsen, 2007). The tourists are the extraterritorial elites who can participate in the consumer society, have the freedom of movement and choice, and can seize opportunities generated by the globalized world while relishing the freedom from taking responsibility for the poor (Jacobsen, & Marshman, 2008a, 2008b). On the other hand, the vagabonds possess limited resources, and their freedom of movement and choice are sharply curtailed (Bauman, 1998a). Bauman notes that “the tourists travel because *they want to*; the vagabonds because *they have no other bearable choice*” (p. 93, emphasis in original). Moreover, the poor/vagabonds are stigmatized and scapegoated simply for their suffering and dearth of opportunities (Bauman, 1998a; Jacobsen, & Marshman, 2008a, 2008b). Bauman observes that the vagabonds are those who face the most merciless inhumane consequences of liquid modernity (Jacobsen, &

Marshman, 2008b). According to Bauman (2011b), the vagabonds and flawed consumers are collateral casualties of the liquid consumer-led society. Bauman (2011b) states that “casualties are dubbed ‘collateral’ in so far as they are dismissed as not important enough to justify the costs of their prevention” (p. 8). Therefore, in the present-day modernity, they are no longer considered to be a “reserve army of labour” (Bauman, 1998b, p. 90), a beneficiary of charity, or the responsibility of those at the top (Marshman, 2008), but the useless waste of liquid modernity (Bauman, 1998a).

As Bauman evaluates the contemporary social inequalities as the upshot of globalized fluidity and liquefaction in the dimension of the social institution (Elliott, 2014), the most serious issue in liquid modernity is inequality. The liquidity of liquid modernity does not necessarily bring about new growth and progress. Rather, the restlessness and openness intrinsic to liquidity cannot help but increase the gap between the top and the bottom of society (Lee, 2005). As modernity transits from the solid to the liquid phase, our attention must also shift. In solid modern times, economic growth and progress were regarded as the apparent goal of development. However, the arrival of liquid modernity in which individuals cannot expect to lean on social forms and structures changes the goal of development from economic growth to that of survival (Bauman, 2005b). For the poor who do not have enough means or power to move around for hunting, it is much harder to survive in the dystopia of liquid modernity. Under these circumstances, more and more attention and emphasis in the field of international development should be placed on the poor, the marginalized, and the issue of inequality, rather than economic growth.

Bauman (2010, 2013a) reminds us that economic growth based on trickle-down theory does not deliver the benefits to the poor, and only increases inequality between the rich and the poor.

6.2.2 The weakened modern state and the individual as the citizen's worst enemy

In the solid modern era, the nation-state is a bureaucratic agency with sufficient resources to assert legal rights within a given territory and to create and enforce norms and rules that regulate and manipulate uncertainties. In other words, only the state, in the form of hierarchical bureaucracy, can command considerable resource to mobilize, concentrate, and deploy for the task of order-making (Bauman, 1998a).

However, liquefaction of liquid modernity has melted down three 'solids' that are constituents of the modern state and essential to modernity: state, nation, and territory (Bauman, 2002b; Jacobsen, & Marshman, 2008a). Much of the power which the modern state has exercised is shifting to "the politically uncontrolled global (and in many ways extraterritorial) space" (Bauman, 2007, p. 2). The dearth of political power reduces the role of the state, and economic power becomes a major source of uncertainty (Bauman, 2007; Magerski, 2018). Specifically, Bauman (2002a) describes the modern nation-state in the context of liquid modernity as follows:

Governments are today no less, if not more, busy and active than ever before in modern history. But they are busy in the TV Big Brother's style: letting the subjects play their own games and blame themselves in the

event that the results are not up to their dreams. Governments are busy hammering home the ‘there is no alternative’ message, the ‘security is dependency’ and the ‘state protection is disempowering’ messages, and enjoining subjects to be more flexible and to love the risks (read: erratic and unpredictable) life-settings is fraught with’ (p. 68).

Under the conditions of constant uncertainty, what the contemporary state can do is simply to urge its people to be more flexible in order to brace themselves for the upcoming more insecurity (Bauman, 2004). In the present day, although the dissolution of social structure and rigid order provides individuals with enormous freedom (Magerski, 2018), they must individually seek their own solutions to insecurity and socially manufactured problems (Bauman, 2004, 2007). In this context, it is no wonder that the idea of the totality of population residing in the realm of a sovereign state sounds “increasingly hollow” (Bauman, 2007, p. 2).

As explored in chapter two, most of the development paradigms and theories stand upon the centrality of modern nation-states as the principal agents of the development project. However, in the liquid modern world, the modern nation-state cannot be expected to exercise its power and mobilize its resource for its development or to ensure its people’s security as it did in solid modernity.

In liquid modern society, it becomes increasingly difficult to have a collective voice. Social risks and contradictions arise constantly, and the duty and need to solve them are thrust on individuals. Individuals have come to believe that their frustration and suffering are caused by themselves

and that they must be borne on their own (Bauman, 2000).

As liquid modernity has filled the social space with personal interests and prejudices and pushed others away from the space, in the end, as de Tocqueville claims, individuals have become the worst enemy of citizens (Bauman, 2000, 2001a), leaving no citizens but individuals. Individualization brought dilemma in citizenship and politics. The difficulties and hardships of an individual in the liquid modern era remain only personal grievances, not turning into common interests or public issues. It cannot be added or stacked, and thus cannot become condensed into a broader level of public interest. In the process of individualization, it becomes increasingly difficult to get a prospect of the 'good society' and 'just society' (Bauman, 2000). As Bauman (1999) warns:

We tend to be proud of what we perhaps should be ashamed of, of living in the 'post-ideological' or 'post-utopian' age, of not concerning ourselves with any coherent vision of the good society and of having traded off the worry about the public good for the freedom to pursue private satisfactions (p. 8).

All the inhabitants of the present-day world are individuals *de jure* through ongoing individualization in liquid modern times, but this does not mean that every individual *de jure* becomes individuals *de facto*. In contemporary modernity, there is an enormous gap between the individual *de jure* and the individual *de facto*. While being an individual *de jure* means having no agent to blame for one's own tragedy and failure, an individual *de*

facto refers to one who is in control of one's own fate and makes the choices he or she truly desires (Bauman, 2000). According to Bauman (2001a), it is impossible for individuals *de jure* to turn into individuals *de facto* without first becoming citizens.

In the liquid modern setting, the private sphere gradually comes to colonize the public space, as Bauman (2000) puts it:

Public space is increasingly empty of public issues. It fails to perform its past role of a meeting-and-dialogue place for private troubles and public issues. On the receiving end of the individualizing pressures, individuals are being gradually, but consistently, stripped of the protective armour of citizenship and expropriated of their citizen skills and interests (p. 40).

Bauman (2000) concludes that this slow disintegration and erosion of citizenship is “the other side of individualization” (p. 36). Therefore, the existence of citizen and citizenship, and the restoration of politics based on citizenship, are urgently required now more than ever. For this reason, Bauman emphasizes learning to collectively confront against systemic contradictions of liquid modernity in which the gap between the predicament of the individuals *de jure* and opportunities for them to become individuals *de facto* is wide and growing (Bauman, 2001a).

In this regard, education development cooperation must move towards a commitment to education in citizenship (Bauman, 2009a, 2013b; Oxenham, 2013) which contributes to turning individuals in both developing and developed countries who are obsessed with private interests and pursuits

into citizens who engage with each other in search of collective decision-making or common solutions to individual troubles. If individuals remain as they are, systemic contradictions and global problems remain merely personal troubles, placed on the shoulders of the isolated and vulnerable individuals. In a world full of individuals who are indifferent to others' suffering and penury, the desire and demand for a good society which, from Bauman's view, means "a just, fair, and democratic world" (Jacobsen, 2007, p. 232), get forgotten. Only when individuals turn into citizens can those contradictions and problems be translated into public issues, and in turn, it is more likely for public solutions to be found, negotiated, and agreed (Bauman, 2000, 2001a).

6.2.3 Change in perceptions of education and knowledge

Bauman (2003b, 2005c, 2009b, 2011a) diagnoses that education now faces the most severe and radical crisis of existence that had been formed over a long period of history. Society is in transition from solid to liquid modernity in which all social forms and hierarchies melt faster than new ones can solidify. They do not have enough time to harden, and they are not used as a frame of reference for human behavior and long-term life strategies (Bauman, 2005c). The meltdown of social forms and hierarchies creates not only a new type of relationship between teachers and students but also conceptual changes in teacher-student roles (Sarid, 2017). According to Bauman (2009b), people of the liquid modern era

... want counsellors who show them how to walk, rather than teachers who make sure that only one road, and that already crowded, is taken. The counsellors they want ... help them to dig into the depth of their character and personality, where the rich deposits of precious ore are presumed to lie clamoring for excavation (p. 162).

One of the distinctive features of education in liquid modernity throughout his educational writings is that supplier-client relationships take the place of orthodox teacher-student relationships (Bauman, 2005c, 2009b; Sarid, 2017). Teachers and teaching establishments in which they operate are no longer considered the only holders of knowledge types that people covet.

Coupled with this, as the concept of knowledge in liquid modern times is treated as ephemeral commodities and is supposed to be personalized according to continually changing needs of each individual, Bauman observes educational paradigm shifts from the emphasis on teaching to individualized learning. Because in liquid modernity there are no longer universally approved objectives to achieve and foreordained principles to follow (Bauman, 2013b), individuals are unwilling to make long-term commitments that constrain their freedom to act (Bauman, 2005c; Sarid, 2017). In this respect, learners in liquid modernity “seek personalized and pragmatic learning processes that prepare them to pave their own (short-term) individual paths and life-projects” (Sarid, 2017, p. 465). After all, in the liquid phase of modernity, preparation for life becomes each individual’s share, and is limited to short-term individual paths and life-projects.

This principle of individualized learning in liquid modernity comes from

the transformed notion of knowledge. According to Bauman, knowledge in liquid modernity has two characteristics (Sarid, 2017). First, knowledge becomes just one of the consumer products, and thus follows the logic of consumerism. Like other consumer products, knowledge has an expiration date, and in a liquid modern society, its expiration date gets shorter and shorter. In this context, the ability to abandon knowledge already acquired and memorized becomes more important than the acquisition of a new one (Bauman, 2005c, 2009b). Contrary to solid modernity that values systematically accumulating and storing knowledge, knowledge in the context of liquid modernity is considered more attractive only when it is suitable for immediate, though one-time, use (Bauman, 2003b, 2009b, 2010).

Another feature is that the hierarchical order of knowledge disappears due to the deluge of information. Bauman (2003b) surmises that “assigning importance to various bits of information, and even more assigning more importance to some than to others, is perhaps the most perplexing task and the most difficult decision to take” (p. 25). In this regard, liquid modernity no longer accepts the existence of universal knowledge or ultimate truth, nor the superiority of scientific or rational knowledge.

Based on the changed perceptions of education and knowledge, Bauman emphasizes that education and learning in liquid modernity do not have an end, but must be continued for a lifetime. He regards ‘lifelong’ and ‘education’ in liquid modernity as a kind of tautology.

It took more than two millennia from the time the ancient Greek sages invented the notion of paidea for the idea of ‘lifelong education’ to turn

from an oxymoron (a contradiction in terms) into a pleonasm (akin to a ‘buttery butter’ or ‘metallic iron’ ...) (Bauman, 2013b, p. 9).

In a world of immediate and irregular changes, learning is not only hard to grasp permanently, but also an object of constant pursuit that starts to melt as soon as they are held in our hands (Bauman, 2010). Constantly adapting to the liquid world where everything is uncertain and targets are unceasingly moving, people’s life trajectories are in line with the process of learning. In this regard, Bauman deems lifelong learning the fittest form of education in the era of fluid modernity (Oxenham, 2013). As Bauman (2009a) writes, “no other kind of education or learning is conceivable; the ‘formation’ of selves or personalities is unthinkable in any other fashion but that of an ongoing, perpetually unfinished, open-ended reformation” (p. 188).

As lifelong learning comes from the combination of ‘lifelong’ and ‘learning’, there are two main reasons why lifelong learning is in harmony with education in liquid times. The first is that this kind of learning is continuous and indeed lifelong. Second, as implied in ‘learning’, it makes the individual the main agent of the learning process (Oxenham, 2013). Oxenham notes the fact that education for liquid modernity that Bauman speaks of is not a ‘lifelong education’, but ‘lifelong learning’. Whereas education needs a teacher, a curriculum, and a classroom, learning occurs without those, which endorses individual emancipation, freedom, and choice (Bauman, 2005c; Oxenham, 2013; Sarid, 2017).

Lifelong learning, asserts Bauman, is the educational framework that has all the hallmarks of liquid modernity: “It is continual, personal, non-

institutional, flexible, variable and easily modifiable, and it comes in small bites and provides survival competences” (Oxenham, 2013, p. 46). Concretely in the educational scene, these features are embodied in the promotion of student-centeredness, debunking of the curriculum, turning society into one gigantic classroom, the replacement of degrees with personal portfolios, the delivery of skills in small bites, the abolishment of access qualifications, and the emphasis on inclusion and responsiveness to change (Oxenham, 2013, p. 72).

So far, education development cooperation by the World Bank and others has exerted a great deal of effort to making more and more students complete an institutionalized education system, namely the formal schooling system. However, in contemporary modernity, knowledge learned from this institutionalized education system is not enough for individuals to live for the rest of their lives. Everyone in the liquid modern has no choice but to learn continually even after leaving school or university. Therefore, with the advent of liquid modernity, the focus of education development cooperation needs to be changed from the completion of a certain level of institutionalized education to lifelong learning.

CHAPTER VII. CONCLUSION

7.1 Summary

This study seeks to find out how the modernity discourse reexamines the critical discourse on education development cooperation within the social and historical background undergoing unprecedented social changes in scale and speed. Specifically, it chooses the World Bank which has a hegemonic position in the field of education development cooperation and Bauman's modernity theory which deals with the transition from solid to liquid modernity.

Education development cooperation is not free from the effects of social change. Education development cooperation functions within society and is implemented based on social perceptions of concepts such as education and development. As social changes melt these once solid foundations, education development cooperation, no longer on solid ground, is also called to explain the changes and respond appropriately.

To explore the criticisms surrounding education development cooperation and to connect them with modernity, this study examines the critical literature on education development cooperation. Since it is practically impossible to deal with all critical literature on a broad range of education development cooperation, this study investigates the research that takes a critical view on education development cooperation of the World Bank that holds hegemony in the field. This study uses meta-analysis as the research method to synthesize existing literature and studies already

published. Using thematic analysis as a data analysis method, this study looks at the criticisms which the World Bank's education development cooperation faces, focusing on the main themes emerging from the data set. The themes are further reexamined with Bauman's theory of modernity.

Since the early 1960s, the World Bank with vast financial resources and research capacity has implemented global education policies and practices based on a series education sector papers and analytical work and thereby has exerted enormous influence both on the developing countries and the field of education development cooperation. It is also true that the Bank's education development cooperation has been denounced from all sides.

Through thematic analysis of the critical literature on the World Bank's education development cooperation, five themes: development, education, knowledge, neoliberalism, and poverty/inequality, have emerged. The World Bank defines development narrowly as economic growth, setting up global long-term development plans for this purpose. This one-size-fits-all perspective on development has an ideological character. The World Bank puts value on education as the instrument for the economy. Notably, based on human capital theory, the Bank regards education as a means to increase human capital for economic growth. Thus, considering future economic returns, it has prescribed priority on education levels that will generate the highest returns. The World Bank, which has identified itself as a knowledge bank, has actively produced development-related knowledge and disseminated it to developing countries. The knowledge circulated through the Bank's self-referential system is heavily focused on economics. Neoliberalism is seen as a fundamental principle underpinning the World

Bank's education policies and practices. The neoliberal doctrines of marketization, privatization, and decentralization have been embodied in the education reforms prescribed by the World Bank, and remain undiminished despite several failures. Regarding poverty and inequality, the World Bank assumes that economic growth would automatically reduce poverty. Its policies and activities to alleviate poverty have not produced substantial effects, but are instead criticized for increasing inequality.

As a result of reexamining these five themes through Bauman's theory of modernity, while development, education, and knowledge are based on solid modern perceptions, neoliberalism is closely related to liquid modernity. From Bauman's point of view, the World Bank's education development cooperation has used solid modern concepts of development, education, and knowledge to encourage developing countries to embrace neoliberalism. The problems of poverty and inequality, which are dependent on neoliberal assumptions, have not been solved but rather deepened. In the light of Bauman's modernity theory, it can be seen that the World Bank's education development cooperation based on neoliberalism is conducive to the free movement of global capital, finance, and elites.

Based on Bauman's theory of modernity, the study also looks at how the intensified liquefaction of liquid modernity would change the landscape of current and future education development cooperation. First, solid modernity came with the assumption of progress and growth. In liquid modernity, the target keeps moving, and long-term planning is useless. Here, survival becomes the only goal of development. In this sense, resolving inequality through distribution, rather than development aimed at economic

growth, should be the top priority of international development cooperation in the liquid modern age. Second, as the social structures or forms are liquefied, the modern state, which once used power and mobilized resources to impose order, is weakened. Instead, individuals must resort to handling their sufferings and difficulties on their own. Especially, since individualization in liquid modernity considers the situations and experiences of the poor and the underprivileged as just personal matters, there is an increasing need to educate and foster citizens who can bring private matters into the public space. Lastly, in liquid modern times, the characteristics of education and knowledge also change. The existing teacher-student relationship becomes a supplier-client relationship, and the focus is placed on personalized learning, not teaching. Knowledge is thought to be a consumer product which is used, abandoned, and replaced by new ones, rather than an asset which is stacked up. The hierarchy of knowledge also disappears, which thereby connotes the denial of the existence of universal truth or the superiority of certain knowledge. In these circumstances which are continuously changing and filled with uncertainty, there is no end to learning. Therefore, more attention should be paid to lifelong learning, which had taken a back seat to institutionalized education.

7.2 Contributions of this study

As for the contribution of this study, first of all, it is noteworthy that this study summarizes and synthesizes the criticisms of the World Bank's education development cooperation. There is no previous research that

gathers the scattered criticisms and organizes them by themes. Furthermore, rather than merely summing up such criticisms, this study reexamines the themes emerging from the critiques through Bauman's theory of modernity.

Also, this study is meaningful in that it applies Bauman's modernity theory to education development cooperation. This study opens up the possibility of applying sociological theories to education development cooperation, going beyond the theories that are conventionally used within the area of education or development. Bauman's modernity theory, as an unfamiliar theory in the field of education development cooperation, approaches the phenomena based on a viewpoint different from existing education theories or development theories.

As the phase of modernity is changing from solid to liquid modernity, education development cooperation which has solidified and been taken for granted for over half a century needs to be reconsidered and modified in accordance with this change. This is also not confined to the field of education development cooperation. Bauman's modernity theory can explain transformed social aspects and phenomena which derive from social changes that conventional theories pay little attention to and thereby cannot account for. His approach to modernity is a grand theory for society and times, which can be broadly applied to any other fields. In light of Bauman's theory of modernity, it is possible, in any field, to consider the problems that arise with the advent of liquid modernity, and further, the measures necessary to minimize them.

7.3 Limitations of this study

This study has some limitations despite its contributions. First, regarding the scope of the study, the specific time flow of the World Bank's education development cooperation was not included. Since this study focused on reviewing the major themes emerging from the criticisms of the World Bank's education development cooperation, it was not able to analyze the data set from the longitudinal perspective. If future research focuses on the longitudinal approach, it will be able to examine the concrete process of liquefaction over time.

The second limitation relates to the way Bauman uses theory. Bauman, through his theory, explains why this phenomenon happens or predicts what will happen in the future, but does not give specific ways to address the challenges that liquid modernity brings. Therefore, the future direction of education development cooperation proposed by this research based on Bauman's approach to modernity may seem somewhat abstract. Bauman, however, considers sociologists to be people who break the existing wall to uncover new possibilities (Oxenham, 2013), rather than those who inform concrete schemes and measures. It can be said that this study breaks the wall in the current field of education development cooperation, exploring new possibilities.

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국제교육개발협력과 근대성:

세계은행의 교육개발협력에 대한
바우만의 근대성 이론의 비판적 접근

서울대학교 대학원
글로벌교육협력전공
유 은 지

현대 사회는 전례 없는 규모와 속도로 변화하고 있다. 확실하고 안정적이라고 오랫동안 여겨지던 것들이 해체되어 가고 있으며 그 자리를 불확실성이 대신하여 채워가고 있다. 이제 예측 불가능한 사회 변화는 특정 사회에만 국한된 현상이 아니라, 전 세계적으로 일어나는, 피할 수 없는 현상이 되어가고 있다. 사회 내에서 일어나고 있는 많은 변화는 기존 근대성으로는 설명할 수 없을뿐더러, 인간의 사회적 조건과 환경을 이전과는 다르게 바꿔놓고 있다.

교육개발협력은 지난 반세기가 넘는 기간 동안 개발도상국의 교육 향상에 엄청난 돈과 노력을 쏟아 부어왔다. 그 결과, 가시적 성과에도 불구하고 교육개발협력 분야 안팎에서 여전히 많은 비판을 받아왔다. 본 연구는 교육개발협력을 둘러싼 비판을 살펴보고, 이를 근대성으로 재검토해보고자 한다. 광범위한

교육개발협력에 관한 비판을 모두 살피기에는 시간과 지면상 한계가 있으므로, 교육개발협력 분야에서 체계모니적 위치를 차지하는 세계은행의 교육개발협력으로 연구범위를 좁혔다. 본 연구는 세계은행의 교육개발협력에 비판적 관점을 취하는 2차 자료를 연구 데이터로 삼았다. 데이터를 분석한 후, 분석 결과를 지그문트 바우만의 근대성 이론으로 재검토함으로써 급격하게 변하는 사회적 조건 속에서의 세계은행을 포함한 교육개발협력의 모습과 염두에 뒤야 할 이슈에 대해 알아보고자 한다.

사회학자인 지그문트 바우만은 ‘고체근대성’과 ‘액체근대성’이라는 개념을 만들어 급격하게 변하는 인간의 사회적 조건 및 환경을 설명하였다. 고체근대에는 국민국가 시스템을 중심으로, 질서, 보편성, 일치에 가치를 두었다. 인간 이성에 대한 믿음을 바탕으로 사회의 모든 것을 계획하고, 통제할 수 있다고 보았다. 이러한 근대의 야망은 계속 진보할 수 있다는 믿음으로 이어졌다. 액체근대에는 고체근대의 탄탄한 토대와 고정되어 있던 것들이 액체처럼 풀어진다. 액체근대에 살아남기 위해서는 빨리 움직일 수 있어야 한다. 국민국가의 영향력은 줄어들고, 오직 개인만 남게 되어 개인이 선택과 결과를 포함한 모든 것들을 책임져야 하는 시대가 액체근대이다. 액체근대는 불확실성, 불안정성, 불안전성으로 대표될 수 있다.

세계은행의 교육개발협력에 관한 기존의 연구를 체계적으로 검토, 분석 및 종합하기 위해 본 연구는 연구 방법으로 질적 메타 분석을 사용하였다. 일정 기준을 통해 분석 데이터를 수집 및 추출하였으며, 데이터 분석 방법으로는 테마 분석 방법을 채택하였다. 세계은행의 교육개발협력에 비판적으로 접근한 2차 문헌들을 대상으로 테마 분석한 결과, ‘개발’, ‘교육’, ‘지식’,

‘신자유주의’, 그리고 ‘빈곤/불평등’이라는 5개의 테마가 도출되었다.

각 테마에 관한 비판 내용을 살펴보자면, 첫째, 세계은행은 개발을 좁게 정의하여 경제 성장으로만 보고 있을 뿐만 아니라, 은행이 말하는 개발은 이데올로기적 성격을 가지고 있다. 둘째, 교육에 있어서, 세계은행은 교육이 지닌 경제 도구적 가치에만 초점을 둔다. 특히 인적 자본론에 근거하여 교육을 경제 성장을 위한 수단이자, 투자로만 좁게 인식한다. 셋째, ‘지식 은행’을 표방하며 세계은행은 방대한 양의 지식을 생산해왔으며 이러한 지식은 개발도상국을 대상으로 한 세계은행의 교육 정책 및 실천에 정당성을 부여해 왔다. 넷째, 세계은행이 개발도상국들에 부과한 교육 개혁 및 조치들은 신자유주의적 내용을 담고 있다. 신자유주의에 기반한 세계은행의 교육 개혁은 개발 도상국의 교육 시스템뿐만 아니라 사회 전체에도 악영향을 끼친 것으로 비판받아왔다. 마지막으로, 빈곤과 불평등의 경우, 빈곤 퇴치가 세계은행이 달성하고자 하는 두 가지 목표 중 하나임에도 불구하고, 세계은행의 교육 정책과 활동들이 빈곤 퇴치에 실질적 영향을 끼치지 못해 왔음을 지적받아왔다. 경제가 성장하면 빈곤이 자동으로 줄어들 것이라는 은행의 인식에 따라 추진된 친(親)성장적 정책은 오히려 불평등을 심화시켰다고 평가받는다.

바우만의 근대성 시각에서 보면, 개발, 교육, 그리고 지식에 관한 세계은행의 관점은 고체근대성을 토대로 하고 있는 반면, 신자유주의는 액체근대성과 밀접한 관계를 맺고 있다. 그리고 빈곤과 불평등에 관한 세계은행의 관점은 신자유주의적 가정에 의존하고 있다. 바우만의 근대성 이론을 다섯 테마에 적용한 결과, 세계은행의 교육개발협력은 고체근대에 기반한 개발, 교육, 그리고

지식을 이용하여 개발도상국들로 하여금 신자유주의를 받아들이도록 해왔고, 그 결과 빈곤과 불평등의 심화로 이어졌다고 볼 수 있다. 액체근대성의 맥락에서 보면, 세계은행의 신자유주의적 교육 정책 및 실천은 글로벌 엘리트, 자본 및 금융의 자유로운 이동에 도움을 주는 것으로 보인다.

액체근대의 액화는 교육개발협력의 모습을 어떻게 변화시킬 것인가? 첫째, 성장과 진보를 가정하는 기존 고체근대의 발전은 생존으로서의 발전으로 바뀔 것이다. 이러한 맥락에서 성장 중심의 기존 개발 패러다임이 평등 중심으로 옮겨져야 한다. 둘째, 고체근대에 독점적으로 권력을 행사하고, 자원을 동원했던 근대국가의 막강한 힘은 약화된다. 개인이 자신의 선택과 뒤따라오는 결과에 온전히 책임을 지도록 하는 이러한 환경에서 타인의 문제에 공적인 해결책을 모색하고 공적으로 대응하는 시민을 기르는 시민 교육에 대한 필요성이 더욱더 커진다. 셋째, 액체근대에 들어서면서, 교육과 지식의 관념 또한 변화한다. 기존 교사-학생의 관계와 교수 중심의 교육에서 공급자-의뢰인 관계와 개인화된 학습으로 바뀐다. 지식은 다른 소비재와 마찬가지로 쓰이고, 버려지고, 새로운 것으로 대체되며, 지식 간의 위계 구조는 사라진다. 교육과 지식의 관념이 완전히 바뀐 액체근대에는 제도적 교육을 넘어서 평생 학습이 더욱 요청된다.

주요어: 근대성, 국제교육개발협력, 세계은행, 지그문트 바우만, 고체근대, 액체근대

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