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POST-2015 AND THE GLOBAL GOVERNANCE OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Kenneth KING
Robert PALMER

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About the Authors

Professor Kenneth King is the Editor of NORRAG News He is an Emeritus Professor at the School of Social and Political Studies, University of Edinburgh, Scotland, UK. His current research interests cover development cooperation, especially China-Africa, skills development, and post-2015.

Email: Kenneth.king@ed.ac.uk

Dr Robert Palmer runs NORRAG NEWSBite, NORRAG's blog (norrag.wordpress.com) and twitter account (@NORRAG_NEWS). He has research interests in international education, post-2015 and technical and vocational skills development. He currently lives and works between the UK and Jordan.

Personal twitter: @SkillsImpact

Email: rpalmer00@gmail.com

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NORRAG Secretariat

Michel Carton is a retired professor of the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies – Geneva, and the Executive Director of the Network. His current research interests cover the Global Governance of Education and Training and Technical and Vocational Skills development.

Dr Joost Monks is the Managing Director of NORRAG. He is in charge of the strategic development and management of the Network. He has a strong research interest in Global Governance of Education and Training, in particular the BRICS as a new emerging actor, and the NORRAG programme of work on Conflict, Violence, Education and Training

Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies (IHEID)

Post Box 136

Rue Rothschild 20

1211 Geneva 21

Switzerland

Email: michel.carton@graduateinstitute.ch, joost.monks@graduateinstitute.ch

Acronyms

AHELO	Assessment of Higher Education Learning Outcomes
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa
CSOs	Civil society organisations
DAC	Development Assistance Committee of the OECD
DESA	UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs
EDI	Education for All Development Index
EFA	Education for All
FTI	Fast Track Initiative (now GPE)
GATS	General Agreement on Trade in Services
GGET	Global Governance of Education and Training
GMR	Global Monitoring Report
GPE	Global Partnership for Education
HLP	Post-2015 High Level Panel
IB	International Baccalaureate
IDA	International Development Association of the World Bank
IEA	International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement
ILO	International Labour Organisation
INGO	International non-governmental organisation
INEE	International Network for Education in Emergencies
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LMTF	Learning Metrics Task Force
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NORRAG	Network for International Policies and Cooperation in Education and Training
ODA	Overseas Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OWG	Open Working Group on SDGs
PIAAC	Programme for International Assessment of Adult Competencies
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
PPP	Public-private partnerships
RISE	Institute for Reconstruction and International Security through Education, Washington
SABER	Systems Assessment and Benchmarking for Education Results
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SDSN	Sustainable Development Solutions Network
TALIS	Teaching and Learning International Survey
TIMSS	Trends in Maths and Science Study
TVET	Technical and vocational education and training
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UPE	Universal Primary Education
VTET	Vocational and technical education and training
WTO	World Trade Organisation

Executive Summary:

Since at least 2012 there has been a significant amount of discussion and debate about what the post-2015 education and training focus should be, and about the content and wording of a possible education goal and its targets. With less than one year to go until the September 2015 UN General Assembly meeting, where it is expected that a set of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), including one for education, will be agreed upon, there is increasing focus turning to the means of implementation; to questions of how to achieve these SDGs.

For the education sector there appears to have been very little discussion on how the proposed post-2015 education goal and targets will be implemented and what kind of macro-level governance structure may be required. This Working Paper attempts to shed light on this crucial missing element of the post-2015 education discussions to date, by addressing the global governance of education and training (GGET) and its link to education post-2015. It interrogates three key issues:

- the existing global governance of education situation;

- the understandings, meanings and aspirations of the global governance of education;

- how global governance is reflected in the post-2015 education and training debate and proposi tions.

The global governance of education and training: the current landscape

The global governance of education and training (GGET) is used in this Working Paper as an organising framework for discussing how state and non-state actors gain political authority and presence in education. Conceptually, we view GGET in three ways:

- *Its stakeholders.* The GGET stakeholders comprise all the education-related actors, including for example: grant and loan receiving countries; Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development - Development Assistance Committee (OECD-DAC) countries; Multilaterals (e.g. UNESCO, International Labour Organisation - ILO, World Bank); Regional Banks (Asian, African, Latin American and now BRICS Development Banks); Emerging donors; Private sector companies and coalitions; Private foundations; and, international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) and think tanks. Obviously the global (or regional) influence that each has varies considerably.

- *The process to define and impose rules and norms.* These GGET stakeholders create formal and informal mechanisms by which they exert power and influence. The formal GGET mechanisms may include, for example: goals and targets (e.g. Education For All – EFA- Goals); laws, rules, conventions and charters; and, agreements, compacts, partnerships (including public-private partnerships - PPPs), and initiatives for policy and financial cooperation. What might be termed informal GGET mechanisms also exist. These mechanisms may not have been set up for the purpose of governing or regulating, but they clearly influence stakeholders when it comes to education, and some would argue that the power which they today exert has turned them into de facto mechanisms of GGET. Such informal GGET mechanisms might cover, for example, three domains:

  - *Governing by "best practice"* – This would include the influence of education and training strategies and policy papers of grant- and loan-making development agencies, and the propagation of "best practice" knowledge and approaches (e.g. rate of return to education, competency-based training, national qualifications frameworks). These "best practice" approaches can become global norms that can influence the behaviour and prioritization of both national governments, and the grant- and loan-making development agencies themselves.

  - *Governing by financial carrots and sticks* – This would include the influence that grants and loans for education, as well as their associated conditionalities (now termed "triggers"), have in recipient countries. Equally, the financial carrot and stick can be used by OECD-DAC countries to influence the behaviour of international organisations, like the World Bank.

- *Governing by numbers* – This would include the influence that data and indicators from assessments and testing (e.g. Programme for International Student Assessment - PISA, Trends in Maths and Science Study - TIMMS) have, as well as benchmarking and ranking approaches (e.g. Systems Assessment and Benchmarking for Education Results - SABER, world university rankings).

- *The impact of GGET mechanisms at the national and global levels.* This might cover, for example: the creation of policy and programme "norms" that encourage policy and programme convergence and self-regulation; the steering of agendas of both aid recipient and donor partners; and, encouraging prioritization of national resources and development finance, including ODA.

Understandings of the global governance of education and training among the education-development community

While we have elaborated above a conception of how we define the GGET, it should be noted that the understandings, meanings and aspirations of GGET vary considerably among the education-and-development community. For this Working Paper, we contacted almost 80 NORRAG members to ask what they understand GGET to be, and what link they see it has to post-2015, if any. Two of the most structured conceptualizations of GGET came from Birger Fredriksen, a former World Bank staff member with a very long experience of Sub-Saharan Africa, and Kazuo Kuroda, a NORRAG member from Japan and director of the Centre for International Cooperation in Education in Waseda University. Fredriksen argued that to have global governance in an area three things are required:

- A set of rules/regulations/goals that are universally accepted;

- An agreed mechanism of measuring progress/deviations from these rules; and,

- A way of holding countries accountable for lack of progress/deviation.

Kuroda, in turn, argues that the GGET comprises four dimensions:

- Building consensus on the goals of international policies and formulating frameworks through international conferences;

- Formulating principles through international laws, conventions and charters;

- Establishing international indicators and standards and conducting monitoring; and,

- Developing and proposing new internationally influential concepts.

It can be seen that there is quite a lot of overlap between these two understandings of GGET, except that Fredriksen pays more attention to the issue of accountability, and Kuroda argues that internationally influential concepts also have a part to play in GGET. Others noted the soft power dimension of GGET, pointing to PISA or the Learning Metrics Task Force, or noted specific organisations like the OECD, Global Partnership for Education or the World Bank as being significant stakeholders. But beyond this view of global governance as a form of soft power, others recognise that there is an important difference between global governance in general and the global governance of education. Still others had much more negative reactions to the terminology of global governance of education. It should be noted that it was a distinct minority who sought to engage with the actual discourse of GGET; the very great majority of respondents did not use the terminology at all, but were describing elements of what they perceived to be important influences of education at the global level. We should therefore not expect widespread use of the GGET term in the formal debates around post-2015.

Global Governance in the Post-2015 Education and Training Agenda

The key messages of this Working Paper with regard to the GGET are outlined below.

Governance is used in post-2015 documents in a different sense from global governance. Where governance is discussed in the post-2015 literature, it is conceived more as 'good governance' - accountabil-

ity and transparency, the rule of law, rights to free speech, political participation, rights to information, as well as freedom from corruption. Furthermore, there is, overall, much more attention being paid to the issue of national governance than there is to global governance.

The post-2015 discussions about global governance and the means of implementation have not yet been very sector specific. The GGET is therefore not being explicitly addressed. While there has been a whole stream of general post-2015 debate and dialogue on the means of implementation, on global partnership and governance – this has not been successfully connected back specifically to the post-2015 education or skills ambition (or for that matter to other sectors, like health).

Governance targets have not been mainstreamed across the proposed post-2015 education goal. There were several options for integrating governance into a post-2015 development framework. One was to have a dedicated stand-alone goal (or goals) with targets and indicators; another was to mainstream it by having relevant governance targets and indicators across other goals; and a third way was to do both. The focus in post-2015 propositions - for example from the Post-2015 High Level Panel, the UN Sustainable Development Solutions Network, and the inter-governmental Open Working Group - has been on the first option, the stand-alone goal. However, this has led to a neglect in the sector post-2015 discussions, including for education and training, of the specific aspects of governance – global, regional and national – that are required in order for x, y, or z goal or target to be achieved. Indeed, governance does not directly or explicitly feature in any of the current post-2015 education goal (and accompanying target) suggestions.

We need post-2015 governance targets for education, but what would be measured? Pauline Rose, the former Director of the Education for All Global Monitoring Report, has argued that we need post-2015 financing targets for education so that policymakers can be held to account for financial commitments to achieve identified outcomes. Equally, it can be argued that we do need to mainstream the issue of governance across the post-2015 targets for education so that there are agreed upon non-financial enabling conditions needed to achieve the targets and to hold policy makers to account; for example an agreed measurement and accountability mechanism. However, just how to mainstream governance across the post-2015 education agenda, and what would actually be measured (and monitored) need further consideration.

Post-2015 education targets that are global and universally accepted? One of the components of effective GGET, as defined by Fredriksen above, was that there be in place a set of goals that are universally accepted. It is well known, of course that neither the EFA goals nor the two education Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were regarded as being universally applicable; they were seen very much as targets for low-income countries. Fast-forwarding to the post-2015 agenda, there has been again a great deal of discussion and debate about the extent to which this new emerging agenda, and its set of SDGs, will be universally applicable. The same debate applies to a post-2015 education goal and targets. The current formally proposed post-2015 goals and targets are perhaps indicative of debates going on behind the scenes. The formal post-2015 proposals do contain an overall universal goal; for example, the Open Working Group on SDGs' proposed education goal is 'Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote life-long learning opportunities for all', while that of the UNESCO Muscat Agreement is almost the same: 'Ensure equitable and inclusive quality education and lifelong learning for all'. Meanwhile not all proposed formal post-2015 education targets are pitched as universal, with some being proposed to be nationally determined. For example, the UNESCO Muscat Agreement contains universal targets for basic education (universal completion) with minimum levels of learning outcomes, while early childhood care and education is proposed as a target to be nationally determined.

Aside from the extent to which the proposed post-2015 goals and targets are being set up as 'universal', there are other aspects of global governance discussed in key post-2015 education and training proposals, namely issues related to measurement, to accountability, or to global rules and regulations.

- The UNESCO-UNICEF thematic consultation on education in the post-2015 development agenda did not talk directly about GGET, but discussed the need for a 'global framework' that is very close to our concern with global governance. For example, it highlighted the need for: (a) facilitating glob-

al discussion and consensus on education by developing indicators for fulfilment of the right to education; (b) defining a minimum percentage of gross domestic product that a country is required to invest in education; (c) disseminating and supporting best practices for improving education quality, and increasing access, equity and sustainability; and (d) providing technical and financial assistance to national governments, civil society and communities when implementing education policies, reforms and programmes. So there are indeed some concerns raised here with the issue of post-2015 implementation.

• The UNESCO-UNICEF post-2015 global e-consultation on governance and financing of education (10th February to 3rd March 2013) did not result in the kind of commentary on global governance issues that the facilitators may have hoped for; despite their prompting people to provide their view on this. Among those that did respond, while there were clearly some who were implicitly addressing global governance issues in education, there was overall much more focus on national than on global issues by respondents. Perhaps this is significant in itself; that the majority of individuals appear to consider that the governance of education is primarily a national issue. Some of the contributions, however, did relate to GGET, with various aspects of it highlighted, including: the role of the international community in designing protocols for all countries to sign up to; the need to be accountable to the Paris Declaration and its successors; the need to provide funds to enable governments to provide education; the need to provide technical assistance; and, the need to facilitate the international access to appropriate information and education technology. However, one commentator noted that such 'international governance with respect to education… should not be… a cultural imposition.' Commentators noted that improvements were needed in the current international organisations that support the financing of education globally (including better coordination with each other, and increased financial support for them), as well as the need to improve measurement and accountability mechanisms. Indeed, effective and transparent monitoring and evaluation at a global level was perceived as critical in order for the post-2015 ambition to materialize.

• UNICEF, like many other bodies, did not use the terminology of global governance in its official post-2015 position, but it did very strongly subscribe to the idea that a global framework should be established.

• UNESCO's Position Paper on Education Post-2015 clearly lays out that the implementation of the post-2015 education agenda will necessitate 'strengthened participatory governance and accountability mechanisms at the global, country and local levels, and improved planning, monitoring and reporting mechanisms and processes at all levels'.

The global governance of education and training looks like it will only be partially influenced by the education post-2015 framework, goal and targets. GGET is not a single system. It is made up of a range of stakeholders who pursue a range of approaches and mechanisms that influence and steer education and training, whether intentionally or not. A goal and target framework is only one part of what the GGET is comprised of. Many other aspects of the new GGET remain completely unaddressed by the whole post-2015 education process. So long as the issue of governance is not mainstreamed across the education post-2015 discussion, these connections will not be made.

The weakest link in the global governance of education and training appears to relate to the lack of an effective accountability mechanism to hold stakeholders to account; and, this has worrying implications for the ambitious post-2015 education agenda.

Background:

Despite the huge preoccupation with **education post-2015** in the last three years, and the increased attention to the **global governance of education**,[1] arguably a great deal of the policy and academic interest in these terms has been located in the UN agencies, multilateral and bilateral donors, international NGOs, think tanks, and academia, and predominantly in a small number of high-income countries in Europe and North America. Since the post-2015 development agenda, including any new recognised aspects of global governance, is by definition not yet in place, a good deal of the discourse around these terms is still aspirational, even while some aspects of global governance are seen as in place and others are already quickly developing. The same applies to the global governance of education and training.

In this context, the present paper[2] plans to interrogate three key issues around the global governance of education and training (GGET).

The first issue we examine is the existing global governance of education situation; we identify and discuss some of the key stakeholders and dimensions linked to the GGET, and provide our working definition of GGET for this paper.

The second issue to be addressed is the understandings, meanings and aspirations of the GGET post-2015 in a number of different countries and institutions, including emerging economies. This analysis derives from discussions with a group of NORRAG members, purposely selected to cover a range of opinions, institutional backgrounds and geographic regions. Among other things, this section examines the following issues:

- What are the different conceptualisations and understandings of global governance?

- Which stakeholders are being identified with GGET and by whom?

- In what way are these stakeholders perceived as being important players?

- At the national level, how influential are the Education for All (EFA) goals and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) perceived to be, or international testing and comparison, overseas development assistance (ODA) and other funding, or the privatization agenda?

- What has been the role of the South in respect of the global governance of education?

The third issue addressed in this paper is how global governance is addressed in the post-2015 education and training literature itself. Among other things, this section explores the following issues:

- To what extent does the literature on education and training post-2015 engage with the issue of global governance, and what aspects and issues are identified?

- What do the proposed education goals and targets imply about the nature of global governance required post-2015?

In this mapping of understandings and of applications, it is hoped that the international discourse around post-2015 and the developing new GGET can be contrasted with the realities of regional, national or more local governance of education and training systems in order to unpack the interactions between the growing GGET and these levels, and the other way round.

In earlier NORRAG Working Papers (see WPs 1, 4 and 6 – King and Palmer, 2012; 2013a; 2013b), some of the emerging discourse around post-2015 and education/skills has been mapped, monitored and analysed. This current paper continues with the focus on post-2015 but examines the connections of these post-2015 debates with the discourse around global governance and particularly the GGET.

1. The Global Governance of Education and Training: A Selective Overview of the Current Landscape

1.1 A working definition of GGET

In a report of a NORRAG workshop of June 2014, global governance is described 'as a loose concept in that it can be applied to a wide range of practices of order and regulation at the global level… global governance is essentially about norms and rules, be they formal or informal, widely accepted or not – and it is a complex system of rules rather than a unitary one' (NORRAG, 2014a: 6).

In this Working Paper, the global governance of education and training (GGET) is used as an organising framework for discussing how state and non-state actors 'gain political authority and presence' (Verger, Novelli and Altinyelken, 2012: 7) in education. It refers to a whole series of global processes and impacts on national education and training systems, as well as on national, regional and global grant and loan making development agencies. Conceptually, we categorise GGET in three ways (Fig 1):

- Its stakeholders; who are they?

- Its process; how do these stakeholders enact global governance? (and on whom?)

- Its impact; what are the influences that these processes have at the national, regional and global levels?

The **stakeholders** of the GGET comprise all the education-related actors, including for example: ODA-receiving countries; Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development - Development Assistance Committee (OECD-DAC) countries; Multilaterals (e.g. UNESCO, International Labour Organisation - ILO, World Bank); Regional Banks (Asian, African, Latin American and now BRICS[3] Development Banks); Emerging donors; Private sector companies and coalitions; Private foundations; and, international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) and think tanks. Obviously the global (or regional) influence that each has varies considerably and, from our review, it would be accurate to say that those currently with most global influence include the multilaterals, the OECD-DAC countries, and,

increasingly the private sector as well as INGOs and think tanks. However, as we shall return to later, it would be equally true to note that the education policies of many countries in the so-called Global South are not being heavily influenced by the formal and informal mechanisms of GGET; but, rather, are significantly more influenced by national political and domestic matters. Nonetheless, these formal and informal mechanisms of GGET do clearly have some degree of influence on policy making.

The **process** to define and impose rules and norms. These GGET stakeholders create formal and informal mechanisms by which they exert power and influence.[4] The formal GGET mechanisms may include, for example: goals and targets (e.g. Education For All – EFA- Goals); laws, rules, conventions and charters; and, agreements, compacts, partnerships (including public-private partnerships - PPPs), and initiatives for policy and financial cooperation. What might be termed informal GGET mechanisms also exist. These mechanisms may not have been set up for the purpose of governing or regulating, but they clearly influence stakeholders when it comes to education, and some would argue that the power which they today exert has turned them into de facto mechanisms of GGET. Such informal GGET mechanisms might cover, for example, three domains:

- *Governing by "best practice"* – This would include the influence of education and training strategies and policy papers of grant- and loan-making development agencies, and the propagation of "best practice" knowledge and approaches (e.g. rate of return to education, competency-based training, national qualifications frameworks). These "best practice" approaches can become global norms that can influence the behaviour and prioritization of both national governments, and the grant- and loan-making development agencies.

- *Governing by financial carrots and sticks* – This would include the influence that grants and loans for education, as well as their associated conditionalities (now termed "triggers") (Ellerman, 2010), have in recipient countries. Equally, the financial carrot and stick can be used by OECD-DAC countries

to influence the behaviour of international organisations, like the World Bank (Clegg, 2013).

• *Governing by numbers* – This would include the influence of data and indicators from assessments and testing (e.g. Programme for International Student Assessment - PISA, Trends in Maths and Science Study - TIMMS) has, as well as benchmarking and ranking approaches (e.g. Systems Assessment and Benchmarking for Education Results - SABER, world university rankings).

The **impact** of GGET mechanisms at the national and global levels. This might cover, for example: the creation of policy and programme "norms" that encourage policy and programme convergence and self-regulation; the steering of agendas of both aid recipient and donor partners; and, the encouraging prioritization of national resources and development finance, including ODA.

As we shall see later in this paper, effective GGET also needs some framework of accountability; and it is this aspect that appears to be particularly weak in the current GGET and one that is not yet being addressed in education post-2015 discussions. A related issue of course, is that of financing the post-2015 agenda and others like Rose (2014)are
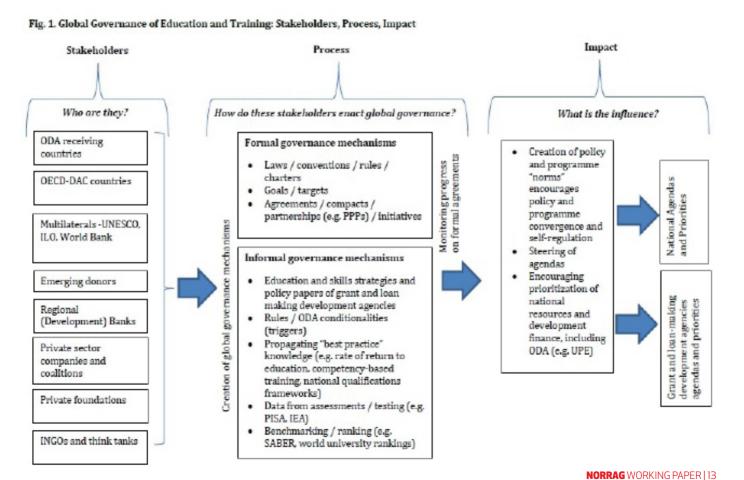
already flagging up concerns in this regard.

Nomenclature and global governance

There is now a multiplicity of actors, state and non-state, involved in global governance, and their influence and impact can be analysed in many different sectors, such as climate change, health, education and migration. The vocabulary to describe these global mechanisms has shifted over time and even now continues to change, with 'global' and 'international' being often interchangeable, and with 'governance' being used in a whole series of different ways. As Biersteker (2014: 3) has argued: 'Even within a single issue domain – such as international education – there are multiple systems of governance in operation'.

Equally, in many situations in education, the terminology of global governance is not used explicitly at all, and 'global' or 'international frameworks and policies' are used instead.

A preliminary note on the relations of post-2015 and global governance

We return to a deeper interrogation of meanings and understandings of global governance in section two of this paper, but at the outset we should underline a crucial difference in our

Fig. 1. Global Governance of Education and Training: Stakeholders, Process, Impact

analysis of the relationship between our two key concepts: Education post-2015 and the global governance of education. The former is a world of education priorities, goals, targets and indicators that has been intensively discussed over the last two years by a rather wide range of actors. Even if the discussions are still more rooted in the North than in the South, the actual terms of the debates always refer explicitly to post-2015 or beyond 2015.

By contrast, the discussion around global governance in education can be carried on without the explicit use of this terminology in the illustrative texts. In other words, as we noted above, the world of global governance is an organising framework for discussing a whole series of global influences and impacts on education and training systems. These may differ hugely from one country to the next, and from OECD countries to emerging economies and to developing economies.

A second preliminary point about our treatment of these two key concepts, post-2015 and global governance in education, is that the post-2015 debate is not something separate from global governance. Rather, the post-2015 world is, arguably, just one manifestation of the global governance of education. Post-2015 is essentially about the (re)construction of one dimension of a global governance framework for education and training.

Governance, good governance, global governance

In much of the documentation that follows, governance is often used on its own, and tends to refer to the national or institutional level, whether public or private. 'Good governance', on the other hand, has had its own history, deriving from the perceived need by Western donors for institutional reform and for a more efficient public sector in developing countries and especially in Sub-Saharan Africa. In other words, good governance is in many ways a euphemism for bad governance.[5] It began to be associated with corruption, institutional reform, as well as with systems for accountability and transparency, and even with multi-party democracy. In many of the documents discussed in this paper, governance and good governance are widely used, while global governance is often not used at all and hence remains implicit. We shall note that before the term global governance began explicitly to

be more widely used, there were many examples of global or regional regulatory frameworks, associated for instance with the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the United Nations (UN) agencies; these of course represent only the formal, intergovernmental, aspect of today's global governance actors.

Having elaborated a working definition of GGET for this paper, we now turn to a brief review of some of the more recent stakeholders who have entered the GGET arena.

1.2 A note on some of the more recent actors in the global governance in education and training

Globalization has brought 'new international players into education policy-making, most of which are nongovernmental' (Verger, Novelli and Altinyelken, 2012: 4). There have also been recent shifts in global education stakeholders like the Global Partnership for Education. Below we review some of these recent additions (and changes) to the composition of the GGET stakeholders, who now exist alongside the more longstanding actors of GGET; the international and regional governmental organisations with an explicit or implicit education and training mandate (e.g. UNESCO, ILO, World Bank, European Training Foundation), as well as OECD-DAC country actors.

A global partnership for education?

The Global Partnership for Education (GPE) was established in 2002 under its former name, the Education for All (EFA) Fast Track Initiative (FTI). From its establishment in 2002 up until GPE reforms in 2010, the GPE focused exclusively on the MDG goal of Universal Primary Education (UPE), and not on the wider EFA agenda. As a result of the reforms, this focus was widened in 2010, and now covers no less than ten areas,[6] including for example out of school children, early childhood care and education, learning outcomes, teachers, and education in conflict and fragile states.

There are two levels of GPE governance, global and country (GPE, 2013a). At the country level, GPE governance is via the Local Education Group. At the global level, GPE governance includes the full partnership (currently including 59 developing

countries and over 30 bilateral, regional and international agencies, development banks, the private sector, teachers, and local and global civil society groups). The GPE Board of Directors is now (2014) made up of 19 constituency members[7] and a full-time independent chair. This is a change since the EFA FTI was first set up, where the Steering Committee (later renamed the Board in mid-2009) was dominated and led by donor countries (Cambridge Education et al., 2010).

There persists a tension between the global governance that the GPE enacts, and national decision-making (in fund-recipient countries). For example, the indicators that were used by the GPE (then FTI) came to be seen by many countries seeking GPE funds as a reflection of what the GPE saw as "good policy' in areas such as class size, gender gaps, completion rates, share of government expenditure going to education and teacher salaries' (Bermingham, 2011: 566). As a result, what were billed as 'indicative indicators' (ibid) by the GPE came to be seen by many as targets and had the effect of 'restrict[ing] the debate at the country level about policies that [were] relevant for a local context' (ibid.).

The Global Partnership for Education is not, of course, really global. It is a mechanism for mainly OECD-DAC countries and international NGOs based in these OECD-DAC countries financially to support 59 developing, mainly low-income and African, countries; indeed over 60% of GPE partner countries are from Sub-Saharan Africa. It is not an equal global partnership mechanism that works to support educational improvement in the over 190 UN member states.

Since the GPE funds come from OECD-DAC country donors in the "partnership" and are granted to the developing countries in the "partnership", there is inevitably a power imbalance inherent in the multi-stakeholder governance approach the GPE attempts to enact. As Bezanson and Isenman (2012) note:

> There was ambivalence from the outset as to whether it would be essentially a "donor club" or transform itself into a multi-stakeholder partnership. As the organisation evolved towards the latter, governance issues became an increasing preoccupation. The trust funds that donors created so that FTI could encourage alignment and harmonization created divisions within the

governance [sic] between the donors, who insisted on control of the funds, and non-donors. (p.12)

The GPE may not be global and may not be an equal partnership, but as Carol Bellamy, former Chair of the GPE notes, the GPE 'at least reflects a variety of the actors and players in education' (Bellamy in Brookings, 2012: 51). The planned independent evaluation of the GPE,[8] when complete in September 2015, will hopefully elaborate the extent to which the overall changes in GPE governance have led to improvements in overall governance effectiveness.

As far as our concern in this paper with the role of globally comparable data for influencing education policy, it might be assumed that the GPE's flagship *Results for Learning Report* would have a major place in this ambition. Despite the emphasis on the importance of measuring student learning at both national and international levels, the most recent 2013 Report is obliged to admit that 'comparable data on student performance within and across countries are lacking or are inadequate. Thus, we have been unable to provide comparable information in this report on general trends in learning in GPE developing-country partners' (GPE, 2013b). In terms, therefore, of the use of crucial data for influencing policy, the *Results for Learning Report* appears to play a much less visible international role than the *Global Monitoring Reports*, on the one hand, or the triennial PISA surveys, on the other.

Global governance and private actors

Private actors certainly have a role to play in the global governance of education today. But 20 years ago, the private sector was also being encouraged to be involved in education, as see for example in *Education in Sub-Saharan Africa* and the Vocational and Technical Education and Training (VTET) paper which both contain a good deal of emphasis on the private. And the same is true of the World Bank's slightly later paper on *Higher Education: The Lessons of Experience* (World Bank, 1994). But it is probably more relevant to use the terminology of 'Differentiating institutions and expanding private provision' as the Bank paper does. Almost exactly 20 years later, private and public provision has grown dramatically, especially

in Africa, but the innovative forms of privatization were not anticipated in the Bank paper.

Private entities – corporations and think tanks, both for-profit and non-profit, as well as foundations - are contributing to what Ball (2012) refers to as 'Global Education Inc': the increasing role of private entities as decision-makers in global education reform and policy. Private entities 'are entering the traditional domains of the state in making policy and driving service delivery' (Soudien et al., 2013: 453). There are those that would argue that this is a good thing and that 'the private sector can play a role in commissioning and gathering vital education data needed to shape programs and policies' (Anderson and Gardiner, 2013: n.p.). Others are more cautious about the role the (for-profit) private sector is increasingly shaping for itself 'in global [education] policy networks' (Sellar and Lingard, 2014: n.p.).

The private edu-business, Pearson, in association with the Economist Intelligence Unit,[9] in 2012 introduced a large open resource of educational data, the Learning Curve Data Bank, which draws together data on learning from the OECD, UNESCO and national statistics from 40 countries, mostly OECD, but including emerging economies in Asia and Latin America. The associated report, *The Learning Curve* (Pearson, 2014), discusses the Global Index of Cognitive Skills and Educational Attainment, and benchmarks the participating countries against each other, according to aggregated measurements of learning. In view of our concern with skills development, it is interesting that they claim that 'One of the most pervasive and endemic problems in education in just about every country is the lack of attention paid to skills provision' (ibid.: 01); they do also mention, however, that 'internationally comparable data on vocational studies' is not readily available (ibid.: 24). It is worth also noting the comment from Pearson's chief education advisor that these rankings and their report are interesting, but that 'it is the ever deeper knowledge base that will change the world' (ibid.: 02).

Another global learning metrics initiative, the Learning Metrics Task Force (LMTF) is a multi-stakeholder collaboration, which is being spearheaded by the private non-profit Brookings Institution. Through its work on 'universal learning,'[10] it 'is aiming to define learning and measurement standards for children around the world' (SDSN, 2014a: 27). The Task Force emerged

from the publication of the *Global Compact on Learning* which like Coombs' *World Educational Crisis* (1968) had talked of the current challenges to education as being 'nothing short of a global learning crisis' (Brookings, 2011: 3).

The work of other think tanks, such as the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) has also contributed to critical analysis and advocacy around the politics of educational access and quality. This could be illustrated in some countries, where 'international frameworks such as the MDGs and EFA have influenced political priorities, by way of either domestic aspiration or donor conditionality' (Nicolai et al., 2014: 6).

In addition to the role of private entities in assessment and measurement, the private sector is increasingly becoming involved in global governance in other ways. For example, in 2012, the Global Business Coalition for Education[11] was set up; its stated *raison d'etre*, among other things, is to help coordinate private sector philanthropic or social investment in global education, and to help connect the private sector to high-level education policymakers. Clearly, this is a very different form of global or international leverage than is exercised by PISA or SABER, but is another illustration of soft power in relation to global goals:

> Our members believe that their influence, core business, social responsibility, strategic investments, thought leadership and philanthropy – when used in collaboration with peer companies, government, non profit and the educational community – are powerful tools to increase the number of children and youth who are in school and learning. (http://gbc-education.org/about-us/)

Robertson (2008) and Robertson and Verger (2011) further point to the shift that has occurred in the global governance of education as a result of for-profit provision, the promotion of public-private, and multi-stakeholder partnerships. Whilst not against the private sector being involved in education per se, Robertson is concerned

> with the way in which 'for-profit/chains/transnational firms' (e.g. Cisco Systems, Laureate International, CfBT) and local entrepreneurs are being mobilized under the banners of 'education for all', public private

partnerships, and 'global civil society'. (Robertson, 2008: 7)

Robertson refers to the new global governance of education regime as the 'multilateral marketization of education', using this term to refer

> to the way in which a coalition of global actors have advanced private sector (governance) solutions – such as public-private partnerships/multi-stakeholder partnerships/emerging markets – to a key public sector problem – access to education/ access to quality education across the globe. (p.8)

We shall return to some of the academic analysts of global governance a little later but it is worth noting some of the other multi-stakeholder partnerships and UN initiatives in the field of global influence on education.

The role of international NGOs

Other actors that entered the global arena in the 1990s were international NGOs (INGOs). Some of these had been present for the first time in global education in the World Conference on Education for All in 1990, but new global consortia from civil society were set up in the late 1990s, such as the Global Campaign for Education in 1999. This now claims to represent civil society in some 100 countries, around the pursuit of quality free public basic education for all. These new international NGOs now produce global reports on education, as do the longer-established NGOs such as Oxfam and Save the Children. Oxfam, for example, as early as 2000 had produced its Global Action Plan and Agenda for Action in support of *Education Now* (Watkins, 2000). The Education Cannot Wait Advocacy Group of the International Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) also focuses on the education for all agenda by 2015.

1.3 Processes of global governance in education and training

1.3.1. Frameworks, goals and targets

Fifty years of global frameworks and global goals and targets from the 1990s

Within the world of education to which we now turn in more detail, it can be seen that there

are a wide range of different actors involved in different dimensions of global framework-setting and 'educational multilateralism' (Mundy, 2007). Historically, the earliest education and training frameworks were those linked to the UN bodies, such as UNESCO, UNICEF, and the ILO, as well as the World Bank and the OECD.

Over the last fifty and more years, major UNESCO conferences were one of the earliest vehicles for setting regional or global frameworks.[12] These conferences of the 1960s were also the first vehicle for setting targets for different levels of education. It was also the time that the new discipline of the economics of education entered the debates on education and development. The optimistic targets in these conferences underlined the euphoria about development.

Within only a few years, the discourse of optimism had been replaced by talk of crisis, especially in Africa. The target-driven plans for educational expansion were not generating the expected economic returns. Suddenly there was talk of educated unemployment and of a *World Educational Crisis* (Coombs, 1968). This ushered in a new external engagement with non-formal education and the 'discovery' of the informal sector. The excitement about high-level manpower and the development of the new universities of Africa was short-lived (King and McGrath, 2012). Now the talk was of 'More help for the poorest' (ibid).

The decade of seven world conferences in the 1990s ushered in a further set of global priorities for different sectors, and the first of these, in Jomtien, Thailand in March 1990, brought an extended vision of basic education to the attention of the world, captured in the term 'education for all'.

Mid-way through the 1990s, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development's Development Assistance Committee (OECD-DAC) played a key role in the further steering of what we may now term global governance through its drawing up of the priorities of all these conferences into a series of what came to be called international development targets, two of them related to education (OECD-DAC, 1996). They were aware of the historic significance of this moment in global goal-setting: 'We will need

to change how we think and how we operate, in a far more coordinated effort than we have known until now' (ibid. 9). The OECD-DAC did not use the terminology of global governance in its report, but its title was perhaps significant in its own right: *Shaping the 21st Century: The Contribution of Development Cooperation.*

Even if the OECD-DAC did not explicitly term its proposed goals and targets a move towards global governance, it was aware of the work of the Report of the *Commission on Global Governance* which was entitled *Our Global Neighbourhood* (1995). Indeed it picked out specifically from that Commission some indicators of aggregate poverty, including the fact that more than one billion people were illiterate. Important to its understanding of global governance is that the Commission assumed that there was a possibility of 'a global civic ethic' underpinned by a set of core values of respect for life, liberty, justice and equity, mutual respect, caring, and integrity. Perhaps understandably, as the origins of the Commission go back to January 1990, a year after the fall of the Berlin Wall, it argued that 'governance should be underpinned by democracy at all levels and ultimately by the rule of enforceable law' (Lamb, n.d. p.2). This is of course not the case today, as some would argue that a growing number of the GGET stakeholders don't have any formal UN-style representational legitimacy (for example Brookings, OECD, Gates Foundation) but are, nonetheless, highly influential in global education policies.

Goal-setting and country context

The other parallel between the Jomtien Framework for Action and the OECD-DAC *Shaping the 21st Century* is that the international community focused on the goal/target statements and minimized what the documents said about country ownership and context. Thus what the international community liked to think of as the six universal Jomtien goals were actually prefaced by the following: 'Countries may wish to set their own targets for the 1990s in terms of the following proposed dimensions:' (UNESCO, Framework for Action, 1990b: 3). Something similar was said about the six 'ambitious but realizable goals' of the OECD-DAC Report: 'While expressed in terms of their global impact, these goals must be pursued country by country through individual approaches

that reflect local conditions and locally-owned development strategies' (OECD-DAC, 1996: 2). This reflects what is an essential issue of GGET; the tensions and interactions between the role of GGET actors at the global level (which tend to be dominated by wealthier countries) and those at national or regional levels (state and non-state).

In other words, the international community created a global goal framework out of Jomtien beyond what was intended, and underplayed the role of national decision-making around the suggested goals both in Jomtien and in the OECD-DAC report (King, 2007a). This suggests that global frameworks are clearly fought over and negotiated, and some international actors are much more influential than others. Consequently, a particular published global framework such as those we have been discussing is often very different from the interpretation of that framework in practice at the national level.

The rise of World Bank frameworks: for the world, the region, for the sub-sector

When the World Bank increasingly began to replace UNESCO from the early 1980s in research-based analysis of education-and-development, it is noteworthy that one strand of its work on education strategy remained general, from its very first very slim (34 page) *Education: Sector Working Paper* of 1971 (World Bank 1971) to its first major research-based *Education: Sector Policy Paper* of 1982 (World Bank, 1982; 143 pages), and on to its most recent *Education Strategy 2020* forty years later (World Bank, 2011). But it also began to provide from 1990 a series of sub-sector policy papers on primary education, vocational and technical education and training (VTET), and higher education. Some of its most influential (and controversial) analyses continued, however, to be regional, for example, *Education in Sub-Saharan Africa* (World Bank, 1988). This key paper 'does not prescribe one set of educational policies for all of Sub-Saharan Africa...Instead, the study proposes a framework within which countries may formulate strategies tailored to their own needs and circumstances' (preface by World Bank president, ibid. v). The framework is captured in the subtitle of the paper: *'Policies for Adjustment, Revitalization and Expansion'.*

Undoubtedly, the latter two items are contingent on countries embracing policy reform and on the donor community improving the organization of its activities (ibid. 109). These are clearly policies for educational adjustment but they could also be called early forms of global governance.

1.3.2. Agreements and conventions

There has been a role for the UN, through UNESCO and ILO conventions and recommendations, in keeping goals and targets for education and training on the world's agenda. Global agreements, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), in theory influences national behaviour with regard to ensuring the right to education.

Meanwhile, other global mechanisms 'have the capacity to transform the legal framework of member-countries'. For example 'the World Trade Organisation (WTO)… through the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), modifies a range of in-country regulatory barriers' to cross-border trade in education including ownership, taxation, licensing or quality assurance rules' (Verger, Novelli and Altinyelken, 2012: 4).

1.3.3. UN global initiatives in education

There are several UN global initiatives related to education that attempt in various ways to enact increased influence or governance over various issues of education; for example, a "big push" towards 2015 targets, or a stronger focus on learning and on education in conflict.

By far the most influential of these UN-related initiatives has been the *Global Monitoring Report* (GMR). Even if this is not formally a UNESCO product but the creation of an independent team located in and supported by UNESCO, its impact has been very substantial. This has not been because, like PISA with its participating countries, it has sought to benchmark and rank the member countries of the UN. Indeed, we shall argue later that its Education for All Development Index has not been at all visible or operated as a benchmark. But in relation not only to the six EFA Goals and to additional crucial topics such as education in conflict, and inequality, it has sought to establish a state of the art review for that particular topic. This global monitoring function looks set to continue through a rebranded *World Education*

Report from 2015 (GMR, 2014).

Its influence has been very different from the World Bank whose sub-sector reviews, such as primary education, higher education or VTET, have been potentially linked to Bank lending. The GMR's global influence, with multi-donor support, has been, rather, to ensure that the six EFA Goals are actually retained on the world's education agenda. There is little doubt that without the annual GMR, starting in 2002, just after the Dakar World Forum, the EFA Goals might no longer have been an influential framework feeding into the current post-2015 debates. Arguably, keeping the EFA Goals alive, and providing key nuggets of quantitative data related to them has been more important than their direct contribution to our understandings of skills development, early childhood education or adult literacy. Thus, the iconic figure of 250 million children and young people not learning the basics, derived from the 2013/14 GMR, has played a key role in maintaining the world's concern about the right of all children to education.

The GMR has also provided the evidence for other international actions, such as the UN Secretary-General's Global Education First Initiative. [13] The UN's *Millennium Development Goals Reports* have maintained the case that monitoring 'Data for Development' is critical for global progress towards the MDGs (UN, 2014a: 6). These reports, though lacking the visibility of the GMRs, have kept on the table such key facts that almost one billion adults and youth lack basic reading and writing skills in 2012 (ibid. 18).

The work on global indicators on Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) is much less advanced (c.f. King and Palmer, 2008), and despite there having been a GMR dedicated to the analysis of skills for life and for work in 2012, the Inter-agency Working Group on TVET Indicators has admitted that there continue to be several longstanding problems related to their global monitoring and evaluation, and that there are unlikely to be anything beyond preliminary indicators available for use before the 2015 deadline. So the activity around global indicators for TVET remains very much 'a work in progress' (Inter-agency, 2012: 4).

1.3.4. Governing by "best practice"

There exist, or have existed, a range of "best-practice" (NORRAG, 2007) approaches to education and training reform and research that have been globally influential, and have promoted policy and priority shifts. There are also a series of a critiques of the "What works" approach to education and vocational education and training (McGrath, 2012b) and a history of "best practice" in education (King, 2007b).

A long-standing "best practice" research approach for education was the strong credence given to rate of return to education analysis. In the 1980s and 1990s, this very much emphasized the higher returns that investment in primary education would yield (relative to other higher levels of education). Despite the academic critique around this, it certainly influenced the World Bank to shift some of its education support towards primary education, including to support the World Conference in Jomtien.

For the TVET sector, McGrath (2012a) refers to the existence of an international skills toolkit that is influencing TVET reform across the globe. This toolkit might contain things like competency-based training, national qualifications frameworks, quality assurance systems, skills development funds or other "best practice" approaches.

1.3.5. Governing by financial carrots and sticks

There is a sense in which, for example, many of the mechanisms linked to international aid from traditional donors could be termed global governance; these would include what were called conditionalities (and are now sometimes referred to as triggers). One illustration of such conditionality would be the structural adjustment programmes set by the IMF and World Bank during the 1980s. But there are many other examples of conditions set by Western donors in the history of educational aid. These would cover, for instance, the initial view of the World Bank about its priority for technical and vocational education (King, 2003), and its changing view about the primacy or priority for support to primary education. Such priorities from international organisations like the World Bank can become informal norms. Similar examples of global steering of education priorities can be seen in the rise and fall of external support for higher education in Africa. It is worth noting, however, that not all external aid has been linked to conditionalities. It has long been claimed by China, for instance, that its aid is unconditional (King, 2013).

Aid effectiveness and global governance – the search for quantification and selectivity

Returning to the theme of international aid or development cooperation as associated with global governance, we can note the emergence, four years after the 1996 OECD-DAC Report, of the MDGs, following the Millennium Summit of September 2000. A further key milestone in the global governance of aid would be the *Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness* (OECD-DAC, 2005). But there had been an earlier call for the harmonization of aid, including its pooling by donors through what came to be called sector-wide approaches or SWAPs.[14]

The mention of the 1996 Report, the Millennium Summit, and the Paris Declaration, not to mention the Jomtien Declaration, or the Dakar World Forum on Education of April 2000 underlines the crucial issue of selectivity. From the full detail of these reports and declarations, only a small number of elements are actually adopted by the international community. Thus, the most easily quantifiable goals were selected from the 1996 Report of OECD-DAC. The Report recognized that there were a whole series of **'qualitative factors'** that were actually 'essential to the attainment of these measurable goals' (OECD-DAC, 1996: 2, emphasis in the original). These included 'capacity development for effective, democratic and accountable governance, the protection of human rights and respect for the rule of law'. These did not become goals.

The same happened with the Millennium Summit Declaration which contained a whole range of resolutions. But only a handful of them became the MDGs. It was the same story with the World Declaration on Education for All; there were six dimensions which were suggested as a basis for targets, but many influential participants of the international community at Jomtien decided that the World Conference was essentially about primary education and not the other dimensions (NORRAG, 1990).

1.3.6. 'Governing by numbers?' International testing and data

The development of internationally comparable data as governance tools (NORRAG, 2014a) is not a new issue (see Grek and Ozga, 2008, on education data and its influence in Europe). What is relatively new is the explosion of global instruments used to test student levels in literacy, numeracy or science, as well as other issues like teacher performance. Not all of these instruments rank participating countries in league tables. Some focus principally on the OECD countries, while others are focused mainly on particular regions in developing countries. They illustrate, therefore, very different perspectives on individual country performance in education.

The OECD's Programme of International Student Assessment (PISA), which has been in place since 2000, is perhaps one of the most well-known international assessment instruments. It has been regarded as having a 'major impact on national policies' (Grek and Ozga, 2008: 2), since the assessment data can

> steer system and individual behaviour in particular directions, indeed, to instil in the system and the individual (policy makers, teachers and learners), a sense of being held up to scrutiny that encourages self-regulation. In this way data acts to discipline – or govern – the system or individual so that they conform with the agreed norms… Data now seem to be moving into the place that might once have been occupied by policies or values. (ibid: 3)

Grek and Ozga make the point that in Europe, following the Lisbon Strategy of 2000, convergence in education has to come about through guidance and coordination, and the use of benchmarks rather than legislation, since education policy remains in the hands of member states. Perhaps for this reason, they don't use the terminology of global governance, or even governance, but they do note that at the 'global international level, the most powerful and visible indicators are those produced by the …OECD in…its PISA …tests' (ibid).

Some (unsurprisingly, including the OECD) assert that PISA is a step towards global transparency in educational policy, and that 'PISA has become accepted as a reliable instrument for benchmarking student performance worldwide'

(OECD, 2012: 4). For others, the role of PISA in global education policy development has continued to be questioned and criticized. For example, Meyer and Benavot (2013) argue, in PISA, *Power and Policy,* that 'through PISA, the OECD is poised to assume a new institutional role as arbiter of global education governance, simultaneously acting as diagnostician, judge and policy advisor to the world's school systems' (p. 9).

In addition to PISA, a new range of OECD assessment tools are being developed – or have recently been developed, including PISA for Development, PISA-based Tests for Schools, the Programme for International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC), and the Teaching and Learning International Survey (TALIS). Indeed, the increasing spread of these assessment approaches, some would argue, is giving the OECD ever-increasing influence.

Morgan (2014) argues that as an assessment is built, international organizations offer processes or 'techniques to instil certain forms of knowledge or to transfer educational practices from the supranational to the national' (n.p.); in this way, the international organizations 'acquire the legitimate power to define what counts in education' (ibid.). Of course, and as we note below, it is not only international organisations that are getting more involved in promoting international testing; for example the Brookings Institution's role in the Learning Metrics Task Force (LMTF) has given them a certain degree of power to help decide what counts, and what should be counted. This can be seen in the normative ambition of the LMTF's first title: *Toward Universal Learning: What Every Child Should Learn* (Brookings/UIS, 2013).

Participants at the June 2014 NORRAG workshop on the global governance of education, mentioned above, discussed the role of data, and the Report of the meeting noted that global education data 'serve as an important source of legitimation and justification for decision-making and investment in education and training' (NORRAG, 2014a: 10).

Sellar and Lingard (2014) further argue that through 'soft power influence', the OECD is becoming the 'most influential agency in education policy globally, superseding other organisations such as UNESCO and developing new modes of global governance in education (n.p.). This

soft power is exerted 'through peer pressure on member nations to conform to shared values and norms and through the capacity of its analyses to shift perspectives on economic and policy issues' (n.p.). We should, however, proceed cautiously in assigning massive global influence to the OECD; arguably the results from TALIS, the Teaching and Learning International Survey, which began in 2008 and now covers some 34 countries, is very much less known about or discussed than PISA, despite sounding of great topical relevance to the current 'learning crisis' (OECD, 2014).

Similarly, the World Bank's new accountability programme, since 2011, called Systems Assessment and Benchmarking for Education Results (SABER), reviews country policy and institutional performance in eleven education domains including, for example, teachers, education resilience and workforce development. It should be noted, however, that 'unlike some related efforts, SABER does not produce rankings of education systems, even within policy domains', in the more than a hundred participating countries (World Bank, 2013: 21). However, Robertson (2014) cautions in a discussion of SABER that 'what is at issue here is that big data can be big bad data, just as some data can be bad data. Big simply magnifies the margins of error' (n.p.); she adds that 'for the Bank and its SABER-Teachers project, these seem to be huge' (ibid.).[15]

It should also be remembered that data are politically and socially constructed (NORRAG, 2014a: 10). As educational data, and in particular quantitative learning assessments, are increasingly used as global monitoring tools, they are therefore not free of political and social bias. What aspects of testing are standardized, what are not, and who decides?

The stakeholders concerned with international assessment, data and benchmarking are not just traditional intergovernmental organisations like the OECD and the World Bank, but also now include private companies like Pearson as well as private non-profit organisations like the Brookings Institution – as we shall note below.

2. Understandings, Meanings and Aspirations around the Global Governance of Education and Training

Having looked in section one at some of the main stakeholders involved in the global governance of education within the history of setting international frameworks and conditions for education and training, we turn in section two to interrogate the understandings of global governance by a sample of those working in international education.

In the world of political economy, international relations and trade, the term global governance has been used from at least the mid-1990s, and there has even been a BBC programme of August 2014 on 'Whatever happened to global governance?' contrasting 'old-style global governance' with the new playing field where the 'newcomers - such as Brazil, Russia, India and China - are creating their own solutions' (Woods, 2014). The situation in international relations seems, however, rather different in the world of international education and training.

As this is a NORRAG Working Paper, the section starts by examining the meanings and understandings of global governance and especially global governance in education through the eyes of a selection of active NORRAG members today in 2014.[16] It should be mentioned right away that there have been some very thoughtful insights into these concepts by members, but this terminology is still not at all widely used by the almost 80 NORRAG members who were approached.[17] However, it may be valuable to provide an insight into how different individuals have constructed their understandings of this term. Other members have been more hesitant, and even resistant, about utilising this terminology in their own work, and their assessment of the concept is retained in Annexe 1. Finally, this section situates these NORRAG discussions and understandings against the history of different readings of global governance going back to the 1980s.

2.1. Global Governance: A diversity of meanings and understandings in 2014

Just as three years ago, in early 2012, there had been relatively little discussion around post-2015, so now, among the international and comparative education community, there has still not been a wide-ranging debate about global governance of education. Of course, the post-2015 discourse has been enormously sharpened by the obvious presence of an imminent time-line (2015), but even more so by the development of a series of structures that were mandated to report on post-2015. Many of these were UN-related, like the national consultations, the High-level Panel, the thematic consultations, and the Open Working Group meetings, to mention just a few. There has been little parallel with discussions around global governance beyond the *Global thematic consultation on governance and the post-2015 development framework* which we comment on later in the paper (UNDP/OHCHR, 2013); but, arguably, the whole focus of the debates around post-2015 has been, in one way, about one aspect of the proposed new architecture of global governance. In other words, the shape of any new global development agenda post-2015 must surely imply a new landscape and architecture of global governance. But we return to the relationship between the post-2015 agenda setting and global governance in education in the third and fourth sections of this paper.

Many of the same basic issues and questions apply both to post-2015 and to global governance. This should not be surprising as we have argued that post-2015 can be seen as just one of many dimensions of global governance. For instance, is the post-2015 agenda basically about the next development challenges in the South, or about global development issues, both North and South? Equally, for many development agencies, 'good governance' has historically been about the South. But is global governance also more a concern by the North about the South than about world governance? Or is it also a concern about the impact on the South of mechanisms, instruments and assessments that have originated in the Northern OECD countries but are also being disseminated in the South?

We turn therefore now to examine a variety of approaches to the terminology of global governance, and particularly to the global governance of education, which derive from a mini-survey of some 80 NORRAG members. We start with two more structured conceptualizations of global governance, the first by Fredriksen, a former World Bank staff member with a very long experience of Sub-Saharan Africa, and the second by Kuroda, a NORRAG member from Japan and director of the Centre for International Cooperation in Education in Waseda, who used his presentation in the February 2014 Japan Educational Forum to explore the relationship of globalisation and global governance of education.

Fredriksen has usefully argued that global governance is based on three things:

> 1. A set of rules/regulations/goals that are universally accepted
>
> 2. An agreed mechanism of measuring progress/deviations from these rules
>
> 3. A way of holding countries accountable for lack of progress/deviation. And the mechanisms can be quite different in different sectors (Fredriksen to King 26.05.14; Fredriksen, 2014)

He argues that the application of global common rules may differ widely from sector to sector, e.g. in health, climate, finance, migration. In some of these areas, the negative global effects of national 'misbehaviour' may be greater than in education.

A set of rules/regulations/goals

When these three dimensions are applied to education, Fredriksen suggests that globally the two Education MDGs and the Dakar EFA goals represent the agreed-upon goals under his first item. But equally the benchmarking of 'the PISA results and other global or regional performance indicators provide a different set of comparative outcome indicators that may affect national behaviour' (ibid).[18]

We shall expand upon other meanings of global governance in education shortly amongst a range of different NORRAG stakeholders, but we should first comment on Fredriksen's valuable conception. Perhaps the most obvious thing to say is that the two Education MDGs and the six EFA goals do not completely represent, by any means, goals that are 'universally accepted'. This can be seen in the figure of almost one billion adult and

youth illiterates already referred to, and in the large numbers of primary school age children still not in school, as well as of out of school adolescents. Despite the fact that, according to the GMR 2013/14, none of the six EFA goals will be met by 2015 (UNESCO, 2013a: 1), and that there have been dramatic breaches of gender equity, and access to basic education by girls in some communities, Fredriksen considers the two Education MDGs are close to being considered human rights. They have also been widely endorsed, along with the six EFA goals, in the international NGO and donor communities, but in a very large number of countries, both North and South, national education plans and priorities are still the central reference point for the policy community, not the MDGs or the EFA goals. The latter may be referred to if national progress happens to correspond to the goals and targets of the MDGs and of the EFA goals. But, arguably, countries don't see a causal relationship between these international goals and their own national achievements (King, 2014).

Despite what we have just said about the claim of universality for these goals and targets, another dimension of the Education MDGs and the six EFA Goals is that they continue to be widely seen by Northern development partners to have been designed for, and to be relevant to, the South rather than to the North. Some Southern partners are also very aware that the framework of the MDGs and EFA goals is seen to be focused on them, as developing countries, rather than on the world as a whole. This of course could challenge any claim that they are part of a 'universally accepted' governance architecture.

An agreed mechanism of measuring progress/deviations from these rules

A similar difficulty could arise with Fredriksen's suggestion that there should be an agreed mechanism for measuring progress on the global goals. One of the most obvious examples of that is the EFA *Global Monitoring Report* (GMR), but, given what we have said above about the acceptance of the EFA Goals, both in the North and the South, there may be limited concern by national policy makers about any GMR comment that is critical of national or regional educational achievement. For example, the Education for All Development Index (EDI) has provided information on four out of six of the EFA Goals, and is in effect

a composite index offering a snapshot of progress towards EFA worldwide. However, out of 205 countries, only 115 provided the data required to calculate the standard EDI for the school year ending in 2011. A table ranking all participating EDI countries from highest to lowest EDI was last provided in 2012, when Japan was the highest and Niger the lowest (UNESCO 2012: 308-9). This table, ranking countries from 1 to 115, was no longer included in the 2013/4 GMR, though it was mentioned that Niger was still the lowest and that UK and Kazakhstan had the highest EDI score.

It would of course be intriguing to know whether the ranking of India in 'Low EDI' in 2010 (at 105 out of 128) and at 102 out of 120 in 2012 was at all noticed in India.[19] This would be an example of Fredriksen's comment on countries being '"shamed" if they perform' badly. But if the EFA GMR is not widely read or its results taken seriously in India, Pakistan or the several sub-Saharan African countries that also performed very poorly on the EDI, then this can scarcely be called an illustration of the impact of global governance in education via league tables.

An instrument for accountability

On the accountability issue, Fredriksen argues that internationally there is no realistic mechanism for compliance, beyond 'shaming' for poor performance. Even nationally, really poor performance in education, whether in female literacy, male academic achievement, or in national performance on some other international benchmarking, may not have any immediate political implications.

If mechanisms like the GMR, and its rankings such as EDI, are not regarded seriously, then this may not be a good example of Fredriksen's third dimension of accountability. A similar case might be constructed for other global assessments mechanisms that are intended to encourage good practice worldwide. UNESCO has, for instance, encouraged the development of recommendations in different fields, such as the status of teachers, and technical and vocational education (UNESCO, 1962), and has also promoted *The Convention on Technical and Vocational Education* (UNESCO, 1989). But it would be important in this context to consider why the 20 year-old *Convention*

Concerning Technical and Vocational Education (1989) had only been signed by 17 member states, and not a single OECD country (King, 2009).

Before turning to the way that a number of other NORRAG members have sought to make sense of the terminology of global governance for themselves, it will be valuable to contrast Fredriksen's approach with that of Kuroda. The latter sees global governance as having four different dimensions:

> Formulating principles through international laws, conventions and charters

> Developing and proposing new internationally influential concepts

> Building consensus on the goals of international policies and formulating frameworks through international conferences

> Establishing international indicators and standards and conducting monitoring (Kuroda, 2014b)

Laws, conventions & charters

The first of these four dimensions parallels Fredriksen's rules/regulations/goals but is more formal with its emphasis on global items like the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Influential concepts

The second dimension offers an intriguing addition to the discourse of global governance in education by pointing to the role of internationally influential concepts. Kuroda illustrates this through examples such as 'life-long education', 'rates of return', and '21st century skills', amongst others (Kuroda, 2014a: 2). But other guiding frameworks could be mentioned such as 'education for all', 'non-formal education', 'skills development', 'education for self-employment', or 'value for money'. Such new trends often emerge from a key Commission like the Phelps-Stokes Commissions in colonial Africa[20] or from UNESCO's Delors Commission.[21] These 'catch phrases' are hugely important as they can impact directly on the rationales and justifications for new educational investments. In the world of international education, they have been particularly associated with bilateral and multilateral aid agencies. But it is worth noting that their meanings and influence need to be carefully interrogated, and particularly for the way that one catch phrase leads to another. Thus, *The World Educational Crisis* (Coombs, 1968) led directly to the discovery of non-formal education. And in today's world, the new emphasis on 'Learning for All' is in fact a commentary on the claim that 'Education for All' did not sufficiently focus on learning outcomes, and hence that millions were not learning. Arguably, 'post-2015' or 'education post-2015' have already become such catch phrases.

International policies and frameworks

Kuroda's third dimension, the formulation of international policies and frameworks, is quite close to the world of international trends, concepts and catch phrases. It refers essentially to world and regional conferences that have acted as powerful milestones. Often, as in the case of the World Conference on Education for All, a particular phrase such as 'an expanded vision of basic education for all' derives from these (UNESCO, 1990: 17). But often if the international conference or the summit do not produce a catch phrase or a sound byte, such as 'Educational for Sustainable Development' from Johannesburg in 2002, then the conference may have little continuing global influence. UNESCO's regional conferences of the early 1960s fall into such a category.

Indicators, standards and monitoring

Kuroda's last global governance dimension is 'establishing international indicators and standards and conducting monitoring'. In one way, this has proved to be the most globally visible and most influential of his four different meanings. This covers the worlds of PISA and the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), and of university rankings. It also should refer to influential national rankings in South and South East Asia, and regional rankings in Eastern and Western Africa.

We now turn to NORRAG members who have not necessarily been working with a formal conceptualisation of global governance, but are trying, nevertheless, to locate what global governance could mean within their own international educational landscape.

Global governance as a web of influence or soft power

Much less sharply conceptualized than Fredriksen's or Kuroda's dimensions is a description of global governance in terms of 'a web of influence', 'club membership', or even 'shadows' of influence. Such a position is taken by Trudell, research director of SIL in Africa, who starts by stating that 'the notion of global governance doesn't seem to have any real-life manifestation', but would acknowledge that there certainly is 'a powerful set of world-wide expectations where things like curriculum, school-related behaviours etc are concerned; but I would not use the term 'governance' – it's too definite. Rather it's a set of beliefs and practices that nations buy into in order to be included in the "club of modern nations"' (Trudell to King, 26th May 2014).

A related view of global governance in education elaborated by Mason, currently located in the International Bureau of Education, would argue that despite global goal and target setting, there is no global governance in any substantial sense, 'no supra-national jurisdiction at basic or secondary level'. But there might be a softer 'shadow' version of global governance in education, 'given shape through things like EFA, PISA, our new friend, Learning Metrics Task Force (LMTF), and even perhaps entities like the Global Partnership in Education (GPE), the effects of which could be understood as in some way analogous to the World Bank'. 'I like the metaphor of a "web of influence"' (Mason to King, 23.05.14).

Arguably, these two conceptualisations of global governance in education are not far from the notion of soft power. In fact, there is no formal obligation for countries, outside the OECD, to take part in PISA, or to develop a national qualification framework, or even to become part of the world-wide network of Confucius Institutes and Confucius Classrooms at university and secondary school levels respectively. The decision lies with the recipient, and not with the donor or the promoter.

The special challenges of education as a site of global governance

But beyond this view of global governance as a form of soft power, a NORRAG member from BRAC university in Bangladesh, Manzoor Ahmed, recognises that there is an important difference between global governance in general and the global governance of education. The former, through the United Nations and before that the League of Nations constitutes 'a century-old quest for defining and building a structure of global governance'. But there is a very particular challenge with constructing any global governance in the sphere of education. This may essentially be to do with the nature of the education sector at the national level: 'The primacy of nation states and their hold on people's psyche remain a formidable obstacle and put a limit to what is acceptable in the form and substance of global governance for the benefit of human kind. Education, I am afraid, is still in the zone that is mostly out of bounds for global regulations and control. There are only some fledgling initiatives regionally to consider inter-country regulation and cooperation in education' (M. Ahmed to King, 27.05.14).

The notion that there are certain spheres of global influence on the local is confirmed by Vargas-Baron, director of the RISE Institute, but education is not one of them: 'We do, of course, have some global normative rules, and to some extent, [there is] global governance of certain topics such as oceanic affairs, postal issues and other international issues that affect all nations. These topics are very different from education' (Vargas-Baron to King, 26.5.14). But this is not something to be regretted. Rather, Vargas-Baron argues that there is something distinctively local about education:

> Formal education should be informed by international research results on education, national core concepts and contents, but it should also be strongly local in the sense that it should be derived from local cultures, and local languages should be the only or the main language of instruction up to at least the fourth grade, if not beyond.

> Informal and most non-formal education should be mainly or entirely local.

> Therefore, to me the global governance of education would be impossible unless it were to simply establish the primacy of cultural and linguistic rights. (ibid)

Similarly, Trudell, already quoted above, confirms the power of the local when it comes to education. She notes that there are 'world pressures toward

nation-state standardization and educational homogeneity' but 'some external elements are easier to copy than others, and many external elements are inconsistent with local practice, requirements, and cost structures':

> Which makes me say "good luck" to any organization that tries to impose change that is more than lip service. It seems to me that those who think a global model of education is possible, as well as those who are afraid it will make automata of us all, have not lived in the global South lately. The local is alive and well, and as cynical as can be. (Trudell to King, 27.05.14)

These tensions between aspirations for global governance and the realities and complexities of the local are also sharply characterised by Fichtner, currently a researcher in the University of Bordeaux:

> There are actors working for international and multilateral organisations like UNESCO, OECD, the World Bank, who promote the same benchmarks and policies for a number of completely different countries to steer their national education systems in a direction considered as 'good'.[22] They are thus being involved in constructing a mode of 'global governance'….. The interesting questions are: how does this mode of global governance work, who is involved, which techniques are used and how does it interact with local modes of governance/actors/techniques? The term 'governance' itself implies that there are other operators than the State who take part in the delivery of public goods and services (different to 'government'). (Fichtner to King, 01.06.14)

These are just a few NORRAG members from the 80 who have recently engaged with the concept of global governance in education. The flavour of the many other reactions to the discourse of global governance in education may be found in the annexe 1.

2.2. Towards an account of the global governance of education in a wider historical and political context

We have sought to illustrate from a small selection of NORRAG members in 2014 that the notion of global governance and specifically of the global governance of education can be conceptualised in a number of thoughtful and suggestive ways, even if a much larger number of NORRAG members don't use the terminology at all or don't find it helpful. We widen the discussion of global governance of education here by looking at some relevant history and also at its relationship with globalisation in a number of critical accounts.

Global economic governance and humane global governance

First, it may be helpful if this present understanding of global governance of education by some members of a particular international education network could be set against a longer history of debate around terms such as 'global economic governance' and 'humane global governance' (Falk, 1996). Even if the analysts in this section above laid out a number of dimensions of the present global architecture of education, it may be useful briefly to situate the discourse on global governance in education today against the backdrop of very sharp differences in approaches to economic development in the global South. We can, for example, contrast two different development paradigms in the 1980s and 1990s. Jolly's (2014) book, *UNICEF: Global Governance That Works,* gives an account of the history of these two approaches through the terms, 'global economic governance' and 'humane global governance', and through an historical analysis of UNICEF with its focus on child rights and children's needs in health and education.

Structural adjustment versus adjustment with a human face, both in education and training

In the 1980s, Jolly argues, the imposition on developing countries of structural adjustment policies by the World Bank and the IMF is analysed as an early form of global economic governance while the opposition to these policies through the promotion of 'adjustment with a human face' is seen as a humane alternative (Cornia et al. 1987; Jolly op cit. 35-39).[23] Although the terminology of 'global governance' only formally came into use in the mid-1990s, and 'global governance in education' a little later, there were widespread debates about the impact of structural adjustment on education in the 1980s. This was particularly evident in the critical reaction in Sub-Saharan Africa and

more widely to the World Bank's seminal report, Education in Sub-Saharan Africa, which was significantly subtitled: Policies for Adjustment, Revitalisation and Expansion (World Bank, 1988; King, 1991). In the area of skills development, the Bank's encouragement of the market, and its message that training could be primarily left to the private sector were all too obviously a critique of public sector provision from the very first page of its 1991 policy paper: Vocational and Technical Education and Training:

> Training in the private sector – by private employers and in private training institutions – can be the most effective and efficient way to develop the skills of the work force. In the best cases, employers train workers as quickly as possible for existing jobs. (World Bank, 1991: 7)

Governance, good governance and global governance in education

Despite this intense debate around structural adjustment policies and their impact in education and skills development in the 1980s and early 1990s, the translation of this into an explicit discussion of the global governance of education and training was delayed. Thus, global governance does not appear in the report, or the background document, of the Jomtien World Conference on Education for All in 1990, nor in the World Forum on Education for All in 2000. Even when the *Global Monitoring Report* series dedicated a whole issue to *Overcoming Inequality: Why Governance Matters* (UNESCO, 2008), there is plenty of discussion of governance, good governance and governance reform, but no specific mention of global governance or of the global governance of education. This does not mean, however, that there is not a critical analysis of governance reforms as part of both national and international development agendas. Two key findings emerged from this GMR:

> The first is that there is no blueprint for good governance: each country has to develop national and local strategies. The second finding is that governments across the world have attached insufficient weight to equity in the design of governance reforms. (UNESCO, 2008: 127)

Even if the terms, global governance and global governance in education, are not mentioned in the GMR 2009, it is, in effect, argued that 'Good governance is now a central part of the international development agenda. Beyond education, it is seen as a condition for increased economic growth, accelerated poverty reduction and improved service provision' (ibid. 129). And even if the Dakar Framework for EFA did not lay out an agenda for governance reform, it obliged governments to 'develop responsive, participatory and accountable systems of educational governance and management'. In its concerns with educational governance, the GMR 2009 focused on four of what it considered the most crucial and often neglected themes in governance and education reform: financing strategies for closing the equity gap; choice, competition and voice; teacher governance and monitoring; and an integrated approach to education and poverty reduction (See the whole of chapter three: 127-201). In many of these areas, the GMR talks a great deal of good sense, including for situations where the failings of public provision are very evident. It acknowledges that 'Under the right conditions, competition and choice can support EFA goals. At the same time, policymakers need to recognize that education provision cannot be reduced to oversimplified market principles'; so it argues that 'The bottom line, for governments in countries where public-sector basic education is failing the poor, is to fix the system first and consider options for competition between providers second' (ibid. 239).

Jolly's distinction between market-oriented and human-oriented global governance can operate therefore also in the sphere of national good governance or indeed educational governance. It is a concern with what may be termed the political economy of good governance in education. It is a red thread that may also be worth pursuing in reviewing the promotion of good governance in the post-2015 development agenda. To which we turn in the next section.

Globalisation and global governance of education

Before we come to that, we should acknowledge that the discourse of the global governance of education has been formally used in a number of international education publications for several years. Most often, this has been in connection

with multilateralism (Jones, 2007) or with the globalisation of education. In respect of the latter, the UK's Department for International Development commissioned two volumes of exploratory research around this theme. One was *Education and Development in a Global Era: Strategies for Successful Globalisation* (Green et al., 2007) and the second *Globalisation, Education and Development: Ideas, Actors and Dynamics* (Robertson et al., 2007).[24]

In the first of these, the terminology of global governance or global governance of education is not used in the main text at all, apart from, in the introduction, locating the terms once within the discourse of what are called the 'hyperglobalists' and once in the language of those arguing that globalization transforms the nature of both the world and national economies. The book discusses 'successful globalisation' in four case study chapters on China, India, Kenya and Sri Lanka without having recourse to the language of global governance of education.

By contrast, in the second volume, *Globalisation, Education and Development: Ideas, Actors and Dynamics* (Robertson et al., 2007), global governance is used a good deal and there is a whole section dedicated to 'New developments in the global governance of education'. This covers four key areas. The first of these is new actors and ideas, which lays out the much larger number of actors, such as 'globalising firms', multinational firms, non-government organizations, and regional actors. But it also pins down the neo-liberal ideology as critical to a version of globalization that emphasizes markets rather than states, that focuses on the economic rather than the social or political in generating growth. It acknowledges however that a broader perspective on human freedoms and capabilities has continued to be powerful through the work of Sen. This links of course to Jolly's discussion of humane and economic good governance.

A second area covers the changes to international aid claimed as a result of 9/11 and the subsequent global 'war on terror'. A third very pressing concern is with the area of transnational mobility and migration. There are many very different dimensions of this whether on the borders of Europe, of the USA, or of countries in Africa. Some, but by no means all of these, are connected to education. The fourth area concerns the cross border supply of education, including

the implications of the WTO processes for the competitive trade in educational services (cf. Verger, Novelli and Altinyelken, 2012).

It can be seen, even from a glance, that the coverage of these two books on globalization is very different. The second is much more centrally concerned with the many global structures impacting on education, as well as with education's impact on these. It argues that 'there is now a thickening web of multilateral agreements, global and regional institutions and regimes, as well as trans-governmental policy networks and summits that characterize the global economy and polity' (Robertson et al., 2007: 3). Intriguingly, the term 'thickening web' is reminiscent of our earlier discussion about global governance of education being something like 'a web of influence'. There is common ground also with Fredriksen and Kuroda in the characterisation of global governance in education being a theatre of multilateral agreements and trans-governmental policy networks and summits.

But the sheer range and diversity of the different global players discussed are such that it could suggest a bewildering range of recommendations and advocacy around post-2015. The challenge, of course, is how the proposals from this multiplicity of players can be satisfactorily channelled into any very precise agenda for education beyond 2015. It is to this area that we now turn in section three.

3. Global Governance in the Post-2015 Education and Training Agenda

This third section of the paper addresses the extent to which global governance issues are being linked to the post-2015 education and training agenda via the post-2015 literature and goal proposals. Apart from the difficulty just mentioned at the end of section 2, of how the ideas from this myriad of global actors can be funnelled into the very small space that is likely to be available for education in the framing of post-2015 goals and targets, there are two additional dimensions to be considered.

First, proposals deriving from what may be called the educationist constituency are likely to emphasise straightforwardly what are the

educational goals and targets that need to be re-shaped between the governance landscape associated with Jomtien, Dakar and the MDGs, in 1990 and 2000, and the situation 15 to 25 years later. We have seen in many such proposals a requirement, in the post-2015 period, to focus on **learning** and on **quality** rather than on mere access and completion.[25] On the other hand, proposals for education deriving from the multi-sectoral approach to the governance of education that is represented in Robertson et al. are likely to be more concerned with the way that education goals may be affected by other global sectoral priorities, be these greater equality, poverty reduction, or security.

Second, if the NORRAG constituency which has been interrogated about its use of the terminology of global governance and global governance of education at all represents wider views in the international education community, then we should not expect widespread use of these terms in the debates around post-2015. However, it is not just the language of the proposals that needs to be analysed for reference to global governance, but also the very range of the different players making these proposals.

With this caveat, this section starts with an impression that global governance is hardly being explicitly discussed in relation to education post-2015. It then explores four of the main post-2015 goal and target proposals related to education - from the UN High Level Panel, the Open Working Group, the *Sustainable Development Solutions Network Report* and the UNESCO Muscat agreement. Finally, this section reviews some of the other reports of the main post-2015 education and training proposals to see the extent to which global governance is being addressed, and how it is addressed.

3.1. Integrating governance, good governance and global governance into the post-2015 education agenda

Since at least 2012 there has been a significant amount of discussion and debate about **what** should be the post-2015 education and training focus, and about the content and wording of a possible education goal and its targets. However, to complement these education-specific debates on the **'what'** (What content? What targets?), there appears to have been be very little

education-specific discussion on the **'how'** (How will it be implemented? How will it be financed?). Of course, the e-consultations of the education thematic consultation included 'Governance and Financing of Education' as one of the four themes to be addressed; we shall return to this below.

There has furthermore been a whole stream of **general** post-2015 debate and dialogue on the means of implementation, on global partnership and governance – but this has not been successfully connected back specifically to the post-2015 education or skills ambition (or for that matter to other sectors, like health). Rather, it is discussed in overall macro terms, for example via a separate post-2015 thematic consultation on 'Governance' (UNDP/OHCHR, 2013), which was concerned with 'how global, regional, national and sub-national governance and accountability can be integrated in the post-2015 development agenda' (p.6). Other UN discussions on governance, however, have also focused quite explicitly on bringing governance into the post-2015 development framework (e.g. UNDP, 2014).

This latter paper, for example, may use the actual terminology of global governance very little and governance a great deal; nevertheless, it is clear that there is a genuine concern with a global governance perspective because of the challenges from the global financial crisis, climate change, security, crime and 'the importance of cross-border governance issues' (UNDP, 2014: 3).

Along with the UNDP 2014 paper, the post-2015 thematic consultation on 'Governance' (UNDP/OHCHR, 2013) noted the options for including governance in the post-2015 agenda:

> There are several options for integrating governance into a post-2015 development framework. This could be achieved through a dedicated stand-alone goal (or goals) with targets and indicators, or, relevant governance targets and indicators across other goals ('mainstreaming'), or both. The benefit of a stand-alone goal is to accord governance its due importance in a future development agenda… A third option could be to advocate both for a specific stand-alone governance goal and to incorporate governance targets and indicators across the new development framework. (p.43)

Intriguingly, in this UN-led consultation on governance and the post-2015 development framework (UNDP/OHCHR, 2013), 'governance' is used almost 300 times in some 60 pages, but 'global governance' hardly at all.[26] Interestingly, 'democratic governance' is very widely used as is the role of private sector, but 'global governance in education' not at all. Specifically, the Report noted that 'the role of the private sector has been regarded as pivotal to achieving the MDGs' (ibid. 39). But the consultation generated considerable debate on the role and regulation of the private sector in performing public functions. In general, the Report explicitly linked global governance to the post-2015 agenda, but with a strong emphasis on democratic governance and national requirements: 'Overall, the combination of improved global governance with ample room for exercising national policies needs to be a cornerstone of a post-2015 framework of development' (ibid. 32).

These two UNDP papers (2013 and 2014) have been much more concerned with governance in the sense of 'good governance', anti-corruption and transparency than with global governance in the senses we have been exploring it so far. Arguably, good governance in the development literature is very different from global governance, as we shall see shortly.

Global governance and the key post-2015 education proposals

With the key post-2015 goal proposals to date, for example the Post-2015 High Level Panel (HLP, 2013), the UN Sustainable Development Solutions Network (SDSN, 2013), and, perhaps most importantly, the inter-governmental Open Working Group (OWG, 2014), they all recognize the importance of good governance, both nationally and internationally, for post-2015. The HLP, SDSN and OWG all opted for a stand-alone governance goal, rather than mainstreaming it across other goals, including education. The OWG referred to global governance only within its wider goal of 'justice for all'.

Mainstreaming governance across an education goal and targets, for instance, would have required clarifying and agreeing on what elements of governance would be necessary to achieve the education specific post-2015 goal and targets. But as we shall see below, governance does not directly or explicitly feature in any of the post-2015 education goal (and accompanying target) suggestions.

Additionally, like the two UNDP documents just referred to above, governance is used in these three documents in a different sense from global governance. Clearly, in the HLP Report governance is conceived as rights to free speech, political participation, rights to information, as well as freedom from corruption. For instance in the Report, governance and good governance are referred to a good deal, but global governance not at all. In the SDSN Report of 2013, the term governance is used very frequently along with good governance, but good governance's primary usage is as one of the four crucial elements of sustainable development; indeed, good governance is seen as the very 'foundation of sustainable development' (SDSN, 2013: ix). Accountability and transparency are also mentioned frequently. But global governance is only mentioned twice in the whole document of 64 pages, and only then in discussing 'Difficulties of global governance' in a multi-polar world' (SDSN, 2013: 3-4); it argues nevertheless that since 'geopolitics is increasingly multi-polar' with many new players, including multinational corporations, global cooperation needs to be an even higher priority in the post-2015 agenda, even if in practice there appears to be less cooperation (SDSN, 2013: 4).

In the OWG *Outcome Document*, global governance and good governance are used only once and twice respectively. But it is clear that good governance is seen to be closely linked to the rule of law, and global governance is only referred to in the context of a wide-ranging goal statement about justice and effective institutions, and of concerns with reducing bribery, corruption, illicit financial flows. Explicit mention is made of increasing the participation of developing countries 'in the institutions of global governance' without greater specification (OWG, 2014: 18).

The global governance of education matters

Whatever the precise governance content of the various goal statements, Rose, a former Director of the EFA Global Monitoring Report, has reminded us in May 2014 about 'Why We Need Post-2015 Financing Targets for Education' (Rose, 2014a); she

argues that they are required to ensure the agreed post-2015 outcomes can actually be delivered, funded by long-term, predictable financing. She argues that 'education targets need to include one that holds policymakers to account for financial commitments to achieve identified outcomes' (ibid). In another blog, Rose noted further that:

> One of the recognized failures of the current set of Education for All and Millennium Development Goals is insufficient attention to setting targets on the means by which desired outcomes would be achieved. (Rose, 2014b)

It could be argued here that a financing target for education is important, but it is not, alone, the only needed mechanism to hold policy makers to account. It does not address the non-financial enabling conditions needed to hold policy makers to account; for example an agreed measurement and accountability mechanism. Rather than just having a post-2015 financing target for education, it could be argued that what we really need is a wider post-2015 **governance** and financing target for education, with associated indicators at national and global levels. Wild made a similar point, noting that 'improvements in [education] outcomes are more than just more money and technical solutions. The core of the puzzle is **governance incentives'** (Wild in ODI-UKFIET, 2014: 10, emphasis added; see also Wild, 2014). Nicolai et al. (2014) further note, echoing the HLP's emphasis on both good governance and effective institutions, that after nearly 25 years of global education goals:

> Only limited attention has thus far been given to the range of political, governance and institutional factors that shape how schooling is carried out and how outcomes are achieved. (Nicolai et al., 2014: 2)

Their paper has begun to take the discussion on the governance of education further, especially global governance. Let us now look at the existing post-2015 education and training literature, and review what it has to say about global governance.

3.2. Global goals and national priorities in education and training

As we noted earlier, any system of global governance requires a set of goals that are universally accepted. Coming more particularly to

governance in education and training, a possibly suggestive contrast may be seen in those goals and targets recommended as universal (or global) as opposed to those where it is left to the country level to determine the level of coverage.

The Post-2015 High Level Panel Report

Thus, in the Post-2015 High Level Panel (HLP) Report of May 2013, all its 11 illustrative goals are recommended to be universal, 'in that they present a common aspiration for all countries' (HLP, 2013: 29), but 'almost all' (ibid) associated targets are not seen as universal but 'should be set at the national level or even local level, to account for different starting points and contexts' (ibid). Thus the proposed education goal itself is worded in a universal way: 'Provide Quality Education and Lifelong Learning', even if 'for all' is not explicit (p.36). But of its targets, only primary education is picked out as a target for universal coverage with 'every child, regardless of circumstance', being 'able to read, write or count well enough to meet minimum learning standards' (p.36). Lower secondary is also to be universal, but national percentages are proposed for achieving learning outcomes. Other sub-sectors such as pre-primary education and training development are not to be universal but are given percentage targets to be set nationally, while, surprisingly, adult literacy is not even included in the list of targets (HLP, 2013: 36).

In this connection, we should recall our earlier concern that global governance approaches will not be content with lists of single sector items, but be multi-sectoral. Here the HLP agrees that the new development agenda should not be 'narrowly focused on one set of issues, failing to recognise that poverty, good governance, social inclusion, environment and growth are connected and cannot be addressed in silos' (HLP, 2013: 14).

The Intergovernmental Open Working Group on SDGs Report

In the report from the UN's Open Working Group's proposed Sustainable Development Goals of July 2014 (OWG, 2014), the overall education goal is very similar to that of the HLP; however, the inclusion of 'for all' in the wording is more obviously meant

to imply universal (or global) reach and relevance: 'Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote life-long learning opportunities for all' (p. 7). When it comes to the different education targets, the one (4.1) for primary and secondary coverage is proposed to be universal (in terms of universal completion), and the target for early childhood development, care and pre-primary education (4.2) is universal (in terms of universal access). Even more surprising is that the target (4.3) for equal access to technical, vocational and tertiary education is proposed to be universal. By contrast, other targets are covered by percentages to be set at the national level, for example: target 4.4 on skills for employment, decent jobs and entrepreneurship; target 4.6 on literacy and numeracy; and target 4.9 on the supply of qualified teachers. Arguably, target 4.3 on universal access to TVET is directly in contradiction to target 4.4 which suggests TVET percentages should be set at the national level.

Like the HLP, the OWG has a list of large single issue goals, such as education, but it underlines the multi-sectorality of its approach because the 'the goals and targets integrate economic, social and environmental aspects and recognise their interlinkages' (OWG, 2014: 4).

The Sustainable Development Solutions Network Report

The SDSN's action agenda also gives solid attention to education as one of its ten proposed goals, with a universal phrasing: 'Ensure effective learning for all children and youth for life and livelihood' (SDSN, 2014: 12). It is noteworthy that the SDSN gives greater priority than the HLP or OWG to early childhood education, the centrality of teacher quality, skills development, adult literacy, and high-quality tertiary academic environments. To a greater extent than other agendas, the SDSN acknowledges that its recommendations are driven by a recognition, for instance with skills development, of the massive and unprecedented changes in labour markets, driven by 'globalization and technological change' (ibid. 13).

Like the HLP and OWG, the SDSN argues that their ten goals are 'interconnected'. It sees the goals as reflecting the multiplicity of current actors – government, business and civil society. But the SDSN goes further that the HLP and OWG in arguing however that 'a growing diffusion and

complexity of governance' is one of just five crucial shifts that will make 2015-2030 different from the previous fifteen years (ibid. 2).

The UNESCO Muscat Agreement

Returning to our concern with global and local in education, another angle on these universal versus national targets is provided by the outcome document of the UNESCO Global Education for All Meeting in Muscat, Oman of May 2014. The overall proposed goal is almost identical to the OWG proposed education goal: 'Ensure equitable and inclusive quality education and lifelong learning **for all'** (UNESCO, 2014a: 3, emphasis added). As with other target suggestions, some are considered universal while others are proposed to be nationally determined. Universal targets include basic education (universal completion) with minimum levels of learning outcomes, youth literacy and numeracy, the provision of 'qualified, professionally-trained, motivated and well-supported teachers' (p.3), and a minimum level of domestic resource allocation for education. Meanwhile, early childhood care and education, adult literacy and numeracy, and skills development are proposed as nationally determined targets.

3.3. Discussion of global governance in the post-2015 education and training proposals

We shall turn to a further review of global governance in some of the reports and positions of intergovernmental organizations including UNESCO, UNICEF, the UNDP, the OECD and the post-2015 Open Working Group on SDGs. We noted earlier that there are a range of formal and informal mechanisms of the GGET.

Having just commented on some of the proposed post-2015 goals and targets, and the extent to which they are being set up as 'universal', we now turn to other aspects of global governance discussed in key post-2015 education and training proposals, namely issues related to measurement, to accountability, or to reference to global rules and regulations.

UNESCO-UNICEF Thematic Consultation on Education in the Post-2015 Development Agenda

An obvious first report to review is *Making Education a Priority in the Post-2015 Development Agenda,* the report of the global thematic consultation on education in the post-2015 development agenda (UNESCO-UNICEF, 2013a), along with its associated e-consultation on governance and financing of education. It is important to note, however, that several illustrations of global governance can be analysed even if the actual term, global governance, does not occur in the report at all.

By contrast, good governance is carefully laid out as vital to education, and it is intriguing to note the strong emphasis on democracy and participation: 'Good governance is about deep and far-reaching forms of democracy in education and creating effective spaces for citizen participation, including children' (UNESCO-UNICEF, 2013a: 19). While its focus is clearly seen to relate concerns with rights to education and equity, as well as control of corruption, it does begin to overlap with our notion of global governance when there is mention of 'robust and reliable forms of monitoring progress at the national, regional and global levels' (ibid. 18). The education thematic consultation highlighted the universally accepted right to education as a global regulation or 'international commitments' (ibid. 18) that all governments should adhere to. It then went on to illustrate the elements and mechanisms of 'a global framework' by which the United Nations (as well as donors) should support national governments within this perspective. Such a global framework is very close to our concern with global governance:

> Suggestions include: (a) facilitating global discussion and consensus on education by **developing indicators** for fulfilment of the right to education; (b) **defining a minimum percentage of gross domestic product** that a country is required to invest in education, for example, 6 per cent; (c) **disseminating and supporting best practices** for improving education quality, and increasing access, equity and sustainability; and (d) **providing technical and financial assistance** to national governments, civil society and communities when implementing education policies, reforms and programmes. (UNESCO-UNICEF, 2013a: 18, emphasis added)

The importance of having a single global education framework – as opposed to having a post-EFA agenda separate from a post-MDG education agenda – was also flagged in the consultation: 'A new post-2015 education framework should, at a minimum, bring the two frameworks together within a unified architecture' (p.12, 19).

Global measurement of education, the consultation argued, 'needs to focus on improving national policies and practice' (UNESCO-UNICEF, 2013a: 24). Approaches to the measurement of global education goals should be addressed when such goals are set (ibid.: 32), and 'international monitoring systems' (ibid.: 18) are needed for global (and national) accountability purposes.

The consultation report also argued that the presence of an agreed global education framework is crucial not only to mobilize partnerships among all actors – donors, civil society, NGOs, the private sector, and national governments – but also to 'facilitate the mutual accountability of all stakeholders' (UNESCO-UNICEF, 2013a: 11). In terms of what we described earlier as funnelling the multiple voices from these constituencies into a single agenda, the report sought not only to capture the traditional bilateral and multilateral agencies but also national NGO coalitions, and it acknowledged that 'the involvement of the private sector in the global education agenda is becoming more commonplace' (ibid. 11).

UNESCO-UNICEF Post-2015 e-Discussion on Governance and Financing of Education

As part of the thematic consultation on education post-2015, UNESCO and UNICEF organized a series of e-consultations between December 2012 and March 2013, one of which was on the governance and financing of education (10th February to 3rd March 2013). It is important to note that the responses to this e-consultation do not represent UNESCO-UNICEF's position (we shall cover that shortly below), but are the views of individuals and/or organisations who responded to the consultation call. In total only 56 *substantive* contributions (worldwide) were received for the discussion on governance and financing (Palmer, 2013). About half of the organisations contributing to this e-discussion were inter-agency committees/networks (e.g.

INEE) or from UNESCO GMR, the ILO and other UN bodies. The civil society organisations (CSOs) were mostly international and included, for example, RESULTS and Sightsavers. Only 11% of those that made substantive comments (i.e. only about 6 people) were individuals from the South (Palmer, 2013).[27] It should also be noted that the Report of the consultation does not explicitly refer to the global governance of education, since the participants were asked to discuss strategies that would improve governance in the education sector. With these limitations in mind, what then can we discern from this e-consultation?

First, there were several comments regarding what individuals consider the governance of education to consist of. For example, Susan Durston, former UNICEF Chief of Education and now an independent education advisor, reiterated the right to education arguing that if this right is to be upheld

> …the role of international actors-donors, religions, multilateral agencies, UN, governments, is to **design protocols,** for all, including the North to sign up to; **to be accountable** to the Paris agreement and its successors, **to provide funds** to enable governments to provide education; and **to reinforce education through their other policies** (and not to destroy children's life chances by endangering their education through acts of war and hostility, or economic policy). (Susan Durston, 22.02.13 in UNESCO-UNICEF, 2013b: n.p.) (emphasis added)

In a separate comment, Durston added that capacity building is also a key aspect of global involvement in education: 'Global intervention needs to be primarily capacity development as well as funds which align themselves with or use national systems. The Global Partnership for Education is a good example' (Susan Durston, 22.02.13 in UNESCO-UNICEF, 2013b: n.p.).

Another contributor to the e-consultation noted that 'the governance of education ought to be hierarchical, i. e. national, regional and global' (Lal Manavado, 25.02.14 in UNESCO-UNICEF, 2013b: n.p.)[28] (see Box 1 for an outline of the global and regional dimensions of this). In this view, 'global governance would be concerned with describing the general ways and means of helping… to achieve the national education goals'; but such 'international governance with respect to

education… should not be… a cultural imposition, i.e., it should not be a successor to the good old gun-boat diplomacy by being based on the idea that funds will be online if you do such and such…' (ibid.).

Box 1. The Governance of Education at the Global and Regional Levels

At the global level, the governance of education would describe the following:
- How to channel donations to make up the short falls in national education budgets to an agreed amount, without the imposition of donor-determined curriculum content;
- Help to develop and enhance the way education budgets are utilised;
- Facilitate the international access to appropriate information and education technology;
- Develop consensus about a future global education framework;
- Secure agreement on how misappropriation of resources is to be prevented;
- Development of means to ensure the quality of the education provided.

At the regional level, the governance of education would relate to:
- Mechanisms for pooling and sharing resources;
- Joint curriculum development and training personnel when required;
- Development of regional quality enhancing mechanisms;
- Exchange of information.

Source: Lal Manavado, 22.02.14 in UNESCO-UNICEF, 2013b: n.p.

A joint contribution to the e-consultation by Allison Anderson (Brookings Institution) and Amanda Gardiner (Pearson) highlighted the role of international private corporations in the governance of education. They noted that the Global Business Coalition for Education, set up in 2012, offers 'a coordinating mechanism for corporate efforts to deliver on the promise of quality education for all of the world's children' and that it 'enables them to identify opportunities for collaboration, advocate collectively, and, where possible, pool resources for greater scale and impact' (Anderson and Gardiner, 21.02.13 in UNESCO-UNICEF, 2013b: n.p.). In a separate comment, Rose argued that private corporations

need to be much more transparent if they are to be effective international stakeholders in the education of children worldwide:

> If private organizations are to truly make a difference to the education of children worldwide, they need to agree to be held accountable for commitments, and deliver these in a transparent way to ensure they are contributing to agreed objectives on education. (Rose, 04.03.13 in UNESCO-UNICEF, 2013b: n.p.)

A second thread from these e-consultation remarks were comments related to some of the current international organisations that support financing of education globally. The international NGO, RESULTS, commented on the relationship between the World Bank and Global Partnership for Education when it comes to education financing:

> The World Bank is the largest financier of education on the planet, yet there are some issues it could be better addressing. Cases of displacement between the funds of GPE and the World Bank's International Development Association (IDA) have long been known… GPE and IDA funding needs to be better coordinated. (RESULTS Australia, Canada, UK and US, 18.02.14 in UNESCO-UNICEF, 2013b: n.p.)

A comment from Sightsavers noted that 'at the global level, we need increased support to UNESCO, and greater efforts to ensure strategic and operational coordination between donors' (Sunit Bagree, Sightsavers, 15.02.13 in UNESCO-UNICEF, 2013b: n.p.).

Meanwhile, Susan Durston, already mentioned, called for a stronger UN that can 'hold their members accountable, in a much more public way than at present… if necessary through a new monitoring instrument' (Susan Durston, 22.02.13 in UNESCO-UNICEF, 2013b: n.p.).

A third thread from these e-consultations related to the governance issues of measurement and accountability. There was a call for the international post-2015 framework to ensure it has 'explicit targets to hold to account governments, donors, the private sector and others committed to achieving goals' (Pauline Rose, 04.03.13 in UNESCO-UNICEF, 2013b: n.p.). Sunit Bagree of Sightsavers added that effective and transparent monitoring and evaluation at a global level can help

'to ensure fair and sustainable access to quality education for all' (Bagree, Sightsavers, 15.02.13 in UNESCO-UNICEF, 2013b: n.p.).

Perhaps surprisingly, given the hype (and hope?) of international testing and the role it is perceived as playing in driving education reform globally, there was only one comment of this nature that linked testing to global governance; and even then it did not draw on the more widely discussed PISA tests for example. This was in spite of explicit prompting from one of the e-consultation moderators, from GIZ/BMZ, that 'could maybe regional and/or international learning assessments contribute to improved governance?' (Atussa Ziai, 19.02.14 in UNESCO-UNICEF, 2013b: n.p.). The comment received in the e-consultation was that 'global standards (IB perhaps)… [must be written into] international law. If they achieve that, they can use overwhelming influence to insure that nonconforming nations adapt' (Stephen Jencks, 23.02.13 in UNESCO-UNICEF, 2013b: n.p.).

A comment from Robert Prouty, a former Head of the Global Partnership for Education (GPE) until February 2013, implied something about the lines of global accountability. Global institutions like the GPE that receive donor funding need to be accountable to the donors who in turn need to be accountable to their tax payers. In these situations, this implies that the line of global accountability goes from national (recipient country) to international agency to national (donor country); in other words, in this case, the accountability dimension of global governance is driven – at least in part - by donor country requirements. For example, Prouty noted that:

> Parliaments in donor countries have a right to know whether the funds contributed by their taxpayers are leading to real results, results that open up life opportunities for children through better learning. (Prouty, 19.02.13 in UNESCO-UNICEF, 2013b: n.p.)

A last comment on this e-consultation is that while there were clearly some who were implicitly addressing global governance issues in education, there was overall much more focus on national than on global issues by respondents. Perhaps this is significant in itself; that the majority of individuals appear to consider that the governance of education is primarily a national

issue, and that relatively few of them connected it to global institutions, or other global actors and mechanisms. As one of the e-consultation moderators noted:

> …we haven't talked much about how education governance could be strengthened at the regional and global level… Or is governance something that should be better addressed mainly at the national and/or local level? (Atussa Ziai, 19.02.14 in UNESCO-UNICEF, 2013b: n.p.)

UNICEF and Global Governance of Education Post-2015

Moving from the global consultation on education post-2015, of which UNICEF was a co-organiser, to the official post-2015 position of UNICEF (September 2013), the main message when it comes to international governance is that a global framework is needed, but that it needs to be nationally relevant:

> We believe that there will need to be flexibility for countries - and for regions within countries - to set their own, tailored, time-bound targets that reflect their specific and local challenges, **within a broad global framework.** Not all goals will be equally relevant to all societies. However, the post-2015 agenda should represent a truly universal, commonly-owned framework, one which all nations contribute towards – and that provides inspiration for government and civil society actions in all societies. (UNICEF, 2013: 6, emphasis added)

UNICEF, like many other bodies, did not use the terminology of global governance in the document, but it did very strongly subscribe to the idea that a global framework should be established which, unlike the MDGs, would allow civil society to hold governments to account. UNICEF also argued for these mechanisms being used 'to encourage and enable private sector accountability and partnership' (UNICEF, 2013: 9). We should recall also that Jolly, a previous Deputy-Director General of UNICEF, has written a whole book about UNICEF as an example of *Global Governance that Works* (Jolly, 2014). While he acknowledges that 'Under conventional thinking, global governance is overwhelmingly preoccupied with economic issues' (ibid. 169), he strongly promotes the concept of 'humane global governance' so that

human concerns and ethical issues are included in governance (ibid. 163).[29]

UNESCO and Global Governance of Education Post-2015

In UNESCO's Position Paper on Education Post-2015 (UNESCO, 2014b), UNESCO clearly lays out that the implementation of the post-2015 education agenda will necessitate 'strengthened participatory governance and accountability mechanisms at the global, country and local levels, and improved planning, monitoring and reporting mechanisms and processes at all levels' (UNESCO, 2014b: 9). This was then reiterated in the 'Muscat Agreement' (UNESCO, 2014a), where it was also added that the 'post-2015 education agenda must be flexible enough to allow for diversity in governance structures' (UNESCO, 2014a: 2). Strong global monitoring mechanisms were also cited as being important to track implementation of the future global education agenda; in this regard, UNESCO noted that two of its own associated institutions, the 'UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) as well as the [EFA] Global Monitoring Report team, are two important mechanisms which will be maintained to ensure monitoring of progress made' (UNESCO, 2013b: 7). Burnett (2014a) also noted that 'so long as the GMR continues and is adapted, [UNESCO] can… play the key role in monitoring' (p.16) the future agenda.

Burnett (2014a) goes on to note that monitoring alone is not sufficient and that the principal gap in UNESCO are mechanisms to hold countries accountable; 'the now-abolished High Level Forum was designed to provide one accountability mechanism. New mechanisms are now needed for this' (p.16).

UNDP and DESA and Global Governance of Education Post-2015

In 2013, the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA) and the UN Development Programme (UNDP) published an 'Issues Brief' covering education (UNDP-DESA, 2013), simply noting the importance of governance and accountability but without commenting on the status quo or elaborating on any proposed changes that are needed:

Appropriate governance and accountability mechanisms are needed both globally and at country levels to prioritize transparent, well-functioning, effective, and accountable education systems which are capable of delivering high-quality education to all. (UNDP-DESA, 2013: 5)

OECD and Global Governance of Education Post-2015

We noted earlier how OECD assessment tools like PISA are seen by many as global governance instruments. Here we shall comment briefly on what the OECD's own post-2015 literature has to say about this matter.

First, PISA is portrayed by the OECD's own literature as a key tool for assessing global progress in the post-2015 education agenda:

> With more countries participating, PISA would provide a **single reference for gauging global progress** towards targets for educational quality and equity. (OECD, 2013a: 1, emphasis added)

> PISA could provide a means **for all countries to measure progress** towards national and international post-2015 education goals. (OECD, 2013b: 1, emphasis added)

Second, PISA is portrayed as having a significant role to play in policy making and insight:

> OECD's PISA – a powerful **tool for policy making** in 70 countries… (OECD, 2013a: 1, emphasis added)

> …part of the value for participating countries in PISA has been shown to lie in the **policy insights gleaned from comparative analysis.** (OECD, 2013b: 2, emphasis added)

> …the PISA programme is currently undertaking steps to increase the policy relevance of PISA for developing countries. It is hoped that for future cycles, **PISA will be able to offer developing countries enhanced policy analysis and insights.** (OECD, 2013b: 3, emphasis added)

We have already referred to the critique of PISA by Meyer and Benavot (2013). But what is interesting about PISA, as compared to many of the international documents from as early as the 1960s that we have referred to in this paper, is that it is almost unique in not being a process that has

been designed primarily for so-called developing countries. Rather it was aimed at the OECD countries; then other countries, such as Jordan, Chile and China, asked to join the process. Finally the OECD has developed the idea of PISA-for-Development to test with a total of some six other countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. More than 35 years ago, there was a similar idea to PISA-for-Development, with the IEA being suggested by the World Bank as a model for transfer to all developing countries. That came to nothing at the time.

Outcome Document - Open Working Group on Sustainable Development Goals - July 2014

The Open Working Group on Sustainable Development Goals (OWG) final outcome document recommended a stand-alone education goal and a series of accompanying targets, as we noted above. It is notable that none of the proposed 10 education targets relate to the global governance of education. However, two of the education targets are arguably linked to improving the national governance of education; the target related to increasing the supply of qualified teachers in developing countries, and the target related to increasing the number of scholarship offerings to developing countries (OWG, 2014: 8). However, national governance of education systems goes beyond the need to simply increase the number of qualified teachers, and the scholarship target is only very loosely connected to improving the national governance of education – as the target is not specifically linked to this objective (but is only indirectly, as a means of capacity building).

High Level Panel on Post-2015

The report of the UN High Level Panel on the Post-2015 Development Agenda (HLP) took a similar stance to the OWG report when it came to the issue of governance. In the case of the HLP, and as we saw above, none of the proposed education targets were even loosely connected to the issue of governance, national or global. Meanwhile, the narrative text around the proposed education goal also failed to make explicit mention of governance. What the narrative around the proposed goal did suggest, however, was that a focus on learning

outcomes (measured via learning assessments of course) would 'make sure every child performs up to a global minimum standard upon completing primary education' (HLP, 2013: 36). Furthermore, the narrative also highlighted the importance of teachers, saying that the quality of education depends on them (ibid.) – though it did not link them directly or indirectly to education governance.

Like the OWG report proposal of a year later, the May 2013 HLP report did contain a stand-alone goal (#10) related to governance, 'Ensure Good Governance and Effective Institutions' (HLP, 2013), after noting that:

> People the world over are calling for better governance. From their local authorities to parliamentarians to national governments to the multilateral system, people want ethical leadership. (p.50)

Furthermore, the explanatory narrative around this proposed goal highlighted the importance of transparency, responsiveness, capability and accountability when it came to creating and ensuring good governance in institutions.

While the HLP proposed goal #10 related more to local and national governance, the HLP proposed goal #12 had an explicit international outlook; 'Create a Global Enabling Environment and Catalyse Long-Term Finance' (HLP, 2013: 54). Among other things, this goal addresses the global trading and financial system, ODA targets, illicit financial flows and tax evasion (HLP, 2013). It also underlines the importance of data for tracking all goals, that is 'open, accessible, easy to understand and easy to use' (ibid.: 55). Again, however, this macro-level discussion on global governance was not connected back to any one sector, including education.

Sustainable Development Solutions Network

The SDSN's report of the 'Thematic Group on Early Childhood Development, Education and Transition to Work' (SDSN, 2014a) discussed the SDSN education goal proposal, 'Ensure Effective Learning for all Children and Youth for Life and Livelihood', with a later SDSN report (SDSN, 2014b) proposing global indicators, including those related to education.

Again, as with other reports noted earlier, there is no specific mention of governance under the proposed education goal. As with other proposals,

governance – including global governance – is not mainstreamed across the goal framework or linked to any sector, including education, but treated as a stand-alone goal; SDSN's proposed goal 10 is 'Transform Governance for Sustainable Development' (SDSN, 2013). Linked to this, the SDSN thematic group 11 is on 'Global Governance and Norms for Sustainable Development', and 'will explore the interactions between the public sector, business and other stakeholders, and their link to good governance', which covers for example transparency, accountability, access to information and participation.[30]

The SDSN notes the importance of indicators linked to the SDGs as these can measure progress and 'ensure the **accountability of governments** and other stakeholders for achieving the SDGs' (SDSN, 2014a: 89, emphasis added).

There are many further examples of where the ideas connected to the global governance of education and of skills development could be illustrated from post-2015 debates, not just in the mainstream products such as SDSN, OWG and HLP, but in the many proposals from the international NGOs, think tanks and private sector organisations.

4. Towards a Preliminary Conclusion

Having looked at some of the literature that could fall within the ambit of global governance, including some of the essential history of policy in that area, we have reviewed understandings of the terminology of global governance and of global governance of education and training with a wide range of NORRAG members, both in the South and the North.

We then sought to tease out from a key cross-section of the post-2015 proposals the extent to which the global governance discourse was either implicit or explicit in this material. We found many examples of what could comprise global governance in any area: e.g. a set of rules, regulations, goals; a mechanism for measuring compliance; and, a process of accountability. In other words, we found global frameworks, global monitoring and assessment, and also some ways of rewarding compliance, both nationally and

internationally. Perhaps not surprisingly, almost none of these examples used the language of global governance to describe these phenomena.

It is commonplace, as we have seen, for international development organisations to use the term governance. In addition, donor agencies have used the term good governance to refer to the need for government reform in partner countries. This has moved strongly up the donor agenda since 2000. In the words of the GMR 2009: 'The broad governance agenda covers a multitude of areas ranging from public financial management, decentralisation, transparency and accountability (linked to corruption) to participation and reform of public sector employment, to mention a few' (UNESCO, 2008: 230). It is also evident from the GMR 2009 that the education sector is very visible in governance reforms. These can cover a huge range of reform initiatives in education, often including private sector participation and regulation (ibid. 229-233). We should recall, in passing, that these governance reforms have not tended to be part of aid from emerging economies such as China.

When we turn to the term 'global governance in education', this too can cover many different dimensions and many different actors (including international organisations, NGOs, multinational firms, and nation states). Analysts of this face of governance, such as Robertson et al, have been 'particularly concerned with the structuring ideas, mechanisms and processes through which the global governance of education is mediated and produced' (Robertson et al., 2007: 203). Like good governance, global governance in education is also concerned with the private sector.[31] Arguably, however, much good governance literature looks positively at the role of the private sector in education, while global governance analysis has been concerned with a tension 'between support for privatization and marketization on the one hand and support for state provided and state-led education systems' on the other (ibid. 192).

If the discourse of the global governance of education does not yet sit commonly or easily with NORRAG members, for a variety of reasons discussed in section two (and in Annexe 1), it may be worth exploring alternatives. Possibilities would include the term **the global architecture of education**. This goes back at least to 2005 but in a special issue of Comparative Education on Governance, Social Policy and Multilateral

Education, Phillip Jones, its editor, characterized this global architecture as follows: 'In particular, the **global architecture of education** is seen as a complex web of ideas, networks of influence, policy frameworks and practices, financial arrangements and organizational structures—a system of global power relations that exerts a heavy, even determining, influence on how education is constructed around the world' (Jones, 2007a: 325, emphasis added).[32] In an article on 'Multilateral agencies in the construction of the global agenda on education' in the same special issue, King comments on 'how little analysis there has been of exactly how this **global education architecture** was constructed' (King, 2007a: 378, emphasis added). Equally, Mundy, in the same issue, looks at what international and comparative education can learn from 'global governance in political science' (Mundy, 2007: 340). In her article on 'Global governance, educational change' she does not use the term global governance of education, but does discuss how 'Over the last decade, scholarship has increasingly focused on the way in which educational multilateralism has been transformed into a new **landscape of transnational educational politics**' (ibid. 347, emphasis added).

Interestingly, the UN Post-2015 High Level Panel employs the term 'financial architecture' and the UNESCO-UNICEF global consultation also talks of 'the form and architecture of the post-2015 development framework' (UNESCO-UNICEF, 2013: 34). There are thus a number of terms being used to describe what Klees prefers to call **'global education policies'** (Klees to King, 29.05.14, emphasis added). We have also referred to Jolly's encouragement of the term **humane global governance**.

However, it should be noted that there is a conceptual difference amongst the different terms (e.g. see Dingwerth and Pattberg, 2006); global landscape, global architecture, and global governance are not seen by many as synonymous terms. Further exploration of understandings and meanings of global governance within the international education community, including by NORRAG, will surely contribute to improving our conceptualisation and understanding of this. One illustration of this is the phrase 'The Globalising of Governance Arrangements for Education and

Training' that emerged from the NORRAG meeting of the preparatory group on GGET of 14-15 October 2014.

Future research directions

This Working Paper has addressed the issue of post-2015 in relation to the global governance of education *and* training (GGET). However, it is worth noting that more attention has been paid to the education part of GGET than to its training dimension. At the national level, it is known that governance of technical and vocational education and training is in the hands of multiple stakeholders: ministries of education, labour, private sector/trade, agriculture, local development, health and others; private vocational training institute providers and associations; and, private enterprises and their associations. There are attempts for these disparate partners to be brought together via national TVET coordinating councils and national sector skills councils, but often the actual power of governance is still maintained by the respective line ministries. At the global level, there is not an equivalent of a global TVET coordinating council or global sector skills councils, to even try to set regulations or to influence national policies. The two main UN bodies related to TVET - UNESCO and the ILO - focus on technical education under ministries of education and vocational training under ministries of labour respectively. In the post-2015 discussions, too, there has been very little joined up discussion of TVET, with UNESCO appearing to take the lead on proposals for skill goals, and the indications are that another vague skills goal is a distinct possibility (Palmer, 2014). A key factor that distinguishes TVET from many of the other education sub-sectors is that there is already a very major role for the private sector in both formal and informal apprenticeships, as well as other versions of dual training. The global TVET landscape in the last 10 to 15 years has been dominated by discussions about national qualification frameworks, sector skills councils, and WorldSkills. Further research around the international or global governance of TVET is needed, and would end up naturally discussing a good deal of both the public and the private sector dimensions of the global TVET architecture and landscape. We would seek to cover this through critical reviews in NN and in the NORRAG blog (see McGrath 2014).

Another issue that merits further attention is an examination of the Southern perspectives on global governance. Indeed, there are a number of developments at the general level that bear examination, notably the new BRICS Development Bank, and at the sector level, the beginnings of meetings and reports amongst the ministers of education from BRICS countries (UNESCO, 2014c).[33] One dimension of Southern perspectives is clearly the need for more representation by the developing countries in the existing global architecture (NORRAG, 2014a). Even though Japan is far from being 'South', it may be that Kuroda is not alone in seeing that Japan should 'make a greater contribution to the process of formulating global governance in education' (Kuroda, 2014: 6). Another dimension would be the reactions of Southern scholars to the representation of emerging economies in global assessments such as PISA (Peng, 2014).

The path to accountability?

We said at the beginning of this paper that: The weakest link in the global governance of education and training appears to relate to the lack of an effective accountability mechanism to hold stakeholders (especially governments) to account; and, this has worrying implications for the ambitious post-2015 education agenda.

On 11-12th September 2014, one year ahead of the 2015 deadline, the President of the UN General Assembly (UNGA) held a 'High-level Stocktaking Event on the Post-2015 Development Agenda' as an input to the Secretary-General's own Synthesis Report of December 2014 (discussed further below). The (draft) informal summary of this stocktaking event highlighted the desire for a post-2015 development agenda that is 'visionary, transformative, ambitious, achievable, monitorable and accountable' (UN, 2014b: 2, emphasis added). The stocktaking event discussions went on to reiterate the importance of accountability, as well as the need to have a universally agreed framework, noting:

> …that a renewed global partnership for development should reflect the paradigm of the new agenda, particularly its **universal nature**, and **be supported by a strong accountability framework.** (ibid: 3,

emphasis added)

Such an accountability framework, it was further noted, needs to be inclusive and function at the local, national and global levels. The need for 'sound data and evidence' (ibid) to feed into this accountability framework was also noted.

With regard to the education sector there is now a great deal of agreement about the overall or overarching goal, but there is somewhat less agreement about the related targets, and there is still a great deal of work to be done on the indicators related to these targets (but see UNESCO-UIS, 2014) or on what an effective accountability framework for education might comprise.

We noted earlier that many of the proposed education targets are being talked of as nationally determined. If it is the case that many or most of the targets and their, as yet undeveloped, indicators are to be set at the national level, what will be their relationship to the global governance/accountability of these?

As it stands now, there is only broad consensus for a few targets to be universal – for instance universal primary and secondary education. Of course the universal headline goal from Muscat has 'quality', 'inclusive', 'equitable', and 'lifelong' as adjectives, defining education and learning respectively. But none of these descriptors were defined in the Muscat Agreement, either in general or in relation to any of the seven Muscat targets. Compared to the simplicity of the original MDG 2 of 'Achieve Universal Primary Education' with its target statement of 'Ensure that by 2015 all children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will complete a full course of primary education', the overarching goal from Muscat 'Ensure equitable and inclusive quality education and lifelong learning for all by 2030' is massively challenging.

The governance requirement for the future implementation of this Muscat goal and its seven targets is dramatically more demanding than the MDG aspiration of UPE by 2015. It is not just dealing with a financing gap of US$38 billion annually to cover primary and lower secondary education post-2015 (UNESCO, 2013c), but it is ensuring that the education and learning on offer meet the specifications of the four descriptors: 'quality', 'inclusive', 'equitable', and 'lifelong'. If the global governance of education and training is concerned with compliance with these four

standards, not to mention the further detail in the seven targets, then the task of any future Global Monitoring Report beyond 2015 will be hugely more demanding than at present with the six Dakar Goals.[34]

However, work has been urgently underway by the Technical Advisory Group for Post-2015 Education Indicators, and their report of November 2014 makes clear that there is a great deal of work to do if indicators are to be developed not only for the four dimensions already mentioned but for all the Muscat Targets:

> Overall, while all of the proposed targets have some indicators that are currently available for measurement, substantial investment in new indicator development will be required to more fully track the proposed targets. In addition to indicators of learning and equity, it will also be necessary to develop new input and output indicators on access to early childhood education; financing for education, especially for the most vulnerable populations; education for global citizenship and sustainable development; and the extent to which teachers are motivated, paid sufficiently and trained (TAG, 2014: 33)

Indicator development will certainly be a huge challenge. But, as we have stressed throughout this paper, the greater challenge will be to construct a global accountability and financing framework that can hold policy makers to account.

At the November 2014 World Innovation Summit in Education (WISE) in Doha, Qatar, in November 2014, Alice Albright, the CEO of the Global Partnership for Education (GPE) noted the importance of having a finance goal for education post-2015, but went a step further by commenting that 'not having mechanisms and means turns goals into pipedreams (05.11.14).

There are still several key milestones, before the deadline of September 2015 that should prove central in determining the mechanisms – including those at the global level – and the means.

First is the UN Secretary-General's (UNSG) Post-2015 Synthesis report which became available in early December 2014. This report is entitled *The Road to Dignity by 2030* (UN, 2014c). Importantly, it confirms all 17 goals of the OWG process but proposes to 'rearrange them in a focused and

concise manner' (ibid. 19). Arguably, this was an almost impossible task, given the myriad groups which had reported on and advocated for particular goals and targets in the two and half years since Rio+20. The SG did however seek to include both health and education under one of his 'six essential elements': **People**. This was expanded into: **'to ensure healthy lives, knowledge and the inclusion of women and children'.** Somewhat surprisingly, when it comes to a discussion of education under this heading of People, the SG doesn't seek to raise the level of debate about education and its seven targets, agreed in Muscat and largely confirmed by the OWG. Instead, he confirms the crucial role of youth in the post-2015 agenda-setting process, and suggests that 'it is essential that young people receive relevant skills and high-quality education and life-long learning, from early childhood development to post-primary schooling, including life skills and vocational education and training, as well as science, sports and culture' (UN, 2014: 21-22).

There is only a single short paragraph of four sentences on education in this Synthesis, and they will be a disappointment to the communities of education and skills development who have striven to secure, very precisely, particular dimensions of education and skills in the target statements of Muscat and the OWG. The skills development people will regret the reappearance of 'life skills' which made the treatment of Dakar Goal 3 such a methodological challenge to the EFA GMR team over 10 years. And the many voices from different countries which helped to secure global citizenship education (GCED) and Education for sustainable development (ESD) in the Muscat targets will be sad to see no reference to these, when the SG does manage to pick out 'science, sports and culture'.

The attraction of taking the high ground and going above and beyond the Muscat goal and targets is that it would not have been necessary to refer to particular targets or leave out others. Arguably, this is precisely what the EFA GMR team have sought to do in their Concept note for a 2016 report on *Education, Sustainability and the Post-2015 Agenda* which appeared in the same week as the SG's Synthesis (EFA.GMR, 2014). The Concept Note for this 2016 Report captures the ambitions of the team to move beyond the education silo and the original six EFA Dakar Goals to review education's two-way relations with other development sectors: 'The thematic section of 2016 report will

examine the reciprocal links between education and major aspects of the post-2015 development agenda, and present how the role of education can be re-envisioned to contribute to the ambitious sustainable development agenda' (ibid. 10).

The second milestone is of course the World Education Forum (WEF), 19-22 May 2015 in Incheon, Republic of Korea. That will build on the Muscat Agreement, and the OWG, but will also draw upon the regional assessments of progress on EFA and post-2015 challenges (e.g. UNESCO LAC, 2014) taking place between late 2014 and early 2015. It will also be able to take forward some of the policy recommendations and insights from the last of the current series of EFA Global Monitoring Reports, to be published in April 2015. It is claimed that WEF will 'reach agreement on a holistic and transformational goal and targets, contributing and fully aligned to the broader post-2015 development framework' (UNESCO, 2014d).

Even though the WEF is coming very late in the whole post-2015 process, it is in fact strategically well placed. Such a World Conference with leadership from the same Convening Agencies of Jomtien and Dakar, as well as from the ILO, will potentially assure a flagship role for education, and the presence of the ILO will doubtless help to confirm that apart from foundation and soft skills, skills for work are taken seriously. The same is true perhaps for the continued inclusion of global citizenship education which the host nation, South Korea, considers vital.

The last milestone is the Third International Conference on Financing for Development, 13-16 July 2015 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. As mentioned above, this issue of financing is an absolutely crucial dimension of the governance of any future global development agenda. Coming before the final setting of the goals, rather than after the goal-setting in 2000, may provide a salutary warning of what can be expected in term of international and domestic support. This is not to be pessimistic but merely to underline the fact that there are at the moment twice as many proposed goals as there were in 2000, and there is abundant evidence from the recent EFA GMRs that as far as education is concerned, international financing is actually declining. In this connection it is distinctly helpful that one of the few concrete recommendations in the UNSG's Synthesis is that

'All developed countries should meet the 0.7% target and agree to concrete timetables to meet ODA commitments' (UNSG, 2014: 29).

It is precisely such crucial facilitating factors that need to be borne in mind in connecting the post-2015 agenda with the global governance of education.

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Endnotes

[1] Hereafter, the term 'global governance of education' will include training.

[2] The authors would like to thank members of the NORRAG team in Geneva for valuable comments on this paper; these include Michel Carton, Joost Monks, Stéphanie Langstaff and Laetitia Houlmann.

[3] Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa

[4] According to the Commission on Global Governance (1995), global governance refers to both 'formal institutions and regimes… as well as informal arrangements that people and institutions either have agreed or perceive to be in their interest' (p.4). In this paper, we have taken the notion of informal mechanisms one step further to argue that such mechanisms are often brought into existence without agreement or consultation; but once in place become de facto means of informal global governance.

[5] 'Researchers have adopted the concept as a way of exploring institutional failure and constraints on growth' (Grindle, 2008: 1).

[6] http://www.globalpartnership.org/focus-areas

[7] Each seat represents a large group of countries, networks, companies or institutions. Six seats are assigned for developing country representatives (3 representing African countries and 3 representing non-African countries); six for representatives of donor countries; three for representatives of civil society; three for multilateral organizations; and one for the private sector and private foundations.

[8] *http://r4d.org/about-us/press-room/r4d-and-universalia-management-group-partner-conduct-evaluation-global-partnersh*

[9] *The Economist Intelligence Unit is part of The Economist Group. Pearson owns a 50% stake in The Economist Group.*

[10] See the Report, Toward Universal Learning (Brookings, 2013).

[11] http://gbc-education.org/

[12] See King and McGrath (2012) for a fifty-year history of the lessons learned in Africa.

[13] http://www.globaleducationfirst.org

[14] See NORRAG News 25 (1999) Swapping Partners? The New Politics of Partnership and Sector-Wide Approaches. www.norrag.org

[15] Other international and regional assessment tests in literacy, numeracy or science include, for example, SACMEQ, PIRLS, LLECE, PASEC, ASER, and Uwezo.

[16] The NORRAG members approached were many of those who have been most active as contributors to NORRAG News and to the NORRAG blog, NORRAG NEWSBite (www.norrag.wordpress.com).

[17] The 80 NORRAG members were selected via a purposive approach and came from a range of institutional backgrounds (academics, consultants, government officials, NGOs) and from the main world regions.

[18] According to Fredriksen, these "rules" fall into two broad categories: (a) provision of good quality basic education to all as a human right and (b) avoiding national policies that negatively impact other countries (Fredriksen to King, 7th October 2014).

[19] See however Tilak's analysis of 'India at 105 in Educational Development Index', (2010).

[20] Education 'adapted' to Africa emerged from these Commissions (see King, 1971).

21 'Learning to be' was just one theme emerging from the Delors Commission (Delors, 1996).

22 For an earlier analysis of World Bank 'steering' of education and training systems, see King (2003).

23 The intellectual paradigm behind structural adjustment 'has celebrated the benefits of open markets, privatization, free trade, free capital movements, and smaller to minimal government' (Jolly, 2014: 163).

24 A third volume was published through ODI, but does not refer to global governance at all: te Velde (2005) Globalisation and Education; What do the trade, investment and migration literatures tell us, ODI study Working Paper 254. http://www.odi.org/publications/1820-globalisation-education-trade-investment-migration-literatures-tell-us.

25 See further NORRAG Working Papers, 1, 4 and 6 – King and Palmer, 2012; 2013a; 2013b.

26 The reference group for the Consultation did not contain any representation from international education constituencies.

27 Indeed this strand of the e-consultation was the least participated in, with less than half the number of substantive comments received compared to each of the other stands.

28 Lal Manavado works for the Norwegian Directorate of Health, but was responding to the e-consultation in his personal capacity.

29 Jolly draws the term humane global governance from Falk (1995).

30 http://unsdsn.org/what-we-do/thematic-groups/global-governance-and-norms-for-sustainable-development/#resources

31 In Robertson et al. (2007) the term 'private' occurs almost 100 times in some 300 pages.

32 Jones had used the term from as early as 2006; see Jones (2007: 325). See also his editorial (Jones, 2007b) 'This special issue takes as its starting point the relevance and potential for comparative education of global governance constructs, using the multilateral system of education as a lens' (ibid. 321).

33 An example of this would be the meeting of ministers of education from Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa which was piggy-backed on the UNESCO General Conference of November 2013. See also the meeting on global quality assurance in higher education convened by

China on 23rd September 2014 (China, Ministry of Education).

34 Consider the global monitoring of the following Muscat target 5: 'By 2030, all learners acquire knowledge, skills, values and attitudes to establish sustainable and peaceful societies, including through global citizenship education and education for sustainable development' (UNESCO, 2014a: 3). After the final EFA Global Monitoring Report of April 2015: What did we achieve?, the intention is to move towards a rebranded series of World Education Reports, in 2016

35 'In my ten years in the World Bank, there was an almost unquestioned assumption, that was part of the air we were supposed to breathe, that everything could be done better by private national and multinational companies ("everything" except the work of the World Bank and other development agencies)' (Ellerman to King, 25.04.14).

Annex 1: Further Comments from NORRAG members on Global Governance in Education

The multiple faces of global governance in education

The reactions to the discourse of global governance and of global governance in education has been illustrated from some NORRAG members in Section Two above. However, there was a very rich response from many other members of the NORRAG constituency. While the overall response suggested that global governance in education was far from being common parlance amongst members, there were nevertheless some valuable insights into what is very possibly an emerging concept that is becoming better known within the international education networks. *NORRAG News 51* (NORRAG, 2014b) will seek deliberately to tease out some of this very considerable diversity of views.

It is worth acknowledging that there are accounts that examine the emergence of global governance of education itself as a catch phrase, but which acknowledge that behind the buzzwords there are trends that desperately need to be analysed. Thus Ellerman, a former World Bank Institute staff member, notes that: 'On the key development question of education in developing countries, the clichés are flying again: "global governance of education" through "public-private partnerships" is exploring the new "emerging market" of "providing education services"' (Ellerman to King, 25.04.14). But Ellerman also argues that leaving these assumptions unexamined is often one of the most serious mistakes in development assistance. In his own case, from the mid-1990s for a decade, it was the privatization agenda of the World Bank that went largely unexamined in the Bank.[35] Hence, he argues for careful analysis of these new concepts.

Even today in 2014, the role of the World Bank in relation to the private-for-profit sector still provides some people with a controversial interpretation of global governance in education, as compared to a more benign view of global governance by other multilateral agencies. Thus Shaeffer, a former director of UNESCO Bangkok, comments on this contrast: 'In what I've read about (global governance), some consider it an evil plan concocted by the World Bank and the private sector to take over the provision and management of education for profit and for their own purposes... But I suppose UNESCO and OECD have a more benign view related to the rights agenda, to EFA writ large, and the development and measurement of global indicators of access and quality. So in the latter benign sense – global governance would be linked to the post-2015 agenda...' (Shaeffer to King, 26.04.14).

In a sense this benign view just mentioned can be extended with the argument that basic education is a global public good. This then leads Varghese, from NUEPA in New Delhi, to the mechanisms and modalities mentioned earlier by Fredriksen, and to the logic of their being part of global governance: 'All public goods need public support, all global public goods need global support and commitment from public bodies and agencies including international agencies. Therefore, the MDG and EFA implementing and monitoring arrangements are part of the global governance in education' (Varghese to King, 26.05.14).

Apart from the contrasting views of global governance in education as a conspiracy, a cliché and a support to a global public good, there is the view that it is merely an aspiration of those working in development agencies: 'Myself, I tend to think this [global governance] is a figment of imagination, on the part of those who work for agencies that dream about such things. For better or for worse, I don't see anything along these lines taking shape' (De Moura Castro to King, 29.05.14). On the other hand, Castro, with his intimate insights into Brazilian education, both public and private, and into international education and training through his earlier years in ILO and the IDB, recognises that Brazil has deliberately participated from the beginning in PISA, one of the most visible examples of global influence, as a way of bringing some pressure to bear on its own education system (Castro to King, 14.09.14).

Several final views of the global governance discourse in this section demonstrate a very considerable diversity of personal interpretations. On the one hand, McGrath, an academic analyst from Nottingham, comments that 'It's a term from a particular ideological (post-Marxist)/theoretical camp as I see it. I don't disagree with their position (except in degree of emphasis) but it's not a term I use myself' (McGrath to King, 30.05.14). More generally, the view from Wan, a Chinese academic from Zhejiang Normal, is that global governance is inseparable from processes of globalization, and that this therefore involves multiple actors: 'The competition of countries and institutions accelerates the process through market mechanisms. So,

the players of global governance of education are governments, institutions, teachers, students, - all the people who are influenced by globalization. They act as designers or practitioners' (Wan Xiulan to King, 27.04.14). Similarly, Symaco, an academic analyst from the University of Malaya, thinks that 'people who often use this term, global governance, link it with the globalisation of services in relation to education' (Symaco to King, 28.05.14). Much more specifically, Yamada, a Japanese academic from Nagoya, suggests that 'those people who are more involved in research on cross-border higher education talk more about "global governance of education"' (Yamada to King, 02.06.14).

Hesitations and some more negative reactions to the terminology of global governance of education.

The views we have quoted thus far have sought to position the global governance of education in relation to the local, as well as with regard to international goals and academic achievements and the processes of monitoring and measuring them. But of the 80 NORRAG members with whom these issues were discussed, it was a distinct minority who sought to engage with the actual discourse of global governance. The very great majority of respondents did not use the terminology at all. But they had rather different reasons for their hesitation.

Before looking very briefly at some of these, it is worth underlining the very obvious point that not using the actual terminology of global governance does not mean that a person may not be participating in some dimension of what we analysed above as some of its many dimensions. Thus *NORRAG News* (NN) has not actually used these particular terms so far, but it has focused on a whole series of themes that would be considered relevant to an understanding of the operation of global governance in education. This would include most of the past issues of NN.

One group, and they include academics from the North and the South and members of several development agencies simply don't use the terminology at all since they claim it is not intelligible: 'We don't use the term "global governance" (and I have no idea what it means) and I am not aware of other agencies which do' (T. Ahmed, 26.05.14). Several voices from JICA would confirm this view (Okitsu to King, 29.05.14). One of several academic voices honestly confessed 'that I never use those terms - largely because I have never really understood what they meant!' (Schendel to King, 27.05.14). This would be true of several other academics, from North and South: 'I don't care for either term, and am not sure what they mean' (Wagner to King, 28.05.14), and from Tanzania: 'I have not used those terms before and I do not really know what they mean' (Chachage, 29.05.14). Similarly, from Mexico: 'And well, to be honest, sorry, but I have never heard of, nor I have ever used those terms' (Pieck, 29.05.14). Others, including in development agencies, 'understand both terms, I think, but I don't use them' (Johnston to King, 29.05.14). Another seasoned policy analyst and academic, Lolwana, from Wits in South Africa, has not encountered the language but is prepared to make a critical stab about its inventors and their purposes:

> I have never heard of the concept of "global governance of education" and I mean I go to a number of junk education meetings in the country and elsewhere. I would guess that some big NGOs think that they are controlling and governing education globally through things like MDGs; international testing and comparisons; and funding. That is my wild guess, but I really do not know what it means. (Lolwana to King, 26.04.14)

For some academics, the terminology seems to be known, but is consciously avoided, 'since I don't believe the terms have any useful value' (R. Maclean to King, 26.04.14). Others 'try to avoid these general terms, but when they do use them, it is to distinguish different levels of governance in education' (Buchert, 27.05.14). Even some of those in UNESCO who don't use the terms themselves acknowledge where it is positioned: 'I don't use this term global governance but I believe it is used in UN circles to refer to the macro-regulatory function performed by the IMF and World Bank' (Atchoarena, 02.06.14). Another assumption about its possible use comes from Naylor, a former NGO staff member, now with an international consultancy firm: 'Global governance of education is not a term I've come across I'm afraid - nor quite sure what it would encompass – perhaps GPE, MDGs, GCE (global civil society), EFA, international testing, legislative response to attacks on education through the ICC....?' (Naylor, 29.05.14). There is a much more dismissive comment from an experienced European consultant: 'I try to avoid meaningless gobbledigook and so I have absolutely

no idea what "global governance" is' (Mercer, 05.06.14). Similarly, a very seasoned analyst of early childhood merely thinks global governance 'sounds like a horrible term' which he doesn't therefore use (Myers to King, 27.05.14).

A more critical approach to the same concept of global governance would argue that this is 'simply playing with leaky abstractions and shuffling money, people, and research around in a way that looks like something substantial is happening' (Menefee to King, 29.05.14). 'There has never been "global governance". As we were taught in my undergraduate international relations' class, "there is no night watchman" in the world system' (ibid).

There is clearly something rather special about the term 'global governance of education' since it appears not be known even by Van Adams, a widely travelled and highly experienced former World Bank employee with particular expertise on skills development; but after taking the trouble via Google to understand it, he felt obliged honestly to admit: 'I am not sure what to do with it. It will probably capture the minds and hearts of the UN, but beyond this I'm not sure. I probably won't add this to my lexicon either' (Adams, 26.05.14).

Another former World Bank employee, Burnett, later with the GMR and UNESCO, and now with an NGO, takes the very opposite end of the spectrum from any assumption about the global governance in education, accepting instead the apparent absence of international leadership and governance: 'no other institution has stepped in to fill the partial void, and the international institutional framework for new global initiatives in education is thus one of "leaderless globalization" (Rodrik, 2011): there are many important trends and developments but there is no effective mechanism for prioritizing and guiding them' (Burnett to King, 26.05.14; see also Burnett, 2014b).

The sheer range of reactions to this term global governance in education is worth a moment's reflection at the end of this annexe. NORRAG members have been able to lay out possible conceptualisations of the terminology even if they are not very familiar personally with it. Others have been able to relate it to tensions between the global and the local, while others again have found no use for it in their own vocabulary. Clearly, a term that can engender such a series of diverse reactions, and which, arguably, relates rather closely to what has been the actual content of *NORRAG News* over many years and also to the blog (norrag.wordpress.com) is worth more serious critical attention. NN51 will review the term and its complex relationship with the post-2015 agenda.

About NORRAG:

NORRAG is an independent network whose Secretariat is located at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies (IHEID) in Geneva, Switzerland.

Since its launch in 1985, NORRAG has established itself as a multi-stakeholder network of researchers, policymakers, members of NGOs, foundations and the private sector seeking to inform, challenge and influence international education and training policies and cooperation. Through networking and other forms of cooperation and institutional partnerships, it aims in particular to stimulate and disseminate timely, innnovative and critical analysis and to serve as a knowledge broker at the interface between research, policy and practice. As of November 2014 NORRAG had more than 4,300 registered members in more than 170 countries, 45% from the global South.

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