

## Sessão Especial

# VOICES/POLITICAL NETWORKS AND A GLOBAL NEOLIBERAL CURRICULUM<sup>1, 2</sup>

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**Stephen J. Ball**

Institute of Education  
University of London

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IN CURRICULUM POLICIES***

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*Curriculum is the course of experience(s) that  
forms human beings into persons.*

I am going to use and apply this classic definition of the curriculum, in relation to the notion of a *neo-liberal curriculum*, in three different but related ways.

First, somewhat metaphorically, I want to think about the neo-liberal curriculum of public sector reform. That is a content of change through which public sector workers (teachers, doctors, social workers, bureaucrats etc.) must 're-learn' their practice and values, and find themselves 'made up' as different kinds of subjects.

Second, I want to think about neo-liberalism 'in' the curriculum, particularly in the guise of 'enterprise' as a means of disseminating, naturalizing and instilling a neo-liberal ontology. That is the making up of students (and teachers) as entrepreneurial subjects.

Third, in a different sense, I want to think about the curriculum as an opportunity for profit, as a new or at least newly invigorated frontier for capital.

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<sup>2</sup> Manuscript published in book "Diferença nas Políticas de Currículo". João Pessoa: Editora Universitária da UFPB, 2010.

Education is increasingly subject to the processes of commodification and privatization. These are key features of global education policy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. They are a growing policy trend, in one form or another, in countries with very diverse cultural and political histories and economic positions. Indeed the spread of privatization in education is isomorphic with the form of capital, which it represents – the transnational corporation. The fast and massive expansion of private sector participation in public sector education is driven of course from both sides of the exchange relation, supply and demand. Privatization is attractive to governments and to multi-lateral agencies as ‘solutions’ to the ‘problem’ of public sector reform (with the promise of increasing productivity, introducing innovations and reducing costs) and is a new (and relatively safe) profit opportunity for capital (large and small) particularly at a time when others areas of business activity are in recession. Public services markets involve huge expenditures and governments are usually reliable payers. In education the incursion of private providers is evident now across sectors, and through all aspects of assessment, curriculum, pedagogy and organization. At the same time as public sector education is being ‘marketised’ from within (endogenous privatization) it is increasingly subject to privatization from the outside – the ‘contracting-out’ of services to private providers (exogenous privatization).

In each aspect of the neo-liberal curriculum [NLC] I will stress and illustrate the international dimensions of these neo-liberal impetuses and the conduits through which they flow, as well as attempt to indicate some specific links to and manifestations in Brazil. As we shall see each is inter-woven with the others in complex ways.

I also want to make clear from the out-set that I use the term neo-liberal here with some trepidation. It is one of those terms that is used so widely and so loosely that it is danger of becoming meaningless. What I mean here by neo-liberalism is very nicely captured by Shamir (2008 p. 3). Neo-liberalism:

Is treated neither as a concrete economic doctrine nor as a definite set of political projects. Rather, I treat neo-liberalism as a complex, often incoherent, unstable and even contradictory set of practices that are organized around a certain imagination of the ‘market’ as a basis for ‘the universalisation of market-based social relations, with the corresponding penetration in almost every single aspect of our lives of the discourse and/or practice of commodification, capital-accumulation and profit-making’ (Carvalho and Rodrigues 2006, citing Wood 1997).

In effect the basis of the NLC is the dissolution of the distinction between economy and society. Having said that, in many Western states, following the economic ‘turn down’ of the early 1990s, and in a different sense post the 2008-9 ‘credit-crunch’, it might be necessary to describe the currently prevailing global political economy as ‘post-neo-liberal’ – that is, we can only understand the dissemination of the market-form in relation to the role of the state as market-maker and the role of the market in relation to the political and economic needs of the state.

## **1. THE NEO-LIBERAL CURRICULUM OF REFORM (NLCR)**

To continue the metaphor the curriculum here is about the public sector learning to be different, learning lessons from the methods and values of the private sector, and learning to reform itself. As well as in another sense learning the ‘hard lessons’ taught by the disciplines of the market. It is the instilling of new sensibilities and values, and new forms of social relations.

The private sector is the model to be emulated, as the public sector is to be 'enterprised' in its image!

In practice the NLCR consists of a set of moral technologies which work on, in and through public sector institutions and workers. These technologies are complexly inter-related and I have written about them before (Ball 2001), (Ball 2002) (Ball 2003) etc.).

### **Performativity/Leadership/Markets**

Here I shall start with and concentrate on performativity. This is a term that is increasingly widely used in policy analysis and writing, but it is not always used in its full and proper sense. What I mean by that is that the usefulness of the concept is not just as another way of referring to systems of performance management but it alludes to the work that performance management systems do on the subjectivities of individuals. Performativity invites and incites us to make ourselves more effective, to work on ourselves to improve ourselves and to feel guilty or inadequate if we do not. It operates within a framework of judgment within which what 'improvement' and effectiveness are, is determined for us, and 'indicated' by measures of quality and productivity. Performativity is enacted through measures and targets against which we are expected to position ourselves but often in ways that also produce uncertainties about how we should organise ourselves within our work. (Shore and Wright 1999) even go far as to suggest that these uncertainties are a tactic of destabilization of the public sector. Performativity 'works' most powerfully when it is inside our heads and our souls. That is, when we do it to ourselves, when we take responsibility for working hard, faster and better, thus 'improving' our 'output', as part of our sense of personal worth and the worth of others. And it is important to recognise that performative systems offer us the possibility of being better than we were or even being the best – better than others. Performativity is not in any simple sense a technology of oppressions; it is also one of satisfactions and rewards, at least for some. As (Davies 2005) puts it: 'The language and practices of neoliberal managerialism are seductive. They lay the grounds for new kinds of success and recognition' (p. 8). Indeed performativity works best **when we come to want for ourselves what is wanted from us**, when our moral sense of our desires and ourselves are aligned with its pleasures. In a sense it is about making the individual into an enterprise, a self-maximising productive unit operating in a market of performances – committed to the 'headlong pursuit of relevance as defined by the market' (Falk 1999 p. x). The neo-liberal subject is malleable rather than committed, flexible rather than principled – essentially depthless. A consequence of continual animation and calculation is for many a growing sense of ontological insecurity; both a loss of a sense of meaning in what we do and of what is important in what we do. Are we doing things for the 'right' reasons – and how can we know!

Within all this the organisation – school, college, university, agency – and the person are treated in exactly the same way. The self-managing individual and the autonomous organisation are produced within the interstices of performativity through audits, inspections, appraisals, self-reviews, quality assurance, research assessments, output indicators etc.. We and our workplace are made visible and we become 'subjects which have to be seen' (Foucault 1979 p. 187). These individual techniques and devices taken as a whole constitute a political economy of details, 'small acts of cunning' (p. 139) which work as mundane but inescapable technologies for the 'modernisation' and 'transformation' of the whole public sector. Audits of various sorts work 'both to evaluate and to shape the performance of the auditee in three dimensions: economy, efficiency and effectiveness' (Power 1994 p. 34).

The first order effect of performativity is to re-orient pedagogical and scholarly activities towards those which are likely to have a positive impact on measurable performance outcomes for group, for institutions and increasingly for nations, and as such a deflection of

attention away from aspects of social, emotional or moral development that have no immediate measurable performative value. Watson (2003) asserts that the language of neo-liberalism is 'unable to convey any human emotion, including the most basic ones such as happiness, greed, envy, love or lust' (quoted in (Davies 2005) p. 1).

A second order effect is that for many teachers this changes the way in which they experience their work and the satisfactions they get from it – their sense of moral purpose and of responsibility for their students is distorted. Practice can come to be experienced as inauthentic and alienating. Commitments are sacrificed for impression. But the force and logic of performance are hard to avoid. To do so, in one sense at least means letting ourselves down, and letting down our colleagues and our institution. Social structures and social relations are replaced by informational structures. And there are a particular set of skills to be acquired here – skills of presentation and of inflation, making the most of ourselves, making a spectacle of ourselves. The point is that we make ourselves calculable rather than memorable. A commodification of the public professional.

But crucially also the rendition of teaching and learning into such calculabilities, make it possible to translate them into contracts with performance indicators, which can then be opened to 'tender' – and competition from private providers by 'contracting out'.

Contracts bring about a re-shaping of the culture and structures of governance (both institutional and national) and of service relationships and of the commitments of public service workers. At heart this is a process of disaggregation and individualisation both of governance itself and of service relationships which are increasingly 'conceived as a series of cascading contracts linking principals and agents' (Yeatman 1996 p. 285.). Collectivist conceptions of 'genuinely public values' (Yeatman 1996) are displaced. The social contract within which the professional works in the public interest is replaced by forms of commercial relationship between educator and client and employer. The body politic is replaced by what Foucault (1979 p. 194) calls 'mercantile society', which 'is represented as a contractual association of isolated juridical subjects'.

Contractualism and juridical forms are being extended into many aspects of the educational process. Indeed this is a key component of the knowledge economy, or what (Lyotard 1984) calls 'the mercantilization of knowledge' (p. 51). Knowledge is no longer legitimated through 'grand narratives of speculation and emancipation' (p. 38) but, rather, in the pragmatics of 'optimization' – the creation of skills or of profit rather than ideals. This is summed up in Lyotard's terms in a shift from the questions 'is it true' and 'is it just' to 'is it useful, saleable, efficient'. What is to count as worthwhile knowledge is determined by its 'impact' – this has fundamental implications for Higher Education research (see for example (Slaughter and Leslie 1997) and (Ball 2009)).

There is a complex and very profoundly 'effective' set of relationships embedded in all of this. Relationships between the mundane measurements of outcomes in the everyday life of schools and new forms of managing society and its populations – though the use of 'governing knowledge'.

Jenny Ozga (Ozga 2008) and colleagues (see Journal of Education Policy 24 (2) Special Issue) have been mapping and analyzing the increased use, across a variety of European states, of what she calls 'governing knowledge', that is knowledge of a new kind - a regime of numbers - that constitutes a 'resource through which surveillance can be exercised' (2008 p. 264). That is, the use of performance information of various kinds as 'a resource for comparison' (p. 267), addressed to improvements in quality and efficiency, by making nations, schools and students 'legible' (p. 268). These 'numbers' are deployed within schemes like PISA, national evaluation systems, school performance tables, test comparisons, throughput indicators etc (Rinne, Kallo et al. 2004). These numbers are increasingly important in the ways

that states monitor, steer and reform their education systems by the use of targets, benchmarks, and performance triggered interventions. That is, 'the technology of statistics creates the capacity to relate to reality as a field of government' (Hunter 1996 p. 154).

The shaping of policy through data and the constant comparison for improvement against competition has come to be the standard by which public systems are judged. Indeed, public systems of education are recreated, and Europe is formed. The mediation of travelling policies and policy discourses across Europe constitutes a polymorphic policyscape in which quality assurance and evaluation (QAE) has become a major instrument. (Grek, Lawn et al. 2009) p. 121)

There is a marked paradox here in that these techniques which rest upon the granting of greater autonomy and processes of deconcentration provide the state with new modes of governing society and the economy and shaping individuals and individual conduct – new arts of government!

### **Enterprise and Leadership**

In combination with the strictures and technologies of enterprise and leadership, performativity gives rise to a 'new' professionalism, what (Rose 1996 p. 55) describes as a 'reconfiguration of the political salience of expertise, a new way of "responsibilizing" experts in relation to claims upon them other than those of their own criteria of truth and competence', the arts and skills of entrepreneurship being one form of new responsibility. To the extent that these new responsibilities are taken seriously the social, political and economic goals of the state are reproduced within the commitments, choices and obligations – the conduct that is – of individual actors within public sector institutions. These 'new' professionals act prudentially and innovatively to protect and further the interests of their organisation – to achieve targets, to maximise income and to compete effectively within the new market-like-mechanisms which encourage state institutions to compete with one another – a process which enacts the 'general neo-liberal drive to ground social relations in the economic rationality of markets' (Shamir 2008 p. 3). Enterprise is the trope that holds all of this together.

Leadership and enterprise are also a means of interjecting practical innovations and new sensibilities into areas of education policy that are seen as change-resistant and risk-averse. And more generally they 'pilot' and disseminate as 'good practice' the conditions (strategic and discursive) for a 'post welfare' education system in which the state contracts and monitors but does not deliver education services – thus creating new opportunities for profit for the private sector. Through its deployment of the technologies of performance, leadership and the market the state acts as a 'commodifying agent' both rendering education into a commodity and into contractable forms, thereby 'recalibrating institutions' to make them homological with the firm and creating the necessary economic and extra-economic conditions within the public sector within which business can operate.

There is a steady and insistent insertion of generic forms of social relations drawn fairly directly from the world of business into public sector education as a means to bring about changes in the roles of senior organisational actors and in the 'responsibilities', work relations

and commitments of all staff. In the most recent iteration of this 'leadership' becomes distributed or shared across the organisation – everyone becomes a leader .

These rationalities and sensibilities and technologies flow increasingly widely and diversely through and between education systems by a variety of means (see (Henry, Lingard et al. 2001) (Ball 2009) and gradually become normal and necessary rather than radical or unthinkable. Significantly, the European Educational Research Journal special issues (8, 3) The Europeanisation of Educational Leadership? ( Guest Editors: Simon Clarke & Helen Wildy).

Here I want to draw attention to one conduit of these flows and its manifestations in Brazil. That is, *The Freedom Network*. *The Freedom Network* is a site and set of relationships coordinated through the Atlas Economic Research Foundation. 'This site complies information on nearly 500 think tanks worldwide who are sympathetic to the values of a free society' (Atlas website). These think tanks are committed to the dissemination of neo-liberal ideas. There are three Brazilian members

### Instituto Millenium

O Instituto Millenium é uma organização sem fins lucrativos, sem vinculação político-partidária, que promove valores fundamentais para a prosperidade e o desenvolvimento humano da sociedade brasileira.

As atividades do Instituto Millenium visam atingir a base da pirâmide, despertando a consciência da maioria da população sobre a importância de se respeitar determinados valores para se ter um ambiente institucional adequado para que cada individuo possa desenvolver suas potencialidades, alocando os recursos de forma eficiente e sem desperdícios.

O Instituto Millenium se propõe a fazer a diferença, colaborando para formar a opinião publica com base em valores claros e nas melhores políticas públicas adotadas pelo mundo. É importante que o maior numero de pessoas tenha o conhecimento e a compreensão necessários para assegurar que o governo se concentre e se torne maximamente eficiente em suas funções básicas, reconhecendo seus limites e não atendendo a interesses de grupos de interesse, gerando privilégios indevidos e injustos.

### Instituto Liberal

Its principal objective, as simple as it is ambitious, was and is:

#### **TO PERSUADE BRAZILIAN SOCIETY OF THE ADVANTAGES OF A LIBERAL ORDER**

The means initially used to reach this goal was the publication of books and the organization of seminars and conferences.

### Instituto Liberdade

**Instituto Liberdade's** major purpose is to foster the research, creation and dissemination of educational and cultural assets displaying the advantages to all individuals of

an organized society, based on the principles of individual rights, of limited and representative government, of respect to private property rights, contracts and to the free initiative. It supports multi-disciplinary theorists and intellectual entrepreneurs who endeavor to produce analyses or policy recommendations. It supports the rule of the law, the government decentralization, the free market economy, the cultural freedom according to the principles of the Austrian School of Economics.

Instituto Liberdade supports the rule of the law, the government decentralization, the free market economy, the cultural freedom and the principles of the libertarian individualist ethic.

It develops continuous, long-term actions in the field of ideas; it carries out studies and research, divulging the results; it edits books and publications; it organizes courses, workshops, colloquia, debates, seminars and conferences, divulging conservative/libertarian ideas among opinion leaders in the midst of entrepreneurs, magistrates, scholars, politicians, and artists.

The values, project and flow of ideas through the Instituto Liberdade (and the other Institutors) is self-evident in the 'information' offered to visitors interested in "Project School Choice" and the events, links and relationship evident in the "Activities Calendar".

<b>Launching of the Institutional Quality Index 2009 in Porto Alegre</b>	06/11/2009	Friday
<b>Lecture about Liberalism</b>	09/10/2009	Friday
<b>Project Road to Freedom in Porto Alegre</b>	05/10/2009	Monday
Public Education Management Workshop - Agenda 2020	06/05/2009	Wednesday
<b>Academia Colloquia Project – 3rd Edition</b>	25/04/2009	Saturday
The Atlas 9th Annual Liberty Forum	24/04/2009	Friday
Fundraising in Difficult Climates - A Workshop for International Think Tank Leaders	24/04/2009	Friday
The Ronald Reagan Presidential Library and Museum Tour	22/04/2009	Wednesday
<b>The Citizenship and Social Responsibility Forum - Agenda 2020</b>	13/04/2009	Monday
<b>Break out session from Liberty Forum 2009</b>	08/04/2009	Wednesday
<b>Instituto Liberdade is launching the 2009 International Property Rights Index in Brazil</b>	07/04/2009	Tuesday
<b>Instituto Liberdade is attending the XXII Liberty Forum in Brazil</b>	06/04/2009	Monday
<b>Opening Luncheon of the 22nd Edition of the Liberty Forum</b>	06/04/2009	Monday
National Meeting Ordem Livre	04/04/2009	Saturday

<b>Launching of the 13th edition of the book Pensamentos Liberais Serie</b>	02/04/2009	Thursday
<b>Introductory Seminar for the XXII Liberty Forum</b>	21/03/2009	Saturday
The Education Forum Meeting of the Agenda 2020	02/03/2009	Monday
Fraser Institute Seminar	19/01/2009	Monday
Management Forum from Agenda 2020	25/11/2008	Tuesday
Economic Freedom of the World Network Annual Conference - 2008	12/11/2008	Wednesday
<b>International Conference 'Environment versus Free Markets'</b>	16/10/2008	Thursday

These Institutos are part of a neo-liberal Transnational Advocacy Network (TAN) which The Centre on Law and Globalisation defines as 'fluid and open relationships among knowledgeable, committed actors (individuals and organisations). These relationships span nation-state boundaries. They differ from other types of networks in that they exist to promote principled causes, ideas and values. They exist to change international policy as well as make these changes real in the day-to-day lives of ordinary people'<sup>3</sup>. TANS are 'communicative structures' organised around the 'shared values' of their members (Keck and Sikkink 1998). Furthermore, TANS can be part of a reshaping of political processes at supranational, national and subnational levels, although as a number of analysts have pointed out their activities and impacts vary between nations in relation to institutional arrangements, policy settings and degrees of democratization, especially when considering transitional or late developing societies ((Dalton and Rohrschneider 2003), (Held and McGrew 2004)). TANS provide a network of relations for the diffusion of knowledge and information and typically seek to pluralise political authority. Keck and Sikkink (1998 p. 25) see TANS as changing national government behaviour through the exchange of norms, ideas and discourses, and working to change public perception of social problems. TANS work 'underneath, above and around the state' (Wapner 1996) but their success according to Keck and Sikkink depends on the strength and depth of their networks and the vulnerability of the target state or organisations.

## 2. NEO-LIBERALISM 'IN' THE CURRICULUM

This is more straightforward. What I am referring to here is the insertion of various modes and guises, of *enterprise education* into the curriculum (at all levels of education). Indeed, enterprise education now has internationally all of the infrastructure and trappings of a school subject – teacher training programmes, advanced courses, professional associations, journals, manuals and texts – a recontextualising context in Bernstein's terms. But I want to draw attention in particular here to the insertion of the sensibilities of enterprise into education through the philanthropic activities (as part of their Corporate Social Responsibility programmes) of multi-national corporations, or via programmes or Foundations which they fund. These programmes are also in their way about the reworking of populations by making

<sup>3</sup> [clg.portalxm.com/library/keytext.cfm?keytext\\_id=113](http://clg.portalxm.com/library/keytext.cfm?keytext_id=113) (accessed 24<sup>th</sup> March 2009)



them into enterprising subjects, and indirectly at least drawing them into the ambit of financial capital as workers or customers (the metaphor of investment could be deployed here in a number of ways). Enterprise Education is now a ubiquitous global phenomenon, which is linked in particular in government policy texts to international competitiveness in the knowledge economy.

#### Creating an Enterprise Culture

Promoting and Strengthening UK enterprise culture must begin with helping young people develop entrepreneurial skills and aspirations. The UK's second Enterprise Week in November 2005 delivered over 1000 events, encouraging young people to consider entrepreneurship as a career option.

Again let me illustrate the contents and flows here with some Brazilian examples. That is Students in Free Enterprise (SIFE) and Junior Achievement.

SIFE is mainly funded by the HSBC Global Education Trust (a very active business philanthropy which prioritises education projects in its work in many countries), SIFE is also supported in 35 countries by KPMG. SIFE in Brazil was founded in 1998 and is led by PUC Campinas, but 13 HE institutions in Brazil are on SIFE's 'active team list'. The Board of Director's includes Danilo Tertuliano de Area Leao (President of CERTBEEF), Aldo Cvintal (Trade and Structured Finance, Cargill) and Maria Cecilia Calza Fantinelli (CFO of McKinsey and Co. – a global consultancy company very active in education policy related activities in England).

PUC Campinas has developed a programme called Expert Kids\$ taught to underprivileged and economically deprived 7-to-10 year olds in Campinas, which is based on the HSBC Financial Literacy Programme. The Campinas programme teaches about "the financial facts of life, the basics of money and how to save and invest and use it wisely" (PUC website). In a partnership with Laurier university in Canada PUC SIFE Brazil "Students brainstormed and found a local Brazilian product that could be marketed and sold in Canada, emphasizing the importance and complexity of international business" (SIFE website).

Junior Achievement (see (Tannock and Sukarieh forthcoming)) also runs a Personal finance programme for young people which among other things, teaches "them about budgeting, personal and family financial management and the risks associated with incurring debt" (JA Rio de Janeiro). JA has been active in Brazil since 1983 and aims to build "a bridge between the classroom and the workplace by educating young people to understand business and economics" (website). JA is also supported financially by KPMG whose volunteers are also involved in JA training programmes. In 2003 the Instituto Liberdade created the Nucléo de Estudos Visconde de Maua – The Young Entrepreneur's Academy.

These are illustrations, drawn from thousands of examples worldwide of forms of Enterprise Education, point up both the role of businesses in developing and supporting curriculum development and curriculum interventions, as well as the complex global flow of ideas and funding through these philanthropic organizations. They also give some indication of the increasingly subtle and complex relations between moral and business interests in the forming of particular kinds of financially 'responsible' citizens through education as corporations 'assume socio-moral duties that were heretofore assigned to civil society organizations, governmental entities and state agencies' (Shamir 2008) p. 4).

### 3. THE CURRICULUM AS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR PROFIT

This again is relatively straightforward. I am referring to the way in which education services and all of the message systems of education (curriculum, pedagogy, assessment and organization) are increasingly subject to the interests and insinuations of multi-national capital. The global scale of the education service business is enormous and multi-faceted (see (Burch 2009) for an excellent account of education policy as a profit opportunity in the US).

I can only offer a couple of illustrations here. Companies like US-based Pearson Education now have an extraordinary global reach and an increasingly vertically integrated commercial offering. Through a recent history mergers and acquisitions (see [www.pearsoned.com/about/history.htm](http://www.pearsoned.com/about/history.htm)) Pearson now operates in virtually all aspects of the education services market and is able to offer a complete package of curriculum, pedagogy and assessment materials and services to individual learners, organizations and government education systems. Sales last year in the US alone were \$2bn.

Educating 100 million people worldwide, **Pearson Education** is the global leader in educational publishing quality content, assessment tools and educational ... Pearson Education's reach extends across the globe through its seventy regional Web sites and twenty-five publishing centers, developing educational products for children, schools, universities, adults and corporations in thirteen languages.

Long renowned as the world's market leader in English Language Training through Pearson Longman, Pearson Education maintains publishing operations around the world.

Pearson Education is also a world market leader in the implementation of forms processing solutions—like OMR scanners, imaging systems, scannable documents—and offers high-quality assessments and testing services, including IT and professional certification at testing centers worldwide. (**website**)

Pearson Education Latin America has operations in 21 countries providing educational materials in English, Spanish and Portuguese. PE Latin America offers pre-K to adult English language teaching (ELT) materials, including Longman dictionaries, CD-ROM courses, companion Web sites and other online teaching tools. Pearson Education Latin America also offers both indigenous and translated higher education text books as well as computer and professional titles throughout the region.

Pearson VUE offers IT and professional certification in a host of testing fields at testing centers in Latin America and worldwide.

Pearson is very active in Latin America and alongside its business activities it is also involved in educational philanthropy through the work of the Pearson Foundation. Through these activities, and those indicated in the previous section, businesses establish themselves as stakeholders in education policy communities and direct and indirectly seek to gain influence in policy decisions. Increasingly the education services businesses position themselves as 'solutions' to the problem of raising standards and achieving educational improvements linked to both individual opportunity and national competitiveness. But such participation can also be a means to agitate for policies which offer further opportunities for profit (see (Burch 2009)).

#### **Pearson International Education Conference Launched in Singapore**

The Pearson Foundation hosted the first annual Pearson International Education Conference April 28-May 1, 2008, in Singapore. The summit, created in partnership with the

Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO), convened delegates from around the world to share and consider key educational, assessment, and professional development practices that ensure student success in mathematics and science education.

Delegates from countries including Brazil, Canada, England, Italy, Japan, Korea, New Zealand, South Africa, Taiwan, the United Kingdom, and the United States met in small working teams to present and share best practices from their countries; learn from each other ways in which they can improve their own local efforts; and make recommendations that can be shared with an even broader group about methods, practice, and policy in math and science education.

However, it is not only materials and services that are being sold by the private sector there is now a global market in educational institutions, schools, colleges and universities are bought and sold. The global market for private higher education is expanding fast, apart from home-based students 2.7 million HE students are now educated overseas, a 50% increase since 2000, the worth of just this sector of HE is currently \$400bn, and 25% of these students are in the private sector. There is a set of global HE brands increasingly dominant in the lucrative private HE market.

One such is Laureate Education, a US based private higher education company which owns 51 universities around the world and which had an income of US\$160 million in 2005. Included in their global portfolio of universities are two in Brazil.

*Universidade Anhembi Morumbi (UAM, Brazil)* Anhembi Morumbi was founded in 1970 as a school of tourism and quickly grew into one of the leading universities in Brazil. Several of UAM's undergraduate and graduate degree programs are ranked among the best in Brazil by *Melhores Universidades*, a special higher education edition of a leading Brazilian magazine.

*Faculdade Unida da Paraíba (UniPB, Brazil)* Faculdade Unida da Paraíba was founded in 2006 and is located in Joao Pessoa in the state of Paraíba. UniPB serves more than 550 students, offering degrees in nutrition, nursing, environmental engineering, and gastronomy.

And another local example of buying and selling education.

O grupo paulista Anhanguera Educacional fechou por R\$ 246.833.504,60 a compra do Cesup (Centro de Ensino Superior de Campo Grande), mantenedora da Uniderp (Universidade para o Desenvolvimento do Estado e da Região do Pantanal), bem como da Unaes (União da Associação Educacional Sul-Mato-Grossense), mantenedora do Centro Universitário de Campo Grande).

De acordo com documento oficial da negociação, obtido pela reportagem do Jornal Midiamax, a compra foi efetivada em R\$ 246.833.504,60 sendo R\$ 238.879.328,23 pagos aos vendedores e R\$ 7.954.176,38 de dívida líquida assumida.

This is a different sort of Knowledge Economy, the monetary value and profitability of education are self evident and most direct here. There are both opportunities and dangers here for national governments. These institutional forms of Higher Education may provide quick and

cheap means to up-skill the local workforce in response to the supposed requirements of the knowledge economy, as well as satisfying the increased demand for access to HE, especially those which offer forms of certification with international currency, and thus potential entry into the global labour market. States like China have allowed the entry of foreign providers for exactly these reasons, and around 500 foreign campuses are up and running in China, but the government has now suspended further recognition of overseas providers. Other states, like Singapore have encouraged 'elite' overseas providers to set up shop as a means of attracting overseas students from other parts of South East Asia and beyond and in an effort to re-invent itself as a 'global classroom' and a regional hub for HE. By 2003 there were 14 elite transnational campuses in Singapore including MIT, INSEAD (France), University of Chicago GSB and IIT (India). But these offshore enterprises may also be seen as part of a new educational colonialism. Business schools in particular have been key points for the articulation and flow of new, Western, and particularly US, management ideas and metaphors.

## DISCUSSION

What I have outlined here is a three fold commodification of education – of teachers, of students and of the processes of teaching and learning – through a dissolution of the epistemological boundaries between the social and the economy as moral spheres, and the subordination of moral obligations to economic ones (Walzer 1984), on a global scale, involving global agents as actors. This is further embedded within a 'new' kind of relation between capital and state and new modes of governing. A complex set of changing relationships between commodification, privatization, marketisation, performativity, responsibility and subjectivity – the interpellation of particular sorts of actors, the forming of particular kinds of persons through experience of education, an assumption of reflexive moral capacities. Indeed 'the framework of relations between individuals and governments is currently undergoing a profound transition' (Tuschling and Engemann 2006 p. 451). As Shamir (2008 p. 4) puts it 'responsibility is the practical master-key of governance'. This involves the dissemination of the corporate-like form as part of what I referred to earlier as a 'constantly evolving and adapting neo-liberal imagination' (Shamir 2008 p3.) which is embedded in a curriculum of reform and the reform of the curriculum: but an imagination which is enacted by the state rather than over and against it. This is a new global commonsense for education, and for what it means to be educated, to be a teacher, to be enterprised. The public sector is the object of exogenous reform and replacement and the subject of endogenous reform and re-imagination. And in relation to all of this more of the state itself is commodified and privatized policy and policy knowledge are new profit opportunities.

Perhaps then what we are witnessing is a profound epistemic shift from a modernist to postmodernist education paradigm – leaving behind the 'authentic' modernist/welfare learner to create a depthless, flexible, lonely, responsive and responsible learner (collectively represented as human capital), devoid of 'sociality', the ultimate commodification of the social. The logic of all of this is the end of 'the age of education' (Tuschling and Engemann 2006 p. 465).

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