

On Discourse-Practice Misalignment: A Mixed-Method Study of the World Bank's Education Projects

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〈Abstract〉

As the World Bank increases its efforts to contribute to the international initiative Education for All, its projects have come under close scrutiny. Although the Bank is known for promoting a neoliberal approach toward education in developing countries, these components are not always included in its individual projects that are implemented in the field. Thus, there is a potential misalignment between its policies and projects. This study analyzes education projects conducted around the 2008 Global Financial Crisis to assess this misalignment using both qualitative and quantitative document analysis. The analysis of the project documents shows that the projects are not entirely neoliberal and that some misalignment does exist, resulting in a mistaken understanding of the Bank's education strategy. Authors adopt a Foucauldian approach(Rossi 2004) and apply Rossi's categorization of development stakeholders to explain why such misalignment may have resulted. Further research into the project planning process and whether the components in the project documents are translated into implementation in the field needs further research to identify a more comprehensive reason behind why the Bank's projects are taken to be neoliberal when they are actually not.

*Keywords: ODA allocation, World Bank, policy alignment, neoliberalism, education

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I . Introduction

Why is education important for development? Some argue that it is because education helps economic growth by increasing labor productivity (Becker 1993; Mincer 1984). Others argue that education helps individuals overcome poverty and deprivation, but also has intrinsic value by allowing individuals to expand their capabilities(Nussbaum 2010; Sen 1999). However, many believe that education is a basic human right regardless of the benefits it brings to society at large(UNESCO 2019; United Nations 1989).

During the United Nations(UN) Millennium Development Goal(MDG) era(2000 to 2015), significant improvements were made worldwide in primary school enrollment, the second MDG(UNESCO 2017; United Nations 2017).¹⁾ However, educational achievement gaps remain across regions, socioeconomic classes, as well as across genders(World Bank 2018b). Moreover, in contrast to the improvements in the quantity of education(rise in enrollment rate), corresponding improvements in the quality of education have not occurred. Reports by international agencies in 2018 and 2016 found that students' enrollment in school did not automatically translate to sufficient learning outcomes(UNESCO 2016; World Bank 2018b). The World Bank(2018b) has stated that 'schooling is not the same as learning'; in fact, UNESCO Institute for Statistics(2017) has reported that out of the 387 million children and adolescents between the ages of 6 and 14 who have not reached a minimum proficiency in reading, 262 million are currently attending school. Given the current conditions of schools, the World Bank (2018b) may be right in calling this phenomenon a 'learning crisis.'

Therefore, for many reasons, education has been a part of the development discourse for a long time. Indeed, education is widely

1) Between 2000 and 2015, the primary school net enrollment in developing countries increased from 83 percent to 91 percent and the number of out-of-school children decreased from 100 million to 57 million(MDG Monitor 2017). The largest improvement in primary school enrollment was observed in Sub-Saharan Africa where the net enrollment rate increased from 59 percent in 2000 to 79 percent in 2012(UNESCO Global Education Monitoring Report Team 2015).

acknowledged as an important component in the development literature (Hurd & Johnson 1967; Mwingira & Pratt 1967) and international development education research (Shin 2017; Yoo 2010). In the 1990s, the development field—both the academic and the operational sectors—experienced a significant change in how development was defined. Poverty began to mean more than a mere lack of household income and signified instead a combination of deprivations (Sen 1999). Additionally, the idea of human development arose. Thanks to the change in the development discourse, education has become a foundational topic in this discourse—that is, it is rarely absent when discussing the development status of a country. Today, education constitutes one-third of the Human Development Index (HDI) (UNDP 2019) and is also a key component of the Multi-dimensional Poverty Index (MPI) (Alkire & Jahan 2018). Both indices are two of the most commonly used to track progress in development other than GDP per capita.

The vested interests of development organizations in education have led to various practices. Some commonly seen education practices include projects for building schools to make education more accessible (Department for International Development 2011), teacher training and prevention of teacher absenteeism (Muralidharan & Sundararaman 2011; World Bank 2018b), the provision of educational materials, meals, or even preventive medication in schools (Jomaa et al. 2011; Miguel & Kremer 2004), and conditional cash transfer schemes to encourage families to keep children in school (Barrera-Osorio et al. 2008; Bauchet et al. 2018). In addition, in the past decade, there have been attempts to use internet and computer technology to improve access to education (International Finance Corporation 2016; James 2010; Pittaluga & Rivoir 2012). On a larger scale, international organizations, such as the World Bank, assist the governments of developing countries to plan and implement sector-level education policies. Whether it is financial or technical assistance, development organizations try to provide assistance so that developing countries can allocate different resources to different aspects of education efficiently and equitably (World Bank 2011b; 2019).

In the midst of these trends surrounding education, the World Bank has continued to be one of the most relevant—or the most, some argue—practitioners and agenda-setters in the field of education. The World Bank is also an organization that has continued to answer the question, ‘Why is education important for development?’ with its answer being, ‘Because it helps an economy become more productive.’ Due to this neoliberal approach to development in general and education specifically in developing countries, the organization has received its fair share of heated criticism. In addition, the recent emphasis on development aid effectiveness set forth by the 2005 Paris Declaration also shed light on the lack of coordination of education aid by donors and incongruity between the needs of developing countries and interests of donors (Benavot et al. 2016; Shields & Menashy 2019). Thus, one of the ways to evaluate aid effectiveness would be to analyze the rhetoric used by donor agencies when considering which education projects to roll out.

However, a 2014 study found that the education projects conducted by the World Bank rarely included neoliberal components, namely, the private provision of education, pointing to a misalignment between its discourse and actual practice (Mundy & Menashy 2014). Moreover, following the 2008 Global Financial Crisis, there have been discussions about whether the crisis, which led to a collective doubt regarding neoliberalism as a dominant development paradigm, had a dampening effect on the types and nature of projects approved by the Bank. A study conducted by Mundy and Menashy (2014) looked at the World Bank’s education projects implemented between 2007 and 2011. The authors wanted to expand the time range to include the 2008 Global Financial Crisis, then look further into the neoliberal tendencies of the Bank’s education projects and the discourse-project misalignment with this additional factor: the effect of the 2008 Global Financial Crisis.

The aim of our study is to discover whether there is indeed a misalignment between the education policies and education projects of the World Bank, and if this misalignment is more evident after the 2008 Global Financial Crisis. The broader questions that we ask are: 1) are development

discourse and practice always aligned? and 2) when there is a significant change in discourse, does this affect an organization’s practices? By asking these two questions, we attempt to delve into the broader dynamic between discourse and practice in the development sphere.

This paper is organized as follows: the next section explains the methodology used in our study. The following section elaborates on the discussions surrounding our topics of interest, namely, the World Bank’s education policies and discourse and how they may have been affected by the 2008 Financial Crisis. In the final sections, the results of the analyses are presented along with possible explanations for the discourse – practice misalignment observed through the anthropological framework borrowed from Rossi(2004).

II. Education and Development

1. From the Human Capital Theory to the Human Rights-Based Approach and Education as a ‘Freedom’

Education has been an important topic in development studies for a long time. It was incorporated into the development discourse and practice of international organizations in the 1960s and has grown in importance ever since(Heyneman 2003; Mwingira & Pratt 1967). When education first emerged as a development agenda, it was supported largely by the human capital theory. From the 1960s through the 1980s, human capital theory was the dominant explanation for why education was important. Mincer(1981) explains that at the macroeconomic level, the amount and rate of growth of human capital are key to the economic growth of a country, and at the microeconomic level, human capital is a reliable indicator of an individual’s income. Supporters of the human capital theory argued that education is necessary as it would bring economic(Bowman 1966; Bowman & Anderson 1968); and while education would enable a country’s population to produce

and earn more, the ultimate goal of investing in education was to increase the stock of human capital so as to bolster said country's economic growth(Becker 1993; Mincer 1984).

The neoliberal approach adopts the economic justifications of the human capital theory even further. While the term 'neoliberalism' is used quite loosely with multiple meanings, it is typically understood as the policy of giving as much freedom as possible to the market while the government plays a minimal role in how resources are distributed(Cambridge Dictionary n.d.; Harvey 2005). Some give the term a more drastic definition such as Shamir(2008) who states:

I treat neoliberalism as a complex, often incoherent. Unstable and even contradictory set of practices that are organized around a certain imagination of the 'market' as a basis for 'the universalization of market-based social relations, with the corresponding penetration in almost every single aspect of our lives or the discourse and/or practice of commodification, capital-accumulation and profit-making.

When used in the context of education in developing countries, it means that education is treated like a good or service in a market; that is, instead of trying to create a public education system the participation of the private sector is expanded, and the provision of education or lack thereof being justified by the logic of economic efficiency(Ball 2012).

Starting in the 1990s, education began to be seen as a human right. Universal access to education had already been declared as a human right by the UN as early as 1948 through the Universal Declaration of Human Rights(UN General Assembly 1948),²⁾ but it was with the launch of the UN Programme for Reform in 1997, which pushed for mainstreaming human rights into policies and projects implemented by UN entities, that the development sector in the late 1990s witnessed the emergence of the

2) Education has continued to be acknowledged as a human right by many other UN provisions such as the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights(UN General Assembly 1966) and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child(United Nations 1989).

rights-based approach(RBA) to development(UNESCO & UNICEF 2007). As a result, there has been active discussion about education as a human right among UN agencies as well as non-governmental organizations (NGOs)(Oxfam 2013; Save the Children 2015). While there are many ways of defining RBA to education, the authors adopt the definition of RBA as an approach that perceives education not as an instrument but as a human right that is a goal as itself(Uvin 2004).³⁾ It is notably more focused on individuals when discussing and practicing education. For example, Tomaševski(2001; 2004) explains how RBA can be implemented and evaluated in education with her 4A-scheme, and one of the ‘A’s is adaptability, which is the ability of the education system to accommodate the needs of individual students instead of adopting a cookie-cutter approach.⁴⁾

Subsequently, the capability approach was introduced into the development discourse. The capability approach defines development as “a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy”(Sen 1999). Sen(1999), the economist who coined the term ‘development as freedom’, explains that what matters in development is whether each person is free to develop and employ her capabilities to their full potential, and hence the protection of such freedom from obstacles(or “unfreedoms” as Sen would call it) is essential. Sen(1999) saw freedom as both the ends and means to development, and this is how he viewed education - a crucial factor for the development of human capabilities,⁵⁾ but also a goal that is valuable in and of itself. While the capability approach considers development as people enjoying more freedoms, prominent thinkers such as Sen and Nussbaum

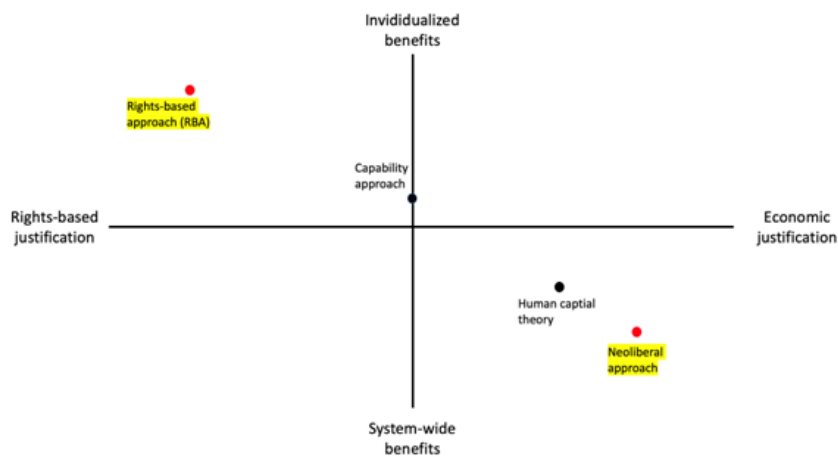
3) For example, one paper argues that when girls’ education is observed through a human rights lens, girls become rights-holders instead of beneficiaries(Greany 2008).

4) The other three As are availability, accessibility, and acceptability, by which Tomaševski means that governments should strive to achieve free compulsory primary education, the elimination of disparities and discriminations that hinder children’s access to education, and an adequate level of quality and standards(Tomaševski 2001; 2004).

5) Sen(1999) continually mentions education(usually paired with health) as one of the key freedoms that creates social opportunities for people to pursue other substantive freedoms.

often discuss how freedoms affect matters beyond individual persons such as democracy, the market, and social justice, as well as how individual freedoms interact with society and its norms(Nussbaum 2011; Sen 1999).

[Figure 1] Conceptualized Framework of Theories on Education and International Development



Consequently, this study builds upon theoretically grounded framework on the role of education and combines it with theories on international development, as shown in [Figure 1]. The neoliberal approach and RBA pose as polar opposites. The neoliberal approach is placed the furthest on the right lower corner of [Figure 1] as education is seen as a commodity that is distributed according to the logic of the market; whereas the RBA is placed on the left upper corner in [Figure 1] because it views education as first and foremost a goal to be pursued rather than an instrument to growth, and is notably more focused on individuals when discussing and practicing education. In between these two extremes are the human capital theory and the capability approach. The human capital theory is situated as a theory that is slightly less focused on economic justifications, as it does consider the well-being of recipients, and slightly more focused on individual(microeconomic) benefits. The capability approach is in the middle

of the x-axis as education is pursued as both an end as well as a means. Moreover, considering that the capability approach defines development as furthering people’s freedoms but also how freedoms are affected by society, it is placed much lower than RBA on the y-axis, but still remains on the upper half.

2. The World Bank and its Neoliberal Education Policies Since the 1960s

Of all the organizations advocating for universal access to education, the World Bank may be the most notable. The World Bank is one of the largest international providers of development finance to governments in developing countries and, thus, has an overarching impact on all sectors of development (Mundy & Verger 2015). However, the organization’s impact has been especially prominent in education. The World Bank is ‘the largest single international source of education finance,’ operating with a multi-billion dollar budget for education-related practices (Mundy & Verger 2015, 9). Moreover, with its extensive staff of economists and education specialists, the Bank has been able ‘to situate itself as the architect, implementer and enforcer of global education policy’ (Klees et al. 2012a). The World Bank’s role in forging discourse and practices in education is pronounced; some say that the Bank’s position in the sector is more dominant than that of UNESCO (Klees et al. 2012a).

As it can be seen in <Table 1>, the World Bank’s active participation in the promotion of education began in the 1960s and the organization’s approach towards education has changed over time due to both internal and external influences. According to Heyneman (2003), the Bank’s lending was geared toward infrastructure projects in the 1960s, and as the Bank proceeded with these projects, the policy advisors at the Bank realized that it would be more beneficial if local talent joined in the implementation of the projects. Borrowing foreign assistance was expensive. Additionally, the infrastructure projects were shifting from building bridges and highways to

infrastructure for the industrial, agricultural, and manufacturing sectors, which meant an increasing demand for people with the skills to manage these projects. As a result, there was a need and incentive for the development of local talent. Meanwhile, in academia, the human capital approach had begun to take root in the US(Anderson & Bowman 1967; Becker 1964; Schultz 1959; 1961) and the UK(Blaug 1970; Vaizey 1968). This combination led to education becoming a topic of interest among those working at the World Bank. However, this approach created a problem. In the earlier days of the World Bank's education practices, education expenditures were solely focused on helping economies develop future engineers and technicians.⁶⁾ Hence, other areas of education, even primary and secondary education, were neglected.

In his paper, Heyneman(2003) lists some problems brought on by the Bank's educational operations in the 1960s. Initially, as the Bank urged client countries to focus on vocational and technical education, too many resources were allocated to the Technical and Vocational Education and Training(TVET) programs, with other areas of education underfunded. As a further complication, at the Bank's insistence, these countries invested in thousands of workshops and laboratories as part of TVET, most of which became useless eventually(Heyneman 2003, 333). Additionally, when calculating the costs of the projects, the Bank did not take into account recurrent costs(e.g., reading materials and/or teacher salaries), which left these countries with inaccurate cost estimates.

In the 1980s, a new wave of human capital economists at the World Bank began to reveal how investing in health and education could enhance future productivity(Kapur et al. 1997; World Bank 1980). The Bank also started using rate of return(ROR) analysis⁷⁾ for the cost - benefit analysis of education projects(Heyneman 2003, 322). The ROR analysis showed that primary education would yield the highest returns. This led to primary education being pinpointed as the level to focus on for public investment

6) From 1962 to 1980, all education investments of the World Bank had to include a justification based on the demand for manpower in the economy.

7) Introduced by the economist George Psacharopoulos.

and higher education as the level to be privatized. Moreover, the 1980s was a period of structural adjustment, and the education sector was no exception (Mundy & Verger 2015). The World Bank’s prescription of education policies included elements such as the privatization of tertiary education, as well as the use of contract teachers, the lowering of repetition rates, and encouraging parental investment in school costs in K-12 education (Alexander 2001).

The education projects in the 1980s seemed to focus more on the long-term effects of education on the future productivity of a population rather than any short-term benefits to infrastructure projects. However, the Bank’s neoliberal prescriptions during the 1980s have been criticized for having done more harm than good. For example, Regmi (2017) examined the neoliberal education policies that were implemented in Nepal in the 1980s. The author found that these policies were first implemented when Nepal was in a particularly vulnerable economic state, which meant that the government complied with the policy recommendations of the Bank without being able to critically assess their potential benefits or costs. Moreover, an analysis of the Bank’s project documents in the 1980s shows that it was economic profits rather than social gains that led the World Bank to support education (Regmi 2017, 192–193). As a result, according to Regmi (2017), the Bank’s neoliberal education policies—education privatization, marketization, and decentralization—introduced and implemented in the 1980s, have had a lasting impact on Nepalese education policies and plans even though they were not suitable considering the educational reality of Nepal.

In the mid-90s, the World Bank began facing certain challenges as new players emerged in the sector; there were mainly private financing and civil advocacy groups against structural adjustment programs, but also member countries that arrived at a consensus to work together for universal education (Mundy & Verger 2015). As a result, the World Bank shifted its direction from structural adjustment programs to poverty reduction strategies. However, the Bank has continued to be criticized by academics and civil society advocates for its adherence to neoliberal economics (Babb &

Kentikelenis 2018; Stein 2014; Storey 2000), and so have the organization's education policies.⁸⁾ The World Bank mentions human rights in relation to education from time to time, but its discussion of education still revolves mostly around the economic benefits such as increases in household income and the enhancement of an economy's productivity. Such focus on the economic dimension is evident in the Bank's WBES 2020(Klees et al. 2012b) and its World Development Report 2018, which includes similar views(Klees et al. 2019; Komatsu & Rappleye 2018).

〈Table 1〉 Characteristics and Limitations of the World Bank's Education Policies from the 1960s to Mid-1990s

Time Period	Characteristics	Critiques/Limitations
1960s	Expenditures in education were justified by the concept of human capital as 'a way to fix "engineering problems"'(Heyneman 2003). Due to a shift in the Bank's infrastructure projects, there was a need and incentive for the development of local talent, which, in turn, became the incentive for investing in education.	As a large part of the education expenditures were focused on helping an economy develop future engineers and technicians, other areas of education, even primary and secondary education, were neglected.
1980s to early 1990s	A new wave of human capital economists at the World Bank began to introduce the idea that investing in health and education could enhance future productivity(Kapur et al. 1997; World Bank 1980). The Bank started to use rate of return(ROR) analysis for the cost-benefit analysis of its education projects.	In the early 1990s, the political climate at the time, with the 1990 Education for All(EFA) Conference in Jomtien and the rise of civil society advocates as well as NGOs, pressured the Bank into pursuing 'structural adjustment with a human face.'

8) Another study looked at the Bank's education projects for girls and concluded that the neoliberal approach toward education could cause serious equity issues for girls(Lincove 2009). Lincove(2009) explained how without proper safeguards, it would be easy for girls to be overlooked in the Bank's education policies and pointed out that the Bank did not actively implement safeguards.

Time Period	Characteristics	Critiques/Limitations
1980s to early 1990s	<p>- The ROR analysis showed that primary education would yield the highest returns. This led to primary education being the focus of public investment and higher education that of privatization.</p> <p>The 1980s was also a period of structural adjustment.</p> <p>- According to Alexander(2001), the Bank’s prescription of education policies included elements such as the privatization of tertiary education, the use of contract teachers, the lowering of repetition rates, and encouraging parental investment for school costs in K-12 education.</p>	<p>In the early 1990s, the political climate at the time, with the 1990 Education for All(EFA) Conference in Jomtien and the rise of civil society advocates as well as NGOs, pressured the Bank into pursuing ‘structural adjustment with a human face.’</p>
Mid-1990s	<p>The World Bank experienced some challenges as it had to face new players in the mid-90s; these were mainly private financing and civil advocacy groups against structural adjustment programs.</p> <p>The OECD countries—i.e., the Bank’s powerful member countries—also arrived at a consensus that they would work together toward certain development goals including universal education.</p> <p>The Bank needed to devise a new reasoning to legitimize its lending practices and, hence, shifted from structural adjustment programs to poverty reduction strategies(Mundy & Verger 2015).</p>	<p>The organization’s neoliberal tendencies could still be observed in the ‘good governance’ policies recommended for education systems. Neoliberal prescriptions⁹⁾ were still seen in the Bank’s projects addressing K-12 education(Mundy & Verger 2015).</p>

9) According to Mundy and Verger(2015), examples of such policies are: ‘the decentralization of central state control over basic services, school-based management, local accountability, and the introduction of direct incentives to productivity among user groups.’

3. Project-Discourse Misalignment

After receiving criticism about its neoliberal approach to education, the World Bank began to include human rights in its documents and reports. However, even well past the beginning of the 21st century, many researchers and civil society actors have pointed out that the World Bank still adheres to the neoliberal ideology when justifying and providing education (Klees et al. 2019; Oxfam 2019; Steiner-Khamsi 2012).

On the other hand, a recent study has shown that while the World Bank seems a promoter of neoliberalism in international education, when its individual projects are closely observed, it is difficult to find components that support this view (Mundy & Menashy 2014). This project-discourse misalignment within the Bank's education sector can be considered an example of "organizational hypocrisy" (Brunsson 1989). Meyer and Rowan (1977) explained that when the expectations of the surrounding environment begin to clash with an organization's internal culture or ideology, it is likely that organizations will react by separating themselves from the external pressures by "building gaps between their formal structures and actual work activities", a phenomenon that Brunsson (1989) later names organizational hypocrisy.

Although organizational hypocrisy in educational institutions (Kılıçoğlu 2017; Kılıçoğlu et al. 2019), the World Bank in general (Weaver 2008) and NGOs (Larsson 2014) has been reported, it is a topic that has not yet been extensively studied, especially in the international development and education sphere. The effects of organizational hypocrisy have been examined by even less, but Han and Koo (2010) point out that organizational hypocrisy could lead to a decrease in trustworthiness of an organization, and one study measures the impact that organizational hypocrisy has on factors such as trust and cynicism among an organization's members and find that organizational hypocrisy shows negative correlations with both variables (Kılıçoğlu et al. 2019).

Excluding the study by Mundy and Menashy (2014), there is limited research on project-discourse misalignment in the World Bank. However,

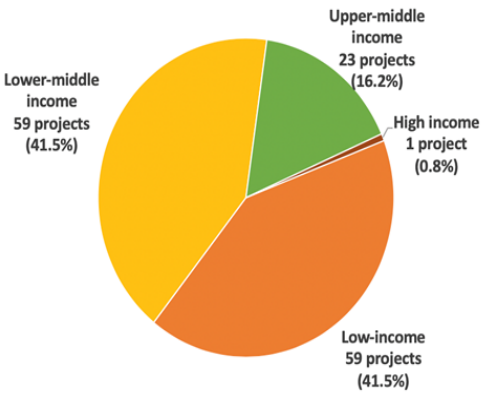
based on the findings of Han and Koo(2010) as well as Kılıçoğlu et al.(2019), it would not be unreasonable to assume that the project discourse misalignment shown by the Bank may have a negative impact on how the Bank’s internal staff and external partners perceive the Bank’s intention and performance in the education sector. Considering the vast number and range of its staffs and partners, such a negative impact may in turn damage the organization’s efficacy or trustworthiness, and hence research on project-discourse misalignment shown by not only the World Bank, but also other development organizations have the potential to contribute to increasing aid effectiveness in the education sector.

III. Methodology

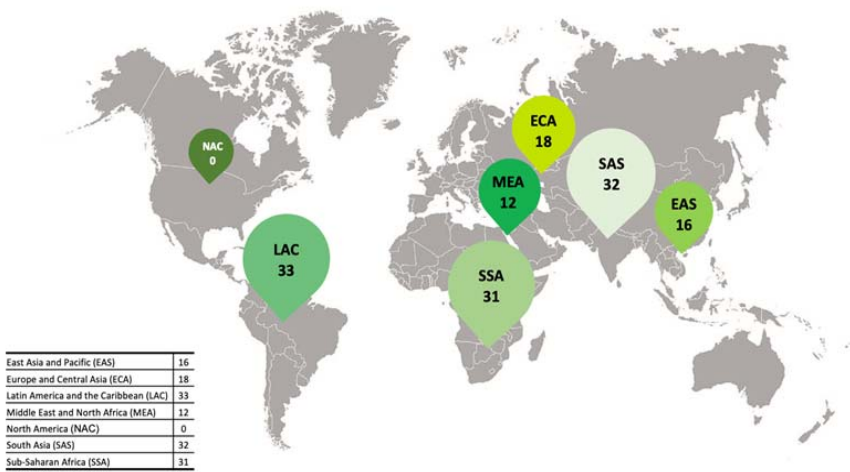
The projects examined in this study are ones that received approval between 2004 and 2013. The scope of our analysis is five years before and after the 2008 crisis. Of the 824 projects run by either the International Development Association or the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development under the theme ‘Education for All,’ 319 were approved between 2004 and 2013. Of these 319 projects, 167 were excluded as they were focused on overall poverty reduction, a multisectoral response to emergencies or recoveries from crises, or a plan for enhancing the transparency and governance capability. Another 10 were also excluded as they did not have Project Information Documents(PIDs). Overall, 142 projects were examined. As can be seen in Figures 1 and 2, the projects are not concentrated in a particular income level or region¹⁰). This helps lower the possibility of overrepresenting a certain income level or region when discussing the World Bank’s education projects.

10) The income levels and regions of the countries where the projects were implemented were categorized according to the World Bank’s country classification(World Bank 2020).

[Figure 2] Number of Projects According to the Project Country's Income Level at the Time of Project Approval
(Source: World Bank, authors' own representation)



[Figure 3] Number of Projects According to the World Bank's Classification by Region
(Source: World Bank, authors' own representation)



For each project, the World Bank uploads numerous documents ranging from Project Appraisal Documents(PADs), Project Information Documents(PIDs), Procurement Plans, and Auditing Documents to Implementation

Status and Results Reports, all available online (World Bank 2018a). In deciding which type of documents to use for our analysis, the PIDs seemed the most suitable. For each project, both PIDs and PADs give overall descriptions of the project but PIDs are the first project feasibility report released by the World Bank, when considering which project to pursue, the identification phase for development project planning.¹¹⁾ Moreover, as the PADs are lengthy and the objective was to find a pattern across many projects instead of examining a single project in depth, PIDs were a better fit given our research timeframe, the period between 2004 and 2013. By considering such time frame, we aimed to analyze whether trends observed among PIDs are comparable to findings based on analysis of PADs, conducted by Mundy and Menashy (2014). Since PIDs cover initial stage of development project planning, it is uncertain as to whether trends would be similar to the context covered in PADs, thus requiring complementary analysis this paper provides.

Using project documents, we employed a mixed method approach, performing both quantitative and qualitative analysis. The quantitative analysis focused on the question: is there a trend or pattern among projects, namely, is there a decrease in neoliberal components after 2008 that can be observed over time? To answer this, it was important that we first defined the neoliberal components of an education project. Borrowing from the analysis of World Bank projects by Lincove (2009) and Mundy and Menashy (2014), and the definition of neoliberalism given by Harvey (2005) and Ball (2012), we define neoliberalism in international development education as a policy approach that provides and distributes education according to the logic of economic efficiency. The authors also define a ‘neoliberal component’ as a project component that involved either the private provision of education, competitive grants, contract teachers, and parental investment or cost-sharing. The project documents were examined using the software NVivo 12. Using the ‘text search’ function, we could

11) According to the World Bank, PIDs are written at the initial identifying stage, which is then followed by preparation and further assessments, after which PADs are composed (World Bank n.d.).

identify how many times certain words or expressions appeared in a given text. The words ‘grant OR private’, ‘contract teachers’, “parental investment” OR “parental payment” OR “cost-sharing” were searched in each document. The software indicated the number of times the words appeared in each document. The average number was calculated for each year, and we examined how this average changed over time.

In addition, in order to see whether there has been a change in the incorporation of the rights-based approach in the Bank’s education projects, the authors used the same method to observe the trend for words that would signify a rights-based approach. In deciding which keywords to search for, we considered Tomaševski’s 4-A scheme, which is a framework that outlines governmental obligations for every child’s right to education (Tomaševski 2001; 2004). The authors have searched the terms ‘free compulsory primary education’, ‘inequality OR disparity OR discrimination’, and ‘quality’ for availability, accessibility, and acceptability, respectively.¹²⁾

For the qualitative analysis, the project with the largest word count was reviewed and analyzed more closely for each year. In each project document, we checked all the references where the words ‘private’ or ‘grant’ were mentioned, examined the context of the words, and determined whether they were used to describe a neoliberal project component. The qualitative analysis clarified whether the education projects of the Bank actually included neoliberal components.

There are many limitations to the methodology used in our study. In the quantitative analysis, we only compared the number of times certain words appeared. Due to software limitations, the documents were not coded to differentiate between projects that used the words ‘private’ or ‘grant’ as part of their discussions about the status quo of the client country and projects that included private education and/or competitive grants as a

12) Terms for adaptability were not searched and organized as it was difficult to find a term that would incorporate the concept of adapting to the individual needs of students; and a preliminary search of terms such as “tailored” and “individual” did not produce meaningful results as the terms would refer to institutions, organizations, or transactions rather than students or their needs.

project component to be operationalized. Although it could be argued that the change in the number of times certain words appear could point to a shift in the World Bank’s policies, we do not want to speculate without further well-founded proof.

IV. Effect of 2008 Financial Crisis on Development

In 2008, there was a rather dramatic shift in the power dynamics surrounding the World Bank. Due to the Global Financial Crisis, many of the Bank’s powerful members had their own economic problems; hence, making contributions to development issues was not a priority (Mundy & Verger 2015). If member countries did turn their attention toward development, it was in the context of achieving global stability and security. Moreover, the Global Financial Crisis caused many to doubt the effectiveness of neoliberalism as a dominant paradigm. Many began to voice the opinion that neoliberalism has not been as effective in either explaining or solving developmental problems as previously perceived (Aalbers 2013; Chorev & Babb 2009; De Vogli 2011). Some went as far as to say that the era of neoliberalism had run its course after the Global Financial Crisis and that a new economic structure was needed (Kotz 2009).

However, in contrast to such views (Kotz 2009), neoliberalism has remained the dominant, albeit weakened, paradigm for development (Babb 2013). Yet, the Global Financial Crisis did have a significant impact on the Bank as it raised doubts about the economic principles the organization used as its fundamental reasoning behind projects.

In 2011, as part of its effort to diversify its portfolio, the Bank announced its World Bank Education Strategy 2020 (WBES 2020) (World Bank 2011a). In this strategy, the Bank set the systems approach as a distinctive feature and focuses on ‘whole system reforms’ (Mundy & Verger 2015). After the announcement of the WBES 2020, a group of scholars levied extensive criticism against this new education strategy (Klees et al. 2012a). These

discordant views generally aligned with the argument that through the WBES 2020, the World Bank was once again exhibiting its adherence to neoliberal principles despite studies revealing the negative impacts of this approach.

To elaborate on three of these critiques, one study examined the formulation process of the WBES 2020(Steiner-Khamsi 2012). The Bank went through a consultation process in which various stakeholders participated. However, Steiner-Khamsi(2012) found that despite the inclusion of other parties, the feedback was not notably reflected in the final strategy. The author called the Bank's move a strategy of 'rhetorical harmonization'¹³⁾ (Steiner-Khamsi 2012, 10).

In a second study, the discourse used by the Bank in the strategy paper was analyzed for how it addresses the inclusivity aspect of education (Nordtveit 2012). The author meticulously examined the words and expressions used(or rather, not used) in the document and found that the terms related to equality and human rights were lacking in the WBES 2020. Additionally, the terms that did appear repeatedly described education as an investment rather than as a human right and Nordtveit argued that this reflected how the World Bank perceives the role of education within a society(2012).

Finally, the third study focused on the systems approach the Bank set as the distinctive feature of the WBES 2020(Kamat 2012). In the strategy paper, the Bank stated that for its new education strategy, it would go beyond the conventional inputs and approach education at the system level(World Bank 2011a). Kamat argued that even though the Bank claimed to employ a systems approach, it lacked the dialectical analysis—an analysis of how the Bank's idea of 'education for all' would interact with the existing economic and social conditions—that typically accompanies a systems approach(2012). Further, the author discussed how WBES 2020 seemed to be using a

13) When Steiner-Khamsi says that the Bank achieved "rhetorical harmonization", she means that the Bank is successfully pretending "that it has integrated divergent interests and agendas to the extent that their own education strategy now passes as everyone's "global framework of education"".

systems approach as a way to promote the Bank’s neoliberal agenda and, hence, contradicted its core mission, which happens to be the title of the strategy report as well: ‘learning for all.’

1. Changes in the Bank’s Education Projects after the 2008 Financial Crisis

As stated, the World Bank has been seen as an organization that has maintained neoliberal tendencies when planning and implementing education projects. However, there have been cases where the Bank has adjusted its discourse and policies when faced with opposing forces.¹⁴⁾ Moreover, in regards to the effect the 2008 Global Financial Crisis has had on the Bank, it is not clear how or if the World Bank made notable changes in the manner in which it practiced education. To clarify this, we analyzed the content of the World Bank’s education PIDs. <Table 2> shows the average and maximum word frequency of ‘private’ and ‘grant’ for each year and [Figure 1] presents a visualization of this. As mentioned above, the average frequency of the words ‘private’ and ‘grant’ was calculated for each year to see whether there was any change in a notable trend. As [Figure 1] shows, there does seem to be a decrease in word frequencies around 2008 to 2009; both for the average and the maximum, the rate of decrease is noticeable, resulting in the lowest frequency in 2009. There is an uptick between 2009 and 2010, but the number goes down again after 2010.¹⁵⁾

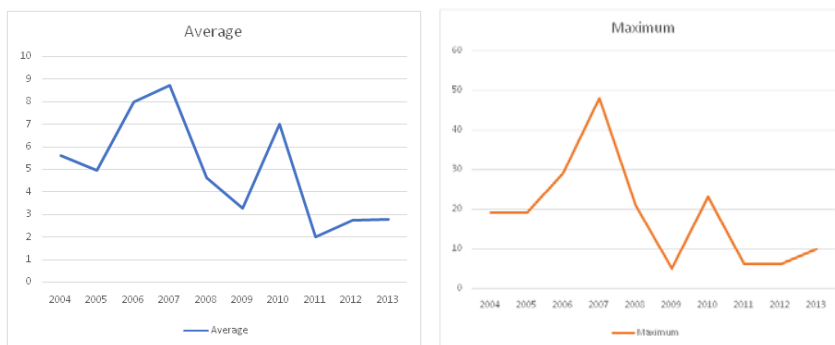
14) For example, as explained earlier, in the mid-1990s, the global community came to a consensus that basic education should be universal and publicly provided. Moreover, the World Bank’s structural adjustment programs were strongly questioned by newly emerging players such as private foundations and civil advocacy groups. As a result, the World Bank shifted its overarching strategy from structural adjustment to poverty reduction (Mundy & Verger 2015).

15) As the terms ‘private’ and ‘grant’ may be limited in representing neoliberal components in World Bank project documents, the authors also searched for additional terms such as ‘contract teacher’ and ‘parental investment’, ‘parental payment’, or ‘cost-sharing’. However, terms related to contract teachers were not found and parental cost-sharing was mentioned only 15 times across 8 documents. Hence, it was difficult to formulate a meaningful trend with the small number of cases.

〈Table 2〉 Changes in word frequency of 'Private' and 'Grant'
in World Bank Education Projects' PIDs over time

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
N	16	16	17	18	16	12	15	7	8	17
avg	5.625	4.9375	8	8.72	4.625	3.25	7	2	2.75	2.76
max	19	19	29	48	21	5	23	6	6	10

[Figure 4] Change in the Average (Left) and Maximum (Right) Word Frequency of
'Private' and 'Grant' in World Bank Education Projects' PIDs



The analysis of the overall trends in word frequency was an attempt to see whether the Global Financial Crisis had an effect on the number of neoliberal components included in the World Bank's education projects. We can see from the results of the quantitative analysis that there does seem to be a decrease in 2008 and 2009, immediately after the crisis, and that, overall, there seems to be a downward trend in the word frequency. However, it would not be prudent to attribute too much meaning to this as the word frequency seems to fluctuate. Moreover, the numbers in the table represent simply the number of times certain words appear in a document rather than a count of project components that are actually neoliberal. The change in the word frequency could be due to some PIDs coincidentally implementing more projects in countries where the private education sector is more prominent just as much as due to project components that support private provision of education. While we were able to find a decreasing

trend, it would be interesting to see whether the trend continues through 2030, which could mean that the World Bank’s rhetoric on education has changed in the medium-run since the early 2000s.¹⁶⁾

2. Project – discourse Misalignment

After checking for word frequencies in the PIDs, we conducted an in-depth context evaluation of 10 PIDs to analyze whether these projects included either a private education or competitive grant component. <Table 1> in the Appendix shows the results. The table presents the basic information of the projects such as the project title, approval date, and the country where the project was carried out. The word frequencies for ‘private’ and ‘grant’ are shown separately as well as in total. The table also includes the specific contexts in which the two words were used in each of the documents. The last column shows whether neoliberal components are present; projects are marked Y if they are deemed to have a project component that involves either the private provision of education or a competitive grant scheme and marked N if not.

Among 10 PIDs that reflect the greatest frequency of ‘private’ or ‘grant,’ only four could be deemed neoliberal. In the documents, the words ‘private’ and ‘grant’ were commonly used to elaborate on sector specific circumstances of a country’s economic and education system. Moreover, the neoliberal components that we found were all competitive grant schemes.¹⁷⁾

16) In addition to words or phrases related to the neoliberal approach to education, we also conducted word frequency searches for terms related to the rights-based approach(RBA) such as ‘free compulsory primary’, ‘inequality OR disparity OR discrimination’, and ‘quality’. For ‘free compulsory education’, search results were very limited and even non-existent in some years. In the case of the latter two terms, the search results were not as minimal, but produced no meaningful pattern to indicate a trend among the World Bank’s education projects. Results are available upon request.

17) It should be noted that we did not consider a project to be neoliberal if the grant was given in the form of a block grant rather than a competitive grant. Block grants are not distributed based on merit as competitive grants are; hence, it would be difficult to call them a neoliberal project component.

Projects that included support for private forms of education were not found among these PIDs. This is in line with the results of Mundy and Menashy(2014, 411-416), who found that despite the continuous promotion of private financing for and private provision of education, there were not many education projects with private provision of K-12 education directly supported by the Bank.

Notably, the expressions and phrases that did include the word 'private' were often the opposite of what would be expected from the World Bank. For example, in the PID for the Tonga Education Support Project, the necessity of safeguards in the private provision of education was mentioned as 'private providers lack a mechanism to support broader equity concerns'(World Bank 2005, 6). Additionally, in the case of the Early Childhood Education and Development Project implemented in Indonesia, the World Bank not only recognized the 'failure of the private sector to reach the poorest children,' it also devised a plan to give block grants to villages so they could develop community-based solutions for better early childhood education and development(ECED) service delivery(World Bank 2006).

Actually, there were also components that depicted an RBA, which allows education to be available, accessible, acceptable, and adaptable(Tomaševski 2001). For education to be truly accessible, Tomaševski suggested there should be no legal, administrative, financial or social barriers to education. The author also pointed out that education accessibility decreased as the level of education became higher and argued that such a correlation went against the spirit of the international human rights law. One of the components of the Second Higher Education Project in Nepal was the Student Financial Assistance for disadvantaged students¹⁸⁾ to help them access higher education. More importantly, the PID clarified that 'a proxy means testing system' would be put in place to identify students who

18) By 'disadvantaged,' the document refers to 'girls, dalits and educationally disadvantaged janjati.' Dalits are a Hindu caste considered 'untouchable' before legislation was passed to prevent discrimination. Janjati are indigenous groups and their access to higher education varies(World Bank 2007).

needed financial assistance while also considering whether they belonged to underprivileged groups in the selection process (World Bank 2007). Although the component co-existed with a neoliberal view, it seemed to fit well with the RBA.

Such qualitative analysis of the contexts described in the PIDs confirms that the World Bank’s education discourse and its practices have been misaligned. The evidence found suggests that, in fact, there has been an ongoing misalignment in the Bank’s education projects since even before the 2008 Global Financial Crisis. While the discourse the Bank promotes still seems neoliberal, the analysis of individual education projects showed that few of the World Bank’s projects, in fact, a minority, included a neoliberal component. The projects may not be based on an RBA as NGO projects tend to be, but the Bank’s projects do seem to pay attention to equity-related issues, more so than is commonly viewed. Thus, there is a misalignment between the organization’s discourse and practice. The question then is: why does this misalignment exist?

In their analysis of the situation, Mundy and Menashy (2014) suggested that this was due to the internal and external forces that have been opposed to the neoliberal prescriptions of the World Bank. The authors argued that the Bank had become a strong policy advocate for the private provision of K-12 education because of ‘the existence of a strong epistemic community of neoclassical economics in-house’ as well as encouragement from the US for a ‘a strong privatization agenda’ (Mundy & Menashy 2014, 421). At the same time, however, internally, there were staff who had been less aligned with neoliberal economics, and externally, there was resistance from the borrowing governments. Mundy and Menashy (2014, 421) explained that combined with the consensus of international donors that basic education should be universally and publicly provided, these internal and external forces surrounding the Bank led to the misalignment between the Bank’s policy discourse and operational practices.

Another answer can be found in the study by Rossi, who incorporates Foucauldian thoughts into her analysis of the interaction between discourse and practice (2004). Foucault (1991, 79) argues that ‘practices don’t exist

without a certain regime of rationality' and that 'power produces; it produces reality, it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production'(Foucault 1995, 194). Based on this Foucauldian idea on the power of discourse, Rossi(2004) describes a situation in which different types of actors working in the field of development adjust their approach in response to a new dominant development discourse, although it is against their best interests. Through her anthropological lens, Rossi(2004) analyzes how various development actors react differently as each had varying degree of 'room for manoeuvre' when they are impacted by the same new discourse.

Typical actors in development, which consist of planners, recipients and consultants, while working together on a project may experience a sudden change in the dominant development discourse(Rossi 2004). Such change can have significant repercussions for the project, if the project does not fit well with the new discourse. Usually, the planners, who worked within the international organization, 'reproduced and imposed' the new discourse(Rossi 2004, 24), since they were the ones who were firmly planted in the field. Moreover, planners work within an organization that promotes the new discourse, and they would also be the ones evaluated according to this new discourse. This meant that the planners had little 'room for manoeuvre' around this discourse.

In comparison, the recipients are farther removed from the development discourse than the planners. Yet, as they receive resources from the organization that adhere to the new discourse, recipients also needed to comply to a certain extent. Additionally, the recipients are not in powerful positions to begin with and thus unable to voice their opinions as strongly as the other types of actors. According to Rossi(2004), when the recipients become aware of the changing discourse, they try to bargain to protect components they valued most.

Finally, the consultants have the most 'room for manoeuvre.' As the consultants were mostly academics or experts in another field, their careers are not as intertwined with the new discourse in comparison with the

planners. Hence, they are not as compelled as the planners to adjust their perspectives and actions to fit the new discourse. The consultants enjoy relatively more freedom than the planners and held more power in the discussions than the recipients did, which meant that their voices were more likely to be heard. However, precisely because they did not adhere to the dominant discourse, ‘they were cutting themselves out of a game which, ... , is essentially political’ (Rossi 2004, 25).

Rossi’s description of planners and consultants offers a possible explanation for the misalignment of the Bank’s education policies/discourse and projects/practice as well. Thus far, the World Bank has been seen as perhaps the most influential organization in the development sector, easily affecting the development discourse due to its influence and technical expertise (Heyneman 2003; Klees et al. 2012a). However, it would seem that even an organization like the Bank is not unaffected by changes in discourse, as evident by the mismatch between the policies it has been promoting as an organization and the individual projects that have been carried out by its practitioners.

On the one hand, adopting Rossi’s lens, the question is: is the Bank’s neoliberal agenda the dominant education discourse? If that is the case, then individuals working for the World Bank, namely, those who plan and implement projects, would take on the role of planners. As they are deeply embedded in the World Bank’s system compared with any other actors, and are evaluated according to the Bank’s standards, they have little choice but to spread the Bank’s education policies. However, the reality pointed to by Mundy and Menashy (2014) and also confirmed by results from this paper is that the Bank’s practitioners have been implementing projects that do not necessarily go hand-in-hand with the organization’s discourse; the Bank’s projects in PIDs, which cover projects at the initial stage, also did not necessarily focus on neoliberal aspects. Such misunderstanding may have happened since non-planners are in charge of safeguarding development projects implemented by planners, such as the World Bank. External feedback from the Center for Global Development, an independent think-tank on development, has commented that the World Bank has

exhibited tendency to support financing inputs for education, compared to financing key outcome, learning gains(Birdsall 2011). Such unwarranted evaluation cannot be easily overcome, if the rhetoric remains to lump up the World Bank's efforts without a thorough evaluation of project details.

On the other hand, is the Bank the one trying to resist the shift toward a more rights-based human development discourse for education? In this case, if the misalignment is any indication, those who are carrying out the projects for the World Bank are also shifting toward a new discourse. This could imply that individuals working at the Bank would once again be planners, who align themselves with a broader group of development practitioners in general. Hence, they would feel compelled to follow the discourse of the overall development sector that has tilted toward a more equitable RBA to education. On the evaluation of the recent World Development Report, the World Bank's annual report, published in 2018 on the theme of education, Wales argues that while the report rightly identifies the learning crisis in developing countries, there still remains technical challenges stemming from system coherence within the education sector and political challenges resulting from actors' varying interests, which remain insufficiently addressed in the report(Wales 2017).

There could be many other explanations for this phenomenon. It could simply be that there are employees in charge of the policies and employees responsible for project implementation and the misalignment is the misalignment between these two groups within the World Bank. Regardless of whether adopting Rossi's viewpoint is appropriate for assessing this situation, this discourse - practice misalignment pointed out by Mundy and Menashy among the World Bank staff on whether to invest in public education(2014) is an intriguing topic worthy of further research. One potential research topic could be whether the components of the Bank's education projects have changed during the period immediately before and after the announcement of the Human Capital Index in 2018.

V. Conclusion

Since the 1960s, when education was first incorporated into the World Bank’s development practice, the Bank has continuously advanced and spread its education discourse. As a result, the World Bank has become a major player in the education sector. However, despite the development sector’s shift toward an RBA to human development, the Bank has maintained its stance as a proponent of the human capital theory and neoliberal policies. As a result, it continues to face criticism from academia(Klees et al. 2012b; Lincove 2009), civil society, and NGOs(Oxfam 2013).

However, despite such criticism, Mundy and Menashy(2014) have shown that while the Bank’s agenda is predominantly neoliberal on the surface, its education projects are surprisingly lacking in neoliberal components(i.e., private provision of schooling). Their study suggests a misalignment between the discourse and practice of the Bank. As their study was done in the time period closely surrounding the Global Financial Crisis, our approach was to explore not only the effect of the Global Financial Crisis on the Bank’s education projects, but also the discourse - practice misalignment within the Bank to analyze whether such misalignment continued to affect the Bank’s projects after the crisis.

Utilizing a mixed method approach, we find that while neoliberal words are used less in recent World Bank’s education projects, the context behind the projects still retains a focus on the economic dimension of human development, highlighting that the discourse-practice misalignment has persisted. Moreover, cases of discourse - practice misalignment were found both before and after the Global Financial Crisis. We have tried to explain this discourse - practice mismatch from the perspective of Rossi(2004), regarding the different reactions of different actors to a change in discourse.

For this research, authors have limited the time period of this research to 2004 to 2013, five years before and after the 2008 global financial crisis, to produce a clear before-after comparison. In future research, however,

expanding the timespan to include more recent years(2014-2020) will be useful to provide further insight into how the World Bank is aiming to address education in developing countries. The research results could have been more meaningful if a qualitative analysis was done on all the project documents. However, there were too many project documents to perform a qualitative analysis on every one, and our initial attempt was to identify a broad trend over time rather than a detailed analysis of a few projects. Consequently, if there are specific projects that aim for rights-based approach, employing a thorough impact evaluation project using at least two rounds of surveys from beneficiaries may provide micro-level evidence on the Bank's performance.

Lastly, if more detailed observations on the interactions between the World Bank and stakeholders in the education sector, as well as the internal dynamics of the Bank are available, then it would have significant implications on our understanding of the policy and practice alignment process at play for international development education sector. Seen from the broader perspective of aid effectiveness, knowing which process is more influential due to the imbalance of power will be the first step to ideate how to devise a counter mechanism to overcome such imbalanced power dynamics in the international development education sector. As the global community navigates through yet another education challenge posed by the COVID-19 pandemic, keeping a close eye on how the biggest player for financing of education projects in developing countries will be needed to ensure inclusive and equitable quality education for learners world-wide to ensure aid effectiveness.

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Appendix.

〈Table 1〉 List of World Bank projects analyzed (2004–2013)

Approval Date	Project Title	Code	Country	Word Frequency	Region ¹⁹⁾	Income Level ²⁰⁾
2004-01-20	Education Quality & Relevance Project (APL #1)	P074503	Armenia	4	ECA	LM
2004-02-24	Bangladesh - Primary Education Development Project II	P074966	Bangladesh	2	SAS	L
2004-03-08	Education Quality Improvement Program(EQIP) Phase 2	P082999	Tunisia	2	MEA	LM
2004-03-09	Education Sector Project	P050620	Ghana	7	SSA	L
2004-04-20	Elementary Education Project	P055459	India	2	SAS	L
2004-04-29	Second Education Development Project	P078113	Lao People’s Democratic Republic	10	EAC	L
2004-06-08	Secondary Education Development Program	P083080	Tanzania	10	SSA	L
2004-06-17	Bangladesh - Reaching Out-of-School Children Project	P086791	Bangladesh	10	SAS	L
2004-06-29	St. Vincent and the Grenadines: OECS Education Development Project	P086664	St. Vincent and the Grenadines	1	LAC	UM

19) The countries were categorized by the World Bank’s country classification into one of the following seven regions: East Asia and Pacific(EAC), Europe and Central Asia(ECA), Latin America and the Caribbean(LAC), Middle East and North Africa (MEA), North America(NAC), South Asia(SAS), and Sub-Saharan Africa(SSA) (World Bank 2020).

20) The countries were categorized by the World Bank’s country classification into one of the following four income levels: low-income(L), lower-middle-income(LM), upper-middle-income(UM), and high-income(H)(World Bank 2020).

Approval Date	Project Title	Code	Country	Word Frequency	Region	Income Level
2004-07-01	MX Basic Education Dev Phase III	P085851	Mexico	0	LAC	UM
2004-07-29	Education Quality Improvement Program	P083964	Afghanistan	3	SAS	L
2004-09-02	Nicaragua - Education Project	P078990	Nicaragua	0	LAC	L
2004-09-23	Republic of Congo Support to Basic Education Project	P084317	Congo, Republic of	19	SSA	L
2004-09-23	Yemen: Basic Education Development Program	P076185	Yemen, Republic of	2	MEA	L
2004-10-14	Pernambuco Integrated Development: Education Quality Improvement Project	P069934	Brazil	5	LAC	LM
2004-12-14	Rural Education Project	P078976	Kyrgyz Republic	13	ECA	L
2005-02-08	Morocco Basic Education Reform Support Program	P043412	Morocco	1	MEA	LM
2005-02-15	Early Childhood Education Enhancement Project(ECEEP)	P082952	Egypt, Arab Republic of	7	MEA	LM
2005-03-15	Secondary Education Project	P066149	Turkey	1	ECA	UM
2005-03-31	Education Reform Project (Montenegro)	P084597	Montenegro	1	ECA	UM
2005-05-12	Basic Education Project	P070668	Cambodia	1	EAC	L
2005-05-24	Equal Access to Quality Education in Ukraine Project	P077738	Ukraine	1	ECA	LM
2005-05-31	Education Development Capacity Building Project	P075964	Cameroon	2	SSA	LM
2005-06-14	Education Restructuring Project	P079226	Bosnia and Herzegovina	17	ECA	LM
2005-06-16	Tonga Education Support Project	P079657	Tonga	19	EAC	LM

Approval Date	Project Title	Code	Country	Word Frequency	Region	Income Level
2005-06-28	Support for National EducationforAll Plan Implementation Program	P085260	Vietnam	1	EAC	L
2005-07-01	Second Education Sector Development Policy Credit	P090346	Pakistan	3	SAS	L
2005-11-08	Second School Access and Improvement	P086994	Djibouti	3	MEA	LM
2005-11-29	Excellence and Innovation in Secondary Education (EXITO)	P078993	El Salvador	4	LAC	LM
2005-12-13	Mexico Education Quality	P088728	Mexico	12	LAC	UM
2005-12-15	Argentina Rural Education Improvement Project - PROMER	P070963	Argentina	0	LAC	UM
2005-12-15	Sri Lanka Education Sector Development Project	P084580	Sri Lanka	6	SAS	LM
2006-03-07	Education Sector Development Support Credit II	P084567	Bangladesh	0	SAS	L
2006-03-14	Quality Education in the Rural Areas of Moldova	P090340	Moldova	2	ECA	LM
2006-05-23	Rural Education and Development(READ) Project (formerly Rural Education Support Project)	P096328	Mongolia	3	EAC	L
2006-06-01	Education Excellence and Equity Project	P078933	Albania	3	ECA	LM
2006-06-01	Third Education Project - Phase II	P077903	Gambia, The	10	SSA	L
2006-06-01	Punjab Education Development Policy Credit - III	P097636	Pakistan	0	SAS	L

Approval Date	Project Title	Code	Country	Word Frequency	Region	Income Level
2006-06-20	Post-Primary Education	P098956	Burkina Faso	17	SSA	L
2006-06-20	National Program Support for Basic Education	P094063	Philippines	17	EAC	LM
2006-06-22	Pakistan: Balochistan Education Support Project - BESP	P094086	Pakistan	20	SAS	L
2006-06-27	Early Childhood Education and Development Project	P089479	Indonesia	29	EAC	LM
2006-07-13	Third Poverty Reduction Strategy Credit	P096102	Madagascar	1	SSA	L
2006-07-18	Education Sector Investment Program II	P093991	Mali	6	SSA	L
2006-07-25	EC-Inclusion and Quality Education	P087831	Ecuador	0	LAC	LM
2006-08-30	Quality Education for All Project - Phase 2	P089254	Senegal	4	SSA	L
2006-10-26	Basic Education, Phase I	P094042	Uzbekistan	1	ECA	L
2006-11-07	Education Sector Support Program	P087479	Kenya	23	SSA	L
2006-11-15	Education System Realignment & Strengthening Program (APL #2)	P098217	Georgia	0	ECA	LM
2007-02-20	Education Sector Reconstruction Project	P064557	Burundi	3	SSA	L
2007-02-22	Second Higher Education Project	P090967	Nepal	48	SAS	L
2007-03-06	Education Quality and Secondary Education	P089898	Guatemala	12	LAC	LM
2007-04-24	Zanzibar Basic Education Improvement Project	P102262	Tanzania	2	SSA	L

Approval Date	Project Title	Code	Country	Word Frequency	Region	Income Level
2007-04-26	HT Education For All Adaptable Program Grant Phase 1	P099918	Haiti	13	LAC	L
2007-04-26	Nigeria State Education Sector Project	P096151	Nigeria	5	SSA	L
2007-05-24	Education Sector Investment Program II - Scaling up	P105291	Mali	2	SSA	L
2007-05-24	Education and Training Sector Improvement Program - ETSIP	P086875	Namibia	2	SSA	LM
2007-06-05	DRC Education Sector Project	P086294	Congo, Democratic Republic of	22	SSA	L
2007-06-07	Sindh DPC	P100846	Pakistan	1	SAS	L
2007-06-07	Punjab Education Development Policy Credit - IV	P101243	Pakistan	2	SAS	L
2007-06-19	Education Sector Support	P095873	Timor-Leste	8	EAC	LM
2007-06-21	Third Programmatic Education Sector Development Support Credit	P102541	Bangladesh	2	SAS	L
2007-07-05	BERMUTU-Better Education through Reformed Management and Universal Teacher Upgrading	P097104	Indonesia	7	EAC	LM
2007-08-02	Basic Education -Additional Financing	P105555	Panama	0	LAC	UM
2007-10-09	BO-Secondary Education Transformation	P083965	Bolivia	0	LAC	LM
2007-11-27	Antioquia Upper Secondary Education	P052608	Colombia	7	LAC	LM
2007-12-06	Education for All Additional Financing	P107558	Nepal	21	SAS	L

Approval Date	Project Title	Code	Country	Word Frequency	Region	Income Level
2008-01-24	Honduras Education Quality, Governance, & Institutional Strengthening	P101218	Honduras	0	LAC	LM
2008-01-31	Afghanistan - Second Education Quality Improvement Program	P106259	Afghanistan	21	SAS	L
2008-03-18	Secondary Education Development and Girls Access Program	P089761	Yemen, Republic of	10	MEA	L
2008-04-17	Colombia Rural Education Project (APL Phase II)	P082908	Colombia	5	LAC	UM
2008-04-21	Second Education Sector Development Project	P102117	Azerbaijan	3	ECA	LM
2008-04-29	HT - Meeting Teacher Needs for EFA	P106621	Haiti	4	LAC	L
2008-05-13	Additional Financing to Bhutan EDP	P110892	Bhutan	3	SAS	LM
2008-05-13	Jamaica Early Childhood Development Project	P095673	Jamaica	3	LAC	UM
2008-05-15	India: Elementary Education (Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan II)	P102547	India	1	SAS	LM
2008-06-05	Sri Lanka - Education Sector Development Project - AF	P110278	Sri Lanka	0	SAS	LM
2008-06-26	Supplement Rural Education and Development(READ) Project (formerly Rural Education Support Project)	P111059	Mongolia	1	EAC	LM
2008-07-31	Bangladesh - Secondary Education Quality and Access Improvement	P106161	Bangladesh	5	SAS	L
2008-08-05	Basic Education Quality Improvement Project	P106686	Panama	0	LAC	UM

Approval Date	Project Title	Code	Country	Word Frequency	Region	Income Level
2008-10-30	Guinea: Education For All - Additional Financing	P111304	Guinea	1	SSA	L
2008-12-16	General Education Quality Improvement Project - APL 1(GEQIP)	P106855	Ethiopia	16	SSA	L
2008-12-18	Support for the Second Phase of the Expansion of the Program of Conditional Transfers-FamiliasenAccion Project	P101211	Colombia	1	LAC	UM
2009-03-05	HT: Emergency School Reconstruction Project	P115261	Haiti	1	LAC	L
2009-03-31	Post-Primary Education and Training Program	P110803	Uganda	0	SSA	L
2009-05-12	Second Education Quality and Relevance (APL 2)	P107772	Armenia	3	ECA	LM
2009-05-19	Second Education Reform for the Knowledge Economy	P105036	Jordan	3	MEA	LM
2009-06-04	Pakistan: Punjab Education Sector Project	P102608	Pakistan	5	SAS	LM
2009-06-04	Pakistan: Sindh Education Sector Project(SEP)	P107300	Pakistan	5	SAS	LM
2009-06-09	Republic of Congo Support to Basic Education Project Additional Financing	P113508	Republic of Congo	4	SSA	LM
2009-06-16	Conditional Cash Transfers Project	P103974	North Macedonia	5	ECA	UM
2009-06-23	Second Basic Education	P107845	Uzbekistan	4	ECA	LM
2009-06-23	School Education Quality Assurance	P091747	Vietnam	3	EAC	LM
2009-09-22	Nepal: School Sector Reform Program	P113441	Nepal	5	SAS	L

Approval Date	Project Title	Code	Country	Word Frequency	Region	Income Level
2009-10-20	Additional Financing Third Basic Education Improvement	P111662	Uruguay	1	LAC	UM
2010-03-18	Additional Financing for Second Elementary Education Project	P118673	India	0	SAS	LM
2010-03-25	Compensatory Education	P101369	Mexico	1	LAC	UM
2010-05-04	Bangladesh - Reaching Out-of-School Children Additional Financing	P120804	Bangladesh	10	SAS	L
2010-05-11	Upper Secondary Education (MUSE) Development Policy Loan	P112262	Mexico	9	LAC	UM
2010-05-25	Education Modernization Project - Add'l Fin	P114313	Tajikistan	0	ECA	L
2010-05-27	Education for All Project - Additional Financing	P121193	Haiti	10	LAC	L
2010-05-27	Secondary Educ. Development Program II	P114866	Tanzania	12	SSA	L
2010-06-03	TP-Education Sector Support (ESSP) Add'l Financing	P120890	Timor-Leste	6	EAC	LM
2010-06-08	First Education Development Policy Loan	P117838	Morocco	1	MEA	LM
2010-06-17	Project to Improve Education Quality in Malawi	P114847	Malawi	8	SSA	L
2010-06-17	School Based Management (APL II)	P115347	Mexico	4	LAC	UM
2010-06-29	Third Education Project - Additional Financing	P120783	Gambia, The	1	SSA	L
2010-10-14	Improving Teacher Education	P110018	Guyana	2	LAC	LM

Approval Date	Project Title	Code	Country	Word Frequency	Region	Income Level
2010-11-30	Second Education Development Project	P118187	Lebanon	23	MEA	UM
2010-12-07	Timor-Leste Second Chance Education Project	P116520	Timor-Leste	4	EAC	LM
2011-01-11	Flexible and Open Distance Education Project	P116521	Papua New Guinea	3	EAC	LM
2011-03-24	Pakistan - Sindh Education Sector Additional Financing	P124913	Pakistan	0	SAS	LM
2011-04-28	MZ-Education Sector Support Program	P125127	Mozambique	2	SSA	L
2011-08-25	Bangladesh - Primary Education Development Program III	P113435	Bangladesh	3	SAS	L
2011-11-29	Sri Lanka -Transforming the School Education System as the Foundation of a Knowledge Hub	P113488	Sri Lanka	0	SAS	LM
2011-12-01	Haiti - Education for All Project - Phase II	P124134	Haiti	6	LAC	L
2011-12-13	Education Quality Improvement Project	P126364	El Salvador	0	LAC	LM
2012-01-17	Second Support to the Education Sector Project PASEN II	P126357	Nicaragua	3	LAC	LM
2012-03-13	Second Programmatic Upper Secondary Education Development Policy Loan	P126297	Mexico	5	LAC	UM
2012-03-20	Quality Education in the Rural Areas of Moldova AF	P129552	Moldova	1	ECA	LM
2012-03-22	India: Secondary Education Project	P118445	India	6	SAS	LM

Approval Date	Project Title	Code	Country	Word Frequency	Region	Income Level
2012-03-27	Mauritius First Public Sector Performance Development Policy Loan	P125694	Mauritius	2	SSA	UM
2012-05-01	MZ- AF to Education Sector Support Project	P124729	Mozambique	1	SSA	L
2012-06-12	Strengthening Institutional Capacity and Management of the Education System	P123315	Djibouti	4	MEA	LM
2012-09-27	Support to Uruguayan Public Schools Project	P126408	Uruguay	0	LAC	H
2013-01-17	Basic Education Project	P123151	Peru	0	LAC	UM
2013-01-24	Moldova Education Reform Project	P127388	Moldova	0	ECA	LM
2013-02-14	Yemen: Second Basic Education Development Project	P130853	Yemen, Republic of	3	MEA	LM
2013-02-28	Vietnam School Readiness Promotion Project	P117393	Vietnam	0	EAC	LM
2013-03-07	Sector Support for Education Reform Project	P113350	Kyrgyz Republic	3	ECA	LM
2013-03-14	Pakistan: Second Sindh Education Sector Project	P125952	Pakistan	3	SAS	LM
2013-03-19	PH - PH Development Policy Loan 2	P126580	Philippines	0	EAC	LM
2013-03-26	Nigeria - State Education Program Investment Project	P122124	Nigeria	1	SSA	LM
2013-04-30	Enhancing Education Development Project	P131331	Maldives	4	SAS	UM
2013-05-15	Nepal: School Sector Reform Program Additional Financing	P125610	Nepal	2	SAS	L

Approval Date	Project Title	Code	Country	Word Frequency	Region	Income Level
2013-05-28	Second Education Development Policy Loan	P120541	Morocco	2	MEA	LM
2013-06-13	Senegal Quality and Equity of Basic Education	P133333	Senegal	6	SSA	LM
2013-06-21	Chad Education Sector Reform Project Phase 2	P132617	Chad	3	SSA	L
2013-09-26	Angola Learning for All Project	P122700	Angola	0	SSA	UM
2013-11-12	Ethiopia General Education Quality Improvement Project II	P129828	Ethiopia	10	SSA	L
2013-12-03	Secondary Education Quality and Access Enhancement Project - AF	P146255	Bangladesh	6	SAS	L
2013-12-16	Third Upper Secondary Education Development Policy Loan	P147244	Mexico	4	LAC	UM

〈Table 2〉 Analyzing the context of the words ‘private’ or ‘grant’ in the documents

Project Approval Year	Project Title	Country	Project Code	Word Freq.-Total	Word Freq.-Private	Word Freq.-Grant	Context - Private	Context - Grant	Neoliberal Y/N
2004	Republic of Congo Support to Basic Education Project	Republic of Congo	P 084317	19	19	0	discussing how public and private schools differ in terms of access, repetition rate, teacher/student ratio, teacher creating a multisectoral management committee with participation of Ministry of Social Affairs, civil society, and private sector to support out-of-school youth		N
2005	Tonga Education Support Project	Tonga	P 079657	19	3	16	how there should be safeguards (in this case, incentives) as private sector as ‘private providers lack a mechanism to support broader equity concerns’	main component of the project is a grant to schools	Y
2006	Early Childhood Education and Developm	Indonesia	P 089479	29	8	21	‘failure of the private sector to reach the poorest children’	block grants are given to villages	N

Project Approval Year	Project Title	Country	Project Code	Word Freq.-Total	Word Freq. - Private	Word Freq.-Grant	Context - Private	Context - Grant	Neoliberal Y/N
	ent Project						describing how most 99% of Indonesia’s early childhood education and development services are delivered by the private sector ‘This project operationalizes the Government’s strategy to ensure that children ages 0 to 6 from economically-disadvantaged families and rural areas participate in and benefit from non-formal integrated quality ECED services, while leaving it to the private sector to reach children from higher-income families.’	so that they can use the grant to come up with their own ECED service delivery	
2007	Second Higher Education Project	Nepal	P090967	48	8	40	describing how universities in Nepal deliver their academic programs through publicly funded constituent	grant for disadvantaged students to access higher education	Y

Project Approval Year	Project Title	Country	Project Code	Word Freq.- Total	Word Freq. - Private	Word Freq.- Grant	Context - Private	Context - Grant	Neoliberal Y/N
							campuses and privately-funded affiliated campuses. mentions the 'widening gap between the quality of public and private provisions resulting in segregation of students along income status' 'Community campuses are not for profit private institutions that can offer higher education programs of all levels.'	grant to higher secondary schools (around US\$ 135) per graduate to all schools meeting basic accountability requirements; additional performance grants for schools with better track records	
2008	Afghanistan - Second Education Quality Improvement Program	Afghanistan	P 106259	21	2	19	regulation of private education providers 'The program development objective is to increase equitable access to quality basic education especially for girls through	one of the sub-components - grant to schools for quality enhancement grants will be given	Y

Project Approval Year	Project Title	Country	Project Code	Word Freq.- Total	Word Freq. - Private	Word Freq.- Grant	Context - Private	Context - Grant	Neoliberal Y/N
							school grants, teacher training and strengthened institutional capacity with support from communities and private providers.'	based on School Improvement Plans (SIP) prepared by the School Shura and where relevant, the PTA	
2009	Conditional Cash Transfers Project	North Macedonia	P 103974	5	1	4	'one of the difficulties that the country is experiencing is the reduced prospects for exports, foreign direct investments (FDI) and private transfers in 2009 resulting from the Global Financial Crisis.'	referring to the Policy and Human Resources Development (PHRD) grant - not a component of this project	N
2010	Second Education Development Project	Lebanon	P 118187	23	21	2	explaining how provision of education in Lebanon is largely private describing public/private gap in education	mentions school grants as part of Lebanon's complex structure of education financing	N

Project Appro- val Year	Project Title	Country	Project Code	Word Freq.- Total	Word Freq. - Private	Word Freq.- Grant	Context - Private	Context - Grant	Neoli- beral Y/N
2011	Haiti - Education for All Project - Phase II	Haiti	P 124134	6	5	1	describing how after the earthquake, most of the education provided is private explaining that given the dominance of the non-public sector in Haiti's education, the Ministry of Education will have to collaborate with the religious, private, NGO-supported, and community- based foster public- private partnership	One of the sub- compone nts is a grant for commun ities. Commu nities would be selected accordin g to three criteria: i) a demonst rated lack of schoolin g, ii) a minimum school age populati on (25 children) , and iii) a minimu m level of commun ity organiza tion/soci al capital	Y

Project Approval Year	Project Title	Country	Project Code	Word Freq.-Total	Word Freq. - Private	Word Freq.-Grant	Context - Private	Context - Grant	Neoliberal Y/N
2012	India: Secondary Education Project	India	P 118445	6	3	3	<p>while discussing the status quo of the country’s economic status, mentions how ‘that shortages of skilled workers constitute significant constraints to new private sector investment and growth in these very sectors’</p> <p>while discussing which innovation projects India’s national education scheme should support, mentioned how one potentially important innovation could be public-private partnerships</p>	explaining how a committee set up as part of India’s national scheme is responsible for managing school grants	N
2013	Ethiopia General Education Quality Improvement Project II	Ethiopia	P 129828	10	1	9	<p>while discussing Ethiopia’s recent economic growth, ‘Private consumption and public investment have driven demand side growth’</p>	The Government of Ethiopia introduced school grants in 2009	N

Project Appro- val Year	Project Title	Country	Project Code	Word Freq- Total	Word Freq. - Private	Word Freq.- Grant	Context - Private	Context - Grant	Neoli- beral Y/N
								<p>to deal with non-salary recurrent costs in schools</p> <p>mentioned that the grants have helped finance and maintain schools better</p> <p>one of the components is to provide school grants for school improvements</p>	

국문요약

교육분야 국제개발협력의 담론과 실천 대하여: 혼합연구방법을 적용한 세계은행의 교육 사업 분석

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현세계은행이 ‘모두를 위한 교육(Education for All)’이라는 계획에 더욱 박차를 가하면서 많은 이들이 세계은행의 프로젝트들을 주시하고 있다. 세계은행은 개발도상국에의 신자유주의적 교육 정책을 장려하는 것으로 알려져 있는데, 세계은행이 실제로 현장에서 진행하는 개별 사업에서 이런 신자유주의적 요소들을 찾아보기 어려운 경우도 있기에 세계은행의 담화와 실제 관행 사이의 불일치가 있을 것이라 추측해볼 수 있다. 본 연구는 2008년도 국제 금융 위기의 5년 전후로 진행된 세계은행의 교육 프로젝트들의 기획서에 대한 양적·질적 연구를 통해 이 불일치에 대한 분석을 하였고 프로젝트 기획서들을 분석한 결과 개별 프로젝트들은 항상 신자유주의적인 성격을 띠는 것이 아니었으며 따라서 불일치가 존재한다는 것을 확인할 수 있었다. 저자들은 더 나아가 푸코의 담론에 관한 접근과 로시(2004)의 국제개발 공동체 내에서의 이해관계자들에 대한 분류를 적용하여 이 불일치의 원인에 대해 설명하고자 한다. 이 불일치의 원인을 더 포괄적으로 밝혀내기 위해서는 세계은행의 교육 프로젝트 계획 과정과 프로젝트 기획서에 포함된 요소들이 현장에서 어느 정도 반영이 되는지 등에 대한 연구가 이루어져야 할 것이다.

주제어: ODA 배분, 세계은행, 정책적 정렬, 신자유주의, 교육

