Significance of the Book

Provides two novel perspectives:

1) Pays close attention to the historical trajectories of educational ideas, tools and policies up to the present time.

2) Rather than treating UNESCO, the OECD and the World Bank separately, it examines the historical entanglements and relations between them and how they struggled over authority in the global governance space.

Methodology:

• Draws on primary source materials collected from the U.S. National Archives, the Rockefeller Archive Center, the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, and the UNESCO, OECD and World Bank archives, as well as 40 interviews.

Rationale for the book:

- UNESCO, the OECD and the World Bank have built their legitimacy on promising the achievement of a range of societal goals. Although it could be argued that they largely failed to deliver on these promises, they have been successful in normalizing and globalizing educational discourses and policy agendas.

- Lack of scholarly attention to the interrelations between IOs: The "strive for uniqueness within spheres of overlapping authority… makes 'the view that IOs can be studied in isolation' untenable" (Kranke, 2022, p. 456).

Limitations:

- Focus on UNESCO, the OECD and the World Bank in the era of US American dominance.

- Lack of adequate attention to micro-perspectives, in terms of how global influences play out in countries, and how national and local actors engage with or/and resist these influences.

Chapter 1:

Global Governance of Education: An Introduction

Introduction to global governance of education from a theoretical perspective.

> "The perspective of 'global governance' emerged as a reaction to the limitations of the realist school of international relations with its focus on the centrality of national interests as the main driver of world order. Since the 1990s, realist theories seemed increasingly inadequate to explain the rising influence of non-state actors, technology and the dynamics of globalization."

- Non-hierarchical perspective
- "Core-periphery pattern" (Zapp & Dahmen, 2017)
- "Promissory legitimacy" (Beckert, 2020)
- Constructivist/materialist/political economy theories

Governance Without
Government:
Order and Change
in World Politics

Chapter 2:

UNESCO, the OECD and the World Bank: A Global Governance Perspective

Overview of the educational activities and the epistemic and ontological underpinnings of UNESCO, the OECD and the World Bank from a global governance perspective.

Chapter 3:

In the Shadow of the Cold War: Educational Planning and the Rise of Global Governance of Education

Focus on the turf struggles between UNESCO and the OECD in the 1960s, the rise of the international expert, and the intersections between international organizations, the US government, philanthropic foundations, and universities, from which a system of global governance emerged.

OECD Conference on Economic Growth and Investment in Education, Brookings Institution, Washington, October 1961

Chapter 4:

The Struggle Between UNESCO and the World Bank over Education for Development

Focus on the World Bank-UNESCO Co-operative Programme (1964-1989) and Education for All (1990-2015).

Chapter 5:

The Turbulence of Statistics in Education

Sheds light on the collaboration and competition between UNESCO, the OECD and the World Bank with regard to education statistics.
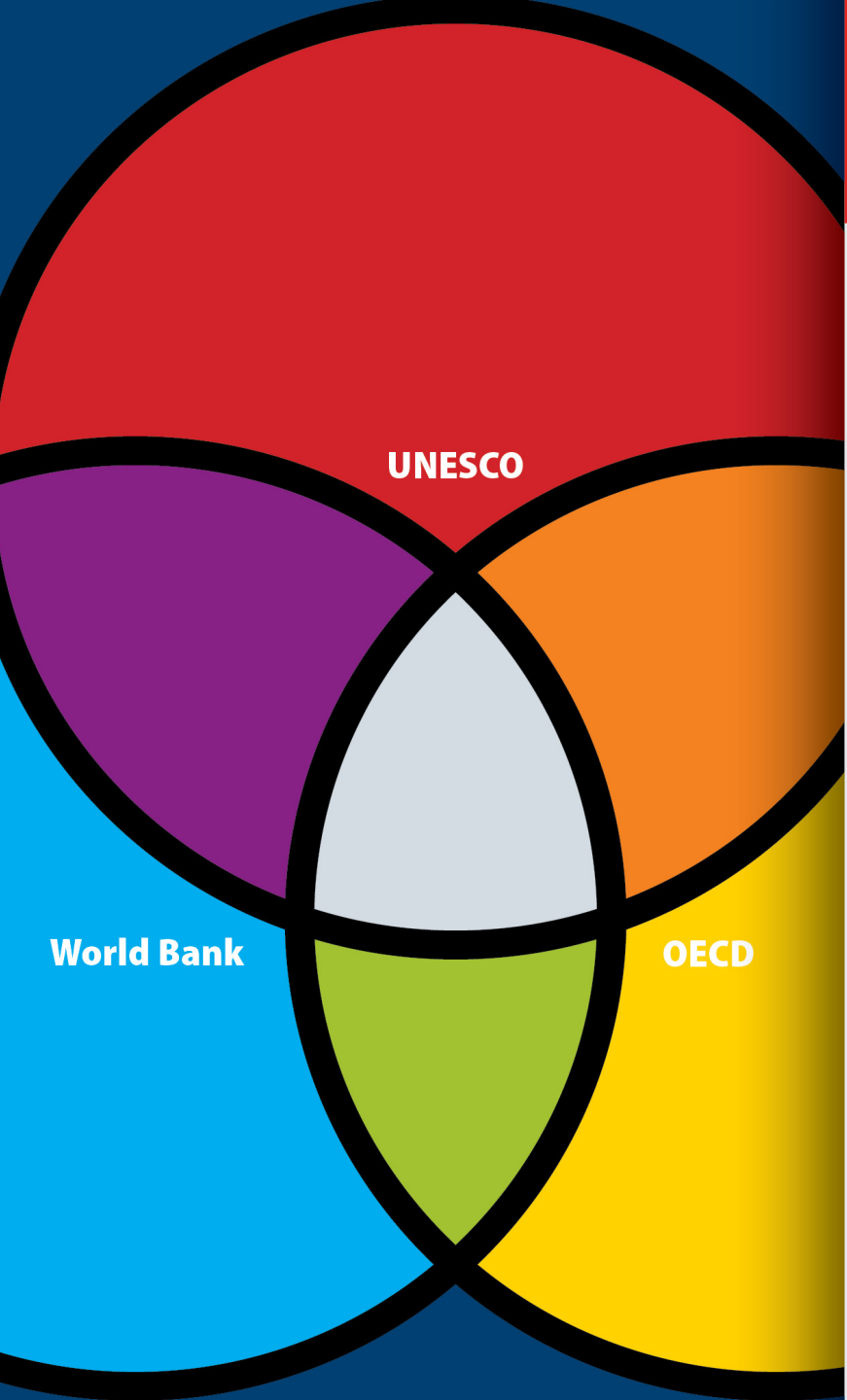
Chapter 6:

From Lifelong Learning to the Measurement of Skills

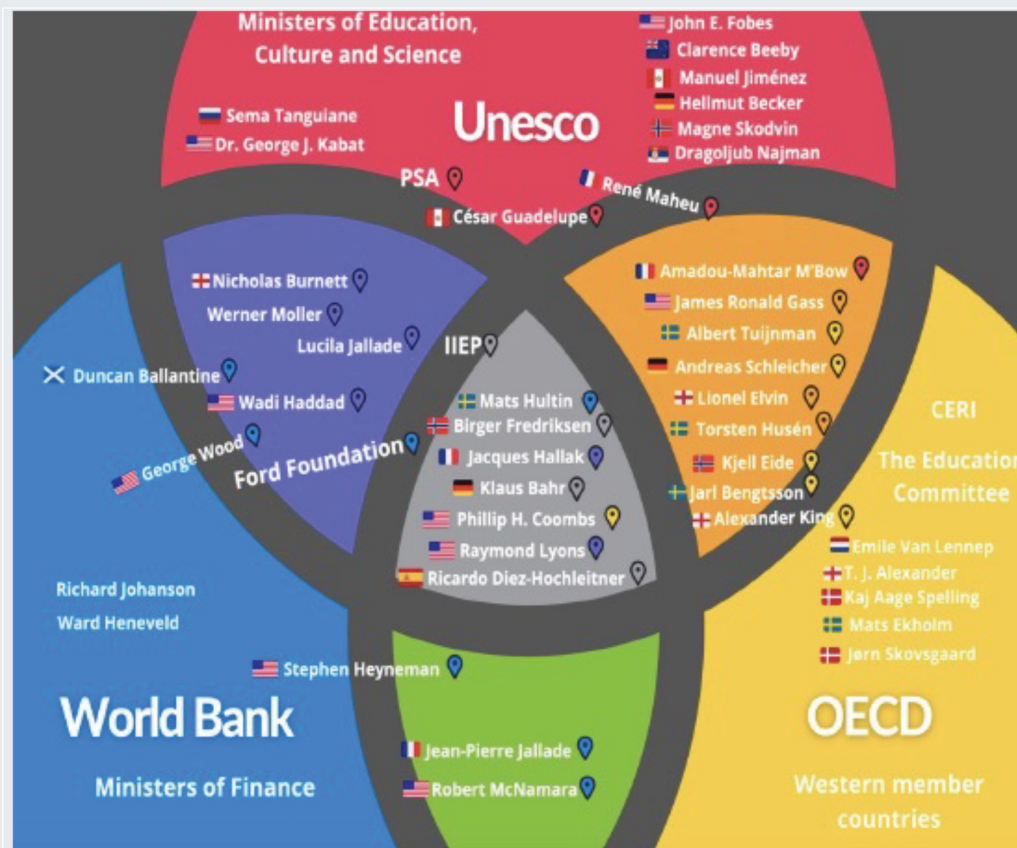Offers a critical analysis of UNESCO's and the OECD's engagement with lifelong learning policies.

Chapter 7:
Knowledge Brokers and Actor Entanglements in the OECD, UNESCO and World Bank Triangle

Explores three "case arenas": The creation of the IIEP, the travels and correspondence of Mats Hultin; and the role of Andreas Schleicher in the formation of the INES/PISA complex.

Chapter 8:
Contemporary Agendas and Shifts in the Global Governance of Education

Reiterates and ties together the key arguments of the book and relates them to contemporary developments.

Main Findings

UNESCO lost out against the OECD and the World Bank

- During the 1960s, UNESCO was challenged by the OECD, which positioned itself as key expert in the new economics of education approach in charge of productivity and economic growth in the industrialized countries, while UNESCO was left with the field of development (chapter 3).

- Since the 1970s, UNESCO's position as the leading authority for education in developing countries was challenged by the World Bank (chapter 4).

- UNESCO played an important role as a forum of dialogue during the Cold War, but lost influence after the fall of the Berlin Wall.

- For reasons of legitimacy, UNESCO continues to be a major actor in the global governance of education – the organization is formally in charge of coordinating the SDG 4 agenda –, but its autonomy has been jeopardized by the economization of education, and by the constraints of "tied money".

Interactions between international organizations and states

- The United States used the OECD and the World Bank to pursue its national and geopolitical interests. Considered increasingly a difficult and unreliable partner, the US lost interest in UNESCO, which furthered the rise of the OECD and the World Bank.

- But also less powerful and middle power states have interacted with IOs to pursue national priority agendas, as illustrated by the Swedish role in the OECD/CERI's recurrent education programme.

- A contemporary example of how IOs are entangled in national and geopolitical interests is the strategic participation of selective provinces of China and the emergence of Shanghai as the new PISA "poster child". China is also increasingly gaining influence in UNESCO, filling the void left by the withdrawal of the United States from the organization (the US just rejoined!).

2

The role of global agendas

3

- A key instrument of the global governance of education are global targets that aim at uniting all relevant actors behind a supposedly universal agenda of critical significance.

- The UNESCO-led SDG 4 framework is providing the impetus for the OECD to expand its testing Empire and the World Bank to implement its outcome-oriented ideology - agendas that are counter to UNESCO's philosophy.

- SDG 4 constitutes a self-serving agenda for IOs and the "development industry" and benefits corporate interests over the interests of low-income countries that the global agenda is allegedly serving. Universal technical solutions potentially disempower countries.

Boundaries

- "Boundary work" was often enabled by independent, "third party" structures such as the OECD's CERI and UNESCO's IIEP, allowing for "indirect boundary work" (Kranke, 2022) between IOs.

- The IIEP plays a particularly important role in UNESCO's boundary work; it represents an organization that is somewhat outside of the ideological field of UNESCO and similar to the professional ethos of the World Bank.

- CERI is a good example of demarcation within an organization as its creation enabled more "progressive" and innovative initiatives that would have been difficult to realize in the context of the core of the OECD.

- These boundary structures cause a lot of tension between the core organization and the subsidiary body.

- Other spaces for boundary work are the UIS, which formally holds the coordinating role for the monitoring of SDG 4, and the networks of policy influence that span across organizations (e.g. multistakeholder groups, governing bodies, international conferences).

4

Homogenizing effects and isomorphic tendencies

- In the name of universal goals such as "education for all" and now "assessment for all", IOs are in the business of self-preservation and perpetual expansionism.

- The history of the UNESCO-World Bank Co-operative Programme illustrates the Bank's expansionist, homogenizing and isomorphic tendencies. These tendencies are also visible in the evolution of the OECD that has constantly reinvented itself in order to find new areas of activity and legitimacy.

- Global agendas display "matrix-like effects" (Tamatea, 2002), by putting forward a common-sense discourse, such as the imperatives of "quality," "transparency" and "accountability" that contribute to the homogenization of global education.

- Our analysis casts doubt on the discourse of "country ownership" (e.g. the process that led to the MDGs; the EFA governance structure).

5

Shifts in the global governance of education from multilateral governance to multistakeholder governance

6

- In multilateralism, governments, as representatives of their citizens, take decisions on global issues and direct international organizations to implement these decisions.

- "In multistakeholderism, "stakeholders" become the central actors. Decisions.. are often disconnected from the intergovernmental sphere. While the multistakeholder governor (MSG) may cite a multilateral goal that it asserts it is implementing on behalf of governments, an MSG has no obligation to report its activities to – or to take instructions from – the intergovernmental community…" (Gleckman 2018).

- An example of a powerful multistakeholder organization is the Global Partnership for Education.

- Growing influence of corporate actors and philanthropic foundations in IOs.

Thank you