

Trends Shaping Education and Innovative Learning Environments:

A Discourse Analysis of OECD CERI Projects

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Abstract

The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) was created in 1960 to advance economic expansion and world trade. Although it lacks a specific mandate for education, it has shaped national educational policy through the dissemination of ideas and transnational research. The Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI), a branch of the OECD, was created in 1968. Its potential influence on the educational policy of nation states suggests a need to investigate its vision for K-12 education. The purpose of this research was to critically analyse two major projects undertaken by CERI: *Trends Shaping Education* and *Innovative Learning Environments*, with respect to the nature of their embedded political discourse, as well as their constructions of K–12 schooling, teachers, and learners. Additionally, it critically explored how the discourse of innovation, accountability, and governance shapes education in particular ways. Drawing from Fairclough’s methods of critical discourse analysis (CDA), as adapted by Grewal, it examined the ideological and discursive nature of the CERI projects. Texts were interpreted through a liberal theoretical framework. Findings suggest the CERI Projects frame a neoliberal vision for K–12 education focussed primarily on economic ends. Although the social dimension of education is recognized with respect to its need to foster equity, equality and social cohesion, its discourse is best characterized as a form of *flanking* and *roll-out* neoliberalism. Both Projects embrace a human capital approach to education and advance a neoliberal subjectivity in which learners are defined by their economic utility and are framed as future workers who are flexible, adaptable, resilient, responsible, innovative, entrepreneurial, and good problem solvers. The *ILE Project*’s promotion of networks and partnerships with other sectors and business reflects a transition away from government to governance as promoted by New Public Governance, which also reflects a neoliberal orientation.

In both Projects, innovation, accountability, and governance are nominalizations that reinforce a neoliberal policy perspective of education.

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Table of Contents

	Page
Abstract	ii
Acknowledgments	iv
List of Tables	vii
List of Figures	viii
List of Abbreviations	ix
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....	1
Background to the Study	1
Problem Area.....	4
Problem Statement	12
Purpose of the Study	13
Research Questions	14
Theoretical Framework	14
Rationale and Significance.....	15
Scope of the Study.....	20
Positionality.....	22
Outline of Dissertation	27
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	29
Liberalism: A Description.....	30
Classical Liberalism	36
Social Liberalism.....	40
Neoliberalism	48
Inclusive Liberalism.....	76
Chapter Summary.....	85
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY	89
Methodology and Appropriateness	89
Clarifying Terms: Discourse, Text, and Genre	90
Description of CDA Method	92
Analytical Framework.....	96
Description of CDA Design Utilized	114
Data Selection	116
Limitations and Trustworthiness of Methodological Approach	118
Chapter Summary.....	123

CHAPTER FOUR: THE OECD	126
Introduction to the OECD	126
Historical Origins and Evolution.....	127
Organizational Apparatus of the OECD.....	131
Funding.....	135
The OECD’s Educational Involvement.....	136
OECD—Forms of Governance	139
Ideological Tensions in the OECD’s Education Work	148
Chapter Summary.....	158
CHAPTER FIVE: ANALYSIS OF TRENDS SHAPING EDUCATION PROJECT	163
Macro-Level Analysis: Order of Discourse	164
Meso-Level Analysis: Interdiscursivity and Intertextuality.....	222
Micro-Level Analysis of Innovation.....	230
Chapter Summary.....	234
CHAPTER SIX: ANALYSIS OF INNOVATIVE LEARNING ENVIRONMENTS	238
Macro-Level Analysis: Orders of Discourse.....	240
Meso-Level Analysis: Interdiscursivity and Intertextuality.....	296
Micro-Level Analysis.....	304
Chapter Summary.....	330
CHAPTER SEVEN: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION	335
Summary of Research and Findings.....	335
Conclusions.....	340
Implications.....	342
Limitations of Research	349
Recommendations for Future Research	349
Significance.....	350
References	352
Appendix A: Liberal Framework.....	377
Appendix B: Glossary of Key CDA Terms	380
Appendix C: Stages and Levels of Data Analysis	385
Appendix D: <i>TSE Project</i> —Summary of Trends 2008–2019	386
Appendix E: <i>ILE Project</i> —Strands, Books, and Chapters.....	388
Appendix F: <i>TSE Project</i> Findings.....	390
Appendix G: <i>ILE Project</i> Findings.....	394
Appendix H: OECD CERI Influence on Ontario Education	402

List of Tables

Table		Page
1	Research Questions and CDA Levels of Analysis	115

List of Figures

Figure		Page
1	CDA Analytical Framework by Fairclough	93
2	CDA Framework: Levels of Analysis	98
3	Who Drives the OECD's Work?	133
4	<i>TSE Project</i> : Broad Assumption and Narrow Assumptions.....	169
5	<i>TSE Project</i> : Narrow Assumption 1	170
6	<i>TSE Project</i> : Narrow Assumption 2	186
7	<i>TSE Project</i> : Narrow Assumption 3	190
8	<i>TSE Project</i> : Narrow Assumption 4.....	201
9	<i>TSE Project</i> : Narrow Assumption 5	216
10	<i>ILE Project</i> : Broad Assumption and Narrow Assumptions	244
11	<i>ILE Project</i> : Narrow Assumption 1.....	248
12	<i>ILE Project</i> : Narrow Assumption 2.....	274
13	<i>ILE Project</i> : Narrow Assumption 3.....	278
14	<i>ILE Project</i> : Narrow Assumption 4.....	294

List of Abbreviations

BRIICS	Brazil, Russian Federation, India, Indonesia, China
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CERI	Centre for Educational Research and Innovation
HE	Higher Education
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
ILE	Innovative Learning Environments
ILF	Innovation in Learning Fund
IMF	International Monetary Fund
NPM	New Public Management
NPG	New Public Governance
OEEC	Organisation for European Economic Cooperation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OME	Ontario Ministry of Education
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
QA	Quality Assurance
TLF	Technology and Learning Fund
UN	United Nations
WB	World Bank
WTO	World Trade Organization

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this research was to critically analyze two projects developed by the Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI), a branch of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), to determine the nature of their political discourse and the extent to which that discourse is embedded in and promotes a particular liberal paradigm. Scholars have suggested that the national education policy has been influenced by the OECD even though as an international body, it lacks legitimate power to influence the policy of nation states. Rubenson (2008) notes that as a major publisher, the OECD has effectively influenced education through a discourse that normalizes specific aims, values, and constructions of schooling, schools, teachers, and learning. It also constructs concepts such as innovation, accountability, and governance in order to reform education in specific ways. This research analyzed the discourse of the selected CERI education projects to determine its liberal nature and implications for education.

This chapter begins by introducing the context for this research and the problem area the research inquired into. It then identifies the research purpose and questions that guided the study. A rationale for the research is provided as well as a statement of its significance, and the scope and limitations of the study. The researcher's positionality is provided. The chapter concludes with an overview of the chapters that comprise this dissertation.

Background to the Study

Comprised of 37 member states, the OECD has become a significant player in its capacity to devise, shape, and monitor global policies for both member and non-member countries (Martens & Jakobi, 2010). With a broad aim of improving social and economic well-being through policy (Lingard et al., 2015), the OECD has gained prominence by identifying

problems and proposing solutions through the formation and dissemination of transnational research and policy (Mahon & McBride, 2008). It publishes over 250 titles each year in economics and public policy and is considered one of the globe's largest publishers (Martens & Jakobi, 2010). Through its research capacity, the OECD has been able "to highlight certain trends, to identify common problems, and to map out a range of solutions" (Mahon & McBride, 2010, p. 10). Although, as the name suggests, the OECD is largely focused on economic matters, since "economic questions are increasingly intertwined with other questions" (Martens & Jakobi, 2010, p. 2), it "deals with a variety of issues and is accordingly active in a wide range of policy fields" (Martens & Jakobi, 2010, p. 2). Since its inception, education has held a key position in the economic policies of the OECD (Morgan & Volante, 2016; Papadopoulos, 1994). CERI was created in 1968, and in 1980 the Office for Scientific and Technical Personnel was reconstituted into the Education Committee. In 2002, the increasing centrality of education to the OECD became apparent with the creation of a separate Education Directorate (Rubenson, 2008).

As an international organization, the OECD has been able to establish and shape the education policy agenda of nation states (Rubenson, 2008; Spring, 2015). Reflecting this, Rubenson (2008) notes that it has "become a kind of 'eminence grise'" (p. 243) in the education policy of developed countries, "has achieved hegemony over educational discourse through its capacity to manufacture the "common sense" of society" (p. 243), and "is able to set agendas that become taken for granted and govern national policy actors' approach to educational reforms" (p. 243).

Although the OECD has autonomy in developing ideas, "in general, it tends to reflect the ideological tenor of the times" (Mahon & McBride, 2008, p. 15), and thus shifts in political economy have impacted the OECD's educational policy discourse (Rubenson, 2008). Mahon and

McBride (2008) note that although the OECD has autonomy in developing ideas, “in general, it tends to reflect the ideological tenor of the times” (p. 15). In the postwar period until the mid-1970s, the OECD adhered to a political economy and policy paradigm of Keynesianism (Mahon & McBride, 2008) that advanced a political economy of state intervention and a positive social policy role for the state (Holborow, 2012; Mahon, 2008a). According to Mahon and McBride (2008), this was followed by a policy paradigm of neoliberalism or monetarism, described as “contemporary renditions of traditional neoclassical economics” (p. 15). They cite Hemerijck and Visser who suggest that “when new paradigms emerge, they contain statements of policy goals, identifications of policy techniques to attain them, and prescriptions about the settings of these policy instruments” (Mahon and McBride, 2008, p. 19).

Various scholars suggest the OECD has advanced a neoliberal discourse or agenda (El Bouhali, 2015; Rizvi & Lingard, 2009). Although the idea of neoliberalism is difficult to encapsulate, it may be viewed as an economic theory that rose to pre-eminence in the late 1970s as a response to the economic crises that were associated with Keynesianism (Holborow, 2012). It is “commonly associated with the expansion of markets and the privileging of corporations; the re-engineering of government as an ‘entrepreneurial’ actor; and the imposition of ‘fiscal discipline,’ particularly in welfare spending” (Eagleton-Pierce, 2016, pp. xiv–xv). Harvey views neoliberalism as a “theory of political and economic practices . . . [that contends] human well-being can be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills” (as cited in Holborow, 2012, p. 15) within an institutional edifice characterized by firm private property rights, free markets, and free trade.

Within education, scholars have noted the impact of neoliberalism on education as encompassing “a fundamental shift in educational philosophy: the abandonment of the social and

cooperative ethic in favour of individualistic and competitive business models” (Block et al., 2012, p. 7). Rizvi and Lingard (2009) observe that the OECD has advanced a neoliberal social imaginary of a knowledge economy that has redefined the purposes of education and emphasized the importance of innovation, as well as an approach to governance that furthers certain notions of accountability.

Problem Area

The OECD’s transnational impact on the education policy of nations and its economization of education comprises the background problem to this study. Due to globalization, the nation-state’s influence in the production and practices of public policy in education has been significantly reduced (Henry et al., 2001, p. 2). Globalization has “placed pressures upon the nation-state from above and from below” (Henry et al., 2001, p. 2), and it has posed challenges for local autonomy. Its processes have arguably had the effect of receding the policy eminence at the level of the nation state not only in education but also in the public policy domains of health care and welfare as well (Henry et al., 2001). According to Henry et al. (2001), the policy salience of the nation-state has subsided by the following developments of globalization: increased economic globalization; the associated transnational character of global capital; the post-Cold War context; the discernable predominance of neoliberal policies; as well as the resulting formation of postnational structures and reconstitution of international organizations (Henry et al., 2001). It has been argued that the ensuing reordering of the world has created a reality in which the boundaries between levels and nations are increasingly unclear and in a state of fluctuation, yet one that is not “anomic or chaotic” (Jacobsson & Sahlin-Andersson, 2006, p. 247).

Given the formation of postnational structures such as the OECD and the restructuring of

international institutions, governing efforts are no longer restricted to areas traditionally associated with the state, and are not confined to the limitations of levels, actors, or territories (Jacobsson & Sahlin-Andersson, 2001). Because traditional notions of regulation continue to lie with the state, a considerable degree of regulation in the present-day is framed and undertaken “by actors other than states or in constellations of public and private actors, including states, international organizations, professional associations, expert groups, and business corporations” (Jacobsson & Sahlin-Andersson, 2006, p. 247). In this respect, the scope of governance has been distributed and shared among a variety of actors (Jacobsson & Sahlin-Andersson, 2006).

It is argued that states continue to make policy, but “they do so in the context of an increasingly dense web of transnational networks, operating at different scales” (Mahon & McBride, 2008, p. 3). Within these networks, international organizations serve as important junctions, which in their entirety form “an uneven (and contested) system of transnational governance” (Mahon & McBride, 2008, p. 3). Within a system of transnational governance and new patterns of political interconnectedness, nation-states have been restructured and transformed in a manner that has impacted the policy-making processes and available policy choices of their governments (Henry et al., 2001; Jacobsson, 2006). Although there have been discussions about the “retreat,” “hollowing out,” or “abdication” of states (Jacobsson, 2006), nation-states continue to hold relevance, but they are increasingly acknowledged as having boundaries that may be permeated (Mahon & McBride, 2008). Whereas the nation-state was once traditionally regarded as a fundamental unit in the world order with its own singular aims, the nation-state has been permeated by transnational networks and its sovereignty has been reconstituted into a shared exercise of power (Rizvi & Lingard, 2009).

Jacobsson (2006) notes the involvement of international organizations in governance activities towards states does not occur within a formal hierarchical system, but rather may be

described as “loose constellations of different organizations claiming authoritative knowledge of what states should do in different fields” (p. 206). In discussing transnational governance, Mahon and McBride (2008) observe that

The choice of the word accountability is deliberate. It refers to “governance without government” (Cox’s famous “*nébuleuse*”): that is, the development, at multiple scales, of a variety of mechanisms of regulation, operating in the absence of an overarching political authority. (pp. 5–6)

The fact that a formal hierarchy is lacking indicates the employment of both “soft” and “hard” (i.e., formal laws and directives) regulations (Mahon & McBride, 2008).

Depending on the international organization, states are subjected to the following forms of governance: *regulative*, *inquisitive*, and *meditative* activities. Regulative activities entail formal laws, directives, and penalties for violation, or voluntary rules that are otherwise known as “soft rules.” Inquisitive activities involve states “opening up” to have themselves or their policies critically evaluated or judged, audited, ranked, or compared. Meditative activities encompass the discussion, generation, and dissemination of ideas among experts with regard to the most effective way of undertaking something (Jacobsson, 2006). Mahon and McBride (2008) note that international and supranational organizations, as well as the expertise of their transnational experts, often have the effect of “disrupting” ostensibly closed national policy routines through identifying problems and prescribing “best practice” solutions. Although its position is often minimized, the OECD represents a significant node within the expanding network of transnational governance. Its importance may be underlined by its inception of meditative and inquisitive forms of governance that other supranational organizations have come to adopt (Mahon & McBride, 2008).

The OECD constitutes an intergovernmental organization that influences the educational policy of governments (Lingard et al., 2016). As an international organization, it has acquired the ability to establish the educational agenda and influence the direction of national policy actors (Rubenson, 2008). It has become an influential organization in contemporary governance as it is regarded as a semi-autonomous think tank or the “purveyor of ideas” whose technical approach to policy research has given it a discursive control over education (Porter & Webb, 2008; Rizvi & Lingard, 2009; Rubenson, 2008). It has been argued that the OECD has been widely successful at policy making because it has relied on the “soft” mode of transnational regulation (Jakobi & Martens, 2010a; Marcussen, 2004; Martens & Jakobi, 2010).

Unlike international organizations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB), the OECD does not possess the power to coerce member states to comply with its decisions (Mahon & McBride, 2008). Despite its lack of any legal authority, the OECD has achieved its policy influence by means of its technical expertise, which acts as a form of epistemic governance and constitutes a mode of soft power (Lingard et al., 2016; Rivzi & Lingard, 2009). As opposed to employing legal or financial instruments, the OECD relies on “reputation, good government and persuasion” (Martens & Jakobi, 2010, p. 1). Martens and Jakobi (2010) identify idea generation, policy evaluation, and data production as mechanisms of governance employed to distribute policies and shape the policy making of its member-states.

Jakobi and Martens (2010a) argue that the OECD “has gained an important status in several stages of national policy-making, ranging from agenda setting to policy formulation and implementation” (p. 176). As a result, its technical work has contributed to framing the definition of educational problems, approaches to educational assessment and educational research, as well as the advancement of a specific notion of educational governance (Lingard et al., 2015; Rizvi &

Lingard, 2009). The influence of the OECD is evident in the policy developments in several national educational systems around the world, including North America (Lingard et al., 2016).

The OECD's Economization of Education

Although the OECD has always been concerned with educational policy, given its aims of enhancing the economic development of member states, it has become a key international actor in education policy since 1991 (Jackobi & Martens, 2010b). Rubenson (2008) notes that the OECD has acquired a Gramscian hegemony over educational discourse and has established taken-for-granted educational agendas and reforms “by fostering a connection between the economic and educational spheres” (p. 243). Papadopoulos (1994) observes the inferred role of education at the time of the OECD's inception in 1960 was to serve the purpose of economic growth and general well-being. Papadopoulos notes that within the OECD, an ideological tension existed up until the early 1990s between the social relevance of education and the need for economic advancement. For Papadopoulos, the OECD's approach to education may be separated into two distinct periods: the first one extends into the mid-1970s or the recession in 1973-1975, which marks an important divide; the second stretches from this point to the early 1990s. During the first period, the “social” role of education predominated over an economic one within OECD member countries. Although economic growth was the main focus of the OECD's educational focus in the early 1960s, it shifted its primary emphasis to social and equality objectives during the mid-1960s; however, they were not in contradiction to economic aims and were often pursued in concert with one another.

The onset of the great recession in 1973-1975 and the election of Conservative governments in Member states resulted in the prioritization of economic considerations over social and equality ones. These economic considerations involved the allocation of resources

given budgetary curbs and the redefinition of educational purposes along economic lines, with a focus on “human resources” development as a requisite for global economic competition; nevertheless, the aims of equity could not be ignored (Papadopoulos, 1994). During the 1980s, the emphasis on economic imperatives within CERI’s mandate resulted in an internal divergence between competing ideologies and interests (Henry et al., 2001; Rubenson, 2008). Within the internal politics and debates of the OECD, an ideological split occurred between the social democratic and neoliberal positions on policy, which are respectively called “European” and “Anglo-Saxon” (Henry et al., 2001; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Papadopoulos (1994) outlines what he identifies as the Scandinavian “egalitarian” and Thatcherite and Reaganite views of society, as was evident in the debate on the quality of schooling, which involved the aims of education. The former emphasized a quality centered on broader social educative aims and child-centred approaches, and upholding the public provision of education. The latter advanced a quality focussed on subject matter mastery, and the application of market principles such as “choice, competition, and privatisation” (p. 182).

It has been argued that the OECD no longer engages itself with the wider philosophical debates about the aims of education, “but locates them within the presumed normative commitment to globalization’s ideological forms, articulated in terms of neoliberal logic of the markets” (Rizvi & Lingard, 2009, p. 441). Education has now come to exercise a focal point of the OECD’s economic policies (Morgan & Volante, 2016). According to Rizvi and Lingard (2009), the OECD’s depoliticization of educational issues has resulted in

its reconceptualizing of policy work in mostly technical terms, concerned with questions of how best to understand the global imperatives of education; how education can be a more efficient instrument of economic development; how greater accountability of educational systems can be ensured; and how education should develop social subjects

who view the world as an interconnected space in which international networks play a crucial role in sustaining market activity. (p. 441)

Rubenson (2008) observes that the OECD's agenda for education, over the last several years, has received major criticism because it is regarded as advancing an educational discourse, which is grounded in a neoliberal ideology, with the singular aim of meeting the market's demand for human capital (Rubenson, 2008). The OECD's adherence to a neoliberal economic logic has led it to afford a greater emphasis on education than the past. Given its perceived requirements of the global economy, the OECD's policy agenda has advanced a new social imaginary entrenched in the discourse of a knowledge economy that views human capital development as requisite for the nation's economic development in wake of international competition and global pressures. This social imaginary of a knowledge economy underlines the importance education, innovation, and the commercialization of knowledge as the major contributors to economic development (Rizvi & Lingard, 2009). Rizvi and Lingard (2009) assert that "no other organization has been as globally influential in promoting the social imaginary of the knowledge economy as the OECD" (p. 445).

In addition to aligning the purposes of education with the social imaginary of a knowledge economy, the OECD has "been able to promote a particular notion of 'good' governance in education, a phrase that masks a shift in educational policy" (Rizvi & Lingard, 2009, p. 445). Specifically, the OECD has advanced new managerialist practices from the private sector to transform public schools into efficiently-operated organizations. Situated in what would be known as New Public Management Theory (NPM), these practices entail a focus on results, outputs, and performance, as well as the establishment of accountability regimes to respond to government inefficiencies. The focus on the instrument of measuring and monitoring quality to

ensure the efficient and competitive operation of bureaucratic organizations is derived from NPM (Morgan & Volante, 2016).

Rizvi and Lingard (2009) assert that the OECD, through its emphasis on NPM mechanisms of “steering at a distance,” has noticeably transferred the focus of educational governance from questions dealing with the purposes of education to the following issues:

transparency of decision-making processes, forms of devolution, technologies of measuring educational performance, international benchmarking, mechanisms of quality assurance, appropriate accountability regimes, sources of educational funding, and so forth. (p. 447)

Rizvi and Lingard observe that a focus on such issues reveals a preoccupation with economic efficiency, namely the degree to which educational systems are able meet the needs of a global economy. Morgan and Volante (2016) state that “the OECD has successfully linked the discourse of education to economic issues and thus created demand for public reforms” (p. 776)

The shifts in educational policy reflect the OECD’s move away from a policy approach rooted in Keynesianism of the early 1960s to 1970s to one defined by neoliberalism from the 1980s onwards (Mahon & McBride, 2008; Morgan & Volante, 2016). The organization’s discourse and adherence to Keynesianism until the mid-1970s was in keeping postwar conventional wisdom, and its paradigmatic shift to neoliberalism constitutes a contemporary manifestation of neoclassical economics (Mahon & McBride, 2008). Rubenson (2008) states that “the OECD merely reflects the fact that neoliberalism has come to comprise the *raison d’être* of politics in most OECD member countries, particularly in Anglo-Saxon nations” (p. 242). Nevertheless, several observers have noted that the OECD has recently moved away from neoliberal orthodox thought, yet this is contestable and differs by issue or area (Mahon & McBride, 2008).

In her examination of the OECD's influence in higher education, Hunter (2013a) explains that shifts in the global political economy—the global crises of the early 1980s that developed into more thriving times and then moved into upheaval again—have resulted in the wider re-evaluation or reassessment of the neoliberal paradigm. The changes in the global political economy have occurred within the context of developments such as the internet and communication technologies, the establishment of the European Union, rising economic giants such as India and China, as well as civil society protests in reaction to growing economic inequality and environmental unsustainability. As a result of these economic shifts, the marginalization of large groups under neoliberal policy around the world, as well as mass protests, governments have sought policy alternatives to neoliberalism and supra-national organizations have embraced new discourses. Hunter notes that the OECD has undergone change as evident in 1996 when “Secretary General Donald Johnson announced reforms focused on inclusivity, outreach and transparency” (p. 708). It is debatable whether the OECD's new policy approach, in education and other areas, signifies a new paradigm of “inclusive liberalism” distinct from neoliberalism, or whether it constitutes an adjustment or modification to the neoliberal model (Mahon & McBride, 2008).

Problem Statement

As a major publisher, the OECD has the ability to influence and set the educational policy agendas of nation states. Researchers have noted that it tends to reflect the prevailing ideology or paradigm of the period despite its ideational autonomy (Mahon & McBride, 2008; Rubenson, 2008). It has been observed that the OECD adhered to the conventional paradigm of Keynesianism up until the mid-1970s, but subsequently adopted the dominant policy paradigm of neoliberalism (Mahon & McBride, 2008). While some scholars have critiqued the OECD for

advancing a neoliberal discourse or agenda in education, others have posited that the OECD has undergone a shift away from neoliberalism and embraced new discourses, but “how far it has moved from earlier neoliberal orthodoxy remains a matter of debate and may, in fact, vary by issue area” (Mahon & McBride, 2008, p. 15). The OECD has been critiqued for advancing a neoliberal discourse in K–12 education, but the scholarship has not demonstrated an exhaustive analysis of OECD documents or publications. Although the OECD’s work employs such concepts as innovation, governance, and accountability that are associated with a neoliberal orientation, a thorough examination of their discursive nature and ideological embeddedness in K-12 documents is lacking. Despite its role as a major political actor, the OECD has not been extensively studied, and several studies on the organization emanate from itself (Martens & Jakobi, 2010). It should be noted that Hunter (2013b) provides an extensive examination of the liberal character of the OECD’s Higher Education (HE) publications in her dissertation.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this research was to determine the type of political discourse within which the OECD documents of the selected projects, *Trends Shaping Education (TSE Project hereafter)* and *Innovative Learning Environments (ILE Project hereafter)* frame a vision for K–12 education. These two projects are produced by CERI and found under the stated area of “Innovation and the future of education.” This research examined the degree to which the values, assumptions, and constructions of these documents are grounded in a political discourse or ideology. The dissertation critically explores how notions of innovation, accountability, and governance are conceptualized, and whether they are conceptualized in certain political terms. To do this, the dissertation focuses on the key concepts of innovation, accountability, and governance to determine how the OECD publications discursively construct the aims of education, learner and educator identities, as well the structures of educational institutions or

systems at the K–12 level. This research critically interrogates the ideological and discursive nature of OECD documents of these two projects that address K–12 education. It largely draws from the methods of critical discourse analysis (CDA) as developed by Fairclough (1992, 1995, 2001a, 2001b, 2003, 2006) and adapted by Grewal (2008) to offer an in-depth review of OECD publications. By using CDA, I wanted to determine the type of political discourse within which the OECD documents are embedded, and the vision for K–12 which they frame.

Research Questions

This research sought to answer the following main research question and sub-questions:

- What is the nature of the political discourse of the selected projects produced by CERI, found under the stated area of “Innovation and the future of education,” and what is the vision they frame for K–12 education?
 - a) What are the assumptions, values, and constructions of the aims of K–12 schooling, of schools, of teachers, and of learners as presented in the selected CERI projects?

What is the nature of the political discourse they are embedded in?
 - b) What is the discursive conceptualization of innovation, accountability, and governance, and what is the nature of the political discourse it reflects and promotes?
 - c) What rhetorical function do concepts of innovation, accountability, and governance serve?

Theoretical Framework

Olssen et al. (2004) suggest that liberal philosophies and ideologies have provided the foundations for the development of the political economy and interconnected social and economic systems. In this respect, any study of the nature of Western capitalist societies requires an exploration of liberalism’s advent and dominance, as its philosophies and ideologies “have

provided the guiding principles and ideological rationales for their organization and their social, political, and economic reproduction” (Olssen et al., 2004, p. 73). Liberalism has thus influenced the foundation, organization, and development of education. Specifically, it has shaped the very concept or meaning of education, as well as the policies by which it has been delivered. Olssen et al. (2004) assert that “one of the key elements in the reading of educational policy is the philosophical context of both the policy discourse and the methods of reading it” (p. 73). In accepting that “historically, liberal assumptions within education have been understood as given, and unproblematic” (Olssen et al., 2004, p. 73), this research embarked on the process of uncovering the nature of the political discourse in selected OECD projects, in an attempt to place them in the “sphere of rigorous critical enquiry” (Olssen et al., 2004, p. 73).

The theoretical framework that guided the analysis of the research drew heavily from Olssen et al.’s (2004) discussion of educational policy within the context of globalization, citizenship, and education. Their liberal framework of “classical liberal, welfare liberal and neoliberal policy perspectives on state, human nature, economy and education” (pp. 180–181) provided the starting point for the theoretical framework used to analyze the data. The framework was expanded over time, to include inclusive liberalism and additional scholars, who inform the analysis of Chapters 5 and 6.

Rationale and Significance

This policy analysis fills the gap in research regarding the ideological and discursive nature of the OECD’s K–12 education publications produced by CERI. This is warranted since OECD publications play a significant role in epistemic or normative or cognitive governance (Lingard et al., 2016; Rizvi & Lingard, 2009; Woodward, 2009). Although scholars such as Rizvi and Lingard (2009) and Rubenson (2008) have identified the OECD’s neoliberal discourse

in redefining the purposes of education and advancing a particular notion of governance, the K–12 education-related publications of the OECD have not been thoroughly examined for their ideological or discursive character. Scholars such as Berkovich and Benoniel (2020), Boyum (2014), Morgan and Volante (2016), and Vaccari and Gardinier (2019) analyzed the discourse in OECD K-12 policy documents. Although these scholars respectively examine the discourses associated with teacher quality, equity, human capital, and global competence, they do not focus on CERI documents. With the exception of Morgan and Volante (2016), they do not situate the respective discourse within a particular ideology or paradigm in their findings. Hunter's (2013b) dissertation provides an exhaustive examination of the OECD's liberal character and discourse, but it is directed at policy documents developed for higher education. This research adds to the academic literature in its critical interpretation of OECD CERI's K–12 publications through a theoretical lens comprised of four paradigms: classical liberalism, social or Keynesian liberalism, neoliberalism, and inclusive liberalism.

Furthermore, this research contributes to the literature because investigations into the OECD's K–12 innovation, accountability, and governance discourses appear to be lacking. This research adds to the literature on how the OECD discursively frames innovation, accountability, and governance, which are concepts that figure prominently in the CERI publications. These concepts warranted special consideration because they closely relate with CERI's stated area of work in educational policy and practice:

- Mapping what futures could look like
- Developing conceptual or analytical frameworks for emerging challenges
- Fostering, supporting and evaluating innovation policies and practices
- Providing a “test-bed” for developing:

- New tools and techniques to support better education policies and practices
 - New assessment instruments
 - Approaches to building education system capacity
 - Indicators to monitor progress
- Stimulating knowledge creation, diffusion and use
 - Measuring and monitoring at system level

(OECD, 2019a, para. 2)

This research draws attention to the term, innovation because it is featured in CERI's name, as well as its stated work of "fostering, supporting and evaluating innovation policies and practices" (OECD, 2019a, para. 2). Innovation has historically emphasized imagination in knowledge creation, and it is often associated with change, modification or reform, and novelty that is accepted to be a benign force for good (Eagleton-Pierce, 2016). This notion of innovation is thus apparent in CERI's identified work of "stimulating knowledge creation" (OECD, 2019a, para. 2) and developing "new tools and techniques to support better education policies and practices" (OECD, 2019a, para. 2).

Furthermore, innovation justifies a special consideration because this research examines CERI's *ILE Project*. Innovation and its various grammatical forms figure prominently in the four publications that belong to this project. Although this research is delimited to the *ILE* and *TSE* projects, innovation, in its different forms, also appears in the titles of the following projects: *Innovative Pedagogies for Powerful Learning*, *Innovation Strategy for Education*, *Innovation Strategy for Education and Training*, and *Measuring Innovation in Education*. This concept is a prominent theme or topic in CERI's research and is pervasive in current policy and managerial discourse, as well as public discussions and academic research, to promote the transformations of state institutions, and public and cultural values that guide education.

Given that CERI's stated work involves developing "indicators to monitor progress" (OECD, 2019a, para. 2) and "measuring and monitoring at system level" (OECD, 2019a, para. 2), the concept of accountability warrants an examination. The application of performance indicators, measurement, and monitoring to educational practice embodies a form of accountability that is shaped by managerialism (Baird & Elliot, 2018; Green, 2011; Holligan, 2017; Lorenz, 2012). Accountability merits exploration because it constitutes part of a dominant managerial discourse, and it encompasses techniques of reform that have been transplanted from the business sector to public education (Ball & Youdell, 2007; Green, 2011). As Ball and Youdell (2007) state, these techniques are aimed at assuring that "educational processes are made more transparent but can also have powerful effects in re-orienting the work of schools and teachers and changing the values and priorities of school and classroom activities" (p. 20). Although CERI's statement of its work alludes to a managerial accountability, the notion of accountability within the projects justifies an exploration because, as surmised by Jaafar and Anderson (2007), there is no singular approach to operationalize it within education or other areas. Accountability scholars have arranged policies and practices into a number of conceptually and strategically unique approaches (Jaafar & Anderson, 2007). Given its differing operationalizations, an examination of accountability offers a means to determine the political discourse within which the projects are embedded.

This research also singled out the term, governance because CERI's work focusses on governing and policy making. CERI states that its work includes "fostering, supporting and evaluating innovation policies and practices" (OECD, 2019a, para. 2) and "providing a "test-bed"" (OECD, 2019a, para. 2) for the development of "new tools and techniques to support better education policies and practices" (OECD, 2019a, para. 2) and "approaches to building to

education system capacity” (OECD, 2019, para. 2). This research investigates governance because, as noted by Hajer and Wagenaar (2003), it is a relatively new concept that signifies more than a shift in rhetoric, but changes in the nature of policymaking and an appreciation for new political practices. As a concept, its association with changes in policymaking and new practices thus closely aligns it with innovation. Hajer and Wagenaar (2003) suggest the language of governance “opens up the cognitive commitments implicit in the thinking about governing and political decision-making” (p. 2); enables “practitioners and theorists alike to unlearn embedded intellectual reflexes and break out of tacit patterns of traditional thinking” (p. 2); and incites them “to rethink governing, politics and administration against a backdrop of these changing societal processes” (p. 2). Because the two selected CERI projects are found under the heading “Innovation and the future of education,” governance requires an examination because of its association with rethinking governing and administration, as well as new practices.

Furthermore, the concept of governance warrants an investigation because it is often associated with what is often referred to as the new managerial state under NPM. As a concept, governance signifies the transition away from government, namely its structures and *modus operandi* (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). According to Rizvi and Lingard (2010), this move from government to governance involves the “changes related to the application of new public management across the public sector” (p. 118), and those “linked to the ‘freeing up’ to some extent of the market vis-à-vis the state and the incorporation of market and private-sector relations inside state structures” (p. 118).

An analysis of discourse provides a way to “critique transformations or suggested transformations to education” (Morgan & Volante, 2016, p. 317), which is important given that an international institution such as the OECD normalizes “discussions about the preferred nature

of knowledge, curriculum development, as well as institutions related to education” (Morgan & Volante, 2016, p. 320). Additionally, as Martens and Jakobi (2010) point out, despite its influential role,

As a political actor, the OECD has not yet been sufficiently researched. Only few studies deal with the organization as a subject of research. Many of them stem from the organization itself and contain mainly factual information or present semi-academic studies on its activities. (p. 6)

In summary, this study adds to the academic literature in three ways: First, it employs a framework to provide an examination of the OECD CERI projects in terms of their political discourse. Second, it investigates the discourses of innovation, accountability, and governance in CERI-produced OECD documents in order to understand suggested transformations to education. Lastly, this study contributes to the academic literature because the OECD, as a transnational organization, has not been extensively explored or researched (Martens & Jacobi, 2010).

Scope of the Study

Although the OECD CERI website contains 12 projects listed under four headings, this research was delimited to the *TSE* and *ILE* projects. The *TSE Project*, found under the website heading Future of Education, is comprised of five books bearing the same title that were released in 2008, 2010, 2013, 2016, and 2019. According to the website, this project “examines the main economic, social, demographic, and environmental trends and their possible connections to education.” This project was selected because its books are intended to inform strategic thinking related to educational planning. The latter, *ILE Project* contains four books that, according to the OECD website, “analysed how young people learn . . . [and] which conditions and dynamics

allow them to . . . learn better.” The stated aim of this project was to inform educational reform by providing an analysis of (a) “international research findings on learning, teaching and learning environments,” (b) “identifying and analysing examples of innovative learning environments,” and (c) “engaging with the community of policy reformers, innovators, and learning scientists to . . . make OECD education systems learner driven” (OECD, n.d.a, para. 3). Publication dates for books in this project were 2008, 2011, 2013, and 2015. This project was selected because of its focus on innovation and its stated intent of informing educational reform.

Out of the twelve projects listed under four headings, this research focussed on the *TSE* and *ILE* projects because the former is listed under the Future of Education heading, while the latter appears under that of Innovation in Teaching & Learning. This research opted to examine projects under these two headings because they are eponymous with CERI’s stated work area of “Innovation and the future of education” unlike the other two headings, Leveraging Knowledge and Measuring Knowledge. Furthermore, it selected the *TSE* and *ILE* projects because they are both concerned with K-12 education; although the first also covers early childhood education, tertiary education, and lifelong learning. This research did not explore the *Future Skills* and *Innovation Strategy for Education and Training* projects, which are respectively found under the same headings, because they only deal with higher education. In addition, the *TSE* and *ILE* projects encompass a wider focus, with regards to informing strategic thinking or educational reform, than the *21st Century Children*, *Innovative Pedagogies for Powerful Learning*, and *Teacher Knowledge (ITEL)* projects which explore K-12 education and have a narrower scope with their respective foci on modern childhood, pedagogy, and teacher knowledge. Finally, this research delimited its examination to the *TSE* and *ILE* projects because an exhaustive study of all CERI projects was beyond the scope of this study.

Positionality

My views on education and how I approach research for this dissertation have been largely influenced by my political and philosophical outlook, which would be that of an ethical or social liberal, my professional career as a public high school teacher, as well as my socio-economic background. I situate myself as an ethical liberal because my personal views on the purposes of education and the nature of schooling aligns with the ideals of ethical liberalism.

Manzer (1994) identifies the ideal of ethical liberalism as the following:

The ideal of ethical liberalism is a society founded on the principle of universal human development, in which all persons have equal opportunities to develop fully their special abilities and participate freely in the political, economic, social, and cultural life of their community. Ethical liberal aspirations for universal individual development presuppose the creation of an educative society. (p. 148)

As an ethical liberal, I thus believe that educational policies should aim at the self-development of each student for participation in the social, cultural, political, and economic facets of their community, as opposed to the limited aim of economic success. While I do not discount the pursuit of economic success as a valid criterion for education, I hold the opinion that education should function to develop the special qualities of every student so that they can actively participate and make contributions beyond the economic sphere. In concurring with the ideology of ethical liberalism, how I approach this research is situated in a perspective that views education policymaking as a means to attain an “educative society and individual self-development in a broadly humanistic sense, not simply economic success” (Manzer, 1994, p. 161). In addition to my scholarly approach, my outlook as a public-school teacher at the secondary school level has been guided by efforts to develop students for participation in the wider facets of the community.

My outlook as an ethical liberal has been shaped by my personal and socio-economic background. As the son of southern European immigrants who did not possess a university education, I am very grateful for the public education that my siblings and I received. Having acquired several degrees and a fulfilling career as a high school teacher, I truly believe that Ontario's public education system has given me the opportunities to achieve my full potential and self-development so that I can be an active contributor to the various facets of my community. Public education has offered my siblings and me a level of social mobility from that of my father's occupation as the proprietor of a take-out pizzeria and mother's occupation as a hospital kitchen worker to our professional occupations in education and engineering.

As an ethical liberal, my outlook closely aligns with "egalitarian liberal" views that regard education as playing a significant role in reducing socio-economic inequalities among citizens (Suissa, 2010). When examining the purpose of education as offered by the state, one sees that a widely accepted aim has been the guarantee of "relatively equal socio-economic opportunities" (Suissa, 2010, p. 107). Support for state-controlled education lies on the premise "that requiring all children to have access to state-funded, state-regulated schools is the best way to guarantee that they all enjoy equal educational opportunities, which will guarantee relatively equal socio-economic opportunities" (Suissa, 2010, p. 107). Liberal philosophers of education view any efforts to privatize education as undercutting the aims of educational opportunity. Although I strive for objectivity in this research study, my approach is influenced by an ethical or egalitarian view that any policy reforms that minimize state intervention in education or advance privatization undermine the attainment of self-realization and equal opportunity.

Politically, I would identify as a liberal or, as someone who is situated just left-of-centre on the political spectrum. Having been raised in and working in my father's small business, I can recognize merit to values and qualities such as entrepreneurialism, flexibility, adaptability, and

personal responsibility that are often associated with neoliberalism or right-of-centre views. I believe in the advantages of a free market system, yet I see a strong role for the state in reducing the excesses of a free market, its unequal outcomes, as well as the structural barriers to the attainment of one's self-realization. Given my positionality as an ethical or social liberal, I acknowledge that this research may reveal a bias against neoliberal perspectives of the state, the individual, and the purposes of education. Despite an effort at objectivity, my preconceptions and political biases have likely shaped the process and outcome of this research.

Furthermore, my personal assumptions and values underlie my research into and critical analysis of the OECD. I approached this research with the position that educational policy decision-making should reflect local and historical cultural identities, as well as the social, cultural, and moral purposes of education in addition to the economic ones. Ideally, a state should have the sovereignty to exercise its own political authority over a designated geographic territory (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). As such, each state should possess the "autonomy to develop its own policies, and that no external actor can direct a state's priorities" (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 13). To be legitimate, a public policy should be derived "from the authority that a nation-state has over its citizens" (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 13), which is in turn grounded in a popular consent for this conception of authority. In this context, discussions concerning educational purposes and governance should largely happen locally, "with local or national governments expected to make decisions" (Rizvi, 2017, p. 10). As such, the content and processes of educational policy should emanate from and reflect local or national interests (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Traditionally, values embedded within the national interest have sought a balance between the economic efficiency and social equity goals of education (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). When it comes to education policy decision-making, the moral and cultural purposes of education should remain at the foreground of debate and should not be marginalized by those of

a strictly economic nature (Rizvi, 2017). Furthermore, national systems and local communities should retain a voice in defining their own priorities in relation to their unique cultural and historical traits (Rizvi, 2017).

In reality, global organizations such as the OECD shape the educational practices and policies of national and local school systems (Spring, 2015). Whereas educational policies were once developed by policy actors within the nation-state, they have been, over the last two decades, “forged through range of complex processes that occur in transnational and globally networked spaces” (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 22). Although nations continue to have an independent control over their school systems, their educational policies are influenced by transnational organizations. At present, nations choose to adopt policies and practices by international organizations, such as the OECD, to be competitive in a globalized economy (Spring, 2015).

International organizations such as the OECD have acquired an important role in transnational governance through ideas, namely, their ability to identify problems and lay out solutions (Mahon & McBride, 2008). Given the importance of ideas in transnational governance, the OECD has gained pre-eminence by disseminating research and recommendations that shape national policies (Mahon & McBride, 2008; Martens & Jakobi, 2010). Due to the OECD’s influential position and adherence to a neoliberal paradigm, “educationalists are concerned that economics has come to colonize the educational agenda” (Rubenson, 2008, p. 251). Coinciding with the neoliberal globalization of the economy, a global policy convergence has occurred in education as evident in the following: the economisation of school policy; the rise of human capital rationale as policy rationale in education; new forms of accountability and datafication; the introduction of market mechanisms tied to consumer choice (in school policy or school

choice; and governance in the form of NPM that involves performance outcomes and a culture of performativity (Lingard, 2009). Whereas policy decisions about educational purposes and governance were made locally, “these are now subject to the analyses and prescriptions provided by international agencies” (Rizvi, 2017, p. 10). In light of a neoliberal agenda, Rizvi (2017) observes that

the locus of educational policy-making appears to have shifted, raising the question of the extent to which national systems and local communities still retain their voice in determining their own priorities, in terms of their own distinctive cultural and historical conditions, and are not overwhelmed by policy dictates of the agencies operating across and beyond nation states. (p. 10)

Ozga and Lingard (2007) contend that the globalization and resulting political structures have affected the state capacity to develop policy and to direct economic, social, and political life within national boundaries. According to Ozga and Lingard, the rise of international agencies (such as the OECD) have produced globalizing educational discourses that frame or influence policy options within nations. As a result of transnational political structures such as the OECD, “policy looks increasingly homogenous in education systems around the world” (Ozga & Lingard, 2007, p. 66).

The policy-making voice of local and national communities may only be retained when “the new orthodoxies of education policy are grafted onto and realised within very different national and cultural contexts and are affected, inflected, and deflected by them” (Ball, 2007, p. 44). At the local or national level, global educational discourses should meet spaces of resistance, negotiation, and recontextualization—especially when encountering deep-rooted indigenous policy traditions (Ball, 2007; Rizvi, 2017). Ozga and Lingard (2007) cite Appadurai who “argues that it is possible to identify *vernacular globalisation*, in which there is change and

reconfiguration in global, national and local interrelationships, but mediated by local and national history and politics” (p. 72). Although globalization may spread discourses that challenge the nation-state’s authority, it may also have the effect of underscoring and making explicit “*local* assumptions and beliefs that were previously hidden or explicit” (Ozga & Lingard, 2007, p. 72).

With the spread of neoliberal discourses at a global level, states should consider “the distinctive ways in which education is embedded in national cultures” (Ozga & Lingard, 2007, p. 73) and “how the ‘vernacular’ may speak back to the global” (Ozga & Lingard, 2007, p. 73). Specifically, state approaches to policy and governance should be grounded in what may be called a collective narrative (Ozga & Lingard, 2007; Popkewitz et al., 1999) that connects policies to cultural identities in national systems, and it is employed by national and local policy makers “to moderate and mediate” (Ozga & Lingard, 2007) global policy. Given the OECD’s influence, a vernacular globalization and a *local* collective narrative may be used by national or local policy-makers to moderate the homogenizing effects of global or neoliberal educational discourses.

Outline of Dissertation

Chapter 2 provides an overview of the different forms of liberalism, and so develops the theoretical framework for this research. It outlines the values and precepts of the various liberal paradigms or political economies, and how they frame the individual, the purpose of education, and the nature of educational systems or institutions. Chapter 3 outlines the methodology of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), along with analytical framework employed in this study. Chapter 4 describes the OECD with attention to its history, aims, funding, structure, role in and relationship with education, as well as the differing perspectives on its mode or means of transnational governance as noted in the scholarly literature. It also provides an historical

overview of the ideological tensions in the OECD's education work. Chapters 5 and 6 respectively provide an analysis of the OECD's publications from two projects—*TSE* and *ILE*—undertaken by CERI. The analysis occurs through the employment of CDA that identifies how it is embedded in a liberal paradigm. The final chapter provides a summary of the findings, and it outlines the practical and theoretical implications and offers suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter reviews the relevant and current scholarly literature in which this research is situated. It provides an overview of the different forms of liberalism: classical liberalism, social or Keynesian liberalism, neoliberalism, and inclusive liberalism. It outlines their historical background, their essential values and principles, and how they frame the individual, the purpose of education, and the nature of educational systems or institutions. Olssen et al.'s (2004) framework, "Classical, welfare liberal and neoliberal policy perspectives on state, human nature, economy and education" (pp. 180–181), is substantially but not solely employed to present the differing liberal policy views regarding education. As explained later in this chapter, a fourth—that of inclusive liberalism as defined by Craig and Porter (2006), Jessop (2002), Porter and Craig (2004)—will be added to the three forms of liberalism identified in Olssen et al.'s framework. A theoretical framework comprised of these four paradigms allows for an interpretation of the OECD texts, and hence, data derived from the analysis. Specifically, this chapter's theoretical framework is utilized to identify the political nature or discourse of the OECD's K–12 documents that belong to selected projects produced by CERI.

In keeping with policy research into OECD, this document uses the concept of paradigm to refer to the different types of liberalism (Hunter, 2013a, 2013b; Mahon, 2008a, 2008b, 2011; Mahon & McBride, 2008; Porter & Craig, 2004). Daun (2018) considers paradigm, culture, ideology, and policy to be conceptually intertwined. However, he notes that paradigm is the broader term because it

is the most abstract but also the most profound features of cultures, ideologies, social theories and common sense, and these features are situated at the level of (a)

epistemology and ontology (view of man, view of society, view of the state, view of knowledge, and so on); (b) a view of the role of education in society, and (c) discourse and policies. (p. 17)

Whereas culture involves constructed visions that are utilized programmatically to validate a particular state of affairs, “visions of certain affairs constitute ideologies” (Daun, 2018, p. 17). As Daun (2018) explains, because political parties must deal with concrete realities, in practice, they are forced to borrow ideas from more than one paradigm. Consequently, there may be a disconnect between the content of the larger paradigm and the platform and stated ideology of a particular political party. Paradigms cannot be “applied to specific societal solutions or educational situations or problems” (Daun, 2018, p. 18), but rather “they have to be ‘operationalized’ and ‘negotiated’ in order to become applicable in policies” (Daun, 2018, p. 18). As Campbell (1998) describes, paradigms can be viewed as cognitive background since they provide the theoretical and ontological assumptions about how the world operates. Unlike programmatic and policy ideas that are debated in the foreground, paradigms remain in the background, that is, until a crisis emerges. When that occurs, the assumptions and values may be questioned to allow policy elites to increase their range of policy options (Campbell, 1998; Schmidt, 2008). This theoretical framework is appropriate for this study given that paradigms significantly “define the terrain of policy discourse” (Campbell, 1998, p. 389). This chapter begins with a description of liberalism or the liberal paradigm. It outlines the commonalities and differences between the various liberal paradigmatic versions or forms.

Liberalism: A Description

Freeden (2015), Nijs (2016), and Van de Haar (2017) point out that although liberalism has a singular meaning, there are multiple forms. Freeden contends that “there is no single,

unambiguous thing called liberalism” (p. 1), and that “it may be more accurate to talk of *liberalisms* in the plural, [as] all [are] part of a broad family exhibiting both similarities and differences” (2015, p. 3). According to Nijs, liberalism is grounded in a common tradition, yet it is a concept that is defined by a diversity of meaning and thought. Nijs notes that “liberalism is a house with many rooms in which the focus is on different aspects while sharing the same fundamental set of beliefs” (2016, p. 19). Nijs states that

Although all liberal doctrines claim a common heritage it is fair to indicate, as many scholars did, that they contain “separate and often contradictory streams of thought.” That can be traced to many different adjectives and qualifications claimed by liberal theorists and philosophers, including egalitarian, classical, deontological, ethical, and institutional types. (2016, p. 19)

Despite the diverse intellectual schools of thought and visions with regard to humans, state, or society, different authors and thinkers may still be linked and brought together under one umbrella or liberal ideological tradition (Nijs, 2016). Like Freedman, Nijs (2016) asserts that “one can therefore speak of ‘liberalisms’ rather than one” (p. 21). Nijs (2016) and Van de Haar (2017) highlight that liberalism is concurrently a political philosophy, ideology, and theory. Nijs differentiates between the three: (1) a political philosophy denotes an activity, namely an effort to analyze the underlying conceptual components or apparatus of something; (2) political ideology is a fairly coherent set of ideas, which provides the foundation for political action; and (3) political theory refers to a belief that is grounded in empirical evidence, which has often emerged as “critiques of existing political, economic, and social conditions of the theorist’s time” (p. 26). For Nijs, liberalism is also an “umbrella paradigm” within which different liberal versions or classifications are positioned. In employing Daun’s (2018) definition of paradigm,

one may view the notion of a liberal paradigm as broader and more abstract than that of a political philosophy, ideology or theory. As such, it encompasses ideological, theoretical and ontological assumptions.

Nijs (2016) states that the delineation between the different forms of liberalism have become increasingly obscured and altered over time; he stipulates that the paradigmatic facet of liberalism's delineation has been reduced to "the question about the most adequate relationship between citizens and the sovereign" (p. 20), which "includes the catering aspect of the welfare state, versus unleashing the potential of the market" (p. 20). With regard to contemporary liberalism's focus on the question of the most desirable relationship between the citizen and sovereign, Nijs identifies the three discernible possibilities or forms as libertarianism, classical liberalism, and social liberalism:

1. Those who advocate that there is a need for a minimal state only, where individual rights are secured by an independent judiciary (libertarianism). The role of government is limited to avoiding escalation of violence etc. through securing individual rights.
2. A middle ground liberalism that proclaims a state with a certain (though reduced) number of mandates (classical liberalism) which go beyond the basic function of securing rights through an independent judiciary.
3. This category secures an active role for the state, whose mandates will be organized and structured to embody the most qualitative and valuable encoding of those individual freedoms (social liberalism). As such, this is the most mature model in terms of the involvement of state in society, economy, and social fabric. (2016, p. 24)

Social liberalism repudiates classical liberals' espousal of a mathematical aggregate measurement of freedom (Nijs, 2016). Specifically, this classical liberal view of freedom

emphasizes maximizing utility and self-interest, and it upholds that “individual freedom” is “the maximization of value, prosperity, and joy for life of the individual” (Nijs, 2016, p. 29). Social liberalism dispenses with this notion for a comprehensive approach to measuring quality of life, which underlines the moral and educational development of the individual within society (Nijs, 2016). Nijs describes social liberalism as the most mature or fully developed model with regard to state intervention, given its role in furthering equal treatment and self-development within the context of society and the economy.

The discernible categories of classical and social liberalism are explored in this chapter. This research omits libertarianism because certain libertarian thinkers such as A.S. Neill and John Holt view *any* form of intervention, whether that of the state, society or parents, in a child’s educational development, as morally problematic and oppressive (Suissa, 2010). It can be concluded that such a libertarian view of education is not held by the OECD nor would it be prominent in its documents. Lastly, this research does not focus on libertarianism because it arguably shares key similarities with neoliberalism concerning education. As noted by Sung (2010), both libertarians and neoliberals are similar as they support a market-based model or choice policy in the provision of education. It should be noted that this libertarian view of parental choice in educational institutions, which are opened to markets, conflicts with the preceding one in regards to intervention. Sung argues that libertarians and neoliberals are both alike and unsuccessful in their contention that “market models work better to satisfy the equality of educational opportunity” (p. 75). Whereas neoliberals support a market-based model on economic grounds, libertarians employ the moral justifications of exercising their property rights in terms of individual liberty (Sung, 2010). Olssen et al. (2004) observe that libertarianism and neoliberalism differ as the first is a political discourse of rights, while the second is more of an

economic discourse of allocative efficiency and market expansion. Nevertheless, a libertarian view of a market-based model for educational institutions would resemble a neoliberal outlook.

Lastly, this research does not explore libertarianism because a strong argument can be made, as asserted by Freeman (2018), that it is not a form of liberalism. Freeman notes that despite its apparent similarity, libertarianism more closely resembles “the doctrine of private political power that is feudalism” (p. 108). He argues that libertarianism repudiates the key social institutions of the other two liberal traditions; it negates the inalienability of personal and political rights, namely equal liberties and freedom in its espousal of absolute property and contract rights; it supports a minimal state (if one at all) that is legally or authoritatively unable to secure equal opportunities or freedom from discrimination; and it upholds absolute property and contract rights that counter the government’s ability to safeguard the market from different forms of collusion or monopoly. Similar to liberalism as a whole, the essence of libertarianism is thus contestable.

Like Nijs (2016), Jessop (2002) recognizes the diverse, varied, or contested nature or meanings of liberalism. In describing liberalism, Jessop states:

Liberalism is a complex, multifaceted phenomenon. It is: a polyvalent conceptual ensemble in economic, political, and ideological *discourse*; a strongly contested *strategic concept* for restructuring market-state relations with many disputes over its scope, application, and limitations; and a recurrent yet historically variable pattern of economic, political, and social *organization* in modern societies. Liberalism, rarely, if ever exists in pure form; it typically coexists with elements from other discourses, strategies, and organizational patterns. (p. 453)

Jessop (2002) describes the ideological claims of liberalism from the vantage point of political, social, and economic relations. He outlines the liberal assertion that the preeminent mode of political, social, and economic organization occurs through relations defined by the “formally free choices of formally free and rational actors who seek to advance their own material or ideal interests in an institutional framework that, by accident or design, maximizes the scope for formally free choice” (p. 453). In terms of economic relations, liberalism advances the growth of a free market economy, which entails the expansion of commodification to all facets of production and monetized exchange to the furthest degree in social practices. With regard to political relations, liberalism suggests that all collective decision making should occur in a constitutional state that possesses “limited substantive powers of economic and social intervention” (p. 453). Furthermore, collective decision-making should involve a “commitment to maximizing the formal freedom of actors in the economy and the substantive freedom of legally recognized subjects in the public sphere” (p. 453). Socially, this last point means that individuals possess freedom of association, or the freedom to engage in social activities that are not prohibited by laws that are constitutionally binding.

Olssen et al. (2004) suggest that liberal philosophies and ideologies have provided the foundations for the development of the political economy and interconnected social and economic systems. In this respect, any study of the nature of western capitalist societies requires an exploration of liberalism’s advent and dominance, as its philosophies and ideologies “have provided the guiding principles and ideological rationales for their organization and their social, political, and economic reproduction” (p. 73). Liberalism has thus influenced the foundation, organization, and development of education. Specifically, it has shaped the very concept or meaning of education, as well as the policies by which it has been delivered. This research

supports Olssen et al.'s assertion that "one of the key elements in the reading of educational policy is the philosophical context of both the policy discourse and the methods of reading it" (p. 73). It also recognizes that Olssen et al.'s observation that "historically, liberal assumptions within education have been understood as given, and unproblematic" (p. 73) and were until very recently, "out of the sphere of rigorous critical enquiry" (p. 73). Given the OECD's hegemony over the educational agenda, this research provides an examination of its political or liberal discourse within two CERI projects. The application of a liberal theoretical framework allows for an identification of the OECD's political discourse, as well as an insight into the current and future direction of K-12 education in member countries.

In light of the varied and contested conceptualization of liberalism, classical, social or Keynesian liberalism, neoliberalism, and inclusive liberalism are explored with a focus on their historical origins and demarcated features, and their influence or view on educational policy (see Appendix A: Liberal Framework for a summary of policy perspectives of liberal paradigms). Although I identify as an ethical liberal, ethical liberalism is not addressed in the framework because it corresponds to social liberalism with regard the purposes of education. Like ethical liberalism, a social liberal view of education emphasizes the full realization of a person's abilities, and the development of ethical, political, and social awareness requisite for the operation of society (Olssen et al., 2004).

Classical Liberalism

The historical background and description of the features of classical liberalism are explored below. In addition, an overview of a classical liberal policy view of education are provided.

Historical Background and Description

Classical liberalism emerged during the late 17th and 18th century with the Enlightenment period, which espoused that individual freedom was grounded in reason (Steger & Roy, 2010). Classical liberalism upheld the view of limited government, which was initially influenced by Enlightenment philosophers such as John Locke who posited that “in the ‘state of nature’, all men were free and equal, therefore possessing inalienable rights independent of the laws of any government or authority” (Steger & Roy, 2010, p. 5). Locke articulated principles of civil rights, rights to property, a negative conception of freedom, as well as a limited conception of the state whereby government rested on consent of the governed and whose power was restricted to the enforcement of voluntary contracts and the area of defense (Olssen et al., 2004). The notions of a negative conception of freedom and limited conception of the state is explained in detail below.

In its essence, classical liberalism places an emphasis on guaranteeing individual freedom within the framework of a *limited* government that upheld the rule of law (Nijs, 2016). Since humans were bequeathed with the natural rights of life, liberty, and property, only *limited* governments, whose chief aim was to secure and protect these individual rights, namely that property, may be viewed as valid (Steger & Roy, 2010). In this respect, classical liberalism embraces the negative concept of liberalism as opposed to social liberalism, which is associated with the positive view of freedom (Nijs, 2016). Nijs (2016) identifies the negative concept of freedom as “the ability to pursue whatever interest one prefers while not being hindered by others” (p. 29), whether that of state intervention, religious intervention, or citizenry. The right of ownership and possession is a crucial natural right, which embodies the negative concept of freedom.

Given this view of individual freedom, classical liberalism does not accept a market or society that is centrally coordinated (Nijs, 2016). Thus, the early classical liberals disapproved of the mercantilism upheld by a monarch who possessed almost complete control of their economies in order to garner large amounts of gold. In response, “classical liberal” thinkers or economists such as Adam Smith and David Ricardo advanced the merits of the “free market” and “*laissez-faire*” economics. The notion of the individual as a *homo economicus*, which upholds that people are isolated actors who are primarily motivated by material self-interest, is attributed to Adam Smith.

This view surmises that the state should eschew from any intervention in the economy because it functions most effectively when a division between economics and politics remains intact, and it is left to a system of natural laws. The notion of *homo economicus* favours a state that abdicates any interference with economic activities of self-interested citizens, but rather employs its power to safeguard open economic exchange. The classical liberal thinker of David Ricardo posited a theory of “comparative advantage” that argued in favour of free trade and constituted a powerful position against government intervention in the economy (Steger & Roy, 2010). Classical liberalism thus advances a very minimal role for the state, as opposed to the modern notions of the welfare state. For early classical liberal thinkers, the state’s mandate only extended to defense, foreign policy, police, justice, and basic education (Nijs, 2016).

Classical Liberal Policy View of Education

In their book on education policy, Olssen et al. (2004) construct a theoretical framework that delineates classical liberal, welfare liberal, and neoliberal policy perspectives on the state, human nature, economy and education. In it, they note that the classical liberal perspective has established a notion of the individual as a *self-interested maximizer*. It presumes “that individuals

are pre-social and that humans are basically solitary, with needs and interests which are basically solitary” (p. 100). This reduction of humans to the individual upholds the view of an “ontological and metaphysical separation of rationality from structural influences” (p. 100), which only permits a limited acceptance of the bearing and impact that social groups can play on an individual’s exercise of reason. Such a perspective has shaped certain philosophical, social science, and educational scholarship that emphasizes a focus on understanding the individual experience, rather than collective and structural impacts of educational policies. This discourse negates the role of race, gender or class on educational achievement, but rather views an individual’s ability to learn as “something determined by their inborn capacity” (p. 101), and his or her educational achievement as “determined largely by individual effort, something for which they are responsible” (p. 100). This perspective of educational achievement embodies the notion of the individual as a rational agent, whose actions are shaped by intentions and free choices.

Given its prominent role in liberal political and economic theories, the conception of the individual as a rational agent has influenced contemporary views of humans as creators of their own circumstances, as well as related notions of meritocracy and the “self-made man.” With a conception of the individual as largely guided by personal self-interests and a privatized motivation to amass a share of resources, “social positioning is understood to be achieved quite independently of other people and structural barriers” (Olssen et al., 2004, p. 101). In education, this view of individuals has served to discard the impact of social realities such as “the importance of the strategic resources that families provide children with, the salience of the hidden curriculum or the impact of the sexual division of labour upon the construction of subjectivity” (Olssen et al., 2004, p. 101).

Olssen et al. (2004) identify the features of classical liberalism regarding the following areas of education: the view of education as either a public or private good, the purpose of

education, the personal ends of education, the social ends of education, as well as the relationship between the child and society. The classical liberal perspective holds education to be a private good whereby parents have a duty to educate their own children within the context of a private market. For classical liberals, the purposes of education encompass “the potential to enhance persons in the full realization of all their abilities and competencies” (p. 182). Both the personal and social ends of education involve the creation of the rational person, with the personal ends of education as entailing “the development of the mind and character and truth” (p. 181) and the latter as aiming at the formation of “the independent citizen who can test the truth of things through reason” (p. 182). In terms of the relations between the child and the society, the classical liberal perspective upholds “personal autonomy and reason as ends of education” (p. 182) in a society where the child is “respected as independent person with rational critical faculties” (p. 182).

As a philosophy, classical liberalism originated in the seventeenth century and was preeminent until the final decades of the nineteenth century. It was then challenged and superseded by a “new” liberal or “social democratic” orthodoxy, which offered a foundation for the Keynesian-welfarism of the twentieth century. A revival of neoclassical economics occurred with the dominance of neoliberalism since the last three decades of the twentieth century (Olssen et al., 2004).

Social Liberalism

The historical origins and description of social liberalism are discussed below. This discussion is followed by an overview of the social liberalism of the 20th-century Keynesian welfare state, and the social or welfare liberal view of education.

Historical Background and Description

By the second half of the 19th century, many of the premises of classical liberalism were repudiated as liberalism developed a new idea of liberty. Liberals came to reject two classical liberal notions: first, individuals were bestowed with natural rights that existed prior to the formation of society; and second, individuals were only connected to other individuals by instrumental relations for the objectives of either law and order, or market exchanges (Sawyer, 2003). The social liberalism that evolved “was characterized by the primacy of the individual and his or her use of reason to tackle social problems, an elaboration on the positive dimension of freedom, and a focus on utilitarianism rather than outright laws” (Nijs, 2016, p. 34). It constituted a response to the social issues that faced societies in the 19th century such as poverty and the rise of the socialist movements (Nijs, 2016; Van de Haar, 2017).

Social liberalism introduced a new perspective of the individual and of freedom, which advanced an active role for the state (Van de Haar, 2017). Nijs (2016) explains that “the central theme ‘individual freedom’ was replaced by ‘self development’ and the use of reason by humans” (p. 34). John Stuart Mill’s (1806–1873) focus on the idea of self-development and self-fulfillment would constitute the key features of social liberalism. Mill repudiated a mathematical notion of utilitarianism and was rather concerned with quality of human life in aggregate terms. For Mill, education would enable individuals to develop themselves; apply intellectual, moral, and affective motives and talents that would bring about their happiness; and attain a self-fulfillment that would make them highly rational and morally upstanding, leading to the harmonious functioning of society. Freedom, individualism, and development formed a triad (Van de Haar, 2017).

In *On Liberty*, Mill advanced a political theory that was not preoccupied with negative freedom, but rather a positive notion that emphasized “self-fulfillment, which was an additional qualitative requirement to freedom” (as cited in Van de Haar, 2017, p. 49). Mill did not stress the

safeguarding of natural rights nor view them as inviolable, but prioritized collective interests. Van de Haar (2017) explains that for Mill, “the individual right to self-determination was desirable, because it stimulated the advance of society” (p. 49).

Nijs (2016) notes that Mill expanded the nature of the state and its framework by discounting individual (negative) freedom for self-development (i.e., positive freedom). Nijs remarks that Mill “therefore opened the door for more state intervention within a liberal context, which was far from appreciated by classical liberalists” (p. 35). Mill’s work influenced a number of thinkers, who became known as the “New Liberals,” such as Thomas Hill Green, Leonard Trelawny Hobhouse, and John Hobson. The New Liberals abandoned any notions of classical liberal individualism that Mill had continued to accept, and they viewed society as an organic whole (Van de Haar, 2017). Given the extreme disparities in wealth and pervasive poverty, liberals began to ask “whether ‘freedom from’ the coercion and interference of the state should not be matched with ‘freedom to’ food, shelter, education and a minimum level of security” (Olssen, 2004, p. 117).

T.H. Green offered a philosophical defense of the expansion of the state’s role and reconciled this view with the freedom of individuals to follow alternative choices in life (Olssen et al., 2004). Green developed a concept of “positive” liberty or freedom, which was closely tied to the development of the personality or “self-development” (Olssen et al., 2004). Through Green’s influence, liberalism moved away from the concept of “negative” liberty, or the classical liberal view that the state should not interfere with the freedom of the individual (Olssen et al., 2004; Sawyer, 2003). Sawyer (2003) explains that

Green grounded the political obligation of the citizen in the duty of the state to provide the conditions in which both men and women would have “an equal chance of realising what was best in their intellectual and moral natures.” This meant that the state was no

longer seen simply in terms of its role as law enforcer and upholder of contracts, but, rather, in terms of its ethical mission in nurturing the development of its citizens. (p. 11)

In contrast to the classical liberal perspective, the individual and society were regarded as an integrated whole (Van der Haar, 2017). For Green, freedom did not simply entail an absence of coercion, but the freedom to pursue morally admirable aims within conditions that allow for their realization (Olssen et al., 2004; Van der Haar, 2017). In this regard, the state thus had an obligation to foster individual talent, “not least through legislation in the social sphere” (Van der Haar, 2017, p. 52).

The liberal thinkers, Hobhouse and Hobson also followed this thought in their arguments that significant changes in social life were requisite for the securing of freedom (Olssen et al., 2004; Van der Haar, 2017). Hobhouse posited that freedom was closely related to society and the social life of the individual, and it should thus be socially imparted (Olssen et al., 2004; Sawyer, 2003). In the view of Hobhouse, liberalism was grounded in the main aim of the development of the mind and character. As such, the state offered the means to establish the conditions for people to develop their mind and character, and thus ensure freedom and equality. For instance, freedom could be secured by advancing the sphere of social control, or a “positive” notion of the state that provided such provisions as a public education.

In his *A Theory of Justice*, the liberal thinker John Rawls tied both the values of liberty and equality into one concept and argued that people should be afforded equal access to positions of power and the same opportunities (Van der Haar, 2017). In *Political Freedom*, Rawls advanced a larger role for the state for safeguarding socio-economic equality that would guarantee, among other things: “equal opportunities for everyone in education and training”;

“basic healthcare for all”; and “employment for all through (local) government or other arrangements” (Van der Haar, 2017, pp. 57–58).

Keynesian Welfare State

As a result of the First World War and the Great Depression, democratic state intervention into spheres of economic, social, and political life came to be deemed as requisite in alleviating ills of a market economy (Olssen et al., 2004). Olssen et al. (2004) explain that “like the ‘negative’ freedom from state intervention espoused by the classicists, ‘positive’ freedom (or intervention) became the philosophical justification for the dominant economic organization of the time” (p. 122). In *The General Theory of Employment, Money and Interest* (1936), the economist, John Maynard Keynes advanced the idea of demand management by public spending that would form the foundation of Keynesianism (Magnusson & Strath, 2016).

Keynesianism was largely developed in the aftermath of the Second World War when Keynes’s theories came to shape a theoretical system of macroeconomics. In wake of mass unemployment in the Great Depression of the 1930s, Keynes had challenged the mainstream economic view that austerity was a solution to the economic ills of the period (Magnusson & Strath, 2016). As opposed to austerity, Keynes posited that the economic depression and high rates of unemployment could be ended by “a state willing to underbalance its budget and use the available means to install public works and other forms of public spending” (Magnusson & Strath, 2016, p. 47).

The West’s adoption of a moderate Keynesian economic policy or “Keynesianism” represented a middle way between the socialist economic management of the USSR and the classical liberal *laissez faire* approach of certain Western societies during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Ward, 2012). From a Keynesian perspective, markets needed

regulation and active state intervention because “they were seen as volatile, monopolistic, and prone to radical business cycles of overproduction and retrenchment” (Ward, 2012, p. 19). The state intervened with regulations to ensure the efficient and smooth operation of the markets. Furthermore, the state also initiated social welfare policies and worker protections that were safeguards against market uncertainty (Ward, 2012). What came to be known as the “Keynesian compromise,” or simply the “welfare” state would permit

the state to place restrictions on the some of the wiely speculative activities of the market; provide backup financial and social support in situations when the market failed or was working ineffectively; help temper and redistribute large discrepancies in wealth through progressive forms of taxation; ease unemployment, social unrest and deprivation through a variety of social welfare and work programs and promote a style of slow and steady economic growth for corporations and their shareholders. (Ward, 2012, p. 19)

The state’s provision of education upheld “the public welfare role of the state and its role in maintaining the balance of social relations” (Olssen et al., 2004, p. 129).

Social or Welfare Liberal Policy View of Education

Olssen et al. (2004) concisely present the welfare liberal educational policy perspective on the state, education, and knowledge. In terms of philosophical principles, the state seeks the egalitarian objectives of reducing the differences between classes through “new” rights to education and welfare. The state exercises a form of power that is interventionist; it is a “provider of welfare services as well as universal, ‘free’ and compulsory education” (p. 180). The welfare liberal perspective regards education as a public good, as opposed to a private one. As a public good, the free and compulsory public provision of education “aims to guide children in terms of social needs and individual talents” (p. 180).

Olssen et al. (2004) identify the purposes of education, as well as the personal and social ends of education. In terms of purpose, education has the capability to assist individuals “in the full realization of all their abilities and competencies” (p. 181). The personal ends of education involve its “potential to develop the moral, ethical, social, cultural and political awareness of all citizens” (p. 180) through an emphasis on “needs, interests and growth” (p. 181). As a social end, education may be viewed as “a fundamental right of citizenship” (p. 180) that aids in “the operation of the democratic process of society” (p. 181). With regard to the relationship between the child and society, education may also advance “the integration of society in terms of gender, race, class and creed” (p. 181).

The welfare liberal view of education aligns with *ethical liberalism* as identified by Manzer (1994). According to Manzer,

The ideal of ethical liberalism is a society founded on the principle of universal human development, in which all persons have equal opportunities to develop fully their special abilities and participate freely in the political, economic, social, and cultural life of their community. Ethical liberal aspirations for universal individual development presuppose the creation of an educative society. (p. 148)

For Manzer, the foundations of an educative society are grounded in what he terms “person-regarding education.” Policies that favour person-regarding education transfer “the argument for accessibility, from a criterion of equal educational opportunity in order to pursue economic success to a criterion of individual self-development” (p. 148). “Child-centred” or “student-centred” schools are those that meet individual student needs while minimizing the ranking and competition that follows the practice of selection. From an ethical liberal perspective, education

policy-making is viewed as a means to attain an “educative society and individual self-development in a broadly humanistic sense, not simply economic success” (p. 161).

Olssen et al. (2004) discern the welfare liberal policy views regarding three aspects of knowledge: the purposes of knowledge; power over knowledge and the curriculum; and the nature of knowledge. The purpose of knowledge encompasses the satisfaction of “society’s needs and individuals’ interests and development” (p. 180). When it comes to power over knowledge and the curriculum, the welfare liberal view holds that an education’s value should be “judged by expert educationists, that is teachers, principals and educational policy planners” (p. 180). Because education is deep and broad, knowledge cannot be assessable by outcome measures; rather, it is largely reliant upon context and the relationship with the teacher (Olssen et al., 2004). As such, the welfare liberal view of knowledge corresponds to what Kuchapski (1998) identifies as a person-centred approach or conceptualization of accountability in education, as opposed to a technological liberal one.

Kuchapski (1998) utilizes Manzer’s framework of ethical and technological liberalism to outline how “two elements of accountability—planning and assessment—come to be operationalized under each type of liberalism” (p. 196). For ethical liberals, accountability as it pertains to planning, may be furthered by accommodating each individual student so that they feels equally comfortable and successful in school, whatever his/her cultural background or ability (Kuchapski, 1998). In congruence with the view that knowledge is locally situated within teachers, parents, and students, person-centred liberalism advances a decentralized education system to “give teachers and local administrators increased autonomy over educational decision making, including decisions related to the curriculum” (Kuchapski, 1998, p. 198).

Concerning the accountability element of assessment, person-centred liberalism repudiates standardized testing because teachers, in consultation with parents and students, are viewed to be preeminent judges of students' growth in learning; hence, teacher-constructed assessments of student work are viewed as the most legitimate mode of student assessment. An ethical or 'person-centred' positioning on accountability differs from a technological liberal one, which advances a curriculum that is largely developed at the provincial level, the mastery of clearly defined knowledge for equal participation in a global society and national economic competitiveness, as well as the centralization of decision-making and assessments. Lastly, an ethical liberal accountability is also at odds with a technological liberal positioning, which posits that student performance on standardized tests offers the most effective means to evaluate the extent to which students have mastered specified knowledge (Kuchapski, 1998). Whereas ethical liberalism and its approach to education fits under a social liberalism lens, a technological liberal positioning aligns with neoliberalism. The major headings of this chapter indicate the language that this research emphasizes.

Neoliberalism

The intellectual and historical origins of neoliberalism are provided below, along with a description of its key features. The concepts of governance, innovation, and accountability are also discussed. A description of the neoliberal view of education policy is provided.

Historical Background and Description

Neoliberalism emerged as a social, political, and economic undertaking in various societies around the world during the 1970s and early 1980s. This collective enterprise aimed to reconfigure the relationship between society, economy, and state in the latter part of the 20th century, as Keynesian and socialist revolutions had done in first half of the 20th century (Ward,

2012). As a collective undertaking, it aimed at the revival and application of “the insights and practices of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century liberalism ... [to a] host of late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century problems” (Ward, 2012, p. 15). The advent of neoliberalism as a political strategy was particularly evident in both the United Kingdom and the United States in the late 1970s (Jessop, 2002).

Despite the emergence of what may be termed a “neoliberal revolution” (Ward, 2012, p. 16) during the late 1970s, neoliberalism’s intellectual origins may be traced to the foundation of the Mont Pelerin Society in 1947 by Friedrich von Hayek, who was a leading member the Austrian School of Economics (Steger & Roy, 2010, p. 5; Ward, 2012). Hayek and his colleagues at the Mont Pelerin Society aimed to delegitimize the predominance of Keynesian ideas such as state-centred planning and welfare rights through the restoration of classical liberalism (Olssen et al. 2004; Steger & Roy, 2010). Hayek’s key writings, namely *The Road to Serfdom* (1944), *The Constitution of Liberty* (1960), and the through volumes of *Law, Legislation, and Liberty* (1973, 1976, 1979), constitute an exhaustive and clear articulation of “the liberal principles of individualism, of a limited, constitutionally specified role for the state, and of a faith in the market” (Olssen et al., 2004, p. 143). In espousing the notion of a market as adverse to state planning, Hayek argued that state intervention represented a “road to serfdom,” which led to new forms of government-devised despotism that posed threats to the basic rights of life and property (Olssen et al., 2004; Steger & Roy, 2010). Fiercely anti-socialist and anti-Marxist, his arguments opposed state intervention on the two assertions that it was inefficient and a threat to individual freedom; specifically, it was inefficient as it would interfere with the local generation of knowledge that comes from human freedom (Olssen et al., 2004).

The neoliberal principles, as articulated by Hayek and the Pelerin Society, would significantly shape the work of Milton Friedman—a leader of the Chicago School of School of Economics based in Chicago. Having won the 1976 Nobel Prize in Economics, Friedman played an influential role in moving neoliberalism from its position as a minority view in the 1950s to that of a dominating economic orthodoxy by the 1990s (Steger & Roy, 2010, p. 10). Along with other academics located in Chicago, the London School of Economics, and Manchester, Friedman argued in favour of monetarist policies, which were grounded in “the quantity theory of money” for dealing with problems of economic stabilization (Olssen et al., 2004). The espousal of monetarist policies was incompatible with the Keynesian approach to fiscal policy of taxation and redistribution, which was enacted by “big government” (Steger & Roy, 2010). The supporters of monetarism argued that the problems associated with economic stabilization could not be solved “through demand management in relation to such things as wage and price controls (for example, full employment, stable prices, rising living standards), but through the self-stabilizing properties integral to the market system” (Olssen et al., 2004, p. 139).

In devising monetarist theory, Friedman presupposed that state interference, whether that of wage or price controls, resulted in the economic hazard of inflation (Steger & Roy, 2010). Monetarist theory postulated that inflation can only be prevented by a self-regulating market, which permitted “the right number of goods at correct prices produced by workers paid at wage levels determined by the free market” (Steger & Roy, 2010, p. 17). Monetarist policies followed the “quantity theory of money,” which posited “that the level of prices be directly related to the quantity of money in circulation” (Olssen et al., 2004, p. 139), and that there were “direct causal connections between the total quantity of money, the general level of all prices, and the total amount of production” (Olssen et al., 2004, p. 139). In this respect, neoliberalism differs from

ordoliberalism (an outgrowth of German postwar economic thinking), with which it shares an embrace for a market economy and the achievement of market efficiency through competition (Cerny, 2016). Unlike neoliberalism, ordoliberalism favours state interference to ensure the smooth operation of the free market, which it views as prone to anti-competition cartellization and other market abuses if left independent (Cerny, 2016; Jessop, 2019).

In the mid-1970s, neoliberalism emerged as a replacement to Keynesianism, which had formed the dominant economic paradigm since the Second World War (Palley, 2005). The decline of official Keynesianism and the revival of neoliberalism may be attributed to the economic crisis that followed the OPEC oil shock of 1973 to 1974 (Lapavitsas, 2005; Palley, 2005). In wake of the economic crisis, the “scientific” economic approach of government intervention failed to combat the steadfast amalgam of high unemployment and high inflation. Not only did state intervention fail to deal with these two economic problems, but the growth in public expenditures resulted in enduring government deficits that seemed to worsen the global economic crisis. The mid 1970s saw a severe downfall in profitability, as well as a serious interruption of the price system in many developed countries due to rapid and continuous inflation (Lapavitsas, 2005). Lapavitsas (2005) notes that “the institutions that sustained the postwar boom faced intolerable pressure, none more so than the Bretton Woods Agreement, which was put in abeyance in 1971 and finally collapsed in 1973” (p. 33). The Bretton Woods Agreement of 1944 formed the international economic order, along with its international economic institutions: the IMF and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which later became the WB (Steger & Roy, 2010). A key facet of this agreement “was a system of fixed but adjustable exchange rates” (Lamoreaux & Shapiro, 2019, p. 6) in which “each country’s currency would be pegged to the dollar, which would be backed by a gold price set at

\$35 an ounce” (p. 6). The IMF and WB were initially established to advance the Keynesian aims of sustainable growth with price stability and sought to further these aims through Keynesian methods: first, permitting countries to follow active fiscal and monetary policies by reducing constraints, such as inadequate savings; and second, by dissuading against trade barriers and autarkic or mercantilist economic policies (Lamoreaux & Shapiro, 2019). Ultimately, Keynesian efforts to deal with the economic crisis of the 1970s “became the object of scorn” (Olssen et al., 2004, p. 141).

Neoliberalism thus ensued as a response to the economic calamities of the latter half of the 1970s (Lapavitsas, 2005). The elections of Margaret Thatcher in the United Kingdom and Ronald Reagan in the United States, in 1979 and 1980 respectively, marked the beginning of “a formal period of neoliberal economic dominance” (Lapavitsas, 2005, p. 24). Economic policy adopted the monetarist position that opposed government intervention which sought full employment and regarded such intervention as the cause of breakdowns in the market system and the source of unemployment itself (Lapavitsas, 2005; Olssen et al., 2004).

In fact, any form of interventions, whether the existence of trade unions, wage settings and negotiated conditions of work, was regarded as obstructing the market and furthering unemployment (Olssen et al., 2004). Given this view of labour organizations, “labour market flexibility (in other words, imposing real wage reductions, creating mass unemployment, and favouring the expansion of casual labour) gradually became the mark of healthy capitalist economies” (Lapavitsas, 2005, p. 5). The following years would be defined by an official economic ideology that espoused “the virtues of freely operating markets, and associated state interventions with misallocation of economic resources” (Lapavitsas, 2005, pp. 33–34).

Neoliberal policies have been applied to the economies of both industrialized and developing countries. Specifically, the application of economic policies in industrialized countries has largely focused on what may be viewed as the “U.S. model” of neoliberalism (Palley, 2005). This model encompasses the

deregulation of financial markets, privatisation, weakening of institutions of social protection, weakening of institutions of social protection, weakening of labour unions and labour market protections, shrinking of government, cutting of top tax rates, opening up of international goods and capital markets, and abandonment of full employment under the guise of the natural rate. (Palley, 2005, p. 25)

The “U.S. model” is the main origin of neoliberal policy, including the “Washington consensus.” Whereas the “U.S. model” influenced policies in industrialized countries, the “Washington consensus” prevailed in international economic policy (Palley, 2005). Usually regarded as synonymous with neoliberalism, the “Washington consensus” acquired its name from the free-market economist John Williamson and denoted the policy advice dispensed by the IMF and WB to developing countries (Steger & Roy, 2010). The “Washington consensus” advanced “privatisation, free trade, export-led growth, financial capital mobility, deregulated labour markets, and policies of macroeconomic austerity” (Palley, 2005, p. 25). In return for loans, the IMF and WB required heavily-indebted developing countries in the 1980s to adopt “structural adjustment programs” (SAPs) and restructure their economies in line with neoliberal principles. Furthermore, these lenders obliged countries to allocate a significant portion of their loans to the servicing of external debts (Steger & Roy, 2010). The Washington Consensus failed to yield faster economic growth in developing countries, but resulted in slower growth and “a backlash that has significantly discredited it” (Palley, 2005, p. 25). Given the global economic crisis of

2008–2009, neoliberalism and its free market paradigm has also faced a number of challenges and considerable criticism over the last decade (Steger & Roy, 2010).

Facets of Neoliberalism

A number of scholars observe that *neoliberalism* is difficult to define (Eagleton-Pierce, 2016; Holborow, 2012; Saad-Filho & Johnson, 2005). Goldstein (2012) notes that defining neoliberalism is problematic because “there is no way of neatly encapsulating what has now become a kind of catch-all expression or ‘explanatory catholicon’” (as cited in Eagleton-Pierce, 2016, p. xiii). For Saad-Filho and Johnson (2005), a purely theoretical definition of neoliberalism is impossible to attain as it “straddles a wide range of social, political, and economic phenomena at different levels of complexity” (p. 1). Steger and Roy (2010) remark that “neoliberalism has adapted to specific environments, problems, and opportunities” (p. xi) and “for this reason, it makes sense to think of our subject in the plural—*neoliberalisms* rather than a single monolithic manifestation” (p. xi).

Holborow (2012) identifies the following four definitions of neoliberalism: “as an economic theory, as a new form of capitalism, as a ‘discourse’ (including the discourse of ‘Englishisation’) and finally as an ideology” (p. 15). Many of the definitions of neoliberalism constitute either one or a combination of these four. Holborow defines neoliberalism as “at root an economic theory” (p. 15), which argued that “the state was an inefficient, cumbersome economic player” (p. 15); “markets themselves produced symmetry of supply and demand” (p. 15); and “less state intervention, more deregulation and widespread privatization of public services was the way to set free market mechanisms” (p. 15). As a new form of capitalism, neoliberalism refers to a new mode of economic production that is defined by technological

innovation, dialectical interaction between local and global economies, and transformations in “work practices, productivity and society itself” (p. 19).

Adding to this definition,” Holborow (2012) notes that neoliberalism is often viewed “as being discourse-generated” (p. 22). Holborow points to Fairclough’s position that the knowledge-based or information-based transformations of capitalism are discursive in character or “discourse-led” (p. 22). For example, neoliberal globalization is communicated, represented and enacted through the global language of English and global “orders of discourse” that are employed by corporations, governments, and international agencies. Lastly, Holborow identifies neoliberalism as an ideology, which she defines as “a one-sided representation” (p. 29); a construction of a world-view that articulates a particular interest and emanates from the dominant class; a representation that is partially accepted and partially resisted; shaped by real-world events such as a crisis; and “coextensive with language but distinct from it” (p. 29). For Holborow, neoliberalism fits this definition of ideology because it constructs or misrepresents the real world to serve its own ends or the interests of capital; it embodies market maxims that are contradictorily accepted for certain spheres but rejected for others; it is influenced by real-world events such as the economic crash of 2008 and the ensuing recession, which required an ideological readjustment; and it shares these features that distinguish it from discourse.

Steger and Roy (2010) offer a conceptualization of neoliberalism as three interconnected manifestations: “(1) an ideology; (2) a mode or governance; (3) a policy package” (p. 11). This conceptualization corresponds to Holborow’s (2012) definition of neoliberalism as an ideology. Steger and Roy state that neoliberalism, as an ideology, represents a system of “widely shared ideas and patterns of beliefs that are accepted as truth by significant groups in society” (p. 11). As such, it serves as crucial conceptual maps that “guide people through the complexity of their

political worlds” (p. 11). An ideology assembles its key ideas into relatively simple “truth claims” that influence people’s behaviour or actions (Steger & Roy, 2010). By presenting a picture of the world as it should be, the ideological dimension of neoliberalism serves the social interests of the dominant class; namely, the global power elites who propagate a single globally-integrated free market in goods, services, and capital as necessary for a better world (Holborow, 2012; Steger & Roy, 2010). Holborow (2012) identifies this dominant class as the controllers of capital, who benefit from a society driven and defined by the market. For Steger and Roy, the global power elites are the “codifiers of neoliberalism” (p. 11), who include the executives and managers of large transnational organizations, corporate lobbyists, major entertainers and celebrities, along with state bureaucrats and politicians. These elites advance neoliberalism as they can “saturate the public discourse with idealized images of a consumerist, free-market world” (Steger & Roy, 2010, p. 11). Holborow posits that as “a world-view fashioned to suit a specific social class, like other ruling ideologies before it, neoliberal ideology disguises itself in the mask of universalism” (p. 30).

The second facet of neoliberalism denotes a mode of governance that is shaped by “entrepreneurial values such competitiveness, self-interest, and decentralization” as opposed to the traditional pursuit of public good through the advancement of civil society and social justice (Steger & Roy, 2010, p. 12). This neoliberal governance utilizes the following technologies derived from business and commerce:

mandatory development of “strategic plans” and “risk-management” schemes oriented toward the creation of “surpluses”; cost-benefit analyses and other efficiency calculations; the shrinking of political governance (so-called “best-practice governance”); the setting of quantitative targets; the close monitoring of outcomes; the creation of

highly individualized, performance-based work plans; and the introduction of “rational choice” models that internalize and thus normalize market-oriented behaviour. (Steger & Roy, 2010, p. 12)

Neoliberal governance furthers the alteration of identities whereby government employees no longer view themselves as public servants or guardians of a public good, but rather “as self-interested actors responsible to the market and contributing to the success of slimmed-down state ‘enterprises’” (Steger & Roy, 2010, pp. 12–13). This notion of governance is thus situated in New Public Management Theory (NPM), as evident in practices that focus on results, outputs, and performance, as well as the measuring and monitoring quality to ensure the efficient and competitive operation of bureaucratic organizations (Morgan & Volante, 2016).

The third facet of neoliberalism reveals itself as a definitive set of public policies that Steger and Roy (2012) refer to as the ‘D-L-P Formula: “(1) **d**eregulation (of the economy); (2) **l**iberalization (of trade and industry); and (3) **p**rivatization (of state-owned enterprises) (p. 14). Steger and Roy note that associated policies include, among others, large tax cuts for businesses and high-income earners; cutbacks to social services and welfare provisions; the curtailment of government; the substitution of welfare with workfare; anti-unionization campaigns on the premise of increasing productivity and “labour” flexibility; the elimination of restrictions on global and financial trade flows; as well as the integration of national economies on global and regional scales.

In describing neoliberalism, Munck (2005) refers to Wendy Larner’s typology that defines it as a policy or set of policies, an ideology, and a form of governmentality. Munck suggests that a distinction needs to be made between “neoliberalism as a system of thought and actually existing neoliberalism” (p. 60). As such, one must distinguish between the ideas devised by Frederick Hayek and Milton Friedman and the practical “programme of macroeconomic

stabilisation, liberalisation of trade and privatisation (or destatisation) of the economy” (p. 60). Munck observes that both Keynesianism and neoliberalism are “political-economic paradigms” (p. 64) that “can be conceived as a socio-political matrix that set the parameters of social, political, and economic development for a whole era” (p. 64).

Munck (2005), Nijs (2016), and Ward (2012) stipulate that neoliberalism has blurred the distinctions between the political, economic, and social spheres of life by extending market-based principles or the operation of the market to society. Specifically, neoliberalism has reconfigured the traditional relationship between the public and private sphere through its intrusion into various facets of society and human activity, ranging from the household to the world economy (Munck, 2005). According to Nijs, classical and social liberalism differ from neoliberalism as they are grounded in and respect “different spheres of life and the separation of powers and their own dynamics where they are social, economic, political, ethical or religious in nature” (p. 52), whereas “neoliberalism does not respect walls between different spheres of life” (p. 52). In this regard, neoliberalism moves beyond the market or economic sphere to permeate society through the application of corporate managerial techniques to other spheres. It imposes an emphasis on efficiency and competition to all facets of life, whether the state, cultural and social life, or social institutions, which had no previous economic association (Nijs, 2016; Munck, 2005). For Munck, “neoliberalism represents the new socio-political matrix for capitalist development on a global scale, reconfiguring the public-private domains and the nature of economy-politics-society” (p. 64).

Neoliberalism and the Individual

A key theoretical foundation of neoliberalism includes the 18th and 19th century liberalist view that market transaction embodies “an essential and basic truth about human nature and the creation and maintenance of social order” (Ward, 2012, p. 1). Ward explains that

Under neoliberalism people were to be reconceptualized less as socially connected citizens of a nation state or morally situated members of a culture and more as self-interested competitors, self-actualized entrepreneurs and rational consumers in a dynamic and ever-changing global marketplace. (p. 2)

By modelling human affairs on market activities, neoliberals aimed to alter fundamentally the traditional moral and social connections of individuals to societies, groups, and social institutions, in addition to politics and economics (Ward, 2012). In this way, market exchange should be a guide for conducting activities that were once viewed beyond the purview of the marketplace. Neoliberalism's reframing of the social, citizenship, or social membership has meant that one's individual actions and responsibilities garnered him/her a social standing, rather than the inherent guarantee of rights or protections by the state (Ward, 2012). This revised notion of the classical liberal *homo economicus* regards certain psychological traits such as competition and self-interest as universal and superseding "the 'local knowledge' and customs of culture, religion, and tradition or the protections afforded by the 'tribe' or state" (Ward, 2012, p. 2).

As opposed to viewing the social sphere as one with obligations or expectations, neoliberalism diminished it to an extension of the economic realm (Ward, 2012). In this respect, the social sphere was to be shaped by the key economic laws of self-interest that direct the market's functioning. Ward (2012) asserts that this reconfiguration of the individual as a *homo economicus* or as "self-in-society" furthered the view that "people's fates were determined by their own skills, initiatives, analyses of risk and individual consumptive choices and not by their reliance on the social relationships, obligations or expectations generated by the state, society or culture" (p. 2).

Whereas Ward sees neoliberalism as advancing a notion of *homo economicus*, Olssen et al. (2004) regards such an individual as more aligned with the classical liberal view. Olssen et al.

posit that the move from classical liberalism to neoliberalism rather entails “a change in subject position from *homo economicus*, who naturally behaves out of self-interest, and is relatively detached from the state, to *manipulatable man*, who is created by the state and who is continually encouraged to be ‘perpetually responsive’” (p. 137). For Olssen et al., this shift to neoliberalism does not mean that the notion of a self-interested subject is dispensed with, but that the state needs to ensure that the individual is engaged in continuous enterprise; given the neoliberal view that “slothful indolence” (p. 137) arises from universal welfare, the formation of a *manipulatable man* or person requires new modes of “vigilance, surveillance, performance appraisal, and control” (p. 137) by the state.

Neoliberalism and the State

Jessop (2002), Peck and Tickell (2002), Munck (2005), and Ward (2012) identify the *roll-back* and *roll-out* phases or forms of state intervention under neoliberalism. Both Jessop and Munck remark on neoliberalism’s paradoxical nature as it espouses a minimal role of the state, yet it increases government intervention. The first phase neoliberalism commenced in 1973 with Augusto Pinochet’s military coup in Chile and the neoliberal programme of the “Chicago Boys” (a group of economists trained at the University of Chicago and Santiago’s Catholic University in “Friedmanite” free-market principles) (Munck, 2005; Steger & Roy, 2010). This phase became firmly established in the late 1970s and early 1980s with Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan’s reduction of the state, or what may be called a “roll back” of the state (Peck & Tickell, 2002; Munck, 2005; Steger & Roy, 2010; Ward 2012). *Roll-back* neoliberalism adhered to the theoretical views of Hayek, whose “target was always what was seen as an ‘excessive’ or ‘bloated’ state sector, its intrusion into and attempts at regulation of the ‘free market’ and, ultimately, the erosion of freedom this represented for the individual” (Munck, 2005, p. 62). This form of neoliberalism aimed to roll back or curtail government intervention that is associated with a mixed economy or a developmental state, as well the Keynesian welfare state (Munck,

2005; Ward, 2012). For Peck and Tickell (2002), this *roll-back* neoliberalism was mainly fixated on “the *active destruction and discreditation* of Keynesian welfarist and social-collectivist institutions” (p. 384), and was a form of reactionary “antiregulation.” Although this neoliberal project aimed in theory to roll back the state, or to free the market from regulation, state intervention was in practice transformed and expanded to further the market economy (Munck, 2005; Ward, 2012).

The second phase of neoliberalism occurred in 1990s, and it is associated with the “Third Way” or “roll out” policies of Tony Blair in the U.K. and Bill Clinton in the U.S. (Jessop, 2002; Peck & Tickell, 2002; Munck, 2005; Ward, 2012). Peck and Tickell (2002) explain that this shift to *roll-out* neoliberalism emerges due to the limitations of *roll-back* neoliberalism’s marketcentric reforms, and it is characterized by “the purposeful *construction* and *consolidation* of neoliberalized state reforms, modes of governance, and regulatory reforms” (p. 384). Nijs (2016) suggests that the neoliberal state is not weakened by a retreat in state intervention and regulation, but it is rather strengthened by rules and evaluation techniques. An expanded form or *roll-out* of state intervention occurs through a move from government to new modes of governance. These new forms of governance are ostensibly more pertinent to a market-driven and newly labelled knowledge-driven global economy (Jessop, 2002). Ward (2012) explains that the neoliberal state was neither a *laissez faire* capitalist state nor a traditional welfare state, but rather a “managerial state” that employed evaluative and auditing techniques to ensure that economic or social goals were attained. This neoliberal state favours “governing at a distance” through privatization, outsourcing, or partner-based forms of governance, as well the formation of markets or quasi-markets to offer public services (Jessop, 2002; Ward, 2012). The state would create markets or quasi-markets that were not in previous existence at the institutional level through forms of NPM (Green, 2011; Ward, 2012).

In addition to a focus on governance, *roll-out* neoliberalism is a form of proactive state craft that concentrates on social policy (Peck and Tickell, 2002). Peck and Tickell (2002) note that *roll-out* neoliberalism, as evident in the “socially interventionist and ameliorative forms” (p. 388) of Blair and Clinton, is more concerned with ‘social’ and penal policy making. In response to the failings arising from Thatcher/Reagan reforms, it favours a socially interventionist approach around social issues of “crime, immigration, policing, welfare reform, urban order and surveillance, and community regeneration” (p. 389). Given the marginalization and dispossession of individuals in the 1980s due to *roll-back* reforms, *roll-out* neoliberalism is concerned with the “aggressive reregulation, disciplining, and containment of those marginalized or dispossessed” (p. 389). Peck and Tickell suggest that *roll-out* neoliberalism advances the neoliberal project through new technologies of government, new discourses of reform and social-capital, and the creation of new subjectivities. Jessop (2002) suggests the notion of *flanking* to refer to those strategies or policies that *roll-out neoliberalism* requires to mediate the tensions, failings, or shortcomings of neoliberalism. The *flanking* of neoliberalism involves a “Third Way” approach that integrates aspects of state intervention in addition to embracing market principles, and promotes “community” or “self-organizing communities” (Jessop, 2002; Ward, 2012).

Governance

As a managerial form of governance, NPM denotes the application of market mechanisms to the public sector, whether the civil service, education, transport, housing, health, prisons and so forth. It has sought to coordinate or reform public sector organizations according to the following main principles: “explicit standards and measures of performance”; “greater emphasis on output controls”; “the break-up of monolithic into smaller, manageable units”; “shifts to greater competition in the public sector”; and “stress on private sector styles of

management practice” (Green, 2011, p. 20). Green (2011) notes that NPM subjects public sector employees to “performance accountability” measures or “performance management” systems. According to Green, NPM draws from the managerial discourse of business or commerce when applying or referring to “‘quality assurance,’ ‘continuous improvement,’ ‘benchmarking,’ ‘audit control,’ ‘transparency reviews,’ ‘performance indicators,’ ‘driving up standards,’ or ‘delivery’ of a target” (p. 4).

These reforms were part of the *roll-out* form of neoliberalism that came to fruition in the late 1990s and early 2000s under politicians such as Bill Clinton in the U.S. and Tony Blair in the U.K. (Jessop, 2002; Ward, 2012). Also known as the Third Way, this *roll-out* neoliberalism embraced both market principles and aspects of state intervention: it adopted market notions such as efficiency, accountability, and choice; and aspects of state interventionism, including regulatory and auditing instruments and an interest in social democracy and the general welfare of citizenry (Ward, 2012). This Third Way approach modified original neoliberal principles to ensure “a continuing and ever-growing role for the central-state in supporting markets, particularly in key social policy areas such as education and health” (Furlong, 2013, p. 31). As a middle of the road approach, it espoused key facets of neoliberalism, while aiming to include traditional elements of a socially progressive agenda tied to the democratic left (Rigas & Kuchapski, 2018; Steger & Roy, 2010).

At the beginning of the 21st century, a new form of governance arose termed, New Public Governance (NPG), which seeks to meet the intricacy of modern societies by permitting self-organization. This self-organization involves the replacement of vertically-organised societies that are grounded in hierarchical power in favour of multiple points of power, such as networks (Theisens et al., 2016). Under NPG, several actors, with strong collaborative and

horizontal ties, work to administer public services such as education (Dickinson, 2016; Theisens et al., 2016). This new emphasis on networks or ‘network’ governance is arguably a new form of *flanking or roll-out* neoliberalism, which addresses the problems or contradictions of NPM reforms and marketization (Bevir, 2011; Blanco 2015; Fuller & Geddes, 2008; Jessop, 2002). In the neoliberal era, the changes to the Keynesian state may also be understood through the notions of innovation and accountability, in addition to those of governance. These three notions are discussed below in detail.

Innovation

Ampuja (2016) and Moffat et al. (2016) observe the relationship between the discourse of innovation with the policy aims that seek the neoliberal transformation of state institutions or institutional frameworks and commercialization. Ampuja notes that the concept of innovation is viewed as advantageous and is hardly ever questioned. Having been identified by *The Economist* (18 February 1999) as the “industrial revolution of the late 20th century” (as cited in Ampuja, 2016, p. 23), innovation retains its preeminent standing in managerial discourses and policy prescriptions regarding national competitiveness in global markets. Given the influential position of innovation, Ampuja suggests a close association with neoliberalism

as public discussions and also academic studies on the subject are filled with calls to transform state institutions, labour markets, education and even basic cultural values so that these would better innovation, on which the health of not only the economy but the whole society is viewed to depend. (p. 23)

Ampuja observes that the rise of innovation’s predominance in the 1980s occurred simultaneously with the advent of neoliberalism; in fact, the mainstream theories of innovation and entrepreneurship worked to reinforce neoliberalism from an ideological standpoint. During

the 1980s in the United Kingdom, the notion of innovation was employed by parliamentarians to further the position “that state policies were standing in the way of innovation and that these ‘unnatural barriers’ had to be removed so that the market could take over and create the proper conditions for innovation” (Ampuja, 2016, p. 23). Ampuja adds that neoliberal adjustment programmes, demanded by institutions of liberal capitalism such as the IMF and WB, have been largely justified on the grounds that they establish the appropriate conditions for creativity and technological innovation.

Ampuja (2016) points out that neoliberal hegemony or the new form of capitalism is usually associated with technological innovation, namely new information and communication technologies (ICT) and the information society. Ampuja draws from the work of Manuel Castells to highlight how subjectless network technologies have had implications for state power through the “move from the supposedly rigid bureaucratic social structures of earlier state structures of state-directed capitalism to more open and decentralised market structures” (p. 20). In discussing the rise of ICT networks and its impact on the Keynesian state’s role over economic development, Ampuja cites Castells to note that “‘networks dissolve centres’ and ‘disorganize hierarchy,’ making possible all kinds of activities that challenge top-down state domination” (p. 26). In other words, networks work to undo “large-scale, vertical production organizations and extremely hierarchical state institutions” (Castells, 2004, 2009, as cited in Ampuja, 2016, p. 26).

In discussing higher education reform in Ontario, Moffat et al. (2016) suggest that the discourse of innovation in policy documents underscores a “preoccupation with the priorities of neoliberal governance” (p. 317). They argue that innovation is “a discursive practice with specific and profound impacts on higher education” (p. 317), and that the discourses of innovation, creativity, and entrepreneurship are employed to increase productivity. When it

comes to the discourses of innovation, creativity, entrepreneurship and productivity in higher education, Moffat et al. (2016) state that their “meaning and purpose” (p. 317) needs to be interrogated. In their exploration of postsecondary education policy documents in Ontario, Moffat et al. (2016) assert that innovation discourse often hides important changes:

Without this type of interrogation these discourses function as an *episteme* that is assumed to have a widespread, a priori value, which may obscure the dramatic transformations, such as the move to tailor education solely to the market economy, the rise of reductive outcome measures for student and faculty evaluation, the commercialization of knowledge, the pursuit of efficiencies in the postsecondary sector, and the corporatization of governance that are occurring in higher education. (p. 317)

In this regard, an interrogation of the discourses of innovation in K–12 OECD documents allows for an unveiling of their meaning and purposes concerning the nature and future of education.

Bullen et al. (2006) also find that the term innovation is pervasive in current policy and managerial discourse. For Bullen et al., innovation should not be simply discounted as “an empty signifier or an instance of managerial speak” (p. 60), as it designates more than the creation of a new idea or invention. Specifically, innovation may encompass the key elements of “new knowledge, scientific inventiveness, technology, markets, enterprise, and competitiveness, and entrepreneurialism” (p. 60). According to Fagersberg (2002), innovation is a “specific social activity (function) carried out in the economic sphere with a commercial purpose” (as cited in Bullen et al., 2006, p. 60). As such, the economic and commercial elements of innovation situate it within a neoliberal outlook.

Eagleton-Pierce (2016) states that “discourses of innovation in the neoliberal era have also spawned a related focus on ‘creativity’” (p. 109). Like that of innovation, the focus on

creativity, as embraced by firms, management experts and media commentators, has the objective of “furnishing new ideas about how to extract financial value and improve competitive positioning in markets” (p. 109). The emphasis on the financial value of creativity, in the neoliberal era, is evident in the phrase of “creative industries” and the notion of the “creativity economy,” to which the sectors of advertising, computer, software, design, and music claim to belong. Because culture is now viewed as having a national economic value or utility, governments and authorities have increasingly contributed to “steering culture and arts towards the principles of commodification and popular consumption” (p. 109). Critics argue that the creative-industries discourse mirrors a neoliberal view of culture that threatens artistic works outside the parameters of economization and commodification (Eagleton-Pierce, 2016). Kalin (2016) argues that this neoliberal appropriation of creativity is prevalent within educational discourses regarding the aims of schooling. According to Kalin, the conflation of creativity with innovation in schools redefines the notion of creative exploration to one that is a marketized and capitalized pursuit. Although schooling appears to value the arts, creativity emphasizes “selling” rather than “interpreting” culture.

Bullen et al. (2006) argue that the concept of innovation serves “to replace uncertainty with certitude” (p. 56) in response to social and economic transformations brought about by techno-scientific growth. Given that one does not know for certain whether techno-scientific growth will bring about global economic prosperity or crises, ecological sustainability or disaster, reduced inequalities or expanded equalities, innovation creates “the illusion of certitude” (Bullen et al., 2006, pp. 56–57) where there is undecidability or risk. Bullen et al. assert that in the denoted “knowledge economy, the economic concept of innovation functions as

the “assured knowledge” which “programmes” or pre-empts the decision-making of governments, organizations, and individuals” (Bullen et al., 2006, p. 56).

Accountability

Green (2011) suggests that governments have embraced the dominant discourses of neoliberalism and management theory to seek accountability. Specifically, they have embraced “private” business management methods, as well as its accompanying specialized technical language into the public sector to further managerial modes of accountability. Green argues that a certain set of special discourse, which she calls *managerialese*, upholds “performance” accountability under which teachers and other professionals have found themselves employed. Under a system of performance accountability, agents are favourably judged on and required to meet prescribed, pre-specified targets.

These accountability measures are entrenched in a policy agenda that seeks to “raise standards,” and they place teachers and other public sector professionals in an environment that is competitive and even punitive at times. In examining the education sector, Kress et al. (2011) identify consequential accountability as an accountability mechanism that is characterized by the three following elements: (a) explicit, public standards; (b) regular testing based on those standards; (c) and consequences tied to performance. Under a system with consequential accountability, schools (in certain U.S. jurisdictions) that do not meet required performance targets face punishment in the form of state audits, probationary status, or a complete takeover by the state (Cobb, 2004).

For Green (2011), “whenever anyone, working in a school, hospital, police force, or social service, refers to ‘quality assurance,’ ‘continuous improvement,’ ‘benchmarking,’ ‘audit control,’ ‘transparency reviews,’ ‘performance indicators,’ ‘driving up standards,’ or ‘delivery’

of a target, they are talking *managerialese*” (p. 4). According to Green, *managerialese* now constitutes the language through which professional practitioners are required to account for themselves. The dominance of management discourse has had the effect of excluding or marginalizing questions of ethical import or notions of responsibility. Despite the fact that this managerial rhetoric may address “good” or “excellent” practice, “it *depersonalizes* the notion of responsibility by framing the arena of public accountability around private sector idealizations of ‘good’ management: goal definition, efficient resource allocation, financial performance and competition” (Green, 2011, p. 4).

As part of a new managerialism, this discourse of accountability is established in the power of the manager and market rather than a professional authority (Suspitsyna, 2010). This practice of neoliberal accountability may be understood through Foucault’s notion of governmentality. Foucault’s notion of governmentality embodies two facets. First, governmentality denotes the control of populations through *technologies of thought* and a political rationality, and it suggests an administrative mentality within modern society (Foster, 2004; Suspitsyna, 2010). Second, governmentality involves “conduct of conduct,” signifying that governments act by employing specific rationalities and mechanisms that influence and dictate individuals’ conduct (Niesche, 2013). In other words, individual subjects are influenced by “self-conduct” or in Foucauldian terms, techniques of self whereby “they regulate their behaviour according to internalized social norms” (Suspitsyna, 2010, p. 570).

At its core, neoliberal governmentality seeks to reconfigure the relationship between the state and the individual through responsabilization (Ward, 2012). Aligned with the neoliberal technology of self, responsabilization exacts an individualism upon society and moves responsibility away from the state (the old, Keynesian welfare-state) to the individual. Within

education, this responsabilization mainly involves teachers and students who have been “self-responsibilized” for quality and outcomes of education (Peters, 2017). Under neoliberal forms of accountability, the responsabilization of teachers occurs as they come to identify with policy and take responsibility for student and school performance (Done & Murphy, 2018). Furthermore, responsabilization often extends not only to the micro-level of the individual, but to the macro-level of school organizations, federal and state governing bodies which are accountable to either consumers or the public (Suspitsyna, 2010). Suspitsyna (2010) explains that respective members internalize the organization’s needs—which are largely based on private sector idealizations of targets, budgeting, and competition—as their own. Under neoliberal governmentality, moralization signifies “the transformation of the individuals’ self, and his/her needs, desires, obligations, and customs” (Suspitsyna, 2010, p. 571) according to business ethics.

Olssen et al. (2004) argue that neoliberal governmental technologies represented a new form of power, which diminishes the practices of professionalism. The notion of “profession” embodied a form of institutional organization defined by the principle of *autonomy*. The principle of *autonomy* is a mode of power, which rests on “delegation” or delegated authority and is upheld by relations of trust. According to Olssen et al., teachers and academics are *de-professionalized* under neoliberal governmentality, as delegated power is supplanted by authoritative hierarchical or managerial forms, which eliminate autonomy and freedom. Neoliberalism is at odds with professionalism because it relies upon a mode of power that is “premised upon a need for compliance, monitoring, and accountability organised in a management line” (Peters, 2017, p. 143) and grounded in measurable outputs. Thus, the de-professionalization of teachers occurs through the restructuring of educational institutions, under the guise of “innovation,” to meet state and market needs (Bullen et al., 2006; Peters, 2017).

Ellison (2012), Lingard (2009), O'Neill (2013), and Sahlberg (2010, 2012) propose intelligent accountability as an alternative to test-based or externally-mandated accountability mechanisms. Intelligent accountability, which characterizes the Finnish education system, may be defined as a policy framework that shows a commitment to the following: the professionalism and autonomy of teachers and school leaders, trust in teachers and school leaders to self-evaluate and create internal forms of accountability, the utilization of sample rather than census-based assessment for external accountability, teacher-constructed formative assessments, as well as lateral networking and capacity building to ensure the spread of research-based practices and ideas throughout the system (Ellison, 2012; Sahlberg, 2010).

Neoliberal Policy View of Education

Olssen et al.'s (2004) framework presents the neoliberal policy perspective on the state, human nature, education, and knowledge. Olssen et al. identify the neoliberal policy perspectives on the state as they relate to "modes of regulation," "core philosophical principles," and "forms of state power." In terms of modes of regulation, a neoliberal policy perspective favours a "'positive' conception of state power" (p. 180) and the "marketization of the state" (p. 180). It calls for a mode of governance that advances the corporatization, marketization, and privatization of educational institutions. Such reforms to educational governance are premised on economic arguments (Rizvi, 2017).

These reforms are also situated in the core philosophical principles of a neoliberal policy perspective that espouse an enterprise economy and "more support for the entrepreneurial spirit in private and public realms" (Olssen et al., 2004, p. 180). The neoliberal policy view upholds that privatization, marketization, and corporatization results in higher levels of cost effectiveness, and thus, increased productivity from both individuals and institutions (Rizvi, 2017). It is

surmised that the power of private property rights, market forces, and competition “bring out the best in people, and that therefore privatized service delivery is considered more efficient” (Rizvi, 2017, p. 8). Whereas privatization leads to more efficiency, the marketization of educational institutions results in them becoming more innovative (Rizvi, 2017). The development of an entrepreneurial culture at different educational levels would enable the formation of “self-reliant, fully informed and entrepreneurially-minded students and knowledge workers” (Ward, 2012, p. 5). This development of an entrepreneurial culture, and the resulting construction of self-reliant and entrepreneurial individuals represents a formula of neoliberal governmentality. An enterprise and market logic within educational institutions promotes an entrepreneurial self and “responsibilized” subject, who exercises choice-making in education as a consumer citizen (Suspitsyna, 2010; Peters, 2017).

Under neoliberalism, the premise of the welfare state’s curtailment rests upon the view that it is outdated, and that societies now demand individuals who can now care for themselves (Rizvi, 2017). The welfare state would no longer be needed since the education system has constructed self-reliant knowledge workers with the skills to adapt to and benefit from the changing global economy (Ward, 2012). A responsabilization of individuals thus occurs with the move from a traditional Keynesian welfare state and social insurance to a neoliberal model of private insurance constructed through choice (Peters, 2017). The shift from a welfare-state to a “consumer-citizen” model requires individuals to take responsibility for their health, education, retirement, and employment (Peters, 2005). Entrepreneurial or responsabilized subjects are required to make choices by applying an actuarial rationality to these areas, which were previously the realm of the state (Peters, 2005, 2017; Suspitsyna, 2010).

Within the education sector, the adoption of accountability measures signifies an adherence to an entrepreneurial culture or logic (Suspitsyna, 2010). In a market of educational provision, such an adherence increases the legitimacy of educational organizations “among peers and the public, contributing to their competitiveness, and ensuring their survival” (Suspitsyna, 2010, p. 579). As a result, institutions are required to meet targets with a smaller level of funding and encounter an expectation of “doing more with less” (Rizvi, 2017, p. 8). Educational institutions are subject to high-stakes accountability or auditing mechanisms that lay out prescribed, pre-specified targets (Green, 2011).

Olssen et al.’s (2004) framework outlines the neoliberal policy perspectives regarding education as either a public or private good, the purposes of education, the personal and social ends of education, and the relations between the child and society. Concerning education as a public or private good, the neoliberal view favours an education that “is publicly provided but privately distributed and accessed ... [and] allows consumers to choose” (p. 180) what they want. In terms of purpose, the neoliberal view holds that “education will be used for the advancement of individuals who have paid for their skills” (p. 181). As a personal end, education is viewed as a “commodity which could be traded in the marketplace for money and status ... [and] the skills acquired in education will reflect the nature of the market” (p. 181).

In this regard, education becomes reconceptualized as it shifts from being a public right or direct government responsibility to a private investment in what is called “human capital”—a deeply contested term (Blaug, 1968; Rigas & Kuchapski, 2016; Ward, 2012). The OECD defines human capital as “the knowledge, skills, competencies and attributes embodied in individuals that facilitate the creation of personal, social, and economic well-being” (as cited in Morgan & Volante, 2016, p. 779). Such an investment enables the knowledge consumer to acquire a higher position or status in the market place (Ward, 2012). According to Rizvi (2017), the purposes of

education have become increasingly shaped by human capital theory, which holds that “expenditure on training and education is costly, but should be regarded as an investment” (p. 6). The view of education and training as investment rests on the premise that it raises both personal incomes and enhances national productivity. Human capital theory affirms that education increases the “competitive advantage of individuals, corporations, and nations” (Rizvi, 2017, p. 6) within the global economy.

As a social end, “the state has no power to decide what kind of education is best for the individual ... [as] there will be freedom of choice in schooling” (Olssen et al., 2004, p. 181). In considering the relations between the child and society, “education must be responsive to the needs of their clients in order to be competitive” and “individuals will receive vouchers which they can cash for a certain type of education” (Olssen et al., 2004, p. 181). Hence, a neoliberal model sees education as a commodity whereby students are transformed into consumers, who can purchase their education on the marketplace. The state’s role in education becomes reconfigured from a provider of public education, which seeks the collective well-being and social welfare, to an information conduit, which aids consumers in making the right choices in the market (Ward, 2012).

Olssen et al. (2004) also present the neoliberal policy perspective about the purposes of knowledge, power over knowledge and the curriculum, and the nature of knowledge. The purposes of knowledge entail “the satisfaction of individuals’ wants to compete” through the “form of capital (that, is human capital)” (Olssen et al., 2014, p. 181). Olssen and Peters (2005) assert that “the most significant material change that underpins neoliberalism in the twentieth century is the rise in the importance of knowledge as capital” (p. 330). Human capital theory rests on the premise that investments in human capital, namely “people’s knowledge stock, skill levels, learning capabilities, and cultural adaptability” (Rizvi, 2017, p. 6) leads to economic

growth and competitive advantage in the global economy. In fact, knowledge is viewed to be as equally important as financial and physical capital and natural resources to a nation's economic growth and competitiveness. It is asserted that economic advancement relies heavily on knowledge and the employment of that knowledge within a knowledge economy (Peters & Humes, 2003).

Peters and Humes (2003) explain that a "knowledge economy" may be described "in terms of the economics of abundance (as opposed to scarcity), the annihilation of distance, the deterritorialisation of the state, and investment in human capital" (p. 5). This transition towards a knowledge economy has been termed "knowledge capitalism" (Olssen & Peters, 2005; Peters & Humes, 2003). The idea of a knowledge economy has resulted in a reconfiguration of the traditional relationships between education, learning and work; the relationship between the production of knowledge and its commercial applications; as well as the relationship between the economy and the purposes of education (Olssen & Peters, 2005; Peters & Humes, 2003; Rizvi, 2017).

The purposes of education have thus become closely tied to a notion of a knowledge economy and the conceptualization of education as a form of knowledge capital (Olssen & Peters, 2005; Rizvi, 2017). In the realm of education policy, a main concern involves the twofold strategy of "developing the appropriate knowledge institutions, including the reform of knowledge institutions" (Peters & Humes, 2003, p. 2), as well as an emphasis on human resources or human capital; namely, the formation of individuals "who know how to learn by upgrading existing skills and acquiring new skills" (Peters & Humes, 2003, p. 3). The notion of a knowledge economy upholds the position that "education now needs to produce different kinds of subjectivities who are able to work creatively with knowledge; who are flexible, adaptable and

mobile; who are globally minded and inter-culturally confident; and who are life-long learners” (Rizvi, 2017, p. 7).

The idea of a knowledge economy requires that educational purposes focus less on students’ having information, and more on their acquisition of skills or qualities, which will enable them to adapt effectively to the fast-changing conditions of work. It necessitates that a significant portion of the labour force is prepared for highly skilled jobs and newly-formed well-paid employment in high-technology industries such as telecommunications and services industries. In the assumed knowledge economy, workers need to be highly skilled, competent in the use of new technologies to contribute to national productivity and the innovation agenda. They also need to be adaptable to changing work conditions, regardless if most new jobs will be situated in the low-paid service sector (Rizvi, 2017). The view of forming life-long learners does not involve the creation of individuals who are engaged in continuous learning for its own sake or community engagement; rather, life-long learning is aligned with the educational “purposes of human capital development and economic self-maximization” (Rizvi, 2017, p. 7).

Regarding “power over knowledge and curriculum,” Olssen et al. (2004) state that “the worth of an education is judged by consumers, that is parents and industry, in terms of the marketability of the knowledge” (p. 181). When considering the nature of knowledge, “education emphasizes performance knowledge and skills of use to employers, which are measurable outcomes” (p. 181).

Inclusive Liberalism

The historical origins of inclusive liberalism and a description of its salient features are described below, along with the differing views of whether inclusive liberalism is a distinct form liberalism or another version of neoliberalism. Although Olssen et al. (2004) do not include an

inclusive liberal policy perspective, this research added an inclusive liberal view as it relates to education to the framework.

Historical Background and Description

The financial crash of 2008 and subsequent events was a turning point for neoliberalism. Specifically, the 30-year expansion of market reforms on a global level ultimately ended in economic crisis, which was in turn caused by market failure (Block et al., 2012). Given the decline in productivity growth and average earnings in wake of the financial crash, “it has been increasingly acknowledged that many western economies are exhibiting significant structural weaknesses” (Stirling & Laybourn-Langton, 2017, p. 558). In fact, the free market fundamentalism of neoliberalism has come under criticism by prominent economists, including Stiglitz (2008) and Krugman (2018). Stiglitz (2008) argues that

Neo-liberal market fundamentalism was always a political doctrine serving certain interests. It was never supported by economic theory. Nor, it should be clear, is it supported by historical experience. Learning this lesson may be the silver lining in the cloud now hanging over the global economy. (para. 16)

In identifying “a lot of what’s wrong with neoliberal ideology,” Krugman (2018) states the following:

What, after all, were and are the selling points for low taxes and minimal regulation? Partly, of course, the claim that small government is the key to great economic performance, a rising tide that raises all boats—because there are powerful interests that want it to persist—even though the era of neoliberal dominance has been marked by so so economic growth that hasn’t been shared with ordinary workers. (para. 2)

Stirling and Laybourn-Langton (2017) draw from the theories of paradigm shift, as found in both the social sciences and physical sciences, to show that the current economic anomalies are as pronounced and “comparable to the two major historical conditions that ended with the postwar consensus and neoliberalism” (p. 558). Pointing to the breakdown of Keynesianism and the transition to neoliberalism, Stirling and Laybourn-Langton suggest that the decade after the financial crash of 2008 was a similar moment of disjuncture. They argue that within this period, the conditions were “apparent for considerable change in economics and on an historically significant scale” (p. 568).

Even before the financial crash of 2008, the neoliberal project faced a problem of legitimacy in both the developed and developing states as a result of social costs and a decline in living standards. As a result, an inclusive liberal consensus emerged in the mid-1990s to resolve the problems and contradictions of neoliberal policies, especially in developing states (Ruckert, 2008). Porter and Craig (2004) devised the term inclusive liberalism to describe contemporary liberalism’s move “beyond a previous disaggregating, deregulatory, and ‘more market’ phase (frank, rationalist ‘neo’-liberalism)” and the shift “toward embedding, legitimating, and securing liberal reform” (p. 390). For Porter and Craig, inclusive liberalism may be seen as a re-embedding of contemporary liberal hegemony arising from neoliberalism’s crises, failings, or shortcomings. They view the rise of inclusive liberalism as a defensive response to neoliberalism’s loss of legitimacy and a reaction to the following events:

Whether in development’s Structural Adjustment or in the kinds of radical marketization in key OECD countries, neoliberalism ultimately failed to emerge as what Regulationist Theory calls a durable socio-economic and spatio-temporal fix. Development’s 1980s “lost decade,” debt and currency crises, the re-emergence of “failed,” “disrupted” and

“fragmented” states, the collapse of social service delivery, the failure to budge poverty in much of the developing world, violent protest on the streets of Seattle and elsewhere, all contributed over time (and sometimes very sharply) to a sense that much more had to be done if liberal reforms were to survive. 1997 seems to have been a watershed—the Asian financial crisis, and the “tremendous heat” directed at the IMF; the urgent calls for a more “capable state” in the 1997 World Development Report; the renewed sense of “moral duty” and the shrillness of the “no rights without responsibilities” movement triggered by the incoming Blair Labor government in the UK and elsewhere. (Porter & Craig, 2004, p. 391)

Porter and Craig (2004) draw from Polanyi’s (1944) “double movement” progression in market/society relations to identify the turn toward inclusive liberalism. The first movement, as identified by Polanyi, has noted similarities that correspond to the neoliberal revolution. It is defined by economic liberalization and integration, which “involves the breaking up or disembedding of traditional and local social regulation by market relations, enabling increased, unfettered penetration of market forces” (p. 391).

The second movement is a reactionary or defensive stage in which “enlightened reactionaries,” as named by Polanyi, agitate to reduce the social disruptions associated with market-led liberalization. At present, these enlightened reactionaries may be either one of the following: officials within international financial institutions or central governments who aim to restructure services; activists from NGO; framers of competition and trade regulation; left of centre voting constituencies; or public health activists who are cognizant of the inequalities and gaps in accessing healthcare services (Porter & Craig, 2004). In applying Polanyi, Porter and

Craig (2004) state that each reactionary “in various ways contests and regulates the market orientation, giving it a human face or policy limit” (p. 391).

In order to safeguard the neoliberal project, Jessop (2002) posits that explicit *flanking* strategies and policies have been needed in wake of obstacles, tensions and contradictions. Jessop observes that although the global neoliberal project has experienced several problems over the years, they have not resulted in its major reversal. The neoliberal project’s associated difficulties

explains the growing concern with how best to present the project, to coordinate actions, to promote it and consolidate it on different levels, to manage its social and environmental costs and their adverse political repercussions, and to identify and pursue flanking measures that would help re-embed the recently liberated market forces into a well-functioning market society. (Jessop, 2002, p. 470)

For Jessop, *flanking* strategies and supporting measures thus serve to stabilize neoliberalism and encounter any difficulties. Policies of inclusive liberalism may thus be regarded as strategies that work to embed neoliberalism (Porter & Craig, 2004).

Porter and Craig (2004) see inclusive liberalism as reinforcing or embedding the neoliberal order. They regard inclusive liberalism as part of a *roll-out* neoliberalism, but as encompassing “three related ‘embeddings’ and ‘expansions,’ or ‘imagined inclusions’” (p. 392). This threefold embedding of neoliberalism entails the following: first, the integration of nations and individuals within the global economy; second, the ideological and political aim of including the vulnerable within the global order in order safeguard it from legitimate contestation; and third, “the active reconfiguring of structures of society and governance along more global, inclusive lines” (Porter & Craig, 2004, p. 393). Specifically, the first embedding is an institutional one, which involves the active inclusion of the poor within globalization and the

global economy. Regarding nations, this integration is requisite upon the adoption of world trade rules and conservative fiscal policies that eliminate trade barriers and expand capital markets. The main inclusion for individuals entails “inclusion in labour markets, or in training for these, a preparation which now begins in the social investments made all the way from (before) the cradle, to the community to the (global) workplace and economy” (p. 392).

The second embedding is an ideological and political one, which strives to widen the liberal consensus to not only include market liberalization, but “concerns about security, stability, risk, safety, inclusion, and participation” (Porter & Craig, 2004, p. 392). These concerns are depoliticized, and they serve the political and ideological aim of securing the current liberal order against any alternative ones or valid challenges. This ideological aim is also reinforced by “terms like social cohesion, social investment, community and participation” (Porter & Craig, 2004, p. 393). Porter and Craig explain that attempts are made to give the excluded some stake in the world order:

Great efforts are made to be seen to “include” those classical liberal subjects, the vulnerable: the excluded, the poor, the marginal, the child. Whereas a previous neo-liberalism would have left these to sink or swim in the free market, “inclusive” liberalism won’t let them get away so easily. Their right to be included comes with obligation. (pp. 392–393)

According to Porter and Craig, a move away from the previous neoliberalism also occurs through the conjuration of quasi-social “harmonization” by means of “overlapping, often moral imperatives (about responsibility, reciprocity, community safety, international security)” (p. 393). This hybrid neoliberalism or inclusive liberalism thus reinforces or legitimates the regulatory frames of the markets by asserting and morally stipulating a social rationale for

reforms, whether “social inclusion, gender equity, Poverty Reduction, environmental sustainability” (Craig & Porter, 2006, p. 12).

Porter and Craig (2004) identify the third embedding or inclusion as “much more practical, governmental, and spatial” (p. 393). This entails a reconfiguration of society and governance in a global, inclusive liberal manner whereby individuals within communities are integrated into the global market in various ways. Porter and Craig explain that individuals and communities are integrated in wider governance and market relations in ways that are imagined to be both social and economic; it involves “the evocation of apparently consensual social domains of community, partnership and participation” (p. 393).

In the late 1990s, this wider ideological embedding was particularly evident in the significant changes to international development policy (Craig & Porter, 2006; Ruckert, 2008). Specifically, there occurred a rapid move from neoliberal Structural Adjustment to a more “inclusive” Poverty Reduction and Good Governance Agenda in developing states. International financial institutions—the IMF, regional banks, and WB—refashioned themselves as “participatory” and “inclusive” (Craig & Porter, 2006). They advanced a poverty reduction strategy that framed recipient states as “development” partners and was grounded in a three-legged agenda: “promoting economic *opportunity* through global market integration, and enhanced social and economic *security* and *empowerment* through innovative governance arrangements for local delivery of health, education and other poverty reducing services” (Craig & Porter, 2006, p. 4).

Inclusive Neoliberalism or Inclusive Liberalism?

Porter and Craig (2004) and Craig and Porter (2006) thus see inclusive liberalism as an adaptation of neoliberalism. They argue that a new hybrid Liberalism or inclusive neoliberalism

has arisen that is market-oriented, but also contains elements of “positive” Liberalism such as empowerment and market enablement. They concisely define this emergent inclusive neoliberalism and “positive liberalism” as the following:

While retaining core conservative neoliberal macroeconomic and pro-market policy settings, “inclusive” neoliberalism adds “positive liberal” approaches emphasizing “empowerment” to enable participation (and ensure “inclusion”) of countries and people in global and local markets. They include: institution building and an enabling state ensuring global market integration; building human capital via services (health, education); empowering and protecting the rights of the vulnerable through participatory voice and legal access; engendering moral obligations to community and work. (p. 12)

Whereas Porter and Craig (2004) and Craig and Porter (2006) view inclusive liberalism as a form of neoliberalism, Mahon (2008a, 2008b) posits that inclusive liberalism is a distinct variant of liberalism, which holds a commensurate footing with classic, new or social liberalism and neoliberalism as identified by O’Connor et al. (1999). Mahon (2008b) argues “that while neo- and inclusive liberalism do share important elements, they draw on different elements of the liberal tradition and these differences are not insignificant” (p. 343).

Mahon (2008a, 2008b) explains that while neoliberalism applies facets of classical liberalism to a 21st century setting, inclusive liberalism extracts from social liberalism to advance the imperative of social investment; however, in a manner that differs from its Keynesian precursor. Inclusive liberalism and neoliberalism share a “commitment to non-inflationary growth and balanced budgets” (Mahon, 2008b, p. 345) and are “equally dedicated to the liberalization of the flow of goods and capital” (Mahon, 2008b, p. 354). Furthermore, they are similar as both underline the centrality of employment or supply-side measures and repudiate Keynesian demand-side measures. Specifically, both support a supply-side approach that

eliminates barriers to work and increases labour market “flexibility” even if it leads to more inequality, at least at the present. They aim to engender a work ethic by redesigning tax and benefit systems in order to remove any supposed “welfare traps” and to incentivize work (Mahon, 2008a, 2008b).

Mahon (2008a) explicates that inclusive liberals, unlike neoliberals, do not seek “to roll back the welfare state but rather to redesign it, replacing the consumption-oriented policies of the Keynesian era with measures that support the development and use of human and social capital” (p. 262). Like neoliberalism’s application of classical liberal elements to a twenty-first century world, inclusive liberalism is influenced by its predecessor of social liberalism. Specifically, it draws from earlier social liberal elements, which “included the positive freedoms of *opportunity and personal development*” (emphasis added; O’Connor et al., 1999, as cited in Mahon, 2008a, p. 262). The inclusive liberal policy view of education thus accepts a role for the state in establishing the appropriate conditions for individuals to develop individual capacities through training or other types of assistance (Mahon, 2008a, 2008b). While inclusive liberalism underlines the development of individual capacity, it does stress individual responsibility in making the most of opportunities offered by the state (Mahon, 2008a).

Mahon (2008b) points out that there are generational dimensions to inclusive liberalism with regard to social policy, especially in education. Concerned with the intergenerational development of human capital, inclusive liberalism supports a transfer of investments away from the elderly to children, youth, and prime-age adults (Mahon, 2008a, 2008b). Mahon (2008b) explains that inclusive liberalism’s focus on the development of human capital sees a role for states in “investing in early childhood education as the foundation for lifelong learning and ‘helping parents to parent’” (p. 345). An investment in childhood education, which is made possible by modifying expenditures on pensions and associated policies, is viewed as giving

children “the best possible start” (Mahon, 2008a, p. 263). Regarding social policy that is not limited to education, inclusive liberalism views it as a social investment intended to “empower individuals to take their place in markets and civil society” (Craig & Porter, 2006, as cited in Mahon, 2008b, p. 355). Mahon (2008b) concludes that “as in the Keynesian era, then, the inclusive liberal state recognizes that the existence of ‘the social,’ but social policies to empower people to meet the challenges of economic globalization” (p. 345).

This study disagrees with Mahon’s (2008a, 2008b) assertion that inclusive liberalism is a distinct variant of liberalism. It rather concurs with Craig and Porter’s (2006) view of inclusive liberalism as a form or adaptation of neoliberalism. Inclusive liberalism does not deviate significantly from earlier neoliberal ideals to be considered a distinct form of liberalism (Craig & Porter, 2006; Ruckert, 2008). Despite its addition of “positive” liberal approaches, inclusive liberalism upholds a neoliberal macroeconomic and pro-market framework (Craig & Porter, 2006).

Chapter Summary

This chapter provided an overview of the four liberal paradigmatic forms: classical liberalism, social or Keynesian liberalism, neoliberalism, and inclusive liberalism. It outlined the historical background, the values and precepts of these political and economic paradigms, and how these paradigms frame the individual, the purpose of education, and the nature of educational systems and institutions. Olssen et al.’s (2004) liberal framework was extensively, but not strictly employed to outline the varying policy perspectives. Inclusive liberalism was added as a fourth paradigm to those of classical liberalism, welfare or Keynesian liberalism, and neoliberalism.

Freeden (2015), Nijs (2016), Van de Haar (2017), and Jessop (2002) note liberalism lacks a singular meaning, but rather there are multiple, varied, and contested forms of liberalism. Regarding education policy, the classical liberal view establishes a notion of the individual as a *self-interested maximizer* or rational agent whose actions are shaped by intentions or free choices; upholds a view of education as a private good that is provided within the context of the market; and sees the social and personal ends of education as the creation of a rational person. A social or welfare liberal policy view of education involves a role for the state in advancing egalitarian objectives through new rights to education and welfare; upholds education as a public good, as opposed to a private one; considers the purpose of education to be the full realization of individuals' abilities or competencies; and sees the personal and social ends of education as bringing social, political, and moral awareness to citizens, and assisting in the democratic functioning of society.

Scholars remark that a definition of *neoliberalism* is difficult to arrive at (Eagleton-Pierce, 2016; Holborow, 2012; Saad-Filho & Johnson, 2005). Holborow (2012) identifies four definitions of neoliberalism: “as an economic theory, as a new form of capitalism, as a ‘discourse’ (including the discourse of ‘Englishisation’) and finally as an ideology” (p. 15). Steger and Roy (2010) conceptualize neoliberalism as having three interconnected manifestations: “(1) an ideology; (2) a mode or governance; (3) a policy package” (p. 11). Given that a singular definition is impossible to encapsulate, neoliberalism can be ascertained by one or a combination of these definitions (Holborow, 2012; Saad-Filho & Johnson, 2005). Arguably, ideology best describes neoliberalism because it is interconnected with the concepts of economic theory, discourse, and a policy package. Neoliberalism has ultimately blurred the distinctions between the political, social, and economic spheres by expanding market-based principles or the

operation of the market (Munck, 2005; Nijs, 2016; Ward, 2012). The terms of governance, innovation, and accountability have become closely tied to a managerial discourse and thus, a neoliberal policy perspective.

A neoliberal policy view of education favours a strong state and a mode of governance that advances the marketization and corporatization of the state (Olssen et al., 2004; Rizvi, 2017). Furthermore, it regards education as a commodity transferred to consumers, which should be “publicly provided but privately distributed and accessed” (Olssen et al., 2004, p. 180). The purpose of education is closely linked to human capital theory and the notion of a knowledge economy, or knowledge as a form of capital (Olssen & Peters, 2005; Peter & Humes, 2003; Rizvi, 2017; Ward, 2012).

Finally, this chapter examines inclusive liberalism, which may be viewed as a re-embedding or flanking of contemporary liberal hegemony due to neoliberalism’s crises, failings, or shortcomings (Jessop, 2002; Porter & Craig, 2004). Whereas Craig and Porter (2006) view inclusive liberalism as a form of neoliberalism, Mahon (2008a, 2008b) argues that inclusive liberalism is a distinct variant of liberalism on an equal level with classical, social liberalism, or neoliberalism. Craig and Porter’s position that inclusive neoliberalism is an adaptation or form of neoliberalism is more plausible than Mahon’s assertion. Inclusive liberalism does not diverge significantly from earlier neoliberal ideals to be viewed as a distinct form of liberalism (Craig & Porter, 2006; Ruckert, 2008). It continues to be grounded in a neoliberal macroeconomic and pro-market orientation despite the addition of a “positive” liberal approach. While upholding a neoliberal macroeconomic and pro-market framework, it emphasizes participation, empowerment or “inclusion” in local or global markets via human capital development (Craig & Porter, 2006). An inclusive liberal policy view of education accepts a role for the state in

establishing the appropriate conditions for individuals to develop individual capacities to meet the economic challenges of globalization (Mahon, 2008a, 2008b). Inclusive liberalism shows a concern for the intergenerational development of human capital, namely children, youth, and prime-age adults at the expense of the elderly (Mahon, 2008b). The framework, as outlined in this chapter, is used to identify the political discourse of the OECD's CERI documents.

A review of the literature revealed that the liberal paradigm has influenced the foundation, organization, and development of education. Specifically, the various paradigmatic forms of liberalism have shaped the very concept and meaning of education, and the policies by which it is delivered. Given Olssen et al.'s (2004) observation that "historically, liberal assumptions within education have been understood as given, and unproblematic" (p. 73), the research questions were developed with aim of exploring the liberal embedding of the OECD CERI texts by means of critical inquiry. The literature informed the research questions, as they seek to determine which form of liberalism dominates the discourse about public education, which vision of education is valorized, and within which liberalism the concepts of innovation, accountability, and governance are conceptualized.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this research was to determine the nature of the political discourse within which two OECD CERI projects frame a vision for K–12 education. Chapter 2 provided a theoretical framework comprised of forms of liberalism for an interpretation of the OECD texts, and thus data derived from the texts. This chapter provides an overview of the research methodology and its appropriateness, a clarification of terms, a description of method used in study, the methodological framework, the research design and data selection, and the limitations and trustworthiness of methodological approach.

Methodology and Appropriateness

As stated by Fairclough (2001b), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) provides a way of moving between close analysis of texts and interactions, and social analyses of various types. Its objective is to show how language figures in social processes. It is critical in the sense that it aims to show non-obvious ways in which language is involved in social relations of power and domination, and in ideology (p. 229). For Fairclough, CDA moves beyond simple analysis, as it is critical in nature by aiming to uncover connections between language and other aspects of social life that are usually inexplicit or “opaque” (p. 230). As such, CDA aims to ascertain “how language figures within social relations of power and domination; how language works ideologically; the negotiation of personal and social identities (pervasively problematized through changes in social life) in its linguistic and semiotic aspect” (p. 230). In this respect, CDA is relevant to this study’s aim of examining the ideological or discursive nature of the OECD documents and how they construct educator and learner identity within the context of globalization. Moreover, Fairclough identifies CDA as “critical” in other respects as it shows a devotion to progressive social change and how language may be utilized for “emancipatory

struggle,” namely its possibilities for resistance against the negative repercussions of newly established orders.

CDA thus is an appropriate research methodology for this study in its aims to explore the language of OECD CERI projects and the political discourse within which it is embedded. CDA is regarded as a tool that can be utilized to analyze texts and to research “change in contemporary social life—including current social scientific concerns such as globalization, social exclusion, shifts in governance” (Fairclough, 2001a, p. 229). Although CDA mainly addresses social concerns and political issues, Van Dijk (2003) notes that CDA does not have “a specific direction of research” (p. 353), and thus, “it does not have a unitary theoretical framework” (p. 353). Furthermore, Van Dijk explains that there are several different versions of CDA, and many vary considerably in analytical and theoretical terms; regardless, several conceptual and theoretical frameworks do share a close relationship given the prevailing viewpoints and objectives of CDA. This dissertation employed a methodology of CDA largely drawn from, but not limited to Fairclough (1992, 2001a, 2001b, 2003, 2006), as outlined in this chapter. It applied Grewal’s (2008) adaptation of Fairclough’s (2001a, 2003) framework or procedure.

Clarifying Terms: Discourse, Text, and Genre

This dissertation uses the terms, *discourse*, *text*, and *genre* in a manner congruous with Fairclough (1992, 2001a, 2001b, 2003, 2006). Fairclough describes discourse variously as “as a form social practice” (2001b, p. 16), “an element of social life that is closely interconnected with other elements” (2003, p. 4), and a “way ... of representing different aspects of the world—the processes, relations and structures of the material world, the ‘mental world’ of thoughts, feelings, beliefs, and so forth, and the social world” (2003, p. 124).

Fairclough (2003) notes the need to consider the relationship between discourses, since elements of the world are often presented differently and different discourses represent different perspectives of the world that largely reflect people's positions, relationships, and social or personal identities. Fairclough asserts that in addition to representing the world as it is or seen to be, discourses "are also projective, imaginaries, representing possible worlds which are also different from the actual world, and tied into projects to change the world in particular directions" (p. 124). As ways of representing the world, discourses vary with regard to the extent of their repetition, commonality, stability over time, and scale or range by which they can represent the world.

A *text* refers to any product of discourse, whether written, printed or verbal (Fairclough, 1992, 2003). For example, a text could be a transcript of spoken conversations or interviews, a television programme or a website.

Genre represents a component of the social activity of semiosis, which includes all meaning making. While Fairclough (2001a) describes *genres* as "diverse ways of acting, of producing social life, in the semiotic mode" (p. 235), Bloor and Bloor (2007) define it as "a specific product of a social practice ... a form of discourse, culturally recognized, which more or less, obeys socially agreed structures" (p. 8). Derived from literature and film studies, a genre has recognizable and identifiable characteristics and include books, letters, theatre reviews, annual reports, minutes of meetings, essays, examination papers. Genres are often closely associated with the institutions of which they are involved (i.e., minutes of meetings or annual reports in the case of business institutions, or examination papers and essays with regard to educational institutions). (See Appendix B: Glossary of Key CDA Terms.)

Description of CDA Method

Fairclough (2001a, 2003) lays out a schema or analytical framework of CDA based on the concept of “explanatory critique” as devised by the critical theorist Roy Bhaskar. As shown in Figure 1, Fairclough’s (2003) starts his analysis with the belief of “a discourse-related problem in some part of social life” (p. 236), which may either entail “the activities of a social practice—in the social practice per se, or in the representation of a social practice” (p. 236). Although Fairclough’s (2003) analytical framework begins with a social problem to produce knowledge that can lead to emancipatory change, the intent of this research is not emancipatory. It rather draws from this framework to address research questions concerned with the nature of political discourse within two CERI projects. An analysis of discourse occurs in Steps 2c and 4 of Fairclough’s framework as outlined in Figure 1. This research employed Steps 2c of this framework to examine the discourse of the CERI projects. This involved examining the orders of discourse, interdiscursivity (i.e., hybridity in genres, in discourses, in styles) and linguistic elements.

In Step 2c, Fairclough (2001a, 2003) separates a structural analysis from a textual/interactional analysis. Structural analysis involves gaining an understanding of “how the order of discourse is structured – how semiosis itself is structured within the network of practices” (Fairclough, 2001a, p. 236). Fairclough (2001a) describes interactional analysis as a key dimension of CDA, making “it discourse analysis rather than some other form of social analysis” (p. 238). The component of textual/interactional analysis is divided into the following: interdiscursive analysis and linguistic (semiotic analysis). Interactional analysis thus concerns itself with interdiscursivity: how the text mixes or brings together different genres or discourses, and to what degree the text shows hybridity (Fairclough, 2001a).

Figure 1*CDA Analytical Framework by Fairclough*

- 1 Focus upon a social problem which has a semiotic aspect. Beginning with a social problem rather than the more conventional 'research question' accords with the critical intent of this approach – to produce knowledge which can lead to emancipatory change.
- 2 Identify obstacles to it being tackled, through analysis of
 - a) the network of practices within which it is located
 - b) the relationship of semiosis to other elements within the particular practice(s) concerned
 - c) **the discourse (the semiosis itself)**
 - (i) **structural analysis: the order of discourse**
 - (ii) **textual/interactional analysis – both interdiscursive analysis, and linguistic (and semiotic) analysis**

The objective here is to understand how the problem arises and how it is rooted in the way social life is organized, by focusing on the obstacles to its resolution – on what makes it more or less intractable.
- 3 Consider whether the social order (network of practices) in a sense 'needs' the problem. The point here is to ask whether those who benefit most from the the way social life is now organized have an interest in the problem not being resolved.
- 4 Identify possible ways past the obstacles. This stage in the framework is a crucial complement to stage 2 – it looks for hitherto unrealized possibilities for change in the way social life is currently organized.
- 5 Reflect critically on the analysis (1-4). This is not strictly part of Bhaskar's explanatory critique. But it is an important addition, requiring the analyst to reflect where s/he is coming from, how s/he herself/himself is socially positioned.

Note. From Fairclough (2003, p. 2009); bold added.

To closely paraphrase, the linguistic feature of interactional analysis involves selectively analyzing the language of a text with a focus on:

- a) whole text organization (structure of text, structure of dialogue)
- b) clauses combination (how sentences are linked together; clauses in complex or compound sentences)
- c) clauses (grammar and semantics of a clause such as transitivity, verbs relating to action, voice, mood, and modality)
- d) words (choice of vocabulary; semantic relations between verbs; denotative and connotative meaning; collocations; metaphor). (Fairclough, 2001a, pp. 241–242)

In addition to Figure 1, Fairclough (1995, 2001a) presents an analytical framework of CDA that covers the entirety of Step 2c and offers a three-dimensional conception of discourse that encompasses: (a) text, (b) discursive practice, and (c) social practice (Fairclough 1995, 2001a). Fairclough (1995) advances a three-dimensional framework with the objective of sketching out three distinct types of analysis onto one another: The text facet involves an “analysis of (spoken or written) language texts” (p. 2); the discursive practice component involves the “analysis of discourse practice (processes of text production, distribution, and consumption”); and social practice involves the “analysis of discursive events as instances of sociocultural practice” (p. 2). Fairclough (1995) states the framework “combines a Bakhtinian theory of genre (in analysis of discourse practice) and a Gramscian theory of hegemony (in analysis of social practice)” (p. 2). The first theory emphasizes the productivity and creativity of texts, along with the view that they are heterogenous in their forms and meanings due to their intertextuality. Texts may be regarded as intertextual as they “are constituted from other already produced texts and from potentially diverse text types (genres, discourses)” (p. 2). The latter

theory of hegemony underlines “both how power relations constrain and control productivity and creativity in discourse practice, and how a particular relatively stabilized configuration of discourse practices (‘order of discourse’) constitutes one domain of hegemony” (p. 2).

For the sake of clarity, Grewal’s (2008) CDA procedure was used, and the three dimensions of Fairclough’s (1995) framework were divided into three areas: macro, meso, and micro analysis. Both Fairclough (1992, 2001b) and Van Dijk (2001) present macro and micro levels of analysis in their approach to CDA. For Fairclough (1992), a “macro” and “micro” level of analysis applies to the discursive practice dimension of his three-dimensional analytical framework. Fairclough explains that a “micro-analysis” involves “the explication of precisely how participants produce and interpret texts on the basis of their resources” (p. 85). A “macro-analysis” entails an analysis to “know the nature of the members’ resources (including orders of discourse) that is being drawn upon in order to produce and interpret texts, and whether it is being drawn upon in normative or creative ways” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 85). Van Dijk distinguishes between micro and macro levels of discourse analysis, with the former involving an analysis of language use, discourse, verbal interaction, and communication that belongs to the micro-level of social order, and the latter as being concerned with power, dominance, and the inequality of social groups. Van Dijk explains that “CDA has to theoretically bridge the well-known ‘gap’ between micro and macro level approaches, which is of course a distinction that is a sociological construct in its own right” (p. 354). Van Dijk further points out that “in everyday interaction and experience the macro- and microlevel (and intermediary ‘mesolevels’) form one unified whole” (p. 354).

Analytical Framework

This analysis utilized Grewal's (2008) adaptation of Step 2c of Fairclough's (2001a, 2003) analytical framework. In this research, Grewal's delineation of analysis, as derived from the geographer Georoid Ó Tuathail (2002), is used. In keeping with Grewal, the analysis for this research employed what Ó Tuathail has termed the macro, meso, and micro levels in the application of Step 2c of Fairclough's (2001a, 2003) analytical framework and its three distinct conceptions of discourse. The steps are outlined in Figure 2. Ó Tuathail explains that the organization of the various forms of discourse analysis into macro, meso, and micro perspectives makes them discernible. For Ó Tuathail, a macro-level discourse analysis is characterized by "political ambition and wide historical sweep" (p. 606). In contrast, a meso-level discourse analysis has less "historical range and philosophical depth ... focusing more on the everyday discourse in public policy and social debate" (p. 606). A meso-level discourse analysis is closely connected to "argumentative turn" in public policy planning, and it involves a "concern with discursive formations and discursive productivity, and how discourse helps produce 'common sense' understandings" (p. 606) in policy routines. For Ó Tuathail, a micro-level discourse analysis is concerned with Linguistics and Psychology.

As guided by Grewal's (2008) framework, which is an adaptation of Fairclough's (2003) schema, this research undertook a macro, meso, and micro level analysis of the CERI projects. The "text" dimension of Fairclough's (1995, 2001b) analytical framework constituted the micro level analysis, as it was concerned with the linguistic elements of the CERI texts. It involved the linguistic analysis facet of Fairclough's (2001a, 2003) component of textual/interactional analysis. The "discursive practice" dimension of Fairclough's framework formed the meso-level of analysis in its concern with the interdiscursivity, intertextuality or

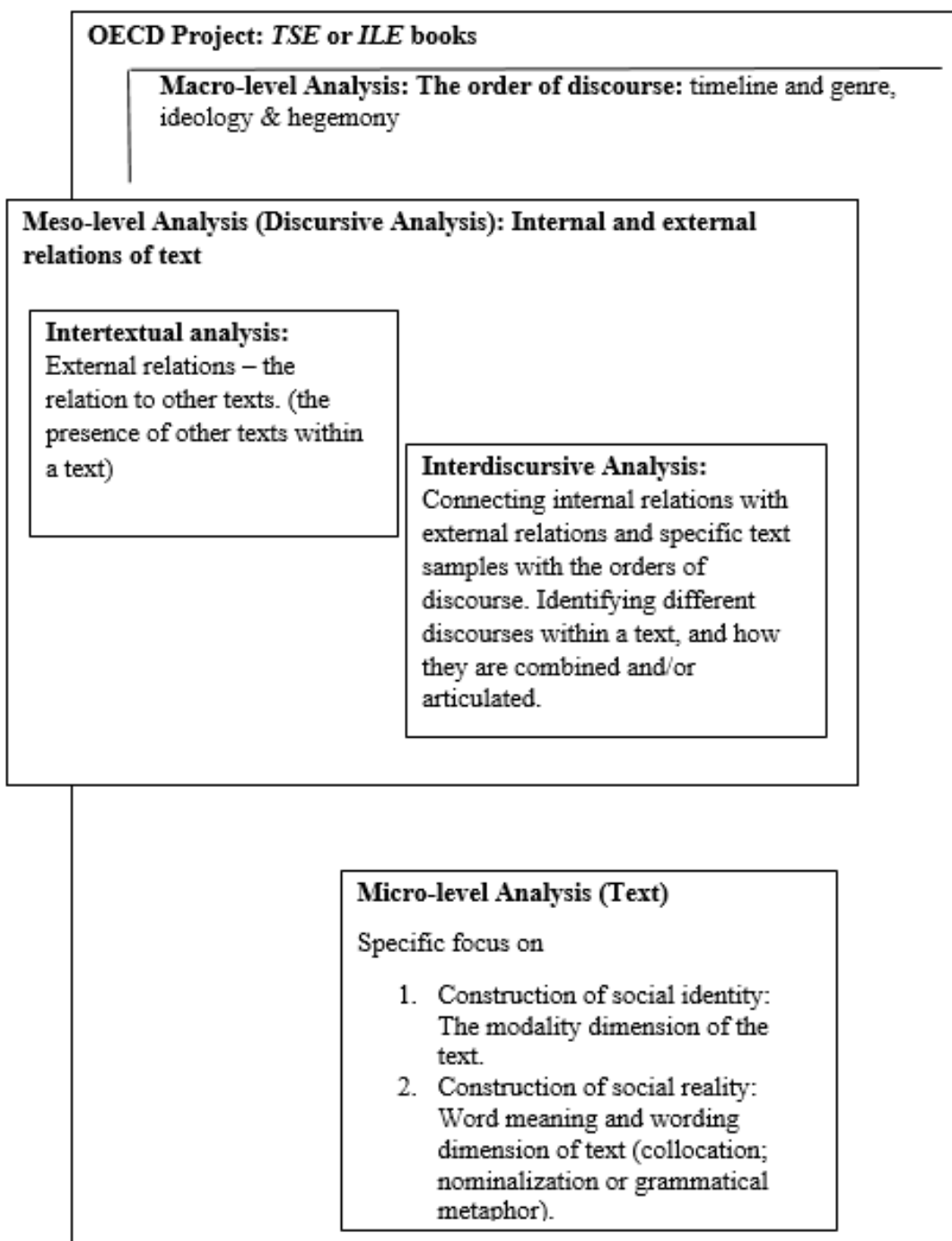
textual hybridity of the CERI projects. The meso-level analysis applied the interdiscursive analysis facet of the interactional/functional analysis of Step 2c.

Fairclough's (1995, 2001b) social practice notion of discourse fell under a macro-level of analysis. A macro-level of analysis was concerned with the "orders of discourse" component of Step 2c in Fairclough's CDA schema. Specifically, a macro-level analysis focused on discourse as a form of "social practice" and how "orders of discourse" are structured (timeline and genre), as well as how hegemony and ideology related to the discourse.

Macro-Level Analysis: The Orders of Discourse

At the macro-level, analysis focuses on social practices. CDA is grounded in the perspective of semiosis and encompasses all forms of meaning making, as a key element of material processes. Fairclough (2001a) explains that social life, whether economic, cultural, political, or ordinary life, is comprised of interconnected social practices (which have their own semiotic aspect). It is the networking of these social practices in a specific way that makes up a social order, which for example, may be a neoliberal order at a global level or the social order of education at a local level (Fairclough, 2001a). Fairclough (2003) defines an order of discourse as a "network of social practices in its language aspect" (p. 24). The elements that make up an order of discourse are not nouns or sentences but rather various discourses and genres that are networked together (Fairclough, 2001a, 2003). Fairclough (2001a) defines genres as "diverse ways of acting, of producing social life, in the semiotic mode" (p. 235). Discourses, according to Fairclough (2001a), constitute "diverse representations of social life which are inherently positioned – differently positioned actors 'see' and represent social life in different ways, as different discourses" (p. 235).

Figure 2

CDA Framework: Levels of Analysis

Note. Adapted from Grewal (2008, p. 481).

An order of discourse may be described as “a social structuring of semiotic difference—a particular social ordering of relationships amongst different ways of making meaning, i.e. different discourses and genres” (Fairclough, 2001a, p. 235). Dominance represents one facet of this ordering, as certain possibilities of making meaning are preeminent and conventional, whereas others are peripheral, oppositional, or “alternative” (Fairclough, 2001a). Fairclough (2001b) explains that one may refer to two differing orders of discourse: that of “a social institution, which structures constituent discourses in a particular way” (p. 25) and that of “society as a whole, which structures the orders of discourse of the various social institutions in a particular way” (p. 25). Power, at the level of the social institution or society, has the means to structure or to control the orders of discourse. Changing relationships of power at these levels not only shape the structure of the discourse but also how the structuring transforms or alters over time. Fairclough (2001b) asserts that one facet of this power is ideological, “ensuring that orders of discourse are ideologically harmonized internally or (at the societal level) with each other” (p. 25).

According to Fairclough (2001a), the notion of hegemony also offers a way to analyze orders of discourse, as certain forms of “social structuring of semiotic difference may become hegemonic and so become part of the legitimizing common sense which sustains relations of domination” (p. 235). Fairclough (2003) argues that the promotion of an ideology is closely tied to hegemony and universalization because “seeking hegemony is a matter of seeking to universalize particular meanings in the service of achieving and maintaining dominance” (p. 58). Therefore, a macro-level analysis includes an examination of ideology and hegemony.

Ideology

Fairclough (1992) views ideologies as “significations/constructions of reality (the physical world, social relations, social identities), which are built into various dimensions of the

forms/meanings of discursive practices, and which contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relationships of domination” (p. 87). Fairclough (1992, 2001b) argues that ideologies are more effective and sustain power relations when they are naturalized and ingrained within discourses to such an extent that they are regarded as mere “common sense.”

Assumption

For Fairclough (2003), implicitness and assumptions are a significant feature of ideology given “the capacity to exercise social power, domination, and hegemony” (p. 55). Fairclough differentiates between three main kinds of assumptions: (a) “Existential assumptions: assumptions about what exists”; (b) “Propositional assumptions: assumptions about what is or can be or will be the case”; and (c) “Value assumptions: assumptions about what is good or desirable” (p. 55).

Although not all assumptions are “triggered,” different linguistic features in a text point to or trigger each of these types of assumptions. As Fairclough (2003) states,

Existential assumptions are triggered by markers of definite reference such as definite articles and demonstratives (the, this, that, these, those). Factual assumptions are triggered by certain verbs (“factive verbs”)—for instance, “I *realized (forgot, remembered)* that managers have to be flexible” assumes that managers have to be flexible. Value assumptions are triggered by certain verbs—for instance, “help” (e.g., “a good training program can *help* develop flexibility”) assumes that flexibility is desirable. (p. 55)

Fairclough notes that although explicit evaluation (such as “that’s excellent/wonderful”) may be found in texts, evaluation in texts is mostly assumed. A reader may recognize the assumed meanings and value system within which the text is situated, but it does not mean that he or she

will agree with it. For Fairclough, value systems and assumptions may be viewed as proceeding from or a part of certain discourses. He suggests that value assumptions related to positive notions of increased “efficiency” and “adaptability” are mainly associated with neoliberal or political discourse.

Value assumptions are not the only assumption-type that are discourse-specific or even ideological; rather, existential and propositional assumptions may be characterized as such as well. Existential and propositional assumptions may be regarded as discourse-specific as “a particular discourse includes assumptions about what there is, what is the case, and so forth” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 55). In certain cases, such assumptions and their related discourses are in fact ideological.

According to Fairclough (2003), an ideological importance may be attached to assumed meanings “as one can argue that relations of power are best served by meanings which are widely taken as given” (p. 58). For Fairclough, texts are involved in ideological work that is closely related to hegemony if they aim “to universalize particular meanings in the service of achieving and maintaining dominance” (2003, p. 58). Specifically, a text may be regarded as undertaking ideological work if it makes assumptions or upholds a certain reality (i.e., the notion of a global economy or global market place) without questioning its truth or existence. In this research, a macro-level analysis of OECD texts was undertaken to determine their ideological nature through the discernment of existential, propositional, and value assumptions.

Causal Effects or Causality

A key concern for the critical discourse analyst encompasses the ideological effects of texts. Fairclough (2003) argues that there is a causality associated with texts, namely that they have causal effects and contribute to changes; texts, as social events, have causal effects as they

may affect changes in, “people (beliefs, attitudes, etc.), actions, social relations, and the material world” (p. 8). Fairclough does not claim that texts have a mechanical causality or causality that fits a cause-and-effect form, but rather that a text within a certain context may have a number of effects on various interpreters. According to Fairclough (2003), the causal effects that critical discourse analysis seeks to address includes ideological effects—“the effect of texts in inculcating and sustaining or changing ideologies” (p. 9). He adopts a more critical view of ideology that differs from the descriptive perspective that simply regards it as positions, attitudes, beliefs, and perspectives.

This critical perspective views ideologies as representations of elements of the world that work to establish and sustain relations of power and domination. Fairclough (2003) notes the causal effects of ideological representations within texts in that “if ideologies are primary representations, they can nevertheless also be ‘enacted’ in ways of acting socially, and ‘inculcated’ in the identities of social agents” (p. 9). Fairclough states that ideologies possess a “durability and stability that transcends individual texts or bodies of texts” (p. 9). This research sought to identify the ideological representation in the OECD texts. As such, it showed a concern for possible causal effects by considering how certain assumed or asserted claims may affect the social life or arena of education, or how they may be enacted in ways of acting or inculcated in identities.

Hegemony

For Fairclough (1995), ideology must be considered within the framework of the Gramscian notion of hegemony. Utilized by the theorist Antonio Gramsci and others, hegemony is a term associated with various forms of power and the struggle for power (Fairclough, 2001b), and constitutes a form of ideological work as it aims to universalize certain meanings in the

service of attaining and upholding dominance (Fairclough, 2003). It involves a domination over the economic, political, cultural, and ideological spheres of society (Fairclough, 1992). It underlines a form of power over society through the alliance of a dominant economic class with other social forces or the construction of alliances by means of acquiring consent (or at least acquiescence), as opposed to coercion (Fairclough, 1992, 2001a).

Given that hegemony arises from the formation of class-alliance rather than the simple domination of one class by another, consent is won by means of concessions or ideological means. Hegemony is characterized by a continuous struggle between different classes or blocs to sustain relations of domination/subordination. This struggle takes on economic, political, and ideological forms and permeates various civil institutions of society (Fairclough, 1992). In the words of Fairclough (2001a), “hegemonic struggle penetrates all domains of social life, cultural as well as economic and political, and hegemonies are sustained ideologically, in the ‘common sense’ assumptions of everyday life” (p. 232). For Fairclough (1995), the notion of “hegemony implies the development in various domains of civil society (e.g., work, education, leisure activities) of practices which naturalize particular relations and ideologies, practices which are largely discursive” (p. 94).

Discourses encompasses ideologies that promote certain types of knowledge and beliefs that position subjects within that practice (Fairclough, 1992, 2001a). Reflecting this, Fairclough (1992) asserts:

While the interpellation of subjects is an Althusserian elaboration, there is in Gramsci a conception of subjects as structured by diverse ideologies implicit in their practice which gives them a “strangely composite” character, and a view of “common sense” as both a repository of the diverse effects of past ideological struggles, and a constant

target for restructuring in ongoing struggles. In common sense, ideologies become naturalized, or automatized. (p. 92)

Thus, ideologies position individuals in certain ways as “social subjects.” In addition to a focus on ideology and hegemony, a macro-level analysis is concerned with how discourse positions subjects, as well as how it constitutes and reproduces social identities. Given that the elements of the orders of discourse include “discourses, genres, and styles” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 24), a macro-level analysis focuses on all three. Discourses refer to ways of representing the world and genres denote ways of acting or interacting discursively (Fairclough, 2003). In contrast, style refers to how discourse constitutes certain ways of being, specifically social and personal identities. For Fairclough (2003), styles, which are partially a textual process, are connected to identification, “using the nominalization rather than the noun ‘identities’ emphasizes the process of identifying, how people identify themselves and are identified by others” (p. 159).

A macro-level analysis is concerned with Foucault’s notion of “enunciative modalities,” which involves how the author or source of a statement positions himself/herself/itself with a statement, as well as those who are addressed by it. Enunciative modalities may be viewed as kinds of discursive activity, which have their related subject positions. Fairclough (1992) refers to Foucault’s main thesis of enunciative modalities to note that the statements social subjects produce position both the subjects who produce them, and the subjects the statements are addressed to in certain ways. He notes,

to describe a formulation *qua* statement does not consist in analysing the relations between the author and what he says (or wanted to say, or said without wanting to); but in determining what position can and must be occupied by any individual if he is to be the subject of it. (p. 43)

In this regard, a macro-level analysis is concerned with how an author or source positions itself

through statements, as well as how those statements position people (i.e., learners or educators) who are the subject of those statements.

In contrast, a focus on how social or personal identities are discursively constructed constitutes a micro-level analysis. Fairclough (2003) identifies modality and evaluation as important elements of a text in identification or the texturing of identities. Modality refers to “what authors *commit* themselves to, with respect to what is true and necessary” (p. 164), whereas evaluation denotes that which is “desirable or undesirable, good or bad” (p. 164). A focus on modality and evaluation to exploring social and personal identity entails a form of micro-level of analysis, as it is linked with various types of exchange and speech functions. A micro-level analysis explores the discursive and linguistic features of identity construction. In referring to Foucault’s work, Fairclough (1992) underlines the importance of a linguistic analysis, which is the feature of a micro-level approach: He highlights the major role of discourse in constituting social subjects and the importance of directing attention on the implied questions of: “subjectivity, social identity and ‘selfhood’” (p. 44). Whereas a macro-level analysis is concerned with how a particular discourse positions the subject, a micro-level analysis is concerned with language or linguistic features in the constitution of social identity.

Meso-Level Analysis: Interdiscursive and Intertextual Analysis

A meso-level analysis examines the interdiscursivity and intertextuality of texts. The concept of interdiscursivity emphasizes the heterogenous nature of texts as an amalgam of different genres and discourses (Fairclough, 1995). As a concept, interdiscursivity is “modelled upon and closely related to *intertextuality*, and like intertextuality it highlights a historical view of texts as transforming the past—existing conventions, or prior texts—into the present” (Fairclough, 1995, p. 134). An interdiscursive analysis includes both paradigmatic and

syntagmatic approaches to analyzing texts. The paradigmatic dimension involves the identification of *which* genres and discourses are drawn from in a text, whereas the syntagmatic dimension entails an analysis of *how* they are articulated together throughout the texts. An interdiscursive analysis is grounded on a working premise that individual texts combine different genres and discourses to varying extents. The extent to which a text is hybrid largely depends on social and historical circumstances, and thus certain texts show a greater level of hybridity than others (Fairclough, 2001a).

An example of interdiscursivity or hybridization of discourse would be a text that combines neoliberal discourse—which represents globalization as a fact and certain reforms as requisite to ensuring economic competitiveness—with political discourse that represents societies from the perspective or in relation to the aim of social cohesion. Both the discourses of neoliberalism and social cohesion may be viewed as different as they each encompass distinct policy aims, the latter being concerned with social cohesion and the former with economic competitiveness (Fairclough, 2003).

Fairclough (2001a) explains certain genre or discourse may undergo a “local” transformation in a text as it is “articulated in specific ways with others in a text” (p. 241). He observes that discourses and genres both show signs of continuity and local transformation: “So, on the other hand, genres and discourses acquire a degree of permanence and continuity as a (semiotic) part of the social order (social practices), while on the other, they undergo local transformations in text” (p. 241).

Intertextuality

A meso-level analysis focuses on the intertextual nature of texts, namely the presence of other texts within these texts (Fairclough, 1995, 2003). Fairclough (1995) defines intertextuality

as “basically the property texts have of being full of snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in, and in which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo, and so forth” (p. 84). In this respect, intertextuality includes an ambit of possibilities such as directly quoting elements from another text through the use of quotation marks, or summarizing or rewording what was said in another text (Fairclough, 2003). Fairclough (1995) makes a distinction between “manifest intertextuality” and “interdiscursivity,” which may also be termed “constitutive intertextuality.” Interdiscursivity moves beyond intertextuality in its primary focus on how texts are constituted out of elements of discourses. Manifest intertextuality refers to how specific texts are constituted in a heterogenous manner out of other texts.

An examination of intertextuality is important because of its relationship to hegemony as intertextual processes are involved in hegemonic struggles of contesting and restructuring orders of discourse (Fairclough, 1995). Intertextuality offers the possibility of allowing for or “opening up” (Fairclough, 1995, p. 41) difference in a text. In this regard, it differs from assumption, which greatly limits difference through the presupposition of a mutual understanding. Intertextuality enhances the dialogicality of a text through the incorporation of other voices. Fairclough identifies a text’s orientation to difference or dialogicality as representing one of the following five scenarios:

1. an openness to, acceptance of, recognition of difference; an exploration of difference, as in dialogue in the richest sense of the term;
2. an accentuation of difference, conflict, polemic, a struggle over meanings, norms, power;
3. an attempt to resolve or overcome difference;
4. a bracketing of difference, a focus on commonality, solidarity;

5. consensus, a normalization and acceptance of differences of power which suppresses and brackets differences of meanings and norms. (pp. 41–42)

As evident, the five scenarios move from the highest degree dialogicality to the least, which may characterize a text. Bakhtin (1981) states that “a word, discourse, language or culture undergoes ‘dialogization’ when it becomes relativized, de-privileged, aware of competing definitions for the same things” (as cited in Fairclough, 2003, p. 42). Undialogized language may be described as authoritative and absolute (Fairclough, 2003).

Micro-Level Analysis: Linguistic and Discursive Features of a Text

A micro-level analysis involves the linguistic and discursive features of a text, and it requires a considerable expertise with linguistics. For Fairclough (1992), a text analysis at the micro -level involves an examination of how social identities and social reality are constructed in the discourse. Fairclough (2001a) outlines a framework for linguistic analysis:

- *Whole-text language organization*: The narrative, argumentative etc. structure of a text; the way a dialogue is structured.
- *Clauses combination*: The linking of clauses in complex or compound sentences (i.e. with or without one being subordinated to another); other ways of linking sentences together.
- *Clauses (i.e., simple sentences)*: The grammar and semantics of clauses, including categories such as transitivity (transitive or intransitive verbs); verbs relating to action (thought, speech, being, having); voice (active, passive); mood (declarative, interrogative, imperative); modality (degrees of commitment to truth or necessity).
- *Words*: Choice of vocabulary; semantic relations between words (e.g., synonyms, hyponyms); denotative and connotative meaning; collocations (i.e., patterns of co-occurrence); metaphorical uses of words. (pp. 242-243)

For Fairclough (1992), a focus on how identity is constructed (reproduced, contested, restructured) is largely concerned with textual properties such as *interactional control* (which includes exchange structure, topic control, control of agendas, formulation) that otherwise may be described whole-text organization, *modality*, *politeness*, and *ethos*. A focus on the ideational function of language and ideational meanings in the construction of social reality involves the following: *transitivity* and *theme*, *word meaning*, *word*, or *metaphor*. These last three (*word meaning*, *word*, and *metaphor*) fall under the category of vocabulary. There will always be an overlay between the properties associated with the construction of social identity and those with social reality (Fairclough, 1992).

The micro-level analysis in this research was primarily concerned with clauses, namely transitivity and the feature of modality (degrees of commitment to truth and necessity) and words or vocabulary (choices of vocabulary; denotative and connotative meanings; collocations; and their metaphorical use) as identified by Fairclough's (2001a) framework for linguistic analysis. The micro-level analysis of these linguistic features will be particularly useful in examining the presence of a neoliberal discourse, ideology, or hegemony in the OECD documents dealing with K–12 education.

Clauses

In terms of clauses, modality generally refers to the degree of affinity of a text's producer to a proposition or viewpoint. An author or producer of a text may demonstrate various degrees of commitment or affinity to proposition, and as such, the modality of a viewpoint or propositional utterance may be determined by looking at either *modal verbs*, *tenses*, or *adverbs*. Realizing modality may occur through verbs such as “must,” “may,” “can,” “should,” et cetera. Tense is another indicator of modality, as a categorical modality may be arrived at with the

present tense “is.” In addition, modality may be realized through adverbs such as “probably,” “possibly,” “obviously,” “definitely,” and related adjectives such as “it’s likely/probable/possible” (Fairclough, 1992). Fairclough (1992) points out that modality may be “subjective” or “objective.” With subjective modality, the author’s level of affinity with a point of view or proposition is explicitly clear (i.e., “I think, suspect, doubt”), whereas with objective modality (i.e., “it may be/probably is”), “it may not be clear whose perspective is being represented—whether, for example the speaker is projecting her own perspective as a universal one, or acting as a vehicle for the perspective of one individual or group” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 159).

When examining clauses, *transitivity* denotes the ideational element of the clause, and it appertains to types of processes that are coded in clauses, as well as the types of participants that are found in clauses (Fairclough, 1992). Fairclough (1992) observes that a social motivation for analyzing transitivity involves seeking “to work out what social, cultural, ideological, political, or theoretical factors determine how a process is signified in a particular type of discourse (and in different discourses), or in a particular text” (p. 180). In English, the key types of process include the following: “action,” “event,” “relational,” and “mental” processes. Two distinct types of action processes entail “directed” and “non-directed” action. Directed action “is generally realized—manifested on the surface of the text—as a transitive (subject–verb–object) clause” (p. 180). Non-directed action may be distinguished from directed action as it “involves an agent and an action but no (explicit) goal, and it is usually realized as an intransitive (subject–verb) clauses” (p. 180).

Relational processes may be differentiated by mental processes as they “involve relations of being, becoming, or having (possession) between entities” whereas the latter encompasses

“cognition (verbs such as ‘know,’ ‘think’), perception (‘hear,’ ‘notice’), and affection (‘like,’ ‘fear’)” (p. 180) and “are generally realized as transitive clauses” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 180). Furthermore, another variable found when looking at directed action clauses would be “voice,” which is either “passive” or “active.” A passive clause is one in which “the goal is subject and the agent is either ‘passive agent’ (a phrase beginning with ‘by’), or omitted altogether” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 182). Fairclough (1992) states that the exclusion of an agent may be influenced “by the fact that the agent is self-evident, irrelevant or unknown” (p. 182), or by political or ideological consideration which seek “to obfuscate agency, and hence causality and responsibility” (p. 182). Nominalization resembles the passive voice as it discards the agent due to a variety of reasons. Fairclough explains that nominalization recasts “processes and activities into states and objects, and concretes into abstracts” (p. 182).

Words

Fairclough (2003) explains that one of the most distinctive attributes of a discourse tend to be attributes of vocabulary, as “discourses ‘word’ or lexicalize the world in particular ways” (p. 129). For Fairclough, it is useful to concentrate on the semantic relations between words and how they structure the world, as opposed to a singular focus on the various ways of same elements of the world. Presupposed semantic relations (i.e., the hyponyms of globalization and economic progress, for instance) constitute an important feature of a presupposed structuring of the world that enables readers to make sense of a text, without the writer having to make relations between words explicit. Besides “hyponymy” (which means “inclusion”), particular discourses or preconstructions of the world also include “synonymy” (which means “identity”) and antonymy (which means “exclusion”).

Fairclough (2003) notes that “the vocabularies associated with different discourses in a particular domain of social life may be partly different but are likely to overlap” (p. 130), and as such, different discourses may employ the same words (for example, both neoliberal and anti-globalization discourses use the word “globalization”). Fairclough explains that although different discourses used the same words, “they may use them differently, and again it is only through focusing on semantic relations that one can identify these differences” (p. 131). A method by which one may distinguish the relational difference is through examining collocation or “patterns of co-occurrence in texts” (p. 131). For Fairclough, one may search for collocations by “simply looking at which other words most frequently precede and follow any word which is in focus, either immediately or two, three and so on words away” (p. 131).

According to Fairclough (2003), discourses may also be distinguished by “lexical metaphors,” “words which generally represent one part of the world being extended to another” (p. 131), as well as by “grammatical metaphors.” Grammatical metaphors entail “processes, being represented as ‘things’, entities, through ‘nominalization’” (p. 131). Nominalization encompasses the alteration of a noun-like verb into a noun, and the semantic change of a process into an entity. According to Fairclough, a process may encompass processes (i.e. “globalization,” “progress”), relations (i.e., “social cohesion”), and feelings (i.e., “hopes”). Specifically, nominalization generally entails the elimination of certain semantic elements or clauses, including both tense and modality. It may also be characterized by the omission of participants or agents in clauses; in terms of grammar, an agent or participant is usually referred to as the grammatical subject. In addition to the exclusion of subjects, other elements of social events or processes are omitted such as objects, means, times, places. This resulting generalization or abstraction, in certain discourses, may “erase

or even suppress differences” (p. 144), and it may “obfuscate agency, and therefore responsibility, and social divisions” (p. 144).

Nominalization is thus closely associated with both an examination of transitivity or clauses as discussed, or vocabulary. According to Fairclough (2003), nominalization is “a resource for generalizing, for abstracting from particular events and series, or sets of events, and in that sense it is an irreducible resource in scientific and technical discourse as well as governmental discourse” (p. 144). Graham posits that “process metaphor” constitutes an especially important facet in the influential genre of new capitalism, policy formation: “In the policy genre, process metaphor is a deceptively powerful tool for constructing future human *activity* (time) as pseudo-spatial fact-like *object* (space)” (as cited in Fairclough, 2003, p. 145). The use of grammatical metaphor, specifically, nominalization may be regarded as a rhetorical device through which writers or speakers construct their message (Bloor & Bloor, 2007). Van Dijk (1998) states that rhetoric

is essentially geared towards the persuasive communication of preferred models of social events, and thus manages how recipients will understand and especially how they will evaluate such events, for instance as a function of the interests of the participants. It is therefore not surprising that rhetorical structures play such an important role in ideological manipulation. (p. 67)

Within CDA, a deconstruction of grammatical metaphor reveals how meanings are manipulated. At the micro level, an analysis of the rhetorical function of nominalizations can uncover their role in reinforcing a certain ideology.

Description of CDA Design Utilized

The procedure for this research followed Grewal's (2008) adaptation of Fairclough's CDA. This research thus employed only Step 2c of Fairclough's (2001a, 2003) CDA framework, because Fairclough's body of work is expansive. The critical discourse analysis of Fairclough's (2001a, 2003) CDA framework largely happens at Step 2c, and this step provides an understanding of the discourse in the books of the CERI projects.

The books for each project were examined holistically and an analysis for each project happened at the three levels: (a) a macro-level analysis that encompasses the orders of discourse, (b) a meso-level analysis of the intertextual and interdiscursive features, and (c) a micro-level analysis of the linguistic elements of the discourse (see Appendix C: Stages and Levels of Data Analysis).

The macro-level analysis provided an overview of each respective project's timeline and genre, and identified the ideological and hegemonic features of the discourse. At this level, the broad assumption of each project was identified and broken down into narrow assumptions. The focus of this research was primarily undertaken at the macro-level analysis to determine ideology or hegemony of the projects in their entirety. The macro-level analysis was concerned with how the OECD positions itself through statements in its books, as well as how those statements position people (i.e., learners or educators) who are the subject of those statements.

The meso-level analysis focused on the intertextual and interdiscursive nature of the CERI projects. At this level, an intertextual analysis examined the relationship of a text to other texts, as well as the presence of other texts within a text. An interdiscursive analysis identified different discourses within a text and how they are combined and articulated. This research explored the CERI books or texts to determine the extent to which they reflect a hybridity of discourses or are

Table 1*Research Questions and CDA Levels of Analysis*

Research questions	Level of analysis
Within which type of political discourse do the OECD documents, found under the stated area of “Innovation and the future of education,” frame a vision for K–12 education?	Macro-level
a) What are the assumptions, values, and constructions of the aims of K-12 schooling, schools, teachers and learners in the OECD documents found under the stated area of “innovation and the future of education”?	Macro & micro-level
To what extent are these documents embedded within a certain political discourse?	Macro & micro-level
b) How are innovation, accountability, and governance conceptualized?	Micro-level
To what extent does the language of innovation, accountability, and governance reinforce a specific political discourse?	Macro-level
c) What rhetorical function do the concepts of innovation, accountability, and governance serve?	Micro-level

grounded in primarily one discourse. It also considered the historical or social circumstances to account for the degree of the texts' hybridity or lack thereof in terms of discourses. At this level, the research explored the extent to which the projects show a dialogicality or orientation to difference in their discourse about K–12 education.

The micro-level analysis examined linguistic features, and it focused on construction of social identity by means of modality and social reality through word meaning and the wording dimension of texts (Grewal, 2008). At the micro-level, an analysis of the collocation and rhetorical function of nominalizations, such as innovation, accountability, governance, was used to determine the extent to which they reinforce a political discourse.

The meso-level and micro-level analysis was employed to support arguments made in the macro-level analysis. This research examined the construction of social identity in the macro-level analysis section, even though it constitutes a micro-level of analysis. Such an approach allowed for a clearer and more straightforward analysis of subject positioning and social identity. Using this three-level analysis, the political discourse of the two projects' books were separately analyzed with respect to their embeddedness in a liberal paradigm (classical, social or Keynesian welfare, neoliberal, and inclusive) as identified in the theoretical framework developed in Chapter 2 of this study (see Appendix A: Liberal Framework).

Data Selection

This CDA involved selected books produced by the CERI body of the OECD. The examined books belong to the *TSE* and *ILE* projects, which are each found under the respective project headings of "Future of Education" and "Innovation in Teaching & Learning." These projects and their respective books may be accessed on the CERI webpage of the OECD's

website. A link to the CERI webpage is found under the OECD's stated work area of "Innovation and the Future of Education."

Project: Trends Shaping Education

The *Trends Shaping Education* project examines the main economic, social, demographic, and environmental trends and their possible connections to education (OECD, n.d.b, About section, para. 1).

Publication dates of books that were examined are from 2008 to 2019:

- *Trends Shaping Education 2008*
- *Trends Shaping Education 2010*
- *Trends Shaping Education 2013*
- *Trends Shaping Education 2016*
- *Trends Shaping Education 2019*

Project: Innovative Learning Environments

According to the OECD CERI website, the *Innovative Learning Environments* project "has analysed how young people learn" (OECD, n.d.a, para. 1) and "has studied which conditions and dynamics allow them to be able to learn better" (para. 1). The website outlines the aim of the project has been to assist the educational reform agenda by:

- Analyzing and synthesising current international research findings on learning, teaching and learning environments.
- Identifying and analyzing examples of innovative learning environments from all over the world.

- Engaging with community of policy reformers, innovators, and learning scientists to discuss how to make better use of these findings to make OECD education systems learner driven. (OECD, n.d.a. para. 3)

Publication dates of documents (books) that were examined are from 2008 to 2015:

- *Schooling Redesigned: Towards Innovative Learning Systems* (2015) (hereafter: *Schooling Redesigned*)
- *Innovative Learning Environments* (2013)
- *The Nature of Learning, Using Research to Inspire Practice* (2011) (hereafter: *Nature of Learning*)
- *Innovating to Learn, Learning to Innovate* (2008) (hereafter: *Innovating to Learn*)

This research mainly explored the *genre* of published books, and it used *text* in referring to written products of discourse such as books. Only two projects from a myriad of several were examined. A complete examination of all CERI projects was beyond the scope of this study.

Limitations and Trustworthiness of Methodological Approach

Fairclough has recognized the limitations of CDA. A limitation to CDA would be the degree to which one could assert the causal effect of a text. Fairclough (2003) affirms that texts, as social events, may in fact result in causal effects, or may engender changes. Specifically, texts may have causal effects upon or produce changes in “people (beliefs, attitudes, etc.), actions, social relations, and the material world” (p. 8), but their effects are “mediated by meaning-making” (p. 8). Although texts do have causal effects, it cannot be claimed that they effect a mechanical or regular causality. With regard to mechanical causality, Fairclough (2003) states that “we cannot for instance claim that particular features of texts automatically bring about changes in people’s knowledge or behaviour or particular social and political effects” (p. 8). In

addressing regularity, Fairclough (2003) surmises that causality is not “the same as regularity: there may be no regular cause-effect pattern associated with a particular type of text or particular features of text, but that does not mean that there are no causal effects” (p. 8). A regular cause and effect pattern may not be present given that contextual factors determine the manifold effects of specific texts, including the various effects on individual interpreters (Fairclough, 2003). Hence, a limitation of critical discourse analysis would be determining the extent or nature of a particular text’s causality.

The limitations of CDA include ones beyond issues of causality, and other scholars have criticized or noted limitations of the approach. Widdowson (1995) argues that it lacks certainty in its analytical approach or the scope of its description, namely between the terms “text” and “discourse,” as well as the relationship between analysis and interpretation. With regard to analysis and interpretation, the prevalence of interpretation or commitment to one’s socio-political interpretation in CDA, for Widdowson, raises the question of partiality on the part of the researcher. Widdowson (2004) also argues that CDA attempts to impose upon the reader a certain ideological acceptance. For Widdowson (2004), critical discourse analysis may be critiqued as it seeks to scan texts “for evidence which might otherwise escape notice” (p. 368) or randomly select data to offer as evidence. Widdowson argues that

to be critical of critical discourse analysis is to be aware of this: to be aware of the essential instability of language and the necessary indeterminacy of all meaning which must always give rise to a plurality of possible interpretation of text. And this means that to foreclose any interpretation must be to impose a significance which you are disposed to find. And here, I think, is the central problem with CDA, and the reason why it so influential while being so defective. It carries a conviction because it espouses just

causes, and this is disarming, of course: it conditions readers to acceptance. If you can persuade people by an appeal to moral conscience, you do not need *good* arguments.

But such persuasion deflects attention from questions of validity. (2004, pp. 369–370)

Sriwimon and Zilli (2017) identify the main criticisms of CDA, apart from those of Widdowson, as the following: “1) texts are arbitrarily selected; 2) texts are limited in length, which leads to concerns over representatives of the texts selected; 3) there are limitations and difficulties in drawing any conclusions” (p. 137).

To address concerns of partiality such as those raised by Widdowson, one may counter them with Fairclough’s (2003) position that it does not constitute a problem. Fairclough (2003) argues that text analysis is unavoidably selective and partial given that in “any analysis, we choose to ask certain questions about social events and texts, and not other possible questions” (p. 14). In other words, there is always a motivation behind an analyst asking certain questions of a text, while leaving out others. In countering the concern of “objectivity,” Fairclough (2003) states:

There is no such thing as an “objective” analysis of a text, if by that we mean an analysis which simply describes what is “there” in the text without being “biased” by the “subjectivity” of the analyst. As I have already indicated, our ability to know what is “there” is inevitably limited and partial. And the questions we ask necessarily arises from particular motivations which go beyond what is “there.” My approach belongs to broadly within the tradition of “critical social science”—social science which is motivated by the aim of providing a scientific basis for critical questioning of social life in moral and political terms, e.g. in terms of social justice and power. (p. 15)

Fairclough notes that much social research is not objective at all considering that it is motivated by or concerned with the social aim of making life function more efficiently or effectively. Given that such an approach is grounded within a certain perspective, it does not mean that the resulting research is not good social science (Fairclough, 2003).

Wodak and Meyer (2009) note that it is generally accepted that qualitative social research requires concepts and criteria to assess the quality of its findings (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Wodak and Meyer assert, however, that it “is also indisputable that the classical concepts of validity, reliability and objectivity used in quantitative research cannot be applied in unmodified ways” (p. 31). Silverman (1993) points out that “the real issue is how our research can be both intellectually challenging and rigorous and critical” (as cited in Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 31). Like Wodak and Meyer, Gee (2011) also addresses the concept of validity in qualitative research with the observation that validity is “an issue that has continually vexed so-called ‘qualitative research’” (p. 141). For Gee, validity is not established with the affirmation that a “discourse analysis ‘reflects reality’ in a simple way” (p. 141). Gee (2011) provides two explications for this assertion: firstly, individuals do not have a means of entry to the world “just as it is” but they interpret it through the use of language or other symbolic symbols to confer different meanings; secondly, a discourse analysis constitutes an “interpretation of an interpretation” or more specifically an “interpretation of the interpretive work people have done in specific contexts” (p. 141). When it comes to discourse analysis, Gee (2011) asserts that “validity is never ‘once and for all’” (p. 141) and “all analyses are open to further discussion and dispute” (p. 141).

In discussing validity when it comes to text analysis, Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) offer criteria that address concerns about CDA and may assist in ensuring the quality of research results. They suggest the following criteria, to which this research adheres:

- The analysis should be *solid*. It is best if interpretation is based on a range of different textual features rather than just one feature.
- The analysis should be *comprehensive*. This does not mean that all aspects of the text have to be analysed in all the ways one could—which would be impossible in many cases—but that the questions posed to the text should be answered fully and any textual features that conflict with the analysis should be accounted for. ...
- The analysis should be presented in a *transparent* way, allowing the reader as far as possible, to “test” the claims made. This can be achieved by documenting the interpretations made and by giving the reader access to the empirical material or at least by reproducing longer extracts in the presentation of analysis. (p. 174)

This research thus undertook a CDA that is solid, comprehensive, and transparent. Due to the existence of several forms of criteria that are both in agreement or disagreement with another, Jorgensen and Phillips note that the one most important criterion, when an incompatibility arises, “is to *explicate and follow the criteria of validity* to which one adheres” (p. 174). In delineating the standards which the research aims to meet, the research permits a “discussion and critique of the knowledge produced on its own premises” (p. 174). A description of the standards allows the reader of the research to undertake “an *imminent critique* of the research—that is, an evaluation in terms of inner consistency” (p. 174).

This research study’s articulation of criteria or standards—which entail those of a solid, comprehensive, and transparent analysis—entreats both a discussion and critique of the findings’ validity. Ultimately, this research aims to be, in the words of Silverman, “both intellectually challenging and rigorous and critical” (as cited in Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 31).

Chapter Summary

As outlined in this chapter, this research is a policy analysis guided by the research methodology of a critical discourse analysis to determine the type of political discourse within which the OECD documents, which are found under the stated area of “Innovation and the Future of Education,” frame the future for K–12 education. It established that CDA constitutes an appropriate research methodology because it is viewed as a means to analyze texts and to research “change in contemporary social life—including current social scientific concerns such as globalization, social exclusion, shifts in governance, and so forth” (Fairclough, 2001a, p. 229). This research employed the terms *discourse*, *text*, and *genre* in a manner that is consistent with how they are defined and utilized by Fairclough (1992, 2001a, 2001b, 2003, 2006).

There are various forms of CDA, and they differ substantially in theoretical terms; however, several frameworks do share a close relationship (Van Dijk, 2003). This research used a methodology of CDA which is predominantly drawn from, but not limited to, the research and writings of Norman Fairclough (1992, 2001a, 2001b, 2003, 2006). It applied Grewal’s (2008) adaptation of Fairclough’s (2001a, 2003) framework or procedure. Specifically, it thus employed a schema or analytical framework of CDA laid out by Fairclough (2001a, p. 236; 2003, p. 209) based on the concept of “explanatory critique” as devised by the critical theorist, Roy Bashkar (Fairclough, 2001a, 2003). Step 2c of Fairclough’s (2001a, 2003) framework was used to examine the discourse of the respective K–12 OECD documents. In employing Step 2c of Fairclough’s (2001a, 2003) framework, the following was examined: the orders of discourse, interdiscursivity (i.e., hybridity in genres, in discourses, in styles), and linguistic elements.

Fairclough (1995) presents an analytical framework of critical discourse analysis, which covers the entirety of Step 2c. This analytical framework offers a three-dimensional conception

of discourse as encompassing the following: (b) text, (2) discursive practice, (c) social practice (Fairclough, 1995, 2001a). The methodological procedure of this research utilized Grewal's (2008) adaptation of Step 2c Fairclough's (2001a, 2003) analytical framework. In keeping with Grewal's CDA framework, this research thus divided up Fairclough's (1995) schema, for the sake of clarity, into the three areas of *macro*, *meso*, and *micro* analysis. Specifically, this research employed what geographer Geaoroid Ó Tuathail (2002) has termed the macro, meso, and micro levels in the application of Step 2c of Fairclough's (2001a, 2003) analytical framework and its distinct conceptions of discourse. For this research, the "text" dimension of Fairclough's (1995, 2001b) analytical framework constituted the micro-level analysis as it is concerned with linguistic analysis; the "discursive" dimension will be the meso-level of analysis in its concern interdiscursivity, intertextuality, or textual hybridity; and the "structural analysis" or "orders of discourse" component will form the macro-level analysis, with its focus on how orders of discourse are structured, as well as how hegemony and ideology relates to the discourse.

This chapter provided an overview of the CDA research design used for this project. It outlined design whereby an analysis of text occurs at the three levels: (a) a macro-level analysis that encompasses the orders of discourse, (b) a meso-level analysis of the intertextual and interdiscursive features, and (c) a micro-level analysis of the linguistic elements of the discourse. A macro-level analysis is used to determine ideology or hegemony of the texts in their entirety. The meso-level and micro-level analysis is employed to reinforce arguments made in the macro-level analysis.

The limitations to this research relate to the wider criticisms of critical discourse analysis as a research methodology. The identified limitations of CDA include: causality or the extent to which one could assert the causal effect of a text (Fairclough, 2003); a lack of certainty in its

analytical approach or the scope of its description surrounding the terms “discourse” and “text,” the relationship between analysis and interpretation, as well as the partiality of the researcher (Widdowson, 2004); and the arbitrariness of text selection or limited length of texts, which makes coming to conclusions difficult (Sriwimon & Zilli, 2017). The trustworthiness and validity of this research was assured by undertaking a critical discourse analysis that was solid, comprehensive, and transparent (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002).

CHAPTER FOUR: THE OECD

This chapter provides an overview of the OECD, namely its historical origins, organizational apparatus, role in education, various modes of governance, and ideological tensions within its education work. A background description of the OECD offers a context within which its educational role and influence may be comprehensively understood.

Introduction to the OECD

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) is an international organization largely focused on economic matters that exercises an influence on education and other policy areas (Lingard et al., 2015). Comprised of 37 member states, the OECD operates to improve social and economic well-being through shaping policy (Lingard et al., 2015; OECD, n.d.c, Member Countries section, para. 1). In addition to education, its policy work includes the fields of the environment, labour market and social policy, trade, taxes, and corruption (Martens & Jakobi, 2010). Unlike the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB), the OECD does not possess the power to coerce states to abide by its decisions, but rather serves as “an important site for the construction and dissemination of transnational research and policy ideas” (Mahon & McBride, 2008, p. 4).

The OECD has influenced contemporary transnational governance as a “purveyor of ideas” (Mahon & McBride, 2008). Transnational governance does not mean the nation-state or its role in policy-making has disappeared, but rather that it is anchored within a structure of multiple and interacting institutional networks (Djelic & Sahlin-Anderson, 2006b). Although states have traditionally functioned under a Westphalian system characterized by territorially exclusive, sovereign nation-states, the rise of a post-Westphalian systems has seen states become actors within transnational networks (Djelic & Sahlin-Anderson, 2006a, 2006b; Mahon & McBride, 2008). Mahon and McBride (2008) assert that “international organizations such as the

OECD function as important nodes in these networks, which, taken as a whole, constitute an uneven (and contested) systems of transnational governance” (p. 3).

Historical Origins and Evolution

The origins of the OECD may be traced to its predecessor, the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC), which was established after the Second World War and funded under the Marshall Plan to assist with European recovery (Morgan & Volante, 2016; Papadopoulos, 1994; Woodward, 2009). The reconstitution of the OEEC as the OECD occurred on 14 December 1960 as 20 states (the OEEC and Canada and the United States) became signatories to the Convention on the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (Morgan & Volante, 2016; Woodward, 2009). The OECD was initially formed as an economic equivalent to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) with the objective of expanding growth and employment of member states (Martens & Jakobi, 2010). In Article 1 of the 1960 Convention, the OECD laid out its established mandate as the following: a) the attainment of the “the highest sustainable economic growth and expansion and standard of living”; the “sound economic expansion of Member as well as non-member countries”; and the “expansion of world trade on a multilateral, non-discriminatory basis accordance with international obligations” (OECD, 1960, as cited in Woodward, 2009, p. 3).

The Convention sought to achieve the aims in Article 1 by “institutionalizing international cooperation between the organization’s member states and, where appropriate, between member and non-member states” (Woodward, 2009, p. 2). Article 3 of the Convention requires signatory member states to do the following:

- (a) keep each other informed and furnish the Organisation with the information necessary for the accomplishment of its tasks;

- (b) consult together on a continuing basis, carry out studies and participate in agreed projects; and
- (c) co-operate closely and where appropriate take co-ordinated action. (OECD, 1960, as cited in Woodward, 2009, p. 3)

The OECD's first secretary-general, Thorkil Kristensen articulated that the organization's aim was to "develop a common value system at the level of civil servants in the OECD countries that should form the basis for consensually shared definitions of problems and solutions in economic policy making" (as cited in Woodward, 2009, p. 18).

As noted, a stated purpose of the OECD from the 1960 Convention was to advance the expansion of the world economy and raise the living standards of both member and non-member countries (Ougaard, 2010). At its inception in 1961, the OECD's membership was comprised of Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States. In little more than a decade, the OECD would include Japan (1964), Finland (1969), Australia (1971) and New Zealand (1973) (Henry et al., 2001).

Although the OECD's global perspective was evident in its mandate, it was enhanced significantly at the turn of the century and "now may constitute a central focus for the organization" (Ougaard, 2010, p. 36). In the early 1990s, the OECD was confronted with the challenge of integrating non-OECD countries into the global economy, which largely arose because of two main developments: the increased global relevance of the emerging economies in the developing world; and the collapse of the USSR and the rise of transition countries on the borders of OECD European member states, seeking entry into Western institutions. As a result, the OECD reached out to non-members in a number of ways in the 1990s: it set up the forum of "major actors in the world economy" in October 1994, inviting China, India, and Indonesia; it

formed the *Emerging Market Economy Forum* (EMEF) in 1996, and it established the *OECD Centre for Co-operation with European Economies in Transition* in October 1990 to assist former Soviet bloc countries in their transition to a market economy (Ougaard, 2010). The OECD's largely European and Anglophone membership would increase with the addition of Mexico (1994), the Czech Republic (1995), and Hungary, Korea, and Poland—which all joined by 2007 (Henry et al., 2001; Woodward, 2009).

In June 1998, the EMEF and the OECD Centre for Cooperation with European Economies in Transition were amalgamated to form the *Centre for Cooperation with Non-Members* (CCNM), which would count forty-three countries that participated in its programs (Ougaard, 2010). Given the complexities of increased membership, the CCNM became the *External Relations Committee* “with an expanded mandate that included relations to other international organizations” (Ougaard, 2010, p. 39). In 2007, the OECD Council established accession processes for the countries of Chile, Estonia, Israel, the Russian Federation, and Slovenia (Woodward, 2009). In the same year, the OECD also sought enhanced engagement programs with Brazil, China, Indonesia, and South Africa with the aim of eligibility for future membership (Ougaard, 2010; Woodward, 2009). The OECD's enhanced engagement with countries that were new economic players, particularly China, raised the sensitive issue of democracy among member states (Ougaard, 2010). As a result, the OECD established the principle of “like-mindedness” in 2007, which added “democracy, human rights, and the rule of law to the organization's basic principles and criteria for membership” (Ougaard, 2010, p. 40), in addition to formal instrumental requirements.

The OECD has been disparagingly called a “rich man's Club” or “rich country's club,” but this is a somewhat misleading and inaccurate (Woodward, 2009). The OECD does not

present itself as an exclusive club of wealthy states in describing its memberships and partnerships:

The OECD brings together Member countries and a range of partners that collaborate on key global issues at national, regional, and local levels. Through our standards, programmes and initiatives, we help drive and anchor reform in more than one hundred countries around the world, building on our collective wisdom and shared values. (OECD, n.d.c, para. 1)

The OECD works closely with some of the world's largest economies: Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, and South Africa, who are OECD Key Partners. They participate in the OECD's daily work, bringing useful perspectives and increasing the relevance of policy debates. Key Partners participate in policy discussions in OECD bodies, take part in regular OECD surveys and are included in statistical databases. (OECD, n.d.c, Key Partners section, para. 1)

We collaborate across countries at a regional level, notably through regional initiatives, spanning Africa, Eurasia, the Middle East and North Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, Southeast Asia and South East Europe. Regional initiatives help facilitate policy benchmarking and the exchange of good practices between countries in a specific geographic area within and across regions. (OECD, n.d.c, Regional Initiatives section, para. 1)

The OECD's outreach strategy has not only involved other states, but organizations and civil society as well (Woodward, 2009). Given the OECD's multiple policy focus, it has established formalized partnerships with other institutions of the global governance, including the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, World Health Organization, and Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation, among others (Ougaard, 2010). Since the 1990s, the OECD has also

engaged with civil society organizations (CSOs) through the stated approach of “communication, persuasion, and participation” (Woodward, 2009, p. 11). Although non-members (states, organizations, or civil society) cannot participate in the OECD Council, they are able to join an OECD body such as a committee, a working group, an expert group, or any other institutional format employed by the organization. Non-members may participate in OECD bodies on the following three levels from lowest to highest: (a) as observers to individual meetings on ad hoc basis; (b) as “regular observers” which means that they have the formal expectation to cooperate and contribute to the body’s work, as well as offer financial recompense; and (c) as “full participants” that have the same rights and responsibilities as other OECD members (Ougaard, 2010; Woodward, 2009).

It should also be noted that the OECD developed “strong, albeit, informal links” (Ougaard, 2010, p. 44) with the G8 “which arguably has been the closest contemporary world society has had to a global leadership until the rise of the G20” (Ougaard, 2010, p. 44). This relationship has been evident in the following ways: the meeting of OECD officials with G8 representatives to discuss the OECD’s work concerning issues relevant to the G8; the G8’s reference to OECD work in its documentation; and the G8’s prodding developing countries to enhance involvement in the OECD’s networks on scientific research and technological innovation (Ougaard, 2010; Woodward, 2009).

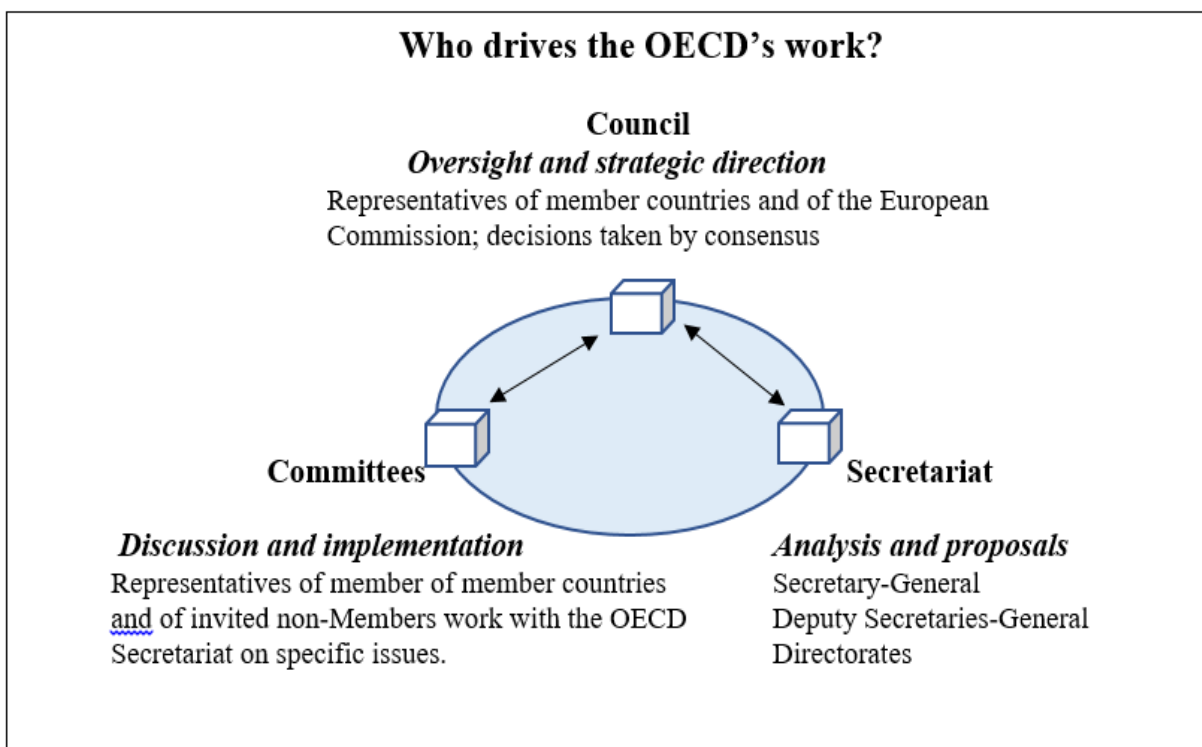
Organizational Apparatus of the OECD

The work of the OECD is driven by the *Council*, *Secretary General*, *Committees*, and *Secretariat* as shown in Figure 3. The Council is comprised of one representative per member country and a representative of the European Commission. It is authorized with the decision-making power and the “oversight and strategic direction” of the OECD’s work (OECD, n.d.d, Council section, para. 1). The Council meets at two different levels: the Ministerial Council and

the Council of Permanent Representatives. The Ministerial Council meets on an annual basis, and it is presided over by a chair and two vice chairs (Carrol & Kellow 2011; Morgan & Volante 2016; Woodward, 2009). Participants at the ministerial level include ministers of foreign affairs, finance, or trade along with other government officials, policy experts, CSO's and other OECD social partners, and observers comprised of multilateral organizations and selected non-member countries (Woodward, 2009). The Council of Permanent Representatives meets monthly under the chair of the Secretary General, and it corresponds to the role of a "Board of Directors" in a business organization (Morgan & Volante, 2016; Woodward, 2009).

The Convention states that each member has "one vote" (Article 6.2) and decisions are arrived at by consensus or "made by mutual agreement of all members" (Article 1; OECD, 1960). The Council's organizational oversight involves establishing "an Executive Committee and such subsidiary bodies as may be required for the achievement of the aims of the Organization" (Article 9); approving "an annual budget, accounts, and such subsidiary budgets" as it may request from the Secretary General (Article 20.1); and deciding on "general expenditure" or the financing of "other expenditure" (Article 20.2; OECD, 1960).

The OECD's work is directed and administered by the OECD Secretariat, which is overseen by the Secretary General with the help of deputy and assistant Secretary-Generals (Morgan & Volante, 2016). Appointed by the Council for a five-term period, the Secretary-General chairs the Council meeting at the level of Permanent representatives (Article 10.1). In addition, the Secretary General may "assist the Council in all appropriate ways and may submit proposals to the Council or to any other body of the Organization" (Article 10.1; OECD, 1960). Regarding the Secretariat, the Secretary General, as its head, holds the authority to "make

Figure 3*Who Drives the OECD's Work?**Note.* (OECD, as cited in European Union, n.d.)

recommendations to the council about what the secretariat should study, but the secretariat remains the servant of its members” (Woodward, 2009, p. 50). In chairing the Council, the Secretary General provides the link between the national delegations and the Secretariat (Woodward, 2009).

Woodward (2009) refers to the Secretariat as “the heartbeat of the OECD” (p. 49) because it operates to ensure the organization’s efficient administration. The Secretariat fulfills this role as “it subdivides into directorates and departments that parallel and service the Council and the Secretary General, the OECD’s semi-autonomous bodies, and OECD committees” (Woodward, 2009, p. 50). The Secretariat is composed of 3 300 staff members, which include professionals such as “economists, lawyers, scientists, political analysts, sociologists, digital experts, statisticians, and communications professionals, among others” (OECD, n.d.d, Secretariat section, para. 1). Given the size of the bureaucracy, the OECD constitutes one of the largest international bureaucracies, surpassing the World Trade Organization (Porter & Webb, 2008). Relying on its professional expertise and reputation, the Secretariat provides analysis and proposals to policy issues, as well as guidance to committee meetings with government officials (Porter & Webb, 2008; Woodward, 2009).

Within a mandate vested by the Council, the committees are bodies that have a considerable influence in “determining the complex and dynamic agenda of the OECD” (Carrol & Kellow, 2011, p. 18). The OECD website states that “our committees propose solutions, assess data, and policy successes and review policy actions among member states [and] they cover the same issue areas as government ministries, such as education, finance, trade, environment, development” (OECD, n.d.d., Committees section, para. 1). Under the aegis of the OECD, there are approximately 200 committees, working groups, and expert groups that function. These

committees are comprised of officials from national governments, as well as experts from academia and the private sector under the direction of the Secretariat (Porter & Webb, 2008). The committees examine defined questions (Woodward, 2009), and “they produce the outputs of the OECD, the policy advice, guidelines, principles (‘soft law’) and best practices” (OECD, 2008, as cited in Carrol & Kellow, 2011, p. 18).

Civil servants, who are employed by the OECD Directorate, carry out duties on the various committees, but “are expected to be loyal to the organization” (Morgan & Volante, 2016, p. 777). With an annual attendance of over 40,000 national government officials at OECD committee meetings, these committees, in the words of the OECD, offer “a setting for reflection and discussion, based on policy research and analysis, that helps governments shape policy” (OECD, 2004, as cited in Porter & Webb, 2008, p. 45). The committees provide government officials working in a specific policy area with a transgovernmental network of knowledge-based experts (Woodward, 2009).

Funding

According to its website, “the OECD is funded by its member countries” (OECD, n.d.e, How are we funded section, para. 1). The OECD’s budget is made up of Part I and Part II programmes of work. In 2019, the overall OECD budget was EUR 386 million, with the Part I budget amounting to EUR 202.5 million and the Part II budget totalling EURO 105.5 million (OECD, n.d.f). The OECD states that “all members contribute funding to the Part I budget, representing around two-thirds of OECD Part I expenditure” (OECD, n.d.f, para. 2). The contributions of OECD members “are based on both a proportion that is shared equally among member countries and a scale that is proportional to the relative to the size of their economies” (OECD, n.d.f, para. 2). The United States provides the highest share of funding, with Japan

contributing the second largest financial contributions (Mahon & McBride, 2008). In 2019, the United States contribution to the Part I budget amounted to 20.5%, while that of Japan comprised 9.4% of it (OECD, n.d.f). With regard to Part II budgets, “they cover programmes that are of interest to a limited number of members and are funded according to scales of contributions or other agreements among participating countries” (OECD, n.d.f, para. 2). Part II contributions are thus voluntary and voted upon “by members and non members to support particular work programs or the semi-autonomous bodies of the OECD” (Woodward, 2009, p. 45).

Mahon and McBride (2008) note that the United States yields a considerable influence in the OECD given its large share of the budget: for example, the Secretary Generals have represented several nationalities, but the Deputy Secretary-General post is usually held by an American; out of a professional staff of 858, Americans number 133 and are only surpassed by the French with a number 182; many of the American economists have training in neoclassical economics, a discipline largely shaped by a U.S. outlook; and “there are also specific instances where American policies clearly set limits to what the OECD could do” (p. 14). Porter and Webb (2008) indicate “that there are cases in which the United States has used its ability to withhold financial support to achieve specific changes” (p. 45) in terms of the OECD’s policy work.

The OECD’s Educational Involvement

Although the OECD has had a long-established involvement in the educational sphere, the Convention lacked the inclusion of any direct reference to education. Article 2(b) constitutes the nearest mention to education as it refers to vocational training. Even though education is not directly referred to, “the general Preamble to the Convention presents economic strength and prosperity as essential for individual freedom and general well-being” (Rubenson, 2008, p. 242). Papadopoulos (1994), however, identifies an implied role for education within the OECD charter

regarding its contribution to economic growth and the associated enhancement of general well-being. Rubenson (2008) states that “tracing the changing organizational placement of education within the OECD indicates a growing understanding of the centrality of education to the overall mission of the OECD” (p. 243). Despite possessing an “inferred role” for education, as identified by Papadopoulos, the OECD’s original charter does not stipulate an independent structural location for education (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Nevertheless, the Office for Scientific and Technical Personnel directed educational-related activities, which largely concerned increasing scientific and technological personnel.

In 1968, the Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI) was formed due to the growing recognition of education’s importance to the mandate of the OECD (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Rubenson, 2008). It was set up with objectives that involved a focus on research, development and innovation in education, including pilot experimentation in these areas (Papadopoulos, 1994). Papadopoulos (1994) outlines that CERI was instituted in response to the widening acceptance within the OECD of the “qualitative aspects and broader objectives” (p. 64) of economic growth, namely as an “instrument for creating better conditions for life” (p. 64), as well as a recognition of education’s “full range of objectives” (p. 64) or purposes. Although CERI was initially formed to address curriculum development, its research-focused work has come to include a wide array of educational issues (Henry et al., 2001). The OECD website describes its function as the following: “The Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI) provides and promotes international comparative research, innovation and key indicators, explores forward-looking and innovative approaches to education and learning, and facilitates bridges between educational research, innovation, and policy development” (OECD, n.d.e, para.

1). As noted, this study explores publications produced by various CERI projects under the link, “innovation and the future of education.”

Following the establishment of CERI in 1968, the Office of Scientific and Technical Personnel was reconfigured into the Educational Committee in 1970. Initially, education was located within the Directorate of Scientific Affairs, which would form a part of the new Directorate for Social Affairs, Manpower and Education in 1975; it would later be named the Directorate for Employment, Labour, and Social Affairs (DESLA) (Rubenson, 2008).

Due to the key importance placed upon education within the context of globalization and a designated knowledge economy or society, education was established as a separate directorate in 2002 (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Rubenson, 2008). The Education Directorate embodies the two key programs: The Education Policy Committee (which succeeded the Education Committee on January 2007) and the Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI).

Intergovernmental bodies, which are comprised of all member countries, govern these programs. Their funding is derived from the OECD base budget, which is termed Part I program funding, or Part II program funding which consists of direct contributions from countries and/or institutions for certain activities. Besides these two main programs, there are an additional three specialized programs: Institutional Management in Higher Education (IMHE), the Programme on Educational Building (PEB), and Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) (Rubenson, 2008).

Regarding educational concerns, the OECD’s work is carried out through this model of committees and working groups, which form national and international networks (Papadopoulos, 1994; Rubenson, 2008). Plenary bodies lay out the general lines of work programmes and address the results of their activities, “usually on the basis of the conclusions of specially convened intergovernmental conferences of senior officials, occasionally with the participation

of ministers” (Papadopoulos, 1994, p. 17). Both country representatives and experts are involved in the specialized meetings concerned with the precise implementation of their activities (Papadopoulos, 1994; Rubenson, 2008). Papadopoulos explains that the OECD “has no prescriptive role for countries, individually or collectively” (p. 13), but rather its influence emanates from a “catalytic role” (p. 13). Using professional expert advice, the Secretariat identifies major policy issues, which require priority attention in countries, in order to provide “subsequent programme planning and the designing of specific activities and plans for their implementation” (Papadopoulos, 1994, p. 13).

OECD—Forms of Governance

The OECD has been influential because it has been able to yield a form of “soft” power or governance (Marcussen, 2004; Martens & Jakobi, 2010; Ouguard, 2010; Woodward, 2009). Unlike the IMF or WB, the OECD cannot employ financial instruments to influence member-states to adopt policies, nor legal instruments like the United Nations or Council of Europe (Mahon & McBride, 2008; Marcussen, 2004; Martens & Jakobi, 2010; Woodward, 2009). Mahon and McBride (2008) assert that the selection of the term, accountability is intentional as it denotes “governance without government” (p. 5); specifically, “the development, at multiple scales, of a variety of mechanisms of regulation, operating in the absence of an overarching political authority” (pp. 5–6). The lack of a formal hierarchy indicates the application of both “soft” and “hard” (such as formal laws and regulations) (Mahon & McBride, 2008).

Several scholars have examined the OECD’s various modes of governance. It has been argued that the OECD exerts influence through its capacity to generate and diffuse policy ideas (Marcussen, 2004; Martens & Jakobi, 2010; Rubenson, 2008). Rubenson (2008) posits that the OECD has attained a hegemony over the educational agenda in its position as “a semi-autonomous think tank capable of sophisticated long-term planning” (p. 244), as well as “an

international civil service and a shared state apparatus” (p. 244). Rubenson explains that the OECD’s capacity to define educational discourse and shape educational policy in the long-term is grounded in the following: (a) “bureau-shaping strategies focusing on hegemony over knowledge management” (p. 244) and (b) “an extensive interface between national bureaucracies and their counterparts in the OECD” (p. 244). Through their interactions with OECD personnel, national civil servants have access to a wealthy domain of learning. According to Rubenson, the OECD has gained a discursive ascendancy over supranational organizations (especially, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization or UNESCO) because of its ability to provide authoritative expert knowledge.

Martens and Jakobi (2010) argue that the OECD’s soft-governance is dependent upon “its reputation, good arguments, and persuasion” (p. 2) and idea generation, which comprises one of three “*OECD mechanisms of governance*” (p. 8). In addition to policy evaluation and data production, idea generation constitutes a governance mechanism that the OECD has at its disposal. Martens and Jakobi state that “idea generation is a central activity by which the OECD stimulates political debates and develops new policy aims and goals” (p. 8). For Martens and Jakobi, the OECD produces ideas through discourses. The OECD defines important issues and lays out agendas through the regular production of official publications, internal policy proposals, and “semi-academic prose.” Martens and Jakobi posit that “in such discourses it presents visions and values, develops scenarios, and defines guiding principles and concepts” (p. 9). The OECD possesses the personnel and professional expertise to identify or frame current or future issues that are worthy of national discussion. Martens and Jakobi explain that the “OECD staff develops projects and focus areas for its member states” [and] “they determine which topics are relevant for this debate, both for the present and coming years” (p. 10). The OECD thus

engages in singling out and framing the issue; in determining the direction and aims of a topic regarding a discussion; and ultimately in shaping national and international debates and norms on the issue through its publications.

Marcussen (2004) also theorizes that the OECD relies upon a soft-governance approach by means of the production and diffusion of ideas to member and non-member countries. Specifically, he examines the OECD's mode of "soft" regulation, namely how it is produced and which mechanisms it applies for enforcement. According to Marcussen,

One way of conceptualizing what an organization such as the OECD is actually doing, is to argue that it is playing an *idea game* through which it *collects and manipulates data, knowledge, visions and ideas and diffuses them* to its member countries and, to an even greater extent, to a number of non-member countries. (p. 91)

Marcussen argues that the OECD was initially established to serve as *ideational artist* and *ideational arbitrator* in the ideas game. As *ideational artist*, the OECD should "think the unthinkable" (p. 92) by moving away from standard political and economic discourses, exploring new areas beyond conservative themes, and stating what national politicians are reluctant to heed. In this regard, the OECD acts as *ideational artist* through official publications and internal policy proposals, peer reviews, and the generation of quantitative and comparative data that is derived from peer reviews (Martens & Jakobi, 2010). As an *ideational arbitrator*, the OECD should influence policy by forming "the right conditions for deliberation, socialization, and norm-internationalization" (p. 92). Specifically, the OECD positions itself as an *ideational arbitrator* between national civil servants as it makes them "wiser" (p. 92) and transforms them into "reform entrepreneurs" (p. 92) in their national capitals. This socialization and norm-internationalization occurs as the OECD provides "civil servants with some breathing space in Paris,

in the form of truly unconstrained and balanced technical discussions between experts” (p. 92).

Scholars have also argued that the OECD exerts an influence by engaging in policy evaluation and multilateral surveillance in the form of either country comparison or review (Marcussen, 2004; Martens & Jakobi, 2010; Rubenson, 2008; Woodward, 2009). Rubenson (2008) identifies the three elements of the OECD’s supranational information management system in the field of education: “(1) synthesized formulations of central policy issues, (2) policy examinations of individual countries or groups of countries (so-called country reviews), and 3) yearly publication of statistics and indicators” (p. 244). According to Rubenson, the OECD has gained a discursive control over education in large part due its knowledge-managing ability; thereby setting “agendas for education that becomes taken for granted as a ‘rule of ideas’” (p. 257)

Martens and Jakobi (2010) also identify policy evaluation as a key governance mechanism that the OECD employs: “Policy evaluation, as done in peer reviews, enables the organization to assess and guide a country’s policy efforts” (p. 8). Closely related to policy evaluation, they also identify data selection as a third mechanism of OECD governance: “Data production, although easily perceived as a non-political statistical exercise, makes it possible to compare countries directly with each other” (p. 8). The OECD applies the mechanism of policy evaluation by means of peer reviews. Martens and Jakobi note that the OECD’s extensive work through peer reviewing “is most closely associated with the organization as part of its multilateral surveillance instruments, because it represents the most useful tool for mutual cooperation when no strict regulations and sanctions exist” (p. 10). Peer reviewing entails a process within the OECD apparatus whereby a nation’s policies are *mutually* monitored and evaluated by *other* governments or experts (Martens & Jakobi, 2010). Regarding the domain of

education, peer reviews do not only concentrate on specific fields and issues, but often critically analyze the entirety of a country's education and training system (Rubenson, 2008). Rubenson (2008) asserts that "no other international organization has developed the practice of peer review to the same extent as the OECD in its country reviews" (p. 245).

Due to country data produced by peer review, the OECD's governance mechanism of policy evaluation is intertwined with that of data production. Martens and Jakobi (2010) observe that "the OECD's main role as data generator is linked to its ability to produce and analyze large *quantitative* and comparative data sets and indicators" (p. 11). The OECD's indicators and statistics program has entrenched the organization's hegemonic position over national educational policy (Rubenson, 2008). Henry et al. (2001) argue that the OECD's work on indicators has shaped national policy agendas and priorities by advancing a technical rationality that "entails a particular—positivist, data-driven—policy approach" (p. 98). Its annual publication of the *Education at a Glance: OECD Indicators* allows for international comparisons in the form of rating or ranking among member states (Henry et al., 2001; Martens & Jakobi, 2010). The OECD's indicators and statistics allows for the measurement of the success or effectiveness of the education system at a national level. The instrument of numbers or indicators permits the OECD to highlight a certain problem and propose an effective solution (Henry et al., 2001; Martens & Jakobi, 2010). The statistical data from comparative studies reveals "best practices," and it leads both member and non-member states to adapt policies practiced by more successful performers (Martens & Jakobi, 2010).

Marcussen (2004) also posits that the process of evaluation or examination has enabled the OECD to enforce policy ideas through "soft-regulation." Marcussen argues that the OECD has been able to act as *ideational artist* and *ideational arbitrator* through multilateral

surveillance. This multilateral surveillance occurs through the publication of regular country surveys that provide a critical examination of a member-state's macro-economic situation and performance, as well as "the processes through which these country surveys are developed and of the institutional context in which the OECD multilateral surveillance is embedded" (p. 93). Marcussen explains that multilateral surveillance, by means of country surveys, allows the OECD to serve as *ideational artist* and *arbitrator* by shaping the political agenda and discourse:

The OECD Secretariat is constantly trying to shape and fashion the political agenda in the surveyed countries. Techniques, problems, and solutions are conceptualized and discussed, and a common vocabulary is created between experts across national boundaries. (p. 102)

Martens and Jakobi (2010) outline that peer review occurs within an OECD apparatus overseen the Secretariat that "organizes, conducts, and supervises" (p. 10) the process. The OECD Secretariat performs an essential function in the procedure as "it supervises the whole review process by providing documentation and analysis, by organizing meetings and missions, by upholding quality standards, and by maintaining continuity as the keeper of the historical memory of the process" (p. 11).

Marcussen (2004) notes that this process, involving the framing of problems and solutions and the creation of a common vocabulary, "in the literature is referred to as gradual and simple learning, which can lead to more complex patterns of norm-internalization" (p. 102). Although the OECD occasionally enshrines international law, it exerts most of its influence by means of non-binding "soft" law that is enforced through peer reviews and surveillance (Woodward, 2009). According to Woodward (2009), *legal governance*—which entails the

production of legal arrangements—constitutes a dimension of OECD governance that “is probably the least important but most commemorated” (p. 8).

Jacobsson (2006) explains that the transnational governance of international organizations such as the OECD involves modes of *inquisitive* and *meditative* regulation. Inquisitive regulation entails the monitoring and surveillance of a state’s practices: “member states are not obligated to follow certain specific policies, but they are required to ‘open up’ for others to examine and critically judge what they are doing” (p. 207). Meditative regulation encompasses the organization’s role as an arena where the state’s practices are discussed, probed, and penetrated. These “meditating activities are mainly framed as discussions among experts about what is the best way or ways of doing something” (p. 208). According to Jacobsson, meditation is an influential process because it leads to standards and rules known as “benchmarks” that are required for inquisitive regulation.

It has been argued that the OECD has acquired an influence by creating an identity for member states (Porter & Webb 2008; Woodward, 2009) and socializing member states into adopting certain policies and norms (Marcussen, 2004; Porter & Webb, 2008; Woodward, 2009). Woodward (2009) identifies *cognitive governance* and *normative governance* as two interconnected and intertwining dimensions of the OECD’s approach to global governance. Cognitive governance denotes the OECD’s ability to form an identity through a shared set of overarching values that member-states regard as inviolable and binds them together as a community. Cognitive governance closely relates to normative governance, which refers to the development and exchange of ideas at the OECD that makes cooperation possible. This interaction between the OECD personnel and government officials leads to the formation of expectations regarding behaviour amongst senior policy makers. Through normative governance,

the OECD gains its influence by altering the mindset of government officials and influencing them to pursue certain policies to avoid reputation loss (Woodward, 2009).

Similarly, Porter and Webb (2008) point to the OECD's influence through creating an identity for and socializing its member-states regarding certain norms. Porter and Webb argue that the OECD has acquired extensive influence as an international organization because its knowledge-production confers an identity to member states. Specifically, states do not participate in the OECD out of a rational calculation of the material costs and advantages that membership may offer, but rather a desire to identify with its articulated norms and values.

Porter and Webb (2008) state that the OECD

is involved in the ongoing development of a sense of identity for members as it develops policy prescriptions appropriate for liberal-democratic countries that see themselves as world leaders, and the aspirations of member states (and some non-member states) to that identity gives the OECD considerable influence despite its lack of formal powers. (p. 44)

They further describe the OECD as a "paradigmatic example of an identity-defining international organization" (p. 44) that may be understood through a state-centric constructivist approach, as opposed to state-rationalist theories of international cooperation. Whereas a state-rationalist approach sees international organizations as an efficient instrument by which states seek their self-interest, a social constructivist view posits that

international institutions do more than just manage relations among pre-existing states with exogenously determined preferences; they help to define the identity of member states, thereby also helping to define their perceptions of self-interest. (Porter & Webb, 2008, p. 44)

For Porter and Webb, the OECD may be viewed as an identity-defining organization through its advancement of international norms regarding social and economic policy, and its definition of behavioural standards appropriate for those “states that seek to identify themselves as modern, liberal, market-friendly, and efficient” (p. 44). As such, the OECD influences or socializes member states to adopt certain policies and norms of behaviour through what may be termed, a “logic of appropriateness.” A “logic of appropriateness” results in individual states embracing policy choices that will meet a given identity, rather than augment their own state’s self-interest. Mahon and McBride (2008) note that “in the broadest sense, transnational norms identify what a modern state ‘is,’ and thus sanction appropriate modes of internal and external conflict” (p. 3).

Martens and Jakobi (2010) identify three different types of effects produced by the OECD’s governance mechanisms: policy change, policy coordination, and policy convergence. Specifically, “policy change” denotes the capacity of an international organization to change a given country’s policies after having followed and implemented its advice, guidance, or regulations. Regarding the OECD, this national political change arises from the use of ideas, peer-reviews, and data, which have influenced policy choice, direction, or implementation. “Policy coordination” refers to an organization’s guidance, which leads to “common regulations, increased interactions, and shared goals, classically by reducing transaction costs for participants” (Martens & Jakobi, 2010, p. 15). Policy coordination thus results from enhanced exchange between states in an OECD-related policy domain. Among countries, “policy convergence” happens when policy differences eventually diminish and move toward a common model; thereby making countries “similar in a policy domain over time” (Martens & Jakobi, 2010, p. 15). Martens and Jakobi conclude that “the effect of governance mechanisms can thus

be analyzed as causing policy change in some countries, as increasing cooperation among the countries, and as enabling growing similarity among countries” (p. 15).

Ideological Tensions in the OECD’s Education Work

While certain critics have described the OECD’s educational work as “neo-liberal,” Henry et al. (2001) states that

The assumptions beneath such portrayals of the Organisation as a homogenous unit with a narrow, static agenda, fail to capture its educational reach, the conflicts within its various forums and between the ideological layers within its charter which aim at both economic *and* social development and, more recently, respect for human rights. (p. 62)

Henry et al. agree with critics that a market liberal ideology has predominated within the OECD since the 1990s regarding the social purposes of education. They point out, however, that this view is “embraced with some ambiguity” (p. 62), and that “it has not always been the case and indeed this interpretation is still contested within the Organisation” (p. 62). For Henry et al., “it is a mistake to regard the OECD as upholding an ideological position, uniformly and monolithically neo-liberal, in educational matters” (p. 63).

Henry et al. (2001) and Papadopoulos (1994) posit that OECD’s varied stances, over the decades, reflect context. Henry et al. add that the OECD’s positions are also the result of the internal politics –which are often kept concealed by a consensual process of decision-making and report-writing, that occur “within the secretariat, between the secretariat and its governing committees and between member countries” (p. 63). The internal politics and debates of the OECD until the mid-1990s show an ideological divergence between the social-democratic and neo-liberal positions on policy, which are respectively called “European” and “Anglo-Saxon” within the OECD (Henry et al., 2001; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Rizvi and Lingard (2010) argue

that “since the mid-1990s this tension is no longer evident” in the OECD’s education work, as “as education is once again increasingly viewed in instrumental terms, as a handmaiden to the organization’s primary interest in economic matters” (p. 129).

Papadopoulos (1994) provides a historical account of how the OECD’s educational work, reflects “pendulum swings” or educational thinking shaped by “changes in the broader social, economic, and political environment of education” (p. 9). He observes that the OECD’s educational activities, until the early 1990s, show an ideological tension between education’s role in advancing economic efficiency and growth and that of education’s wider social purpose. Given the OECD’s concern for economic growth and its social dimensions, Papadopoulos notes the following:

There is, thus, an inferred role for education, both for the contribution it can make to economic growth, namely an increase in general well-being, can be given reality; which, in turn, implies that education has its own proper dynamics and must be handled as such if it is to fulfil its role adequately.

It is important to note this dyarchy of concepts about education in its OECD context, for it has provided the hallmark of the Organisation’s approach to its educational work throughout its history. (pp. 11–12)

For Papadopoulos, the history of education in the OECD may be separated into two discernable periods: the first one stretches into the mid-1970s or the recession in 1973-75 which serves as an important divide, whereas the latter period extends from this point into the early 1990s. The preeminent feature of the first period was *growth*, whether economic, demographic, or educational. In this period, the “social” role of education prevailed over the economic within member countries (Papadopoulos, 1994).

In the early 1960s, the OECD's focus on economic growth as a primary objective saw an emphasis in programme priorities around the economics of education, which aimed "to secure a lasting place for education within the new Organisation" (Papadopoulos, 1994, p. 37). Although the OECD's initial educational concern involved meeting the manpower needs of the economy, the organization shifted its policy focus to relevancy and equality in the mid-1960s. Despite the primary emphasis on social and equality aims, they were not placed in contradiction to economic objectives, but pursued simultaneously to some extent (Papadopoulos, 1994).

The OECD's prioritization of relevancy involved ensuring that education would be meaningful to the varied needs of the increased and diversified school populations given the expansion of educational systems. This need for educational relevance required changes and experimentation in educational structures, content, and pedagogical applications. The OECD's preoccupation with the issue of equality of educational opportunity concerned the difficulties of educating the socially and culturally disadvantaged (Papadopoulos, 1994). Papadopoulos (1994) explains that although the economic importance of education was fully acknowledged, education was generally permitted "to develop under its own dynamics, with governmental efforts concentrating on marshalling the resources and setting up the structures to meet the social demand for education" (p. 202). During this era of growth, CERI was formed, but its beginning work on innovation and reform was "then defined in somewhat different terms from today" (Henry et al., 2001, p. 64). According to Henry et al. (2001), CERI's programme of work during this period was "impelled by motives of expansion, of educational provision and equality of educational opportunity for nation-building purposes in a context where education was held to serve broader purposes than simple meritocratic selection into jobs" (p. 64).

The onset of the great recession of 1973–1975 and the corresponding election of several Conservative governments in Member states resulted in a notable shift in the political context of education. Papadopoulos (1994) notes that financial curbs on public expenditure, high unemployment and declining demographic trends “had a direct impact on the demand for education as well as on the perception of its role and its contribution to social and economic development” (p. 141). According to Papadopoulos, the recession brought about a marked change to the OECD’s educational approach as “social and equality considerations receded to the background, giving way to economic ones, in terms of the allocation and use of educational resources as well as of the definition of educational purposes” (p. 202).

During the 1980s, there occurred a rediscovery of the economic importance of education, and an emphasis on “human resources” as requisite to the economic well-being of advanced industrialized economies and their ability to compete on a global scale (Papadopoulos, 1994). Papadopoulos (1994) notes that the focus on human resource development “was not in itself new” but “what was new was the force and urgency with which educational change was *politically* advocated to respond to the new economic imperative, marked by growing country interdependence and competition in the global economy” (p. 171). While economic imperatives took priority over concerns of equity, education’s role in reducing the social inequalities of disadvantaged groups or under-represented groups could not be neglected (Papadopoulos, 1994).

Nevertheless, the stress on economics was evident as CERI’s mandate was altered in 1982 to “emphasize a specific OECD approach to educational problems in relating them to the economic and social objectives of Member countries” (OECD, 1983; as cited in Henry et al., 2001, p. 65). The aim entailed to “establish closer links between educational activities and other work within the Organisation” (OECD, 1983; as cited in Henry et al., 2001, p. 65). This new

political economic aim constituted a break from the widespread consensus about education policy that defined the 1960s and 1970s (Rubenson, 2008). Rubenson (2008) notes that “within this economic imperative, the relationship between education and the economy, particularly work, became the key issue, and a major battleground emerged between competing ideologies and interests” (p. 253). With this rupture, the OECD moved away from calls for a general expansion of public education to those aimed at major reforms to the nature of public education; a preoccupation with equality of opportunity to that of flexibility and labour market needs; and a view of education’s purpose of advancing the common good to that of global competition (Rubenson, 2008).

Papadopoulos (1994) explains that the theme of “quality in education” were added to the politics of “human resource development” within the OECD in the 1980s. Inspired by the 1983 *Nation at Risk* report which compared the superior performance of pupils to American ones, the United States “pressed, powerfully and persistently, for quality to become a top priority in the Organisation’s work” (Papadopoulos, 1994, p. 181). Papadopoulos observes that the quality debate was ideologically split between two sides: the Reaganite and Thatcherite view of society and that of the Scandinavian “egalitarian.” This debate on the quality of schooling encompassed the key purposes of education:

the one camp seeing them as essentially concerned with learning outcomes, assessed in terms of subject matter mastery, particularly in the traditional basics; the other viewing such outcomes within a broader social educative role for the school aimed at leading every child into a balanced and many-sided growth. (Papadopoulos, 1994, p. 182)

Papadopoulos adds that these differences over quality are extended to contrary positions regarding curriculum and pedagogy. Specifically, the one side laid out a view of quality around “choice, competition, and privatisation, *i.e.* the application of market principles” whereas the

other camp advanced “more child-centred approaches, emphasising co-operation rather than competition, ensuring a pleasant learning environment for children and safeguarding the sanctity of public provision” (p. 182). These two divergent positions also involved “such matters as school organisation, the role and nature of examinations and the bases for assessing teaching performance” (p. 182).

Henry et al. (2001) cite Sachs (1994) to identify the two competing models of quality in the OECD’s education work: quality improvement and quality assurance. Quality improvement focuses on a quality of improvement, which “is a negotiated, consensual model with an internal locus of control, operating through processes of peer review and utilising qualitative indicators of success” (Henry et al., 2001, p. 71). On the other hand, quality assurance places an emphasis on accountability, which functions within a competitive context impelled “by government directives utilising processes of external audit based on quantitative indicators of performance” (Henry et al., 2001, p. 71). Henry et al. assert that although both models of quality were evident in the OECD’s work, the quality assurance model gained predominance in the 1990s, especially in higher education.

By the early 1990s, the OECD’s Education Committee had advanced a view of education that not only supported greater links between education and the world of work, but also a neo-liberal view of the state that favoured more “distant” modes of governance. As a result, the work from the Education Committee and CERI began to focus on the following areas: accountability and governance, vocational education and training, lifelong learning, and mass tertiary education. During the 1990s, a transformation occurred in the communication of education’s economic and social concerns, especially evident in the new discourses of business and trade (Henry et al., 2001). The OECD’s new policy approach was also evident through its dual concern for curricula that was more relevant to the world of work and reducing school failure. The OECD

addressed these concerns in policy recommendations that sought “the development of active exchange between schools and local enterprises and employers” (Rubenson, 2008, p. 254), as well as the “establishment of content-and-performance standards” (Rubenson, 2008, p. 254) as a means to prevent school failure.

In summing up the second discernable period of the OECD’s education work from the mid-1970s to early 1990s, Papadopoulos (1994) explains that

What was formerly demand-led educational development gave way to one largely determined by supply; and factors exogenous to the educational system came to play an increasing role in the setting of educational targets and objectives—reaching down to the very contents of education and even its pedagogy—and in monitoring the performance of the system and the quality of its outcomes, leading eventually to market approaches to the funding, organisation and behaviour of educational institutions. (p. 202)

Regarding the matter of equity, Henry et al. (2001) affirm that the OECD would conceptualize equity during the 1990s within the dominant discourse of human resource development and the new individualism, which is characterized by individual rights and capacities, rewards, and entitlements. This view of equity differed from the combination of liberal democratic and social democratic views of equity and education that were found within the OECD up until the 1990s. Liberal democratic equity involves achieving fairness and individual liberty through equal opportunities-oriented programs and policies aimed at lessening barriers. Social democratic equity differs as it is grounded in a collectivist and cooperative view of society that is “policy focused on institutional reform rather than on individual access and on improving outcomes for disadvantaged groups” (Henry et al., 2001, p. 65). The market-based

equity, which became prevalent since the 1990s, differs from both as it is aligned with a market-driven economy and a competitive individualistic ideology (Henry et al., 2001).

Rubenson (2008) suggests that the OECD's educational agenda, with its narrow focus on equity, may be regarded as espousing an inclusive liberalism or "inclusive" form of liberalism, which is characterized by strong neoliberal traits. According to Rubenson, "the educational establishment has always been suspicious of Friedmanesque neoliberalism" (p. 258), and that "this is also true of those from the broader field of education, including economics of education, working with the Secretariat" (p. 258). As a result of this suspicion, the OECD kept issues dealing with inclusiveness, equity, and opportunity structures on the agenda despite its acceptance of a neoliberal world outlook. These issues, however, were largely approached in a more limited range and connected to employability and/or labour market structures. This signified a transition from a liberal democratic value system to a form of inclusive liberalism in the OECD's educational work by the mid-1980s (Rubenson, 2008).

Rizvi and Lingard (2010) posit that the tension between the social and economic dimensions of education within the OECD's work, as outlined by Papadopoulos, has been non-existent since the 1990s. They argue that the OECD does not concern itself anymore with the "broader philosophical debates about the purposes of education, but locates them instead within its presumed normative commitment to globalization's ideological forms, articulated in terms of a neoliberal logic of the markets" (p. 131). For Rizvi and Lingard, the OECD's policy work is thus articulated in technical terms, with an emphasis on the economic role of education; accountability within education systems; and the formation of social subjects who can participate in the global market. They point to the OECD's programme of work between 2005–2006 and its advancement of internationally comparable statistics and indicators as evidence of its technical

approach. Rizvi and Lingard add that this work aimed to provide policy recommendations, which are “designed to increase both the quality and the equity of education systems” (p. 131). With an underlying focus on economic growth and human capital formation, the OECD identifies the following as key concerns: “issues of equity in access and outcomes, quality, choice, public and private financing, and individual and social returns to investment and learning” (p. 131).

In discussing the OECD’s education work during the 1990s, Henry et al. (2001) state that the OECD’s “commitment to equity could be read as largely symbolic” (p. 69) as its educational work reinforced a post-Keynesian policy consensus of education devolution and market competition that arguably “increases rather than decreases inequalities within schools” (p. 690). Haugen (2013) suggests that *equity* constitutes a key word in the discourses that seek to “conquer” the “hearts and minds of the general population” (p. 167) in advancing the political domain of a neoliberal policy agenda. Haugen (2013) cites Ball (2007) who states that “the rhetoric of reform also tightly couples social justice, equity, and maximising social and economic participation to enterprise and economic success” (p. 167). Referring to educational policies addressed by the OECD, Haugen (2013) claims that “the OECD has a special interest in combining the three words *accountability*, *autonomy*, and *choice* to improve equity at a general level (i.e. for countries) ... and that it insists on this combination despite a lack of evidence” (p. 167).

In her comparative study of the OECD’s thematic reviews on “equity in education” for Spain and Norway, Haugen (2011) explains that policy recommendations to improve equity, which combine “national measurements of key performance indicators” with multiculturalism, may increase social stratification. Haugen points to the contradictions of the OECD’s Norway report in its stated recommendation that equity may be improved through an amalgam of parental choice, value-added measures, and national testing. According to Haugen (2011), market-based

approaches can have ramifications “that will undermine the equity situation in education, rather than improving it because of the increased demographic homogenization, making some schools worse by extracting resources” (p. 711).

Furthermore, a view of “multiculturalism” in relation to “meeting individual needs” in combination with key performing measures may establish the conditions for segregated schools (Haugen, 2011). Haugen (2011) indicates that the categorization of schools as “good” or “bad” through national testing, alongside the focus on diversity, may lay the foundations for “school choice”: By granting power to parents or schools for a diversity approach through “school choice,” schools may “become more homogeneous internally but more heterogenous externally” (p. 712) and “stratify groups in a more efficient way” (p. 712).

An ideological tension and contradiction may be thus noted in the OECD’s education work, over the decades, regarding the economic and social aims of education, as well as its policy reforms or recommendations. A market-orientated or neoliberal conceptualization of education and equity has ultimately become dominant in the OECD’s education work since the 1990s (Henry et al., 2001; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Rizvi, 2014; Savage, Sellar & Gorur, 2013). Hardy and Woodcock (2015) argue that though the OECD promotes schooling policies that are rendered as fair, equitable, and inclusive in the international arena, they are entrenched within an economic logic. According to Hardy and Woodcock, the OECD does not advance “inclusion for its own sake” (p. 147), but frames inclusion as it relates to equity around neoliberal conceptualizations of human capital and economic productivity. Boyum (2014) points to a continued tension between Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian states within the OECD, which explains why a stronger notion of fairness is often “kept implicit” (p. 866) in documents. According to Boyum, the OECD has to cater “to a variety of states, ranging from Scandinavian

to Anglo-Saxon welfare states” (p. 866), which may have led it to “soften a principle of fairness that in some political circles in some of these states would have been seen as too radical” (p. 866). Boyum argues that the OECD presents a narrow approach to fairness or equity in education that isolates it from the structural inequalities in society.

Chapter Summary

This chapter presented an overview of the OECD, namely its historical origins, organizational apparatus, role in education, various modes of governance, and ideological tensions within its education work. As described in this chapter, the OECD is an international organization comprised of 37 countries, which is mainly focused on economic matters and policy work that includes education and other areas. Established in 1960, the Convention’s stated purpose was to advance the expansion of the world economy and raise the living standards of both member and non-member countries (Ougaard, 2010). Even though the OECD’s global perspective was apparent in its mandate, it increased significantly at the turn of the century and now represents a key focus of the organization (Ougaard, 2010, p. 36). This global perspective has proved evident in the OECD’s outreach strategies that have not only involved other states, but organizations and civil society as well (Woodward, 2009).

The OECD’s work is driven by its organizational apparatus, which consists of the *Council, Secretary General, Committees, and Secretariat* (OECD, n.d.d). Comprised of one representative per country and a representative of the European Commission, the Council is authorized with the decision-making power and the oversight and strategic direction of the OECD’s work (OECD, n.d.d). The Secretariat directs the OECD’s work, and it ensures the organization’s efficient administration (Morgan & Volante, 2016; Woodward, 2009). The Secretary-General oversees the Secretariat, chairs the Council meetings at the level of the

permanent members, and makes recommendations to the Council regarding what the Secretariat should study (OECD, 1960; Woodward, 2009). The Committees are bodies that have a significant influence, within a mandate authorized by the Council, in “determining the complex and dynamic agenda of the OECD” (Carrol & Kellow, 2011, p. 18).

This chapter established that the OECD has been influential because of its capacity to exert a mode of ‘soft’ power or governance (Marcussen, 2004; Martens & Jakobi, 2010; Ouguard, 2010). Contrary to the IMF and WB, the OECD cannot utilize financial instruments to influence member-states to accept certain policies, nor legal instruments like the United Nations or Council of Europe (Mahon & McBride, 2008; Marcussen, 2004; Martens & Jakobi, 2010; Woodward, 2009). Scholars have argued that the OECD exerts an influence through its ability to generate and diffuse policy ideas (Martens & Jakobi, 2010; Rubenson, 2008; Woodward, 2009). According to Rubenson (2008), the OECD has acquired a hegemony over the educational agenda in its function as “a semi-autonomous think tank capable of sophisticated long-term planning” as well as “an international civil service and a shared state apparatus” (p. 244). Martens and Jakobi (2010) assert that the OECD’s soft-governance is reliant upon “its reputation, good arguments, and persuasion” (p. 2) and idea generation, which is “a central activity by which the OECD stimulates political debates and develops new policy aims and goals” (p. 8). Marcussen (2004) posits that the OECD depends upon a soft-governance approach by means of the production and diffusion of ideas as an *ideational artist* and *ideational arbitrator*.

Scholars have also argued that the OECD exercises an influence by engaging in policy evaluation and multilateral surveillance in the form of either country comparison or review (Marcussen, 2004; Martens & Jakobi, 2010; Rubenson, 2008; Woodward, 2009). Jacobsson (2006) explains that the transnational governance of international organizations such as the

OECD involves modes of *inquisitive* and *meditative* regulation. Inquisitive regulation encompasses the organization's monitoring and surveillance of a state's practices, whereas meditative regulation entails the organization's role whereby the state's practices are discussed, probed, and penetrated. Furthermore, the OECD has acquired an influence by creating an identity for member states (Marcussen, 2004; Porter & Webb, 2008; Woodward, 2009). *Cognitive* governance denotes the OECD's ability to form an identity through a shared set of overarching values that member states view as inviolable and ties them together as a community. By means of *normative* governance, which refers to the development and exchange of ideas, the OECD acquires an influence by changing the mindset of government officials and influencing them to pursue certain policies to avert reputation loss.

This chapter outlined that an ideological tension and contradiction may be noted in the OECD's education work, over the decades, regarding the economic and social aims of education, as well as its policy reforms or recommendations. Given the context, the OECD's internal politics and debates show an ideological divergence between the social-democratic and neoliberal-policy positions (Henry et al., 2001). As presented in this chapter, Papadopoulos's (1994) historical account identifies an ideological tension between education's role in furthering economic efficiency and growth and that of education's broader social purpose. For Papadopoulos, the history of education in the OECD may be separated into two discernable periods: the first period that extends into the mid-1970s in which the "social" role of education predominated over the economic within member countries; and the second period that stretches from the great recession of 1973–1975 to the mid-1990s, in which the OECD's emphasis on social and economic imperatives gave way to economic imperatives.

This new political economic imperative constituted a break from the wide consensus that defined its educational policy during the 1960s and 1970s, and as a result, “a major battleground emerged between competing ideologies and interests” (Rubenson, 2008, p. 253). The 1980s witnessed competing ideological approaches surrounding the idea of quality, with one side supporting market-based approaches and a model of quality assurance and the other side advancing a child-centred, public provision approach and a model of quality improvement (Henry et al., 2001; Papadopoulos, 1994). The former view of quality would come to predominate in the OECD’s education work by the mid-1990s, especially in higher education (Henry et al., 2001). Furthermore, a market-based equity became prevalent in the OECD’s work since the 1990s, which differed from liberal democratic and social democratic views previously found within the organization (Henry et al., 2001).

Rizvi and Lingard (2010) argue that the ideological tension between the social and economic dimensions of education within the OECD’s work has ceased to exist since the 1990s; rather, education is largely viewed in instrumental or economic terms. With an emphasis on human capital formation and economic growth, the OECD’s educational work identifies “equity in access and outcomes, quality, choice, public and private financing, and individual and social returns to investment and learning” (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 131) as issues of key concern. It may be argued that the OECD’s commitment to equity is mainly symbolic, and that its support for a post-Keynesian policy consensus of education devolution and market competition enhances rather than lessens inequalities in schools. Haugen (2011) suggests that the OECD’s market-based approaches undermines equity by increasing social stratification, rather than advancing it. Thus, both ideological contradictions and tensions may be observed in the OECD’s education work over the decades. Ultimately, a market-orientated conceptualization of education and

equity has become dominant in the OECD's education work (Hardy & Woodcock, 2015; Henry et al., 2001; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Rizvi, 2014; Savage, Sellar & Gorur, 2013).

CHAPTER FIVE: ANALYSIS OF TRENDS SHAPING EDUCATION PROJECT

This chapter analyzes CERI's *Trends Shaping Education Project* (hereafter *TSE Project*).

The stated intent of the *TSE Project* is to provide policy makers with “a robust, non-specialist source to inform strategic thinking and stimulate reflection on the challenges facing education, whether in schools, universities, or programmes for older adults” (OECD, n.d.g, para. 1). The *TSE Project* uses “robust international sources of data ... [to] ... examine the main economic, social, demographic, and technological trends and possible connections to education” (OECD, n.d.g, para.1). The robust sources of data are from the OECD, the World Bank (WB), and the United Nations (UN). All books that comprise the *TSE Project* focus on education throughout the lifespan, from early childhood, schooling, tertiary education, and lifelong learning.

The purpose of this research was to determine the nature of the political discourse of the *TSE Project* with respect to its embeddedness in a liberal paradigm (classical, social or Keynesian welfare, neoliberal, or inclusive) as identified in the theoretical framework developed in Chapter Two of this study (see Appendix A: Liberal Framework). Specifically, the research asked: As evidenced by the discourse in the *TSE Project*, what are the assumptions, values, and constructions of the aims of schooling as they relate to schools, teachers, and learning, and what political discourse do they reflect and reinforce? It also asked: What is the discursive conceptualization of innovation, accountability, and governance, and what political discourse does it reflect and reinforce? Since neither accountability nor governance were discussed in any length in the *TSE Project*, the analysis in this chapter focused on innovation.

To answer the research questions, the *TSE Project* was analyzed at the macro-level, the meso-level, and the micro-level. The macro-level analysis identified *orders of discourse* by providing an overview of the project's timeline and genres, and it categorized its *ideological and*

hegemonic orientation by identifying the broad and narrow assumptions of the discourse. The meso-level analysis focused on the interdiscursivity of the publications, which involved identifying different discourses within a text and how they are combined and articulated, as well as an intertextual analysis, which identified the text's relationship to other texts, or the presence of other texts within a text. The micro-level analysis focused on the construction of social identity by means of modality, and the construction of social reality through word meaning and the wording dimension of texts. A flowchart of the process used is summarized in Appendix C: Stages and Levels of Data Analysis.

This chapter is organized to follow the order of the analysis, and so begins with the macro-level analysis. The direct quotations from the *TSE Project* that are used to provide illustrative examples of the text are displayed in Calibri font to allow the reader to distinguish them. Additionally, scholarly literature is incorporated throughout the chapter to help situate the *TSE Project* discourse into a liberal paradigm as laid out in the theoretical framework. The findings of this chapter draw from an analysis of over 500 pages of text.

Macro-Level Analysis: Order of Discourse

The macro-level analysis first established the genre and timeline of the *TSE Project*. Next, it analyzed books to identify the ideological and hegemonic orientation of the discourse, which it did by identifying the broad assumption apparent in all books, and the narrow assumptions that undergirded it.

Genre and Timeline

The *TSE Project* is a collection of five books published over a span of 11 years. Each book is entitled *Trends Shaping Education (TSE)*, with the specific publication date added to the title. The publication dates are: 2008, 2010, 2013, 2016, and 2019. The content of each book

changed over time to reflect changing social and economic realities as revealed by data sourced from the OECD, WB, and UN. A brief overview of each book is provided below. For convenience, a summary table that lists all book chapters and their key ideas can be found in Appendix D: *TSE Project—Summary of Trends 2008–2019*.

The first *TSE Book 2008* presents 26 major trends categorized into the following nine chapters or “expansive themes”: ageing; global challenges; towards a new economic landscape; the changing world of work and jobs; the learning society; ICT: The next generation; citizenship and the state; social connections and values; and sustainable affluence. The *TSE Book 2010* contains revised content and thematic arrangements, additional indicators, and includes additional countries. It identifies 27 trends in education grouped into the following five chapters: the dynamics of globalization, new social challenges, the changing world of work, transformation of childhood and families, and technologies. Interestingly, the *TSE Book 2010* states the “recent global financial crisis is outside the scope of this book” (p. 9) in its examination of trends that occur over a longer time period. However, it refers to the crisis when discussing such developments such as growth and poverty, and when contextually relevant. The *TSE Book 2013* is extensively updated with new content and it adds a focus on the emerging economies of Brazil, Russia, India, and China (BRIC) and when available, data related to Indonesia and South Africa. New themes were added, as well as new indicators related to security, skills, and emerging technologies. It presents 35 trends organized under five chapters: a global world, living well, labour and skill dynamics, modern families, and infinite connection.

The *TSE Book 2015* has 25 topics organized into five chapters: globalization, the future of nation-states, cities as new countries, modern families, and technologies as a brave new year. It includes both a focus on OECD countries and, subject to availability, data on Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, and the Russian Federation (BRIICS). The *TSE Book 2019*, the final book

available at time of writing, includes five chapters: shifting global gravity, public matters, security in a risky world, living longer and better, and modern cultures. Interestingly, it omits a separate chapter on technology, choosing instead to interweave a discussion of technology throughout all the chapters as “an acknowledgment that it has now become thoroughly integrated into our daily life” (OECD, 2019b, p. 3).

Ideology and Hegemony

An analysis of the ideological orientation of the *TSE Project* directs attention to the assumptions embedded in discourse. As stated by Fairclough (2003), assumptions, whether value, propositional, or existential, are discourse specific because “a particular discourse includes assumptions about what there is, what is the case, what is possible, what is necessary, what will be the case, and so forth” (p. 58). In many instances, assumptions, assumed meanings, and their related discourses are of ideological importance. Specifically, assumed or taken-as-given meanings often uphold certain relations of power, and in turn, become hegemonized or universalized. Fairclough argues that the promotion of an ideology is closely tied to hegemony and universalization because “seeking hegemony is a matter of seeking to universalize particular meanings in the service of achieving and maintaining dominance” (p. 58). He notes that a text performs ideological work if it assumes an “unquestioned and unavoidable reality” (p. 58).

A review of all books in the *TSE Project* was undertaken to analyze the assumptions made about the aims of K–12 schooling, schools, teachers, and learning. One broad assumption and five narrow assumptions were ascertained in the texts as a result of this analysis.

- **Broad assumption:** *Education has a role to play in preparing students for a globalized world that is undergoing economic, social, and digital transformation.*

- **Narrow assumptions:** Five varied and narrow assumptions underlie this broader assumption as shown in Figure 4. They assume that education has a role to play in:
 1. Providing the skills and competencies needed to operate in the labour market of both a globalized economy and knowledge-based economy
 2. Fostering innovation that is requisite for a globalized and knowledge economy
 3. Reducing the inequities or inequalities both within and between nations
 4. Improving social/civic participation and fostering democratic citizenship, as well as enhancing social cohesion, and
 5. Providing students with skills and competencies to operate in a world that is increasingly digitalized

In the section that follows, each narrow assumption is discussed and analyzed with respect to the political discourse and discourses within which it is embedded.

Narrow Assumption 1

Narrow Assumption 1 is: Education has a role to play in providing the skills and competencies needed to operate in the labour market of both a globalized and knowledge-based economy, as shown in Figure 5 for the elements of this assumption. This assumption contains both an existential (what exists) and a propositional (what is, can, or will be the case) dimension. In all books of the *TSE Project*, a global/globalized and a knowledge economy are presented as both existential and propositional. The 2008 Book reinforces this by stating:

In this section we focus on the ways our economies are developing and transforming, under two broad headings:

- Globalisation
- Service and Knowledge economy (OECD, 2008, p. 47)

The assumption or reality of a globalized economy or global market is evident in references to

globalization, and the varied emphasis on such features as transnational networks of trade, global integration, international cooperation, and human mobility and migration (OECD, 2008b, 2010, 2016, 2019).

One observes the project's adherence to the "reality" of a knowledge economy in *TSE Project 2010* with the following statement:

OECD countries have become knowledge-intensive. A defining feature of knowledge-intensive economies is their focus on research and development (R & D) activities. (OECD, 2010, p. 54)

Within the project's publications, the reality of a knowledge economy requires OECD countries to heighten competition to gain competitive advantage in producing goods and services that require high levels of research, knowledge and skills, as well as creativity and innovation (OECD, 2008b, 2010, 2013).

The assumptions, constructions, and values of the aims of K–12 education within the *TSE Project* are thus tied to the existential and propositional assumptions of a globalized economy and knowledge economy. It is assumed that K–12 schools should prepare students for the labour market demands at the global level. In the 2016 Book this assumption is reflected in this statement concerning globalisation:

For education, increasing global integration may create a need for the development of new 21st century skills and global competencies for both children and adults. (p. 28)

The same Book presents an illustrative or suggestive question concerning the aims of schooling:

Should schools and universities be aware of labour market demands at the global level in order to prepare students to work abroad and in multinational companies? (p. 29)

The assumption that education plays a role providing the skills and competencies for a labelled knowledge economy is highly evident in the *TSE Project*. The notion of a knowledge economy

Figure 4

TSE Project: Broad Assumption and Narrow Assumptions

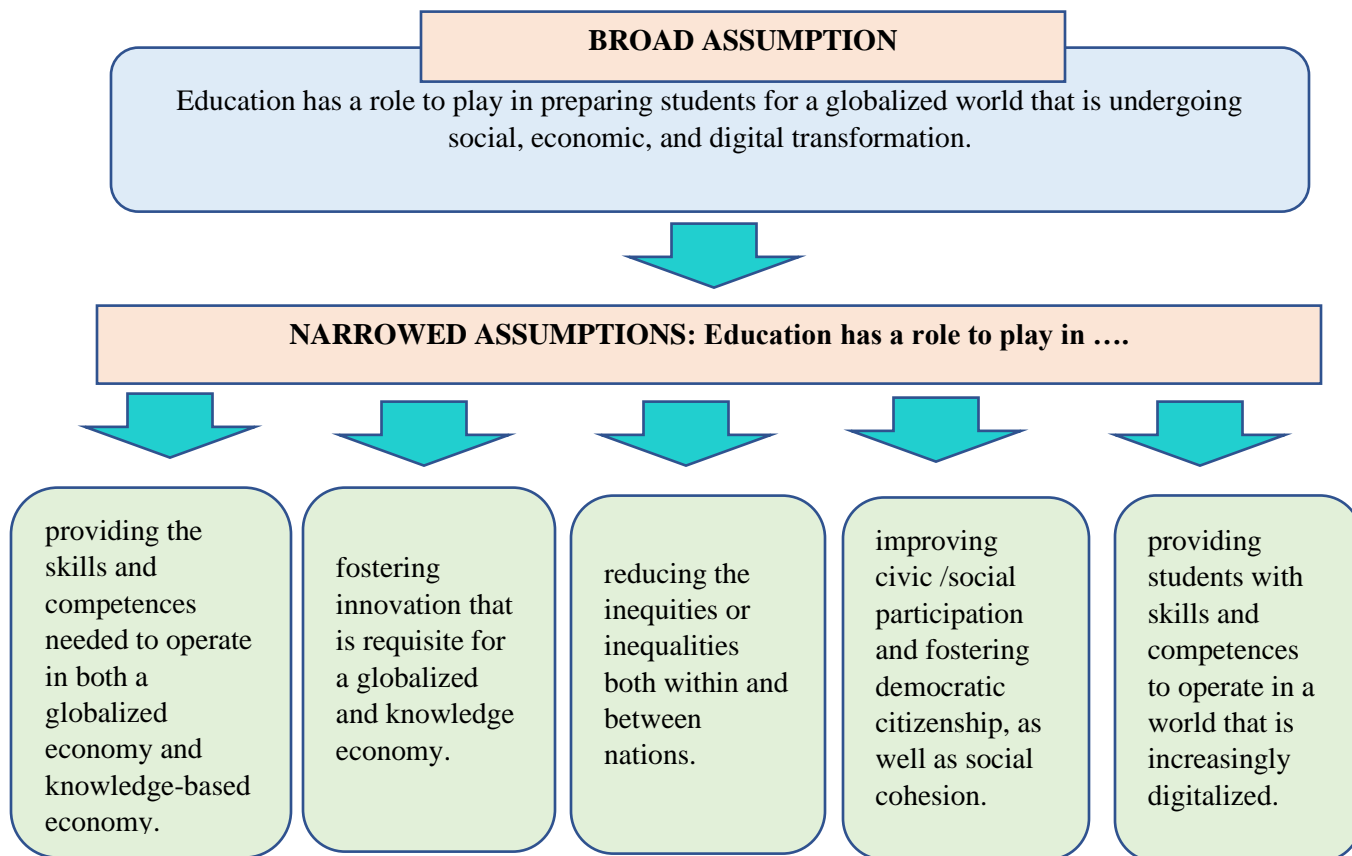
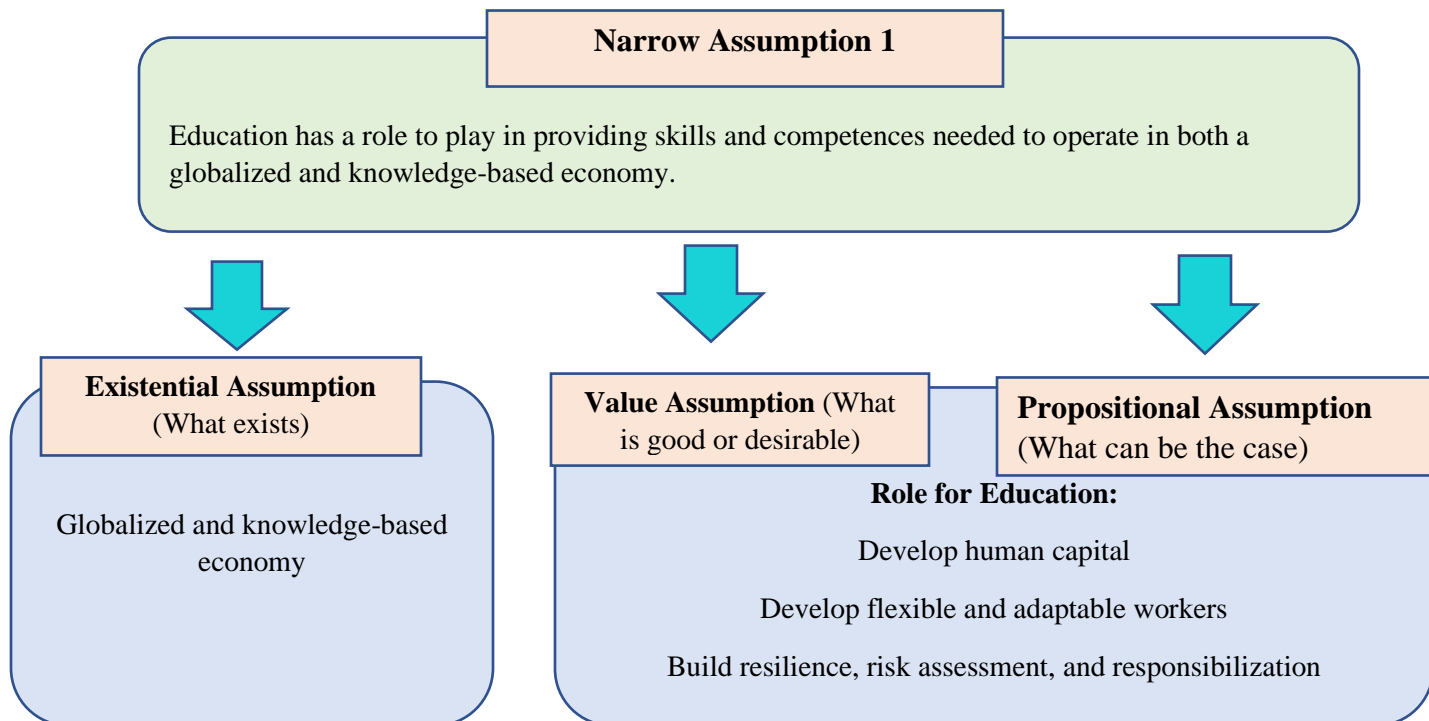


Figure 5*TSE Project: Narrow Assumption 1*

advances educational purposes that focus less on students having information, and more on their acquisition of skills or qualities that will enable them to adapt effectively to the fast-changing conditions of work. In the assumed knowledge economy, education needs to produce individuals able to work creatively with knowledge. Furthermore, the labour force needs to be highly skilled and competent in technological use for newly formed and well-paid employment in high-technology industries and other services. Individuals must also be prepared to adapt to changing work conditions, even if most jobs will be available in the low service sector.

Preparing Flexible and Adaptable Workers. Rizvi (2017) notes that the purposes of lifelong learning in a knowledge economy serves the “purposes of human capital development and economic self-maximization” (p. 7) rather than learning for its own sake. It requires schools that produce students who are mobile, globally minded and inter-culturally confident, and lifelong learners so that they may be flexible and adaptable for a changing workplace. Since a knowledge economy requires workers who are flexible and adaptable to changing work conditions, the *TSE Project* advances this aim for schooling. The assumption that education should provide students with the skills and competencies to participate in the knowledge economy is found within all the project’s books. For example, the 2013 Book states that,

education systems around the world will at varying degrees face the need to provide students with the skills necessary to succeed in a globalised and knowledge-intensive world. This should be done of course, in conjunction with the ongoing need for vocational and other skill sets that will serve economies across time. (OECD, 2013, p. 63)

This excerpt represents both a propositional and a value assumption concerning the aims of schooling or schools. The propositional assumption—“what is or can or will be the case” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 55)—is that education systems must provide students with requisite skills. The value assumption—“what is good or desirable” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 88)—is that providing

such skills will enable students to succeed in “a globalised and knowledge-intensive world” (OECD, 2013, p. 63). The 2008 *TSE Project* provides an illustrative question that assumes a role for K–12 education in preparing youth for the knowledge economy:

Discussion about the knowledge economy often focuses on the higher education sector and how well it undertakes high-level research and develops research capacity among graduates. But what about schools – are they appropriately equipping the young for the competitive knowledge-based economy? (OECD, 2008b, p. 37)

Although the text does not provide a declarative statement regarding how schools should prepare youth, the illustrative question reveals a grounding within the value assumption that schools should be “appropriately equipping the young for the competitive knowledge-economy” (OECD, 2008b, p. 37) since this is good and desirable.

These assumptions reflect a neoliberal discourse or policy view of education, which is situated in human capital theory and premised on the belief that acquired skills should reflect the nature of the market (Olssen et al., 2004; Rizvi, 2017). Human capital theory promotes the view that education should provide skills and knowledge that increases one’s position or status in the marketplace (Ward, 2012). It also promotes an education that increases “the competitive advantage of individuals, corporations, and nations” (Olssen et al., 2004, p. 6). This view is evident in statements declaring education systems “need to provide students with skills necessary to succeed in a globalized and knowledge-intensive world” (OECD, 2013, p. 63) and with “other skills sets that will serve economies across time” (OECD, 2008b, p. 37). The promotion of education for enhancing an individual’s competitive advantage can also be observed in the question asking whether schools are “appropriately equipping the young for the competitive knowledge-based economy” (OECD, 2008b, p. 37).

The purpose of education for the knowledge economy, as noted by Rizvi (2017) entails

producing students who will be flexible and adaptable to changing work conditions. The *TSE Project* presents schools or schooling as serving this aim:

The connected economy has changed the way we work, and indeed, live. Education must be prepared to change with it. Students will need to be equipped with skills for future job and labour markets. Additionally, they will need to be able to navigate with increasing uncertainty and potential precariousness of the gig economy. (OECD, 2019b, p. 93)

The notion that education systems should prepare students to be adaptive to a changing economy, increasingly defined by temporary work is also found in the 2008, 2010, and 2013 Books of the *TSE Project*. For example, the 2008 Book explicitly notes the rise of precarious and temporary work over the last few decades:

The growth in numbers on temporary contracts, chartered over a longer time frame than with part-time work, is more clear-cut: there has been a steady increase in temporary work since the early 1980s. It is therefore important that people leave education with a base of knowledge, skills and qualifications that will give them a firm chance in the job market, including the ability to cope with change and insecurity. (OECD, 2008b, p. 42).

The existential assumptions in the two texts quoted above is the reality of a changing economy that is defined by precariousness and temporary work, as well as uncertainty or insecurity. The value assumptions are that preparing students with the skills or knowledge for the job market, and the ability to adapt to market insecurity or uncertainty is “good or desirable.” The value assumption that education can play a role in equipping both children and adults with the skills to be resilient or adaptive in the face of either financial crisis, insecurity or uncertainty may also be found within the 2010 and 2013 Books of the *TSE Project*.

The texts above are grounded in a neoliberal discourse or policy perspective. Such a discourse or policy perspective sees education as providing students with the skills and knowledge for the marketplace, and the ability to adapt effectively to fast-changing conditions of work (Olssen et al., 2004; Rizvi, 2017; Ward, 2012). The focus on “change”—with regards to

how “the connected economy has changed the way we live, and indeed, live” (OECD, 2019b, p. 93), the need for education to “change with it” (OECD, 2019b, p. 93) and impart people with “the ability to cope with change” (OECD, 2008b, p. 42)—reflects a “change” discourse that is largely neoliberal, as identified by Eagleton-Pierce (2016). Eagleton-Pierce notes that “change,” within the neoliberal period, is often found in a “a pattern of ‘epoch-making’ narratives as the justificatory premise for reform” (pp. 19–20). For Eagleton-Pierce, “change, whether in the abstract or the particular, remains omnipresent” (p. 17) and that every organization and individual “feels the effects of change” (p. 17). The *TSE Project* presents economic change, whether technological or in the growth of part-time work, as justifying or necessitating educational reform so that students are equipped for a labour market defined by the insecurity of precarious or part-time work. Education is presented as requiring to change in order to deal with this economic transformation. This economic change is seemingly omnipresent; schools are affected by having to change with it, whereas students need to be able to navigate and cope with its uncertainty.

Within the context of economic insecurity or uncertainty, *TSE Project 2013* presents “flexibility” as an existential assumption of “what exists” (Fairclough, 2013, p. 55) regarding the economic reality:

“Flexibility” is commonly thought of as a characteristic of twenty-first century working life. People are more likely to work for a series of employers, rather than just one for their lifetime. Furthermore, career trajectories can increasingly be redefined and redirected at all stages of life, while technology has provided an opportunity for more individuals to work more remotely and yet stay connected to their workplace. (OECD, 2013, p. 66)

Regarding the purpose education in a working life characterized by “flexibility,” the publication states:

An important objective of training and education is to prepare young people for the

labour market and to organise professional development for adults. (OECD, 2013, p. 66)

This discussion of “flexibility” and the need for education to prepare young people for a labour market characterized by “flexible work” is grounded within a neoliberal discourse. Eagleton-Pierce (2016) identifies “flexibility” as a neoliberal concept that “often carries normative positive overtones and may, depending upon the social context, be a valuable attribute” (p. 77).

According to Eagleton-Pierce (2016), the term “implies that a greater freedom of movement or choice is possible” (p. 77). In the *TSE Project*, “flexibility” is presented as “normative” because “it is commonly thought of as a common characteristic of twenty-first century working life” (OECD, 2013, p. 66) and with positive overtones as it permits “career trajectories that can be increasingly redefined and redirected at all stages of life” (OECD, 2013, p. 66). This text carries a positive and normative association as it negates to mention that workers often lack any choice or freedom in deciding to redefine or redirect their career trajectories.

Within *TSE Project 2013*, the uncritical use of “flexibility,” in outlining the decline in the proportion of full-time workers, addresses neither the “unequal relations, of power” nor the question of “flexibility for whom and under what conditions” (Eagleton-Pierce, 2016, p. 77). The above text discursively constructs a neoliberal purpose of education. Such a purpose is evident with the view that education should prepare young people for the labour market and offer professional development for adults for a working life defined by “flexibility.” A neoliberal perspective affirms the view of education as an investment in human capital, which involves people acquiring skills or upgrading existing skills (Peters & Humes, 2003).

Insecurity, Resilience, Risk, and Responsibilization. The *TSE Project 2019* examines education’s role in preventing, understanding, and alleviating security risks or challenges, whether economic, environmental, cyber, or national. In the *TSE Project 2019*, the discussion of

education's role in mitigating financial or economic insecurity reveals a neoliberal discourse. The *TSE Project* acknowledges the insecurity that is characteristic of the economy, but it does not underline the systemic causes or any unequal relations of power within which it is situated. In addition to other challenges, *TSE Project 2019* addresses threats in the form of financial and work-related insecurity, and it suggests a respective role for education:

Threats can also be very personal: Many individuals are experiencing financial and work-related insecurity and are concerned about the safety of their families and communities. Education can play a role in helping understand, prevent, and mitigate security risks. It can also help build resilience and better prepare citizens for times of crisis. (OECD, 2019b, p. 54)

This Book also mentions resilience when discussing personal threats, such as people feeling less secure about their finances and work:

Threats to our safety can be personal as well as societal. Many people feel less secure about their finances and their work. And despite safer streets and reductions in crime rates, reports of perceived risk are falling. Families and communities are concerned about the safety of their children. Education can play a role in helping understand, prevent, and mitigate security risks. It can also help students distinguish between perceived and actual risks, build resilience and better prepare citizens to withstand adversity. (OECD, 2019b, p. 10)

Furthermore, the same Book suggests an educational aim that is tied to economic and financial insecurity:

Economic security for individuals includes financial security (having adequate savings and insurance, and affordable credit), as well as work-related security such as paid employment and a safe work environment. In recent decades, countries have seen trends towards lower financial-security and weaker work-related security, as economies have changed in the aftermath of the financial crisis. Education will play an important role in equipping adults and children with the skills they need for the labour markets of the future, as well as in coping with the increased emphasis on personal responsibility for financial security. (OECD, 2019b, p. 64)

A key *value assumption*, in two of the above texts, encompasses the view that a desirable aim for education is preparing students to be resilient in times of crisis or adversity. The

neoliberal nature of this educational aim is evident through the discourse of “resilience.” Joseph (2013) and McKeown and Glenn (2017) argue that the concept of resilience embeds neoliberalism or reinforces neoliberal policies. For Joseph and McKeown and Glenn, resilience constitutes a form of neoliberal governmentality that positions the subject as autonomous, adaptable, and responsible. Joseph states that the idea of resilience “fits with a social order that is consistent with neoliberal practices of governance” (Joseph, 2013, p. 40). For Joseph, resilience also aligns with a social ontology, which is compatible with neoliberalism, that calls upon us to revert “from a concern with the outside world to a concern with our own subjectivity, our adaptability, our reflexive understanding, our own risk assessments, our knowledge acquisition, and above all else, our responsible decision making” (Joseph, 2013, p. 40).

The above text, from *TSE Book 2019*, advances a neoliberal governmentality through this suggested role or aim of education. For instance, it emphasizes educational aims that “build resilience and better prepare citizens for time of crisis” (OECD, 2019b, p. 64) to help citizens “withstand adversity” (OECD, 2019b, p. 10), and equip children and adults with skills in “coping with the increased emphasis on personal responsibility for financial security” (OECD, 2019b, p. 64). In this regard, education aims to inculcate a neoliberal governmentality and create subjects who are prepared, adaptable, and responsible when encountering situations of financial uncertainty or insecurity. A value assumption is education enabling students to take personal responsibility for their economic and social well-being by helping them to “understand, prevent, and mitigate security risks” (OECD, 2019b, p. 64), “to distinguish between perceived and actual risks” (p. 10), and to look to themselves for “financial security” (OECD, 2019b, p. 64). As evident in the text, the role for education is to encourage what Joseph (2013) has identified as resilience tied to active citizenship, whereby individuals take responsibility for their own social

and economic well-being, as opposed to depending upon the state. According to Joseph, this neoliberal discourse or practice that appeals to being an active citizen “focuses on the risk and security aspects by encouraging preparedness and awareness” (p. 42). The text reveals such a discourse with the statements regarding students being able to distinguish or understand risks, and of an education which “better prepares citizens for times of crisis” (OECD, 2019b, p. 54) or “better prepares citizens to withstand adversity” (OECD, 2019b, p. 10).

The neoliberal discourse of the *TSE Project* is also apparent with the use of term, “risk.” Eagleton-Pierce (2016) identifies that the use of “risk,” within a neoliberal context, has expanded to include the construction and monitoring of problems aside from the realm of business. He notes that we live in a “society preoccupied with the future and concerns for safety” (p. 161), or a “‘risk-society,’ whereby the assessment and management of a variety of so-called ‘risks’—from financial crises to environmental degradation” (p. 161), have emerged due to the insecurities associated with modernization. *TSE Book, 2019* largely employs “risk” in the chapter, ‘Security in a Risky World’ and identifies the following associated risks: personal and health security (such as the terrorist threat and the risk of faulty or contaminated products as a result of the global supply chain), cyber security (threats in the form of data theft, leaks, or breaches), national security (threats of cyber-attack and the continued presence of political violence and intra-state conflict), and environmental security (risks associated with climate change) in addition to those of economic security. In this regard, the use of “risk” in the *TSE Project* is an expansive one, as identified by Eagleton-Pierce, to include insecurities caused by modernization. Eagleton-Pierce adds that “risk, can be viewed as conceptually intertwined with a number of other notions in neoliberal vocabulary, particularly stability, governance and responsibility” (p. 161). In the *TSE Project*, an interwoven connection between “risk” and “responsibility” is found.

The text from *TSE Book 2019* fails to mention a role for the state in providing security at a time of financial insecurity or crisis. Furthermore, the text does not address a role for education in imparting students with the knowledge to challenge the current economic order or resist neoliberal policies that create financially insecure or vulnerable citizens. It may be assumed that a desirable aim for education would be the preparation of students to become resilient subjects. Evans and Reid (2013) describe resilient subjects as ones who must permanently and continuously struggle to adapt themselves to the structures and conditions of the world. As such, the text's notion of resilience is consistent with neoliberal approaches that emphasize appropriate modes of responsabilization. These modes of responsabilization transfer thought away from the dynamics of systems or any notions of state-intervention (Joseph, 2013; McKeown & Glenn, 2017). McKeown and Glenn (2017) explain that

with resilience thinking, responsabilisation still operates by shifting the onus away from the state providing a social safety net and intervening in the economy towards individual and community self-help, but the emphasis is on post facto adaptation—there is therefore a shift towards promoting adaptive capacities in order that subjects can meet their responsibilities after crises. Whether individuals/communities simply survive or thrive will depend upon their degree of self-reliance, flexibility, and adaptability. (p. 202)

In emphasising survivability or adaptability, resilience thinking maintains the status quo by negating social structures/agency or systems of power relations, which benefit from or are responsible for financial crisis or vulnerability. The notion of resilience frames a world beyond one's control and fosters a sense of resignation and political passivity within the individual. This sense of resignation and political passivity does not encourage opposition to and transformation of the current economic order (McKeown & Glenn, 2017).

The *TSE Project* further espouses the idea of responsabilization through the promotion of financial literacy or financial education. The 2019 Book advances a neoliberal governmentality of responsabilization in its mention of the 2008 financial crisis:

In 2016, household debt was at its highest level in the previous two decades. Higher debt and lower savings can be risky. Depending on the affordability of the debt and accessibility of the savings, a sudden rise in expenses or drop in income could be a more severe shock if debt is already high. When the effects of such a shock are widespread, such as the 2008 financial crisis, large parts of the economy could be in an insecure position. With the right knowledge and skills, individuals can play a role in ensuring their own economic security. However, levels of financial literacy are low: in 2015 almost a quarter of 15-year old students lacked the baseline proficiency in financial literacy, meaning that at best they could make decisions on everyday spending and recognise the purpose of everyday documents such as an invoice. (OECD, 2019b, p. 64)

In this text, financial literacy is implicitly presented as being able inculcate students, in the words of McKeown and Glenn (2017) with “responsibilization” (p. 202), “a degree of self-reliance” (p. 202) and “adaptive capacities in order that subjects can meet their responsibilities after crises” (p. 202). This text suggests that individuals could ensure their economic security by having lower debt and amassing more savings, and that financial literacy can equip them with the knowledge and skills to do so. The promotion of financial literacy is consistent with what McKeown and Glenn identify as “resilience thinking” (p. 202), which may be viewed as “part of a wider practice of neoliberal enframing, one that typically involves a process of ‘responsibilisation’ through ‘enhancement’ (building the capacities to self-govern)” (pp. 202–203). Within a practice of neoliberal enframing as regards to the economy, “there is an implicit levelling of responsibility, where individuals and communities are expected to mine their own resources and capacities in order to survive shocks understood as ‘inevitable’” (McKeown & Glenn, 2017, p. 203).

It has been argued that financial literacy constitutes a form of governmentality—in a Foucauldian conceptualization—which acts as a “technology of the self” whereby individuals are

created as self-governing subjects (Arthur, 2012; Curran, 2018). Specifically, financial literacy represents a technology of self that permits the shifting of responsibility for the economic crisis from the government/society to the individual (Arthur, 2012; Curran, 2012). The above text points to Arthur's (2012) assertion that financial literacy may be viewed as an "individualization" and "educationalization" of economic risk or the economic crisis. As evident in the above text, economic risk and crisis are presented as individual problems that require individual solutions. They are also framed as individual education problems, as opposed to systemic problems.

The statement that "with the right knowledge and skills, individuals can play a role in securing their own economic security" (OECD, 2019b, p. 64) points to what Arthur (2012) describes as "a neoliberal educationalization of a social problem such as financial illiteracy and its supposed attendant effects (personal debt, national debt, economic instability, unemployment, poverty, and economic crises)" (Arthur, 2012, p. 91). Arthur posits that neoliberal educationalization of such social problems assumes that they will be solved by imparting individuals with certain desires, knowledge, and skills that are imperative for comporting oneself. Such an approach transfers responsibility away from government to individuals, and it frames problems as individual educational problems rather than systemic problems (Arthur, 2012). By proposing financial literacy as a solution to economic insecurity, *TSE Project 2019* shifts any onus away from the state in providing a social safety net in wake of financial crisis or shock. Rather, it is shifted to individuals who are equipped with the capacities to ensure their own economic security. Furthermore, the text does not problematize nor accord any blame for the economic order's negative consequences in the form of high debt, low savings, or economic shock.

The *TSE Book, 2013* also addresses financial education in wake of the recent economic crisis:

The recent financial crisis heavily damaged banks and some national economies, but it also affected the everyday spending and income of families and households. This has an impact on day-to-day lives of millions of individuals and is also relevant to education. Financial education is receiving renewed importance in curriculums across OECD Countries. (OECD, 2013, p. 80)

This text suggests that the financial crisis has made financial education more relevant in the curriculum of OECD countries. This Book also poses a suggestive question concerning financial education:

What is the role of educational institutions in addressing the need for greater financial education? What should this look like in terms of curriculum planning and design? (OECD, 2013, p. 81)

From the above texts, it may be deduced that the OECD views financial education as encompassing a focus on personal finance, whether debt, savings, or individual spending decisions. There is no evidence to suggest that financial education might entail an understanding of how financial institutions or markets work, or a critical analysis of government or financial institutions in the 2008 financial crisis.

It has been observed that financial literacy has widely become a main issue of concern in the aftermath of the 2007–2008 financial crisis or Great Recession. A cause of the financial crisis or recession has been attributed to personal responsibility and the absence of financial literacy, as opposed to predatory lending and the extremes of financial capitalism. Curran (2018) notes that the cause of the financial crisis has been re-ascribed through the discursive technology of financial literacy.

Narrow Assumption 2

Narrow Assumption 2 is: Education has a role to play in fostering innovation that is requisite for the globalized and knowledge economy, as shown in Figure 6.

The assumption that education has a role to play in fostering innovation is found in all Books of the *TSE Project*. For example, *TSE Book 2019* advances the view that education can serve to enhance innovation, which is necessary for participation in and gaining advantage from the global market. In addressing the interdependence of countries in the global marketplace and the apparent opportunities that arise from it, this publication states the following:

Yet openness alone is not enough for the benefits of trade to materialise for everyone, and governments also need to act domestically to encourage opportunity, innovation, and competition. How can education systems help citizens encourage opportunity, innovation, and competition? How can education systems help citizens contribute to fair and sustainable global governance? How can education help build the skills required in a global marketplace? (OECD, 2019b, p. 22)

In discussing barriers to trade and the need for global trade rules that “are fair, transparent, and respected” (OECD, 2019b, p. 23), *TSE Book 2019* presents an explicit aim for education regarding innovation: “Policies at home are needed as well—including in education to encourage innovation and job creation, and help all people benefit from the opportunities that trade openness brings” (OECD, 2019b, p. 23).

Furthermore, the *TSE Project* closely ties education’s assumed role in enhancing innovation with economic competition. The *TSE Book 2019* suggests that with the existence of “more knowledge-intensive economies” (p. 28) which prioritize research and development (R & D) capacity, “education can ensure that students have the competences needed to compete in an innovative world” (p. 29). Similarly, the *TSE Book 2013* refers to national economic competitiveness in addressing the implications of global market integration on education:

This growing integration of economies has an impact on national competitiveness, innovation, employment and skills. It can also play a role in shaping attitudes and expertise that drive international trade and collaboration. For education, this global integration may create a need and opportunity for development of new different skills in vocational and higher education programmes. (p. 24)

Trade integration and financial openness have increased dramatically on average across all OECD countries in recent decades, especially since the early 1990s, notwithstanding some volatility created by larger economic events. These cross border interconnections have an impact on national innovation and competitiveness agendas, and also on skill forecasts and emerging occupations. For education, national priorities for skill development have a direct impact on subjects taught in basic and higher education; for example, encouraging the study of science and mathematics, or harnessing the power of creativity to drive innovation. (p. 25)

The *TSE Project* also presents suggestive questions, which are situated in the assumption that education can play a role in fostering the innovation requisite for countries maintaining a competitive position in the global economy:

Increasing competition on global markets has promoted the widespread notion that countries need constant innovation to maintain position. Does education foster and value the creativity necessary to be innovative? (OECD, 2013, p. 25)

Increasing competition in global markets has promoted the widespread notion that countries need constant innovation to maintain their competitive position. Does education foster the creativity necessary to be innovative? (OECD, 2016, p. 33)

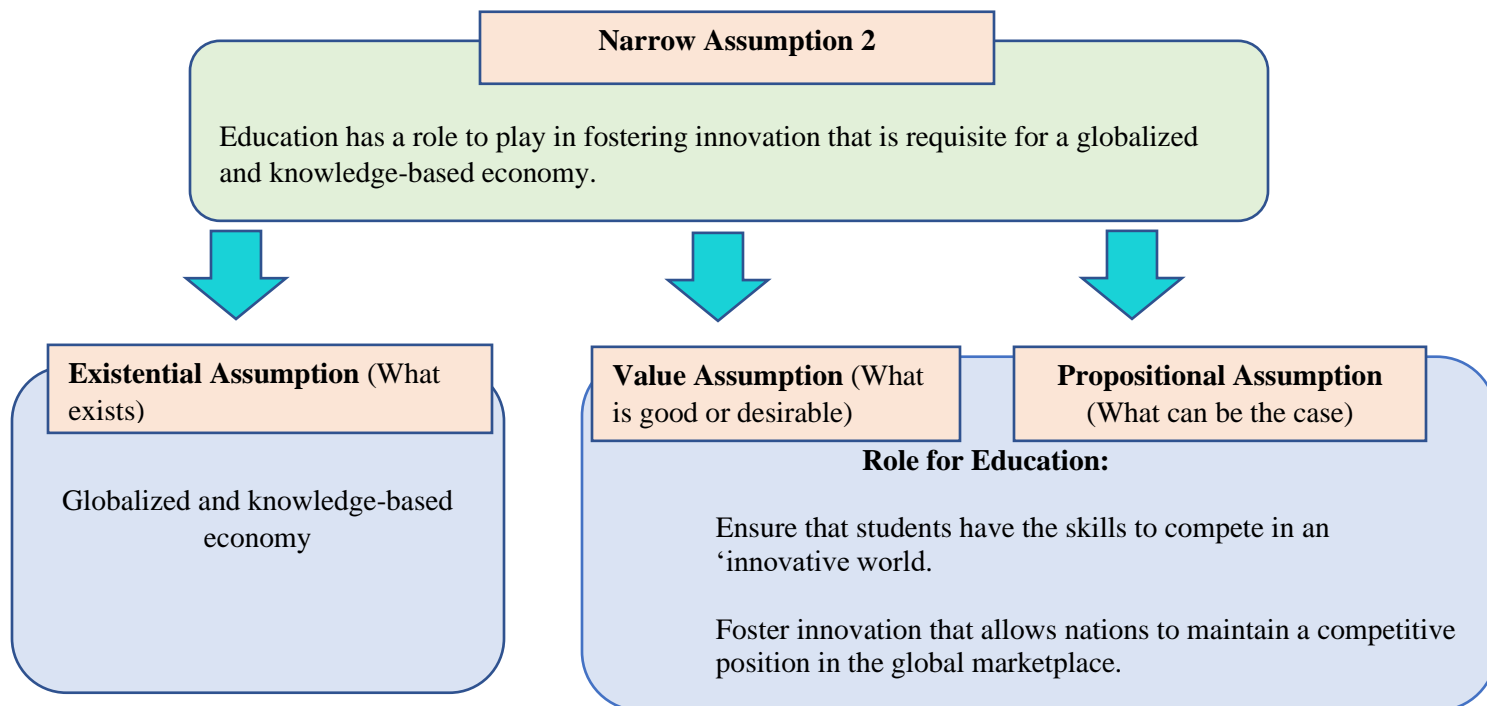
Increasing competition in global research fuels the push for countries to constantly innovate to maintain their competitive position. Does education foster and value creativity necessary to be innovative? (OECD, 2019b, p. 29)

The above text is situated in a neoliberal outlook or discourse because it proposes innovation as a policy prescription regarding national economic competitiveness. Ampuja (2016) suggests that innovation is closely associated with neoliberalism because the subject often encompasses “calls to transform state institutions, labour markets, education and even basic cultural values so that these would better innovation, on which the health of the economy but the whole of society is viewed to depend” (p. 23). The above text from the *TSE Book 2019* presents

innovation as a policy prescription for economic well-being or health with the view that governments “need to act domestically to encourage opportunity, innovation, and competition” (p. 23) because openness alone in the global marketplace “is not enough for the benefits of trade to materialise for everyone” (p. 23). The text from the 2019 Book also shows a neoliberal orientation as it posits that education policies are needed “to encourage innovation and job creation, and help all people benefit from the opportunities that trade openness brings” (p. 23). In the *TSE Project*, a neoliberal discourse is not only apparent in the call for policy that encourages innovation, but the taken for granted assumption or neutral description of contemporary reality—that of globalization. The above texts are grounded in a neoliberal outlook, as defined by Rizvi (2017), in their normative view of trade liberalization and the global integration of markets, along with the assumption that this economic logic offers benefits to everyone.

The value assumption that education can develop the “skills required in a global marketplace” (OECD, 2019b, p. 23), “ensure that students have the competences needed to compete in an innovative world” (p. 29), and foster “the creativity necessary to be innovative” (OECD, 2016, p. 33; OECD, 2019b, p. 29) reflects a neoliberal purpose of education. Specifically, *TSE Project* advances a purpose of education that is informed by human capital theory. Human capital theory aligns education to the global economy and assumes that performance in the global economy is tied to people’s knowledge stock, skill levels, or capabilities (Rizvi, 2017). In the above text, it is apparent that these skill levels encompass those that are requisite for a global marketplace and the creativity needed for innovation. A neoliberal purpose of education, which is shaped by human capital theory, upholds that education and training can contribute to national productivity, as well as the competitive advantage of

Figure 6

TSE Project: Narrow Assumption 2

individuals and nations (Rizvi, 2017). The *TSE Project* addresses a role for education in developing skills and fostering innovation within the context of growing economic integration and its “impact on economic competitiveness” (OECD, 2019b, p. 24), as well as “increasing competition in global markets” (OECD, 2016, p. 33) which necessitates that countries “maintain their competitive position” (p. 33).

This educational purpose meets the needs of neoliberal globalization and aligns with what Robertson (2016) calls “the new educational mandate.” Robertson (2016) argues that “the new conditions of fast capitalism and the rise of the competition state have generated the need for a new educational mandate” (p. 187). Within this mandate, educational systems are assigned with “creating appropriately skilled and entrepreneurial citizens and workers able to generate new and added economic values” (p. 187), which “will enable nations to be responsive to changing conditions within the marketplace” (p. 187). Robertson further explains that “through educationally driven economic success, it is argued that a nation will be able to generate the level of economic prosperity that will trickle down to the community” (p. 187). The *TSE Project* text fits this mandate with the view that education can develop skilled individuals and foster innovation, so that nations remain competitive and people benefit from global trade and market integration.

Narrow Assumption 3

Narrow Assumption 3 is: Education has a role to play in reducing the inequities or inequalities both within and between nations, as illustrated in Figure 7.

Within the *TSE Project* the above assumption constitutes a value assumption, or an assumption about “what is good or desirable” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 55). This assumption may be viewed as situated within an inclusive liberal outlook, as it closely relates to the failings or shortcomings of the neoliberal order. Grounded within a propositional assumption of globalization, the *TSE Project* addresses its contradictions, tensions, and shortcomings:

Globalization has positively contributed to unprecedented economic growth. Yet not everyone has benefited equally, and income and wealth are becoming concentrated among the richest 10%. Economic inequality is worrisome: it can lead to inequality of opportunity, which in turn translates into large disparities in well-being and can lead to political and social unrest. (OECD, 2019b, p. 38)

The above text points to the contradiction between unprecedented economic growth and economic inequality and disparity that has accompanied globalization. The *TSE Project* approach to globalization may be viewed from the lens of what Jessop (2002) terms, *flanking* which encompasses strategies and measures to re-embed liberal market forces and stabilize neoliberalism in wake of tensions or shortcomings. Porter and Craig (2004) identify strategies that work to embed neoliberalism as inclusive liberalism.

The *TSE Project* reveals an inclusive discourse as it advances the inclusion or integration of individuals and nations within globalization and the global economy (Porter & Craig, 2004). Inclusive liberalism emphasizes the inclusion of individuals and nations within global economy by means of institution building and state integration within global markets. It also underlines the development of human capital through services such as education and health (Craig & Porter, 2006). *TSE Book 2016* embodies such a discourse with the following statement:

Rising inequality between and within countries even in times of greater affluence makes it clear that more work must be done in order to help make the next phase of globalisation work for all. This will require a new approach to economic policies, but also a new broad emphasis on social cohesion. Tackling challenges that require co-ordinated and co-operative responses requires a new commitment to global governance and multilateralism. Education has a role to play in providing the skills and competencies needed to operate in this new world. (OECD, 2016, p. 10)

The above text does not simply reflect an inclusive liberal discourse, but inclusive liberalism's threefold embedding of neoliberalism, as identified by Craig and Porter (2004). This threefold embedding or reinforcement of neoliberalism encompasses the following: first, the integration of nations and individuals within the global economy as evident with the statement

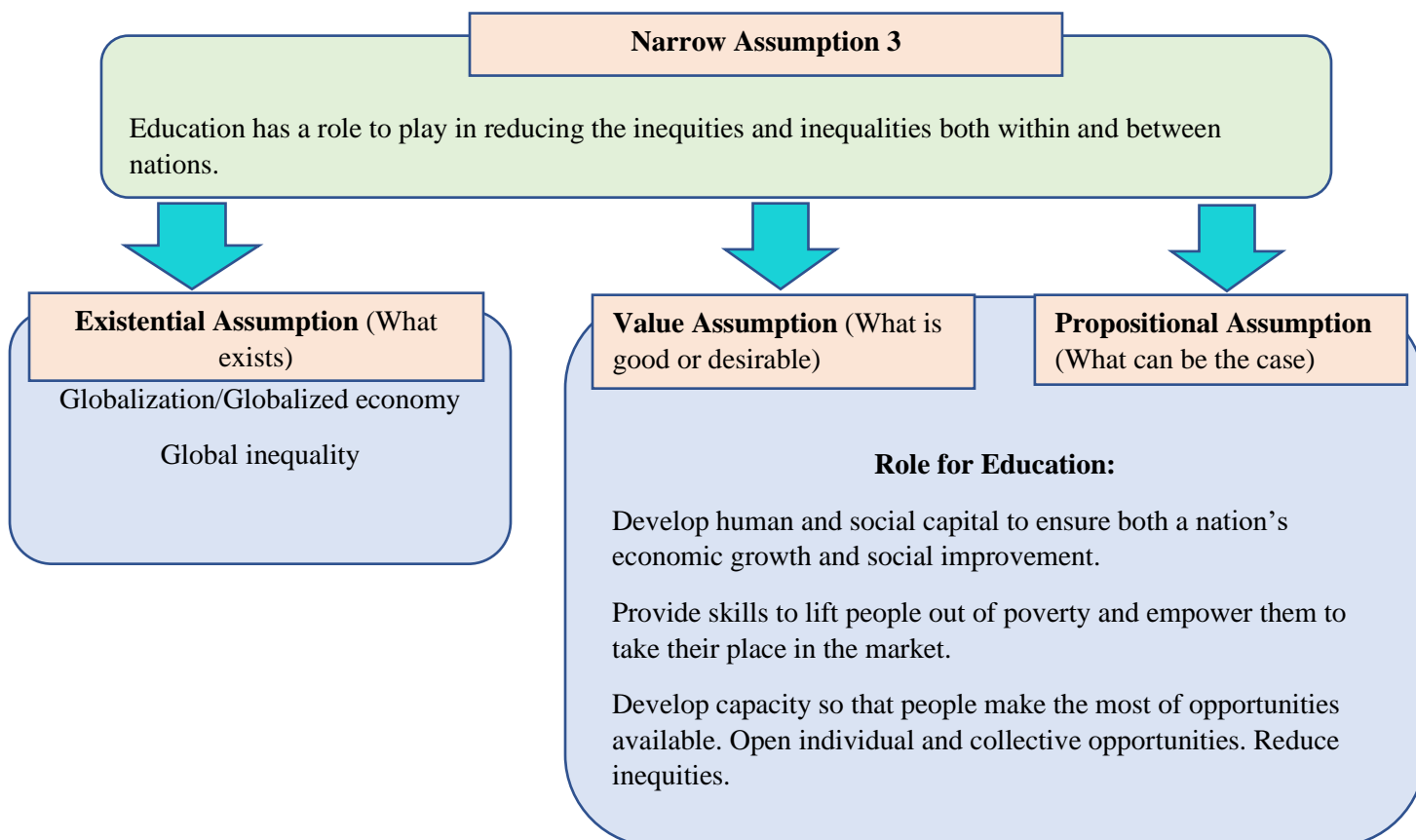
that “rising inequality between and within countries even in times of greater affluence makes it clear that more work must be done in order to help make the next phase of globalisation work for all” (OECD, 2016, p. 10); secondly, the ideological and political objective of including the vulnerable within the global order to secure it from valid contestation or challenges, which is apparent in the stated requirement of “a new approach to economic policies, but also a new broad emphasis on social cohesion” (p. 10); and thirdly, “the active reconfiguring of structures of society and governance along more global inclusive lines” (Craig & Porter, 2004, p. 393), which is discernable with the statement that “tackling challenges that require co-ordinated and co-operative responses requires a new commitment to global governance and multilateralism” (OECD, 2016, p. 10). An inclusive liberal view of education is clearly presented with the human capital emphasis of “providing the skills and competencies needed to operate in this new world” (p. 10).

The dimensions of inclusive liberalism may also be found in the *TSE Book 2010*, which addresses the inequalities between countries with the following statement:

Globalisation notwithstanding, in comparing levels of wealth and health differences between regions of the world remain very large, particularly between the OECD countries and the rest of the world. (OECD, 2010, p. 11)

It also addresses inequalities within OECD countries, in addition to those between countries:

Income inequality is going up across OECD countries. In most of them, all income groups are better off now than ten years ago, but those with higher incomes have tended to gain more. This increased inequality has resulted in higher levels of relative poverty in most OECD countries – not everyone has benefited from the general increase in wealth. Relative poverty (earning less than 50% of the median income in that country) is associated with social exclusion and vulnerability in the labour market. (OECD, 2010, p. 11)

Figure 7*TSE Project: Narrow Assumption 3*

The above text, from *TSE Book 2010*, reflects an inclusive liberal discourse in its concern with poverty, as well as individual social exclusion and vulnerability in the labour market. It points to inclusive liberalism's aim, as identified by Porter & Craig (2004) to "include" classical liberal subjects, namely, the excluded, the poor and marginal within the free market. This aim differs from an earlier neoliberalism that was not concerned with whether they were left to "sink or swim" (Porter & Craig, 2004, pp. 392–393).

The *TSE Book 2010* also demonstrates an inclusive liberal discourse in its view of education when addressing global inequality:

Global inequality has increased substantially over the past three decades, as affluence has grown in OECD countries. Rapid growth rates in some more recently developed countries notwithstanding, the income gap between the average citizen in the richest and poorest countries is very wide and growing. Child mortality provides a direct indication of a compound of disadvantages and, while rates are improving in all regions, some still lag significantly behind. Education and training are key contributors to both economic growth and social improvement, but countries in most need of their benefits tend to be those least able to invest. Indeed, increasing investment in education in affluent countries is one factor exacerbating global inequality. (p. 24)

The earlier 2008 *TSE Book* similarly addresses global inequality, as well as education's role in both exacerbating and mitigating it:

Global inequality has increased over the last two hundred years far more than anything experienced in the world before. Global inequality is the result of the spectacular increase in affluence in mainly Western countries in this period. Although some countries (particularly in Asia) are showing fast growth rates, the gap in income between the average citizen in the richest and poorest countries is very wide indeed and getting wider. Investment in education and training is increasingly seen as a means of maintaining an edge over a country's economic competitors, raising the issue of how far support for education which is beneficial for the country itself, is also fuelling global inequalities. (p. 24)

The two above texts point to the view of education or training as a key factor in a nation's economic success and social well-being. The former text's statement that "education and training are key contributors to both economic growth and social improvement, but countries

in most need of their benefits tend to be those least able to invest” (OECD, 2010, p. 24) aligns with inclusive liberal notions of social development, or more precisely, social investment.

While inclusive liberal views of social investment are associated with the vulnerable, they concern the wider aim of developing human capital to establish a globally competitive and integrated national economy (Porter & Craig, 2004). This inclusive liberal notion of social investment, as it relates to vulnerable situations of the poor and children, is apparent with the references to the income gap “between the richest and poorest countries” (OECD, 2008b, p. 24; OECD, 2010, p. 11) and child mortality as “a direct indication of a compound of disadvantages” (OECD, 2010, p. 24). Moreover, the inclusive liberal notion of social investment, which involves the building of human and social capital to ensure a nation’s global economic competitiveness, is evident with the following statements: “education and training are key contributors to both economic growth and social improvement” (OECD, 2010, p. 24); “investment in education and training is increasingly seen as a means of maintaining an edge over a country’s economic competitors” (OECD, 2008b, p. 24); and “support for education [which] is beneficial for the country itself” (OECD, 2008b, p. 24).

In their focus on global inequality, both texts underline that “investment” in education and training offers economic benefits to countries, yet it also exacerbates or fuels inequalities between affluent and non-affluent countries. In presenting education as both a contributor to a nation’s economic advantage and global inequality, both texts negate any mention of the historical or geopolitical systemic factors that account for the economic disparities between nations or regions. According to Porter and Craig (2004), the geopolitical system of global openness and integration is often more aligned with the interests of international capital and the most powerful countries, than with those of the poor and most marginal on the planet. The texts

omit any such discussion. In fact, the *TSE Project* discards globalization or the geopolitical system as a contributing factor to global inequality and lends it implicit support: “globalisation notwithstanding, in comparing levels of wealth and health differences between regions of the world remain very large, particularly between the OECD countries and the rest of the world” (OECD, 2010, p. 11). This text rather implies that gaps in wealth and health between regions and countries should be lower due to globalization.

The 2010 and 2008 Books of *TSE Project* highlight that “some countries (particularly in Asia) are showing fast growth rates” (OECD, 2008b, p. 24) and point to the “rapid growth rates in some developing countries” (OECD, 2010, p. 24) in spite of the increases in global inequality. This emphasis may be viewed as implicit support for economic globalization or the global economic system, despite the increasing gap between the average citizen in the richest and poorest countries. Whereas the above texts focus on education, they fail to mention that the success stories of countries in Asia (such as China or India) are not simply the outcome of education, but rather historical experiences such as self-determination or a cautious opening to the global trading arena (Porter & Craig, 2004). The development of human capital through education does not necessarily account for the comparative advantage of certain Asian countries, but rather historical and systemic factors that differ from those of countries, for example, in Africa that have led to peripheralization or marginalization (Porter & Craig, 2004). In discussing gaps in affluence between the citizenry of the richest and poorest countries, both texts seemingly ignore that capitalist growth occurs unevenly, and that global inequality is an expected outcome. Porter and Craig (2004) posit that “ideologies like ‘inclusive’ liberalism have always promised what capitalist growth will inevitably deliver highly unevenly” (p. 412), namely that “the actual local experience of market inclusion” (p. 412) will undoubtedly arrive to the majority if not all of

the planet's citizens, "but for many it will be sharp and shattering, with both winners and losers guaranteed to emerge from uneven inclusions in capitalism's 'creative destruction'" (p. 413).

The *TSE Project* also presents an inclusive liberal view of education with a focus on equity. The project's inclusive liberal outlook is apparent with a discourse grounded in equity, along with that of equality and opportunity. For instance, the *TSE Book 2019* presents education as an effective means to reduce inequity and expand individual and collective opportunity:

By providing the skills and competencies needed to operate in the modern world, education has the potential to influence the life outcomes of the most disadvantaged. It is a powerful tool to reduce inequity. It can help combat the increasing fragmentation and polarisation of our societies, and empower people and communities to take charge of their own civic processes and democratic institutions. Access to learning and knowledge not only opens doors to individual and collective opportunities, it has the potential to reshape the future of our global world. (OECD, 2019b, p. 13)

The text reflects an inclusive liberal discourse by presenting a role for education as encompassing the development of social and human capital. It contains inclusive liberal elements, as outlined by Craig and Porter (2006), of "empowerment" or empowering the disadvantaged through participatory voice, and those of social cohesion and community (Craig & Porter, 2006). These inclusive liberal elements are evident with the statement that education "can help combat the increasing fragmentation and polarisation of our societies, and empower people and communities to take charge of their own civic processes and democratic institutions" (OECD, 2019b, p. 13). The inclusive liberal nature of the text reflects the extraction of social liberalism, namely the positive freedom of opportunity. The text presents education as a means to develop capacity so that people can make the most of opportunities that are available. In positing that education

has the potential to influence the life outcomes of the most disadvantaged... is a powerful tool to reduce inequity... [and] ... opens doors to individual and collective

opportunities . . . [by] providing [the] skills and competencies needed to operate in the modern world. (OECD, 2019b, p. 13)

the text thus reveals an inclusive liberal orientation in its discourse.

The *TSE Book 2019* further shows an inclusive liberal outlook with a focus on both the social and economic, as well as concerns for equity and inequality of opportunity:

Globalization has positively contributed to unprecedented economic growth. Yet not everyone has benefited equally, and income and wealth are becoming concentrated among the richest 10%. Economic inequality is worrisome: it can lead to inequality of opportunity, which in turn translates into large disparities in well-being and can lead to political and social unrest. Furthermore, while more people move around the world and live lives increasingly detached from national affiliations, the main regulatory frameworks and social safety nets still lie at the level of the nation-state. In this context, phenomena such as tax evasion and avoidance raise questions about whether transnational opportunities sometimes come at the expense of national solidarity. Topnotch education systems combine quality and equity, providing all students with basic skills while ensuring they have opportunities to develop their full potential. (OECD, 2019b, p. 38)

A similar outlook on social and economic affairs, as well as education seems apparent in the *TSE Book 2016*:

Affluence has increased in OECD countries in the last 30 years, but so has global inequality. There is a widening income gap between richer and poorer countries, and between richer and poorer individuals within countries. In most countries, the gap between rich and poor is at its highest level in 30 years. This increase in income inequality raises economic as well as social and political concerns. Inequality within countries hinders GDP growth, as better educational resources and opportunities are more widely accessible to higher-income individuals. One of the key means to promote equity and decrease inequality is through education, but for regions still struggling to build schools or ensure the security of their children in the classroom, ensuring quality education that is accessible for all is a difficult goal. (OECD, 2016, p. 34)

The two above texts embody inclusive liberalism's legitimating or re-embedding of contemporary liberal hegemony as a defensive response to neoliberalism's crises, failings, or shortcomings, which is described by Porter and Craig (2004). Both texts note the obstacles, tensions, and contradictions of globalization, and they present education as a form of *flanking*.

For instance, the 2019 text articulates a contradiction or shortcoming of globalization by underlining that “globalization has positively contributed to unprecedented economic growth” (OECD, 2019b, p. 38) and “yet not everyone has benefited equally, and income and wealth are becoming concentrated among the richest 10%” (OECD, 2019b, p. 38).

In a chapter entitled, *Globalisation*, the 2016 text alludes to globalization’s contradictions with the statement that “affluence has increased in OECD countries, but so has global inequality” (OECD, 2016, p. 34). The text also insinuates at its failings with the statements that “there is a widening income gap between richer and poorer countries, and between richer and poorer individuals within countries ... [and that] ... in most countries, the gap between rich and poor is at its highest level in 30 years” (p. 34). Moreover, both the 2016 and 2019 texts reveal an inclusive liberal nature in a concern for the adverse political repercussions or social costs of globalization. For instance, they note that economic inequality “can lead to inequality of opportunity, which in turn translates into large disparities in well-being and can lead to political and social unrest” (OECD, 2019b, p. 38), and “this increase in income inequality raises social and political concerns” (p. 34).

These respective concerns demonstrate the reactionary or defensive stage of inclusive liberalism. This stage, as identified by Porter and Craig (2004), seeks to reduce the social disruptions associated with market-led liberalization. Jessop (2002) explains that although the global neoliberal project has experienced several difficulties over the years, they have not led to its major reversal. Rather, there has been an interest in how “to promote it and consolidate it on different levels, to manage its social and environmental costs and their adverse political repercussions” (p. 470). According to Jessop, *flanking* strategies or policies function to stabilize neoliberalism and encounter any difficulties. In this respect, education, in the above texts, may

be viewed as a form of *flanking* and a strategy of inclusive liberalism that works to embed neoliberalism. For Porter and Craig, inclusive liberalism's embedding of neoliberalism involves the ideological and political aim of including the vulnerable within the global order in order to safeguard it from valid contestation. The above texts imply that education can expand the opportunities of poorer or lower income individuals and thus, deal with social and political concerns. Within these texts, an inclusive liberal orientation may be observed as education serves to safeguard globalization or neoliberalism from legitimate contestation, which often takes the form of "political and social unrest" (OECD, 2019b, p. 34).

In terms of equity discourse, the above texts mainly reflect an inclusive liberalism with neoliberal traits, as opposed to a liberal democratic equity or social democratic equity which aligns with social liberalism. Liberal democratic equity involves attaining fairness and individual liberty by means of equal opportunities-oriented programs and policies aimed at reducing barriers (Henry et al., 2001). *Social democratic* equity differs as it is situated within a collectivist and cooperative view of society that is "policy focused on institutional reform rather than on individual access and on improving outcomes for disadvantaged groups" (Henry et al., 2001, p. 65). In the above texts, an inclusive liberal view may be discerned as they implicitly connect equity and opportunity to either economic growth or human capital. Specifically, this association is evident with the statements that "Topnotch education systems combine quality and equity, providing all students with basic skills while ensuring they have opportunities to develop their full potential" (OECD, 2019b, p. 38) and "Inequality within countries hinders GDP growth, as better educational resources and opportunities are more widely accessible to higher-income individuals" (OECD, 2016, p. 34).

TSE Book 2010 presents an inclusive liberal view of education, which is more explicit, by mentioning inequality and human capital:

The focus on inequality needs to be complemented by one on those at the bottom end of the distribution whose prospects are the poorest and who are most vulnerable in socio-economic terms. Measures of both “relative” and “absolute” poverty show wide differences between countries in the numbers of people considered poor. There is some tendency for the scale of relative poverty to go up, but levels of absolute poverty seem to have generally gone down. Both perspectives are important for the whole picture – although the poor have not shared equally in the growing prosperity of most OECD countries, more are now better off in absolute terms. Poverty is important for education, in part because of the role of human capital and qualifications in determining individual prospects. (OECD, 2010, p. 40)

In keeping with an inclusive liberal outlook, this text points to contradictions and tensions within the current economic order with the assertions that “there is some tendency for the scale of relative poverty to go up ... although the poor have not shared equally in the growing prosperity of OECD countries, more are now better off in absolute terms” (OECD, 2010, p. 40). Furthermore, this text is grounded within an inclusive liberal discourse, as identified by Craig and Porter (2006), because it shows a concern for poverty reduction and the poor’s stake in the world order. The text reveals an inclusive liberal orientation, with strong neoliberal features, because it sees a role for education in developing human capital and individual capacities. For instance, the text states that “poverty is important for education, in part because of the role of human capital and qualifications in determining individual prospects” (OECD, 2010, p. 40). In addition, the *TSE Book 2010* poses a suggestive question situated in such a view:

Initial education and lifelong learning play a role in lifting people out of poverty by, for example, providing them with the right skills for the labour market. What kinds of programmes and incentives would strengthen this function of education? (OECD, 2010, p. 41).

With a focus on poverty reduction and the poor’s inclusion in the labour market via education or training, this text demonstrates an inclusive liberal orientation. Porter and Craig

(2004) note that inclusive liberalism’s embedding of the neoliberal order involves the active inclusion of the poor within “globalization” and the global economy. Regarding individuals, the main inclusion entails “inclusion in the labour market, or in training for these” (Porter & Craig, 2004, p. 392) or a social investment intended to “empower individuals to take their place in markets and civil society” (Craig & Porter, 2006, p. 91; as cited in Mahon, 2008b, p. 355).

Narrow Assumption 4

Narrow Assumption 4 is: Education has a role to play in improving social/civic participation and fostering democratic citizenship, as well as enhancing social cohesion, as shown in Figure 8. The assumption that schools can serve the purpose of improving social or civic participation and fostering democratic citizenship may be found in the 2008, 2013, and 2019 Books. The 2008 Book points to schooling as a means to increase political participation:

Traditionally, political parties and electoral processes have been the primary means of participating in the political process. The concern is that people are increasingly critical—or apathetic towards institutionalised authority, with damaging consequences for the political process. And, the evidence suggests that fewer people show up for elections, some notable exceptions notwithstanding. But this can be set against a trend for more people to engage in alternative forms of political participation and expressing their preferences directly on specific issues. As for participation in politics, a clear trend is towards the growing representation of women in national parliaments, albeit from a very low starting point in many countries. For education, the extent to which civic and social participation is fostered through schooling, and how this sits with other goals such as improving cognitive outcomes, are obvious questions. (p. 64)

In the 2013 Book, the advantages of social or civic participation, as well as a respective role for education in fostering it:

Civic engagement is one way individuals can make a difference in their communities and societies. Measures of civic engagement include both political and non-political processes, such as voting, volunteering, and contributing to philanthropic initiatives. Higher levels of civic and social engagement have been linked to higher levels of trust in communities, and are considered a fundamental aspect of a healthy democracy. Yet in many countries around the OECD, measures of civic participation, including voter turnout, have fallen throughout the last half century. Can education and schools play a

role in improving civic and social participation? Research suggests that classroom climate and confidence in school participation are positively associated with some of the knowledge, skills, and behaviours that underlie civic participation. (OECD, 2013, p. 50)

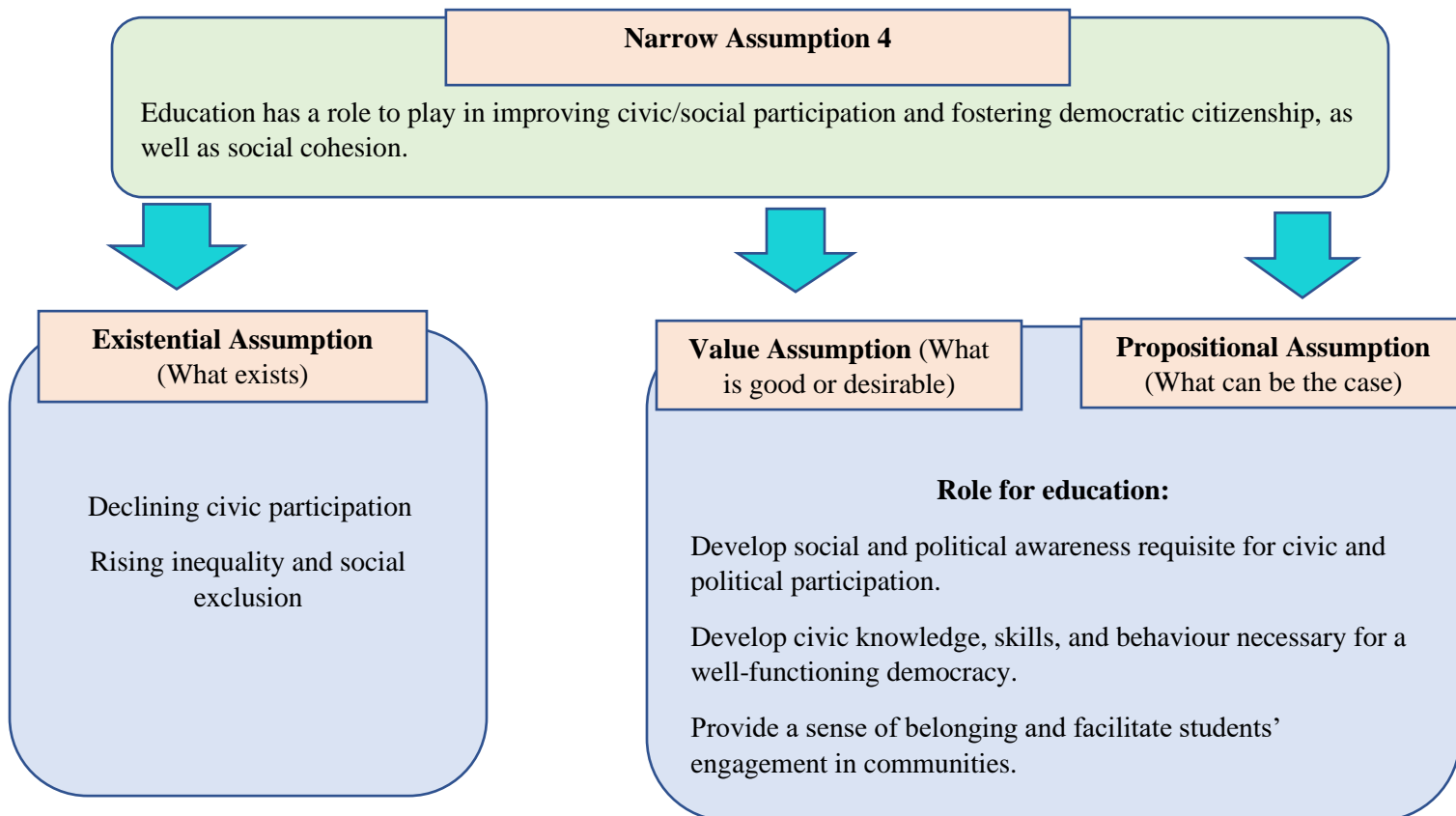
Both the 2008 and 2013 Books point to a decline in voter turnout, but they differ as the latter publication highlights a decrease in alternative forms of participation. Like the 2013 Book, the 2019 Book addresses the concerns of declining voter turnout and trust, as well as education's role in advancing civic and social participation:

A well-functioning democracy relies on the civic knowledge and skills of its citizens, as well as their direct engagement in public matters. Yet in many countries, key measures of civic participation such as voter turnout have fallen throughout the last half century. Rising inequality within countries and an increasing gap between rural and urban areas

creates challenges in terms of life opportunities and access to services. And although digitalisation has increased our access to information, there is no guarantee that online search results are accurate. In fact, the ubiquity of social media platforms has made it easier to disseminate inaccuracies and outright lies, and there is a growing concern about the algorithms and echo chambers that confirm prior beliefs.

These elements combine and connect with worries about declining trust and growing political and social unrest. There is an important role for education to play in improving civic and social participation and fostering democratic citizenship. However, difficult questions remain. Key questions for the future include how we strike a fair balance between all parties in a diverse society, and what this means for fostering social cohesion and trust. (OECD, 2019b, pp. 9–10)

The above texts may be viewed as situated within a social or welfare liberal view of education, as identified by Olssen et al. (2004). For Olssen et al. (2004), the personal ends of education, according to the social or welfare perspective, involves its “potential to develop the moral, ethical, social, cultural and political awareness of all citizens” (p. 181). The above texts present education as a means to further the social and political awareness that is requisite for participation in civil and public matters, as well as the cultural awareness needed to distinguish the “inaccuracies and outright lies” (OECD, 2019b, p. 10) of social media platforms. In its assumption that education can improve civic/social participation and foster democratic

Figure 8*TSE Project: Narrow Assumption 4*

citizenship, this text also aligns with the social end of education in accordance with a social or welfare liberal perspective. As a social end, education is viewed as a “fundamental right of citizenship” (Olssen et al., 2004, p. 180) that aids in “the operation of the democratic process of society” (Olssen et al., 2004, p. 181).

In contrast, the above texts may be viewed as grounded within an inclusive liberal discourse. In particular, they reflect inclusive liberalism’s third embedding or inclusion as identified by Porter and Craig (2004), which is “practical, governmental, and spatial” (p. 393). Regarding this embedding or inclusion, Porter and Craig explain that individuals and communities are integrated in wider governance and market relations in ways that are imagined to be both social and economic. For Porter and Craig, it entails “the evocation of consensual social domains of community, partnership, and participation” (p. 393). Whereas the above texts do not address participation in market relations, one may note a concern with the social or political participation of individuals, citizens, or communities within the political process or public matters.

In discussing developmental policy, Hickey (2010) explains that, under inclusive liberalism, not only is the state reconfigured into a more responsive form, “but also citizens who must become more actively engaged in shaping their own futures” (p. 1141). According to Hickey, inclusive liberalism aims to empower the poor by means of their own agency “whereby they transform themselves into entrepreneurial agents of the market economy whilst also mobilizing themselves as community-based citizens” (p. 1141). Although the above texts do not deal with either the poor, the developing world or the market, they emphasize individuals’ social and civic participation and their acquisition of requisite knowledge and skills. This emphasis is apparent with the statements that “classroom climate and confidence in school participation are

positively associated with some of the knowledge, skills, and behaviours that underlie civic participation (OECD, 2013, p. 50) and that “a well-functioning democracy relies on the civic knowledge and skills of its citizens” (OECD, 2019b, p. 9).

Regarding the term, participation, Eagleton-Pierce (2016) notes that “participation is often, but not always imbued with favourable, normative connotations” (p. 133). In the above texts, participation, whether labeled civic, political or social, is employed with a favourable connotation. For instance, participation has a positive connotation in the three texts, as it is “linked to higher levels of trust in communities” (OECD, 2013, p. 50), “a fundamental aspect of a healthy democracy” (p. 50), or “a well-functioning democracy” (OECD, 2019b, p. 9). In this respect, political, social, or civic participation is presented as a *value assumption* - an assumption “about what is good or desirable” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 55). In the *TSE Project*, a value assumption of education’s role in fostering participation is especially clear with the following two statements: “there is an important role for education to play in improving civic and social participation and fostering democratic citizenship” (OECD, 2019b, p. 10) and “research suggests that classroom climate and confidence in school participation are positively associated with some of the knowledge, skills, and behaviours that underlie civic participation” (OECD, 2013, p. 50).

Prior to examining how the term, “political participation” is employed in the neoliberal era, Eagleton-Pierce (2016) suggests that it is imperative to consider three conceptual elements, as identified by Parry (1972). The first element entails various forms of political participation, or a level of active engagement in political life, either by voting, joining a political party, or lobbying for a policy change. In the *TSE Project*, the presented modes of political participation are consistent with this conceptual element as they include voting or “participating in the

electoral process” (OECD, 2008b, p. 64) by means of “political parties and electoral processes” (OECD, 2008b, p. 64). The second conceptual element involves the intensity of participation, which concerns “who is allowed to participate and with what frequency” (Eagleton-Pierce, 2016, p. 133). In the above texts, the intensity or frequency of participation is not addressed, but there are references to “who is allowed to participate” (Eagleton-Pierce, 2016) with the suggestion that “key questions for the future include how we strike a fair balance between all parties in a diverse society” (OECD, 2019b, p. 10) and the observation that “a clear trend is towards the growing representation of women in national parliaments, albeit from a very low starting point in many countries” (OECD, 2008b, p. 64). From this text, it may be deduced that the *TSE Project* supports the fair inclusion of all groups and/or genders in the political process.

Lastly, the third conceptual element entails whether participation is meaningful and real. Eagleton-Pierce (2016) notes that “even if participation is formally open to some degree, that does not necessarily imply that such processes are meaningful” (pp. 133–134) and that “some activities of participation may be more illusory than real, generating little, if any, substantive change in outcomes” (p. 134). In certain instances, a form of “pseudo participation” is evident, which is presented as “legitimate participation,” in order to advance the interests of some actors (Eagleton-Pierce, 2016). It may be assumed that the above texts seemingly advance a “legitimate participation,” as opposed to a participation that is more illusory; however, a substantive and verifiable conclusion cannot be drawn. These three concepts align with Cornwall’s (2002) suggestion that a consideration of participation lends itself to questions which “range from who is inviting participation and who is taking part, and what they think participation is about and for, to how people in different places perceive and enact their sense of citizenship and entitlement” (p. 1)

In the above texts, it is thus apparent that the *TSE Project* views education as a mode to invite people or citizens, especially those who are currently students into the political process (namely, the electoral process) to ensure “trust” (OECD, 2013; p. 50; OECD, 2019b, p. 10), or a “well-functioning democracy” (OECD, 2019b, p. 9) and “healthy democracy” (OECD, 2013, p. 250). From the above texts, it may be assumed that this invited participation is quite conventional as it mainly encompasses participation in the electoral process. Gaventa and Valderrama posit that traditional views on social and political participation delimit the possibilities for public engagement within a mode defined by external agents, which is often as “increasingly apathetic—users of the ballot box” (as cited in Cornwall, 2002, p. 1). Gaventa and Valderrama suggest reframing social and political participation to “citizenship participation” so that the two are more closely connected. Under this reframing, participation does not simply entail accepting invitations to participate, but comes to encompass “autonomous forms of action through which citizens create their own opportunities and terms of engagement” (Cornwall, 2002, p. 2). Cornwall (2002) asserts that it is important to examine “the interplay between invitation and demand” (p. 3) and how “spaces for citizen participation are occupied, negotiated, subverted or mediated” (p. 3).

The *TSE Book 2019* seems to mediate or even circumscribe citizenship participation with the statement that “there is an important role for education to play in improving civic and social participation and fostering democratic citizenship” (OECD, 2019b, p. 10) given “worries about declining trust and social and political unrest” (p. 10). This noted concern about “social and political unrest” (p. 10) and the identified role for education may be viewed as a form of space-making whereby possibilities for agency on the part of civic and social participants are constricted (Cornwall, 2002). In this regard, education may be viewed as playing a role in the

construction of democratic “citizens” with certain “civic knowledge and skills” (OECD, 2019b, p. 9), which arguably “impinges on what people are perceived to be able to contribute or entitled to know or decide” (Cornwall, 2002, p. 3). Education may thus arguably work to advance spaces for political participation that are dominated by the powerful or reflect inequalities of status, class, and social position, and that limit citizen influence and restrain dissent (Cornwall, 2002). Hence, a focus on “improving civic and social participation and fostering democratic citizenship” (OECD, 2019b, p. 10) may be viewed as confining citizenship participation to electoral processes and negating any political agency or engagement, associated with social movements or what may be termed, “political or social unrest” (p. 10).

A role for education in addressing social cohesion is also value assumption in the *TSE*

Project:

Rising inequality between and within countries even in times of greater affluence makes it clear that more work must be done in order to help make the next phase of globalisation work for all. This will require a new approach to economic policies, but also a new broad emphasis on social cohesion. Tackling challenges that require co-ordinated and co-operative responses requires a new commitment to global governance and multilateralism. Education has a role to play in providing the skills and competencies needed to operate in this new world. (OECD, 2008, p. 10)

In this text, the notion of social cohesion is addressed with regards to rising inequality between and within countries in wake of current economic policies and globalization. As a current policy concept, social cohesion arose in response to the severe social strains, particularly income polarization and continuous poverty, resulting from neoliberal economic and social policies since the 1980s (Jenson & Saint-Martin, 2003). It has been noted, however, that “there is no one definition as a policy concept and as yet, no agreed upon indicators, despite determined development work by a number of authors” (Hulse & Stone, 2007, p. 117).

For Hulse and Stone (2007), a discussion of social cohesion requires a consideration of

its two differentiated usages between countries and transnational organizations. Specifically, the concept of social cohesion differs in usage between countries “typically seen as variants of a liberal welfare regime, following Esping-Andersen’s influential and much discussed typology”¹ and European institutions that “are by definition transnational and cannot be compared with the individual countries” (p. 118). According to Hulse and Stone, policy-makers, in liberal welfare regimes, view relationships between individuals as the basis of social cohesion. They perceive social cohesion as a mainly “bottom up” instead of a “top down” phenomenon that is “sustained by a myriad of relationships between people and groups, many of which relate to the routine connections of daily life” (p. 118) and involves “getting by” (p. 118) on a practical level. This notion of social cohesion often draws upon Putnam’s ideas regarding norms of trust, reciprocity, and voluntary participation by individuals in civil society organizations. As such, policies, in liberal welfare regimes, are devised with the intention of reinforcing or enhancing social cohesion by bolstering families or social relationships at the micro level.

Hulse and Stone (2007) explain that the political concept of social cohesion differs in its use by European institutions. In this variant, social cohesion encompasses ideas about cooperative social relationships, with a key emphasis on the perils to social cohesion posed by the negative outcomes of the market distribution of resources. This notion of social cohesion is primarily “a ‘top down’ process which has a strong institutional focus and which draws upon the ideas of social exclusion” (p. 118). It entails “reducing inequalities, divisions and cleavages, not between individuals but primarily between social groups, including those that have an ethnic and/or spatial basis” (p. 118). This idea of social cohesion is predominantly found in countries

¹ Hulse and Stone (2007) outline that variants of the liberal welfare regime, based on Esping-Andersen’s typology, “rely heavily on the market, rather than the family or the state, for ‘welfare production’ and are characterised by dualism in the provision of welfare, indicating dualism in underlying power relations” (p. 118).

with welfare regimes that are social democratic or conservative, according to Esping Anderson's typology (Hulse & Stone, 2007). According to Hulse and Stone, an underlying difference between these notions of social cohesion lies in the source of social solidarity. Social cohesion in the liberal welfare countries is viewed "as a 'bottom up' process deriving from the norms that underlie voluntary involvement in social networks and organisations" (p. 119). On the other hand, social solidarity in European institutions is largely regarded as "a 'top down' process deriving from the capacity of institutional structures, particularly those of the state, to address inequalities of difference" (p. 119).

The *TSE Project* appears to present a variant of social cohesion, which aligns with a liberal welfare regime view. In chapter entitled 'Social Connections and Values', the 2008 Book presents such a perspective on social cohesion in two different areas, with a focus on trust, social capital, social networks, and participation in community, church, and groups:

The nature of the "glue" which holds society together is sometimes called "social capital." It refers to the richness of the connections between people and the extent to which they share norms of trust and co-operation. It is common now to maintain that social capital is declining as we live more individualistic, unconnected lives, with falling levels of trust. The evidence suggests that internationally, the situation is not that clear cut. (OECD, 2008, p. 69)

We seem to live in a more individualistic world, with a declining sense of belonging to the traditional reference point of community, church or workplace. At the same time, the notion of a "network society" would suggest that belonging is changing not disappearing. What does the evidence show about engagement in social activities, clubs, and societies? Is there more or less trust and co-operation than before? These are important questions for education and particularly for schools. If people are more individualistic, this will promote consumer behavior in education at the expense of social goals; if social ties are decreasing, this places still more pressure on schools to provide a source of connection. (OECD, 2008, p. 72)

In the above texts, social cohesion—although not mentioned explicitly—reflects a liberal welfare perspective, as outlined by Hulse and Stone (2007), because it alludes to social relations

of everyday life like those of “community, church or workplace” (OECD, 2008b, p. 72), networks and associations with a reference to a “network society” (OECD, 2008b, p. 72), as well as social capital, which is sometimes called “the “glue which holds society together” (OECD, 2008b, p. 69). Existential and propositional assumptions, or respective assumptions about “what exists” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 55) or “what is” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 55) are that “we seem to live in a more individualistic world, with a declining sense of belonging ... belonging is changing not disappearing” (OECD, 2008b, p. 72). A value assumption for schooling is that “schools provide a source of connection ... if people are more individualistic ... and ... if social ties are decreasing” (OECD, 2008b, p. 72).

One may find similar existential or propositional assumptions regarding the ambiguity or uncertainty of weakened social ties or relations in *TSE Book 2010*:

Income inequality is going up in OECD countries. In most of them, all income groups are better off now than ten years ago, but those with higher incomes have tended to gain more. This increased inequality has resulted in higher levels of poverty in most OECD countries – not everyone has benefited from the general increase in wealth. Relative poverty (earning less than 50% of the median income in that country) is associated with social exclusion and vulnerability in the labour market. As a relative measure it is not necessarily about subsistence, and there are signs of a decline in levels of “absolute poverty.”

Increasing individualisation is a trend commonly identified as important in OECD countries, sometimes associated with the erosion of “social capital,” with fewer people actively engaging in community and societal activities. The available data do not confirm this trend in many OECD countries – for instance, more people report belonging to sports or recreational clubs. Moreover, increasing numbers of people are interacting and participating in communities online, as illustrated by the explosive growth of *Facebook* and social networking sites. Many questions remain, however, about what this means for the quality of social interaction. (OECD, 2010, p. 11)

The above text does not provide a clear-cut position regarding weakened social ties. This ambiguity is evident with the statements that “increasing individualisation is a trend commonly

identified in OECD countries” (OECD, 2010, p. 11), but “the available data do not confirm this trend in many OECD countries” (p. 11) with more people “belonging to sports and recreational clubs) ... [and] ... increasing numbers of people interacting and participating in communities online” (p. 11). A more or less firm position concerning weakened social relations is apparent with the statement that “many questions remain, however, about what this means for the quality of social interaction” (p. 11). Within the text, there is an assumption that meaningful community engagement entails joining sports or recreation clubs and participating in social media. This assumption reveals a superficial notion of community engagement, and it points to a “bottom-up” liberal welfare conceptualization of social cohesion.

Like the 2008 Book, the 2010 Book thus reflects a welfare liberal perspective with its emphasis on individuals and their everyday participation in social associations, as well as its mention of social capital. Although the above text does not concern itself with the negative effects of the market, it does reflect elements of “social cohesion” as used by European institutions. The text reveals a European institutional view of social cohesion in its focus on income inequality between different income groups and its point that relative poverty is associated with social exclusion. Nevertheless, the text may be viewed as primarily situated in a welfare liberal regime view because social exclusion and vulnerability is presented in relation to participation in the labour market.

As in the 2008 Book, the 2010 Book presents value assumptions about the role of schooling with regards to social cohesion:

These are important issues for education: schools, vocational and tertiary education often rely on strong community links and resources; weakening community ties may mean that people look increasingly to education (including adult education) to provide their sense of belonging. (OECD, 2010, p. 42)

In addition to this text, the *TSE Book 2010* offers illustrative or suggestive questions about the role of education as it relates to social cohesion:

What role should education play in encouraging students to value and participate in community groups? What kind of skills do individuals need to successfully engage in these communities? (OECD, 2010, p. 43)

In both the 2008 and 2010 Books, a noted value assumption is that schooling or education can foster a sense of belonging or connection in a period of increasing individualization or weakening community ties. Although social cohesion is not directly referenced, a welfare liberal view may be discerned. There is an emphasis on reinforcing social relations or community ties through a “bottom up” approach “with the government as an enabler or facilitator” (Hulse & Stone, 2007, p. 123). In both the 2008 and 2010 Books, an assumption is that schooling may function as an enabler or facilitator of social cohesion by providing “the skills and competencies needed to operate in this world” (OECD, 2008b, p. 10) and “to successfully engage” (OECD, 2010, p. 43) in communities, “a source of connection” (OECD, 2008b, p. 72) or a “sense of belonging” (OECD, 2010, p. 42); and by “encouraging students to value and participate in community groups” (OECD, 2010, p. 43).

The most recent Book also addresses social cohesion and presents an associated value assumption about education. As quoted above, the *TSE Book 2019* discusses social cohesion in relation to citizenship and democracy, particularly citizenship engagement in public matters. In addition to observations about declining voter turnout and the dissemination of inaccuracies via social media, the 2019 Book notes that “rising inequality within countries and an increasing gap between rural and urban areas creates challenges in terms of life opportunities and access to services” (OECD, 2019b, p. 10). It goes on to directly address social cohesion in the following text:

These elements combine and connect with worries about declining trust and growing political and social unrest. There is an important role for education to play in improving civic and social participation and fostering democratic citizenship. However, difficult questions remain. Key questions for the future include how we strike a fair balance between all parties in a diverse society, and what this means for fostering social cohesion and trust. (OECD, 2019b, pp. 9–10)

In the above text, a value assumption about the role of education would be that it can serve to enhance social cohesion, in wake of “worries about declining trust and growing political and social unrest” (OECD, 2019b, p. 10), by “improving civic and social participation and fostering democratic citizenship” (p. 10). In applying Hulse and Stone (2007), this text primarily reflects elements of a welfare liberal regime variant of social cohesion in its focus on trust and view of it as a “bottom up” process, with government as an enabler or facilitator through education. The text also shows elements of the variant, as used by European institutions, in the concerns for “rising inequality within countries and an increasing gap between rural and urban areas” (OECD, 2019b, p. 10), and for “how we strike a fair balance between all parties in a diverse society” (p. 10). Specifically, it addresses inequalities and cleavages between groups, particularly on a geographic or spatial basis. Despite the elements of a European “top down” perspective in addressing income or spatial groups, the *TSE Project*’s orientation is not a social democratic one. First, the *TSE Project* does not advance a role for government in fostering social cohesion beyond that of a facilitator or enabler through education. Second, it does not draw attention to the perils of negative outcomes in market distribution to social cohesion, nor does it emphasize the capacity of state institutional structures to address inequalities between groups.

In the *TSE Project*, the assumption that schooling can foster social cohesion is grounded in an inclusive liberal discourse. As noted, Porter and Craig (2004) see “inclusive liberalism” as a reinforcing or embedding of the neoliberal order, which involves the political and ideological

aim of securing the current liberal order against any alternative ones or valid challenges. For Porter and Craig, this ideological aim is often reinforced by “terms like social cohesion, social investment, community and participation” (p. 393). Within the *TSE Project*, the presence of not only the terms “social cohesion,” but of “social investment,” “community” and “participation” may be viewed as inclusive liberalism’s embedding of the current liberal order.

In the *TSE Project*, one may also observe the presence of a neoliberal outlook or discourse concerning the issue of social cohesion. In noting that “we seem to live in a more individualistic world, with a declining sense of belonging to the traditional reference point of community, church or workplace” (OECD, 2008b, p. 72) and “weakening community ties” (OECD, 2010, p. 42), the *TSE Project* fails to address the intricate relationship between a sense of community and the trends within capitalism, as noted by Eagleton-Pierce (2016), that have been focused upon by geographers and sociologists. For example, a disintegration or loss of community has occurred in the US “rustbelt,” since the 1970s, as many manufacturing jobs have moved to cheaper factory locales, either internally in the US southwest, or abroad, particularly East Asia. This relocation of manufacturing jobs and the resulting deindustrialization has led to lower living standards for working-class groups and arguably, to a sense of alienation (Eagleton-Pierce, 2016). Eagleton-Pierce suggests that other factors, during the neoliberal period, have also contributed to the weakening of community. These factors include “the expansion of a flexible services economy, with many replacement jobs featuring fewer benefits” (p. 31) and “the corresponding gentrification of central urban areas as ‘productive’ only for richer professionals” (p. 31) whereby “many efforts to redevelop cities often favour a middle-class definition of community as the most worthy investment” (p. 31). Although the *TSE Project* focuses on the diminution of community ties, it fails to address any possible connection to economic

globalization or neoliberal policies. Furthermore, the *TSE Project* fails to explicitly address social exclusion based on racialization, gender and gender expression, sexual orientation, religion, or (dis) ability.

The focus on “community,” within the *TSE Project*, may be viewed as reflecting a “Third Way” approach to “solving the problems of modern government . . . [or] how society could be organized” (Eagleton-Pierce, 2016, p. 31). Eagleton-Pierce notes that in a period of financial austerity, the discourse of “community” may arguably work “to reconfigure expectations on the role of state responsibility” (pp. 31-32) and “also open the space for the erosion of social welfare functions that helped to protect poorer members of society” (p. 32). In this regard, this emphasis on “community” arguably reflects the neoliberal shift away from the apparatus of a modern state in providing welfare provisions.

Narrow Assumption 5

Narrow Assumption 5 is: Education has a role to play in providing students with the skills and competencies needed to operate in a world that is increasingly digitalized (see Figure 9 for the elements of this assumption as discussed below). The value assumption that education has a role to play in imparting students with the skills and competencies needed to function in an increasingly digitalized world may be found in all books that comprise the *TSE Project*. In the chapter entitled, *ICT: The Next Generation*, the 2008 Book identifies such a function for education with the following statements:

Technologies are transforming our world. This is not new. Technological developments like the printing press and the steam engine have had a profound effect on human life. But information and communication technology (ICT) has become a ubiquitous part of our daily lives. (OECD, 2008b, p. 55)

Many of us are now living in technological environments and need to adjust to the rapid pace in which these environments are changing. How easily we can access large amounts of information rapidly and in different settings is clearly a key matter for

education. (OECD, 2008b, p. 55)

Other books in the *TSE Project* address the transformation that has occurred with information and communication technology (ICT), along with the role for education in the following statements:

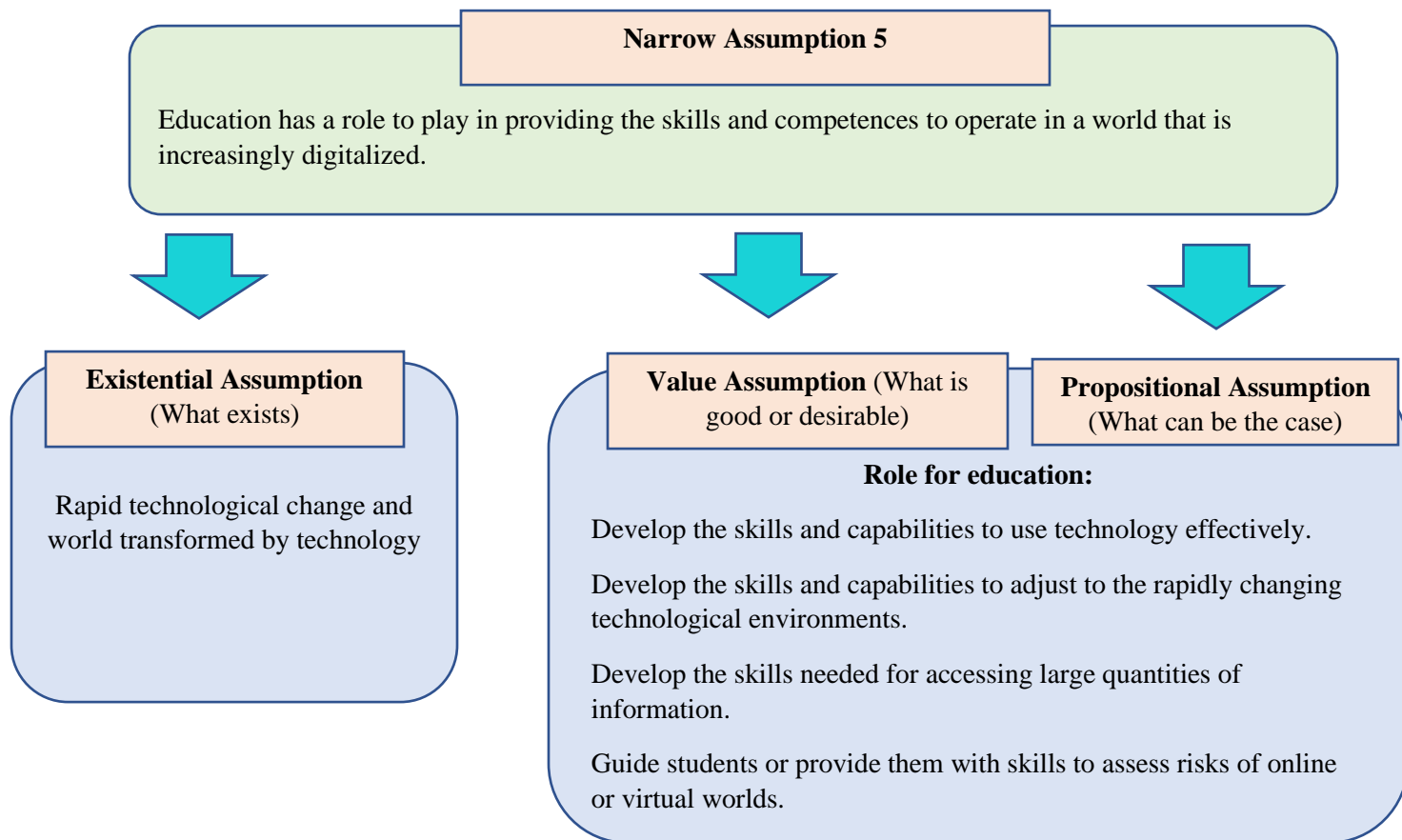
Information and communication technology (ICT) is now an integral part of our societies and daily lives at home, at school and at work. It has transformed such diverse matters as the way we work and relax, how businesses operate, the conduct of scientific research, the ways that governments govern, and how we stay connected with others. However widespread, they are often controversial, for instance as regards the quality of some online material and of social connectivity using these means. Education is both influenced by and a source of influence on these questions: the Internet opens up new learning and communication possibilities but also the acquisition of “digital literacy” becomes still more pressing for young people and adults, so that they may be engaged in digital materials and pursue their possibilities in an informed way. (OECD, 2010, p. 84)

The immediate level challenges for education are much less about student competence or motivation to deal with the Internet, and more about harnessing its vast potential to enhance learning and developing critical capacities for its use. In the long term, the availability of information and ease of interaction prompts far-reaching questions about what it means to be educated, and what skills are needed to harness collective abilities. (OECD, 2010, p. 79)

Information technology has developed very rapidly in the last 40 years, with computers becoming smaller, faster, cheaper, and more powerful. Many of us are now living in technological environments and need to adjust to the rapid pace of change. The ease and speed at which very large quantities of information can be accessed in a variety of settings is a key matter for education, as is the development of the skills necessary to use this resource effectively. (OECD, 2013, p. 92)

For education, these trends indicate that computer literacy is a fundamental skill for the majority of jobs, and not restricted to those positions commonly labelled “information intensive.” Future forms of the “digital divide” might thus centre on the skills and capabilities to use information technologies effectively, and schools can play a role in equipping graduates with equal capacities in this domain. (OECD, 2013, p. 93)

The above text presents technology, specifically, information and communication technology (ICT) as having changed or transformed all aspects of life. In the above text, this described transformation follows the four themes identified by Eagleton-Pierce (2016), regarding how the

Figure 9*TSE Project: Narrow Assumption 5*

concept of change “tends to be imagined” (p. 17). Eagleton-Pierce notes that “first, there exists a propensity to think of change in spectacular or transformative terms, marked by rapid, frenetic, and at times, inevitable movements” (p. 17). This view of technology as transformative, or as occurring rapidly is evident with the statements that “technologies are transforming our world” (OECD, 2008b, p. 55), “information technology has developed very rapidly in the last 40 years” (OECD, 2013, p. 92). According to Eagleton-Pierce, the second notion is grounded in the supposition that “change, whether in the abstract or particular, remains omnipresent” (p. 17) as every organization and individual is affected by the change. The second theme of change proves apparent with the statements “information and communication technology (ICT) is now an integral part of societies and daily life at home, at society, and at work” (OECD, 2010, p. 84), and “it has transformed such diverse matters as the way we work and relax, how businesses operate, the conduct of scientific research, the ways governments govern, and how we stay connected with others” (OECD, 2010, p. 84). Eagleton-Pierce indicates that third, change is presented in “normative appealing colours” (p. 17) even though it may be followed with upheaval; specifically, it is urged that people “‘thrive on’ and ‘adapt to’ change” (p. 17).

This third notion may be observed in the above text with the statements that “many of us are now living in technological environments and need to adjust to the rapid pace in which these environments are changing” (OECD, 2008b, p. 55); “the Internet opens up new learning and communication possibilities” (OECD, 2010, p. 84); and that “the immediate level of challenges for education are more about harnessing its vast potential to enhance learning and developing critical capacities for its use” (p. 84). The fourth imagined notion related to change is control. It may be found in the above text, which addresses educating or providing students with the skills to deal with the transformations that have arisen as a result of ICT. In this regard, the

existential (what exists) and propositional (what is or can be the case) assumptions are the following: technology is transforming our society and how organizations and individuals operate; it offers new possibilities or potential for learning; and people need to adapt to rapid technological change. As mentioned above, a value assumption would be the desirability of education to develop the skills and capabilities to utilize technology effectively.

Although there is nothing inherently neoliberal about the concept of change, it offers a narrative justifying the grounds for reform within the neoliberal period (Eagleton-Pierce, 2016). It cannot be argued with certainty that the above text is fully situated within a specific political or liberal discourse; however, it does show characteristics or elements of a neoliberal discourse. Despite not making any direct reference to a knowledge economy, the text does frame a purpose of education that is arguably neoliberal in scope and connected to such a notion. The idea of a knowledge economy necessitates that educational purposes focus less on students acquiring information. Rather, they should focus more on the development of students' skills or qualities, which will allow them to adapt effectively to the rapidly changing conditions of work. It also necessitates that a large portion of the labour force is prepared for highly skilled jobs, and that workers are competent in new technologies—even if these jobs are found in the low-paid service sector (Rizvi, 2017). In the above text, an emphasis on students' attainment of skills is apparent with references to the "acquisition of digital literacy" (OECD, 2010, p. 84), "computer literacy" (OECD, 2013, p. 93), and "the development of the skills necessary to use this resource effectively" (OECD, 2013, p. 92)—the resource being information technology.

The *TSE Book 2010* seems to allude to an educational purpose that focuses less on students having information and more on the acquisition of skills—albeit not in a clear-cut or firm manner—with the following statement:

In the long term, the availability of information and ease of interaction prompts far-reaching questions about what it means to be educated, and what skills are needed to harness collective abilities. (OECD, 2010, p. 79)

It may be inferred that the above statement emphasizes a purpose of education that seeks to develop skills, rather than the acquisition of information. This inference may be made given remarks about “the availability of information” (OECD, 2010, p. 79), and the questions it raises about “what it means to be educated” (p. 79). The neoliberal educational purpose of creating learners who are adaptable and flexible may be observed, to an extent, with the following text or statements: “many of us are now living in technological environments and need to adjust to the rapid pace in which these environments are changing” (OECD, 2008b, p. 55) or “many of us are now living in technological environments and need to adjust to the rapid pace of change” (OECD, 2013, p. 92); and as a result, “a key matter for education” (OECD, 2008b, p. 55; OECD, 2013, p. 92), involves “how easily we can access large amounts of information rapidly and in different settings” (OECD, 2008b, p. 55) and “the development of skills necessary to use” (OECD, 2013, p. 92) information technology effectively given “the ease and speed at which very large quantities of information can be accessed in a variety of settings” (OECD, 2013, p. 92).

Within the *TSE Project*, elements of a neoliberal discourse may be noted with the focus on the risk associated with ICT. A concern with such a risk is evident in both the 2016 and 2019

Books:

New technology can be a double-edged sword: despite its positive impacts, it can also lead to previously unknown dangers. Cyberfraud, hacking, cyberbullying and identity theft are only some examples of new risks that have emerged. One of the most difficult challenges for government would be staying abreast of the evolution of technology and human behaviour: for example, with an increase in the ease of uploading information and a large online audience, more and more countries are enacting specific laws against revenge porn in an effort to close loopholes in current legislation. There has also been

an increase in the number of cybersecurity certificates and courses offered. As adolescents and children are the most frequent users of online services and social networks, schools and teachers are increasingly faced with the challenges of educating and guiding students through the advantages and disadvantages of the online world. (OECD, 2016, p. 106)

The Internet has become an integral part of our lives. Many common activities that once required physical contact or social interaction are now carried out online, such as talking to family and friends or consulting a doctor. But digital is no virtual “second life.” It is increasingly an integral part of our physical reality. Whether it is a job, a room for the night, or the love of your life, online activity often translated into offline outcomes. This challenges the education system, which must take advantage of the tools and strengths of new technologies while simultaneously addressing concerns about potential misuse, such as cyberbullying, loss of privacy or illegal trade in goods. (OECD, 2019b, p. 98)

Eagleton-Pierce (2016) states that the employment of “risk” within neoliberalism has widened to include the construction and monitoring of problems that extend beyond the immediate realm of business. In consequence, a “risk society” has emerged, which is especially “preoccupied with the future and concerns for safety” (p. 161). Eagleton-Pierce further explains that the neoliberal inflection of the term, “risk” constitutes “a way of defining and ordering reality” (p. 161), and that “naming something a risk often helps raise its profile and opens the prospect of developing techniques of measurement and calculation” (p. 161). According to Eagleton-Pierce, this defining of reality and naming of risk occurs with the aim of “controlling the risk or, perhaps, as a cynic might argue, creating the *appearance* of better controlling the risk” (p. 161). The *2016 TSE Project* identifies a “risk society” that has arisen due to ICT, with the following statements: “New technology can be a double-edged sword: despite its positive impacts, it can also lead to previously unknown dangers” (p. 106). As evident in the above text, it continues to name the risks associated with ICT in the following statements: “Cyberfraud, hacking, cyberbullying and identity theft are only some examples of new risks that have emerged” (OECD, 2016, p. 106). The text from the 2016 Book also addresses the need to control

these risks through governments “staying abreast of the evolution of technology and human behaviour” (OECD, 2016, p. 106). It also suggests a possible role for education in mitigating such risks with the statement that “schools and teachers are increasingly faced with the challenges of educating and guiding students through the advantages and disadvantages of the online world” (OECD, 2016, p. 106).

The above text from the *2019 TSE Book* does not use the term, “risk,” but it does raise a concern for the possible risks or challenges associated with the Internet, such as those of “cyberbullying, loss of privacy, or illegal trade in goods” (OECD, 2019b, p. 98). This Book presents education as a means to control such risks with the view that education systems must “take advantage of the tools and strengths while simultaneously addressing concerns about potential misuse” (OECD, 2019b, p. 98). The wider concern for risk in the *TSE Project* arguably reflects a neoliberal trend, which is grounded in the following two logics, as identified by Eagleton-Pierce (2016): first, “the appeal to the model of the commercial enterprise encourages individuals and organisations to self-police their risk evaluation in multiple social spheres” (p. 164), and second, “the logic of auditability and closer policy surveillance is a reaction to political and cultural demands that systems of power should be held accountable” (p. 164). The *TSE Project* suggests a role for education in guiding students, or providing them with the capability to assess the risks of the online or virtual world. In this regard, education should aim to enable students or individuals to engage in risk evaluation when utilizing the Internet. On an individual level, risk management becomes a “pervasive form of rationality informing how individuals and [organizations] represent themselves” (Eagleton-Pierce, 2016, p. 165), and “not a set of apolitical ‘technical tools’ within the private sector” (Eagleton-Pierce, p. 165). Thus, an assumed aim for

education would be the construction of learners or subjects governed by a rationality of risk-management.

Meso-Level Analysis: Interdiscursivity and Intertextuality

This section will focus on two dimensions: the interdiscursivity and intertextuality of the OECD documents. The interdiscursive analysis of this section involves the identification of which discourses are drawn from the text; it is premised on the view that texts are of a heterogenous nature and thus formed by an amalgam of different genres and discourses (Fairclough, 1995, 2001a). An examination of the *TSE Project* reveals an interdiscursivity or hybridity, as they are situated in the elements of three political discourses: social liberalism, neoliberalism, and inclusive liberalism, which is an adaptation or form of neoliberalism. For example, this interdiscursivity or hybridity of discourse is embodied in the texts' assumptions that education should seek both economic and social aims. A neoliberal discourse proves evident in the view that globalization, specifically, global market integration results in benefits for people, and that nations need to maintain their economic competitive position. The texts frame a neoliberal purpose of education with the assumptions that it has a role to play in the following areas: providing the skills and competencies needed to operate in a globalized economy and knowledge-based economy; fostering innovation that is requisite in a globalized and knowledge economy; and imparting students with the skills and competencies needed to operate in a world that is increasingly digitalized.

In addition to a distinct neoliberal discourse, an inclusive (neoliberal) liberal discourse is evident in the project's texts as they address the contradictions, tensions, and shortcomings of globalization such as unprecedented economic growth and economic inequality. The texts advance an inclusive liberal orientation of education with the assumption that it has a role to play

in reducing the inequities or inequalities both within and between nations. As an embedding and flanking strategy, the texts promote the inclusion of individuals and nations in the global economy through a human capital view of education. As such, the educational purpose presented shows a hybridity of discourse, as it seeks both social and economic objectives by means of “social investment.” This dual purpose entails the inclusion of the poor and vulnerable in the labour market, and the wider aim of establishing a globally competitive and integrated national economy. Furthermore, the *TSE Project* reveals a hybridity of discourse in its concern for the social ends of education such as enhancing social/civic participation, fostering democratic citizenship, and strengthening social cohesion—in addition to economic ones. The assumption that schools can serve the aim of improving social/civic participation and fostering democratic citizenship reveals both elements of an inclusive liberal and social liberal discourse. Specifically, it reflects inclusive liberalism’s integration of individuals in wider governance and market relations, which are imagined to be both social and economic (Porter & Craig, 2004). This assumption also aligns with a social liberal orientation, which views education as “a fundamental right of citizenship” (Olssen et al., 2004, p. 180) that aids in the “the democratic process of society” (Olssen et al., 2004, p. 181).

The *TSE Project* advances a social end of education with the assumption that it can build social cohesion in a period of increasing individualization or weakening community ties. The assumptions that education can foster social/civic participation and social cohesion are situated within an inclusive liberal outlook. As such, the texts reveal a hybridity of discourse as they seek the social aims of “trust,” “community,” and “participation,” but do so with the economic aim of imbedding the current neoliberal order (Porter & Craig, 2004).

The *TSE Project* reveals a degree of dialogicality as certain texts reflect an orientation to, or consideration of difference with regard to the purpose of education and how it should be administered. Fairclough (2003) identifies dialogicality as encompassing, among other scenarios, “an openness to, acceptance of, recognition of difference; an exploration of difference, as in dialogue in the richest sense of the term” (p. 41), as well as “a bracketing of difference, a focus on commonality, solidarity” (p. 42). The suggestive questions in the *TSE Project* exhibit a degree of dialogicality in their consideration of differing policy views or discourses that concern education. For example, the following text shows a dialogicality in the “acceptance of, recognition of difference; an exploration of difference” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 41):

The difficulties of getting a firm foothold in the job market, and of maintaining it, suggest that education systems need to ensure that transition to working life is accepted as a major responsibility. Is this the case or is it common for schools and teachers to treat the economy as a “dirty word” not to sully education’s purity? (OECD, 2008b, p. 43)

Are attitudes towards schooling changing with greater affluence? Do people regard it as more a consumer good than as a public good than the past? (OECD, 2008b, p. 81)

The sentence of the first text reveals a grounding in a neoliberal discourse or policy view of education with the statement that “the difficulties of getting a firm foothold in the job market, and of maintaining it, suggest education systems need to ensure that transition to working life is accepted as a major responsibility” (OECD, 2008b, p. 43). While this text reveals a bias toward an economic purpose of education, it does exhibit a recognition of contrary views with the question of “is this the case or is it common for school and for teachers to treat the economy as a “dirty word” (OECD, 2008b, p. 43). The second text above exhibits a recognition of difference in its consideration of the antithetical views of education. These two discordant educational views include the social or welfare liberal policy and neoliberal policy perspective.

Whereas the former holds education as a public good, the latter favours education as a private good that is a “commodity which could be traded in the marketplace for money and status” (Olssen et al., 2004, p. 181).

The *TSE Project* shows only a limited degree of dialogicality in addressing the topic of education’s provision by non-government or public sector actors. Under the heading, *Tightening the Belt: Prioritising National Spending*, the 2016 Book states that national governments

must also manage the economy, ensuring stability and planning for a nation’s long-term fiscal priorities. This section explores the impact of changing demographic trends on government expenditure in OECD countries. One of the great policy challenges is how to deal with increased health and pension expenditures associated with ageing while still covering other essential funding, for example in education. How will rising health and pension costs affect budgets available for other spending areas? And how can education partner with other sectors in order to tackle these issues from an intra-governmental perspective? (OECD, 2016, p. 46)

Following this text, the same section of the chapter, under the heading, *Tightening the Belt: Prioritising National Spending*, poses the following suggestive questions:

As health and pension expenditures increase, national governments are expected to face increasingly tight budgets. How might education co-operate with other sectors to tackle public policy challenges from a cross-governmental perspective? Should other actors, such as citizens and companies, help finance the education system? (OECD, 2016, p. 47)

These texts reveal a neoliberal discourse or perspective in their concern for budgetary rigour, as it relates to public spending for health and education and “passive” social policies in the form of pensions. Furthermore, the text aligns with a neoliberal paradigm perspective as identified by Morel et al. (2012), which holds expenditures on social policies to be a cost, rather than a catalyst for economic growth or an enhancer of economic growth and stability. Contrary to the Keynesian view that social expenditures are a promoter of political or social stability, the text implies that they are a source of instability. This view is evident with the statements that national governments “must also manage the economy, ensuring stability and planning for a

nation's long-term fiscal priorities" (OECD, 2016, p. 46), and "as health and pension expenditures increase" (OECD, 2016, p. 47), they "are expected to face increasingly tight budgets" (OECD, 2016, p. 47). The neoliberal disposition is also apparent in the questions about "how education can partner with other sectors in order to tackle these issues from an intra-governmental perspective" (OECD, 2016, p. 46) and "how might education co-operate with other sectors to tackle public policy challenges from a cross-governmental perspective" (p. 47).

This text only poses suggestive questions and makes no categorical assertions about non-public sector involvement. Nevertheless, the two questions lean toward a neoliberal state that favours privatization, outsourcing, or partner-based forms of governance in the provision of education. This discursive inclination is more apparent in the question: "Should other actors, such as citizens and companies, help finance the education system? (OECD, 2016, p. 47). This shows a limited degree of dialogicality as the policy position of whether non-government actors should aid in financing the education system is framed as a question, as opposed to a declarative statement or categorical assertion. It does, however, seem to privilege a neoliberal view given the wider text's concern with fiscal or budgetary concerns and the omission of any questions that problematize the provision of education by non-government actors.

Similarly, the 2010 and 2013 Books reveal a limited dialogicality on the issue of non-government or private sector involvement in the provision of education. Like the 2016 Book, both the 2010 and 2013 Books concern themselves with the policy challenges that demographic changes pose with respect to increased government expenditures or budgetary constraints:

The ageing populations has profound effects on health and pension expenditures in OECD countries. One of the great policy challenges is how to deal with these increased expenditures which remain largely covered by the public purse in many countries. This section compares recent trends in health and education, noting different patterns and trajectories. While the newly-retired generation is richer and healthier compared to

previous generations and most countries are considering mechanisms limiting health and pension costs, serious questions remain about the sustainability of present day budgets. How will rising costs associated particularly with the baby boom generation now moving into retirement affect budget available in other important areas? Will this be a struggle between the retired and studying generations for sufficient funding? (OECD, 2010, p. 36)

Our changing demography and lifestyles have profound effects on government expenditure in OECD countries. One of the great policy challenges is how to deal with increased health and pension expenditures while still covering other essential funding, for example for education. This section looks at health expenditure with a focus on one particular element: increasing longevity. Even though most countries are considering mechanisms to limit escalating health and pension costs, serious questions remain regarding the sustainability of present day budgets and strategic planning for the future. How will rising health and pension costs associated with living longer affect budgets available for other spending areas? And how can education partner with other sectors in order to tackle these issues from an intragovernmental perspective? (OECD, 2013, p. 48)

In addressing the effect of demographic changes, these two texts are respectively followed by the following suggestive questions:

Can increasing private expenditure on education, health and pensions cover the rising costs? What room is there for greater private expenditure specifically in education?

Are there areas of current education expenditure that might offer savings without damaging learning opportunities? What room is there for greater private expenditure specifically in education? (OECD, 2010, p. 37)

Given increasing tight budgets, how might education co-operate with other sectors to tackle these public policy challenges from a cross-government perspective?

Can models of public-private funding on health and pensions be adapted to cover the rising cost of education? (OECD, 2013, p. 49)

Like the 2016 Book, these texts are situated in a neoliberal discourse, as described by Morel et al., (2012), which is focused on budgetary challenges associated with health, education, and pension costs, rather than a Keynesian discourse that argues for public spending. They reflect a neoliberal orientation toward the future, as evident in concerns about the sustainability of public spending. This is also apparent in such statements as: “most countries are considering

mechanisms limiting health and pension costs, serious questions remain about the sustainability of present day budgets” (OECD, 2010, p. 36); and “even though most countries are considering mechanisms to limit escalating health and pension costs, serious questions remain regarding the sustainability of present day budgets and strategic planning for the future” (p. 36). The suggestive questions lean toward private sector involvement or partnership in the provision of education, health, and pensions. While no categorical assertions about private sector provision or expenditure are made, the suggestive questions reflect an orientation toward a neoliberal state that favours privatization, outsourcing, or partner-based forms of governance (Jessop, 2002; Ward, 2012). As in the 2016 Book, the suggestive questions show a limited degree of dialogicality as they address the issue of private funding or partnership in the form of questions, rather than declarative statements or categorical assertions. Nevertheless, they privilege a neoliberal perspective that may be also discerned with the exclusion of any questions that problematize the provision of education by non-government actors.

The *TSE Project* reveals some degree of interdiscursivity or hybridity in the texts’ assumption that education should serve both economic and social aims; however, a neoliberal logic ultimately predominates regarding the purposes of education. Although social liberal elements are found within the project, the focus on certain social dimensions—whether social cohesion or community—seek the economic aim of embedding globalization and the current neoliberal economic order. As such, these aims constitute a form *flanking*, and they are situated within an inclusive (neoliberal) discourse. Lastly, the *TSE Project’s* prevailing neoliberal discourse proves evident with its limited dialogicality in addressing the issue of education’s provision by non-government or public sector actors, as well as its focus on the budgetary challenges concerning education, health, and pension costs.

An analysis of intertextuality in this section focuses on the presence of other texts within the texts of the *TSE Project*. According to Grewal (2008), an analysis of intertextuality is concerned with the derivation of meaning by other texts from an intra-discourse source (which may encompass the same policy field from the same transnational organization - OECD in this case), or an extra-discourse source (which may include academic texts or other policy studies or documents from other transnational organizations). The OECD claims the *TSE Project* utilizes “robust international sources of data” (OECD, n.d.g, para. 1) from the OECD, the WB, and the UN. The reference sections draws from data, and mainly generates meaning, from other OECD publications and/or research.

In the *TSE Project*, a clear pattern of intertextuality is not observable. Specifically, the books reveal a limited intertextuality as they do not extensively, if at all, include a direct quoting of other texts through the use of direct quotations, or a summarizing or rewording from other texts. The project’s reliance on intra-discourse sources, mainly OECD publications and/or research and its data, reflects the OECD’s significant role and ability to form and disseminate transnational research and policy on its own. Fairclough (2003) states that intertextuality offers the possibility of widely allowing for or “opening up” (p. 41) difference in a text. For Fairclough, intertextuality enhances the dialogicality of a text through the incorporation of other voices. One could posit that the *TSE Project*’s reliance on research and/or publications produced and disseminated by the OECD results in the exclusion of certain voices. Such voices include those that largely oppose neoliberal globalization or suggest that it needs to be reimagined in a manner that is not strictly defined by economic possibilities but rather by a moral or cultural imperative for education.

Micro-Level Analysis of Innovation

This section explores how innovation is conceptualized and the rhetorical function it serves. This section first directs attention on modality, which generally refers to the degree of affinity of the text's producer to a proposition or viewpoint. In other words, it is concerned with degrees of commitment to truth and necessity (Fairclough, 1992, 2001a). The section then focuses on the construction of social reality through the *word meaning* and *wording of meaning* related to the main concepts of innovation. The concepts of accountability and governance are not analyzed in this section because they do not feature prominently, if at all, within the *TSE Project*.

A consideration of modality reveals a strong degree of affinity to the need for innovation. The authors' or producers' high affinity for innovation may be clearly determined by noting the use of the semi-modal or main *verb* of "need." This modality proves evident in the following statements (the underlines below have been added):

Yet openness alone is not enough for the benefits of trade to materialise for everyone and governments need to act domestically to encourage opportunity, innovation, and competition. (OECD, 2019b, p. 22)

Policies at home are needed as well—including education—to encourage innovation and job creation, and help all people benefit from the opportunities that trade openness brings. (OECD, 2019b, p. 23)

Increasing competition on global markets has promoted the widespread notion that countries need constant innovation to maintain position. Does education foster and value the creativity necessary to be innovative? (OECD, 2013, p. 25)

Increasing competition in global markets has promoted the widespread notion that countries need constant innovation to maintain their competitive position. Does education foster the creativity necessary to be innovative? (OECD, 2016, p. 33)

Both types of modality are used: *deontic modality* and *epistemic modality*. Deontic modality entails the author's commitment to obligation or necessity (Fairclough, 2003). The first two

statements show a deontic modality with the view that “governments need to act domestically” (OECD, 2019b, p. 22) and “policies at home are needed as well” (OECD, 2019b, p. 23).

Epistemic modality denotes an author’s commitment to the truth (Fairclough, 2003). In the above texts, identical questions from the 2013 and 2016 Books reflect an epistemic modality.

Specifically, the authors elicit the readers’ commitment to the truth that education can foster the creativity necessary to be innovative. In presenting these commitments to necessity or truth, the OECD arguably fashions a self-identity to decision makers and practitioners as that of a transnational organization with educational expertise.

The CDA method uses *word meaning* and *wording of meaning* to understand how social relations in terms of ideas, concepts, and beliefs are revealed in texts. Word meaning focuses on the meaning of key words, words with altering meanings, and the inclination toward certain meanings of words in text (Grewal, 2008). The word innovation is neither defined nor conceptualized in the *TSE Project*.

In examining the wording of meaning of innovation, two characteristics may be discerned. First, the occurrence of innovation represents a nominalization or grammatical metaphor. Grammatical metaphor entails “processes, being represented as ‘things,’ entities, through ‘nominalization’” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 131). Nominalization involves the change of a noun-like verb into a noun, and a semantic change of a process into an entity. The wording of meaning of innovation reveals that it is an example of nominalization, and as such, it emphasizes a process or activity. In addition to the above texts, nominalization is evident in the following statements:

Encouraging innovation in youth through strong science, technology and arts, teaching creativity and collaboration, and providing activities for young scientists or innovators. (OECD, 2019b, p. 30)

Ensuring that high-quality lifelong learning opportunities meet the needs of rural citizens is key. New demands for skills, including entrepreneurship and innovation, often mean rethinking educational provision and training in rural regions. (OECD, 2019b, p. 46)

The economies of most countries in the OECD are increasingly knowledge-intensive. As transport prices have fallen and trade barriers lifted, a substantial share of the production of basic goods have been taken over by developing countries with lower wage costs. This drives OECD countries seeking to maintain their competitive edge towards the production of goods and services that require high levels of knowledge and skill, creativity and innovation. (OECD, 2010, p. 12)

This growing integration of economies has an impact on national competitiveness, innovation, employment and skills. It can also play a role in shaping attitudes and expertise that drive international trade and collaboration. For education, this global economic integration may create a need and opportunity for the development of new and different skills in vocational and higher education programmes. (OECD, 2013, p. 24)

Nation-states now face a series of new challenges: our population is ageing, a thriving economy demands constant innovation and fewer citizens report being willing to fight for their own countries. (OECD, 2013, p. 46)

In the above texts, innovation is viewed as a process or activity that governments, policies, or education need to encourage, or countries require to maintain a competitive advantage in the globalized economy. Innovation has a positive connotation of necessity or need with regards to educational aims or a nation's competitive standing within the global economy. The discourse presents innovation as a benign force for good in terms of the political economy (Eagleton-Pierce, 2016). In addition to innovation, the adjective "innovative" and the verb "to innovate" appears in *TSE Project* in relation to what countries need to be, or what they need to do.

Another feature of wording is the collocation of innovation with the words "competition," "competitive" or "competitiveness." Collocations of innovation also include the words "opportunity," "creativity," "skills," and "entrepreneurship." Fairclough (2003) states that different discourses may be identified through an examination of collocation or "patterns of co-

occurrence in texts” (p. 131) whereby one simply looks at “which other words most frequently precede and follow any word which in focus, either immediately or three and so on words way” (p. 131). The collocation of innovation with these words points to a neoliberal outlook, or grounding within a neoliberal discourse. Given innovation’s close association with neoliberalism as noted by Ampuja (2016), the collocated word of “competition” and its derivative “competitiveness” reinforces the neoliberal orientation of the *TSE Project*. Eagleton-Pierce (2016) identifies both innovation and competition as two examples of neoliberal vocabulary that are employed as generic solutions to economic problems or “multiple problems in the management of capitalism” (p. 33). In the *TSE Project*, both innovation and competition, along with their derivatives, are collocated to present a dual educational purpose: (a) ensuring that people benefit from and (b) that nations maintain their economic standing in a globally competitive and integrated market. In this regard, both innovation and competition constitute solutions to the needs arising from global trade or market integration.

The collocation of innovation with “creativity” situates the text within a neoliberal discourse. This emphasis on creativity, like that of innovation, concerns “aims to furnish new ideas about how to extract financial value and improve competitive positioning in markets” (Eagleton-Pierce, 2016, p. 109). In the *TSE Project*, creativity is imbued with a neoliberal meaning, which views it as a productive value or utility for advancing the competitiveness of a national economy. Furthermore, the collocation of innovation with both “creativity” and “skills” situates the texts within the neoliberal notion of a knowledge economy and/or an educational purpose defined by human capital theory. The idea of a knowledge economy upholds the view that education should produce workers who are both skilled and able to work creatively with knowledge (Rizvi, 2017).

The collocation of innovation with “entrepreneurship” occurs only once as evident in the following text, which concerns increasing economic opportunity in rural areas: “New demands for skills, including entrepreneurship and innovation, often mean rethinking educational provision and training in rural regions” (OECD, 2019b, p. 46). A neoliberal orientation is observed, as entrepreneurship, innovation, and economic growth are framed as having a strong relationship or being intrinsically connected (Eagleton-Pierce, 2016). In the *TSE Project*, innovation serves the rhetorical function of reinforcing a neoliberal discourse or ideology. Such a discourse constructs educational aims around the notions of a knowledge economy and human capital theory. Specifically, the project’s advancement of innovation upholds the neoliberal view of a global economy that necessitates the competitive advantage of both individuals and nations.

Chapter Summary

The *TSE Project* frames a vision for K–12 education within two main discourses – a neoliberal discourse and an inclusive liberal discourse (see: Appendix F: TSE Project Findings). The inclusive liberal discourse can be regarded as an adaptation of neoliberalism because, as Porter and Craig (2004) and Craig and Porter (2006) note, inclusive liberalism represents a form of neoliberalism that seeks to re-embed contemporary liberal hegemony arising from neoliberalism’s crises, failings, or shortcomings. Within the *TSE Project*, the assumptions, constructions, and values of the aims of K–12 education are tied to notions of a globalized and knowledge-based economy; as such, they align with a neoliberal outlook or paradigm (Munck, 2005; Olssen et al., 2004; Rizvi, 2017).

An analysis of the *TSE Project* reveals that it the following broad assumption: *Education has a role to play in preparing students for a globalized world that is undergoing economic, social, and digital transformation.* In this analysis, five narrow assumptions were identified and

discussed. Education has a role to play in (a) providing the skills and competencies needed to operate in the labour market of both a globalized economy and knowledge-based economy, (b) fostering innovation that is requisite for a globalized and knowledge-based economy, (c) reducing the inequities or inequalities of both within and between nations, (d) improving social/civic participation, as well as enhancing social cohesion, and (e) providing students with the skills and competences needed to operate in a world that is increasingly digitalized.

This analysis revealed that the *TSE Project* reflects a neoliberal purpose of education that is closely tied to a notion of a knowledge economy and the conceptualization of education as a form of human capital as informed by the liberal framework developed in Chapter 2, and further informed by such scholars as Olssen et al. (2004), Rizvi (2017), and Peters and Humes (2003). All *TSE Books* can be considered to be situated in a neoliberal discourse or policy perspective because they view education as imparting students with the skills and knowledge for a globally-integrated economy. Specifically, the development of skills and knowledge is advanced to enable learners to be flexible and adaptable to the demands of a “globalized and knowledge-intensive world” (OECD, 2013, p. 63). The *TSE Project* assumes that education should not only impart students with the skills and knowledge for the marketplace, but also provide them with the ability to adapt to market insecurity and uncertainty. The neoliberal framing of education is evident in its use of “risk” and its emphasis on the individual “responsibilisation” of economic crisis or uncertainty (Arthur, 2018; McKeown & Glenn, 2017).

It also reveals a neoliberal orientation because it advances innovation as a policy prescription for national economic competitiveness in a global marketplace. The word innovation is closely tied to neoliberalism because it entails “calls to transform state institutions, labour markets, education and even basic cultural values so that these would better innovation, on which

the health of the economy but the whole of society is viewed to depend” (Ampuja, 2016, p. 23). In the *TSE Project*, education should develop skilled individuals and foster innovation to enable nations to remain competitive, and thus allow individuals to benefit from global trade and market integration. A neoliberal policy discourse is not only apparent in a call for educational policy that fosters innovation, but the neutral and normative description of contemporary reality—that of globalization. A neoliberal purpose of education is framed, one that assumes a role in imparting students with ICT skills and competencies. The focus on ICT skills aligns with the notion of a knowledge economy, which requires a labour force that is prepared for highly skilled jobs and competent in new technologies.

This analysis also reveals The *TSE Project's* grounding in an inclusive liberal discourse, which assumes that education can reduce inequities and inequalities between and within nations. The contradiction between economic growth and inequality that has accompanied globalization, is what Jessop (2002) terms *flanking*. Flanking involves strategies and measures to re-embed liberal market forces and stabilize neoliberalism in wake of its tensions or shortcomings. The *TSE Project* advances the inclusion or integration of individuals within globalization and the global economy with a view of education that emphasizes a human capital or social investment approach. In this inclusive liberal view of education, equity is increased when individuals develop the capacities that enable them to expand individual and collective opportunities.

The discourse in the *TSE Project* reveals a concern for economic inequality that may be regarded as demonstrating the defensive stage of inclusive liberalism. This defensive stage, as identified by Porter and Craig (2004), aims to reduce the social costs of market-led liberalization. This inclusive liberal paradigm assumes that education has a role to play in improving social/civic participation, as well as enhancing social cohesion. The concern for social and political participation reflects inclusive liberalism's third embedding or inclusion as identified by

Porter and Craig (2004), which is “practical, governmental, and spatial” (p. 393). It also reveals a grounding in a social or welfare liberal purpose of education, which sees education as a right of citizenship that advances the democratic operation of society (Olssen et al., 2004). The assumption that schooling can foster social cohesion is embedded within an inclusive liberal discourse that involves the political or ideological aim of securing the current ideological order against any alternative ones. This securing of the current order involves terms such as “social investment,” “community,” and “participation” (Porter & Craig, 2004).

Within the project, a neoliberal orientation may also be noted in its concern for budgetary challenges and openness to the non-public sector provision of education. The project’s neoliberal outlook is also evident in the micro-analysis of the concept, “innovation.” Innovation is not conceptualized or defined; rather, a focus on modality reveals a strong degree of affinity or necessity for it. Innovation is viewed as a process or activity that governments, policies, or education needs to encourage, or countries require in order to maintain a competitive position in a globalized economy. The collocation of innovation with the words “competition,” “opportunity,” “skills,” and “entrepreneurship” reinforces the neoliberal view of a global economy, which requires the competitive advantage of both individuals and nations.

CHAPTER SIX: ANALYSIS OF INNOVATIVE LEARNING ENVIRONMENTS

This chapter provides an analysis of four books produced by the CERI project, *Innovative Learning Environments* (Hereafter *ILE Project*) between 2008 and 2015. Started in 2008, this project studies how young people (between the ages of 3 and 19) learn and the conditions or dynamics that would enhance their learning or make it more effective (OECD, 2012a). The project is focused on innovative ways of organizing learning or creating innovative learning environments, which should, in its own words, “underpin the 21st century education reform agenda” (OECD, 2012a, para. 1). The *ILE Project* involves the active participation of over 25 countries and regions, which provide it with examples of “innovative learning environments” (ILEs) and practical ways to enhance learning conditions or make them more innovative (OECD, 2012b). The OECD (2012b) states that “by identifying concrete cases of learning environments from all over the world, ILE aims to inform practice, leadership and reform through generating analysis of innovative and inspiring configurations of learning for children and young people” (para. 3).

By studying a myriad of international examples, the OECD claims that this project offers a “distinctive contribution” regarding “innovative ways of organising learning at the micro level (learning environment) and how this connects to the meso level (networks and communities of practice) and strategies to implement learning change at the macro level, system level” (OECD, 2012b, para. 2). According to the OECD website, the project aims to aid the educational reform agenda by the means of: (a) “analysing and synthesising current research findings on learning, teaching and learning environments”; (b) “identifying and analysing examples of innovative learning environments from all over the world”; and (c) engaging with the community of policy

reformers, innovators and learning scientists to discuss how to make better use of these findings to make OECD education systems more learner driven” (OECD, n.d.a, para. 1).

This chapter is organized into three sections that align with the analytical framework used. It presents an analysis for the books of the *ILE Project*, which occurs at three levels: (a) a macro-level analysis that encompasses the order of discourse, (b) a meso-level analysis of intertextual and interdiscursive features, and (c) a micro-level analysis of the linguistic features. With a focus on the order of discourse, the macro-level analysis provides an overview of the project’s timeline and genres, and it identifies the ideological or hegemonic features of its discourse. In this section, the broad assumption of the *ILE Project* is identified and broken down into more narrow assumptions. The meso-level analysis involves both an interdiscursive and intertextual analysis. The first focuses on the interdiscursivity of the books, which entails identifying different discourses within a text, and how they are combined and articulated (Fairclough, 2001a). The latter analysis examines a text’s relationship to other texts, or the presence of other texts within a text. In this chapter, a meso-level analysis of the *ILE Project* books is followed by a micro-analysis, which focuses on the construction of social identity by means of modality and social reality through word meaning and the wording dimensions of texts (Grewal, 2008).

The embeddedness of the *ILE Project*’s discourse was analyzed in relation to four liberal paradigms (classical liberalism, social or Keynesian welfare liberalism, neoliberalism, or inclusive liberalism). The analysis was guided by the research questions. As such, it focused on the assumptions, values and constructions of the aims of K–12 schooling, as well as the discursive conceptualizations of innovation, accountability, and governance. The findings of this chapter draw from the analysis of over 900 pages of text. This chapter presents quotations from

the *ILE Project* books to provide illustrative examples that are requisite for an analysis. The quotations from the books are written in Calibri font to distinguish them from my own description and analysis written in Times New Roman Font.

Macro-Level Analysis: Orders of Discourse

The macro-level analysis first established the timeline and genre of the *ILE Project*. Next, it analyzed books to identify the ideological and hegemonic orientation of the discourse, which it did by identifying the broad assumption apparent in all books, and the narrow assumptions that undergirded it.

Timeline and Genre

The *ILE* project is divided into three strands according to time period and focus: (a) Learning Research (2008–2010); (b) Innovative Cases (2009–2012); and (c) Implementation and Change (2011–present). The first strand of the *ILE Project*, Learning Research examines how and under what conditions students learn. In terms of genre, this strand has produced two major books. The first book, *Innovating to Learn* was published in 2008; the second book, *The Nature of Learning* was published in 2010. *Innovating to Learn* outlines the main findings from the learning sciences to highlight how cognitive and social process can be used to redesign classrooms to transform them into highly effective learning environments. It is divided into nine chapters, which are written by different authors.

The second book of the *ILE's Project's* first strand, *The Nature of Learning* is divided into ten chapters. It includes chapter contributions from a number of authors, which summarize research findings and identify their importance for designing learning environments for the 21st century (OECD, 2010, 2012b). The book includes contributions from international researchers who examine the nature of learning from cognitive, emotional, and biological lenses. The

respective analyses outline implications for various types of application in learning environments.

The second strand of the *ILE Project*, Innovative Cases, involved the collection of over 120 reports of innovative learning environments. These apparent learning environments were derived from more than 125 systems in 20 different countries around the world (OECD, 2012b, 2013). The examination of these case studies appeared in the book entitled, *Innovative Learning Environments*. This publication identifies example of cases which reveal a deviation from mainstream learning arrangements for younger children or teenagers, while simultaneously “promising to meet the ambitious objectives needed for the 21st century” (OECD, 2013a, p. 11). This publication examines innovation at the micro level, and it employs the concept of “learning environment” to denote the organization or dynamics of learning comprised of teachers, learners, resources, and content. The book does not prefer the terms “schools” or “classrooms” to describe “micro-level” learning environments, given that not all its identified innovations occur in schools (OECD, 2013a).

The third strand, Implementation and Change, represents the more policy-focused one of the *ILE Project*, in its examination of “alternative approaches to growing and sustaining” (OECD, 2012b) what it views as innovative learning, “whether system-led, practitioner-led or driven by other stakeholders” (OECD, 2012b). The major publication of this strand also occurs in the genre of a book, which is entitled, *Schooling Redesigned: Toward Innovative Learning Systems*. This publication explores the growth of “innovative learning environments” and advancement of identified innovative learning principles. Specifically, it focuses on what it ascertains to be the main players of innovative learning (specifically, learners, educators, content and learning resources) and their key connectors (such as pedagogy, use of time, and

organization of educators and learners). Furthermore, *Schooling Redesigned: Toward Innovative Learning Systems* focuses on innovation and change at the systemic or institutional level of schooling. In terms of genre, the five OECD-CERI publications—analyzed for this project—are all books.

Ideology and Hegemony

An analysis of the ideological orientation of the *ILE Project* directs attention to the assumptions embedded in discourse. As stated by Fairclough (2003), assumptions, whether value, propositional or existential, are discourse specific because “a particular discourse includes assumptions about what there is, what is the case, what is possible, what is necessary, what will be the case, and so forth” (p. 58). In many instances, assumptions, assumed meanings, and their related discourses are of ideological significance. Specifically, assumed or taken-as-given meanings often uphold certain relations of power, and in turn, become hegemonized or universalized. Fairclough argues that the promotion of an ideology is closely tied to hegemony and universalization because “seeking hegemony is a matter of seeking to universalize particular meanings in the service of achieving and maintaining dominance” (p. 58). He notes that a text performs ideological work if it assumes an “unquestioned and unavoidable reality” (p. 58).

In analyzing the entirety of the *ILE Project*, the five publications convey assumptions of, constructions of, and values with regard to the aims of K-12 schools, schooling, teachers and learners. The project’s publications encompass the following broad assumption regarding education:

- **Broad Assumption:** *Education plays a fundamental role in developing the knowledge, skills, and capacities to meet the economic and social transformations of the 21st century, or what has been described as a knowledge economy or society. As a result, there is a*

requisite need for innovation; specifically, the need to innovate all elements of schooling or learning so that individuals are prepared for the demands of the 21st century world.

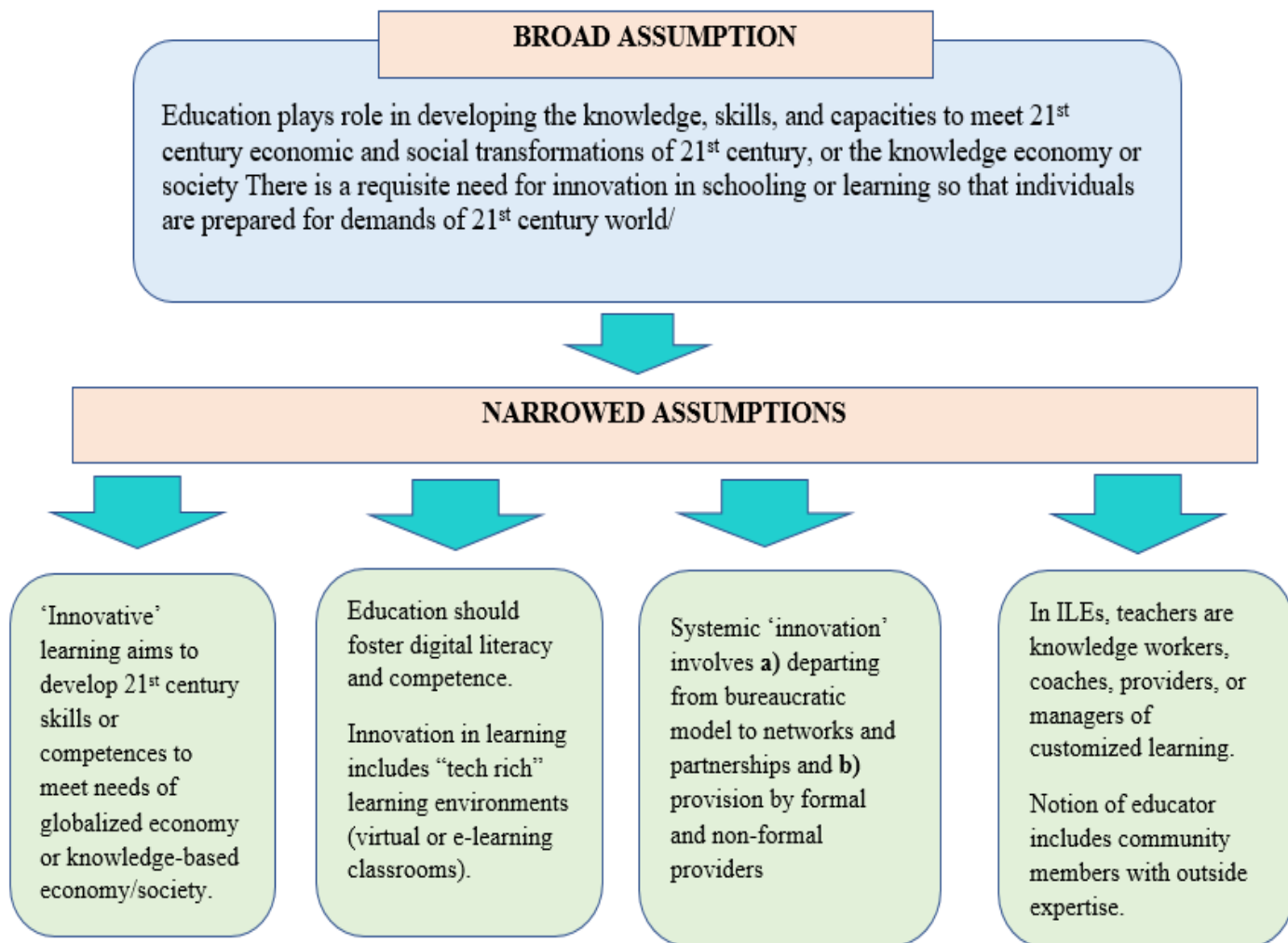
As shown in Figure 10, this project contains varied and narrow assumptions that may be narrowed from this broader assumption.

- **Narrow Assumptions:** These narrow assumptions include but are not limited to the following:
 1. Education should play a role in preparing students to meet the demands of rapid economic and social change. “Innovative” learning aims to develop 21st century skills or learning competences that meet the needs of a globalized economy and knowledge-based economy or society.
 2. Education should play a role in fostering digital literacy and competence in learners. Innovation in education does not simply entail increased ICT and technological use, but the creation of “tech-rich” learning environments that include “virtual classrooms” or “e-learning classrooms,” which are extensions of the learning environment.
 3. Schooling or education systems should depart from a bureaucratic model to one defined by networks and partnerships. Systemic innovation in schooling thus involves the provision of learning by both formal and non-formal providers.
 4. Within what are termed, “innovative learning environments” (ILEs), teachers are knowledge workers and coaches, providers, or managers of customized learning. They are to engage with partners, as the notion of educator extends beyond that of teacher to include those with outside expertise from different sectors of the community.

These four assumptions are each analyzed separately, and their embedded political discourse or discourses within are deciphered and discussed as well.

Figure 10

ILE Project: Broad Assumption and Narrow Assumptions Regarding Education



Narrow Assumption 1

Narrow Assumption 1 is: Education should play a role in preparing students to meet the demands of rapid economic and social change. “Innovative” learning includes the development of 21st century skills or learning competences that meet the needs of a globalized economy and knowledge economy or society as shown in Figure 11.

In examining the assumed role of education in the *ILE Project*, existential (what exists) and propositional assumptions (can be the case) about the economy or economic reality may be noted. Within the *ILE Project*, existential or propositional assumptions encompass the represented reality of a 21st century economy, globalized knowledge economy, or knowledge society, which necessitates a reconfiguration in learning. The chapters from *Innovating to Learn* and *The Nature of Learning* present this assumed economic reality, as well as the implications for learning or education:

In recent decades, OECD economies have experienced a rapid transformation from their traditional industrial base to knowledge-based societies in which learning (over lifetimes with highly-developed “learning-to-learn skills”), creativity, and innovation capacities are central. Such capacities are important not only for a successful economy, but also for effective community and social engagement, participatory democracy, and for living fulfilling meaningful lives. At the same time, too many of today’s schools are not adequately fostering deep knowledge, creativity and understanding: they are not well aligned with the knowledge economy and society of the 21st Century. (OECD, 2008a, p. 3)

OECD economies have experienced the transformation from their traditional industrial base to the knowledge era in which learning and innovation are central. Yet, many of today’s schools have not caught up as they continue to operate as they did in the earlier decades of the 20th Century. How can learning within and outside schools be reconfigured in environments that foster the deeper knowledge and skills so crucial in our new century? To succeed in this is not only important for a successful economy, but also for effective cultural and social participation and for citizens to live fulfilling lives. (OECD, 2008a, p. 11)

Analysts have made much of the transformation in recent decades of many OECD countries from industrial to knowledge economies, with dominant activities based on the production and distribution of knowledge and information rather than the

production and distribution of things (e.g. Drucker, 1993). Many analysts have come to emphasise the importance of creativity, innovation, and ingenuity in the knowledge economy so connecting back to the key competences reviewed above; indeed, some scholars now characterise today's economy as the creative economy (Florida, 2002). (Benavides et al., 2008, p. 25)

The knowledge economy calls for much more than the memorisation of facts and procedures. Educated workers need a conceptual understanding of complex concepts, and the ability to work with them creatively to generate new ideas, new theories, new products, and new information. They need to be able critically to evaluate what they read, be able to express themselves clearly both verbally and in writing, and understand scientific and mathematical thinking. They need to learn integrated and usable knowledge, rather than the sets of compartmentalised and de-contextualised facts. They need to be able to take responsibility for their own continuing, lifelong learning. These abilities are important to the economy, to the continued success of participatory democracy, and to living a fulfilling, meaningful life. (Benavides et al., 2008, p. 26)

One of the most fundamental of the changes of recent decades in OECD countries in particular is their transformation from an industrial base to a knowledge base. Knowledge is now a central driving force for economic activity, and the prosperity of individuals, companies and nations depends increasingly on human and intellectual capital. Innovation is becoming the dominant driving force in our economy and society (Florida, 2001; OECD, 2004; Brown, Lauder and Ashton, 2008). Education and learning systems for which knowledge is their core business, are clearly right at the heart of such a mega-trend. (Dumont & Istance, 2010, p. 21)

The shift to the global knowledge economy has been driven *inter alia* by the advances in science and technology, in particular information and communication technologies. The widespread dissemination and use of the Internet and other advanced forms of the media touches our everyday lives in manifold ways. Some may stress the liberating potential this represents as the barriers of time and distance lowered; others draw attention instead to the information overload and the international digital divides that they bring. Education and learning are caught right in the middle of these diverse developments, being driven to accommodate rapid change and overload but also to provide the bedrock foundations with which to cope with such change. (Dumont & Istance, 2010, p. 21)

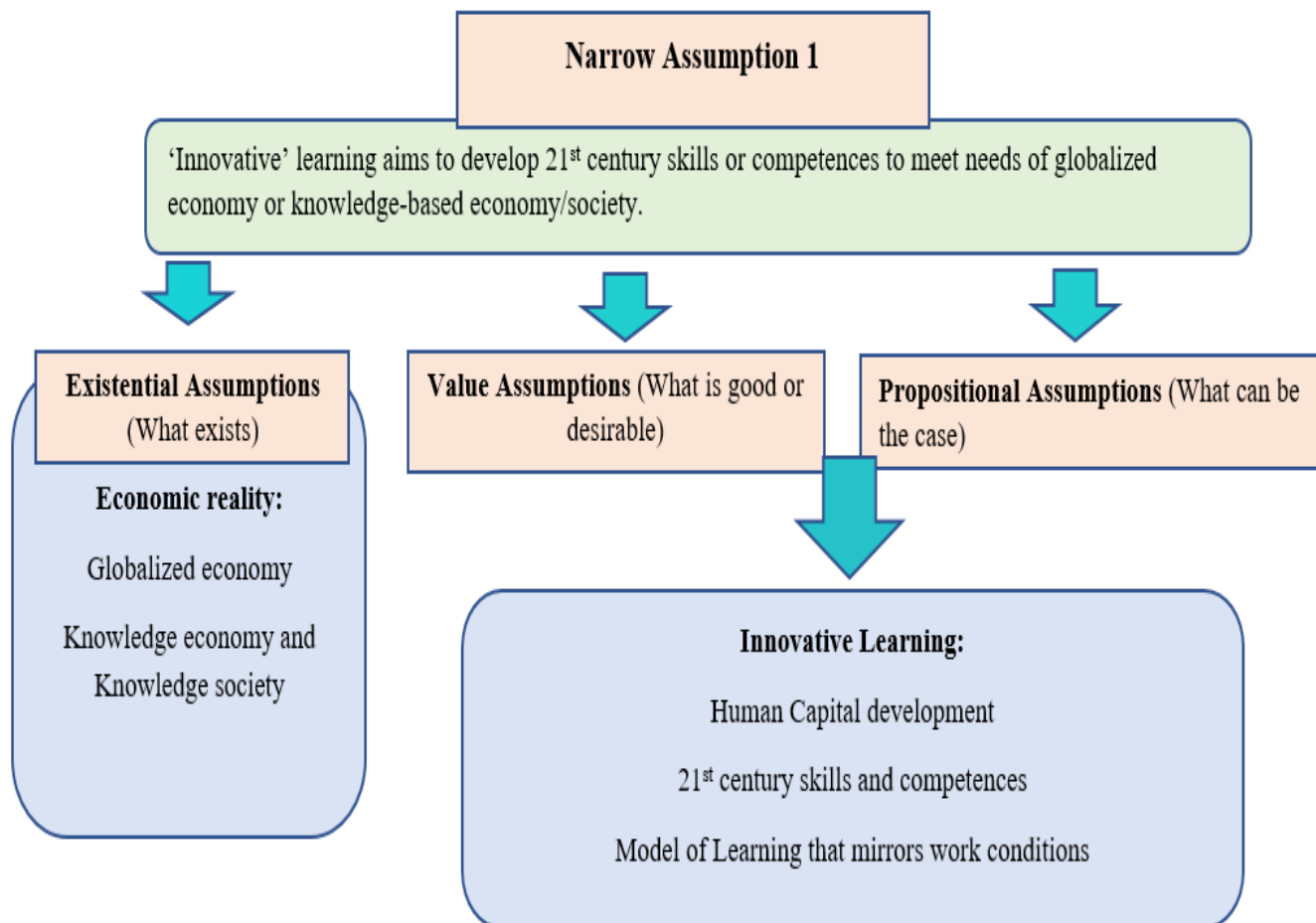
Education has become increasingly important worldwide, and consequently so has its star risen in the political constellation. A (possibly the) key driver for this is economic – the fundamental role identified of knowledge, skills and capacities to underpin and maintain prosperity. The question of how well education systems develop knowledge, skills and capacities, and of what kinds, is increasingly centre stage in public debate. No argument has more political purchase today regarding education's value than that it enhances competitiveness, even if competition by definition has winners and losers and

even if pursuit of competitive edge may come into tension with the array of other missions with which education is charged.

The direct link to international competitiveness, and the fact of globalisation, means that education's international dimension has grown markedly over at least the past two decades. It is both cause and effect – global interdependence has fuelled comparative measurements and they in turn fuel the thirst for more. It also renders education more complex, given the range of crossborder educational activities and the prominent international benchmarks that have become so influential nationally and locally. (OECD, 2015, p. 16)

The above texts construct the notion of a 21st century economy that contrasts with the Taylorist or Fordist employment models of the 20th century involving mass production (Vassallo, 2014). This view is particularly evident with the noted observation that “the transformation in recent decades of many OECD countries from industrial to knowledge economies” (Benavides et al., 2008, p. 25) involves “dominant activities based on the production and distribution of knowledge and information rather than the production and distribution of things” (Benavides et al., 2008, p. 25).

Knowledge Economy and Knowledge Society. Within the *ILE Project* books, a knowledge society and knowledge economy denote the assumed economic or social reality that emerged in the aftermath of an industrial-based economy. Although the terms, “knowledge economy” and “knowledge society” are often employed interchangeably and with an absence of conceptual clarity, there are theoretical differences (Brine, 2006; Valimaa & Hoffman, 2008). According to Valimaa and Hoffman (2008), the two concepts differ as “knowledge society” is a sociological theory, whereas “knowledge economy” constitutes an economic theory. They are similar as both identify the importance of knowledge and knowledge production “for the development of societies even though there are different underlying assumptions concerning knowledge in various theoretical approaches” (Valimaa & Hoffman, 2008, p. 270). Both the

Figure 11*ILE Project: Narrow Assumption 1*

conceptualization of “knowledge society” and “knowledge economy” highlight a social transformation or change (Valimaa & Hoffman, 2008).

Valimaa and Hoffman (2008) explain that a knowledge society designates “a new situation in which knowledge, information, and knowledge production are defining features of relationships within and between societies, organisations, industrial production and human lives” (p. 269). The social theory of a knowledge society views knowledge as playing a role in the facets of economics, culture, and politics in modern societies, whereas the theory of a knowledge economy focuses on the importance of knowledge for economic growth (Valimaa & Hoffman, 2008). The idea of a knowledge economy is premised on the view that economic advancement relies heavily on investments in human capital, namely people’s knowledge stock, learning capabilities or skill sets, and the employment of knowledge as capital within the economy (Olssen et al., 2004; Olssen & Peters, 2005; Peters & Humes, 2003). The texts are situated within a neoliberal policy perspective of the purposes of education and knowledge; this neoliberal outlook ties the purpose of education to a knowledge economy and reconceptualizes education as a form of knowledge capital (Olssen & Peters, 2005). In the domain of education policy, a key preoccupation entails the dual strategy of “developing the appropriate knowledge institutions, including the reform of knowledge institutions” (Peters & Hume, 2003, p. 2), as well as an emphasis on “human resources” or “human capital”; specifically, the development of individuals “who know how to learn by upgrading existing skills and acquiring new skills” (Peters & Humes, 2003). Such a policy perspective views knowledge or human capital to be as equally important as financial capital and natural resources to a nation’s economic growth and global economic competitiveness (Peters & Humes, 2003).

The texts reveal the first policy strategy of developing knowledge institutions to meet the needs of the assumed economic reality, with following statements: “too many of today’s schools are not adequately fostering deep knowledge, creativity and understanding: they are not well aligned with the knowledge economy and society of the 21st Century” (OECD, 2008a, p. 3); and that “many of today’s schools have not caught up as they continue to operate as they did in the earlier decades of the 20th Century” (OECD, 2008a, p. 11). The neoliberal concern for developing or reforming “knowledge institutions” is raised with the question: “How can learning within and outside schools be reconfigured in environments that foster the deeper knowledge and skills so crucial in our new century?” (OECD, 2008a, p. 11). This question underlines the need for a reformation of schooling in order to equip students with the requisite competences of the knowledge economy or society.

Furthermore, the texts highlight the second neoliberal policy aim of developing human capital to serve a nation’s economic growth and competitiveness. This focus is especially apparent with the following statements: “knowledge is now a central driving force for economic activity, and the prosperity of individuals, companies and nations depends increasingly on human and intellectual capital” (Dumont & Istance, 2010, p. 21); “education has become increasingly important worldwide” (OECD, 2015, p. 16) and “(possibly the) key driver for this is economic—the fundamental role identified of knowledge, skills, and capacities to underpin and maintain prosperity” (OECD, 2015, p. 16); “the question of how well education systems develop knowledge, skills and capacities, and of what kinds, is increasingly centre stage in public debate” (OECD, 2015, p. 16); and “no argument has more political purchase today regarding education’s value than that it enhances competitiveness” (OECD, 2015, p. 16). Given

the above text, the *ILE Project* books are situated within a neoliberal policy perspective or discourse of human capital theory, which affirms that education increases the “competitive advantage of individuals, corporations, and nations” (Rizvi, 2017, p. 6) in the global economy.

Moreover, the notion of a knowledge economy necessitates that educational purposes focus less on students acquiring information, and more on their attainment of skills or capabilities. The assumed knowledge economy needs individuals who are highly skilled and competent in the use of new technologies. It also requires individuals who are life-long learners not engaged in continuous learning for its own sake, but for the educational “purposes of human capital development and economic self-maximization” (Rizvi, 2017, p. 7). The notion of a knowledge society is interconnected with that of a *learning society*. Specifically, a *learning society* departs from the delineation between formal and non-formal schooling and emphasizes the educational purpose of lifelong learning. Within the context of a knowledge society, the ability or skill to *learn how to learn* and what may be termed, “lifelong learning” is viewed as crucial; this necessity arises from one’s need to upgrade knowledge and transition to new workplaces and professions over the duration of a career (Valimaa & Hoffman, 2008).

The above texts reveal such a neoliberal policy perspective within the assumptions: “the knowledge economy calls for much more than the memorisation of facts and procedures” (Benavides et al., 2008, p. 26); and educated workers “need to learn integrated and usable knowledge, rather than the sets of compartmentalised and de-contextualised facts,” (Benevides et al., 2008) and “be able to take responsibility for their own continuing, lifelong learning” (Benavides et al., 2008, p. 26), which is necessary “to living a fulfilling, meaningful life” (Benavides et al., 2008, p. 26). The neoliberal view of lifelong learning for the purpose of skill acquisition and in turn, human capital development is also evident in the statements that

“OECD economies have experienced a rapid transformation from their traditional industrial base to knowledge-based societies in which learning (over lifetimes with highly-developed “learning-to-learn skills”), creativity, and innovation capacities are central” (OECD, 2008a, p. 3) and that “such capacities are important not only for a successful economy, but also for effective community and social engagement, participatory democracy, and for living fulfilling meaningful lives” (OECD, 2008a, p. 3).

21st Century Skills or Learning Competencies. In the *ILE Project* books, a value assumption (what is good or desirable) would be that K–12 learning aims to develop 21st century skills or learning competences that meet the demands of a globalized economy, as well as a knowledge economy or society. The *ILE Project* books employ the concepts of “21st century skills” or “21st century competences” in addressing the innovation of learning needed to meet contemporary and future contexts. As a concept, 21st century skills or competences have been espoused internationally and incorporated within policy and curricula to prepare students for future occupational and education needs (Mehta et al., 2020). Mehta et al. (2020) state that “despite an abundance of frameworks and models, what actually constitutes 21st century skills is not as clear or delineated as what is represented in public discourse on the term” (p. 361). In fact, *Innovative Learning Environments* notes that even though “considerable attention has been given to the so-called learning “21st century competences,” (OECD, 2013, p. 44), “what precisely these are understood to cover varies, and the term serves as shorthand for a range of transversal capacities and abilities that extend beyond the reproduction of facts and values” (OECD, 2013, pp. 44–45). A framework of 21st century skills or competences is generally understood to include the following: creativity and innovation; critical thinking and problem solving; communicating and collaborating; ICT and media literacy; flexibility and adaptability;

initiative and self-direction; social and cross-cultural skills; productivity and accountability; leadership and responsibility; and employment and career development (Patterson, 2015; Trilling & Fadel, 2009). A 21st century education is mainly conceived as one that reflects the conditions of the economy, so that learners can develop transferable thinking and learning skills (Vassallo, 2014). According to Mehta et al., 21st century skills are sociopolitically tied to the private sector, neoliberal dimensions of globalization, and the rise in the transnational mobility of work and education.

In *Innovating to Learn*, the two respective chapters by Sawyer (2008) and Benavides et al. (2008) draw upon learning science research to support the development of learners, with what may be identified as 21st century skills or competences. Sawyer (2008) highlights the transformation of several OECD member countries from industrial economies to knowledge economies to argue that standard model schools are not aligned with the new economic reality. For Sawyer, this economic context relies upon innovation, creativity, and ingenuity. Sawyer draws upon learning science to underline that more effective learning occurs when students acquire deep knowledge as opposed surface knowledge, and when they are able apply this knowledge to real-world situations. These views are encapsulated in the following texts:

Standard model schools effectively prepared students for the industrialised economy of the early 20th Century; schools based on this model have been effective at transmitting a standard body of facts and procedures to students. The goals of standard model schools were to ensure standardization – all students were to memorise and master the same core curriculum – and this model has been reasonably effective at accomplishing these goals. Standard model schools were structured, scheduled, and regimented in a fashion that was explicitly designed by analogy with the industrial-age factory (Callahan, 1962), and this structural alignment facilitated the ease of transition from school student to factory worker. (Sawyer, 2008, p. 47)

In the knowledge economy, memorisation of facts and procedures is not enough for success. Educated graduates need a deep conceptual understanding of complex concepts, and the ability to work with them creatively to generate new ideas, new theories, new products, and new knowledge. They need to be able to critically evaluate

what they read, to be able to express themselves clearly both verbally and in writing, and to be able to understand scientific and mathematical thinking. They need to learn integrated and usable knowledge, rather than the sets of compartmentalised and decontextualised facts emphasised by instructionism. They need to be able to take responsibility for their own continuing, lifelong learning. (Sawyer, 2008, p. 49)

For Sawyer (2008), the most effective learning environments are characterized by the following:

- The importance of learning deeper conceptual understanding, rather than superficial facts and procedures.
- The importance of learning connected and coherent knowledge, rather than knowledge compartmentalised into distinct subjects and courses.
- The importance of learning authentic knowledge in its context of use, rather than decontextualised classroom exercises.
- The importance of learning in collaboration, rather than in isolation.

These key findings imply that the most effective learning environments will have the following characteristics:

- *Customised learning.* Each child receives a customised learning experience.
- *Availability of diverse knowledge sources.* Learners can acquire knowledge whenever they need it from a variety of sources: books, web sites, and experts around the globe.
- *Collaborative group learning.* Students learn together as they work collaboratively on authentic, inquiry-oriented projects.
- *Assessment for deeper understanding.* Tests should evaluate the students' deeper conceptual understanding, the extent to which their knowledge is integrated, coherent, and contextualised. (Sawyer, 2008, p. 58)

It should be noted that Sawyer does not directly employ the terms “21st century skills” or “21st century competences” but he emphasizes an education that develops learners who have the skills or competences that are transferable to the economy. As evident in the above texts, such skills include creativity and innovation, critical thinking and problems solving, as well as collaboration which are aligned with so-called 21st century skills or competences.

Benavides et al.'s (2008) chapter employs the concept, "21st century skills" in making two arguments: first, the current organization of OECD school systems is not enabling students to acquire the skills needed for 21st century knowledge economies or societies; and second, new learning environments are needed to develop students with core competences and skills for "for the worlds of today and tomorrow" (p. 22). In identifying key competences that are requisite for the demands of 21st century society, Sawyer states:

Flexibility, creativity, communication with peers, problem-solving, and deep thinking are at the centre to all these concepts. They are focused not on the acquisition of a specific set of tools relevant for a certain point in time, but on a lifelong dynamic capacity of analysis and skills acquisition. These fundamental competences are about the nature of culture, society, and socialisation in the broadest terms, and they are shaped by much more than schools and education systems. It is nevertheless relevant to know how well such systems are contributing in the development of these skills, and how able and flexible they are to adapt new principles and dynamics that facilitate their acquisition. If schools are not the only places where these 21st Century skills and knowledge are nurtured, it is necessary to understand how their learning can be assured and if the role of schooling is an optimal one. (Benavides et al., 2008, p. 21)

Similarly, Benavides et al. acknowledge the economic assumptions that underlie 21st century skills or competences with the following statement:

It might be tempting, if misguided, for educationists to marginalise such an economic focus for defining key features and competences. But social, cultural and personal goals in today's knowledge society are very much in line with the economic arguments: to succeed in community and family challenges, for instance, calls for very similar capacities for co-operation, analysis, creativity, entrepreneurialism and innovation. (Benavides et al., 2008, p. 27)

For Benavides et al., these competences not only serve economic aims, but also social, cultural, and personal goals in the assumed knowledge society. There are limitations to Benavides et al.'s assertion because social, cultural and personal goals do not necessarily align with economic ones. Furthermore, "21st century skills" inscribe a neoliberal selfhood and are sociopolitically tied to the private sector (Mehta et al., 2020; Vassalo, 2014); as such, they arguably differ from

the skills and type of selfhood needed to meet (non-economic) challenges in both the familial and public sphere. Likewise, Dumont and Instance's (2010) chapter advances 21st century learning goals or competences as requisite to meeting the complex economic and social demands of the 21st century:

The major trends in societies and economies sketched above have focused attention increasingly on the demanding kinds of learning that may be summarised as "21st century skills or competences." These give content to the focus on "outcomes" that too often has not been sufficiently concerned with the question of **which** to prioritise. Higher order thinking skills are increasingly integral to the workplace of today and tomorrow. We need to generate, process, and sort complex information; to think systemically and critically; to take decisions weighing different forms of evidence; to ask meaningful questions about different subjects; to be adaptable and flexible to new information; to be creative; and to be able to identify and solve real-world problems (Bransford *et al.*, 2000; Darling-Hammond, Barron, Pearson, Schoenfeld and Elizabeth, 2008; Fullan, Hill and Crevola, 2006; Green, 2002; OECD, 2008b).

Young people should ideally acquire a deep understanding of complex problems and gain media literacy and the ability to use advanced information technologies (Sawyer, 2008; Darling-Hammond *et al.*, 2008; MacDonald, 2005). Teamwork, social and communication skills are integral to work and social life in the knowledge society. Students should develop into self-directed lifelong learners, especially when education needs to prepare students "for jobs that do not yet exist, to use technologies that have not been yet invented, and to solve problems we don't even know are problems yet" (Darling-Hammond *et al.*, 2008). (Dumont & Instance, 2010, pp. 23-24)

To draw attention to the skills used in contemporary and future workplaces is not to privilege only the economic demands over competences called for to be effective in communities, social, and political life: the 21st century competences are relevant to all these domains. So, as expressed by Corte, a core goal of education should be the skills flexibly and creatively in a variety of contexts and situations." (Dumont & Instance, 2010, p. 24)

We can say nevertheless that the pedagogical model underlying too many schools is still aimed at preparing students for the industrial economy, sometimes called "instructionism." What goes on in many classrooms and schools is very different from the activities at the heart of knowledge-based enterprises in the knowledge economy. The implicit "mind as container metaphor" (Bereiter, 2002, p. 20) of schools does not reflect the productive, creative side of working with knowledge. This raises profound questions about whether the learning models and environments in the core of schooling

are equipping students with the skills that are key to 21st century societies. (Dumont & Istance, 2010, p. 24).

In the above texts, Dumont and Istance (2010) present the twofold assumption that students should develop 21st century skills and competences, and that pedagogical models or learning environments in the core of schooling are not “equipping students with the skills that are key to 21st century societies” (p. 24).

Similarly, *Innovative Learning Environments* also addresses the nature of learning models and environments. Specifically, it examines how identified ILEs have innovated a key element of their pedagogical core—that of content. This book emphasises innovation in the content of learning through the development of 21st century competences, which it defines as the following:

21st century competences generally refer to such skills as the ability to apply flexibly meaningfully-learned, well-integrated knowledge in different situations and the ability to cope with the social, communication, and emotional demands of rapidly-changing environments. Creativity, collaboration, and an entrepreneurial approach feature prominently, as does digital literacy. In *The Nature of Learning: Using Research to Inspire Practice* Erik De Corte (2010) addressed an over-arching objective of learning in contemporary education in terms of “adaptive competence” which he defines as: “the ability to apply meaningfully-learned knowledge and skills flexibly and creatively in different situations. This is opposed to “routine expertise,” i.e. being able to complete typical school tasks quickly and accurately but without understanding.” (De Corte, 2010: 45). “Adaptive competence” leaves it open as to the actual knowledge and content in question. (OECD, 2013, p. 45)

Innovative Learning Environments presents case studies of so-called ILEs where innovations to the pedagogical core include the cultivation of 21st century competences:

Many of the case study innovations see among their primary objectives to equip learners with so-called “21st century competences”: to enable their learners to develop attitudes and values to actively participate in society and successfully choose and pursue a career and deal proactively with change.

The motto at the *Institut Beatenberg (Bern, Switzerland)* is “fit for life.” This fitness is achieved by the interplay of sustainable and ready-to-use knowledge, skills and

attitudes, including social skills (“*Sozialkompetenz*”) and the ability to assume responsibility for one’s own learning and working. Lifelong learning, an eagerness to learn, and a high level of motivation are essential for success, and learning skills are thus in high demand and must be developed at school.

At *Jenaplan-Schule (Thuringia, Germany)*, subjects are selected to enable students to tap into their creative abilities, to make decisions by themselves, and to present the main results of their learning process to others.

The learning is arranged at *ImPULS-Schule Schmiedefeld (Thuringia, Germany)* with the objective to foster social, personal and methodological competencies, in addition to the expertise in a subject.

During the first few months of the 5th grade at *Europaschule Linz (Austria)* the focus is on learning, communication, organisational and presentation techniques, as well as on gathering and providing information.

One subject of interest at *John Monash Science School (Victoria, Australia)* and highly relevant to 21st century competence is Creative Studies, which explores the nexus of problem-solving, creativity, technology and nature. (OECD, 2013, p. 45)

In this publication, identified ILEs encompass pedagogical cores that equip students with the 21st century competences of flexibility, creativity, collaboration, communication, entrepreneurialism, innovation, problem-solving, technological competence and lifelong learning among others.

Likewise, *Schooling Redesigned* points to the necessity of 21st century skill acquisition. Namely, it presents the 21st century skills for teamwork and collaborative problem solving as comprising the second learning principle of an ILE framework. Indicators for the application of the second learning principle, as it relates to the ILE framework, include the following:

Rich collegial activity: The nature of schools and classrooms are characterised by the “buzz” of collegial activity among and between learners and educators.

Flexible learning settings: Learning spaces, building layout, seating arrangements and the like are flexible and reflect preparedness for group work. A variety of sites for learning beyond conventional classrooms are commonplace, including different forms of community learning.

Promoting social learning: Different forms of community learning are encouraged and take place, including through the organised inter-generational contact of school-age children and seniors.

Widespread social media use: There is widespread use of social media and ICT with intense exchanges around learning projects, among and between learners and educators.

Socially rich pedagogy: Enquiry, problem-solving and project-based pedagogies are all widespread, often based on inter-disciplinarity. (OECD, 2015, p. 29)

Schooling Redesigned: Towards Innovative Learning Environments suggests that innovative learning can be expanded at a meso-level through networking and a strengthened focus on 21st century learning competences. It identifies learning networks in British Columbia, Peru, and Slovenia that have attempted to innovate learning through an interpretation of 21st century learning:

The aims of the British Columbia (BC) strategy can be summarised around three defining goals that have emerged over the past decade of work with networks of schools. First, there is the aim to change the learning environment for *every* young person in BC through more intellectually engaging, flexible, responsive and informed learning and teaching. Second, there needs to be a priority focus specifically on the outcomes for Aboriginal learners and on engaging with Aboriginal history, knowledge and culture by everyone connected with the education system. Third, networked educators want to ensure that learning environments will lead to sustained curiosity, inquiry-mindedness and an interest in learning for a lifetime. Hence, as well as a generalised focus on learning, this is interpreted in specific ways around engagement, equity and laying foundations for lifelong learning.

In line with developing key competences for lifelong learning, *Innova Schools* in Peru has developed a student learning profile that signals the competences that students are expected to have at the end of their school life, based on a defined set of core competences with associated means of acquiring those competences (effective communication; effective communication in English; mathematical competence; scientific thought; able use of technology; leadership, entrepreneurship initiatives; autonomy; collaboration; creative expression; and social and civic awareness).

The Slovenian initiative on Renovating Schooling through School Development Teams has specified what is needed to put learning at the centre, with an agenda that closely matches many definitions of 21st century learning and competence:

- to encourage the use of process and problem-solving approaches to learning
- to foster higher-order thinking and competency development
- to encourage a wider repertoire of teaching and assessment methods and strategies
- to establish interdisciplinary and cross-disciplinary connections and promote elements of an integrated curriculum
- to enhance the authenticity of learning situations
- to identify solutions to organisational issues that will support renewed forms of teaching and learning. (OECD, 2015, pp. 57-58)

Within the *ILE Project*, this advancement of 21st century skills or leaning competences is mainly situated in a neoliberal discourse or policy perspective. They are grounded in a neoliberal purpose of education because the skills or competences are intrinsically tied to the development of human capital. In the above texts, a neoliberal purpose of education is largely embedded in the requirement of students being prepared for new economic conditions that are fast-changing and require a high skillset (Rizvi, 2017). Given the existential assumption of a knowledge economy or society, the above texts reinforce the position that education must now produce different kinds of subjectivities, who are, among other things, “able to work creatively with knowledge” (Rizvi, 2017, p. 7). The *ILE Project* texts convey such a view with the statements that “educated graduates need a deep conceptual understanding of complex concepts, and the ability to work with them creatively to generate new ideas, new theories, new products, and new knowledge” (Sawyer, 2008, p. 50).

21st Century Model of Learning. The above texts are situated in the propositional assumption of a 21st century education that differs from the standard model that “effectively prepared students for the industrialised economy of the early 20th Century” (Sawyer, 2008, p. 50), or “the pedagogical model underlying too many schools” (Dumont & Istance, 2010, p. 24) that “is still aimed at preparing students for the industrial economy, sometimes called “instructionism” (Dumont & Istance, 2010, p. 24). A 21st century education is conceived as one

which reflects the conditions of the economy, so that learners can develop transferable thinking and learning skills (2014). Vassallo (2014) indicates that 21st century learning is problem-based and concerned with the development of cognitive and conative skills due to the current economic context, which includes the “purported problem-oriented nature of work, the requirement of collaboration, shifting circumstances, and unpredictability of market conditions” (p. 153). The notion of 21st century learning upholds that pedagogical approaches such as problem-based and personalized learning are requisite to the formation of innovative learning environments.

Vassallo asserts that when it comes to 21st century learning, “the rhetorical emphases on projects, autonomy, choice, personalized learning, and self-evaluation are organized around a commitment to cultivate thinking and learning skills for 21st century economic contexts” (p. 153). In this regard, the pedagogical approaches of 21st century learning or skills development reflect a neoliberal outlook because they align with contemporary economic conditions.

The *ILE Project* texts place an emphasis on an educational or learning approach that mirrors economic or occupational conditions and equips students with the ability to transfer thinking and learning skills to real-world economic contexts. This focus is evident with the critique that “what goes on in many classrooms and schools is very different from the activities at the heart of knowledge-based enterprises in the knowledge economy” (Dumont & Istance, 2010, p. 24); and the view that “to draw attention to the skills used in contemporary and future workplaces is not to privilege only the economic demands over competences called for to be effective in communities, social, and political life” (Dumont & Istance, 2010, p. 24) as “the 21st century competences are relevant to all these domains (Dumont & Istance, 2010, p. 24). The *ILE Project* texts advance pedagogical approaches, as identified by Vassallo (2014), that are framed around learning skills for 21st century economic contexts; such pedagogy includes problem-based learning, projects, personalized learning, and self-evaluation. For example,

Sawyer's (2008) chapter posits that effective learning environments are characterized as ones that emphasize "the importance of learning authentic knowledge in its context of use, rather than decontextualised classroom exercises" (p. 58); "*Collaborative group learning*. Students learn together as they work collaboratively on authentic, inquiry-oriented projects" (p. 58); and "*Customised learning*. Each child receives a customised learning experience" (p. 58).

Similarly, *Schooling Redesigned* suggests that ILEs include the following characteristics: (a) "*Widespread social media use*: There is widespread use of social media and ICT with intense exchanges around learning projects, among and between learners and educators" (OECD, 2015, p. 29) and (b) "*Socially rich pedagogy*: Enquiry, problem-solving and project-based pedagogies are all widespread, often based on inter-disciplinarity" (OECD, 2015, p. 29).

Trilling and Fadel (2009) and Rotherham and Willingham (2009) identify problem-based and project-based learning as effective approaches by which students can work collaboratively to solve real-life problems and develop 21st century skills. Given their alignment with real-world economic conditions, these pedagogies reveal a grounding in neoliberal educational aims.

Neoliberal Subjectivity and Inscription of Self. The discourse of 21st century skills or competences constructs learners with a neoliberal subjectivity and inscription of the self. According to Vassallo (2014), a neoliberal subjectivity may be defined as "a type of self and self-relations that is organized around market logic" (p. 153). The 21st century learning skills or competences show a consistency with a neoliberal subjectivity, as their values and assumptions sustain it. Specifically, learning and thinking skills have come to define the main traits of a neoliberal subjectivity, which establishes a selfhood that is characterized by individualism, acquiescence to corporate interests, productivity, efficiency, and economic utility. In the neoliberal economic and educational environment, good workers/students constitute good thinkers and learners (Vassallo, 2014). Vassallo posits that such individuals are framed as "self-

regulated, adaptable, innovative, creative, flexible, and good problem solvers” (p. 144), and they are viewed as requisite “for economic growth, global competition, efficiency, productivity, and innovation” (p. 144).

The above texts establish learners with a neoliberal subjectivity and inscription of the self. The *ILE Project* texts frame a learner who is defined by economic utility, and who is also constructed as a future worker. This aligns with Vassallo’s (2014) observation that 21st century skills shape the self of learners as future workers who are “adaptable, innovative, creative, flexible, and good problem solvers” (Vassallo, 2014, p. 144). In *The Nature of Learning*, Dumont and Istance (2010) convey such a view of the learner/worker:

Higher order thinking skills are increasingly integral to the workplace of today and tomorrow. We need to generate, process, and sort complex information; to think systemically and critically; to take decisions weighing different forms of evidence; to ask meaningful questions about different subjects; to be adaptable and flexible to new information; to be creative; and to be able to identify and solve real-world problems. (p. 23)

In this text, the cultivation so-called 21st century skills or competences—such as critical thinking, adaptability, flexibility, and problem-solving—are presented as essential to current and future employment. The construction of the self to be adaptable, flexible, innovative, and a good problem solver aligns with the aims of human capital theory; and it thus inscribes a neoliberal transformation or inscription of the self (Vassallo, 2014). For Mehta et al. (2020), the framework of 21st century skills reflects an uncritical acceptance of private-sector thinking in the public domain of education, which negates the broader aims of education’s purpose (Mehta et al., 2020). While developing curricula and pedagogy around identified 21st century thinking and learning skills seems favourable, their narrow alignment with economic aims at the expense of civic or democratic purposes is problematic. The outlook of 21st century skills inscribes a neoliberal selfhood, as opposed to one shaped by civic virtue and justice. It also legitimizes certain neoliberal structural arrangements that may be deemed oppressive (Vassallo, 2014).

Furthermore, the *ILE Project* texts establish a neoliberal subjectivity by constituting learners as flexible and knowledgeable subjects through the advancement of lifelong learning. As noted, *Schooling Redesigned: Toward Innovative Learning Environments* points to schools in British Columbia and Peru as two examples of innovative learning due to their integration of 21st century skills and the fostering of lifelong learning; the former includes educators who “want to ensure that learning environments will lead to sustained curiosity, inquiry-mindedness and an interest in learning for a lifetime” (OECD, 2015, p. 57) and have worked toward at “laying foundations for lifelong learning” (OECD, 2015, p. 57); while the latter includes schools have created “a student learning profile that signals the competences that students are expected to have at the end of their school life” (OECD, 2015, p. 57), which are that “in line with developing key competences for lifelong learning” (OECD, 2015, p. 57).

In *Innovative Learning Environments*, Institute Beatenberg in Bern, Switzerland is presented as an example of innovation because it focuses on “the ability to assume responsibility for one’s own learning and working” (OECD, 2013a, p. 45), and it seeks to develop learning skills because “lifelong learning, an eagerness to learn, and a high level of motivation are essential for success” (OECD, 2013a, p. 45). In addition, the emphasis on lifelong learning, as a key element in the formation of 21st century skills, is also apparent in the following text: “flexibility, creativity, communication with peers, problem-solving, and deep thinking” (Benavides et al., 2008, p. 21) are “focused not on the acquisition of a specific set of tools relevant for a certain point in time, but on a lifelong dynamic capacity of analysis and skills acquisition” (Benavides et al., 2008, p. 21); and that “students should develop into self-directed lifelong learners, especially when education needs to prepare students “for jobs that do not yet exist, to use technologies that have not been yet invented”” (Dumont & Istance, 2010, pp. 23–24).

Drawing on Foucault, Olssen (2006) asserts that lifelong learning represents a form of power that frames the subjectivity of a person and constitutes the individual as an autonomous chooser of his/her own life (Olssen, 2006). As may be observed in the above text, lifelong learning is a technique of self-regulation that strives to decrease the time gap between one's development of skills with that of economic or technological change. For Olssen (2006), lifelong learning is a technology of power because it constitutes a "global discourse for the flexible preparation of subjects" (p. 221). Specifically, Olssen posits that lifelong learning represents "a new form of flexible rationalisation which under national systems of Keynesian welfare nationalism never existed" (p. 221). As a technology, it allows for "the global production of infinitely knowledgeable subjects" (p. 221), and it constitutes "a specifically global and non-Keynesian means of constituting workers as knowledgeable subjects" (p. 221). In addition to discursively framing students as flexible subjects or knowledgeable subjects, the texts construct a neoliberal purpose of education with the view that it should prepare students for self-directed lifelong learning or skill acquisition for a changing context. A neoliberal perspective upholds the idea of education as an investment in human capital, which entails people acquiring skills or upgrading existing skills (Peters & Humes, 2003).

According to Olssen (2006), lifelong learning reinforces a neoliberal social and economic order by means of cause and effect. As a technology, it permits the individualization or responsabilization of education or learning, and it leads to the reduction of social rights by absolving the state of welfare obligations. Lifelong learning creates a technology of flexibility by two means: it allows for the circumvention of direct responsibility by governments and business, and it allows for the creation of an adaptable workforce, which can transition to and from different jobs within an economic context where skill sets and products are impermanent. A key feature of lifelong learning is that it creates a versatile labour force, which is mobile and adaptable to change through general and technical training that enables the upgrading of skills

(Olssen, 2006). The discourse of flexibility is obvious in the *ILE Project* texts with the stated views that “the workplace of today and tomorrow” (Dumont & Istance, 2010, p. 23) requires the need “to be adaptable and flexible to new information” (Dumont & Istance, 2010, p. 23); that students need to be prepared “for jobs that do not yet exist, to use technologies that have not yet been invented, and to solve problems we don’t even know are problems yet” (Darling-Hammond et al., as cited in Dumont & Istance, 2010, p. 24); and that adaptive competence, which is defined “the ability to apply meaningfully-learned knowledge and skills flexibly and creatively in different situations” (De Corte, as cited in OECD, 2013a, p. 45), forms as “an overarching objective of learning in contemporary education” (OECD, 2013a, p. 45).

The notion of lifelong learning reinforces a regulatory environment in which workers need to be more adaptable because their employment contracts are more flexible, and their ties to corporations and businesses are loosened. As a strategy, lifelong learning arguably permits the weakening of legal restraints concerning work conditions and legal rights, especially those concerned with job security and protection from dismissal. In such a context, responsibility for employment no longer rests with corporations for businesses which are obliged with a responsibility of security and welfare, but to individuals (Olssen, 2006). Olssen (2006) asserts that such “a new technology of flexible adaptation belongs to individuals themselves, ensures the possibility for companies to offset responsibility for social and fiscal payments, and enhances the freedom of movement in a global environment” (p. 222). Through lifelong learning, the purpose of education is reframed so that it serves the interest of efficiency by way of flexibilization (Olssen, 2006). In this regard, the focus on 21st century skills or competences, including that of lifelong learning, reveals a neoliberal orientation. The discourse of 21st century skills not only frames a neoliberal purpose of education, but also constructs learners with a neoliberal subjectivity and inscription of the self.

Narrow Assumption 2

Narrow Assumption 2 is: Education should play a role in fostering digital literacy and competence in learners. As shown in Figure 12, innovation in education does not simply entail increased ICT and technological use, but the creation of “tech-rich” learning environments that include “virtual classrooms” or “e-learning classrooms,” which are extensions of the learning environment.

Innovative Learning Environments presents ICT or digital literacy as a prominent 21st century competence that is found in the identified case studies:

“Digital literacy” features in most lists of 21st century competences (OECD, 2011a). A fundamental reason to pursue technology-rich learning environments is that we live in a digital world. The digital transformation is continuing to change how people work, communicate, play and conduct their daily lives. This is the world the learners in most (OECD, 2013, p. 47) OECD countries are currently immersed in, and it is only likely to become more so in the future. Learning environments that are at least partially digital provide learners with access to the tools and ways of operating that are infused in our world, but also engage them in modes of learning that mirror their personal activity. (OECD, 2013a, p. 48).

The focus on digital literacy aligns with the idea of a knowledge economy or society that requires individuals who are competent in the use of new technologies (Rizvi, 2017). In emphasizing ICT skills, *Innovative Learning Environments* outlines cases of “virtual learning” environments to highlight innovation in education:

Virtual “classrooms” and settings are an important extension of learning environments in a number of the study sites, adding to the blends of resources and learning options.

Liikkeelle! (Finland) is a versatile service that acts as an umbrella for various types of models, good practices and learning materials. It provides the tools and pedagogically functioning practices. The element which has demanded the most effort is the virtual environment Linkki (in English, Link). Link seeks to enrich teaching in schools by providing a social media tool that is safe to use and easy to implement. It is based on an open source and free of charge social networking software, Elgg (see <http://elgg.org/>). In order to develop a virtual environment serving their own purposes, Liikkeelle! co-operated with a commercial software company, which technically implemented the virtual environment Link using

Elgg. Link is a forum for social networking among students, teachers, and various kinds of experts, in which users can publish blogs, establish working or friendship groups, share files, pictures and movies, engage in discussions, and send messages to each other.

The “virtual campus” school system *Mevo’ot HaNegev (Israel)* enables every teacher to develop a course website. In this way there are 500 virtual learning environments being used to store learning products and learning environment, available for use from any place at any time, and provide an ongoing communication between teachers and learners on the various courses and classes. The teachers invest a lot of time and know-how in developing the course sites, using a wide variety of information sources, communication with peers and colleagues, and most importantly feedback and a direct connection to the teacher. Before the submission of a task or before an exam, the teachers open forums where they dedicate many hours in response to questions and messages.

In the *Internet Classroom, Kkofja Loka Primary School (Slovenia)*, the school uses a virtual learning environment (“e-classroom”) to individualise student learning. Students work individually or in pairs on teacher-designed materials and tests in order to reach goals objectives of the official curriculum. The digital system allows teachers to keep track of when individual pupils have performed which activities in the e-classroom, and classrooms are open to parents who wish to observe the activities. (OECD, 2013a, p. 57)

Innovative Learning Environments also advances the use of ICT as a means to enhance equity and meet the needs of disadvantaged groups:

The role of ICT in enabling access is an important one; this role lies at the core of certain of the learning environments that have featured in our study. Some of the learner populations targeted are not the advantaged groups who have already crossed the “digital divide” but those at risk of exclusion.

At the *Escola Móvel (Portugal)*, the aim is to give permanent access to a virtual, national-curriculum learning environment for secondary-age students who would otherwise be excluded. The content is delivered through online, synchronous classes and includes both individual subjects and cross-curricular areas, personalised through an individual tutor. The virtual learning environment is complemented by four face-to-face weeks a year for each learner.

The *Open Access College (South Australia, Australia)* provides the opportunity to continue education to those who are not able to attend regular schooling. The personalised, virtual learning environment features individual learning plans that are developed for all students, with on-going contact between teachers and

individual students. Interdisciplinary themes are developed based on student interests and resources are accessible for each student online to access in their own time. (OECD, 2013a, p. 58)

For *Innovative Learning Environments*, technology can alter notions of physical and temporal proximity in education:

These examples are illustrative of the more general point about technology resetting a number of the standard characteristics structuring education, where it was traditionally assumed that learners were in proximity one to the other, in proximity with their teachers, using materials (books, other materials) that could be held. Distance learning is not a new phenomenon but the ubiquity of powerful inexpensive ICT, plus increasing sophistication in the design of ways of incorporating those technologies into the learning environment, means that the scope for breaking with these defining constraints grows constantly. Of course, this is not to argue that learners will no longer learn in proximity to their fellow learners and teachers, using books, etc. – the cases in our study show just how strong is the role still played by physical and temporal proximity. Yet, change is definitely on the way. (OECD, 2013a, p. 58)

Schooling Redesigned also furthers the inclusion of ICT as requisite for innovation in education, or as a characteristic or condition of ILEs:

Communication technologies and platforms: Platforms and digital communications have become a prominent part of strategies to grow and sustain innovative learning environments. (OECD, 2015, p. 12)

There is widespread use of social media and ICT, as learners engage in research and intense exchanges around learning projects and educators connect with each other, with learners, and with other partners and networks. Teaching, learning and pedagogy are often tech-rich. (OECD, 2015, p. 21)

There is a clear policy role for investing and partnering in establishing the necessary digital infrastructure to underpin teaching and learning activities and the extensive knowledge base and curricula involved. It will be important that learning environments are strongly interconnected using digital technology, that they have online visibility to enable the approach of different potential partners, and so that partnerships themselves can communicate easily at a distance on line and using social media. (OECD, 2015, p. 27)

Rich pedagogical mix: There is a large diversity and mix of pedagogical practices being exercised: shared whole-class or multi-class learning activities, targeted small group or

individual learning activities for particular learners; face-to-face, virtual and blended learning; school- and community-based. (OECD, 2015, p. 29).

Widespread innovative applications of digital resources and social media: There is widespread use of social media and ICT as learners engage in research and intense exchanges around learning projects and educators connect with each other, with learners, and with other partners and networks. Teaching, learning and pedagogy are typically (though not always) tech-rich. (OECD, 2015, p. 35).

Grimaldi and Ball (2019) note that within the current educational environment, blended learning is presented as a means by which education can be innovated at the classroom level and beyond. Within the *ILE Project*, these examples of blended learning to highlight “innovative learning environments” reinforces Grimaldi and Ball’s (2019) assertion that “its educational value is expressed in its disruptive capacity to innovate” (p. 4).

Neoliberalization of Education. It may be argued that *ILE Project*’s espousal of ICT, especially blended learning advances conditions that allow for the neoliberalization of education and the systemic re-engineering of education (Grimaldi & Ball, 2019). This neoliberalization of education and systemic re-engineering occurs due to the following features of blended learning, as identified by Grimaldi and Ball: (a) the provision of a formal educational program whereby students learn partly through online delivery and content instruction, and partly in physical locations; (b) the partial control students have “over time, place, path and pace of the learning process” (p. 4) that varies according to supervision and autonomy; (c) the level of space-restructuring of classrooms and formation of new spatial arrangements; and (d) the inclusion of a degree of personalization or customization of learning.

As such, this digitalization and incorporation of digital technologies contributes to the neoliberal altering of educational delivery and production, as well as its substance. Firstly, a commodification and privatization of education occurs through the involvement of corporations and distant “content” providers, along with a shift in the provision and governing of education.

Specifically, this commodification or privatization occurs as the education sector becomes colonized as a market, or a source of profit by a powerful industrial complex. This industrial complex includes EdTech business, venture capitalists and philanthropists, investors and reformers, which favour the spread of educational technologies for commercial gain. The focus on ICT or virtual/blended learning environments also constitutes a neoliberal alternative to the time-space bounded nature of state schooling (Grimaldi & Ball, 2019). In *Innovative Learning Environments*, such a disposition seems evident with the view of “technology resetting a number of the standard characteristics structuring education, where it was traditionally assumed that learners were in proximity one to the other, in proximity with their teachers, using materials (books, other materials) that could be held” (OECD, 2013a, p. 58), and that “change is definitely on the way” (OECD, 2013a, p. 58) even though “the cases in our study show just how strong is the role still played by physical and temporal proximity” (OECD, 2013a, p. 58).

Although cost is not addressed in the OECD publications, ICT or blended learning is often regarded as a means to reduce budgets and deal with financial constraints, and as a cost-saving solution to address social issues (Grimaldi & Ball, 2019). It should be noted that ICT or virtual learning is presented, within *Innovative Learning Environments*, as a means to address social inequities in education, albeit without a reference to cost-effectiveness. For instance, *Innovative Learning Environments* offers examples of case studies, as noted above, whereby ICT or blended learning is upheld as a means to attain equity and meet the needs of disadvantaged groups. Specifically, the texts present ICT as a way to target “those at risk of exclusion” (OECD, 2013a, p. 58); “to give permanent access to a virtual, national-curriculum learning environment for secondary-age students who would otherwise be excluded” (OECD, 2013a, p. 58); and to

provide “the opportunity to continue education to those who are not able to attend regular schooling” (OECD, 2013a, p. 58). Although the *ILE Project* furthers a neoliberalization of education in its espousal of ICT, this text reveals a social or inclusive liberal outlook with its focus on enhancing opportunity for the excluded.

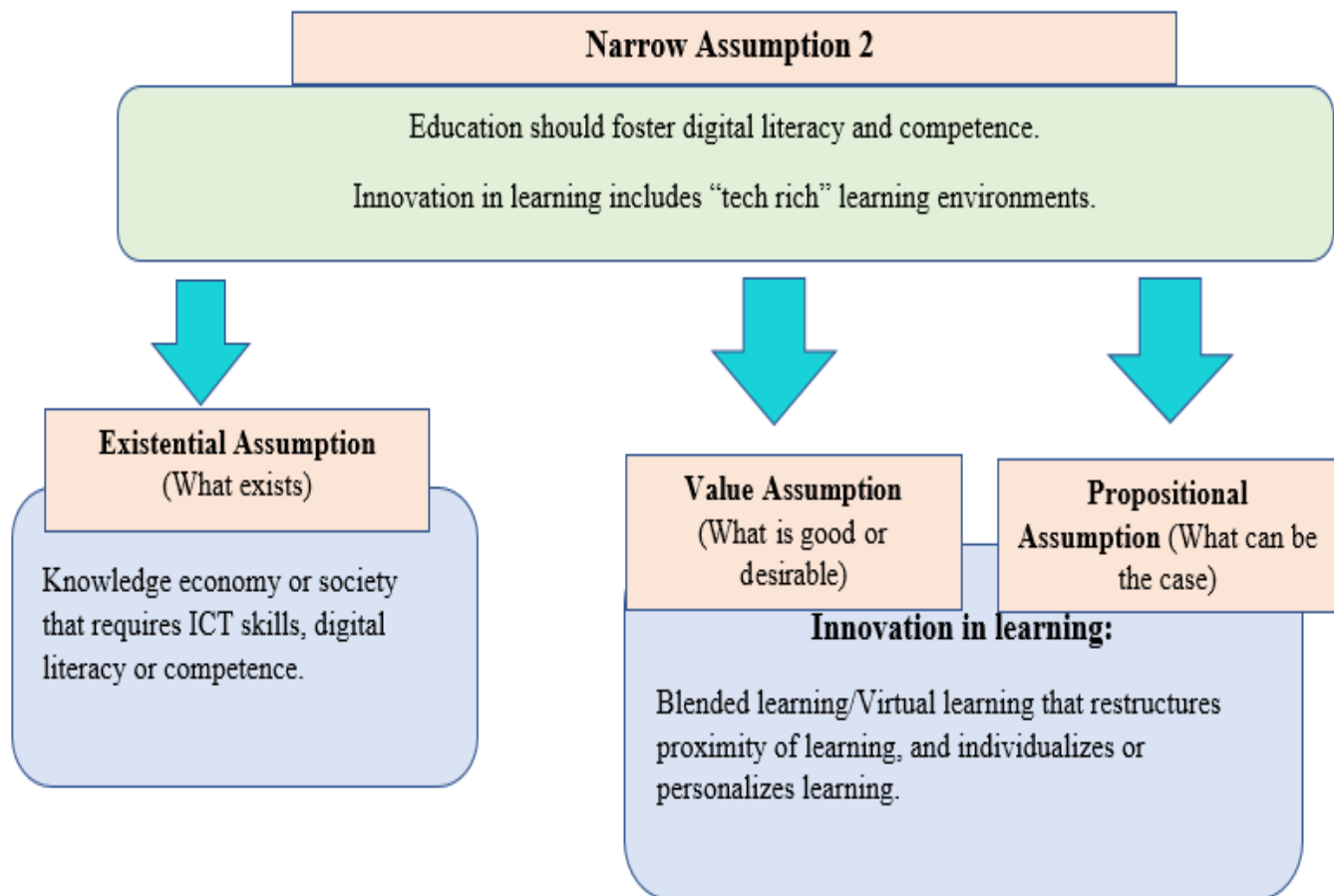
Neoliberal Subjectivity. The *ILE Project* constructs a neoliberal subject through the advancement of ICT. Within the *ILE Project*, ICT or virtual/blended learning is presented as a means to customize or individualize the learning of students, and to give students partial control over the pace and path of their learning. As noted above, *Innovative Learning Environments* points to the *Internet Classroom, Kkofja Loka Primary School* in Slovenia as innovative because “the school uses a virtual learning environment (“e-classroom”) to individualise student learning (OECD, 2013a, p. 58), as well as the virtual learning environment of *Escola Movei* in Portugal where “the content is delivered through online, synchronous classes and includes both individual subjects and cross-curricular areas, personalised through an individual tutor” (OECD, 2013a, p. 58). Within the *ILE Project*, the practical and discursive orientation of ICT learning frames the learner with a neoliberal self, namely that of an entrepreneur who is responsible for his/her education (Grimaldi & Ball, 2019; Valero & Knijtk, 2015). Through personalized or individualized learning, ICT advances a “political rationality” or technology of the self that underlines the notions of personal responsibility or responsabilization (Grimaldi & Ball, 2019; Valero & Knijnik, 2015). Specifically, ICT favours a process that positions learners as autonomous and responsible for their own learning, and as managers who activate their own learning in a state of responsabilization (Grimaldi & Ball, 2019; Valero & Knijnik, 2015).

As such, the *ILE Project* reflects a neoliberal orientation because it reflects new technologies of the self whereby “each subject must learn to take responsibility and be responsible for his or her own life, learning, work, and success” (Valero & Knijnik, 2015, p. 37). It upholds a neoliberal rationality that is not only a political or economic reality, but a “political rationality” that reinforces notions of personal responsibility and self-care that reduce the welfare state and connect the social sphere with the economic one. For instance, ICT advances such a technology of the self as it aids in the redirection of responsibility for learning away from the teacher to the student, and it teaches students how to become self-regulated in their learning (Valero & Knijnik, 2015). Moreover, ICT or blended learning constitutes the student as an entrepreneur because learning is not restricted to a specific institutional space, and it may extend beyond the physical space of a school (Grimaldi & Ball, 2019; Valero & Knijnik, 2015). As such, it requires the learner to become auto-regulated and entrepreneurial regardless of time and space (Valero & Knijnik, 2015).

For Grimaldi and Ball (2019), the fact that learning can occur outside a brick and mortar school permits an educational space defined according to the freedom, choice, and preferences of the individual. As a result, the student is framed as an “enterprising individual learner” (p. 11) within the context of an individualized learning experience. Thus, this project’s assumption that educational innovation entails the creation of “tech-rich” learning environments, which include “virtual classrooms” or “e-learning classrooms,” is grounded within a neoliberal orientation. It furthers the privatization or commercialization of education through the involvement of corporations and distant content providers, and it advances the framing of the learner as a neoliberal subject—that of an entrepreneur who is responsible for his/her learning.

Figure 12

ILE Project: Narrow Assumption 2



Narrow Assumption 3

Narrow Assumption 3 is: Schooling or education systems should depart from a bureaucratic model to one defined by networks and partnerships. Systemic innovation in schooling thus involves the provision of learning by both formal and non-formal providers, as indicated in Figure 13.

The texts of the *ILE Project* present the view that the public bureaucratic model or hierarchical/vertical organization of schooling cannot foster innovation, educational improvement, or meet current educational needs. Citing an OECD-CERI review on systemic innovation entitled, *Working Out Change, Innovative Learning Environments* identifies hierarchical organizations and associated bureaucratic behaviours as one of three main barriers to innovation:

The third inhibitor signalled is bureaucratic behaviour, referring to organisations that are hierarchical and where conformity to rules and regulations overrides other forms of behaviour that might seem risky and disturbing of established practice. (OECD, 2013a, p. 191)

Innovative Learning Environments further summarizes this OECD-CERI report to list the main inhibitors to innovation, which are found in education and the entirety of the public sector. This list of barriers encompasses the following:

- Risk aversion of bureaucracies
- Political and auditing constraints imposed by performance and accountability frameworks
- Lack of institutional support for innovation
- Inappropriate structures and organisational cultures for innovation
- Silo structures of public agencies, making value across organisational boundaries harder to operationalise
- Uncertain results, increasing the difficulty of winning support for innovation. (OECD, 2013a, p. 191)

Schooling Redesigned also critiques the public bureaucratic model with regard to schooling's capacity to be innovative and meet contemporary learning needs. It suggests the need

for an alternative model in the text below:

If schools are to make serious inroads towards 21st century skills development or towards holistic education or to be highly attractive contemporary professional working environments, it means radical changes to core habits and practices in most schools and systems, where those habits are the residues of the predictability and control practices that resemble little of what a learning organisation is now understood to be (OECD, 2010). It means addressing the low visibility of teacher work and their isolation in highly fragmented classroom arrangements, low engagement of too many of the main players (especially students), conformity and reproduction.

In moving away from excessively bureaucratic models, the growing understanding of complexity highlights the impoverishment of mechanical policy metaphors and the assumption of central policy omnipotence within well-defined and controllable “systems.” These fit badly a world of multiple actors, in which global and local players are influential as are non-formal players and activity. Digital connection has transformed communication and boundaries. More organic metaphors and models might seem messy and unpredictable, but eco-systems and complexity have become the nature of the contemporary world. We cannot keep faith with old models simply because they are neater. This understanding runs through this report.

Rethinking systems and levels

With the focus on learning systems and innovation, many conventional frameworks are inadequate by themselves. A conventional assumption is that policy is set by governments and descends in a vertical implementation line through local government together with implementation/ support agencies through to school principals and into the classroom. “Learning” and “education” are taken as synonymous with formal schooling. Additional organisations, such as education publishers, examination boards and teacher training organisations are seen as extensions to arrangements set by governments. Yet, these frameworks are increasingly inadequate, if they ever were adequate in the first place. A perennial challenge for policy is that it is notoriously impotent to change behaviour in teaching and learning. Learning systems extend well beyond schools. Innovation means looking beyond the conventional partners and structures. (OECD, 2015, pp. 16–17)

Similarly, a critique of the bureaucratic model’s capacity to enhance learning and innovation may also be found in the respective chapters by Bentley (2008) in *Innovating to Learn* and by Resnick et al. (2010) in *The Nature of Learning*:

This model of the individual school then fits neatly into a governance system which relies on very similar principles to provide it with structure and reliability. That is the

model which breaks school organisation and management into a three-level governance structure, with the centre making policy, setting rules of accountability, and allocating funding; a layer of local or regional authorities conducting planning and coordination; and, individual schools operating elsewhere. This basic tri-level model is almost universal, though the relative power of each layer varies. What is most striking is that the model applies to the internal organisation of the typical school as well as to the wider system; indeed, to many different kinds of organisation, especially in the public sector. By and large, other educational innovations are channelled through and absorbed into this institutional paradigm. (Bentley, 2008, p. 216)

My argument here is that the bureaucratic model is adaptive, but that it is not necessarily designed to optimise learning outcomes for all of its participants. Instead, it is adaptive in the sense that it allows its members – schools, administrators, teachers and so on – to coordinate the process of continuous adaptation to changing student identities, changing socioeconomic conditions, and changing policy requirements, through an ordered, incremental process of adjustment, refinement, and organisational learning. The bureaucratic model is not impervious to change because it is inflexible, but because it offers a particular kind of flexibility: it makes continuous adaptation manageable, as long as the changes can be accommodated within its own organisational parameters. The system is implicitly geared towards maintaining the integrity of its own design. (Bentley, 2008, p. 217)

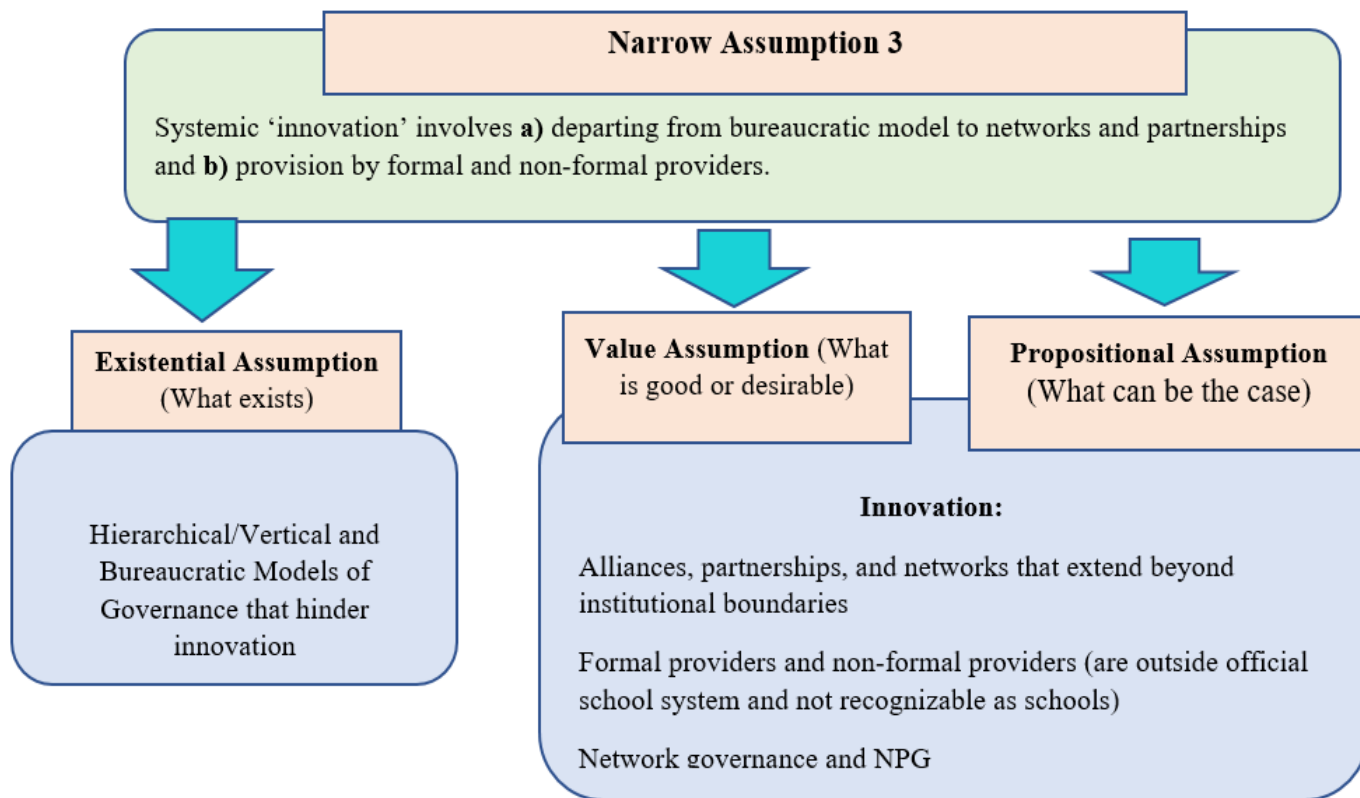
For multiple reasons the Weberian rationalist analysis lost favour among sociologists in the 1960s and 1970s. More recently, however, a “new institutionalism” theory has developed (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; Powell and DiMaggio, 1991). This work tells us that organisations operate within a set of taken-for-granted (institutionalised) beliefs, practices, and structures. Organisations mostly conform to these constraints, adopting ritualistic forms and structures for the purpose of legitimacy that often compete with efficiency; thus, enabling survival over time. Organisations can also challenge these ritualised practices, becoming more effective in meeting reform goals but reducing the odds of survival. Indeed, some influential commentators suggest that true innovation can rarely happen in an established organisation, but instead will require the formation of new breakaway institutions.

Among the institutional practices of public service organisations that make innovation difficult, including education, are professional associations which control entry and advancement, labour agreements, expectations for transparency and consultation outside the organisation. In education, the traditional “decoupling” or lose “coupling” of the technical core (*i.e.* classroom teaching) from formal organisation and from the policy environment slows innovation down. (Resnick et al., 2010, p. 291)

The above text critiques what may be identified as a bureaucratic model of governance.

Figure 13

ILE Project: Narrow Assumption 3



Bureaucratic Model of Governance. Such a model of governance is defined by state welfarism, hierarchy, the following of rules and protocols, as well as administrative supervision, compliance and control that is aligned with high expectations (Blackmore, 2011; Considine & Lewis, 2003). Given its criticism of the bureaucratic model, the above text is thus not situated within a Keynesian or welfare liberal discourse. A Keynesian outlook upholds the ideal that the state and its bureaucracy can respond to the demands of modernity through its rationality, its expertise and knowledge-base, its competence, its industry, and its disposition to work towards the public good (Thompson, 2008).

Contrary to the view that a bureaucratic model meets the demands of modernity, these texts convey the assumption that it obstructs innovation in learning. Specifically, the bureaucratic model hampers innovation in learning because it maintains the status quo in its predictability and risk-aversion. The *ILE Project* presents such an existential assumption, in the above texts, with the view that “those habits are the residues of the predictability and control practices that resemble little of what a learning organisation is now understood to be” (OECD, 2015, p. 16) when referring to the practices of schools or school systems. Furthermore, it notes that “these frameworks are increasingly inadequate, if they ever were adequate in the first place” (OECD, 2015, p. 16) when describing organizations perceived to be extensions of the government. In addressing innovation, it is underlined that “the system is implicitly geared towards maintaining the integrity of its own design (Bentley, 2008, p. 217) and “institutional practices of public service organisations [that] make innovation difficult, including education” (Resnick et al., 2010, p. 291). In addition, the texts present a value assumption that an alternative model is requisite for innovation in education to occur. This value assumption is apparent with the statements that “innovation means looking beyond the conventional partners and structures”

(OECD, 2015, p. 16) and “true innovation can rarely happen in an established organisation, but instead will require the formation of new breakaway institutions” (Resnick et al., 2012, p. 291).

In contrast to a bureaucratic model, the *ILE Project* upholds that the organization of education be reconfigured so that it is defined by horizontal connections, networks, and partnerships. Specifically, the *ILE Project* advances widening the institutional basis of learning beyond that of the school to include other providers or partners. This organizational view of education is particularly evident in *Schooling Redesigned*:

School and system policies need to ensure that institutional functioning and regulation are seen less as ends in themselves but instead constantly and consistently refer to student learning as their essential mission and purpose. Standard rules and uniform procedures should not stymie creative solutions and innovation at the heart of teaching and learning. Regulatory constraints need at least to be re-examined, including bringing partners, experts and volunteers right into activities in the pedagogical cores.

Broadening the institutional base beyond schools through service learning, diverse non-formal learning opportunities on line and in communities, and establishing hybrid formal/non-formal programmes are all part of creating dynamic learning systems. This should be about creating more high-quality opportunities for learners and extending professionalism, leadership and quality assurance; it is not about extending bureaucratic control. (OECD, 2015, p. 25)

Horizontal connection and collaboration should become as normal a way to characterise learning systems as the vertical, formal relations between levels. Education authorities themselves may be very active in establishing networks or brokering communities of practice.

Extending the capacity of learning environments through partnerships will not work if there are high school walls intended to demarcate very clear boundaries between the internal world of the school and various external bodies and stakeholders, especially communities and families, and other learning environments. This bridging is not just about bringing parents and the community more closely into schools; it is also about bringing schools and schooling more into communities.

Connection to such a wide range of potential partners calls for well-organised information about those partners, schools and learning organisations so that they can find each other and work together. Brokers may well be involved, especially around particular themes or about particular networks. (OECD, 2015, p. 27)

Yet more generally, different mixes of formal and non-formal may be involved in initiatives to grow and sustain innovative learning.

- i) There may be formal initiatives that bring schools into clusters and networks, thereby developing the meso level through combining schools in a particular jurisdiction that otherwise would be working in isolation.
- ii) There may be networks of schools and school-based communities of practice that develop through initiatives that are voluntary, and so not relying on the requirements of their education authorities to form clusters.
- iii) There may be initiatives for formal schools to work increasingly with different community bodies and non-formal sources of teaching and learning, not only in the partnerships developed by individual learning environments but by groups of such schools creating more systemic partnership arrangements.
- iv) There may be purely non-formal initiatives that come into the learning space which rely neither on schools within the official school system, and may not operate through recognisably school institutions at all. (OECD, 2015, pp. 60–61)

Much more needs to be said about the nature of spread from formal to non-formal and informal in horizontal meso-level arrangements, but that lies beyond the scope of this report. As regards analysis of the case initiatives, this section has concentrated largely on identifying mixes and partners found in the featured networked initiatives. At a more abstract level, the discussion shows different categories of membership in meso groupings: formal initiatives that bring schools into clusters; voluntary networks of schools and school-based communities of practice; partnerships at the network level bringing schools to work increasingly with different community bodies and nonformal sources of teaching and learning (including service learning); and the introduction into the learning eco-system of increasing numbers of non-formal initiatives that may not operate through recognisable school institutions at all. (OECD, 2015, p. 62)

The meta system, including formal, non-formal and hybrid forms, and units of education. Moving up the space, there are more connections of formal units, which can be clusters and chains of schools. Moving across, more of them are connected among themselves or connected with partners as hybrids or from the non-formal sector. The hybrids are combining, for instance, work and learning, sports and learning, community service and formal learning. On the right are non-formal educational providers. (OECD, 2015, p. 73)

The networked learning system implies a significant increase in the number of groups, organisations and organisms devoted to learning as units not only work by themselves as before but connect up to a flourishing range of collaborative groupings. The

networked system shows the learning space is fuller horizontally. There are more non-formal providers and programmes too, encouraged by the dynamism of learning and the opportunities opened up by technology and by demand; some of these form networks totally outside the formal system. But often, the formal and the non-formal come together, and fill the “hybrid” space in the middle. There are more networks and communities of practice created in the formal system as it encourages clusters, networks and collaboration among districts, schools, classes and teachers as well. (OECD, 2015, p. 73)

Similarly, *Innovative Learning Environments* supports a view of educational organization and provision that extends to beyond the school to include wider partnerships and networks:

The contemporary learning environment should develop strong connections with other partners so as to extend its boundaries, resources and learning spaces, bringing in such partners as local communities; businesses, cultural institutions, and/or those of higher education. Among the most important partners to any learning environment are other learning environments, forging synergies through networks and communities of practice. Creating wider partnerships is both outward-looking and about enriching the pedagogical core. To innovate and to sustain that change means to overcome isolation through working with different knowledge and community partners. (OECD, 2013a, p. 12)

“School” is problematic in the connotation that all relevant learning should take place in places called schools when, more and more, they are catering for only a portion of the learning needs of young people. The term may also be unhelpful when the focus is on learning if it suggests the starting point should be educational institutions rather than the organisation of learning. (OECD, 2013a, p. 19)

Schools have traditionally been relatively closed institutions, though how closed varies substantially from system to system, culture to culture. The tightness of their enclosure, and the richness of the additional capacity and connections on which the learning environment can draw, represent the third layer in the ILE framework. The contemporary learning environment develops strong connections with other partners so as to extend the environment’s boundaries, resources and learning spaces. Such extensions bring in, at the least, local communities (including families); partnerships with businesses, cultural institutions, and/or those of higher education; and other schools and learning environments through networks. (OECD, 2013a, p. 187)

In presenting selected cases of innovation in different systems around the globe, *Innovative Learning Environments* posits that their innovative nature lies in their wider partnership or networks:

Creating wider partnerships is an outstanding feature of our innovative cases. They have an urgent drive to avoid isolation and awareness that significant innovation cannot be achieved and sustained alone. They look to build and maintain the capital they need as organisations – social capital, intellectual capital, and professional capital (Hargreaves and Fullan, 2012) – through forging alliances, partnerships and networks. They extend themselves beyond given institutional and organisational boundaries, and introduce their learners to a range of other possibilities and resources. (OECD, 2013a, p. 134)

In this chapter, we examine how the different cases draw especially on three forms of partnerships: higher education and corporate and cultural partners; families and communities; and other learning environments with whom they connect up through a variety of networking arrangements. We also see how, on the one hand, the partners enter right into the core of the learning environments while, on the other, extending the environment boundaries outwards. (OECD, 2013a, p. 134)

Some of the corporate partnerships may be the conventional community links of businesses helping through a funding or sponsorship role, but they may be much more about the learning that takes place as well. (OECD, 2013a, p. 139)

The above texts present a policy process or method of governing, which may be designated as *governance* rather than *government*. *Government* denotes that which is realized or implemented by means of hierarchies, administrations, and bureaucracy, whereas *governance* is arrived at via the “informal authority” of networks that are varied and flexible (Ball, 2012; Ball & Junemann, 2012). In other words, governance signifies a change in the role of the state in the method of policy making and delivery, and the nature of its power (Blackmore, 2011; Newman, 2005).

Network Governance. In the above texts, the *ILE Project* espouses the notion of “network governance” in education even though it does not directly utilize this term; in other words, it constructs an institutional view of K–12 schooling (or its preferred term of learning or learning environment) around the concept of network governance. According to Ball and Junemann (2012), network governance may be defined as a “move ‘beyond the public bureaucracy state’ and a ‘further reinventing of government’—a new kind of governing

mechanism that relies ‘on a dense fabric of lasting ties and networks that provide key resources of expertise, reputation and legitimization’” (p. 3).

Ball (2012) posits that network governance generally denotes the handling of public policy problems or “wicked” issues through managerial, organisational, and entrepreneurial mechanisms, which are centred “around collaboration, partnership, and networking” (p. 7).

Network governance assembles diverse actors or sectors—whether public, private, and voluntary—to engage collaboratively in solving community or public policy problems. In fact, *Schooling Redesigned* presents the view that networks can solve a locality’s wider problems:

Effective networks can cut through complex hierarchies and generate new solutions to intractable and often challenging local problems whether in preventative health, welfare issues such as social housing and support for vulnerable youth, energy solutions, the environment, or in restructuring regional economies. (OECD, 2015, p. 73)

The advancement of network governance upholds that the assemblage of diverse actors by means of strategic alliance, or networks creates the conditions of consensus building, which inhibits resistance to innovation (Ball, 2012). The *ILE Project* texts present what may be identified as ‘network governance’ as a solution to the identified educational problems of “standard rules and uniform procedures” (OECD, 2015, p. 25) that “stymie creative solutions and innovation at the heart of teaching and learning” (OECD, 2015, p. 25); isolation given “the awareness that significant innovation cannot be achieved and sustained alone” (OECD, 2013a, p. 134), and the need for “initiatives to grow and sustain innovative learning” (OECD, 2015, pp. 60–61).

A value assumption of the above texts encompasses the view that innovative learning or innovation can be attained “through forging alliances, partnerships and networks” (OECD, 2013a, p. 134) that “extend themselves beyond given institutional and organisational boundaries” (OECD, 2013a, p. 134). As evident in the above text, this suggested network

governance includes varied actors or sectors, which include, “at the least, local communities (including families); partnerships with businesses, cultural institutions, and/or those of higher education; and other schools and learning environments” (OECD, 2013a, p. 187).

The texts above promote the provision of education by both formal and non-formal providers through “formal initiatives that bring schools into clusters and networks” (OECD, 2015, pp. 60–61) and “purely non-formal initiatives that come into the learning space which rely neither on schools within the official school system, and may not operate through recognisably school institutions at all. (OECD, 2015, pp. 60–61). Such a move to network governance in education—which entails the inclusion of varied sectors—constitutes a “politico-cultural transition away from the conventional binaries between state and civil society, public and private domains” (Blackmore, 2011, p. 457). For instance, the *ILE Project* asserts that educational provision should not only be provided by schools or educational institutions as the very notion of “‘school’ is problematic” (OECD, 2015, p. 19), but also by informal providers that may not be “recognisable school institutions at all” (OECD, 2015, p. 62), which arise from partnerships with corporate and cultural sectors.

The *ILE Project* thus appears to further what Ball (2012) identifies as a move toward a polycentric state, which is a characteristic of network governance. Specifically, it promotes the delivery of a public service, such as education, in a polycentric mode that occurs “through a mix of ‘strategic alliances, joint work arrangements, networks, partnerships and many other forms of collaboration across sectoral and organisational boundaries’, and in ‘relations involving mutuality and interdependence as opposed to hierarchy and interdependence” (Ball, 2012, p. 7). In this regard, the type of state and its involvement in education, as proposed by the *ILE Project* texts, encompasses what has been identified as a new hybrid mode or mix of bureaucracy,

markets, and networks (Ball, 2012; Jessop, 2002). In fact, the *ILE Project* texts allude to a hybrid form of educational provision or governance with the statements that “broadening the institutional base beyond schools” (OECD, 2015, p. 25) and “establishing hybrid formal/non-formal programmes are all part of creating dynamic learning systems” (OECD, 2015, p. 25); as well as the description that a “networked system” shows a “learning space” that is “fuller horizontally,” where “the formal and the non-formal come together, and fill in the “hybrid” space in the middle” (OECD, 2015, p. 73).

New Public Governance. In addition to “network governance,” New Public Governance (NPG) is an alternative term that denotes this focus on a new “pluralistic” relationship between the state and non-state actors, which is defined by networks (Joy et al., 2019). NPG represents a shift away from New Public Management (NPM), which aims to solve the problems of marketization, such as those of a fragmented public sector (Bevir, 2011; Fuller & Geddes, 2008). The outcomes of NPM—deregulation, contracting-out, agencification, and privatization—increased fragmentation and created a need for coordination in the public sector (Bache & Flinders, 2004; Koppenjan & Koliba, 2013; Van de Walle & Hammerschmid, 2011). Specifically, a fragmentation in government capacity arose from NPM reforms that disaggregated large multifunctional public bodies and replaced them with number of single purpose bodies, which involved the private and not-for-profit sector (Van de Walle & Hammerschmid, 2011). Under these reforms, single purpose or quasi-autonomous bodies were to engage in market-style relationships and even competition (Bache & Flinders, 2004; Van de Walle & Hammerschmid, 2011). Van de Walle and Hammerschmid (2011) explain that NPM reforms of disaggregation, performance-based monitoring, and accountability led to the following problems: a narrowing of work and focus to meet indicators or targets, at the expense of coordination in public management or services; a

structural fragmentation in the public sector that led to duplication, ineffective coordination, and often waste; a focus on short-term goals related to outputs and annual plans, as opposed to long-term strategic planning; a lack of collaboration between other services or departments due to incentives or evaluation; and a hollowing of the state and loss of strategic capacity at the centre of government as a result of fragmentation.

NPG can thus be viewed as an extension of neoliberalism, or a *flanking* that maintains neoliberalism's legitimacy by managing its contradictions or problems (Bevir, 2011; Fuller & Geddes, 2008). As such, NPG aims to solve the problems of NPM through networked structures that are grounded in trust, coordination, and collaboration (Koppenjan & Koliba, 2013). Given that NPM reforms lead to public sector fragmentation, networks and partnerships offer a means by which the state can "establish a joined-up government and manage other organisations in the policy process" (Bevir, 2011, p. 466). This focus on networks and partnerships aims to address the problems of earlier marketization reforms, without returning to hierarchical and bureaucratic structures (Bevir, 2011). Bevir (2011) states that "networks and partnerships might be described as attempts to preserve the legacy of the earlier state reforms while building state capacity and oversight" (p. 467).

For instance, NPG advances "both a *plural* state, where multiple inter-dependent actors contribute to the delivery of public services and a *pluralist state*, where multiple processes inform the policy making system" (Osborne, 2006, p. 384). A pluralist state contrasts with the disaggregate state of NPM where policy making and delivery are undertaken by independent bodies or within a horizontally organized market-place (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016; Osborne, 2006). Under NPG, there is no clear separation between the development, implementation, and delivery of policy or services; and the role of politicians extends to participating in or aiding these processes, rather than strictly setting goals or performance indicators (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016).

Furthermore, NPG differs from NPM as it emphasizes inter-organizational relations with a focus on service quality and outcomes, whereas the latter stresses intra-organizational management with a focus on efficiency and effectiveness (known as outputs) (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016; Osborne, 2006). Lastly, NPG favours a governance mechanism of “enduring inter-organizational relationships, where trust, relational capital and relational contracts act as the core” (Osborne, 2006, p. 383). In contrast, the main of governance mechanism of NPM entails “some combination of competition, the price mechanism and contractual relationships” (Osborne, 2006, p. 382).

The OECD’s advancement of networks and partnerships is situated within a neoliberal discourse, namely that of *roll-back and roll-out* neoliberalism. *Roll-back* neoliberalism entails the diminishing and restructuring of the state, or a destatisation that sees the state’s retraction from the active provision of welfare and a shift toward a “mixed economy” delivery of education. In other words, it involves both the state’s dispensing of educational delivery through “parental choice” and “private” schooling or privatization (Ball, 2012; Ball & Junemann, 2012). On the other hand, *roll-out* neoliberalism involves the move from government to governance; the formation of a “managerial” state, which adopts business and managerialist practices to achieve social and economic goals; and “governing at a distance” through the establishment of a policy infrastructure that allows for new providers, or partnership forms of governance (Ball, 2012; Ball & Junemann, 2012; Jessop, 2002; Ward, 2012).

In these two forms of neoliberalism, the two dominant modes of privatization, as identified by Ball and Youdell (2007), may be noted: *exogenous* and *endogenous* privatization. *Exogenous* privatization constitutes an example of *roll-back* neoliberalism as it encompasses “the opening up of public education services to private sector participation on a for-profit basis and using the private sector to design, manage, or deliver aspects of public education” (Ball & Youdell, 2007, p. 14). On the contrary, *endogenous* privatization is a form of *roll-out*

neoliberalism as it involves “the importing of ideas, techniques and practices from the private sector in order to make the public sector more like businesses and more business-like” (p. 14).

The *ILE Project*'s espousal of networks suggests an alignment with the *exogenous* privatization of *roll-back* neoliberalism; however, the project only favours a partial *roll-back*. The *exogenous* privatization of *roll-back* neoliberalism involves the state's withdrawal from the provision of education or the transferring of educational delivery to the private sector (Ball, 2012; Ball & Junemann, 2012; Ball & Youdell, 2007). Although the *ILE Project* does not advance a complete withdrawal or *roll-back* of the state from education, it leans towards a partial or incremental withdrawal through the involvement of both governmental and non-governmental actors in educational provision. The partial *roll-back* may be viewed as a *flanking* mechanism that re-embeds neoliberal ideology in response to the problems of earlier marketization, or those associated with a complete *roll-back* of the state and transfer to the private sector.

In addition, the *endogenous* privatization of *roll-out* liberalism is also evident in the *ILE Project*. Namely, it advances a role of the state as an “animator and performance manager” (Ball & Junemann, 2012, p. 31) and in “the creation of modes of entry of new providers – a process that replaces traditional public sector actors with others (business, charities, voluntary organisations and social enterprises)” (Ball & Junemann, 2012, p. 31). Moreover, the *ILE Project* reveals a form of *endogenous* privatization in the promotion of networks. Fallon and Poole (2016) note that “opening the public education policymaking process to networks that include the private organizations” (p. 3) is an example of *endogenous* privatization, which paves “the way for a more extensive introduction and institutionalization of market-oriented education policy” (p. 3). The forms of *endogenous* and *exogenous* privatization are arguably not entirely distinct from one another (Catlaks & Dekoning, 2009). Whereas *exogenous* privatization is more explicit, *endogenous* privatization is not as visible to the public and gives the impression that the

public nature of education continues intact. As a result, it has the effect of facilitating the advancement of *exogenous* privatization in public education without gaining the public's attention (Fallon & Poole, 2016).

In the text from the *ILE Project*, the *endogenous* privatization of *roll-out* neoliberalism is particularly apparent with the position that “different mixes of formal and non-formal may be involved in initiatives to grow and sustain innovative learning” (OECD, 2015, p. 60). These initiatives entail ones where formal schools “work increasingly with different community bodies and non-formal sources of teaching and learning, not only in the partnerships developed by individual learning environments but by groups of such schools creating more systemic partnership arrangements” (OECD, 2015, p. 61), and where purely non-formal ones that “come into the learning space which rely neither on schools within the official school system, and may not operate through recognisably school institutions at all. (OECD, 2015, p. 61). In this respect, the *ILE Project's* focus on establishing a space for the operation of networks—comprised of both formal and non-formal actors—aligns with NPG (Theisens et al., 2016).

Employing Gramsci's notions of hegemony and passive revolution, Davies (2012) asserts that the advancement of networks is a key facet in the hegemonic strategies of neoliberalism, or crucial to neoliberal hegemonic ideology and strategy. Davies points to the United Kingdom as an example where networks have been integrated into hegemonic ideology. According to Davies, network governance has acquired a normative validity in the United Kingdom as a basis for framing state-civil society relations in the aftermath of the resolution to union strife in the mid-1980s. Davies contends that networks reinforced neoliberal hegemony by serving as “the reconstructive element of a passive revolutionary movement” (p. 2697) that “contributed to the successful displacement of antagonistic forces in the UK” (p. 2697). This displacement often occurs through “mobilizing, in some cases even inspiring, fractions of capital, the state, and civil

society” (p. 2697). The *ILE Project*’s promotion of network governance thus reveals a grounding in a neoliberal discourse. It may be regarded as a form of *flanking* and *roll-out* neoliberalism, as well as a hegemonic strategy for sustaining the neoliberal project.

Narrow Assumption 4

Narrow Assumption 4 is: Within what are termed, “innovative learning environments,” teachers are knowledge workers and coaches, providers, or managers of customized learning. They are to engage with partners, as the notion of educator extends beyond that of teacher to include those with outside expertise from the different sectors of the community.

In *Innovating to Learn*, Sawyer’s (2008) chapter conveys a framing of teachers as knowledge workers and managers:

In a knowledge economy school, teachers should also be knowledge workers, with equivalent skills to other knowledge workers such as lawyers, doctors, engineers, managers, and consultants. They should deeply understand the theoretical principles and the latest knowledge about how children learn. They should be deeply familiar with the authentic practices of professional scientists, historians, mathematics, or literary critics. They will have to receive salaries comparable to other knowledge workers, or else the profession will have difficulty attracting new teachers with the potential to teach for deep knowledge. To align with the innovation economy, teachers will require more autonomy, more creativity, and more content knowledge.

These teachers should be highly trained professionals, comfortable with technology, with a deep pedagogical understanding of the subject matter, able to respond in an improvised manner to the uniquely emerging flow of each classroom (Sawyer, 2004). To foster collaborative and authentic learning, they will lead teams of students – much like a manager of a business or the master in a workshop – rather than controlling students autocratically, as the factory bosses of old. (Sawyer, 2008, p. 57)

In the above text, the teachers are constructed as knowledge workers and as managers of a business, which is indicative of a neoliberal outlook. Although the above text frames teachers as autonomous and highly skilled professionals at odds with neoliberal policies that deskill and reduce their autonomy through standardization, the conceptualization of teachers as knowledge workers in a “knowledge economy school” (Sawyer, 2008, p. 57) reflects a neoliberal policy

discourse. This framing of teachers underlines the importance of knowledge to economic development and upholds a view of knowledge as a form of capital (Ward, 2012). In suggesting that teachers lead students “much like a manager of a business” (Sawyer, 2008, p. 54), the text also reflects a neoliberal discourse as the rationality of management thinking, which permeates business practices, is applied to the social sphere of education (Eagleton-Piece, 2016). Eagleton-Pierce (2016) explains that “management rationality seeks to generalise the dispositions of managers into practices that all actors can—and should—follow” (p. 118). The above text advances a disposition or mode of conduct on the part of teachers, which will enable them to lead students as if they are teams of workers or employees. In this regard, the text frames the teacher’s identity as a manager, while constructing students’ identities as workers or employees, within the innovative economy, by default.

Sliwka’s (2008) chapter entitled, “The Contribution of Alternative Education” in *Innovating to Learn*, and the book *Schooling Redesigned*, also present a reconceptualized role of the teacher. In advancing “alternative education” as an innovative and flexible programme of study based on individual students’ interests and needs, Sliwka describes the teacher’s role as the following:

As can be seen from the various pathways in teacher education for alternative schools, there is no uniform definition of “the teacher” in alternative education. Given the range of different conceptions of learning and teaching in alternative schools, it is easier to describe what a teacher in alternative education is not: As all models of alternative education are learner-focused, teachers are never seen as mere agents of curriculum delivery. With varying degrees of intervention, the teacher role ranges from being a coach on the side that students can draw on (but do not have to) to a provider, organiser and manager of customised learning in experiential learning environments. (Sliwka, 2008, p. 102).

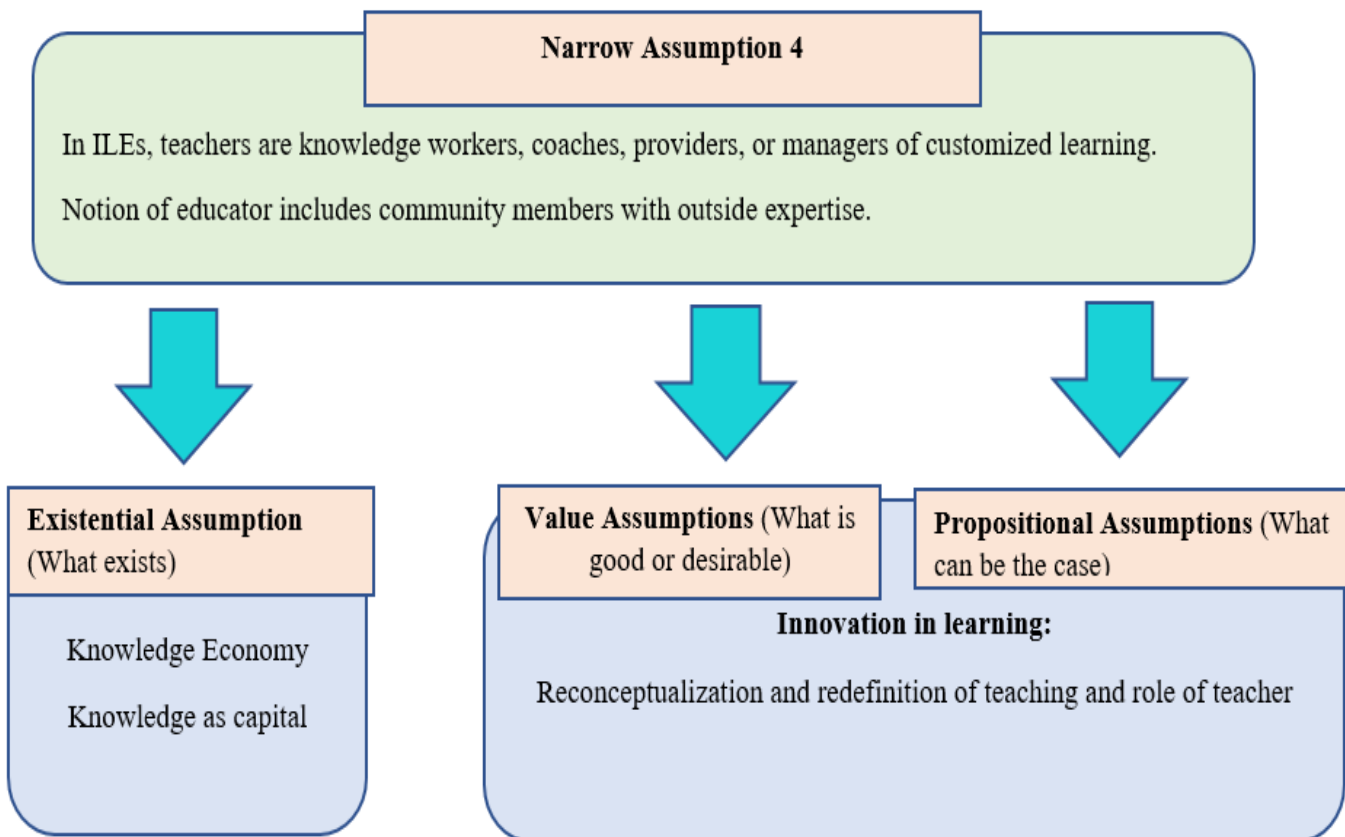
Schooling Redesigned: Towards Innovative Learning Environments not only suggests a reconceptualization of the teacher’s role to innovate learning environments, but the expansion of the definition of a teacher:

Valerie Hannon (2012) offers the example of the school which found it helpful to work with four types of “teacher”: tutor, expert, mentor, coach; and four sources of each of these: peer, parent/carer, teacher, other adult. This variety lies behind the use of the term “educator” given that a number of different players may fill the teaching role. Each of the roles can be filled by each of the “cast.” Sometimes these roles are filled by design, based on obvious expertise; sometimes they are serendipitous. Indeed some of the more exciting innovations have occurred when roles are filled by the least expected. Perhaps the only generalisations which can be made here are that the opportunities for a rich range of learning relationships should be optimised; and that there should be openness to considering some unusual or unconventional role-assignments. (OECD, 2013a, p. 115).

Educators aren’t necessarily teachers, however essential teachers are; it may well be that different experts, adults are brought in to teach alongside them. (OECD, 2013a, p. 12)

Innovating through educators is not only about doing new things or teaching in innovative ways; the options available to the learning environment can also be extended by bringing others into the educator profile, with their particular experiences, and knowledge, and contributions. Bringing in different experts, adults or peers to work with or act as teachers is routine in many of the project innovations. (OECD, 2013a, p. 69)

In the above texts, the definition of a “teacher” is reframed to encompass that of a “coach on the side that students can draw on (but do not have to) to a provider, organiser and manager of customised learning” (Sawyer, 2008, p. 102) or “four types of “teachers”: tutor, expert, mentor, coach” (OECD, 2013a, p.15). In discussing the shift in a teacher’s role associated with personalized learning, Sen (2016) posits that the reconceptualization of the teacher as a guide, coach, or organizer diminishes the professional nature of teaching. Specifically, such a conceptualization of teaching does not inherently hold it to be a professional endeavour that requires an education offered by university faculties of that name (Sen, 2016). A reduced view of a teacher’s professional role or expertise is also apparent with the statements that “educators aren’t necessarily teachers, however essential teachers are” (OECD, 2013a, p. 12), and “learning environments can also be extended by bringing others into the educator profile, with their

Figure 14*ILE Project: Narrow Assumption 4*

particular experiences, and knowledge, and contributions” (OECD, 2013a, p. 69). The above texts also reflect such a perspective with the suggestion to expand the definition of teachers, so that it includes different experts or adults “who work with or act as teachers” (OECD, 2013a, p. 69).

Reconceptualization of a Teacher’s Role and Neoliberal Aims. This reconceptualization of teaching and a teacher’s role, along with a focus on personalized or customised learning, aligns with the neoliberal aims to privatize public education (Roberts-Mahoney & Garrison, 2015; Sen, 2016). In public education, the teacher is viewed as both a content expert and an authority on pedagogy and instructional practices, who can utilize his/her judgment to add or modify content to the curriculum (Roberts-Mahoney & Garrison, 2015, p. 32). In outlining the privatization of education due to big data and technology, Roberts-Mahoney and Garrison (2015) suggest that it involves not only the widening of the teacher’s role, but a redefinition of a teacher. In addition to teachers being referred to as coaches or guides, the definition of a teacher is broadened to encompass individuals who do not hold teaching degrees or certification such as, “mentors and informal learning providers, health providers, scientists, and other experts” (Wolf, 2010, as cited in Roberts-Mahoney & Garrison, 2015, p. 32). As a result of these new “players,” the role of a teacher—as both a public employee and servant—is diminished because his/her expertise no longer holds any pertinence. With the expansion of teachers to include outside experts/providers, the teacher’s role, as an expert and authority in making curriculum-based and pedagogical decisions, is sharply reduced (Roberts-Mahoney & Garrison, 2015).

In proposing innovation by means of “different experts, adults or peers to work with or act as teachers” (OECD, 2013a, p. 69) in a system defined by networks, the *ILE Project* also advances a perspective of professionalism at odds with the context of a Keynesian welfare or social democratic state. In a welfare or social democratic mode of educational governance, teachers are knowledgeable specialists who can be entrusted not only with quality teaching and

judging a students' progress, but with *delivering* an open society (Ranson, 2008). Given the texts' redefinition of a teacher's role in a manner that is incompatible with public education, it reveals a grounding in a neoliberal discourse or policy perspective.

Meso-Level Analysis: Interdiscursivity and Intertextuality

This section focuses on the interdiscursivity and intertextuality of the *ILE Project's* publications. This interdiscursive analysis entails the identification of which discourses are drawn from a text, and it is grounded in the view that texts are configured by an amalgam of texts and characterized by a heterogeneity. A holistic examination of the texts from the *ILE Project* reveals some interdiscursivity and hybridity; the project is mainly situated in a neoliberal discourse, but it includes a social liberal perspective and even Marxist policy view or discourse. A neoliberal discourse dominates within the *ILE books* when considering the four noted assumptions: (a) educational aims should include the development of 21st century skills or learning competencies that meet the demands of a globalized knowledge economy and knowledge society; (b) innovation in education does not simply entail increased ICT and technological use, but the creation of "tech-rich" learning environments that include "virtual classrooms" or "e-learning classrooms," which are extensions of the learning environment; (c) systemic innovation involves the formation of networks and partnerships, and the provision of education by formal and non-formal providers; and (d) teachers are knowledge workers and coaches, providers, or managers of customized learning; and the definition of a teacher should be expanded to include those with outside expertise from different sectors of the community. Nevertheless, the *ILE Project* exhibits an interdiscursivity through a concern for the social ends of education in addition to economic ones—albeit one that does not predominate like the latter.

This interdiscursivity is particularly embodied in the project's first book, *Innovating to Learn*. For example, in the forward, elements of inclusive liberalism may be observed in the identification of capacities requisite for a knowledge-based society:

In recent decades, OECD economies have experienced a rapid transformation from their traditional industrial base to knowledge-based societies in which learning (over lifetimes with highly-developed “learning-to-learn skills”), creativity, and innovation capacities are central. Such capacities are important not only for a successful economy, but also for effective community and social engagement, participatory democracy, and for living fulfilling meaningful lives. At the same time, too many of today's schools are not adequately fostering deep knowledge, creativity, and deep understanding: they are not well aligned with the knowledge economy and society of the 21st century. (OECD, 2013a, p. 3)

The text shows a grounding in the neoliberal variant of inclusive liberalism as it emphasises the development of human and social capital. It reflects inclusive liberalism's ideological aim of securing the current liberal order against any challenges through “terms like social cohesion, social investment, community and participation” (Porter & Craig, 2004, p. 393). Specifically, the skills of learning-to-learn, creativity, and innovation are a form of both human and social capital because they serve not only economic ends, but social ones such as community, social engagement, and participation. Furthermore, the text reveals elements of a social liberal discourse with the focus on establishing conditions for personal development, or “fulfilling meaningful lives” (OECD, 2013a, p. 3) through training or schooling; as such, it highlights the influence of social liberalism on its successor, inclusive liberalism. A social liberal discourse or influence may also be observed with the view that the identified capacities are important for “participatory democracy” (OECD, 2013a, p. 3). A social liberal policy perspective upholds that the personal and social ends of education entails the political awareness of citizenry and the functioning of the democratic process of society (Olssen et al., 2012).

An interdiscursivity concerning both the social and economic ends of education is also evident in Bentley's (2008) chapter, "Open Learning: A Systems-Driven Model of Innovation in Education" *Innovating to Learn*. Bentley addresses the multiple aims for education with the following statement:

Over the last decade education has become even more central to progress – social, economic, civic and cultural – across the world. Education reform, raising the attainment and participation of an ever-broadening constituency of learners, is therefore pivotal to the political prospects of governments and the growth prospects of economies. For OECD countries, education is the focus of investment for raising productivity and competitiveness, for meeting citizens' aspirations, and for attempting social cohesion. In developing countries education is looked to for the same goods, albeit in often different circumstances: recognised as essential for achieving primary health outcomes, population stability, stable governance and economic growth. (Bentley, 2008, p. 205).

In introducing a systems-driven approach to open innovation, Bentley outlines both the economic and social ends of education in OECD countries. The text indicates that education serves the economic ends of productivity, competitiveness and growth. It also underlines that education fulfills the social ends of either meeting citizen aspirations, social cohesion, health outcomes, and population stability—depending on whether the country is a developed OECD member or a developing one. Regarding OECD countries, the text reveals an inclusive liberal outlook in the twofold view that "education is the focus of investment for raising productivity and competitiveness" (Bentley, 2008, p. 205) and "for attempting social cohesion" (Bentley, 2008, p. 208). In this text, one may observe inclusive liberalism's *flanking* or embedding of the current economic order through a focus on social cohesion and participation (Craig & Porter, 2006; Porter & Craig, 2004).

Within the *ILE Project*, an interdiscursivity is especially evident in Rodriguez-Romero's (2008) chapter, "Situated Pedagogies, Curricular Justice, and Democratic Teaching" in *Innovating to Learn*. This chapter largely stands out within the project because it advances a

view of knowledge at odds with a neoliberal conceptualization. It also advances an educational purpose that is focused on the social ends of emancipation, social justice, and democracy, which draws from a discourse beyond the paradigm of liberalism. Rodriguez-Romero's chapter reveals an interdiscursivity within the project because it reveals a grounding in identifiable elements of both Marxist and social liberal discourses in arguing for situated pedagogies, curricular justice, and democratic teaching and learning. In contrast to social or inclusive liberal views that schools offer a means to secure equality of opportunity regardless of socio-economic position, a Marxist view posits that state-controlled education achieves the opposite effect.

A Marxist outlook upholds that state education—specifically, that of the capitalist state—reproduces structural inequalities by means of social reproduction. According to the Marxist position, “education in a capitalist society is oppressive because it reproduces the relations of domination—that is, class domination—of society and the values of the dominant class” (Suissa, 2010, p. 111). In addition, a version of reproduction theory posits that schooling often rewards the cultural backgrounds of students from upper middle-class students. This privileging of middle-class cultural backgrounds becomes a form of “cultural capital” at the expense of the culture of working-class students (Suissa, 2010). In her chapter, Rodriguez-Romero (2008) draws from reproduction theory to critique current educational practices and argue for a situated pedagogy. This situated pedagogy promotes authentic educational practices tied to a specific culture or community:

Pedagogies that seek fairness collaborate with de-tracking efforts, because they try to dismantle the mechanisms of streaming, selection and confinement of students in particular segments of education, such as school choice, standardised evaluation and the introduction of educational itineraries or merit-based grouping. In an increasingly explicit way, the school is presented as a sort of machine for classifying and distributing students along educational paths that imply differences in curricula and channelling students into unequal professional futures. This organisation in circuits directing the educational course of students is committed to the reproduction of inequalities of race,

social class, gender, etc., from one generation to another. It also helps erode the idea of a comprehensive school and all the initiatives that fight to shape the schools as incipient democratic communities. (Rodriguez-Romero, 2008, p. 121)

In the above text, Rodriguez-Romero critiques neoliberal educational policies, such as those of school choice and standardization, for reinforcing structural inequalities by means of social reproduction: “the educational course of students is committed to the reproduction of inequalities of race, social class, gender, etc., from one generation to another” (Rodriguez-Romero, 2008, p. 121). As a neoliberal policy, school choice is associated with the privatization of education and the view of education as a private good (Olssen et al., 2004). Standardization involves the imposition of high-stakes testing and strict accountability mechanisms based on “educational outcomes” (Slater & Griggs, 2015).

Rodriguez-Romero’s chapter also reveals a grounding in later Marxist thought, as it advances a form of Critical Pedagogy. A Critical Pedagogy is a practice that challenges the oppressive and inequitable nature of schooling by raising students’ critical consciousness (Suissa, 2010). For instance, Rodriguez-Romero (2008) suggests a practice of liberation literacy proposed by James Gee (2005):

Working with culturally relevant material should “centre the student’s attention” on the conflicts produced between the cultural models of different socio-cultural groups, examining the contents, ways of using them and the values and perspectives that they entail. The goal is that students should transcend both the cultural models of their home culture and that of the majority and school cultures (Gee, 2005). The school, which gives relevance to students’ culture, constructs what Sonia Nieto (1998) calls a **third space**: a space for social change where various cultures, discourses and sets of knowledge are accessible to all the participants. As James Gee (2005) states, people who control various contending discourses implant the seeds of change, especially if – through learning and taking advantage of the conflict – one can establish critiques between discourses in such a way that a metalevel understanding of various discourses can be constructed. This is the ultimate aim of liberation literacy. (pp. 120–121)

In this regard, Rodriguez-Romero presents a form of critical pedagogy that is situated in the writings of Paulo Freire, who wrote the seminal work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Freire was concerned with a teaching practice that involved liberation through an act of “conscientization”—arriving at a critical consciousness, or an understanding of the social, political, economic, and cultural oppositions that suppress one’s learning (Kincheloe, 2008). Thus, the chapter reveals Marxist discourse in its position that the current education system reproduces inequality and its espousal of liberation literacy.

In addition, Rodriguez-Romero’s (2008) chapter exhibits a social liberal discourse in its advancement of democratic education to address structural inequalities:

Democratic teaching has an unstable and utopian character; attaining it is considered to be a work in progress that will never be finished and connects with the perception of democracy as a set of values that we should enact and which should guide our life as a people (Apple and Beane, 1997). From my point of view (Rodríguez Romero, 2003) the transformative potential of democratic education is closely related to the attitude of confidence in the possibilities of improving humanity, which has recently been called for with growing insistence. Believing in people’s individual and collective ability to create possibilities for resolving problems occupies a central place among democratic principles (Apple and Beane, 1997). It is related to the inclusion in the curriculum of the construction of social change made by social groups, as an incentive to promote in our students the confidence in their own capacities for social transformation. It should include formulations as explicit as the optimistic curriculum (Torres, 2001), or making activism obvious, by including power and inequality as explicit parts of the curriculum, both through experiences in the classroom or the school, or through the example of the teaching staff itself. Using public discussion helps one to think critically about the information to which students are exposed; it facilitates their performance as activists and confronts individual prejudices with the structural mechanisms of inequality. In this way, it encourages the initiation of students as social activists in favour of human rights (Cochran-Smith, 1998). (p. 129)

In the above text, one may note a broader liberal discourse regarding education. At its core, liberalism’s emphasis on equality and liberty involves a questioning of political power, and a progress toward human flourishing by attaining equally-held freedoms. Within the Western tradition, it also entails a belief in the progressive move toward a utopia, which is embedded in

European Enlightenment roots (Thompson, 2017). In this text, a wider liberal discourse of this nature may be discerned with the views that democratic teaching has a “utopian character” (Rodriguez-Romero, 2008, p. 129), and that “the transformative potential of democratic education is closely related to the possibilities of improving humanity” (Rodriguez-Romero, 2008, p. 129).

Regarding education, liberalism also contains a preoccupation with the notion of equality, which encompasses a focus on rights, outcomes, opportunities, and adequacy (Thompson, 2017). Certain liberal perspectives uphold that education offers the means to gain political, moral, and social equality (Thompson, 2017), and such a liberal concern is evident with the text’s focus on confronting structural inequality through education. The text reflects a social liberal discourse in its espousal of a democratic teaching, which seeks the egalitarian objectives of reducing differences among social groups. In advancing a democratic education, the text adheres to the social liberal views, as identified by Olssen et al., (2004) that education has the potential to assist individuals in “the full realization of their abilities and competencies” (p. 181); “to develop the moral, ethical, social, cultural, and political awareness of all citizens” (p. 181); to aid in “the operation of the democratic process of society” (p. 181); and to advance “the integration of society in terms of gender, race, class, and creed” (p. 181). Within the text, a social liberal focus on students developing their capacities and a political/social awareness is apparent with the view that democratic teaching promotes “in our students the confidence in their own capacities for social transformation”; “facilitates their performance as activists and confronts individual prejudices with the structural mechanisms of inequality”; and “encourages the initiation of students as social activists in favour of human rights” (Rodriguez-Romero, 2008, p. 129).

Furthermore, Rodriguez-Romero's (2008) chapter also reflects a social liberal discursivity in calling for the construction of an "ethical community" that is embedded in the concept of what is good for people, mutual commitment and solidarity. Rodriguez-Romero outlines such a role for education, with the following statement:

The school can contribute to creating ethical communities by making the teachers, students and the students' families aware of the innate wealth to be potential community-builders that is locked up in themselves. (Rodriguez-Romero, 2008, p. 129)

This notion of an "ethical community" reflects the ideal of ethical liberalism, as identified by Manzer (1994), which seeks a society based on the principle of human development and the free participation of individuals in the political, economic, social, and cultural life of their community. Furthermore, Rodriguez-Romero's reference to an "ethical community" aligns with the social liberal view that the ethical state can be achieved by democratic pressure or democratic participation at all levels (Sawyer, 2003). Rodriguez-Romero's chapter reveals a degree of dialogicality regarding the purpose of education within the *ILE Project*. Whereas the *ILE Project* is mainly situated in a neoliberal discourse or policy perspective, Rodriguez-Romero's chapter—with its focus on liberation, social justice, and democracy—shows a dialogical openness and acceptance of difference concerning the aims of education.

In terms of intertextuality, the differently authored chapters in *Innovating to Learn* and *The Nature of Learning* include extensive direct quoting of other texts through the use of direct quotations, or a summarizing or rewording of what was said in other texts. As such, both these books exhibit an extra-discourse (a derivation of meaning from other texts) as termed by Fairclough (2003), which affords them a legitimacy as academic publications. On the other hand, the two latter publications, *Innovative Learning Environments* and *Schooling Redesigned* reveal a limited intertextuality as they do not extensively, if at all, include a direct quoting of other texts

through the use of direct quotations. These two publications rely on intra-discourse sources, mainly OECD publications and/or research. In this regard, the two publications reveal a limited dialogicality and reflect the OECD's ability to form and disseminate transnational research and policy on its own (Mahon & McBride, 2008).

Micro-Level Analysis

This section examines how innovation, accountability, and governance are conceptualized, as well as the rhetorical function which they serve. It employs the CDA methodological dimension of *word meaning* and *wording of meaning* to understand how social relations in terms of ideas, concepts, and beliefs are revealed in texts. *Word meaning* concentrates on the meaning of key words, words with changing meanings, and the disposition toward certain meaning of words in texts. On the other hand, *wording of meaning* focuses on nominalization or grammatical metaphors and how the work is collocated (Grewal, 2008).

Innovation

Within the *ILE Project*, an examination of the *word meaning* of innovation reveals that the publications offer various conceptualizations and definitions. In *Innovating to Learn* Fierro-Evans's (2008) chapter "What Makes Innovations Work on the Ground" provides the following conceptualization or definition of innovation with regards to education:

For an educational institution, innovation can be perceived as change processes constructed by actors who begin by understanding and adjusting their practice. From this perspective, the primary purpose of innovation is to find the most adequate response to practical needs or problems (Fierro, 1996). The underlying assumption then is that innovation follows a critical analysis of an educational practice that takes place within specific performance contexts and is carried out together with others that share the task. Indeed, it is within these institutional spaces that the substance of innovation is defined. Within each innovation, different mechanisms will be used to adjust, create and/or consolidate activities and relationships leading to more valid educational results for their target population. In this sense, innovating is equivalent to educational management and it entails interpreting, negotiating and decision-making at the school level. (p. 162)

Innovation may thus be understood both as a process and as the outcome of actions taken to introduce new elements into a situation in order to improve it. It involves a critical review of practices influencing performance from a managerial, training and financial standpoint. (p. 163).

In the above text, innovation, within an educational institution, is conceptualized or defined as a “change process” that involves the adjustment, creation, or consolidation of activities as a response to a problem. Conceptualized in a manner that is “equivalent to educational management” (Fierro-Evans, 2008, p. 163), innovation is associated with the introduction of new elements for improvement at multiple levels. In the text above, innovation is arguably framed in neoliberal terms through the managerial discourse of outcomes or results, improvement, and performance, as identified by Green (2011).

Within the *ILE Project*, innovation mainly denotes systemic change in education that involves, but is not limited to pedagogy and educational structures. In her chapter, Fierro-Evans (2008) identifies two types of innovation in education within the following text:

Another useful categorisation is to look at the “content” of innovations. In this sense, **pedagogical innovations** are oriented towards education’s qualitative aspects, such as improving teaching, efficiency, performance and new equipment. The key variables are the teacher, the environment, the students, their parents, etc., or those integral to the daily performance of the educational institution. The **structural innovations** are political educational actions that generate fundamental change inside schools. They harness political circumstances, such as government changes and the implementation of new political or educational arrangements. (p. 165)

Similarly, in the chapter, “Innovating the Elements of the Pedagogical Core” of *Innovative Learning Environments*, innovation in education is framed as involving the pedagogical dimensions of teaching, the environment and resources:

Innovations of the **content** of learning are about addressing the knowledge, competences, abilities and values that are developed in the learning environment. This chapter has looked at this through two different lenses. First, many of the ILEs have sought deliberately to develop the so-called “21st century competences,” including

social learning. Second, there are many examples of innovating specific knowledge domains or subject areas, three of which have been singled out in this chapter – interdisciplinary programmes, languages and multi-cultural focus, and sustainability: “21st century content” as well as skills and competences. The section concludes with the positive finding that the case study innovations reported little constraint in their system curriculum requirements even if they frequently went well beyond what was actually required.

The innovations in resources covered in this chapter refer to digital resources and technology, on the one hand, and facilities, infrastructure and learning spaces, on the other. Exploiting digital resources and, in some cases, creating virtual learning environments are features of several of the cases. Using technology helps access the key 21st century skills, uses the media that are commonplace for learners in their activities outside school, and may enhance equity of access for potential students who might not otherwise have such an opportunity.

Many of the practices in innovative learning environments go hand in hand with a more open flexible use of space, informed by particular models of how learning should be organised, but also the aim is open up and “deprivatise” educational spaces, creating visibility and breaking down the close association between a particular learning space and a single teacher. But personalisation may sometimes call for personalised spaces.

Innovating through educators is not only about doing new things or teaching in innovative ways; the options available to the learning environment can also be extended by bringing others into the educator profile, with their particular experiences, and knowledge, and contributions. Bringing in different experts, adults or peers to work with or act as teachers is routine in many of the project innovations. (OECD, 2013a, p. 69)

Similarly, *Schooling Redesigned* conceptualizes educational innovation to encompass certain dimensions of the so-called pedagogical core, such as educators and teaching practices, content, environment or setting, and resource use. This *ILE* publication highlights the following indicators of practice associated with innovating the pedagogical core:

Diverse educator profiles: The profile of teacher expands to include others. An important number of educators, experts and volunteers beyond the conventional teaching force is involved in the schooling (parents, peers, university researchers, community and business experts, etc.).

Innovating content: Project-based, inquiry work aiming to develop 21st century skills is common practice. There is extensive work on integrating interdisciplinary knowledge around key concepts and developing corresponding learning materials and pedagogies.

There is flourishing research and development around specialist pedagogical expertise as well as integrated content knowledge.

Innovating resource use: There is widespread use of social media and ICT. Learners engage in research and intense exchanges around learning projects. Teaching, learning and pedagogy are often tech-rich. Learning takes place at all times and in a variety of physical and virtual sites, and there is wide use of community facilities (museums, libraries, theatres, sports centres, community centres and the like) for teaching and learning.

Innovating pedagogy: System-wide there is a rich mix and diversity of pedagogical practices, including whole-class, small group and individual study; direct contact, virtual and blended learning; school- and community-based. Personalised approaches and formative assessment are highly visible, as are active pedagogies.

Strong relations and collaboration: Educators constantly connect with each other, with learners, and with other partners and networks, especially through technology-rich learning communities.

Flexible use of time: An important proportion of learning time is spent in groups of different sizes, taught by more than one educator; in online learning and in non-formal learning, in and out of the school. More flexible use of learning time ensures personalised timetables and allows for deep learning. (OECD, 2015, pp. 32–33)

In the above text, innovation concerning the different facets of education is conceptualized in mainly neoliberal terms. The view that innovation of content involves 21st century skill development and project-based learning reveals a neoliberal purpose of education, which is intrinsically tied to human capital theory (Rizvi, 2017; Vassalo, 2014). Project-based learning and 21st century skill development mirror the conditions of the economy and the problem-oriented nature of work. They aim to develop within students the transferable thinking and learning skills that are requisite for economic participation (Vassalo, 2014).

The conceptualization of innovation to include blended/virtual learning further reveals a neoliberal orientation. It favours an alternative to the time-space bounded nature of state schooling, and it advances the privatization of educational delivery through the involvement of corporations and businesses (Grimaldi & Ball, 2019). Furthermore, a neoliberal outlook is also

apparent with the conceptualization of innovation to encompass the flexible use of time and personalized learning approaches via blended-learning. Personalized learning individualizes the learning experience and frames the learner as an entrepreneur, who is responsible for his/her learning (Grimaldi & Ball, 2019; Valero & Knijnik, 2015). Lastly, innovating the pedagogical core, by expanding the profile of the teacher to include outside experts, also reflects a neoliberal perspective. For instance, this conceptualization of innovation aligns with neoliberal aims to privatize education; redefines a teacher's role in a manner that is incompatible with public education; and advances a perspective of professionalism at odds with the Keynesian welfare or social democratic state (Ranson, 2008; Roberts-Mahoney & Garrison, 2015; Sen, 2016).

In the *ILE Project*, an examination of the *wording of meaning* of innovation reveals the characteristic of nominalization. As noted, nominalization entails the change of a noun-like verb into a noun, and a semantic change of a process into an entity (Fairclough, 2003). Innovation is an example of a nominalization that emphasizes a process or activity. In fact, Fierro-Evans's (2008) chapter, in *Innovating to Learn* identifies innovation as a process or activity with the following two statements: "innovation can be perceived as change processes constructed by actors who begin by understanding and adjusting their practice" (p. 162); and "innovation may thus be understood both as a process and as the outcome of actions taken to introduce new elements into a situation in order to improve it" (p. 163). Within Fierro-Evans's chapter (2008), a nominalization of innovation appears with references to "pedagogical innovations" (p. 165) and "structural innovations" (p. 165); the first denotes qualitative aspects of education and the latter refers to political actions. In the *ILE* texts, nominalization may also be discerned with the focus on "innovations of the content" (OECD, 2013a, p. 69) and "innovations in resources" (OECD, 2013a, p. 69).

In addition to innovation, the adjective “innovative,” the verb “to innovate,” and present continuous form “innovating” appear in the *ILE Project*. The present continuous form, “innovating” is employed to identify indicators or practices associated with the pedagogical core, as evident with “innovating through educators” (OECD, 2013a, p. 69), “innovating content” (OECD, 2013a, pp. 32–33), “innovating resource use” (OECD, 2013a, p. 33), and “innovating pedagogy” (OECD, 2013a, p. 33). In the *ILE Project*, innovation is the core focus of each publication, and as such, it has a positive connotation of necessity or need regarding education. For instance, this positive connotation of innovation is particularly evident at the outset of the executive summary in *Innovative Learning Environments*: “Innovation is a key element of today’s societies and economies, and that includes how we learn” (OECD, 2013a, p. 11). It may be argued that innovation and related verb forms are used as alternatives to the word, “change” in several contexts. By masking policy or wider educational changes, innovation serves the rhetorical function of eliciting support for such changes.

In the *ILE Project*, another feature of wording is the collocation of innovation with the words “knowledge,” “evaluative” or “evaluation,” “change,” and “connection.” The collocation of innovation with the word, “knowledge” may be observed in the following texts (the underlines have been added):

Given the importance of relationships and connectors, knowledge is a critical part of the dynamics of system change and evaluative knowledge an integral aspect of innovation and implementation. Theories of change are needed to connect actions, strategies and policies with the intended beneficial results. Narratives can be invaluable for translating theories of change into actionable agendas. (OECD, 2015, p. 11)

Growing and sustaining innovative learning at scale needs to be located in an understanding of the complexity of contemporary learning systems with many settings, players and connections. The creation of flourishing sets of meso networked learning eco-systems is a principal means through which the broader meta transformation can take place.

Given the importance of relationships and connectors, knowledge is a critical part of the dynamics of the innovation process and learning architecture. The relevant concept knowledge is very broad and includes both codified and tacit knowledge. Evaluative knowledge is not something apart that comes along afterwards to assess impact: it is an integral aspect of innovation and implementation. Participants are thereby empowered to take informed leadership decisions and to engage in design constantly informed by evaluative thinking. (OECD, 2015, pp. 20–21)

Knowledge creation and mediation are central features of many of the strategies to innovate learning environments, and to grow and sustain them. This has been a long standing focus of OECD/CERI analysis (e.g. OECD, 2004; OECD, 2009). Many different ways are used to share knowledge and to capture the learning that is continually taking place through innovation. (OECD, 2015, p. 43)

Given the importance of relationships and connectors, knowledge is critical to the innovation process and system architecture. Evaluative knowledge is an integral aspect of innovation and implementation. Theories of change are needed to connect actions, strategies and policies with the intended beneficial results, and associated narratives can play an important role. (OECD, 2015, p. 69)

Given the importance of relationships and connectors, knowledge is a critical part of the dynamics of the innovation process and learning architecture. In OECD/CERI work on systemic innovation, it has been accorded a pivotal status in the developed frameworks (OECD, 2009):

The central role of knowledge[...] the knowledge base lies at the heart of the process of innovation, with each stage feeding into the knowledge base and the knowledge base providing input into each stage[...] The concept of knowledge is defined here in its broadest possible sense and includes knowledge arising from a variety of sources (e.g. academic research, field practice) and of various types including explicit and tacit knowledge. (OECD, 2009: 94, 178). (OECD, 2015, p. 74)

Combining evaluation with innovation requires discipline in the innovation and flexibility in the evaluation. The knowledge bases for both innovation and evaluation have advanced dramatically in recent years in the ways that have allowed synergies to develop between them; the different stakeholders can bring evaluative thinking into innovation in ways that capitalise on these synergies. (OECD, 2015, p. 74)

Furthermore, the collocation of innovation with change is apparent in the following text:

The paucity of results obtained from most of the attempts at reform throughout the world brings into question the possibilities of change in education. However, research on the subject indicates that a broad variety of innovations offer an interesting field of inquiry

with regard to the application of public policies. One of the aspects requiring consideration is related to the process of change itself and to the possibility that existing experiences can be used to understand better how to instigate genuinely innovative procedures with successful results. (Aguerrondo, 2008, p. 175)

Furthermore, the collocation of innovation with knowledge, change, and connection/connectors is employed to suggest a transformation in the architecture of schooling:

- Growing and sustaining innovative learning at scale needs to be located in an understanding of the complexity of contemporary learning systems with many settings, players and connections. Framing this broader understanding permits consideration of how the core of formal schooling relates with the wider eco-system so as to optimise its own contribution.
- The creation of flourishing sets of meso networked learning eco-systems is a principal means through which the broader meta transformation can take place. One classification of such networked learning arrangements, in which each has a place in the larger meta system but with its own advantages and drawbacks, is: school chains; locally embedded hubs; innovation zones; and looser networks and coalitions. (OECD, 2015, p. 81)
- Given the importance of relationships and connectors, knowledge is a critical part of the dynamics of the innovation process and learning system architecture.
- As part of this, evaluative knowledge is not something apart that comes later to assess impact: it is an integral aspect of innovation and implementation. Participants are empowered to take informed leadership decisions and to engage in design precisely because evaluative thinking and activity is a constant part of the process. (OECD, 2015, p. 82)

The above texts present “knowledge” as a critical or integral aspect of innovation with regard to schooling, learning environments or learning architecture. This innovation of so-called learning environments or architecture encompasses a move toward networks, or what may be termed, “network governance.” As noted, “network governance” denotes the delivery of a public service, such as education, through a combination of networks, partnerships, strategic alliances or other forms of collaboration (Ball, 2012).

The collocation of innovation with the word, “knowledge,” along with a focus on networks, suggests a grounding in a neoliberal discourse. Specifically, the recurring use of

“knowledge,” may be regarded as closely aligned with the neoliberal notion of a “knowledge economy.” In fact, a knowledge economy may be defined as

a hierarchy of networks, driven by the acceleration of the rate of change and the rate of learning, where the opportunity and the capability to get access to and join knowledge-intensive and learning-intensive relations determines the socio-economic position of individuals and firms. (Houghton & Sheehan, 2011, as cited in Peters & Besley, 2006, p. 162).

In the knowledge economy, the firm develops into a learning organization that aims to advance interfirm interactive learning “and that, with the support of government, enters into collaboration with other firms, universities, and other research organizations to eventually develop a national innovation system” (Peters & Belsey, 2006, p. 162). Within this context, the “generation, transmission, and exchange of knowledge” (Peters & Besley, 2006, p. 163) is integral to the development of networks within the knowledge economy. Peters and Besley (2006) note that the knowledge networks constitute the new paradigm of education in both theory and practice. In the above texts, the collocation of innovation with “knowledge” underlines the neoliberal rethinking of education “as emerging forms of knowledge capitalism, involving knowledge creation, acquisition, transmission and organization” (Olssen & Peters, 2005, p. 331). In the above texts, knowledge—whether that of creation, acquisition, or transmission—is presented as crucial to innovating learning environments or a networked learning architecture.

The collocation of innovation and knowledge with “connector” underpins the espousal of a “network governance” defined by networks, partnerships, or other forms of collaboration. Network governance or networks arguably constitute a form of *roll-out* neoliberalism (Ball & Junemann, 2012), or a hegemonic strategy of neoliberalism (Davies, 2012). The collocation of innovation with “change” reflects the “change discourse” of the neoliberal period whereby “there exists a pattern of ‘epoch-making’ narratives as the justificatory premise for reform” (Eagleton-Pierce, 2016, p. 18). In addressing facets of innovation and implementation with regard to

systems architecture, *Schooling Redesigned* states the following: “narratives can be invaluable for translating theories of change into agendas. (OECD, 2015, p. 11).

The collocation of innovation with both “knowledge” and “evaluation” or “evaluative” also points to a neoliberal discourse. This collocation is evident with the following statements or texts that were presented above: “knowledge is a critical part of the dynamics of system change and evaluative knowledge an integral aspect of innovation and implementation” (OECD, 2015, p. 11); “Evaluative knowledge is not something apart that comes along afterwards to assess impact: it is an integral aspect of innovation and implementation” (OECD, 2015, pp. 20–21); “Evaluative knowledge is an integral aspect of innovation and implementation” (OECD, 2015, p. 69); Combining evaluation with innovation requires discipline in the innovation and flexibility in the evaluation. The knowledge bases for both innovation and evaluation have advanced dramatically in recent years in the ways that have allowed synergies to develop between them” (OECD, 2015, p. 74); and “evaluative knowledge is not something apart that comes later to assess impact: it is an integral aspect of innovation and implementation” (OECD, 2015, p. 82).

This focus on evaluation or evaluative knowledge to assess innovation represents a strategy of neoliberalization. Evaluation encompasses an array of techniques such as audits, rankings, ratings, indicators, and indexes (Giannone, 2016). Giannone (2016) posits that evaluation plays a significant role in the neoliberalization of the state and the legitimization of neoliberal values in areas such as health or education. The state is engaged in a form of *roll-out* neoliberalization through the active development of auditing, accounting, management, or measurement techniques. *Schooling Redesigned* proposes evaluation techniques, in the form of targets and objectives, to assess innovation within learning systems:

Evaluative thinking contributes to new learning by providing evidence to chronicle, map and monitor the progress, successes, failures and roadblocks in the innovation as it unfolds. It involves thinking about what evidence will be useful during the course of the innovation activities, establishing the range of objectives and targets that make sense to determine their progress, and building knowledge and developing practical uses for the new information, throughout the trajectory of the innovation. Having a continuous cycle of generating hypotheses, collecting evidence, and reflecting on progress, allows the stakeholders (e.g. innovation leaders, policy makers, funders, participants in innovation) an opportunity to try things, experiment, make mistakes and consider where they are what went right and what went wrong, through a fresh review of the course and the effects of the innovation. (OECD, 2015, p. 75).

In the above text, evaluative thinking or evaluation seeks to measure or manage the uncertainty of innovation by collecting evidence from objectives and targets. It reveals a neoliberal outlook as “neoliberalism understands individuals, organizations, and states as rational actors which need impartial, updated, and comparable data to make rational choices” (Giannone, 2016, p. 500). Giannone states that “evaluation is acknowledged as the privileged method of knowledge of neoliberalism” (p. 500). In this regard, the emphasis on evaluative knowledge in *Schooling Redesigned: Towards Innovative Schooling Systems* reveals an embedding in a neoliberal discourse.

Accountability

In the *ILE Project*, accountability is partly conceptualized in neoliberal terms through discursive elements of New Public Management (NPM). For example, *Schooling Redesigned: Towards Innovative Schooling Systems* presents a conceptualization of accountability that is influenced by neoliberalism, as follows:

Appropriate accountability and metrics for 21st century learning.

There needs to be a strong lead towards innovative learning from curriculum and assessment policy. Accountability systems should be cast in terms of a full range of learning aims, methodologies and metrics. Promoting coherence should be a constant aim to avoid competing, self-negating policy strategies and messages. As regards accountability and assessment regimes, they should not be creating highly risk-averse schools just when schools need to be hubs of innovation.

For both systems and individual learning environments, assessments must be used in the service of deep learning and to promote 21st century competences, with close attention to social and emotional skills. There needs to be advances in assessment methodologies including the metrics used. Roadmaps and consumer guides may usefully help access and interpret the wealth of accountability information. (OECD, 2015, pp. 25–26)

In outlining what the transformation of systems that adhere to an ILE framework look like,

Schooling Redesigned states the following:

There is a dominant culture and practice of evaluative thinking and self-review and of using evaluative evidence formatively to inform design strategies. Leadership is shared and strongly focused on learning and design. Partners who previously might have been regarded as external have become integral to learning systems, importantly including families, community bodies, enterprises, cultural institutions, universities, foundations, and other learning environments. Information systems are highly developed to permit the detailed learning information to be readily accessible for all engaged in designing the teaching strategies and the learning environment.

Flourishing new metrics have been developed to assess learning and in widespread use. These reflect the aims of learning environments and wider system metrics, and include mastery, understanding, the capacity to transfer and use knowledge, curiosity, creativity, teamwork and persistence. Assessment extends outside conventional school settings. Quality assurance systems, including inspection, recognise successful learner engagement and exercise of voice. (OECD, 2015, p. 22).

The above texts frame accountability through neoliberal facets of NPM. Under NPM, accountability embodies a managerialism that prioritizes auditable accounts and metrics to measure different levels of the education system (Baird & Elliot, 2018; Lorenz, 2012). This neoliberal framing of accountability is especially apparent with the statement that “accountability systems should be cast in terms of a full range of learning aims, methodologies and metrics” (OECD, 2015, p. 25). It also proves evident with the view that metrics can be used to assess systems and individual learning environments in the development of 21st century skills and deep learning. This use of metrics represents a quantification of educational practices, which is embedded in a managerial accountability or culture of performativity (Baird & Elliot, 2018).

Such an accountability system privileges metrics, as a form of objectivity or performative truth, in the measurement of school or educational performance (Holligan, 2017).

In education, assessments constitute an instrument of the metrics agenda. Hence, the metrics derived from assessment indicate either the learning of individual students, teacher quality, school effectiveness or the wider performance of the education system (Baird & Elliot, 2018). In the above text, this instrumental role of metrics is apparent with the view that “flourishing new metrics have been developed to assess learning” (OECD, 2015, p. 25); they “reflect the aims of learning environments” (OECD, 2015, p. 25); and “include mastery, understanding, the capacity to transfer and use knowledge, curiosity, creativity, teamwork and persistence” (OECD, 2015, p. 25). Given this focus on providing accounts or a documentation of learning, a conceptualization of managerial accountability may be discerned in the *ILE Project* (Lorenz, 2012). This emphasis on metrics suggests the application of a business ethos and financial practices to the delivery of education (Holligan, 2017; Lorenz, 2012).

An accountability system defined by metrication or measurement involves inspection, monitoring, and improvement (Baird & Elliot, 2018; Holligan, 2017). A prime technology of this type of accountability, which is employed by business and now in education, entails the notion of quality. *Schooling Redesigned* advances such a notion of managerial accountability with the statement that “quality assurance systems, including inspection, recognise successful learner engagement and recognise voice” (OECD, 2015, p. 25). Within this publication, a reference to quality assurance is also found in the following text: “Quality assurance: Inspection and quality assurance systems include criteria for judging learner engagement and responsibility as co-designers of learning environments” (OECD, 2015, p. 28). In NPM discourse, accountability practices are closely associated with quality management in what is termed, Quality Assurance

(Lorenz, 2012). Quality Assurance (QA) is a managerial term for that kind of auditing that is focused upon systems and processes, as opposed to outcomes (Charlton, 2002). Under NPM, accountability and QA rest on the premise that properly-constituted organizations are established around a system of auditing systems and processes (Besley & Peters, 2006; Lorenz, 2012). As evident in the text, *Schooling Redesigned* promotes a quality assurance that concentrates on the inspection and judging of learners and the co-designers of learning environments.

It should be noted that the *ILE Project* paradoxically critiques neoliberal techniques of standardization, yet supports forms of accountability that employ metrics. In *Schooling Redesigned: Towards Innovative Learning System*, this paradox may be discerned in the following text:

Conducive conditions and policies for promoting the ILE framework are summarised under the following headings:

- reducing standardisation, fostering innovation, broadening institutions
- appropriate accountability and metrics for 21st century learning
- fostering learning leadership, trust and learner agency
- widespread collaborative expert professionalism
- ubiquitous professional learning
- connectivity and extensive digital infrastructure
- flourishing cultures of networks and partnership powerful knowledge systems and cultures of evaluation. (OECD, 2015, pp. 34–35)

Furthermore, a critique of standardization in learning or schooling is evident in both *Schooling Redesigned: Toward Innovative Learning Environments* and Sawyer's chapter in *Innovating to Learn*.

Reducing standardisation, fostering innovation, broadening institutions

Learning systems should shift away from standardisation while informed by shared general goals for education and learning. All educational institutions and organisations should be strongly focused on the promotion of learning – as activity, as engagement and as successful accomplishment – using demanding notions of “success.” Educational policy making has to be, so far as possible, long term and protective of

achievements already attained rather than constantly changing in response to short-term demands.

School and system policies need to ensure that institutional functioning and regulation are seen less as ends in themselves but instead constantly and consistently refer to student learning as their essential mission and purpose. Standard rules and uniform procedures should not stymie creative solutions and innovation at the heart of teaching and learning. Regulatory constraints need at least to be re-examined.

Broadening the institutional base beyond schools through service learning, diverse non-formal learning opportunities on line and in communities, and establishing hybrid formal/non-formal programmes are all part of creating dynamic learning systems. This should be about creating more high-quality opportunities for learners and extending professionalism, leadership and quality assurance; it is not about extending bureaucratic control. (OECD, 2015, p. 25)

In the knowledge economy, today's assessments have two critical flaws, both due to the fact that today's assessments were designed for the standard model of schooling. First, whereas the schools of the future will increasingly result in customised learning, today's assessments require that every student learn the same thing at the same time. The standards movement and the resulting high-stakes testing are increasing standardisation, at the same time that learning sciences and technology are making it possible for individual students to have customised learning experiences. Customisation combined with diverse knowledge sources enable students to learn different things. Schools will still need to measure learning for accountability purposes, but we do not yet know how to reconcile accountability with customised learning.

Second, today's standardised tests assess relatively superficial knowledge and do not assess the deep knowledge required by the knowledge society. Standardised tests, almost by their very nature, evaluate decontextualised and compartmentalised knowledge. For example, mathematics tests do not assess model-based reasoning (Lehrer and Schauble, 2006); science tests do not assess whether pre-existing misconceptions have indeed been left behind (diSessa, 2006; Linn, 2006) nor do they assess problem-solving or inquiry skills (Krajcik and Blumenfeld, 2006). As long as schools are evaluated on how well their students do on such tests, it will be difficult for them to leave the standard model behind.

One of the key issues facing the learning sciences is how to design new kinds of assessment that correspond to the deep knowledge required in today's knowledge society (Carver, 2006; Means, 2006). Several learning sciences researchers are developing new assessments that focus on deeper conceptual understanding. (Sawyer, 2008, p. 58)

The above texts convey a negative view of standardization and point to associated flaws in relation to educational innovation. In outlining the conducive conditions and policies for promoting an ILE framework, *Schooling Redesigned: Towards Innovating Learning Systems* suggests “reducing standardisation, fostering innovation” (OECD, 2015, p. 34); thus, implying that standardization inhibits innovation. This publication asserts a similar viewpoint with the statement that “standard rules and uniform procedures should not stymie creative solutions and innovation at the heart of teaching and learning” (OECD, 2015, p. 25).

In the text from Sawyer’s chapter, standards and standardized testing are critiqued because they are at odds with customized individual learning. This chapter further critiques standardized testing because it assesses superficial knowledge, as opposed to the deep knowledge requisite for the knowledge economy. These positions regarding standardization and standardized testing do not fully conform with a neoliberal outlook, or the neoliberal school reform movement. Neoliberal educational reforms favour a uniform curriculum and curriculum standards that are enforced by high stakes testing and accountability mechanisms (Slater & Griggs, 2015). Although the above texts critique neoliberal reforms of standards or standardized testing, it should be noted that they do not criticize them on the basis that they “construct social life according to norms of economic rationality, competition, entrepreneurialism, and measurement” (De Lissovoy, 2013, p. 428). Rather, standardization or standardized assessment are critiqued because they do not permit the assessment of deep knowledge or competences that are needed for a knowledge economy or society, or the development of customized learning. The framing of this criticism, around the notion of a knowledge economy or society and customized learning, thus situates it within a neoliberal discourse. Moreover, the texts reveal a neoliberal policy outlook or discourse with the views that “appropriate accountability and metrics for 21st

century learning” (OECD, 2015, p. 34) are “conducive conditions and policies promoting ILE frameworks” (OECD, 2015, p. 34), and that “schools will still need to measure learning for accountability purposes, but we do not yet know how to reconcile accountability with customised learning” (Sawyer, 2008, p. 58). While the texts do not support standardization, standardized testing or test-based accountability, they seem to favour neoliberal or managerial forms of accountability that prioritize metrication or the measurement of learning (Baird & Elliot; 2018; Green, 2011; Holligan, 2017; Lorenz, 2012).

It should be noted that the *ILE* book, *Innovative Learning Environments* shows a brief disapproval of certain NPM techniques of accountability. *Innovative Learning Environments* presents a list of barriers to innovation in education and the entirety of the public sector, as outlined in a 2009 OECD/CERI report entitled, *Working Out Change*. An identified barrier to innovation includes “political and auditing constraints imposed by performance and accountability frameworks” (OECD, 2013a, p. 191). In addressing obstacles or blockages to innovation, *Innovating Learning Environments* further states that “their causes lie partly in institutional practices, but are often more systemic as with the performance and accountability frameworks” (OECD, 2013a, p. 191). *Innovating Learning Environments* states that “conformity to rules and regulations overrides other forms of risk and disturbing of established practice” (OECD, 2013a, p. 191) is a factor impeding educational change and innovation. While the *Innovating Learning Environments* book fails to provide a detailed overview of performance and accountability frameworks, it may be surmised that certain forms of auditing inhibit the risky behaviour that is needed for innovation in education. *Schooling Redesigned* posits a similar concern about accountability and its role in obstructing innovation: “As regards accountability

and assessment regimes, they should not be creating highly risk-averse schools just when schools need to be hubs of innovation” (OECD, 2015, p. 25).

Although these texts reflect the neoliberal discourse of NPM, their focus on networks points to an accountability that is mainly aligned with NPG. While the *ILE Project* advances NPM techniques of metrics and quality assurance, it reveals an approach to accountability that is largely shaped by NPG. Given that the *ILE Project* advances NPG-influenced networks, its support of certain NPM techniques underscores that “many of the NPM-based management styles remain widely to be used” (Almquist et al., 2012, p. 4) due to a continued emphasis on the underlying logic of market principles. NPG differs from NPM in two key ways: first, NPG mainly emphasises public sector values (i.e. trust and collaboration), rather than private sector values; and second, NPG concentrates its focus on a network of organizations or actors that are mutually dependent, as opposed to a singular organization (Almquist et al., 2012).

NPM and NPG also diverge as the former is primarily based on a hierarchical and vertical view of accountability, whereas the latter underlines a horizontal focus (Almquist et al., 2012). According to Almquist et al. (2012), three main differences in accountability between NPM and NPG encompass the following: performance indicators, the type of these systems, and the use of these systems. Specifically, NPM utilizes performance information in a “command and control” manner, whereas NPG employs performance information within networks to support a dialogue between partners, which are non-hierarchically reliant upon one another. The types of performance indicators differ depending on the respective objectives of NPM and NPG. Namely, the difference rests on whether they are used for hierarchical control purposes as in NPM, or utilized for strengthening the contribution of individual organizations to network performance, as in NPG (Almquist et al., 2012).

While the *ILE* texts focus on performance indicators in the form of “metrics” or “measures,” there is an emphasis on reducing or shifting away from standardization, re-examining regulatory constraints, and “not extending bureaucratic control” (OECD, 2015, p. 25). It may be deduced that the *ILE Project* does not advance hierarchical and vertical accountability given its critique of standardized assessments, support for “flourishing new metrics” (OECD, 2015, p. 25) and “assessment that extends outside conventional school settings” (OECD, 2015, p. 25). This position against standardization aligns with the view that network governance is incompatible with a traditional NPM model of accountability. Key features of an NPM model of accountability include “generic accountability standards, and a fixed distribution of roles and divisions of responsibilities between involved actors” (Sorensen, 2012, p. 11). For Sorensen a standard model of accountability is unsuited to the networked or collaborative governance of NPG for a number of reasons: first, each actor has a different role that is often changing during the governance process; second, it is impossible to differentiate what each actor should be held to account for; and third, responsibility is distributed or shared.

The support for network governance or NPG may be discerned with the view that: (a) “flourishing cultures of networks and partnership powerful knowledge systems and cultures of evaluation” (OECD, 2015, p. 35) are a conducive condition and policy in promoting an *ILE* framework; and that (b) previously-regarded external partners—such as families, community bodies, enterprises, cultural institutions, universities, and foundations—should become integral to the learning system. In such a system of multiple actors or partners, an NPM form of standardized accountability would be difficult to implement, along with pinpointing who should be accountable for what (Sorensen, 2012). Contrary to NPM, NPG-influenced accountability uses performance indicators to drive system-dialogue rather than control (Almquist et al., 2012).

Such an approach is apparent with the focus on “widespread collaborative expert professionalism” (OECD, 2015, p. 35), as well as a “dominant culture and practice of evaluative thinking and self-review and of using evaluative evidence formatively to inform design strategies” (OECD, 2015, p. 25).

In this regard, network governance favours a contextualized accountability system that validates professional collaboration, professionalism, and expertise in furthering innovation (Keddie, 2015). It may be further argued that the *ILE Project* proposes a form of intelligent accountability, as an alternative to test-based or standardized accountability mechanisms. Intelligent accountability may be defined as a policy framework that shows a commitment to: (a) the professionalism and autonomy of teachers and school leaders, (b) trust in teachers and school leaders to self-evaluate and create internal forms of accountability, (c) teacher-constructed formative assessments, and (d) networking and capacity building to enhance practices throughout the system (Ellison, 2012; Sahlberg, 2010). While the *ILE Project* employs discursive elements and techniques of NPM in framing accountability, its conceptualization is mainly defined by NPG, or by facets of intelligent accountability.

An examination of *wording of meaning* finds the term accountability is a nominalization of the verb, “to account.” As already noted, nominalization entails the alteration of a noun-like verb into a noun. It may also be characterized by the omission of participants or agents in clauses, as well as other social events or processes such as objects, means, times, places (Fairclough, 2003). With regard to the nominalization of accountability, the omission of a participant/agent and object is apparent in the bullet point, “appropriate accountability and metrics for 21st century learning” (OECD, 2015, p. 34). In identifying “appropriate accountability” (OECD, 2015, p. 34) as a condition for promoting an ILE framework, *Schooling*

Redesigned omits both an agent and object of accountability. Specifically, it does not explicitly indicate who is accountable and to whom. Furthermore, a similar obfuscation of agency and object is also apparent in the following texts: “Accountability systems should be cast in terms of a full range of learning aims, methodologies and metrics” (OECD, 2015, p. 25); and “As regards accountability and assessment regimes, they should not be creating highly risk-averse schools just when schools need to be hubs of innovation” (OECD, 2015, p. 25). Here, the nominalization, accountability signifies the transformation of a process into an entity, whether that of a system or regime. In the former text, a passivization is evident as “accountability systems should be cast” (OECD, 2015, p. 34) is an agentless statement. In other words, there is an absence or lack of information regarding the agent who casts accountability systems “in terms of a full range of learning aims, methodologies and metrics” (OECD, 2015, p. 25). Furthermore, this nominalization likewise obscures who is accountable and to whom under these regimes or systems.

Lastly, the exclusion of an object may be discerned in the reference to accountability within Sawyer’s chapter: “Schools will still need to measure learning for accountability purposes, but we do not yet know how to reconcile accountability with customised learning” (Sawyer, 2008, p. 58). In this text, it may be noted that schools are the agents of accountability, but the object of accountability (in other words, to whom schools are accountable) is omitted. Although accountability appears minimally in the *ILE Project*, the act of nominalizing turns a process into an entity, which makes it harder to contest (Billig, 2008). As a nominalization, accountability is presupposed to be a pre-existing and objective thing that is not always contingent upon an agent (Billig, 2008), and as such, it reproduces a neoliberal discourse or ideology. The collocation of accountability with the words, “metrics” and “measure” reinforces a

neoliberal discourse as it frames this concept in managerial terms. In the *ILE Project*, accountability serves the rhetorical function of reifying learning by means of metrics and measurement. Through its limited use, accountability also serves the rhetorical function of constituting “both a means and an end of policy-making” (Suspitsyna, 2010, p. 574) in the attainment of innovation in education.

Governance

An examination of *word of meaning* reveals that the *ILE Project* does not provide a definition of governance. In the wider social sciences, accountability has become a “buzz word” and umbrella term that encapsulates a number of meanings and perspectives (Almquist et al., 2012, p. 1). Almquist et al. (2012) state that “although governance also covers hierarchical forms of steering (‘government’), it is usually associated with other government modes, primarily markets or networks” (p. 1). In the *ILE Project*, the term, governance is employed to denote both top-down, bureaucratic models of governing and heterarchical, horizontal, or networked models. The use of the term, governance to signify a hierarchical, bureaucratic model is evident in the following text (underline added):

Yet with few exceptions, the basic approach across OECD nations revolves around the same governance paradigm, and the ongoing dominance of public bureaucracies in managing schooling and school reform. In this model, responsibility for educational management and improvement is coordinated through a tri-level structure of central agencies, local authorities or school districts and individual schools with their own senior management. (Bentley, 2008, p. 213)

This model of the individual school then fits neatly into a governance system which relies on very similar principles to provide it with structure and reliability. That is the model which breaks school organisation and management into a three-level governance structure, with the centre making policy, setting rules of accountability, and allocating funding; a layer of local or regional authorities conducting planning and coordination; and, individual schools operating elsewhere. This basic **tri-level** model is almost universal, though the relative power of each layer varies. What is most striking is that the model applies to the internal organisation of the typical school as well as to the

wider system; indeed, to many different kinds of organisation, especially in the public sector. By and large, other educational innovations are channelled through and absorbed into this institutional paradigm. (Bentley, 2008, p. 216).

In the above text, governance refers to a three-level and vertical structure in education, which is comprised of the following three layers: (a) a central agency that sets rules of accountability and apportions funding; (b) local or regional authorities, such as school districts, that undertake planning and coordination; and (c) individual schools with their own senior management. It is noted that this type of system applies to the wider public sector and constitutes the dominant accountability paradigm. In this regard, accountability is employed in reference to a hierarchical system, defined by centralization and control (Considine & Lewis, 2003; Mulderigg, 2011). In the *ILE Project*, the use of the term, governance extends to denote heterarchical and networked systems with multiple or varied actors:

The systemic approach I am articulating is one of open innovation, driven by demand from both learners and funders of learning, and carried through collaborative learning networks, in which new practices, organisational methods and specific models of schooling are generated at smaller scale across the system. Then, through a process of continuous diffusion and adaptation, these practices and methods are incorporated directly into the whole system of governance and school organisation, influencing larger scale reform. In this model, schools operate with a high degree of flexibility, but are governed through frameworks which create strong interdependencies with each other and with other institutions and sectors. The design of governance regimes therefore helps to create powerful shared responsibilities and accountabilities, but explicitly seeks not to discriminate between different sectors of schooling. Schools are not the only (and in some cases, not the main) institutions of education provision. Change is driven not so much by the constant imposition of external requirements to comply with, as by the continuous process of innovation and adjustment by organisations and teams within the system itself. The focus of policy and strategy is to ensure that such adaptation is guided and shaped by long term learning outcomes, and not by vested interests or survival values within the existing institutions. (Bentley, 2008, pp. 206–207).

This report has positioned innovation and learning environments in wider learning ecosystems. The growing complexity and interdependence of modern societies, closely related to the exponential penetration of digital and other technologies into every dimension of contemporary life, is mirrored in the emergent systems for learning. The

complexity of contemporary conditions and systems was addressed in a recent OECD/CERI working paper on governance:

The complex nature of educational governance, involving myriad layers and actors, can be an overwhelming problem with no clear entry point for policy makers. Traditional approaches, which often focus on questions of top-down versus bottom-up initiatives or levels of decentralisation, are too narrow to effectively address the rapidly evolving and sprawling ecosystems that are modern educational systems. (Snyder, 2013: 6). (OECD, 2013a, p. 70)

In the *ILE Project*, the designation of accountability for both a bureaucratic model and collaborative or network model reflects a neoliberal discourse. According to Eagleton-Pierce (2016), authors and policy makers who employ this term maintain that contemporary power and decision making do not only lie in states, but are dispersed among a myriad of actors that include businesses and civil society organizations. With regard to the public sector, the use of accountability minimizes the importance of government and relegates it to one actor in the decision-making process (Ives, 2015). In the texts above, the *ILE* books support a conceptualization of governance that aligns with that of NPG, which rests on the view that the intricacy of modern societies requires a self-organization that does not lend itself to steering from the centre. This self-organization involves the replacement of vertically-organized societies that are grounded in a hierarchical power in favour of multiple points of power, such as networks.

Plurality constitutes a main feature of NPG as several intertwined actors work together to administer the provision of public services, such as education (Theisens et al., 2016). Although the *ILE* books espouse NPG or network governance, it should be noted that they do not directly employ these terms.

The *ILE Project's* commitment to NPG or network governance may be discerned by looking at *modal verbs*, adverbs or related adjectives. As noted, modality generally refers to the degree of affinity of a text's producer to a proposition or viewpoint, and it may be ascertained by

looking at verbs such as “must,” “may,” “can,” “should,” and “will,” etc. Modality may be further determined by examining adverbs such as “probably,” “possibly,” “obviously,” “necessarily,” and related adjectives such as “it’s likely/probable/possible/necessary” (Fairclough, 1992). In the *ILE* books, a strong modal commitment to network governance or NPG may be discerned in the texts below (underlines have been added):

In complex eco-systems of learning, there will be a wide range of approaches. Some will be operating within the “pedagogical core” of learning environments, changing learning cultures and capacities, while others will be less direct and more systemic. In contemporary learning systems, “systemic” includes but extends well beyond the institutional school system as it is delineated through formal governance. (OECD, 2013a, p. 197)

New leadership and governance arrangements must increasingly recognise complex learning systems and optimise potential opportunities by extending beyond schools themselves. Greater connectedness with partners and networks outside the formal system places greater demands on leadership. A policy role is to encourage the sharing of examples and sponsoring of these complex features of contemporary learning systems. (OECD, 2015, p. 26)

This section presents an extended ILE architecture for understanding learning systems when the focus is beyond the single environment. When the focus so widens, it is necessary to include the institutional components and infrastructure, the verticality of formal governance and the horizontality of the voluntary and non-formal, and the connections of knowledge and collaboration that bind the learning system elements together. (OECD, 2015, p. 56)

In the above text, the modal verbs highlight the *ILE Project*’s affinity for network governance or NPG, which includes the provision of education within a system of partners and networks. This commitment is apparent with the view that learning systems must extend beyond schools themselves and those defined by formal governance arrangements.

A *deontic modality*, which entails an author’s commitment to truth or necessity, appears in the third text above. The text’s author points to the necessity of an infrastructure that combines both a verticality of formal governance with the horizontality of voluntary and non-formal actors

or partners in a form of collaboration. It is unclear whether the text favours a role of government as a steerer of networks, or as simply another actor alongside non-formal ones within a system of networks. In NPG, government relates to networks and performs the act of steering networks via two different modes: (a) “Meta steering: where governments steer through *networks*” (Theisens et al., 2016, p. 468) and (b) “*Network steering*: where government is *an actor in the network*” (Theisens et al. 2016, p. 468). Specifically, *meta steering* involves the government establishing the sphere within which networks function. On the other hand, network steering encompasses the amalgam of dynamic networks “at the edges of the government, where ministries, civil society organisations, private companies and citizens come together” (Theisens et al., 2016, p. 468). The text does not clarify whether it supports an infrastructure of *meta steering* or *network steering*. *Schooling Redesigned*, however, provides examples of *meta steering* from British Columbia, New Zealand, and Finland in which respective Ministry of Educations establish the arena or space of networks.

The *ILE Project*’s modal commitment to network governance or NPG reveals a neoliberal orientation or discourse. It may be argued that network governance constitutes a form of *flanking* or *roll-out* neoliberalism, which addresses the problems or contradictions of NPM reforms and marketization (Bevir, 2011; Blanco, 2015; Fuller & Geddes, 2008; Jessop, 2002). By purportedly overcoming the limitations of markets and top-down state planning, networks are presented as a third-way between the two (Blanco, 2015). Esmark (2020) states that post-NPM forms of new governance or NPG can be viewed

as an extension of neoliberalism in their own right, albeit a form of neoliberalism that rests less on the ideological force and simplicity of *laissez-fair* than the subtle

mechanisms ingrained in governing technologies such as networks, partnerships, and urban governance. (pp. 22–23)

As opposed to a form of *flanking* or *roll-out* neoliberalism, Davies (2012) asserts that networks are a key facet in the hegemonic strategies of neoliberalism and crucial to the neoliberal hegemonic project.

An examination of the *wording of meaning* reveals that governance is a nominalization of “govern.” The nominalization of governance works to transform the process of governing into a thing or entity. Given that nominalization excludes subjects or agency, the use of governance in the *ILE Project* arguably works to obscure the role of government in the steering of education. As evident in the above texts, there is no mention of government in the steering or provision of education; rather, the above texts only make reference to “formal governance.” Another feature of wording would be the collocation of governance with the words “system (s),” and “structure.” These two words represent reified concepts that are used in bureaucratic narratives, and their contextual collocation with accountability reinforces the legitimacy of networks (Bevir, 2011). In the *ILE Project*, the limited use of accountability serves the rhetorical function of advancing the move from a tri-level model to one defined by networks.

Chapter Summary

The books of the *ILE Project* frame a vision for K–12 education that is primarily defined by neoliberalism. Although a neoliberal discourse predominates, the project does reveal an interdiscursivity of inclusive liberalism, social liberalism, and Marxist elements in certain areas (See: Appendix G: *ILE Project* Findings). The assumptions, constructions, and aims of K–12 education within the *ILE* texts are tied to the existential or propositional assumptions of a knowledge economy and knowledge society, which reflects a neoliberal paradigm. The *ILE*

books convey the following broad aim or assumption with regard to K–12 education: Education serves a fundamental role in developing the knowledge, skills, capacities to meet the demands of a so-called knowledge economy and knowledge society; hence, there is a requisite need to innovate all elements of learning or schooling so that learners are prepared for a 21st century world. Within the project, this broader assumption may be narrowed and specified into the following assumptions, constructions, and values:

1. Education should play a role in preparing students to meet the demands of a knowledge economy or society; innovative learning includes the development of 21st century learning skills or competences.
2. Innovation in education entails the creation of “tech rich” learning classrooms, in the form of “e-learning” or “virtual classrooms,” which are extensions of the learning environment.
3. Systemic innovation in education involves the departure from a bureaucratic model to one defined by networks and partnerships, as well as formal and non-formal providers.
4. Within “innovative learning environments,” teachers are knowledge workers, coaches, providers or managers of customized learning, and the definition of teacher expands to include those of outside expertise from the community.

The *ILE Project* exhibits a neoliberal preoccupation with developing human capital and reforming institutions. The *ILE* books reflect the neoliberal perspective, as identified by Rizvi (2017) that educational purposes focus less on students’ acquisition of information, and more on the attainment of skills or capabilities. The emphasis on the development of 21st century skills or competences is situated in a neoliberal discourse tied to human capital theory. The discourse of 21st century skills acquisition constructs learners with a neoliberal subjectivity and inscription of

the self (Vassallo, 2014). Specifically, learners are defined by their economic utility and framed as future workers who are “adaptable, innovative, creative, flexible, and good problem solvers” (Vassallo, 2014, p. 144). For example, the focus on lifelong learning establishes a neoliberal subjectivity by constructing learners as self-responsible, flexible, and adaptable subjects (Olssen, 2006). Moreover, the *ILE Project* reveals a neoliberal orientation with the assumption that innovation includes the “blended-learning” or “virtual classrooms” as extensions of the learning environment. Through the advancement of ICT, the *ILE Project* further constructs the learner with a neoliberal subjectivity—that of an entrepreneur who is responsible for his/her education, regardless of space and time (Grimaldi & Ball, 2019; Valero & Knijnik, 2015). The furtherance of ICT technology contributes to the neoliberalization and systemic re-engineering of education. The involvement of corporations and content providers has the effect of commercializing or privatizing educational provision and governance (Grimaldi & Ball, 2019)

The *ILE Project* also shows a commitment to a neoliberal policy perspective with the assumption that systemic innovation in schooling involves a shift from a bureaucratic model to one defined by networks and partnerships. This promotion of “network governance” or NPG favours the assemblage of varied actors—whether public, private, or voluntary—to work collaboratively in the provision of education (Ball, 2012; Thiessens et al., 2016). Network governance or NPG may be viewed as an extension of neoliberalism, or a *flanking* that secures neoliberalism’s legitimacy by managing its contradictions or problems (Beivr, 2011; Fuller & Geddes, 2008). In the *ILE Project*, the promotion of NPG points to a partial *roll-back* neoliberalism, but it mainly represents the *roll-out* neoliberalism of *endogenous* privatization. A partial *roll-back* or withdrawal of the state is evident with the advancement of both state and non-state actors in the provision of education. Nevertheless, the *ILE Project* primarily reflects a

roll-out neoliberalism, as NPG does not completely transfer educational delivery away from the public sector, but allows for the entry of new providers (Ball & Junemann, 2012). Furthermore, the *ILE Project* exhibits a neoliberal discourse in its conceptualization of teachers or teaching within a system of networks. It discursively reduces the professional nature of teaching by framing teacher identity as that of a guide, coach, and organizer, as well as by expanding the definition of teacher to include outside community experts. This perspective of professionalism is incompatible with that of a Keynesian welfare or social democratic state (Ranson, 2008).

The meso-level analysis of the texts from the *ILE Project* reveals some interdiscursivity and hybridity. The project is mainly situated within a neoliberal discourse, but includes a social liberal, inclusive liberal, and Marxist-influenced discourse. The *ILE Project* shows a concern for the social ends of education in addition to the economic ones—though it does not predominate like the latter. An inclusive liberal discourse may be noted with the emphasis on community, social engagement, social cohesion, and participation. A social liberal perspective is apparent with the focus on establishing conditions for personal development and the attainment of capacities for participatory democracy. The project’s interdiscursivity may be especially discerned in Romero-Rodriguez’s chapter in *Innovating to Learn*, which is grounded in elements of both Marxism and social liberalism. In presenting a view of education shaped by reproduction theory and Critical Pedagogy, it draws from a discourse beyond the paradigm of liberalism. Nevertheless, Romero-Rodriguez’s (2008) chapter reflects a social liberal view in its affirmation of democratic teaching, concern for reducing inequality, and call for the formation of an “ethical community.”

A micro-level analysis of innovation, accountability, and governance points to a neoliberal conceptualization of these terms. Each of these three words are nominalizations,

whereby a noun-like verb has been changed into a noun to emphasize a process (Fairclough, 2003). Within the *ILE Project*, it may be argued that innovation and related verb forms are often employed as alternatives to the word, “change.” The project’s espoused changes include varied pedagogical dimensions—such as teaching practices, content, setting or environment—which are neoliberal in scope. By masking policy or broader educational change, innovation serves the rhetorical function of garnering support for such changes.

The micro-level analysis of accountability reveals that the *ILE* texts conceptualize it in neoliberal terms by drawing from New Public Management (NPM). The collocation of accountability with “measurement” and “metrics” reflects the influence of NPM practical and discursive techniques. Despite the influence of NPM, accountability is largely framed in a manner that aligns with NPG. Although the texts refer to metrics, they oppose standardization and seemingly favour the use of indicators to drive self-review, and not hierarchical control. Within the project, accountability serves the rhetorical function of reinforcing the use of metrics or measurement. Moreover, accountability rhetorically acts as both a means and ends of educational innovation (Supitsyna, 2010).

Finally, a micro-level analysis of governance finds that although the term is not defined, it is employed to denote both bureaucratic and network models. Despite not using these terms, the *ILE Project* advances a governance that aligns with what may be described as NPG or network governance. As noted, this commitment to NPG or network governance arguably reflects a *flanking* and *roll-out* neoliberalism (Bevir, 2011; Blanco, 2015; Fuller & Geddes, 2008; Jessop, 2002), or a hegemonic strategy that embeds neoliberalism (Davies, 2012). In the *ILE Project*, the minimal use of governance serves the rhetorical function of promoting the transition from a tri-level model to networks.

CHAPTER SEVEN: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This final chapter provides a summary of the research, the conclusions, the implications and limitations of findings, the recommendations for future research, and the significance of the findings. The previous chapters included examinations of political paradigms, critical discourse analysis, and the role and historical background of the OECD in determining its prevailing discourse. This final chapter aims to provide a further understanding and synthesis of the discussions, findings, and analyses that have been presented.

Summary of Research and Findings

The purpose of this research was to determine the nature of the political discourse within which two OECD CERI projects frame a vision for K–12 education. The examined *TSE* and *ILE* projects are found under the respective project headings of “Future of education” and “Innovation in teaching & learning,” which may be accessed on the CERI webpage of the OECD’s website. A link to the CERI’s webpage is found under the OECD’s stated work area of “Innovation and the future of education.” The political discourse of both projects’ books was analyzed separately with respect to their embeddedness in a liberal paradigm (classical, social or Keynesian welfare, neoliberal, and inclusive) as identified in the theoretical framework developed in Chapter 2 of this study (see Appendix A: Liberal Framework). The research asked: (a) what are the assumptions, values, and constructions of the aims of schooling as they relate to schools, teachers, and learning, and (b) what political discourse do they reflect and reinforce? It also asked: What is the discursive conceptualization of innovation, accountability, and governance, and what political discourse does it reflect and reinforce?

Grewal’s CDA framework (2008), which is an adaptation of Fairclough’s (2001a, 2003) schema or procedure, was utilized to examine the ideological and discursive nature of the books

from the *TSE* and *ILE* projects. To answer the research questions, the projects were each analyzed at the macro-level, meso-level, and micro-level.

Findings at the Macro-Level Analysis

The macro-level analysis categorized the ideological and hegemonic orientation of the projects' discourse by identifying its broad and narrow assumptions. A macro-level analysis revealed that both projects mainly construct of K–12 schooling, teachers, and students within a neoliberal discourse, and that a key aim of education is preparing students with the skills and competencies that are requisite for a globalized knowledge economy or knowledge society. This emphasis on the development of skills or knowledge for economic aims points to a neoliberal policy perspective that is shaped by human capital theory. In promoting certain skills or competencies, the OECD CERI books advance forms of governmentality that position learners as neoliberal subjects. The discourses that surround notions of “flexibility,” “resiliency,” “ICT/virtual learning,” “lifelong learning,” and “21st century skills or competences” frame learners with a neoliberal subjectivity or inscription of the self. The books advance a type of self or selfhood for learners in accordance with a market logic and economic utility. Specifically, learners are often constituted as future workers, who are responsible, resilient, flexible, self-regulated, entrepreneurial, innovative, or good problem solvers.

Teachers are constructed as knowledge workers, coaches, providers or managers of customized learning, and the definition of a teacher expands to include those of outside expertise from the community. This framing and reconceptualization of teachers arguably diminishes teaching as a professional endeavour that requires an education by faculties of the same name (Sen, 2016). While teachers are constructed as skilled professionals in the texts, the suggested expansion of “teacher” to include outside experts is incompatible with the professionalism of a

Keynesian or social democratic state (Ranson, 2008). This inclusion of “outside experts/providers” aligns with neoliberal aims to privatize education because “teachers” are not defined as both public employees and servants (Roberts-Mahoney & Garrison, 2015).

The research found that both projects reveal an orientation to a neoliberal state that leans towards elements of privatization, outsourcing, or partner-based forms of governance. In the *TSE Project*, the texts do not make any categorical assertions in support of privatization or partner-based forms of governance. Nevertheless, they privilege a neoliberal perspective by posing suggestive questions, focusing on the budgetary or fiscal challenges associated with education and health expenditure, and excluding any questions that problematize the provision of education by non-government actors. The *ILE Project* shows a commitment to a neoliberal policy perspective with the assumption that systemic innovation in schooling involves a shift from a bureaucratic model to one defined by networks and partnerships. This espousal of what may be termed, “network governance” or NPG favours the assemblage of different actors—whether public, private, or voluntary—to work collaboratively in the provision of education (Ball, 2012; Theisens et al., 2016). The *ILE Project* thus advances the *endogenous* privatization of *roll-out* liberalism. It promotes a role for the state in “the creation of modes of entry of new providers – a process that replaces traditional public sector actors with others (business, charities, voluntary organisations and social enterprises)” (Ball & Junemann, 2012, p. 31). The *ILE Project* furthers a partial withdrawal or *roll-back* of the state in the provision of education, which arguably facilitates a move toward *exogenous* privatization.

Both projects frame a vision for K-12 education situated within an inclusive liberal discourse. Despite Mahon’s (2008a, 2008b) view that inclusive liberalism is a distinct variant of liberalism, the inclusive liberal discourse in the texts reflects an adaptation of neoliberalism. This

research supports Porter and Craig (2004) and Craig and Porter (2006)'s assertion that inclusive liberalism is a form of neoliberalism, which aims to re-embed contemporary liberal hegemony arising from neoliberalism's crises, failings, or shortcomings. In acknowledging the contradiction between economic growth and inequality that has accompanied globalization, the *TSE Project* engages in what Jessop (2002) terms *flanking*. Flanking entails strategies and measures to re-embed liberal market forces and stabilize neoliberalism in wake of its tensions. Specifically, the project advances a human capital and social investment view of education that seeks the inclusion or integration of individuals within the globalized economy. Furthermore, the *TSE Project's* concern for reducing inequity and fostering opportunity may be regarded as demonstrating the defensive stage of inclusive liberalism. As identified by Porter and Craig (2004), this defensive stage of inclusive liberalism aims to reduce the social costs of market-led liberalization. Both CERI projects also reveal an inclusive liberal discourse with their emphasis on social cohesion, community, social engagement, and participation. The focus on education's role in developing capacities that foster social cohesion or community may be viewed as a re-embedding of the neoliberal order against any challenges or alternatives (Porter & Craig, 2004). In framing such educational aims, the texts ignore the disintegration of social cohesion or community arising from neoliberal policies or economic globalization.

Findings at the Meso-Level Analysis

The meso-level analysis focused on the interdiscursivity of the publications, which involved identifying different discourses within a text and how they are combined and articulated. It also encompassed an intertextual analysis, which identified the text's relationship to other texts, or the presence of other texts within a text. The research found that the projects exhibit a degree of interdiscursivity with the presence of a social liberal discourse, alongside

neoliberal and inclusive (neoliberal) discourses. In certain areas, the projects demonstrate a social liberal outlook for education with an emphasis on political participation, equality, and personal development. The *ILE Project* especially reveals a dialogicality with the inclusion of Rodriguez-Romero's (2008) chapter in *Innovating to Learn*, which presents a perspective at odds with neoliberalism. In conveying an educational view influenced by reproduction theory and Critical Pedagogy, this chapter draws from a discourse beyond the paradigm of liberalism.

Findings at the Micro-Level Analysis

The micro-level analysis focused on the construction of social identity by means of modality, and the construction of social reality through word meaning and the wording dimension of texts. The findings from the micro-level analysis of innovation, accountability, and governance underline the neoliberal orientation of these concepts. While the concepts of accountability and governance appear minimally in the *TSE Project*, innovation features prominently in both projects. A consideration of modality points to a strong degree of affinity or necessity for innovation. Within both projects, innovation is viewed as a process or activity that governments, policies, or education needs to encourage, or countries require to maintain a competitive position in a globalized economy. In the *ILE Project*, innovation denotes changes to varied pedagogical dimensions—such as teaching practices, content, setting or environment—which are neoliberal in scope. By concealing policy or broader educational change, innovation serves the rhetorical function of eliciting support for such changes.

A micro-level analysis of accountability indicates that the *ILE* texts conceptualize it in neoliberal terms through features of New Public Management (NPM). The collocation of accountability with “measurement” and “metrics” suggests the influence of NPM practical and discursive techniques. The term, accountability is presented in a manner that reinforces the use of

metrics or measurement, and it acts as both a means and ends of educational innovation. Finally, a micro-level analysis of accountability finds that it is used in reference to both bureaucratic and network models. Although the *ILE* project does not employ these terms, it espouses a governance that corresponds with what may be described as NPG or network governance. This promotion of NPG or network governance suggests a form of *flanking* and *roll-out* neoliberalism (Bevir, 2011; Blanco, 2015; Fuller & Geddes, 2008; Jessop, 2002), or a hegemonic strategy that reinforces neoliberalism (Davies, 2012). In the *ILE* project, governance, in spite of its limited use, serves the rhetorical function of advancing the move from a tri-level model to networks.

Conclusions

Researchers have noted that the OECD tends to reflect the prevailing ideology or paradigm of the period despite its ideational autonomy (Mahon & McBride, 2008; Rubenson, 2008). It has been observed that the OECD adhered to the conventional paradigm of Keynesianism up until the mid-1970s, but subsequently adopted the dominant policy paradigm of neoliberalism (Mahon & McBride, 2008). While some scholars have critiqued the OECD for advancing a neoliberal discourse or agenda in education, others have posited that the OECD has undergone a shift away from neoliberalism and embraced new discourses, but “how far it has moved from earlier neoliberal orthodoxy remains a matter of debate and may, in fact, vary by issue area” (Mahon & McBride, 2008, p. 15). The OECD has been critiqued for advancing a neoliberal discourse in K–12 education, but the scholarship has not demonstrated an exhaustive analysis of OECD documents or publications. As such, the main features of the OECD’s discourse, as they relate to a political paradigm, have not been ascertained in the area of K–12 education. It should be noted that Hunter (2013b) provides an extensive examination of the liberal character of the OECD’s Higher Education (HE) publications in her dissertation.

This study concludes that the OECD largely frames a neoliberal vision for K–12 education. The findings are consistent with previous research and the widely held view that the OECD adheres to a neoliberal logic in the area of education. This study also concludes that the OECD does show a concern for the social ends of education in addition to the economic ones. The findings reinforce the perspective that “it is a mistake to regard the OECD as upholding an ideological position, uniformly and monolithically neo-liberal, in educational matters” (Henry et al., 2001, p. 63). This study determines, however, that a neoliberal discourse of education predominates over other discourses, and that the focus on the social dimensions of education—whether that of equality, equity, social cohesion or community—is situated within a presumed normative acceptance of economic globalization and a neoliberal logic of markets. In this regard, this study disagrees with Mahon’s (2008a, 2008b) assertion that inclusive liberalism is a distinct variant of liberalism. It rather concurs with Porter and Craig (2004) and Craig and Porter’s (2006) view of inclusive liberalism as a form or adaptation of neoliberalism.

The inclusive liberal discourse within both projects may be regarded as *roll-out* neoliberalism and *flanking*, which is evident in the concern for citizens’ welfare (equality, equity, cohesion, etc.). The focus on the social dimension of education aims to re-embed the neoliberal order as a way to address its shortcomings or contradictions. Furthermore, the *ILE Project’s* promotion of networks and partnerships for education reflects a transition away from government to governance, and thus provides a form of *flanking* in addition to a neoliberal *roll-out*. It has been argued that network governance or NPG aims to address the problems of earlier *roll-back* or marketization reforms such as public sector fragmentation, and thus the problems of marketization are implicitly addressed without a return to bureaucratic or hierarchical structures (Bevir, 2011).

Although examples of *flanking* clearly appear in the two projects, a *countervailing* or restraint of neoliberal rationale (Camicia & Franklin, 2011) is not evident. For example, discussions of equity are focussed on a competitive individualistic rather than a collectivist and cooperative view of society. The conclusions regarding neoliberal *roll-out* and *flanking* are compatible with Hunter's (2013b) study of the OECD's HE policy. In examining a shift in the OECD's HE discourse, Hunter concluded that it entrenched neoliberal assumptions in the form of *roll-out* and *flanking*.

Implications

The findings of this research have implications for understanding how the OECD shapes the educational practices and policies of national and local systems. As outlined in this dissertation, the OECD has been influential because of its ability to yield a form of "soft" power or governance (Marcussen, 2004; Martens & Jakobi, 2010; Ouguard, 2010; Woodward, 2009). Specifically, the OECD exerts an influence through its capacity to generate and diffuse policy ideas (Marcussen, 2004; Martens & Jakobi, 2010; Rubenson, 2008). Given the OECD's hegemony over the educational agenda (Rubenson, 2008), this research provides an insight into the current and future direction of K–12 education in OECD countries.

This research raises the question of the extent to which curricular and policy directions by education ministries in Canadian provinces have been shaped by CERI-produced research and publications. Fairclough (2003) states that "we cannot claim that particular features of texts automatically" (p. 8) result in "particular social and political effects" (p. 8), or in other words, mechanical or regular causality. Fairclough adds, however, that "there may be no regular cause-effect associated with a particular type of text, but that does not mean there are no causal effects" (p. 8). Although the method of CDA cannot determine the extent of a text's regular or

mechanical causality, the influence of CERI produced research and publications may be discerned in Ontario, Alberta, and British Columbia.

The Ontario, Alberta, and British Columbia ministries of education have respectively produced policy documents that align with the values and aims of learning that appear in the *TSE* and *ILE* projects (See Appendix H: OECD CERI Influences on Ontario Education for a discussion of Ontario policy and curricular documents). These policy documents include the following: Ontario Ministry of Education's 2014 publication, *Achieving Excellence Together: A Renewed Vision for Education in Ontario*; Alberta Ministry of Education's report, 2010 *Inspiring Education: A Dialogue with Albertans*; and British Columbia Ministry of Education 2015 document, *BC's Education Plan: Focus on Learning*. These three ministerial documents are similar because they lay out a vision or long-term plan for their province's respective education system on the premise of a rapidly changing world or economy. All three documents advance the need for "innovation" in teaching and learning or the education system, learning that is guided by specified competences or skills (e.g., innovation, creativity, problem-solving, critical thinking, communication); and the expanded use of technology to enhance learning.

While it is difficult to prove direct causality, it may be assumed or hypothesized that the OECD's CERI publications have shaped provincial curricular and policy initiatives. Within these provincial documents, this influence may be ascertained in the discursive and policy emphasis on innovation, 21st century or global competences, and the integration of technology. This research thus draws attention to the possible discursive and practical influences of the OECD's CERI on the curricular and policy direction of Canadian provinces or other jurisdictions. The implications for future research would be an in-depth examination of how CERI projects influence the

direction of educational policy in Canada's provinces or that of other jurisdictions, as well as the political discourse of their respective policy documents.

The implications of this research include fostering a critical discussion, namely drawing attention to how discourse offers a means to understand and produce the world. Specifically, this research pointed to the critical nature of CDA and how it can be employed, as posited by Fairclough (2001b), to uncover connections between language and other aspects of social life that are usually inexplicit or "opaque" (p. 230). Furthermore, the use of CDA reinforced how language works ideologically and constructs a social reality and/or social identities. This research also reaffirmed that the methodology of CDA can be utilized to analyze texts and research "social scientific concerns such as globalization, social exclusion, and shifts in governance" (Fairclough, 2001a, p. 229). The methodology used in this research also highlighted that discourse, within texts, often upholds hegemony or legitimizes "common sense" or taken for granted assumptions.

For policy makers and practitioners alike, implications for this research include opening up critical discussions about taken for granted assumptions, which are entrenched within the OECD CERI texts. This research ascertained themes or educational aims of 21st century skill development, individual responsibility or risk assessment, and enhanced technological use within the two OECD CERI projects. These themes or educational aims are also implicated in sustaining a neoliberal ideology, or reproducing neoliberal hegemonic assumptions. Although these key notions or themes initially appear to be "common sense" and harmless, they need to be questioned or problematized, especially in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic.

At first glance, the educational emphasis on both innovation and 21st century skills to meet the needs of a globalized knowledge society or economy does not elicit skepticism. It is

hard to argue against students' acquisition of skills or competences to participate in the labour market, whether at a local or global level. While there is a role for education in serving individual or national economic aims, a narrow focus on economic objectives is problematic if it comes at the expense of social or moral aims. The research highlighted that the *TSE* and *ILE* projects focus on the social dimensions of education, albeit within a prevailing neoliberal logic or discourse. Policy makers and practitioners should note that any prevalent framing of innovation and skill development around economic competition or success has the effect of impeding education's role as a public good. The commodification of skills and emphasis on competition often comes at the expense of equity or equality within and between countries, as it works to reinforce exclusionary practices grounded in unequal social or power relations (Teras et al., 2020). This research thus raises the following question for policy makers: Can neoliberal educational purposes of human capital development and competition align with social aims, or do they come into conflict with one another?

Furthermore, this research ascertains neoliberal themes of individual responsabilization and risk assessment within the OECD texts, which have implications and raise questions for policy makers. As noted in this research, the *TSE Project* presents a role for education in preventing and alleviating security risks or challenges, whether economic, cyber or national. Specifically, education should play a role in building resilience, developing personal responsibility in matters of financial security, and equipping children and adults with the skills to withstand economic adversity. This research highlighted that the responsabilization of the individual shifts any onus away from the state in providing a social safety net at times of financial crisis or insecurity. This research has implications for policy makers because it uncovers and problematizes such an assumption. It raises the following questions for policy

makers: Should education be aligned with the neoliberal values of individual responsabilization and privatized risk? How do such values advance the principle of education as a private, rather than a public good?

Given the health, social, and economic impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic, this research underlines to policy makers that neoliberal assumptions, within OECD documents, should not be uncritically accepted. These assumptions particularly encompass those concerning globalization, personal responsibility or risk assessment, flexibility, and budgetary challenges in education and health. The COVID-19 pandemic brought about the shutdown of the global economy and the steepest economic downturn in the history of capitalism (Peters, 2020; Saad-Filho, 2020). Saad-Filho (2020) explains that “we found ourselves in a transformed world” (p. 1) in March of 2020, as evident with the following: the daily reporting of rising death tolls; the reversal of “globalization” as longer-term supply lines collapsed, the return of hard borders, the significant decline in international trade, and the massive interruption to international travel; and the loss of millions of jobs as businesses lost their customers and credit lines. Scholars have pointed out that the impacts of COVID-19 demand a rethinking of or even an end to a neoliberalism defined by economic globalization and state retrenchment (Peters, 2020; Saad-Filho, 2020; Standing & Davies, 2020; Van Barneveld et al., 2020).

The implications of this research include fostering a critical discussion of neoliberal political discourse or ideology, which requires a rethinking in wake of the COVID-19 pandemic. The collapse of global supply chains and the difficulty of high-income nations in securing the importation vital equipment (PPE, ventilators, etc.) have raised doubts on the nature of economic globalization (Saad-Filho, 2020; Van Barneveld et al., 2020). Furthermore, the advancement of a globalization, which is premised on state competition or competitiveness, as found in the *TSE*

Project, has proven to be problematic. Peters (2020) quotes a recent Development Committee of the World Bank communiqué that states: “the development community increasingly faces global challenges requiring decisive, collective action and innovation. Multilateral cooperation is needed to contain the pandemic and mitigate its health, social, and economic consequences” (p. 3). The focus on multilateral cooperation underlines calls for collective action and solidarity that have arisen due to COVID-19, which are at odds with the neoliberal mantra of competition or each nation for itself (Saad-Filho, 2020). The United Nations and IMF have noted that the COVID-19 pandemic “will increase inequality globally and risk a global economic depression – which seems is already underway” (Van Barneveld, 2020, p. 135), making collective action and cooperation a necessity. This research raises the following question within the context of the COVID-19 pandemic: Will there occur any shift in the OECD’s discourse of a globalized economy, or that of an integrated global economy that demands state competitiveness?

Furthermore, this research also draws attention to neoliberal themes of personal responsibility or risk assessment, expenditure challenges in health care and education, and private sector provision, which necessitate a re-evaluation in the context of COVID-19. The COVID-19 pandemic has revealed that individual responsabilization, which is grounded in notions personal responsibility or risk mitigation, cannot be upheld at a time of crisis. The OECD’s view—that education can prepare students to be flexible and individually withstand financial crisis or other forms of insecurity— needs to be reconsidered. In discussing the COVID-19 pandemic, Saad-Filho (2020) states that

the ideology of individualism was shown to be a fraud because although there can be individual flight from the virus, there can be no personal solutions to the catastrophe: one creature alone can never be safe from an epidemic or nursed when he or she falls

sick, and who but the state is going to contain the economic meltdown, secure income flows when the economy seizes up, enforce lockdown and resource the health service? (p. 481).

The crisis has thus arguably undermined “decades of market-speak, of Chicago free-market economics, of individualism and individual responsibility” (Peters, 2020, p. 3). By revealing the uselessness of the market, the crisis has shown the necessity of a progressive state and public services in addressing collective needs (Saad-Filho, 2020). It has highlighted the weaknesses of private health care systems in dealing with population-wide approaches, as well as the outcomes of neoliberal reforms in the provision of health care. Van Barneveld et al. (2020) note that public health care systems—weakened by years of austerity including cost-costing, downsizing, restructuring, and quasi privatization—would have been more effective, during this pandemic, with robust funding. Ultimately, the COVID-19 pandemic has underlined the need for a move away from a privatization of risk in favour of the mitigation of risk through shared or collective responsibility (Green et al., 2020).

This research thus raises the following questions for policy makers and researchers: Will the OECD continue to advance assumptions of individual responsabilization, which diverts responsibility away from the state in providing a social safety net? Will the OECD continue to broach questions of budgetary challenges in education and health, and the option of private sector involvement in these areas? Will the OECD’s adherence to a neoliberal or inclusive (neoliberal) paradigm experience a shift due to the economic or social impacts of COVID-19? Implications for future research would be an examination of any changes in the OECD’s political discourse during and in the immediate aftermath of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Limitations of Research

This research focused on one area of work identified by the OECD on its website: “Innovation and the future of education.” The other four areas of work, which include “Measuring outcomes,” “Teaching and learning,” “Developing and using skills, and “Policy development and implementation,” were beyond the scope of this study. Furthermore, only two CERI projects—those of *TSE* and *ILE*—found under the respective heading “Future of education” and “Innovation in teaching & learning”—were examined in this research. The findings are thus restricted or limited to these respective projects and cannot be applied to others undertaken by CERI. Such CERI projects include *21st Century Children, Innovative Pedagogies for Powerful Learning, Teacher Knowledge Survey (ITEL), Governing Complex Education Systems, Strategic Education Governance, and Measuring Innovation in Education*.

In addition, the research excludes an examination of publications associated with the OECD’s Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). Ideally, this project could have thus analyzed publications from other identified areas of work, CERI projects, and PISA to ascertain the OECD’s political discourse; however, a complete and exhaustive analysis of all or most OECD publications that address K–12 education is outside the reach of this research. Lastly, limitations of this research encompass those associated with the method of CDA. The limitations of this method include determining the extent or nature of a particular text’s causality (Fairclough, 2003), and the researcher’s objectivity or partiality given the commitment to socio-political interpretation in CDA (Fairclough, 2003; Widdowson, 2004).

Recommendations for Future Research

Future research could entail an in-depth study of how CERI projects and their respective publications influence the direction of Ontario’s education policy. Such research could

thoroughly examine the discursive influence of the OECD's CERI in Ontario Ministry of Education publications and policy directives. By focusing on Ontario, this research could explore the degree of the OECD's soft-governance in its capacity to generate and diffuse policy ideas (Marcussen 2004; Martens & Jakobi, 2010; Rubenson, 2008). The influence of CERI projects on the current and future direction of K-12 education in other jurisdictions could be also explored. Future research could also involve an exhaustive study of other CERI projects to further answer the research questions.

Along with education, the OECD is a transnational organization that is preoccupied with the sectors of tax policy, trade and agriculture, the environment, sustainable development, science and technology, energy, employment and labour, and health (Woodward, 2009). Future research could study the political discourse of publications associated with these issues and produced by the respective OECD directorates. In addition to the OECD, the World Bank, IMF, and WTO are transnational organizations that develop educational policy, which influences the current directions and developments in national education systems (Moutsios, 2009). The ideological outlook of these institutions in their educational policy-making can be the focus of future research. These transnational organizations would be of noteworthy interest because they employ financial and legal instruments, as opposed to soft-governance in shaping education policy (Mahon & McBride, 2008; Marcussen, 2004; Martens & Jakobi, 2010; Woodward, 2009).

Significance

In addition to the provision of recommendations for future research, this research offers three main contributions to the literature on the OECD's role in transnational educational governance. First, it adds to the literature by providing a thorough examination of the ideological and discursive character of OECD K-12 education-related publications, as evidenced in the

CERI projects analyzed. This study contributes to the literature in its critical interpretation of OECD publications through a theoretical lens comprised of four paradigms: classical liberalism, social or Keynesian liberalism, neoliberalism, and inclusive liberalism (which may be regarded as a form of neoliberalism). While Hunter (2013b) provides an exhaustive examination of the OECD's liberal discourse at the level of higher education, this study added to her research by offering an analysis of the OECD's political discourse at the K–12 level.

Second, it investigated the discourses of innovation, accountability, and governance in CERI-produced documents in order to determine suggested transformations in education. Whereas academic literature has explored modes of accountability and governance as advanced by the OECD, research on the Organisation's promotion of innovation is seemingly lacking and non-existent. By exploring these concepts, this study contributed to the literature by identifying the OECD's framing of the future of K–12 public education, namely its structures, values, and priorities. In doing so, it provided an extensive examination of the OECD's promotion of “network governance” or New Public Governance, which has not been thoroughly researched. It thus adds to the literature by identifying a form of *endogenous* privatization (Ball & Youdell, 2007) that is furthered by the OECD. Third, this study has contributed to academic literature because the OECD, as a transnational organization, has not been thoroughly examined and researched despite its influential role (Martens & Jakobi, 2010).

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Appendix A: Liberal Framework

	CLASSICAL LIBERAL	SOCIAL OR WELFARE LIBERAL	NEOLIBERAL	INCLUSIVE (NEOLIBERAL) LIBERAL
The State				
Forms of state power and modes of regulation	<p>Negative conception of state power and individual freedom</p> <p>Social contract</p> <p>State intervention restricted to enforcement of contracts and defense</p> <p>Free market and '<i>laissez-faire</i>' economics</p>	<p>Keynesianism</p> <p>Provision of social welfare services with universal, 'free' and compulsory education</p> <p>State intervention</p> <p>Separation between state and market</p>	<p>'Positive' conception of state power</p> <p>Strong State (evaluative and auditing)</p> <p>Reduction in service and welfare expenditure</p> <p>Transition from government to governance</p> <p>State "governs at a distance:" privatization, outsourcing, partner-based forms of governance, and formation of markets or quasi-markets</p> <p>NPM* and NPG*</p>	<p>Establishment of institutions to enable markets</p> <p>Third Way approach of Blair and Clinton</p> <p>'Joined-up' partnerships in provision of services, central and local state, markets, civil society</p> <p>NPG*</p>
The state and welfare	<p>Notion of self help</p> <p>Assistance for individuals left to local charities and voluntary societies</p>	<p>State provides social welfare policies and worker protections that safeguard against market uncertainty</p> <p>State provision of education upholds public welfare role of state</p>	<p>"Roll back" Keynesian welfare state</p> <p>Welfare state dismantled</p> <p>Limited support in form of target assistance provided to casualties of social change</p>	<p>Redesign of welfare state, not a "roll back"</p> <p>State measures support human & social capital - replace consumption-oriented policies of Keynesian era</p> <p>Investments in health & education to develop human capital & empower individuals to participate in market</p> <p>State transfers investments away from elderly (i.e. pension) to children, youth, prime age adults</p>

Human Nature				
Conceptualization of the individual	<p>Individual as <i>homo economicus</i></p> <p>Individual as <i>self-interested maximizer</i></p>	<p>Individual has human needs and mutual obligations</p> <p>Discounts individual ('negative') freedom for self-development (i.e. positive freedom)</p> <p>Individual can equally develop his/her intellectual and moral nature under conditions provided by state</p> <p>Political obligation as citizen</p>	<p>Individual as <i>homo economicus</i></p> <p>Individual as self-interested competitor, self-actualized entrepreneur and rational consumer</p> <p>Individual as <i>manipulatable man</i> - new modes of surveillance and performance appraisal</p>	<p>With development of capabilities, individual embedded within communities</p> <p>Individuals can develop their capacities through training and assistance afforded state</p> <p>Responsibility of individual to make most of opportunities offered by state</p>
Shaping forces	<p>Actions shaped by intentions and free choices – individual is rational agent</p> <p>Inborn capacity and effort determine ability to learn and educational achievement</p> <p>Negates role of class, race or gender on achievement</p>	<p>Environmentalism and nurture</p> <p>People are only partially autonomous</p>	<p>Nature/inherent capacity</p> <p>People self-constructed, on basis of choices</p> <p>Each individual responsible for self</p>	<p>Nature and environmentalism</p> <p>Social investment can empower, include, and give participatory voice to individuals within community, governance, and labour market</p>
Education				
Public or private good	<p>Private good</p> <p>Duty of parents to education own children within a private market</p>	<p>Public good</p> <p>Free and compulsory public provision of education</p>	<p>Publicly provided but privately distributed and accessed; permits consumers to choose</p> <p>Shifts from public right or direct government responsibility to private investment – human capital</p>	<p>Publicly provided or funded</p> <p>Partnership/collaboration with central or local state, markets, civil society</p> <p>Partnership with community - source of local and expert knowledge</p>
The purposes of education	<p>Full realization of person's abilities and competencies</p>	<p>Full realization of person's abilities and competencies</p>	<p>Human capital development and economic self-maximalization (Rizvi, 2017).</p> <p>Personal advancement of individuals who paid for skills</p>	<p>Development of human capital for inclusion of individuals' employability and participation in labour market</p>

			Creation of life-long learners for purpose of human capital development To prepare for knowledge-based economy	
The personal ends of education	Creation of rational person Development of mind character and truth	Development of moral, ethical, social, cultural and political awareness of all citizens Emphasis on needs, interests and growth	A commodity that can be traded in the marketplace for money or status	Development of individual capacities
The social ends of education	Formation of independent citizens who use reason to test truth of things	Aids in the operation of the democratic process in society	Acquisition of skills that reflect nature of market; highly skilled jobs and fast-changing conditions	Include vulnerable (the excluded, poor, marginal, the child) in the world order
Knowledge				
The purposes of knowledge	Development of character and mind	Satisfy society's needs and individuals' interests and development	A form of human capital Serve individual need to compete	A form of human capital Allow individuals to take their place in civil society and global economy

NPM = New Public Management NPG = New Public Governance or network governance

Note. Adapted and modified from Olssen et al. (2004) with contributions from: Craig & Porter (2006); Dickenson (2016); Jenson (2012); Mahon (2008a); Porter & Craig (2004); Rizvi (2017); Sawyer (2003); Theisens et al. (2016); Ward (2012).

Appendix B: Glossary of Key CDA Terms

Assumptions

Fairclough (2003) defines assumptions as “the implicit meanings of text” (p. 214). He differentiates between three main kinds of assumptions: 1) “Existential assumptions: assumptions about what exists” (p. 55); 2) “Propositional assumptions: assumptions about what is or can be or will be the case”; 3) “Value assumptions: assumptions about what is good or desirable” (p. 55). For Fairclough, value systems and assumptions may be viewed as proceeding from or a part of certain discourses. For example, value assumptions related to positive notions of increased “efficiency and adaptability” are mainly associated with neoliberal or political discourse. Fairclough outlines that value assumptions are not the only assumption-type that are discourse-specific or even ideological; rather, existential and propositional assumptions may be characterized as such as well. Existential and propositional assumptions may be regarded as discourse-specific as “a particular discourse includes assumptions about what there is, what is the case, and so forth” (p. 55).

Clause

A clause is a simple sentence. As such, it differs from a complex sentence, which combines clauses (“‘she was late’ is a clause, ‘she was late because the train broke down’ is a complex sentence which includes the clause she was’”) (Fairclough, 2003, p. 213). A clause is comprised of three main elements: “processes (usually realized as verbs), participants (subjects, objects, etc.), circumstances (commonly realized as adverbs)” (p. 213).

Collocation

Collocation denotes “patterns of co-occurrence in texts” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 131). For Fairclough, one may search for collocations by “simply looking at which other words most frequently precede and follow any word which is in focus, either immediately or two, three and so on words away” (p. 131).

Dialogicality

Dialogicality refers to a text’s orientation to difference. For Fairclough (2003), a text’s orientation to difference or dialogicality represents one of the following five scenarios: 1) “an openness to, acceptance of, recognition of difference; an exploration of difference, as in dialogue in the richest sense of the term”; 2) “an accentuation of difference, conflict, polemic, a struggle over meanings, norms, power”; 3) “an attempt to resolve or overcome difference”; 4) “a bracketing of difference, a focus on commonality, solidarity”; 5) “consensus, a normalization and acceptance of differences of power which suppresses and brackets differences of meanings and norms” (pp. 41-42). As evident, the five scenarios move from the highest degree dialogicality to the least, which may characterize a text. Bakhtin (1981) states that “a word, discourse, language or culture undergoes “dialogization when it becomes relativized, de-privileged, aware of competing definitions for the same things” (Holquist, 1981, p. 427 in Fairclough, 2003). Undialogized language may be described as authoritative and absolute (Fairclough, 2003).

Discourse and discourses

Fairclough (2001; 2003) explains the term of discourse to entail a particular view of “language as a form social practice” (2001, p. 16) that is intimately a part of society, or “as an element of social life that is closely interconnected with other elements” (2003, p. 4). Moreover, Fairclough (2003) sees “discourses as ways of representing different aspects of the world – the processes, relations and structures of the material world, the ‘mental world’ of thoughts, feelings, beliefs, and so forth, and the social world” (p. 124).

Fairclough (2003) notes that we need to consider the existence and relationship between several discourses given that certain elements of the world are often presented differently. These different discourses represent varying perspectives of the world, and they largely reflect people’s positions, differing relationships with the world, and social or personal identities. Fairclough (2003) asserts that in addition to representing the world as it is or seen to be, discourses “are also projective, imaginaries, representing possible worlds which are also different from the actual world, and tied in to projects to change the world in particular directions” (p. 124). As ways of representing the world, discourses do vary with regard to the extent of their repetition, commonality, stability over time, and scale or range by which they can represent the world (Fairclough, 2003).

Evaluation

Fairclough (2003) identifies evaluation, along with modality as important elements of a text in identification or the texturing of identities. Evaluation denotes that which is “desirable or undesirable, good or bad” (p. 164), whereas modality refers to “what authors *commit* themselves, to in terms of what is true and necessary” (p. 164). Fairclough notes that although explicit evaluation (such as ‘that’s excellent/wonderful) may be found in texts, evaluation in texts is mostly assumed. A reader may recognize the assumed meanings and value system within which the text is situated, but it does not mean that he or she will agree with it.

Genre

Genre represents a component of the social activity of semiosis, which includes all meaning making (Fairclough, 2001a). Fairclough (2001a) explains *genres* to be “diverse ways of acting, of producing social life, in the semiotic mode” (p. 235). Bloor and Bloor (2007) present an accessible definition of *genre* as “a specific product of a social practice” (p.8) and “a form of discourse, culturally recognized, which more or less, obeys socially agreed structures” (p. 8). Derived from the field of literature and film studies by discourse analysts, a genre has its own recognizable and identifiable characteristics. Types of genres include books, letters, theatre reviews, annual reports, minutes of meetings, essays, examination papers. They are often closely associated with the institutions of which they are involved (i.e. minutes of meetings or annual reports in the case of business institutions, or examination papers and essays with regard to educational institutions).

Grammatical metaphor

Grammatical metaphors, entail “processes, being represented as ‘things’, entities, through ‘nominalization’” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 131). Graham (as cited in Fairclough, 2003, p. 145) posits that ‘process metaphor’ constitutes an especially important facet in the influential genre of new capitalism, policy formation: “In the policy genre, process metaphor is a deceptively powerful tool for constructing future human *activity* (time) as pseudo-spatial fact-like *object*

(space).” The use of grammatical metaphor, specifically, nominalization may be regarded as a rhetorical device through which writers or speakers construct their message (Bloor & Bloor, 2007).

Hegemony

A conceptualization of power associated with Gramsci, which underlines the importance of ideology and how power relies on consent, as opposed to just force (Fairclough, 2003). According to Fairclough (2001a), the notion of hegemony offers one way to analyze orders of discourse, as certain forms of “social structuring of semiotic difference may become hegemonic and so become part of the legitimizing common sense which sustains relations of domination” (p. 235). Fairclough (1991; 2001b) argues that ideologies are more effective and sustain power relations when they are naturalized and ingrained within discourses to such an extent that they are regarded as mere “common sense.”

Hybridity

Refers to the mixture or bringing together of different genres or discourses within a text (Fairclough, 2001).

Ideology

Fairclough (1992) views ideologies as “significations/constructions of reality (the physical world, social relations, social identities), which are built into various dimensions of the forms/meanings of discursive practices, and which contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relationships of domination” (p.87). Fairclough (1991; 2001b) argues that ideologies are more effective and sustain power relations when they are naturalized and ingrained within discourses to such an extent that they are regarded as mere “common sense.” For Fairclough (2003), implicitness and assumptions are a significant feature of ideology given “the capacity to exercise social power, domination, and hegemony” (p. 55).

Interdiscursive analysis

An interdiscursive analysis includes both paradigmatic and syntagmatic approaches to analyzing texts. The paradigmatic dimension involves the identification of which genres and discourses are drawn from in a text, whereas the syntagmatic dimension entails an analysis of how they are articulated together throughout the texts. An interdiscursive analysis is grounded on a working premise that individual texts combine different genres and discourses to varying extents. The extent to which a text is hybrid largely depends on social and historical circumstances, and thus certain texts show a greater level of hybridity than others (Fairclough, 2001a).

Interdiscursivity

The concept of interdiscursivity emphasizes the heterogenous nature of texts as being formed by an amalgam of different genres and discourses (Fairclough, 1995). As a concept, interdiscursivity is “modelled upon and closely related to *intertextuality*, and like *intertextuality* it highlights a historical view of texts as transforming the past – existing conventions, or prior texts – into the present” (Fairclough, 1995, p. 134). For Fairclough (2003), an example of interdiscursivity or hybridization of discourse would be a text that combines neoliberal discourse - which represents globalization as a fact and certain reforms as requisite to ensuring economic competitiveness – with political discourse that represents societies from the perspective or in

relation to the aim of social cohesion. Both the discourses of neoliberalism and social cohesion may be viewed as different as they each encompass distinct policy aims – the latter being concerned with social cohesion and the former with economic competitiveness (Fairclough, 2003)

Intertextuality

Intertextuality denotes the presence of other texts within texts (Fairclough, 2003; Fairclough, 1995). Fairclough (1995) defines intertextuality as “basically the property texts have of being full of snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in, and in which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo, and so forth” (p. 84). In this respect, intertextuality includes an ambit of possibilities such as directly quoting elements from another text through the use of quotation marks, or summarizing or rewording what was said in another text (Fairclough, 2003). Fairclough (1995) makes a distinction between “manifest intertextuality” and “interdiscursivity,” which may also be termed “constitutive intertextuality.” Interdiscursivity moves beyond intertextuality in its primary focus on how texts are constituted out of elements of discourses. Manifest intertextuality refers to how specific texts are constituted in a heterogenous manner out of other texts.

Modality

Modality generally refers to the degree of affinity of the text’s producer to a proposition or viewpoint; in other words, it is concerned with degrees of commitment to truth and necessity (Fairclough, 1991a; Fairclough, 1992). An author or producer of a text may demonstrate various degrees of commitment or affinity to proposition. As such, the modality of a viewpoint or propositional utterance may be determined by looking at either *modal verbs*, *tenses*, or *adverbs*. Realizing modality may occur through verbs such as “must,” “may,” “can,” “should,” etc. Tense is another indicator of modality, as a categorical modality may be arrived at with the present tense “is.” In addition, modality may be realized through adverbs such as “probably,” “possibly” “obviously,” “definitely,” and related adjectives such as “it’s likely/probable/possible.” (Fairclough, 1992). Fairclough (1992) points out that modality may be “subjective” or “objective.” With subjective modality, the author’s level of affinity with a point of view or proposition is explicitly clear (i.e. “I think, suspect, doubt”), whereas with objective modality (i.e. “it may be/probably is”), “it may not be clear whose perspective is being represented – whether, for example the speaker is projecting her own perspective as a universal one, or acting as a vehicle for the perspective of one individual or group” (p. 159).

Nominalization

Nominalization encompasses the alteration of a noun-like verb into a noun, and the semantic change of a process into an entity. According to Fairclough (2003), a process may encompass processes (i.e. “globalization,” “progress”), relations (i.e. “social cohesion”), and feelings (i.e. “hopes”). Specifically, nominalization generally entails the elimination of certain semantic elements or clauses, including both tense and modality. It may also be characterized by the omission of participants or agents in clauses; in terms of grammar, an agent or participant is usually referred to as the grammatical subject. In addition to the exclusion of subjects, other elements of social events or processes are omitted such as objects, means, times, places. This resulting generalization or abstraction, in certain discourses, may “erase or even suppress differences” (p. 144), and it may “obfuscate agency, and therefore responsibility, and social divisions” (p. 144). For Fairclough, nominalization is “a resource for generalizing, for

abstracting from particular events and series, or sets of events, and in that sense it is an irreducible resource in scientific and technical discourse as well as governmental discourse” (p. 144).

Order of discourse

Fairclough (2003) defines an order of discourse as a “network of social practices in its language aspect” (p. 24). The elements that make up an order of discourse are not such things as nouns or sentences, but various discourses and genres that are networked together (Fairclough, 2003; 2001a). An order of discourse may be described as “a social structuring of semiotic difference – a particular social ordering of relationships amongst different ways of making meaning, i.e. different discourses and genres” (Fairclough, 2001a, p. 235). Dominance represents one facet of this ordering, as certain possibilities of making meaning are preeminent and conventional, whereas others are peripheral, oppositional, or “alternative.” (Fairclough, 2001a).

Fairclough (2001b) explains that one may refer to two differing orders of discourse: that of “a social institution, which structures constituent discourses in a particular way” (p. 25) and that of “society as a whole, which structures the orders of discourse of the various social institutions in a particular way” (p. 25).

Semiotics

Semiosis encompasses all forms of meaning making, as a key element of material processes. Fairclough (2001a) explains that social life, whether economic, cultural, political, or ordinary life, is comprised of interconnected social practices (which have their own semiotic aspect).

Social events, practices, and structures

Fairclough (2003) states that “social practices define what is possible, social events constitute what is actual, and the relationship between potential and actual is mediated by social practices” (p. 223). At these three levels, language or semiosis (meaning-making) is a facet of the social, whereas texts are facets of social events, and orders of discourse are facets of (networks of) social practices.

Text

A *text* refers to any product of discourse, whether written, printed or verbal (Fairclough, 1992; Fairclough, 2003). Fairclough (2003) outlines that a text could be the transcript of spoken conversations or interviews, a television programme or a website. The use of text in this dissertation refers to products in print such as published books, reports or working papers.

Appendix C: Stages and Levels of Data Analysis

Stages of Analysis	<p>Stage-1: For each project, publications are read and notes taken on assumptions, values, and constructions of the aims of K-12 schools, of schooling, of teachers, and of learners.</p> <p>Stage-2: Broad assumption identified for project, along with specific assumptions that underlie it and may be narrowed from it.</p> <p>Stage-3: Theoretical framework of four liberal paradigms applied to identify the political discourse of assumptions. Framework applied to identify interdiscursivity. Publications are then examined for intertextual features.</p> <p>Stage-4: Notes taken on appearance of terms, innovation, accountability and governance. Notes taken on clauses and words, semiotic and linguistic features. Theoretical framework of four liberal paradigms applied to terms.</p>
Levels of Analysis	<p>Introduction</p> <p>Macro-level Analysis (Order of discourse) Genre and Timeline Ideology and Hegemony (broad and narrow assumptions)</p> <p>Meso-level Analysis Interdiscursivity Intertextuality</p> <p>Micro-level Analysis The construction of social identity: Modality The construction of social relations: Word meaning (definition, conceptualization) The Wording of meaning (collocation, nominalization or grammatical metaphor) Innovation Accountability Governance</p>

Adapted from Grewal (2008, p. 453) with minor modifications.

Appendix D: TSE Project—Summary of Trends 2008–2019

2008	2010	2013	2016	2019
<p>Ch. 1. Ageing OECD societies -Fewer children .Living longer -Changing age structures</p> <p>Ch 2. Global challenges -Our crowded planet -Populations on the move -Global environmental challenges</p> <p>Ch. 3. Towards a new economic landscape -The global economy -Knowledge- intensive service economies</p> <p>Ch. 4. The changing world of work and jobs -Lives less dominated by work? -Less securely attached to the labour market? -Women at work</p> <p>Ch. 5. The learning society -Educational attainment -Rising investments in education -Global educational patterns – inequalities and student flows</p> <p>Ch. 6. ICT: The next generation -The digital revolution -The expanding World Wide Web</p> <p>Ch. 7. Citizenship and the state -Changing forms of political participation -The role of welfare state – smaller government</p>	<p>Ch. 1. The dynamics of globalisation -Crowded planet -Populations on the move -Global environmental challenges -International divides of poverty and affluence -Towards a global economy -New global economic powers</p> <p>Ch. 2. New social challenges -Changing age structures -Changing patterns of social expenditure -Inequality on the rise -The persistence of poverty -New forms of community engagement -More satisfied with life</p> <p>Ch. 3. The changing world of work -Changing life cycle patterns -More flexibility in the labour market? -Knowledge-intensive economies -Massification and globalisation of higher education -Women in the labour market</p> <p>Ch. 4. Transformation of childhood -Living in more diverse families -Smaller families, older parents -Children’s health and inheritance of life chances</p>	<p>Ch. 1. A global world -Migration and mobility -Pushing the boundaries -Undeniably global -A changing balance -Is our natural world at risk? -Think green -International divides of affluence and poverty</p> <p>Ch. 2. Living well -Urban life and the rise of the mega city -Well-being in an urban landscape -Towards safer communities -War and peace -Body & society: the weight of nations -Investing in health -The ballot box</p> <p>Ch. 3. Labour and skill dynamics -Women in the workplace -The best of both worlds -Skill supply and demand -Knowledge economies -New ideas: patents and people -Flexible work?</p> <p>Ch. 4. Modern families -Ageing societies? -Love then marriage? -Smaller families -Balancing the budget -The late journey to parenthood</p>	<p>Ch. 1. Globalisation -Global integration and governance -People on the move -Interconnected financial markets -Increasing affluence, increasing inequality -The global threat of climate change</p> <p>Ch. 2. The future of the nation-state -Tightening the belt: Prioritising national spending -Securing our national borders -Women at work -Entrepreneurship and knowledge societies -The picture of health</p> <p>Ch. 3. Are cities the new countries? -Urban life -Thriving communities, engaged citizens -Innovation spaces -A tale of many cities: urban transport and safety -Urban challenges</p> <p>Ch. 4. Family matters -The marriage of century -Helping hand for families -Improving health and well-being -Keeping children safe and sound</p>	<p>Ch. 1. Shifting global gravity -Shifting economic power -A global marketplace -Mobility in a global world -The e-planet -New players, new game?</p> <p>Ch. 2. Public matters -Private vices, public benefits? -The rule of the people -The nation-state in a complex world -Liberté, égalité, fraternité -Rurality in the 21st century</p> <p>Ch. 3. Security in a risky world -Personal and health security -Cyber security -National security -Environmental security -Economic security</p> <p>Ch. 4. Living longer, living better -Ageing societies -The picture of health -Active/working elders -The silver economy -The digital age(s)</p> <p>Chapter 5. Modern cultures -The connected economy -Gender at work -Changing families -When virtual becomes reality -Ethical consumption</p>

	<p>Ch. 5. ICT The next generation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Towards universal access -Where do students use computers? -The evolving world wide web? -Rapidly growing participation online -The world in your pocket 	<p>Ch. 5. Infinite connection</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Universal access? -Exponential use of the internet -The world in your pocket -A digital society -Local diversity -Transforming our Internet -New connections, emerging risk 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Balancing the books <p>Ch. 5. A brave new year</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -At the touch of a button -E-society and the self -Virtual reality -Dial "C" for cybercrime -The future now: the rise of biotechnology 	
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Appendix E: ILE Project—Strands, Books, and Chapters

Strand 1 (2008 – 2010)	Strand 1 (2008 – 2010)	Strand 2 (2009 – 2012)	Strand 3 (2011 – ongoing)
<i>Innovating to Learn, Learning to Innovate</i> (2008)	<i>The Nature of Learning, Using Research to Inspire Practice</i> (2010)	<i>Innovative Learning Environments</i> (2013)	<i>Schooling Redesigned: Toward Innovative Learning Systems</i> (2015)
<p>Ch. 1. The search for innovative learning environments <i>by</i> Francis Benavides, Hanna Dumont, and David Instance</p> <p>Ch. 2. Optimising learning: implications of learning science research <i>by</i> R. Keith Sawyer</p> <p>Ch. 3. Toward research-based innovation <i>by</i> Carl Bereiter and Marlene Scardamelia</p> <p>Ch. 4. The contributor of alternative education <i>by</i> Anne Sliwka</p> <p>Ch. 5. Situated pedagogies, curricular justice and democratic teaching <i>by</i> Mar Rodriguez-Romero</p> <p>Ch. 6. The construction of learning environments: lessons from the Mexico exploratory phase <i>by</i> Juan Cassasus, Maria de Ibarrola, Lilila Pérez Franco, Juana M. Sncho-Gil, Marcela Tovar-Gomar, Margarita Zorilla</p> <p>Ch. 7. What makes innovation</p>	<p>Ch. 1. Analysing and designing formal learning environments for the 21st century <i>by</i> Hanna Dumont</p> <p>Ch. 2. Historical developments in the understanding of learning <i>by</i> Erik de Corte</p> <p>Ch. 3. The cognitive perspective on learning: ten cornerstone findings <i>by</i> Michael Schneider and Elspeth Stern</p> <p>Ch. 4. The crucial role of motivation and emotion in classroom learning <i>by</i> Monique Boekharts</p> <p>Ch. 5. Learning from the developmental and biological perspective <i>by</i> Christina Hinton and Kurt W. Fischer</p> <p>Ch. 6. The role of formative assessment in effective learning environments <i>by</i> Dylan Williams</p> <p>Ch. 7. Cooperative learning: what makes group-work work? <i>by</i> Robert E. Slavin</p>	<p>Ch. 1. Learning environments and innovative practice</p> <p>Ch. 2. The learners in the case study learning environments</p> <p>Ch. 3. Innovating the elements of the pedagogical core</p> <p>Ch. 4. Innovating dynamics within learning environments</p> <p>Ch. 5. Designing formative learning organisations</p> <p>Ch. 6. Extending learning environments through partnerships</p> <p>Ch. 7. The Nature of learning principles revisited</p> <p>Ch. 8. Creating and sustaining innovative learning</p>	<p>Ch. 1. The challenge of transformation towards innovative learning systems</p> <p>Ch. 2. Conditions and signposts in generalising innovative learning environments</p> <p>Ch. 3. Promising strategies for spreading innovative learning environments</p> <p>Ch. 4. Growing innovative learning through meso-level networking</p> <p>Ch. 5. Transformation and leadership in complex learning systems</p>

<p>work on the ground? <i>by</i> Maria Cecilia Fierro-Evans</p> <p>Ch. 8. The dynamics of innovation: why does it survive and what makes it function. <i>by</i> Inés Aguerrondo</p> <p>Ch. 9. Open learning: a systems-driven learning model for innovation <i>by</i> Tom Bentley</p>	<p>Ch. 8. Learning with technology <i>by</i> Richard E. Mayer</p> <p>Ch. 9. Prospects and challenges for inquiry-based approaches to learning <i>by</i> Brigid Barron and Linda Darling-Hammond</p> <p>Ch. 10. The community as a resource for learning: an analysis of academic service-learning in primary and secondary education <i>by</i> Andrew Furco</p>		
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Appendix F: TSE Project Findings

Macro-Level Analysis

Broad Assumption: Education has a role to play in preparing students for a globalized world that is undergoing social, economic, and digital transformation.

Assumption <i>Education has a role to play in.....</i>	Existential Assumption (What exists)	Role for Education: Value Assumption (What is good or desirable) Propositional Assumption (What can be the case)	Embedded Discourse or Discourses
providing the skills and competences needed to operate in both a globalized economy and knowledge-based economy.	* Globalized and knowledge-based economy	*Develop human capital. *Develop flexible and adaptable workers. *Build resilience, risk assessment, and responsabilization in face of economic insecurity, crisis, or change (through financial literacy/education)	*Neoliberal
fostering innovation that is requisite for a globalized and knowledge economy.	*Globalized and knowledge-based economy	*Ensure that students have the skills to compete in an 'innovative' world. *Foster innovation that allows nations to maintain a competitive position in the global marketplace.	*Neoliberal
reducing the inequities and inequalities both within and between nations.	*Globalization/Globalized economy *Global inequality	*Develop human and social capital to ensure both a nation's economic growth and social improvement. *Provide skills to lift people out of poverty and empower them to take their place in the market (labour market and global market) *Develop capacity so that people make the most of opportunities available. Open individual and collective opportunities. Reduce inequities.	*Neoliberal *Inclusive (Neoliberal) Liberal *Social or Welfare Liberal

improving social/civic participation and fostering democratic citizenship, as well as social cohesion.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Declining civic participation *Rising inequality and social exclusion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Develop social and political awareness requisite for civic and political participation. *Develop civic knowledge, skills, and behaviour necessary for a well-functioning democracy. *Provide a sense of belonging and facilitate students' engagement with communities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Social or Welfare Liberal *Inclusive Liberal
providing the skills and competences to operate in a world that is increasingly digitalized.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Rapid technological change and world transformed by technology. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Develop the skills and capabilities to use technology effectively. *Develop the skills and capabilities to adjust to the rapidly changing technological environments. *Develop the skills needed for accessing large quantities of information. *Guide students or provide them with skills to assess risks of online or virtual worlds. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Neoliberal

Meso-Level Analysis

Analysis	Discourses/Interdiscursivity (examples/evidence)
Interdiscursive Analysis	<p><u>Interdiscursivity: Economic and Social Ends of Education</u></p> <p>Neoliberal discourse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Globalization or global market integration results in benefits for people *Nations need to maintain their economic competitiveness *Human capital theory and Knowledge-based society *Purpose of education: provide skills and competencies to operate in globalized and knowledge-based economy; fostering innovation that is requisite for a globalized and knowledge economy; imparting students with ICT skills *Fiscal and budgetary concerns associated with public spending on education, health, etc. <p>Inclusive Liberal discourse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Role for education in reducing inequities and inequalities between nations *Human capital view of education to promote inclusion of individuals and nations within global economy *The inclusion of poor and vulnerable within global economy *Social cohesion <p>Social or Welfare Liberal discourse</p>

	*Education aids in the democratic processes of society
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Analysis	Evidence of Intertextuality
Intertextual Analysis	<p>*Clear pattern of intertextuality is not observable</p> <p>*limited intertextuality; publications do not extensively, if at all, include a direct quoting of other texts through the use of direct quotations, or a summarizing or rewording from other texts</p> <p>*Reliance on intra-discourse sources, mainly OECD publications and/or research and its data</p>

Micro-Level Analysis

Concept	Analysis	Examples/Evidence	Explanation	Discourse
Innovation	Modality	<p>“governments <u>need</u> to act domestically to encourage opportunity, innovation, and competition” (OECD, 2019b, p. 22)</p> <p>“policies at home are <u>needed</u> as well—including education—to encourage innovation and job creation, and help people benefit from the opportunities that trade openness brings” (OECD, 2019b, p. 23).</p>	<p>*A consideration of modality reveals a strong degree of affinity to the need for innovation.</p> <p>*The authors’ or producers’ high affinity for innovation may be clearly determined by noting the use of the semi-<i>modal</i> or main verb of ‘need.’</p> <p>*Deontic modality (author’s commitment to truth) is evident through verb, ‘need’</p>	*Neoliberal
	<i>Word Meaning and Wording of Meaning</i>	<p>* “This drives OECD countries seeking to maintain their competitive edge towards the production of goods and services that require high levels of knowledge and skill, creativity and innovation” (OECD, 2010, p. 12)</p> <p>* “The growing integration of economies has an impact on national competitiveness, innovation, employment and skills” (OECD, 2013, p. 24)</p>	<p>* The occurrence of innovation represents a <i>nominalization</i> or grammatical metaphor.</p> <p>*Innovation is viewed as a process or activity that governments, policies, or education need to encourage, or countries require to maintain a competitive advantage in the globalized economy.</p> <p>*<i>Collocation</i> – Collocation of</p>	*Neoliberal

			innovation with words "competition," "competitive," or "competitiveness." Collocation of innovation also includes words, "opportunity," "creativity," "skills", and "entrepreneurship."	
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Appendix G: ILE Project Findings

Macro-Level Analysis

Broad Assumption: Education plays a fundamental role in developing the knowledge, skills, and capacities to meet the economic and social transformations of the 21st century, or what has been described as a knowledge economy or society. As a result, there is a requisite need for innovation; specifically, the need to innovate all elements of schooling or learning so that individuals are prepared for the demands of the 21st century world.

Assumption	Existential Assumption (What exists)	Role for Education: Value Assumption (What is good or desirable) Propositional Assumption (What can be the case)	Embedded Discourse or Discourses
Education has a role to play in preparing students to meet the demands of rapid social and economic change. “Innovative” learning aims to develop 21 st century skills or learning competences that meet the needs of a globalized economy and knowledge-based economy or society.	*Globalized economy *Knowledge economy and society	*Human capital development *21 st century skills and competences *Model of learning that mirrors work conditions	*Neoliberal
Education has a role to play in fostering digital literacy and competence in learners. Innovation in education does not simply entail increased ICT and technological use, but the creation of “tech-rich” learning environments that include “virtual classrooms” or “e-	*Knowledge economy or society that requires that requires ICT skills, digital literacy or competence.	Innovation in learning: *Blended learning/Virtual learning that restructures proximity of learning	*Neoliberal

<p>learning classrooms,” which are extensions of the learning environment.</p>			
<p>Schooling or education systems should depart from a bureaucratic model to one defined by networks and partnerships. Systemic innovation in schooling thus involves the provision of learning by both formal and non-formal providers.</p>	<p>*Hierarchical/Vertical and Bureaucratic Models of Governance that hinder innovation.</p>	<p>Innovation:</p> <p>*Alliance, partnerships, and networks that extend beyond institutional boundaries</p> <p>*Formal providers and non-formal providers (are outside official school system and not recognizable as schools)</p> <p>*Network governance and NPG</p>	<p>*Neoliberal</p> <p>*Inclusive (Neoliberal) Liberal.</p> <p>*Neoliberal <i>Flanking</i></p>
<p>Within what are termed, “innovative learning environments” (ILEs), teachers are knowledge workers and coaches, providers, or managers of customized learners. They are to engage with partners, as the notion of educator extends beyond that of teacher to include those with outside expertise from different sectors of the community.</p>	<p>*Knowledge economy</p> <p>*Knowledge as capital</p>	<p>*Reconceptualization and redefinition of teaching and role of teacher</p>	<p>*Neoliberal</p>

Meso-Level Analysis

Analysis	Discourses/Interdiscursivity (examples/evidence)
Interdiscursive Analysis	<p>Neoliberal discourse</p> <p>A neoliberal discourse/outlook dominates the following education aims/assumptions.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Human capital: the development of 21st century skills or competencies that meet the demands of a globalized knowledge economy or society *Increased ICT use; the creation of “tech-rich” learning environment that include “learning environments that include “virtual classrooms” or “e-learning” classrooms, which are extensions of the learning environment *Formation of networks and partnerships, and the informal provision of education *teachers reconceptualized as knowledge workers, coaches, and providers of customized learners; and the definition of a teacher should be conceptualized to include those with outside expertise in the community (Reconceptualization of teaching and teacher’s role is compatible with neoliberal aims to privatize education. Perspective of professionalism advanced at odds with Keynesian or social democratic welfare state) <p>Inclusive Liberal discourse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Development of human and social capital *Skills of learning-to-learn, innovation, creativity, and innovation are not only a form of human capital that serve economic ends (competition), but social ends such as community, engagement, participation, and social cohesion <p>Social Liberal discourse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Focus on establishing conditions for personal development, or “fulfilling meaningful lives” (OECD, 2013a) through schooling or training, and developing capacities important for participatory democracy. *Rodriguez-Romero’s (2008) presents view that democratic teaching has a “utopian character” and transformative potential. Focus on egalitarian objective of reducing differences among social groups.

	<p>Marxist discourse</p> <p>*Rodriguez-Romero's (2008) chapter draws on reproduction theory to critique current educational practices and advance a form of situated pedagogy. It advances a form of Critical Pedagogy through a practice of liberation literacy.</p>
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Analysis	Evidence of Intertextuality
Intertextual Analysis	<p>*Differently authored chapters in <i>Innovating to Learn, Learning to Innovate</i> and <i>The Nature of Learning: Using Research to Inspire Practice</i> include extensive direct quoting of other texts through use of direct quotations, or a summarizing or rewording of what was said in other texts. As such, both these books exhibit an extra-discourse.</p> <p>*<i>Innovative Learning Environments</i> and <i>Schooling Redesigned: Towards Innovative Learning Systems</i> reveal a limited intertextuality as they do not extensively, if at all, include a direct quoting of other texts through the use of direct quotations. These two publications rely on intra-discourse sources, mainly OECD publications and/or research.</p>

Micro-Level Analysis

Concept	Analysis	Examples/Evidence (selected)	Explanation	Discourse
Innovation	<i>Word Meaning and Wording of Meaning</i>	*innovation can be perceived as change processes constructed by actors who begin by understanding and adjusting their practice..... innovating is equivalent to educational management and it entails interpreting, negotiating and decision-making at the school level" (Fiero-Evans, 2008, p. 162)	*Innovation is conceptualized as a "change process" that involves adjustment of activities in response to problem. *Innovation is framed through managerial discourse of outcomes or results, improvement or performance	*Neoliberal
		*Innovation may thus be understood both as a process and as the outcome of actions taken to introduce new elements into a situation in order to improve it. It involves a critical review of practices influencing performance from a managerial, training and		

		<p>financial standpoint” (Fiero-Evans, 2008, p. 163).</p> <p>*Another useful categorisation is to look at the “content” of innovations. In this sense, pedagogical innovations are oriented towards education’s qualitative aspects, such as improving teaching, efficiency, performance and new equipment... The structural innovations are political educational actions that generate fundamental change inside schools. (Fiero-Evans, 2008, p. 165)</p> <p>*Innovations of the content of learning are about addressing the knowledge, competences, abilities and values that are developed in the learning environment. (OECD, 2013a, p. 69)</p> <p>Given the importance of relationships and connectors, <u>knowledge</u> is a critical part of the dynamics of system <u>change</u> and <u>evaluative knowledge</u> an integral aspect of <u>innovation</u> and implementation. Theories of <u>change</u> are needed to connect actions, strategies and policies with the intended beneficial results. Narratives can be invaluable for translating theories of <u>change</u> into actionable agendas. (OECD, 2015, p. 11)</p>	<p>*Educational innovation conceptualized to encompass certain dimensions of the pedagogical core, such as educators and teaching practices, content, environment or setting, and resource use.</p> <p>*Managerial discourse.</p> <p>*Connection to human capital theory</p> <p><i>*Nominalization</i></p> <p>Nominalization of innovation emphasizes a change process or activity; it has positive connotation</p> <p><i>Collocation</i></p> <p>Collocation of innovation with the words “knowledge,” “evaluative” or “evaluation,” “change,” and “connection. Tied to management, knowledge capitalism, and network governance.</p>	<p>*Neoliberal</p>
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Concept	Analysis	Examples/Evidence (selected)	Explanation	Discourse
Accountability	<i>Word Meaning and Wording of Meaning</i>	<p>There needs to be advances in assessment methodologies including the metrics used. Roadmaps and consumer guides may usefully help access and interpret the wealth of accountability information. (OECD, 2015, pp. 25–26)</p> <p>There is a dominant culture and practice of evaluative thinking and self-review and of using evaluative evidence formatively to inform design strategies.....</p> <p>Assessment extends outside conventional school settings. Quality assurance systems, including inspection, recognise successful learner engagement and exercise of voice. (OECD, 2015, p. 25)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • reducing standardisation, fostering innovation, broadening institutions • appropriate accountability and metrics for 21st century learning..... • flourishing cultures of networks and partnership powerful knowledge systems and cultures of evaluation. (OECD, 2015, pp. 34–35) <p>“appropriate accountability and metrics for 21st century learning” (OECD, 2015, p. 34)</p>	<p>*Accountability framed around NPM (accounts and metrics)</p> <p>*Discourse of managerial accountability with quality assurance.</p> <p>*A brief disapproval of techniques of NPM accountability</p> <p>* Focus on networks points to an accountability that is mainly aligned with New Public Governance.</p> <p>* NPM techniques of metrics and quality assurance advanced;</p>	<p>*Neoliberal</p> <p>*Inclusive (Neoliberal) Liberal) or *Neoliberal Flanking</p>

			<p>however, an approach to accountability that is largely shaped by NPG.</p> <p>*Accountability is a nominalization of “to account”. Omission of participant/agent.</p> <p>*Collocation of accountability with “metrics” and “measurement”. Connection to managerialism.</p>	*Neoliberal
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Concept	Analysis	Examples/Evidence (selected)	Explanation	Discourse
Governance	<i>Word of Meaning</i>	<p>*This model of the individual school then fits neatly into a <u>governance</u> system which relies on very similar principles to provide it with structure and reliability. That is the model which breaks school organisation and management into a three-level <u>governance</u> structure, with the centre making policy, setting rules of accountability, and allocating funding; a layer of local or regional authorities conducting planning and</p>	<p>* governance is employed to denote both top-down, bureaucratic models of governing and heterarchical, horizontal, or networked models</p> <p>*Here, governance denotes a bureaucratic model</p>	

	<p><i>Word of Meaning and Modality</i></p>	<p>coordination; and, individual schools operating elsewhere. (Bentley, 2008, p. 216)</p> <p>* New leadership and <u>governance</u> arrangements <u>must</u> increasingly recognise complex learning systems and optimise potential opportunities by extending beyond schools themselves. Greater connectedness with partners and networks outside the formal system places greater demands on leadership. A policy role is to encourage the sharing of examples and sponsoring of these complex features of contemporary learning systems. (OECD, 2015, p. 26)</p> <p>New leadership and <u>governance</u> arrangements <u>must</u> increasingly recognise complex learning systems and optimise potential opportunities by extending beyond schools themselves. Greater connectedness with partners and networks outside the formal system. (OECD, 2015, p. 26)</p>	<p>*Here, government denotes a collaborative or network model</p> <p><i>Deontic modality –</i></p> <p>Author’s commitment to necessity of an infrastructure that combines both a verticality of formal governance with the horizontality of voluntary and non-formal actors or partners in a form of collaboration.</p>	<p>*Neoliberal</p> <p>*Inclusive (Neoliberal) Liberal</p> <p>*Neoliberal <i>Flanking</i></p>
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Appendix H: OECD CERI Influence on Ontario Education

This research raises the question of the extent to which curricular and policy directions by the Ontario Ministry of Education (OME) have been shaped by CERI-produced research and publications. An examination of OME publications and initiatives points to the discursive and policy influence of the OECD. In fact, elements of the OECD's vision for K–12 education, as outlined in the *TSE* and *ILE* projects, may be ascertained in both practical and discursive terms in Ontario.

The discursive elements of these projects may be noted in the Ontario Ministry of Education's (OME, 2014) publication, *Achieving Excellence Together: A Renewed Vision for Education in Ontario*. This document lays out a vision for Ontario's education that aligns with the values and aims of learning that appear in the OECD documents:

Our children, youth and adults will develop the skills and the knowledge that will lead them to become personally successful, economically productive and actively engaged citizens. They will become the motivated innovators, community builders, creative talent, skilled workers, entrepreneurs and leaders of tomorrow. (OME, 2014, p. 1).

This text exhibits a neoliberal discourse with the focus on the development of skills requisite for economic productivity, innovation, creativity, and entrepreneurship. It also reveals inclusive and social liberal discursive elements with the emphasis on developing skills for engaged citizenship and community. This type of interdiscursivity characterized the OECD documents examined in this study. *Achieving Excellence Together* also reveals a parallel with the OECD documents in the following text:

Achievement also means raising expectations for valuable, higher-order skills like critical thinking, communication, innovation, creativity, collaboration and entrepreneurship. These are the attributes that employers have already told us they seek out among graduates.

Our renewed vision for education includes the valuable insights and contributions of many individuals and organizations, including representatives from the education,

business, research and innovation, not-for-profit, municipal, multicultural, French language and Aboriginal communities. Time and again, our partners highlighted the innovation and creativity in teaching and learning that is already taking place in Ontario's classrooms. (OME, 2014, p. 3).

A conformity with the CERI books may be noted with the focus on higher order thinking skills or 21st century-type competencies and the underscoring of innovation in teaching and learning.

Furthermore, the OECD's influence may be ascertained in the Ontario Ministry of Education's establishment of the *Innovation in Learning Resource* (<http://ilr-ria.cforp.ca/ILR/index.html>), which is, in its own words, a website for "supporting deeper learning and global competences in Ontario" (OME, n.d.a, para. 1). The website's main focus is innovation and includes resources on the following six topics: global competencies; innovative learning environments; digital learning; models of learning; makerspaces/learning commons; experiential learning environments; professional learning; and innovation spaces. These topics reflect themes found within either the *Trends Shaping Education* or *Innovation Learning Environments* projects. The topics of competencies, digital learning, and innovative learning environments have been extensively covered in this dissertation.

The website's module on "global competences" mentions the OECD, and it reveals a neoliberal discourse that parallels the publications examined in this study:

Increasingly, global competencies are being recognized by researchers and employers as essential to thrive in an economy and world that is marked by ever-increasing change, technological acceleration and complexity. The term "global competencies" encompasses knowledge, skills and attitudes/values, as defined by the OECD. The need to develop global competencies has always been at the core of learning and innovation. What's new in the 21st century is the call for education systems to explicitly emphasize and integrate competencies in teaching and assessment practices. (OME, n.d.b, What are Global Competencies? section, para. 1)

Like the CERI projects, this text underlines the need to develop competencies that are requisite to innovation and the 21st century economy and world. This module further notes that the OME,

in 2016, “released a 21st Century Competencies Foundation Document for Discussion that included a set of global competencies based on a synthesis of the latest research” (OME, n.d.b, What are Global Competencies? section, para. 2). The OME’s (OME, 2016) *21st Century Competencies: A Foundation Document for Discussion* provides a focus for discussion on how to shape provincial policy so that students develop the 21st century competencies. This publication underlines that Ontario has undertaken a number of initiatives to further 21st century competencies, including working with the Council of Ministers of Education (CMEC) to identify a pan-Canadian 21st century/global competencies framework, incorporating a number of key competencies in the achievement charts, and including 21st century competencies in the revised curriculum documents. In this regard, the value assumption of preparing students with 21st century skills or competencies, as found in the OECD publications, has become a key policy aim of Ontario.

Similar to the examined OECD publications, the Ontario Ministry’s *Innovation in Learning Resource* website identifies virtual learning, digital learning, and blended learning as examples of innovation. The OECD’s influence may be presumed in the name of the ‘Innovative Learning Environments’ module, and its inclusion of resources on “physical innovative spaces” and “virtual innovative spaces.” The description of “virtual innovative spaces” explains that such spaces include the use of technology to “create rich environments for learning that go beyond the physical space” (OME, n.d.c, Virtual Innovative Space section, para. 1). The notion of learning spaces that extend beyond the school was highlighted in the *ILE* project.

Ontario’s preoccupation with innovation and 21st century or global competencies is also apparent with the Ministry’s creation in 2017 of the Incubation and Design Branch to serve this purpose (EduGAINS, n.d.). In August 2017, the OME announced the Innovation in Learning

Fund (ILF), a \$10 million annual investment to promote greater innovation in teaching and learning and support the development of global competencies (or transferable skills) in students (EduGAINS, n.d.; OME, 2017b). The yearly fund is distributed to school authorities and each school district to “provide professional development opportunities that empower educators to facilitate learning experiences that foster deep learning and global competencies in students” (OME, 2017a, p. 1); and to “implement innovations in learning and teaching (projects) that will help foster deeper learning and global competencies in students” (OME, 2017a, p. 2). The OME’s *Innovation in Learning Resource* website was created to guide boards, schools and system levels with innovative practices, alongside this funding (EduGAINS, n.d.; OME, 2017a). Prior to the ILF, the Ontario government had also introduced the \$150 million Technology and Learning Fund (TLF) (2014–2017) to support the integration of technology and pedagogical practices that fostered global competencies (Council of Directors of Education, 2017; OME, 2017a, 2017b). In addition to the TFL and ILF, the ministry has continued, in its own words, to “support 21st century learners through a holistic investment of resources” (OME, 2017a), which includes a virtual learning environment that supports online learning for teachers and students, and digital resources such as licensed software and Ministry-produced e-learning courses (OME, 2017a). While it is difficult to prove direct causality, it may be assumed or hypothesized that the OECD’s CERI publications have shaped Ontario’s curricular and policy initiatives since the OECD is commonly cited in OME policy documents. This influence may be ascertained in the discursive and policy emphasis on innovation, 21st century or global competences, and the integration of technology.