

Invested Truth in World Bank Education Policy: The Exclusion of Educators' Perspectives in the Future of Education

Athena Vongalis-Macrow*
School of Education, Deakin University

Abstract

The objective of the paper is to critically review the positioning of teachers in the World Bank's Education Sector Strategy 2020. The review is framed through the lens of Habermas' communicative action theory (CTA) to show how teachers' truth, rightfulness and truthfulness are obfuscated in the new policy. Habermas centres notions of democratization and participation as key requirements for representative systems. However, as the new strategy takes shape, what is more apparent is the further marginalization of educators and education scholars from education reforms. The review suggests that education and teachers' work is becoming further embedded in broader social and economic systems. This is despite extensive consultations that are a feature of the new strategy and its development. The paper raises questions about the work of teachers and their place within education systems whose development is influenced by agencies such as the World Bank. As more of the analytical and intellectual tasks associated with education and teachings are being taken over agencies and organisations, this paper asks the question; where do teachers belong? Rather than understanding education strategy and reform as a process of engaging only government and policy makers, I will argue that engaging the practitioners and listening to the practical discourse around reform, teachers provide insights into good education policy which shows that they can be spearhead reforms rather than obfuscated agents.

Keywords: education policy, teachers, policy making process, World Bank, Habermas, Education for All

1 Introduction

Much research has been conducted about the value of teachers and the role of those educated members of communities to take leadership (Arnové, Torres, & Franz, 2012). This is nowhere more critical than in developing and middle income countries where teachers are important social and educational actors (Santori, Stromquist, &

Torres, 2013). However, the current World Bank Education Sector Strategy (ESS2020) highlights the diminishing place of teachers in more regulated and monitored education systems. This paper analyses the current World Bank policies addressing educational planning for the next decade. World Bank Education Sector Strategy 2020 sets ambitious targets for education in developing countries and has been extensively analysed for its policies on education, languages, accountability (Collins & Wiseman, 2012). The bank has a long history of influence in structuring education in developing countries for many decades (Heyneman, 2012; Spring, 2008). Critics of World Bank policy have focussed on contesting the key methodologies and economic modelling based on forecasting rates of return from education development relied upon by the Bank's policy makers. Critics argued that such measures and methodologies were out of place in education because the neoliberal tenets underlying policy contributed to failures in reforming education systems (Jones, 2007; Spring, 1998). The current strategy has taken on board some of the criticism of World Bank policy making by reforming the policy making process (Collins & Wiseman, 2012). Subsequent discussion will show that in terms of representation in the policy making process, there has been greater involvement of local experts and the World Bank has conducted more extensive and visible consultations prior to policy making.

The emphasis on consultation focussed the primacy of getting more stakeholder and localised involvement in policy making. This priority centres the notion of communication and deliberations at the core of policy negotiations. For this reason, analysis of the ESS2020 will be analysed by focussing on the quality of communication and representation. Analysis framed by Habermas's theory of communicative action centres notions of representation, democracy and legitimacy as indicators of policy and governance fairness. These themes resonate as critical themes for education development because the Bank does not have a mandate to govern, and is therefore reliant on negotiations and bargaining of its policies with local stakeholders. The quality of negotiations influence the nature of representation and how this is enabled as

* Corresponding Author: Dr. Athena Vongalis-Macrow (athena.vongalis-macrow@deakin.edu.au)
Senior Lecturer, School of Education
Deakin University

fundamental practices of democratic policy making. By referring to the work of Habermas, policy making is inclusive of the political interactions that co-create new institutions rather than reform and change of institutions being thought of as merely part of a planning process (Dryzek, 1995).

Habermas’s (1981/1987) theory of communicative acts (TCA) is based on truth, rightness and truthfulness (Figure 1). These three notions are context dependent and represent objective ideas about what is true, the shared social world in which ideas about what is true are negotiated and the internal word of truthfulness which are personal expressions and subjectivities. Habermas’s notion of communicative action is theorised as a structure to enable cooperative action resulting from a synergistic construction of truth, right and truthfulness. Creating a synergy of understanding is part of a communicative process and negotiation. As Habermas notes, “coming to an understanding is not an empirical event that causes a de facto agreement; it is a process of mutually convincing one another in which the action of the participants are coordinated on the basis of motivation by reason” (Habermas, 1985, p. 392).

Framing the policy as communicative action that represents different stakeholders’ perception and beliefs of truth, right and rightfulness, means that the focus is not only on the outcome, but also on the fairness of the process. If applied to policy making, the focus would be not only on meeting policy outcomes, but on the quality of the interactions and deliberations of the social actors, inclusive of policy takers, as they negotiate ways to reach an understanding about the nature of the proposed changes and how these can be co-operatively achieved. Framing the understanding of policy as a communicative action takes into account the two interconnected purposes of policy that is, as a communication tool which can shed light on the process of making policy and how truth, right and

rightfulness are negotiated. It can also act as an enabling tool which will ensure that the effectiveness of policy is based on the shared understanding of the stakeholders in the outcomes.

2 The Communicative Actions of ESS2020

The Education Sector Strategy plan for 2020 has been developed with extensive consultation with external stakeholders and three different internal working groups aimed at providing clear evidence of wide ranging consultation and policy input (World Bank, 2010a). The Concept Note, which precedes the policy, affirms a clear message the final education policy will be derived from consultations and the input of stakeholders. The conceptual aim is for a consensual reconstruction of civil societies in target nations. It is the within the dynamics of reconstruction and representation that the machinations of policy are evident. The focus on civil reconstruction and representation is the conceptual domain of Habermas. It is within the negotiations over how we should live that Habermas’s notions of democracy and legitimacy are predominant and it through communicative acts that these negotiations take place (Dryzek, 2001).

The new strategy asks the question, “What will the world look like in ten years and how can the Bank best tailor its work in education to help countries achieve a prosperous and equitable future?” (World Bank, 2010a, p. 1). The policy is essentially asking how should we live in the future and in doing so, is engaging with others to communicate their representation of their values and beliefs, that is their truthfulness, to be considered in creating a possible future. Communicative acts also consist of a communication of the rightness of the vision about what is possible in ten years’ time. In this case, sharing subjective understandings about the rightness of the vision of the future means disclosing the interests and goals of the policy, revealing the partnerships and relationships necessary to create legitimacy, and the nature of the cooperation amongst the social relations, in order to make real the future.

Building upon the basic question and vision around what education will look like in ten years, the creation of a new strategy began with the process of soliciting views and engaging in a range of communicative acts. The elaboration on the consultation and draft strategy, as phase 2 of drafting the new strategy, highlights communicative action, that is soliciting different truthfulness statements and representation. These would be the subjective values and beliefs held by particular actors and stakeholders. For example, the consultations were conducted in different



Figure 1 Communicative Action Diagram

languages so there is no privileging of English. They were conducted in face to face consultations, blended consultations using Webinar and teleconferencing, online consultations, and feedback to stakeholders. The consultations were encouraging different notions of rightfulness from sector and non-sector staff, internal stakeholders, representatives from client countries, and global partners inclusive of NGOs, teachers' unions, youth groups and the private sector (World Bank, 2010d, p. 14). The policy making process took on a more communicative function, that is inviting different actors to represent their perspectives of the truth and what is right, with a view to reaching some common understanding about the aims of education reforms and how the benefits will be shared. Those who are included in the consultations had an advantage in that their truth and rightfulness values were represented in policy and by participating they had a greater opportunity to participate in creating a form of negotiated truth that will be represented in the outcomes of policy, in this case the ESS2020.

The next section will critically explore the negotiated outcomes of policy deliberations that resulted from the communicative acts evident in and through the consultations. World Bank education reform and change has drawn criticism because of the way the Bank privileged its own policy personnel and their expertise (Heyneman, 2003; Lauglo, 1996). What were often omitted from policy were the deliberations between those affected and impacted by policy, such as teachers. The question remains whether teachers, as critical actors and stakeholder in education, were effectively consulted in the policy process so their collective notions of truthfulness and rightness about education are represented in the outcomes of policy.

3 Systems, Learning and Teachers

Negotiation and argumentation are the staple features of convincing others of intent of strategic actions (Wheelen & Hunger, 2012). Mutual agreements are sought around negotiating what is possible and desirable. This section analyses some of the key features of ESS2020 and then discusses the implications for education and teachers. If it can be summed up in a single phrase, it is the loss of habitat. Education is no longer a distinct site and teachers, no longer inhabitants of a distinct site. In effect, the truth as presented by ESS2020 means that education and teachers become further diffused within broader social and economic systems.

3.1 Systems Wide Embeddeness

Part of the discursive persuasiveness of the new strategy is that it draws education into the interconnected systems

of quality necessary for a country's prosperity (World Bank, 2010a, p. 1). The policy stresses a "whole-sector approach" to policy making for education so that education is part of a range of social, economic and civil systems such as agriculture; climate change; energy; environment; gender; governance; health; technology; private sector; transport etc. (World Bank, 2011, Annex 3). Education is no longer an addition to aid development and to aid in the implementation of health policy, as it was largely constructed the 60s. Education is no longer an economic measure adapted to showcase a neoliberal economic growth plan. Instead, the ESS2020 constructs education as a capacity that crosses across all fields of development. Education and learning are embedded in the development of all social and economic systems. For example, Figure 2 shows that education contributes to the development of science and innovation. Education contributes to science and innovation through the training and development of skills and capacity of scientists. In addition, the science and innovation sector also contribute to education by creating knowledge and creating demand for research and study in the field. Similarly, in the development of gender equality, as a social and economic development goal, education contributes to gender empowerment and in doing so, gender empowerment contributes to more demand for education. Education is no longer a stand-alone field, but rather its value, that is the truth about education, is that it is embedded in other systems as a way to build capacity. It is through the embeddedness that education is further enhanced too.

3.2 Learning for All

A key shift of policy moves away from education for all to the notion of learning for all. The Millennium Development Goals target universal primary education and gender equality however, despite the number of children attending school has fallen from 100 million more children to an estimated 72 million, this number still remains a challenge for policy.

However, progress towards Education for All has been uneven, with many areas of the world not on track to achieve the MDGs by 2015. In 2007, almost half of the world out of school children lived in sub Saharan Africa and a quarter of them lived in south Asia; estimates show that one third of out of school children live in areas affected by conflict. (World Bank, 2010c)

Despite shortcoming and uneven progress towards meeting the Millennium Goals, the demand for education increases. The focus on *Learning for All* compared to *Education for All* concentrates on systemic capacity

**Science, Technology,
and Innovation
Action Plan 2009**

1. Form partnerships
2. Carry out inclusive innovation assessments and projects
3. Organize workshops and forums for promotion and dissemination
4. Provide policy advice and capacity building
5. Provide information on what other STI actors are doing

**Gender Equality as
Smart Economics: A
World Bank Group
Gender Action Plan
(Fiscal years 2007-
10)**

Goal: Advance women's economic empowerment by enhancing women's ability to participate in land, labor, financial and product markets.

1. Engender operations and technical assistance in economic sectors
2. Implement results-based initiatives (RBIs)
3. Improve research and statistics
4. Undertake a targeted communications campaign

Education contributes to STI:

- Trains the next generation of scientists, engineers, technicians, and policy makers
- Strengthens the capacity of local scientific and engineering institutions to conduct R&D

STI contributes to education:

- Creates knowledge for content development
- Creates demand for science education at all levels

Education contributes to gender empowerment:

- Skilled women will have better chances to participate in productive markets
- Eliminating gender disparities in education (MDGs 3) is a highly effective way to empower women

Gender empowerment contributes to education:

- Children of empowered women have better education and health outcomes.

Figure 2 Education Embeddeness

Source: World Bank, 2011, Annex 3.

building aimed at achieving set learning goals and objectives.

The new education strategy differs from the past strategies in its focus on learning which may be attained partly by more investments in inputs such as more trained teachers or university professors, a better curriculum, and more learning materials, but which needs also institutional changes in the education system. (World Bank, 2010b)

The mere act of attending school is not enough to ensure that learning is taking place. The bank's briefing on education reform states, "Yet access to and completion of schooling is insufficient if children are not learning what they need to learn" (World Bank, 2010b, p. 2). The policy presents a more focussed understanding of not only schooling but also the outcomes of schooling beyond attendance, that is, on learning.

The key focus on learning and skills is referenced against technological progress, globalization and national quotas for skilled workers to enable economies to grow and compete within a global economy.

Literacy and numeracy are not the only skills that are needed in the labour market. The Bank helps countries provide education that creates a skilled and productive labour force, leading to economic productivity and competitiveness, knowledge generation, and increased earning potential. (World Bank, 2010c, p. 2)

The new strategy reinforces the connection between education, the provision of skilled labour, economic productivity and competitiveness, knowledge generation and earning capacity. In this case, despite the different input from different actors and their versions of truthfulness that represent their values and beliefs about education, the policy rhetoric has much in common with the policy rhetoric in previous World Bank education policies. The policy truth, that is the objective representation, dovetails with the primary interests of the World Bank as a global financial institution with an interest in 'the flow of capital' (Vongalis-Macrow, 2009). It can be argued that the focus on learning is objectified as a traditional World Bank policy, where the definition of policy resembles the World Bank notion of policy as a process or a guide for the flow of money (World Bank, 2001).

The shift from education to learning raises questions about how the value of learning would have been represented in the consultation processes by other groups. It would be questionable to expect that community groups, teachers, and other social agent would abandon the idea of education for all simply because the outcomes have been difficult to achieve. As a global social policy, EFA, has raised awareness and created momentum for educational provision for all children. This policy has been part of the policy truth and imagery about education for decades. Therefore, when ESS2020 suggests that focus change, what is occurring is a major objective change in how education is implicated in creating a policy future. The World Bank's truth that learning should be the focus of policy, suggests

that somehow education and educational institutions are inadequate. The rightness of this position is justified when the Bank suggests that education is somehow not focussed on learning. However, as critics such as Brock-Utne (2013) have argued, the work of the Bank has actively undermined many developing education systems, therefore, the focus on learning rather than education can be interpreted as a way for the Bank to rescript its role in education and shape policy agenda through its version of the truth.

The concept note stresses that consultations were undertaken with non-sector staff, internal stakeholders, NGOs, teachers' unions and youth groups yet it is difficult to associate the notion of learning and potential earning, as stressed in the policy, as the truthfulness and rightness of these diverse groups who have an interest in securing well resourced and effective education systems to create an sustainable, well-educated citizenry (Porter, 2014).

3.3 Teachers

The shift from Education for All to Learning for All has implications for teachers.

The new strategy adds a systemic view of teacher reforms in which policy goals relate to setting clear expectations for teachers, ensuring that pay and benefits are competitive so as to attract the best into the teaching profession, prepare teachers through both pre-service training and classroom practice, monitoring the performance of teachers, as well as supporting and motivating them as needed. (World Bank, 2010b)

While there is recognition that teachers' unions are stakeholders in the consultation around education reform, they are still identified as potential disruptors of change. Reviewing a World Bank blog on education (Goldstein, 2010) focuses mostly on the political actions of teachers through their unions and the negative impact of such actions. For example, the tendency to strike is an issue. Citing an example from Sao Paulo teachers,

Sao Paula teachers went to strike over a proposal to make new recruits take tests before they start work to ensure they are qualified; last year they created a furore when the state government asked them to teach from standard textbooks. They proposed a plan to pay staff bonuses depending on their school' performance, but surprisingly went silent since 70% of the state teachers received a bonus. (Goldstein, 2010, p. 1)

Such examples of teachers taking strike action in defiance of government proposals, are supposed to illustrate the self-interest of teachers' unions and that this interest

interferes with education reforms and better education systems. However, when the motives for strike action is further analysed, it is not so much the need for reform that is the sticking point, rather there is an issue around the rightfulness of reforms, that is a shared understanding of how it should take place and who should be involved in order to achieve success. For teachers, a large part of achieving success means having an engaged and empowered teaching force that retains the value of teachers and helps to create a professional and quality teaching force. For example, creating esteem in the teaching profession and valuing the work the profession is a critical factor in education systems that are high performing such as Finland, Singapore and Hong Kong (Simola, 2005).

As discussed, the ESS2020 reinforces the connection between education, the provision of skilled labour, economic productivity and competitiveness. In other words, skilled learning is the purpose of education and this learning can happen through other social and economic institutions since schools are only one small part of the learning. This reinforces a technicist view of education, where education is only valued as a tool for social and economic development. However, this is only one truthful understanding of education and only one perspective that represent only particular interests and goals, rightfulness, of education. This view reiterated throughout ESS2020 means that education is only valuable in enhancing the social and economic capacity of other social systems and that learning is a ubiquitous activity related to the learning needs of those systems. In other words, not only schools. This version of the truth has implications for teachers and educators because it no longer socialises a truth that education is a field in itself, a virtue of its own and one in which teachers are critical agents within this field. Instead, education and learning is everywhere, and by extension teachers are too.

ESS2020 targets teachers for reforms and critical to reforms is how their work is "overhauled."

The effectiveness of teacher policies (e.g., training, hiring, compensation, deployment, supervision) is critical to an education system's performance; this is one area that typically needs a major overhaul in order to motivate and support teachers. These reforms have to be consistent with a quality assurance framework. (World Bank, 2010b)

The World Bank presents its truthfulness about teachers' work and the need for reform through policy pertaining to its "analytical work" (World Bank, 2010b). The analytical work involves the strategic planning of teachers' reforms through collection of data and diagnostics to build a knowledge base around what it means to be

an effective teacher. This means representatives of the World Bank creating a teacher reform platform based on building evidence and developing a set of benchmarks and best practices in a range of measures designed to reform the profession. These measures include guidelines around teacher selection process, teacher management and incentives, best practices around pedagogy, curriculum and assessments, and professional development. The analytical work, evident as System Assessment and Benchmarking for Educational Results, SABER, will cover all facets of teachers' work and professionalism (Fiszbein, Ringold, & Rogers, 2011). In other words, the analytical work, done exclusively by the Bank, will reconfigure what it means to be a quality teacher within a quality education system. A more detailed analysis of the SABER system is available, but the system attempts to establish 'best practice' in education across thirteen benchmarks (World Bank, 2013).

Much research has been conducted about the value of teachers and the role they play in developing and middle income countries where teachers are important social and educational actors in nation building (Howley, 1997; Rumnaz Imam, 2005; Telhaug, Mediãs, & Aasen, 2004). The contribution of education and teacher in building national social and economic capacity underscores that their collective truthfulness about their value and belief in education can be incorporated into large scale plans for development. However, it appears that in the ESS2020 policy, educators' truthfulness communications have been overridden in policy representation. Instead, teachers are represented as potentially hostile agents and as such, the configuration of their work and their contribution to the future development is given over to other actors. This perpetuates a policy imaginary that casts teachers as disruptive agents and thus a fuller representation of their truthfulness is not evident in the ESS2020 policy.

ESS2020 perpetuates an ideological divide between government and teachers, insisting that teachers are somehow adversarial actors in the process of educational reform. This notion contradicts the centrality of teachers in building learning communities, leading educational change and developing professionalism that represents the contemporary teacher (Green, 2012; Hargreaves, 2013; Owens, 2010).

Habermas' (1992/1996, 1996/1998) stresses the need for deliberative processes as part of the development of deliberative politics and democratic institutions. A more representative and inclusive truth that reflects the truthfulness and rightness of education through the perspective of teachers in policy deliberations around improving practice and reforming the profession is an example of deliberative process and politics. However, while the Bank stresses its open consultation, it becomes

apparent that there remain clear differences between the truthfulness presented by educators and the truth outcomes of policy.

The deliberative process is not without tensions and friction because the nature of the negotiations can involve argumentation and polarization. However, the purpose of argumentation is to allow diverse arguments to prevail and negotiation to occur. This is perhaps the most difficult element of deliberative policy making because it should not focus on the action plans of only a privileged minority, but seek ways to come to consensual decisions. As Marti (2003) notes, the inclusion of those who are usually policy takers can make for more effective policy that works.

Traditionally, only a privileged minority has had the chance to participate in the scientific process considering these decisions as objective. If we are analyzing the factors that understand dropouts, for example, we will need to take into account the adolescents' reasons for dropping out or continuing their studies. The scientific explanation about these factors cannot only be based in the subjectivity of the expert or the researcher that is considered objective; it should also be based in the intersubjectivity resulting from the dialogue among the parents and the researchers. (Marti, 2003)

Using the example of understanding school drop outs, Marti argues that by only having the deliberations of researchers on the topic, only one perspective of the problem can be solved. Further understandings leading towards a sustainable solution can be gained from considering intersubjective discussions. If applied to the context of teachers in the ESS2020 policy, then more sustainable solutions in reforming education and improving the quality of learning can be gained from drawing on the subjectivities and truthfulness of teachers and the dialectical dialogues from teachers, other stakeholders and policy makers in expressing their truth about education reform.

It is difficult to argue that educators have been sufficiently represented in the policy deliberations because their arguments encapsulating educators' truthfulness are not evident in policy. Where are the many voices of educators, representing their different and diverse education systems integrated into the knowledge base around education reforms, effective education and quality teaching? What is evident is the authoritative version of the truth that comes from World Bank policy makers engaging with "client countries,"

When client countries ask World Bank front-line staff how top-performing countries tackle different issues

related to teacher policies (e.g., teacher training, incentives or accountability), project leaders have to respond to such requests on a case-by-case basis -- either by using Bank publications and databases or taking the initiative to find http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EDUCATION/Resources/ESSU/Education_Strategy_4_12_2011.pdf out more about policies in top-performing education systems. This approach has the advantage of being tailored to the specific needs of each country, but it has the drawbacks of being time-consuming, duplicating work, lacking comparability and including few countries. (World Bank Group Education Strategy 2020, 2011)

The representation of teachers' reforms as a World Bank driven enterprise suggests that the omission of educators' truthfulness from shaping the new policy further removes educators from the sites of deliberation over their work and purpose. Work in reshaping the teaching profession is currently underway (World Bank, 2013) and reinforces the obfuscation of teachers' deliberations from policy making. A framework paper states,

This paper provides a framework for analyzing teacher policies in education systems around the world in order to support informed education policy decisions. It provides a lens through which governments, World Bank staff, and other interested parties can focus the attention on what the relevant dimensions regarding teacher policies are, what teacher policies seem to matter most to improve student learning, and how to think about prioritization among competing policy options for teacher policy reform. (Roger & Demas, 2013, p. 6)

It can be argued that the ESS2020 was a prelude to teacher reforms, largely without sufficient input from teachers. Considering that teachers' domain is in education and the education space, the exclusion of teachers is effectively silencing their truth, rightness and truthfulness in policy making about education. Their legitimate authority as key actors in education systems is undermined and they are being removed from their habitat.

4 Conclusion

Drawing on Habermas's theory of communicative acts enables an analysis of policy that focuses on the core of policy making, that is, policy as a way to influence stakeholders and create a vision of the future. The theory of communicative acts also enables the political debates underscoring policy negotiations to be clarified so that

issues of representation, legitimacy and democracy are brought to the fore. The framing of policy deliberations as communicative acts provides a way to theorise a more inclusive and deliberative process of policy making. It draws attention to the importance of consultation and inclusive conversations and negotiations in policy making.

The processes of inclusive dialogue and communication are the basis of arriving at representative policies. The World Bank's ESS2020 aims to capture the educational imaginative by proposing policy that will take developing and middle income countries into the future. By responding to persistent criticism that its policymaking was authoritative and often not inclusive of local concerns, the ESS2020 stressed processes of extensive consultation. The quality of the communicative acts that underpin the quality of the consultations shows that while consultations have been undertaken, the diverse representations of these consultations have not translated into policy outcomes. Critical reforms, such as the shift from the provision of education to the focus on learning, imply that education systems have failed or are inadequate for future direction of educational growth. This recasting of education is contentious in that it suggests that institutions no longer serve populations, however, the Bank's own role in undermining education systems is not implicated in its assessment of justifying the rationale for the shift from education to learning. This appears to be a one-sided representation of the truth.

CTA theory, enables the critical analysis of the objective truth presented in the policy to highlight that, as intimated in the example from the shift to learning, policy does not appear to be a product of a negotiated truth made up of diverse negotiations of different perspectives of truthfulness and rightness that may be expected from different stakeholders. The plight of teachers and their role in future education planning is another case in point. The outcomes of the consultations have produced a policy document, as representative of a consensus arrived at truth about education and the future, with only a limited influence from the deliberations of educators. The three foci of the policy analysis in this paper, the embedding of education systems into other social and economic systems, the move towards the ubiquitous learning for all and the ongoing adversarial positioning of teachers, suggests that educators' truthfulness and rightness about education in the future is limited. They have been effectively cut out of constructing their ideas about what is and should be best practice in education.

The embedding of education as a capacity building tool suggests that education as a field may be under threat. World Bank policy reinforces a technicist view of education, where education is only valued as a useful tool for social

and economic development. The loss of education, as a unique public good and institution, is unlikely to represent the truthfulness of educators seeking to preserve their professionalism, their workplaces and the site of their identity. The movement away from Education for All towards a more ubiquitous notion of learning for all, is also a move away from the social justice imperatives of formal education. Once again, the abandonment of social justice claims from formal education institutions and government obligations to provide free, quality education for all, does not reflect the historical positioning of educators as being responsible for representing marginalised and under privileged in education systems. Teachers have played a key role in delivering quality education for all students. These values underlie and ethical imperative and truthfulness of teachers who value the power of education for all. Finally, the granting of educational authority to policy makers to determine quality markers of professional work also runs contrary to current theory emphasising teachers as leaders. Instead, policy makers and further marginalising teachers from their domain, that is their habitat of education, where they are legitimate, professional actors. In sum, the many representations of truthfulness and rightness held by educators, expressing their different and diverse education systems and their concerns about the future directions of education, have been largely excluded from the policy. It appears that the ESS2020 is a continuation of World Bank education policy in which, to paraphrase Peters (2001) the question of education cannot be detached from the question of capital.

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