



LUND UNIVERSITY

The banking of education for sustainable development

A critical discourse analysis of the World Bank's education policy from
a modern/colonial world system perspective

Degree of Master of Science (Two Years) in Human Ecology: Culture, Power and
Sustainability
30 ECTS

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Term: Spring Term 2019

Abstract

Throughout colonial history, education has been used actively in an attempt to assimilate subaltern cultures into the colonizers' realm. This study looks at the relationship between education of children in developing countries as a tool within sustainable development in relation to the colonial past and modern day coloniality. It looks at how the colonial use of education is recurring within a present hegemon of the modern/colonial world system. This is done by analysing education policy documents from the World Bank, the world's largest single international provider of education development finance to developing countries. A hegemonic culture founded in a neoliberal capitalist modern/colonial world system is seen within the documents. This hegemonic culture undermines subaltern local and indigenous knowledge and builds on the "burden" of the Occidental needing to elevate developing countries from being "uneducated" into "educated" through universal, standardized and measurable education policies for proper sustainable development to happen. Thus, this development undermines the developing countries agency within lending negotiations as well as pushes them into environmental degradation through destruction and exploitation of natural resources and indigenous populations in order to meet debt-servicing needs dictated by the World Bank.

Keywords: coloniality, education, sustainable development, modernity, hegemonic culture, subaltern theory, critical discourse analysis

Acknowledgements

I will like to thank my study group Lea N, Lea S, Birgitte, Joe and Huai-Tse for richful discussions and cooperation throughout the thesis writing process. I will also like to thank my supervisor Thomas Malm, whom with his extended knowledge and guidance ensured progress and quality for the thesis work. His way of supervising has been of great help to my thesis writing process.

Most of all, I will like to thank my partner Niek Hesby Roeleven, who has been taking care of our son, taking time off work for me to write, going on adventures with our son, managed house cleaning and simply been there throughout the entire process. Thank you.

This thesis is dedicated to my son Tipo.

Having him, sparked my interest in the relationship between education and upbringing of our children in relation to sustainable development as well as alternative and norm-breaking lifestyles and movements towards a more sustainable future.

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List of Abbreviations

WDR 2018:	World Bank Group's Flagship Report 2018 - Learning to realize education's promise
UNESCO 2030:	Education 2030 Framework for Action
IBRD:	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ICSID:	International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes
IDA:	International development Association
IFC:	International Finance Corporation
MIGA:	The Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency
SDG4:	UN Sustainable Development Goal 4
UNESCO:	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNDU:	United Nations Development Organisation
UNHCR:	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF:	The United Nations Children's Fund
UN Women:	United Nations entity dedicated to gender equality and the empowerment of women

1. Introduction

An often overlooked area in critical analysis of sustainable development is how education has been used actively within the agenda of having sustainable development in developing countries. The concept of 'sustainable development' developed during the 1980ies as an attempt to reconcile economic growth with environmental protection, while including social justice and human development (Banerjee 2003, 152). The most commonly used definition is that of the Brundtland Commission, where sustainable development is "a process of change in which the exploitation of resources, direction of investments, orientation of technological development, and institutional change are made consistent with future as well as present needs" (WCED 1987, 9).

The World Bank is at the forefront of change within global education development in relation to sustainable development in present time. It is now the largest single international provider of development finance to governments and is regarded by other providers of international development assistance as a key source of policy evidence and policy advice (Mundy and Verger 2015, 9). For more than 50 years, it has been the epicentre for the global governance of social policy within emerging economies and low-income societies. This includes its involvement in education policy, which has grown substantially since the 1960s (Ibid.). Within this thesis, the focus will be on the World Bank's education policies for the developing countries, to whom it loans money. Through the last few decades the World Bank has played a major role in education and sustainable development, both directly in the countries in which it lends and indirectly in a broader sense. It is the largest financier of education in the so called 'developing countries'¹, with a multibillion dollar budget for education operations mainly focusing on education for development in low-income societies (Ibid.). When looking at the World Bank's policies, international agreements are at its core. There are especially two agreements, the Sustainable Development Goals (see SDG4) and "Education for all" (see UNESCO 2030), which is being used throughout the World Bank's education policy documents as fundamental arguments for using education as a tool towards sustainable development. In this way, education in developing countries becomes the main driver for proper sustainable development.

With the World Bank's regular release of education sector documents, its intention is to shape global education policies and practices in the countries where the World Bank is active. This makes such documents very influential as they are based on research of the policies and decision makers in countries that borrow from the World Bank as well as a larger audience of educational practitioners and other lending institutions that work closely with the World Bank (Klees et al. 2012, xv). My focus will be on the World Bank's version of 'knowledge' production within a 'proper' education system based on a world-historical relational interpretation of the emergence of the modern Western education systems within a historical and theoretical framework known as *the modern/colonial world system* (Mignolo 2000; Baker 2012, 5). In order to go into depth with the production of knowledge surrounding proper education, I must first dive into how education has been used through colonial history as a tool towards proper development in colonies.

¹ A term continuously used by the World Bank and therefore used within this thesis. Others would perhaps prefer the term "Global South".

1.1. Use of education under Colonialism

Take up the White Man's burden/
Send forth the best ye breed/
Go bind your sons to exile/
To serve your captives' need/
To wait in heavy harness/
On fluttered folk and wild/
Your new-caught, sullen peoples,
Half-devil and half-child. - Rudyard Kipling, first stanza of "The White Man's burden - the United States and the Philippine Islands" form 1899 (see Easterly 2006 for full poem)

There is a long history of educating the "savage" starting in the 16th century with the emergence of Colonialism. Kipling's famous poem is from an imperialist standpoint proposing that the "white race" has a moral obligation to rule over and conquer the rest of the world in order for progress to be seen. So called "primitive" people were nothing more than "half devil and half child" unable to self-govern themselves, and it was therefore the moral obligation of the British Empire "to serve (their) captives need" and guide the "savages" into being civilized.

Under the American invasion of the Philippines in the beginning of the 19 hundred, education became an active tool and was described by Charles Burke Elliot as an "army of teachers" sent to educate the wild and essentially assimilate them into the American ways (Elliot 1968).

The same colonial and imperial approach was seen with the establishment of British schooling and education in India by the East India Company in the years 1813 to 1857. "We must at present do our best to form (...) a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, in intellect" as explained by Lord Macaulay, president of General Committee of Public Instruction from 1834 (Macaulay 1859).

The colonisation of Northern America was handled with similar measures, where thousands of Native American children were forcibly taken from their families and sent to school. Especially the children of native leaders were sent to boarding schools. For example, General Richard Pratt, founder of the Carlisle Indian School, argued that it was necessary "(t)o civilise the Indian... immerse them in our civilisation, and when we get them under hold them there until they are thoroughly soaked" (Pratt 1964). He then continued: "Kill the Indian, save the man" (Churchill 2004). At that time, schools in North America were not about providing a positive future for the Native Americans. Indian Residential Schools began as industrial schools. Here the focus was to provide a trade for a race of people, so when they joined civilisation would have a place in society. Such trades were cooking, cleaning, sewing, farm work, etc. They did not necessarily learn how to read and write. The main focus was to assimilate the natives in order to solve the "Indian problem" (Fear-Segal & Rose 2016).

A slight variation from this can be seen in the use of education by France in its colonies such as French Polynesia, where the goal was to educate Polynesians to become brown Frenchmen (Malm 2003), which is different from the assimilation approach forwarded in the previous examples. However, the French still actively use education to "civilize" the natives.

The period of colonial rule transformed and changed cultural identities, with education as a primary agent of cultural change. Within the colonies, education would most often be provided to the poor through missionary schools and in a colonial setting. Through this, Christianity became associated with a Western education because the mission schools were the primary providers of education and the first texts translated into the languages of tribal people were

hymns and the Bible (Malm 2003, 159). Western education of colonised indigenous people could mean escaping from forced labour and oppression and lead to a better paying job within the government bureaucracy, church or European businesses. Education provided social mobility (see examples in Malm 2003).

Throughout history, the erosion of cultural heritage was a conscious goal of colonial developers as explained by the anthropologist W. H. Goodenough:

The problem is one of creating in another a sufficient dissatisfaction with his present condition of self so that he wants to change it. This calls for some kind of experience that leads him to reappraise his self-image and re-evaluate his self-esteem (Goodenough 1970, 209).

In many countries schooling was the prime coercive and highly effective instrument for changing the values, foster new “needs”, creating dissatisfaction and generally disrupting traditional cultures (Norberg-Hodge 2010). As an example of this, colonial agent A. C. Kruyt reported in 1929 about the happiness and stability seen in the Toraja² society so profound that “development and progress were impossible” and the tribes were “bound to remain at the same level” (Bodley 1982, 127). Toraja was at the time a cashless society having no interest in converting into a new religion, sending their children to school or grow cash crops³. This led the Dutch East Indies government to use armed forces with tools such as relocation and continual government harassment, resulting in rising mortality rates. Torajas ended up turning to the missionaries for help, being converted into a new religion, sending their children to school and eventually cultivating crops like coconuts and coffee as well as starting a need for oil lamps, sewing machines and clothes for themselves (Norberg-Hodge 2010, 2). The previously self-sufficient tribal economy was now integrated into the global economy. The use of schooling in the colonial agenda can therefore be seen as highly effective and an active part of how the missionaries approached the native people in order for them to be assimilated into Western civility.

1.2. Modern Western education

Modern Western education emerged together with European civilisational identity from the 16th century to the present. The modern Western education became a central institution within the formation of the emerging civilisational complex, now commonly identified as modernity or the Occident (Elias 1978, 3; Baker 2012, 5). Here, ‘Occidentalism’ refers to the self-description and self-understanding of Europeans that began with the European encounters with the Native Americans and the discourse on civility and the state of nature during the 15th and 16th centuries (Mignolo 2005; Taylor 2004a; Baker 2012, 7).

The establishment of educational systems is founded in this historical background. One of the first examples of these emerged in the kingdom of Prussia (modern day Germany) during the 18th century. Prussia was one of the first countries in the world to introduce cost free and compulsory education. On basis of the Prussian defeat to Napoleon in 1806, eight years of schooling was enforced. It was decided that the reason for the loss of the battle was that the Prussian soldiers were thinking about themselves in the battlefield instead of following orders

² An ethnic group indigenous to a mountainous region in South Sulawesi, Indonesia.

³ A crop produced for its commercial value rather than the use by the grower.

(Ghatto 2003, 127) This new system provided not only the skills needed for the early industrialised world such as reading, writing and arithmetic, but also a strict education that promoted duty, discipline, respect for authority and the ability to follow orders (Hejlskov 2018, 2). The philosophy of Johann Gottlieb Fichte directly influenced the creation of the Prussian model of schooling. According to him “the schools must fashion the person, and fashion him in such a way, that he simply cannot will otherwise than what you wish him to will” (Fichte 1922, 22). An important part of the Prussian system was that it defined for the child what needed to be learnt, what to think and for how long (Hejlskov 2018). The original purpose of this system was not the design for the good of the individual, but for the good of the government (Ghatto 2003, 129).

The same development was seen in the American, where the member of the US House of representatives Horace Mann build the American public education system formed by the Prussian model and in 1831 became the head of the newly created board of education in Massachusetts (Ghatto 2003, 116, 134). The Canadian superintendent of schools, Egerton Ryerson also implemented the education model in Canada from the Prussian model around the same time (Yates 1995, 106). Educational activities now became governed in detail by orders needing to be obeyed immediately (Foucault 1977, 50). Lawrence Stone (1969, 92) talks about how the drive for popular education around the turn of last century galvanised hope that the elementary school system could be used to break the labouring classes into habits of work discipline necessary for factory production, aiming at making workers more “tractable and obedient and more punctual in their attendance”. This is also reflected in Ellwood P. Cubberley, dean of the Stanford University School of Education back in 1898, following statement:

Our schools are, in a sense, factories, in which the raw materials (children) are to be shaped and fashioned into products (...) The specifications for manufacturing come from the demands of 20th century civilization, and it is the business of the school to build its pupils according to the specifications laid down (Cubberly quoted in Callahan 2010 , 97).

The school system should, thus, develop into an educational theory with the purpose of adapting children to the new industrial capitalistic order (Hejlskov 2018, 1). Children had to be “elevated” out of their “natural” state and trained to take their place in the project of “subordinating the material world to his (man’s) use” as explained by William Torrey Harris, US Commissioner of education from 1889 to 1906: “The nations and peoples of the world rank high or low (...) according to the degree in which they have realised this idea of humanity” (quoted in online article Black 2016). These quotes are not only drawing on the ideas seen within the Enlightenment and Industrial Revolution but a history of patriarchal and colonial subordination.

1.3. The World Bank’s education policies

This in turn brings me back to the World Bank and its global education policies. At first glance, they seem to embody ideas that are natural and good for everyone in the world such as access to an early healthy start in child development. Thus, when looking back at the historical use of education it becomes important to ask critical questions when a Western organisation brings forward education policies aiming at *every* single child in the world. This could be referred back to “the white man’s burden” and the poem mentioned above, where it becomes the responsibility

of Western organisations such as the World Bank to “save” the developing countries from their own deprivation and help them reach proper sustainable development through initiatives such as education policies. It then becomes interesting to analyse these education policies in relation to the historical use of education in the colonial period and look for any reoccurrences.

1.4. Aim of the study

This thesis is a contribution to the discussion of the Western/Occidental school system’s effect on people's relationship with nature and their environment. My aim is to clarify how the colonial past is being reproduced within the Western knowledge based education system and how this system is used within the agenda of sustainable development in developing countries. I am interested in the continuities between the colonial past and current global colonial hierarchies and its influence on cultural diversities and ecological concerns in an ever warming world. The main purpose is to highlight that there is no sole epistemic tradition from which to achieve truth and universality. This is done by combining critical Subaltern and Western theories, where the universality of Eurocentrism is questioned.

This thesis should be of interest to anyone working with or within the education systems we currently have all over the world for our children, being it in local communities, through organisations or in NGO’s working in developing countries.

1.5. Research questions

I have chosen to focus on the following questions:

1. How are the official documents from the World Bank on global education development expanding a modern/colonial world system?
2. In what ways are such an expansion of the system affecting developing countries in relation to sustainable development?

In order to answer these questions, I will first go into a critical discourse analysis of the articulations seen within the World Bank's official documents in order to clarify in what ways these documents are portraying the modern/colonial world system. The findings within my analysis will then be discussed in relation to the use of education within sustainable development.

2. Theoretical framework

My theoretical framework takes its point of departure within the *modern/colonial world system*. This concept is both based on Immanuel Wallerstein’s⁴ (2011) theory on the modern world system as well as a subaltern critique of modernity. Here the critique is founded in the acknowledgement of the Occidental intellectual tradition, where Eurocentric projections are reflected within areas such as modern education (Mignolo 2011). This Occidental modernity is a narrative framework and has been influencing the entire world over the past 500 years through

⁴ Immanuel Wallerstein is an American sociologist, historical social scientist and world system analyst. He is a Senior Research Scholar at Yale University.

Eurocentric knowledge production (Baker 2012, 4-5). The focus is on how the complex influences and structures seen within colonial relations still influence the agenda behind education of children in developing countries. All of this influence our relationship with and to nature and has been developed over several centuries.

When using the concept of a modern/colonial world system to analyse Western education, I have my main point of departure within theories developed as a critique to the Occidental. I am also using Western theoreticians such as Foucault and Gramsci, which in turn could be seen as being a product of Occidental and Eurocentric knowledge construction. While there certainly is a difference between the developing and developed countries, I also agree with scholars such as Chibber⁵ (2013) that there is not necessarily a fundamental divergence between critical Western theories and Subaltern theories, making them both useful within a critical approach towards the modern/colonial world system.

As in line with scholars such as Grosfoguel⁶ (2009, 11), this thesis is based on a perspective, critical of both Eurocentric and Subaltern fundamentalism, colonialism and nationalism. The main purpose of my thesis is to highlight that there is no sole epistemic tradition from which to achieve truth and universality. There is a whole range of ontological realities working simultaneously. However, my main focus within this theoretical framework lays within the modern/colonial world system, which is a perspective forwarded by Subaltern scholars such as Escobar (2004, 2007), Mingolo (2011) and Grosfoguel (2009, 2011). Many of them also work at both South American and Western Universities. By combining this perspective with critical Western theory critical dialogue between diverse critical epistemic, ethical and political projects is attempted in hopes of creating a pluriversal oppose to a universal world (cf. Grosfoguel 2009).

2.1. Construction of “truth” through discourses

The main theoretical focus within this thesis is to analyse how the modern/colonial world system is seen within the education policy documents by analysing the dominant discourses seen constructing knowledge within the documents. Discourses play a key role in the legitimisation of the power relations they carry with them. In a Foucauldian sense a discourse is:

a group of statements which provides a language for talking about - a way of representing the knowledge about - a particular topic at a particular historical moment (...) Discourse is about the production of knowledge through language. But (...) since all social practices entail *meaning*, and meanings shape and influence what we do - our conduct - all practices have a discursive aspect (Stuart Hall 1992, 291).

Through this line of thought it is through discourses we give things meaning and how we understand the world. Our social practices are the use of those discourses. They are a way to represent knowledge at a particular historical moment (Foucault 1977). The language creation of discourses seen within the documents is caught up in the creation of regimes of truth. Discourses therefore construct and justify certain realities within the power relations. This also means that discourses can be used and experienced differently at different historical moments. It therefore becomes important to look at how these discourses are used strategically within the *politics of discourses* (Baker 1998, 15). This means that the main analytical focus will be on what political

⁵ Vivek Chibber is a Professor of sociology at New York University

⁶ Ramon Grosfoguel is an associate professor at the Department of Ethnic Studies at UC Berkeley

interest the discourses serve, how they participate in the politics of truth, what benefits the speakers gain from them, who the discourses speak on behalf of and what particular position emerge from them (Ibid.). Discourses allow and limit the possibilities of understanding the objects it refers to and creates. They are essentially saying what can be said by whom, where and when (Foucault 1977, 1980; Jardine 2005, 49).

One particular way the power relations seen within discourses constraints or enables our behaviour is through dominant discourses (Foucault 1977). There are certain discursive complexes and subject positions, which tend to be privileged. They privilege versions of social reality that legitimise existing power relations and social structures. Some of these discourses are so entrenched that it become difficult to see how they could be challenged. They become common sense. These are dominant discourses. Thus, Michel Foucault⁷ stressed that alternatives to these dominating discourses are always possible (Foucault 1980).

Those dominant discourses are also connected to institutions such as schools, in which they are embedded within the various kinds of rituals and behaviours that go along with these institutions (Foucault 1977, Shore & Roberts 1993). Discourses are bound up with institutional practices, ways of organising, regulating and administering social life that come with for example the political education areas of institutions. Being seen as a student in an educational discourse means one's knowledge or intellect becomes an object of legitimate interest to teachers, politicians etc, and may be exposed, touched and invaded in the process of knowledge production as part of the practice of education. Thus, it does not necessarily come off as a violation because we are a part of this discourse ourselves, and of these social practices that educational institutions practice (Foucault 1977, 136, 182). This invasion of the mind can therefore be seen as a good as well as a bad experienced.

The knowledge production within these dominant discourses is understood through social relations and the notions of power. While knowledge and power are not the same thing, each contributes to the construction of the other in an intimately and productively related manner (Baker 1998, 25). What is seen as knowledge or the truth is not powerful because it is the real truth about education and sustainable development, but because it is seen as the truth through the current power relations. In this way dominant discourses come to have a normative power, determining what is seen as normal.

in order to understand how the discourses of present time functions, looking at the historical perspective and development of these discourses will allow me to have a deeper understanding of the current discourses surrounding global education development. A central part of the discourses is how they are tied up with power and authority in society. Knowledge is put to work via discursive practices to regulate people's conduct (Foucault 1977, 27). So, the adaptation of those discourses by people is a way in which people are controlled and regulated. In relation to this thesis, discursive constructions of proper education within the politics of discourses results in control such as imposing certain policies within lending negotiations between developing countries and the World Bank.

⁷ Michel Foucault (1926-1984) was a French philosopher, historian of ideas, social theories and literary critic, with theories primary addressing the relationship between power and knowledge.

2.2. Hegemony through dominant discourses

When looking at the use of discourses in relation to Antonio Gramsci's⁸ (1971) theory on *hegemonic culture*, hegemony has come to denote the ideological domination of one social group over another. In this way hegemonic cultures will be seen as the overall hegemony of the different dominant discourses seen within the documents.

Combining theories from theorist with such fundamentally different theoretical traditions as Gramsci and Foucault can of course be criticised. However, their concerns and ontological similarities regarding the ways power is produced and institutionalised is useful within my analysis of the World Bank's education policy documents.

For a hegemon to maintain a dominant position it must acquire ideological consent from the masses in order to prevent rebellion. Hegemony is through this a social control that combine force and consent balancing one another. In this way, the ruling class cannot maintain or justify its dominance without having active consent over those whom it rules (Crehan 2002, 102). A common social-moral language is being spoken, where a certain concept of reality is dominating in an ongoing struggle between competing ideological positions and influences the thoughts and behaviours of the individuals involved in a more subtle way (Femia 1981, 24). Gramsci divides political hegemony in between the "political society", which is the arena of political institutions and legal constitutional control, and "civil society", which is commonly seen as the non-state sphere. The first one will be the realm of control, and the latter of consent. Thus, these two arenas can overlap (Gramsci 1971, 196, 242, 254). In order to maintain this social control, it is objectified and exercised through civil society by institutions such as schools. Such institutions attend hegemony through the way they directly or indirectly operate to shape the cognitive and affective structures where problematic social realities are perceived and structured by people (Femia 1981, 24). Furthermore, in order for this social control to have hegemony it must also have solid economic roots, founded in the economic activity performed by the leading group (Gramsci 1971, 31). This makes the World Bank interesting to observe, now that it is the single largest investor within global education and could be seen as placed within the political society.

Hegemonic culture is controlling dissenting voices through subtle dissemination of the dominant group's perspective as universal and natural in such a way that "the dominant beliefs and practices become an intractable component of common sense" (Litowitz 2000, 519). The critical aim therefore becomes to denaturalise the historical and conceptual background that frames knowledge and the understanding of modern education. Occidentalism is here at the centre of the social control by representing a dominating group within the hegemonic culture, here the Euro-American modernity conceiving, interpreting and managing the world over the past 500 years (Baker 2012, 6).

Using both the Foucauldian theory of dominant discourses and the Gramscian theory of the hegemonic culture, enables me to analyse the articulations surrounding the official documents of global education from the World Bank in a new light. If the hegemonic culture is reproduced and exercised within institutions such as schools, are they then being objectified and exercised in the agenda going behind the official documents of having every child on earth in compulsory

⁸ Antonio Gramsci is an Italian Marxist philosopher and communist politician. He wrote on political theory, sociology and linguistics

school? It also becomes interesting to look at the narratives and historical foundations for such an agenda as well as the current power relations.

2.3. Coloniality of reason

The concept of civility emerging in the 16th century was widely associated with modes of comportment or manner (Elias 1978, Baker 2012). This historical period is the historical context of the emergence of the Occidental horizon of thought, a worldview that became known as 'modern civilisation'. Here civility came to be associated with the general theory of historical evolution, going from the original state of nature to civilised (Huppert 1971; Baker 2012). Within the modern education framework, Western knowledge was seen as superior to indigenous people's own knowledge production within the dominating world system (Burman 2012, 105; Goosh 1998, 4).

Donna Orange⁹ (2017, 10) highlights this as contributing to the Western population domination of indigenous people all the way up until 20th century. The environment has historically been seen as a material product that the dominating class within the Euro-American modernity has the right to exploit in service of making it ideal and follow their passion for knowledge of the world.

Thinking back, I remember being taught as a child to memorize the "natural resources" of the places we studied in geography class, including minerals, forests, sometimes fish and other animals. Now I realize that, for the viewpoint of the United States in the 1950s, we were meant to learn what could be extracted from these faraway countries, then often known by colonial names, to grow the economy there. The people in these places, considered exotic and "primitive", had nothing to teach us in our vast superiority. *To study the world was to learn to dominate* (Orange 2017, 10-11, my emphasis).

Arturo Escobar¹⁰ (2004, 2007) talks about modernity/coloniality in a way where the identification of the domination of others outside the European core is a necessary dimension. Here the concept of Eurocentrism as the knowledge form of modernity/coloniality claims universality for itself. Europe's development must be followed unilaterally by every other culture, by force if necessary (Escobar 2004, 217).

Here, coloniality and modernity constitute "two sides of a single coin", as explained by Grosfoguel (2009, 21). The European industrial revolution was achieved through coerced forms of labour in the periphery, at the same time as the new identities, rights, law, and institutions of modernity were formed in a process of colonial interaction and domination of non-Western people (Ibid.). The use of the concept 'coloniality' enables me to recognise the colonial domination, which has a dimension where epistemic violence is an integrated part of the colonial relations of power and still influences the power structures of today (Burman 2012,105). In this thesis, coloniality is used, as explained by Bernadette Baker¹¹ (2012, 5), to highlight the structures of power and knowledge relations that emerged with the formation and expansion of Europe as a civilised complex from the 16th century to the present. Coloniality is understood as a

⁹ Donna Orange is a PhD and PsyD and teaches at New York University at Institute for the Psychoanalytic Study of Subjectivity.

¹⁰ Arturo Escobar is a Colombian-American anthropologist and the Kenan Distinguished Professor of Anthropology at the University of North Carolina.

¹¹ Bernadette Baker is a professor in Curriculum Studies and Global Studies at the Department of Curriculum and Instruction at the University of Wisconsin-Madison

state of mind, within which the plurality of non-Western ways of knowing and being in the world are subordinately interlinked within a dynamic historical system (Dussel 1998; Baker 2012, 14). The heterogeneous and multiple global structures developed over a period of 500 years did not evaporate with the juridical-political decolonisation of the periphery over the last 50 years. By using the concept of coloniality I acknowledge a continuity in present time to live within the same colonial power matrix (cf. Grosfoguel 2009, 22). Here, knowledge and understanding of the present are constituted through what happened in the past.

Coloniality of power is a global hegemonic model of power moving in alignment with the needs of capital and to the benefit of white European peoples. Global coloniality is in this way a subalternation process affected by the coloniality of power (Escobar 2004, 216). It is a strategy of control and domination that is constitutive of Euro-American modernity as a long series of unfolding political, economic, cultural and educational projects (Baker 2012, 13).

2.4. Western domination within the education system

It becomes interesting to see if this coloniality of power can be seen as normalised within the ongoing negotiations and articulation seen within the official documents as well as within the modern school systems. Carol Black¹² (2016) argues for a shift seen within the current school system from “savage” to “civilised” into the modern day “uneducated” to “educated”, “developing” to “developed”. She sees the later as modern terms for the same hierarchical structures of the past building on a paternalistic attitude towards children and “childlike” adults upheld by force (Ibid.).

Sir Ken Robinson¹³ has also found some common features in the most Western mass systems of public education today. His focus is on the narrow view of intelligence. He sees the “real intelligence” within today's school system resonating in a certain type of deductive reasoning and knowledge of the classics, essentially the Enlightenment of Intelligence (Robinson 2016). Combining this with the historical purpose of the school system to elevate children out of their “natural” state and into an anthropocentric view of themselves in relation to nature, this could very well influence student's relationship to their environment and nature-destructive habits.

Furthermore, Paulo Freire¹⁴ (1970) talks about the “Pedagogy of the Oppressed” and through this how to liberate the oppressed from domination. His concept of *conscientizagdo* is important when looking at positive development for children through education. Here the awakening of consciousness happens through an accurate and realistic awareness of one's position in nature and society. Thus, this will only happen if the children are “learning to perceive political, economic and social contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive element of reality” (Ibid., 35). In order to do so the dominating teacher-student dichotomies need to be broken through a dialogical relationship between the cognitive actors involved (Ibid., 79-80). It therefore becomes important to analyse the education policy from the World Bank in terms of seeing if the main focus is placed on facts and measurement, which Freire refers to as a false notion of the end

¹² Carol Black is an education analyst, television producer and director of the film *Schooling the World*.

¹³ Sir Ken Robinson is a British author, speaker and international advisor on education in the arts of government, non-profit, education and art bodies. He works as a Professor Emeritus at the University of Warwick.

¹⁴ Paulo Freire (1921-1997) was a Brazilian educator, philosopher and advocate of critical pedagogy. He worked as a professor at University of Recife and visiting professor at Harvard University

of history (Ibid., 13) and reproduction of the *culture of silence* (Ibid., 11). This 'culture of silence' is when students rather than being encouraged and equipped to know and respond to the concrete realities of their world, are kept submerged in a situation in which critical awareness and response are practically impossible (Ibid.). This is often done within education systems through the *banking concept of education*, where the knowledge gained within the education system is a transmission of preselected knowledge only giving the children a very specific and narrow understanding of the world (Ibid., 73). It will therefore be interesting to see whether the education policies pushed forward by the World Bank enables the children to become recreators of history or if the policies are portraying a very specific and preselected knowledge of history founded within the modern/colonial world system.

2.5. Sustainable development and modern education

When looking at the modernity narrative of a capitalist system, the environmental crisis could be seen as a central contradiction and limit to capital today. Here modernity becomes structured around the split between nature and culture. Nature then appears at the other side of modernity being the contrast to civility and culture and could even be seen as the founding factor behind colonial natures located in the "totality of the male Eurocentric world" (Escobar 2007, 197).

Behind the modern concept of 'sustainable development' is an attempt to make development more efficient without questioning it as a problematic idea or question the sustainability of a society that promotes it. This means that in order to keep development going, artificial limits to nature are set without having limits imposed on the consumption capacity of the society. Here the relationship between human beings and nature becomes reduced to transactions and profit (Restrepo 2014, 150). This perception of nature reflects the capitalist/colonial perspective of nature, labour and natural resources, an anthropocentric worldview. "To study the world was to learn to dominate" as Donna Orange (2017) wrote.

When expanding the modern/colonial world system through an agenda of sustainable development, the domination of physical space can include both the domination of nature and the appropriation of nature. The former involves the destruction of nature. The latter involves its consumption. Neither of these involve the preservation/protection of nature and both have implications for non-Western cultures, especially indigenous communities (Banerjee 2003, 148). Subhabrata Bobby Banerjee¹⁵ (2003, 143) argues that despite a claim of a paradigm shift, the sustainable development paradigm is based on an economic, not ecological, rationality. Here, nature is viewed through a modern notion of economics reflected in the transformation of 'nature' into a manageable and resourceful 'environment'. There is a need to tame the "savage unspoiled wilderness" through a Western scientific rationality at the same time as a need to conserve it at all cost (Macnagthen and Urry 1998).

This perspective also goes in line with the idea of "the white man's burden", where it becomes the responsibility of the Occidental organisations and nations to "save" the developing countries from the devastating state they are in. They should be elevated to the standards of the

¹⁵ Subhabrata Bobby Banerjee is an adjunct professor at the international graduate school of business at the University of South Australia.

modern/colonial world system through sustainable development and initiatives such as education policies. The change of articulations going around “the white man’s burden” is important in relation to how coloniality can be seen as manifested as a power structure today. The concept of development is still used for supporting coloniality which, according to Paula Restrepo¹⁶ (2014, 149), became a political-epistemic category in the 18th century and a political-economic category from the first half of the 20th century.

When looking at “the white man’s burden” through colonial history, it started as a need to “civilize” the non-white people of the world, which in turn included depriving them of their resources as rights. It then transformed into a need to “develop” the developing countries, which deprived their local communities of resources and rights. Now we are at the “burden” of *protecting* the environment, which also involves taking control of resources and rights (Banerjee 2003, 143). Even though it is true that the contemporary notion of development did not arise until the 20th century, it is also true that the idea of development as an ontological principle dates four centuries back (Restrepo 2014, 149). This interlinks the notion of sustainable development into the context of the modern/colonial world system.

2.6. Limitations

The focus within this thesis is on the negative effects of education in relation to colonialism. Thus, I will like to stress that there are positive effects from Western education systems as well as other education systems in the West than the one emerging in Prussia (such as the Scandinavian “højskole” tradition and others). Both the use of expanding and restricting education has been seen through colonial history. In India in the 19 century, a movement among the Western educated people was seen to eliminate some of the traditional practices such as child marriages, caste system and discrimination against women.

Also, I should be careful not to fall into the idea of the pastoral (Garrard 2012, 37). Prior to the colonial invasion, pre-existing societies would, with today's standards, not be considered as ideal or perfect. Here the Western education was viewed as progress against tradition.

Furthermore, through colonial history a thrive for knowledge has been seen from the oppressed, where their search for knowledge detained from them in fact did contribute to their liberation. There is no doubt that the education of slaves in North America had a huge influence on their emancipation and liberation. Here, it was the strength and determination of slaves, who risked their lives to get an education and obtain their freedom, which was the primary reason behind their liberation (see Friedman et al. 2011).

The difference between the liberating effects of educating slaves in North America and the restricting views on education seen within the World Bank documents is the main drive to exclude the positive historic landmarks as illustrated above. It comes down to what Paulo Freire describes as recognition of humanity liberating the oppressed from a *culture of silence* as seen in the liberation of the slaves, and the *banking concept of education* as seen in the World Bank’s education policies within my analysis, where knowledge is restricted. These examples are very different, which led me to leave the liberating aspects of education out, even though I fully acknowledge education’s ability to do so.

¹⁶ Paula Restrepo is a faculty Member at Universidad de Antioquia and writes within the field of postcolonial studies

3. Material and method

Within this chapter my empirical framework as well as analytical strategy will be explained, drawing on the different methods and material used, and arguing how these are going to help me answer my research question. First, I will introduce my empirical framework going into detail with the structure of the World Bank. Second, I will introduce my analytical strategy elaborating how I am going to analyse the World Bank's official documents using a discourse analysis.

3.1. Empirical framework

I have chosen to work with empirical material from the World Bank, and in this sense abstract from other international players within global education development. When working with the specific case of the World Bank, it will allow me to understand the current and particular situation. This will make the knowledge produced within this thesis very specific and precise, which will permit me to argue in a detailed and tangible way. I've chosen to focus on the World Bank alone, though the UN organisation UNESCO¹⁷ oversees the "Education for All" program developed through UNESCO 2030, since the World Bank exhibit major influence through investments, that often makes it the biggest influential actor in education. Often more so than UNESCO.

Analysing a specific organisation such as the World Bank and its education policies enables me to understand a much larger perspective on education simultaneously, because of its big influence on international education development. Therefore, one of the main focus points within the analyses of these documents is to question the reasons why they have been created and in what context. The producer of such documents will always be representing a certain cultural, educational and political perspective (Ankerborg 2007, 63). What becomes important to get out of these documents is therefore a transparency of their message.

When wanting to analyse document material, it becomes highly important to come as close to the primary source as possible (Ibid., 57). Therefore, I have chosen only to use official education policy documents from the World Bank as my empirical material.

It also becomes of interest to look at the organisation and context in which these documents have been created. I will therefore start out my presentation of the used material with a short elaboration on the structure of the World Bank.

3.1.1. Structure of the World Bank

The World Bank Group is a structure of five international organisations making leveraged loans to developing countries. It is the largest and most well-known development bank in the world and an observer of the United Nations Development Group. It was founded in 1946 following international ratification of the Bretton Woods agreement, which emerged from the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference. It also provided the foundation of the Osiander Committee in 1951, responsible for the preparation and evaluation of the World Development Report. Its overall goals are to end extreme poverty and build shared prosperity (World Bank 2019).

¹⁷ United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

The five organisations within the World Bank Group are; the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the International Development Association (IDA), the International Finance Corporation (IFC), the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA) and the International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID). The first two are often collectively referred to as the World Bank.

Building its work in more than 80 countries on the basis of the “Education for All” program based on the UN Sustainable Development Goal 4; “Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all” (hereafter SDG4) with specific targets to be achieved through the Education 2030 Framework for Action (hereafter UNESCO 2030). It shows a big engagement in global education forums such as the World Education Forum, debating the founding principles in the UNESCO 2030. The “Education for All” program is sanctioned by every government in the world and portraying a global pressure on developing countries towards a conformation to the expectations of a well driven education system on a global scale. One of the main agendas behind this program is to get every child into school for children to have the possibility to enter the global society and communities to develop and be part of mainstream society (see UNESCO 2030). This also means a part of the global economy, shifting local economy, agenda and resources into the service of the global economy.

With a large staff within educational development of employee and commissioned economists and educationists and an education research and communications budget exceeding most universities and research institutions in less affluent countries, it intends for its education policies and strategies to be prime movers for global education (Klees et al. 2012, xv).

3.1.2. Documents used

My main focus will be placed on the most recently released policies seen in World Bank Group’s Flagship Report from 2018, *The World Development Report, Learning - to realize education’s promise*. The first annual development report to be completely dedicated to education alone. Furthermore, I’m also to a lesser extent bring in the *World Bank Education Strategy 2020, Learning for all: investing in People’s Knowledge and Skills to Promote Development* (hereafter WBES 2020). This document is the main policy document on the World Bank Group’s educational development policies. However, with the year 2020 approaching very fast, it is already slightly dated in relation to the Flagship Report from 2018.

Here is a quick overview of the documents used as well as their main focus and agenda:

UNESCO 2030: *Education 2030; Incheon Declaration and Framework for Action for the implementation of Sustainable Development Goal 4: Ensure inclusive and equality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all* is an inter-governmental commitment and “a plan of action for people, planet and prosperity” (UNESCO Guide 2016, 7). It comprises 17 Sustainable Development Goals that are integrated and balancing the economic, social and environmental dimensions of sustainable development within a new universal agenda of “Education for All”. It builds on education as a human right essential for dignity. It is developed as a coherent vision for education over the following 15 years and underpins the education targets in the Sustainable Development Goals.

SDG4: *The Sustainable Development Goal 4* is a standalone goal for global education within the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. It is also present as a target under other SDGs on health, growth and employment, sustainable consumption and production, and climate change. It has a goal to ensure lifelong learning opportunities for all from early childhood to adult education, ensure equity, effective learning and the acquisition of relevant knowledge, skills and competencies. It sees education as a fundamental human right and public good and focuses especially on gender equality.

WDR 2018: *World Bank Group's Flagship Report 2018 - Learning to realize education's promise* is the first report from the World Bank devoted entirely to education. Every year, the World Bank Group's World Development Report takes on a topic of central importance to global development. This year the main focus is put on the lack of proper learning seen within established schools in developing countries. The report highlights the agenda from the World Bank of establishing proper education for all children. The Education policies seen within this report is built on the UNESCO 2030 and SDG4.

WBES 2020: *World Bank Group Education Strategy 2020* lays out the World Bank Group's agenda for achieving "learning for all" in the developing world until 2020. it goes under the three pillars within the World Bank's strategy; invest early, invest smartly and invest for all (WBES 2020, 4). The strategy here is focusing on learning for "growth, development and poverty reduction" (Ibid., 3). This is done through the UNESCO 2030 and the Millennium Development Goals.

3.2. Analytical strategy

In this section I will describe how I intend to answer my research question. When having a theoretical framework surrounding the modern/colonial world system the focus becomes to systematically break down and acknowledge power structures developed throughout history and seeing these power relations as hierarchical within the dominant discourses. In order to do so, I intend to use a critical discourse analysis to deconstruct power structures and understand hierarchies in the empirical material.

Within the modern/colonial world system, the coloniser-colonised relationships are played out in trade conflicts between developed and developing countries, such as the loan negotiations seen with the World Bank and developing countries. This is a complex relationship characterised by rhetoric, defensiveness and ideologies (Banerjee 2003, 148). It therefore becomes important, in order to understand the grasp of the modern/colonial world system's influence on cultural diversities and ecological concerns, to first have a critical analysis of the Universality of Western knowledge production. I attempt to do so by having a critical analysis of the knowledge produced within a modern/colonial context, through the education policy documents seen from the World Bank. Based on this analysis, I will then discuss how a Western knowledge construction is claiming universality for itself in the expansion of an education system to developing countries. Furthermore, it also becomes important to highlight and discuss the developing countries experiences of imperialism and colonialism in the context of education and sustainable development discourses. This could transform our understanding of the past as well

as enabling us to construct a history of the present and our attitude towards the future (Ibid.; Said 1993, 47).

3.2.1. Critical discourse analysis

My analytical strategy lays within a Foucauldian approach to discourse analysis. The focus here is on discourses and explicitly on the power and politics behind these discourses. The use of critical discourse analysis is particularly appropriate for critical policy analysis. It allows for a detailed investigation of the relationship of language to other social processes, as well as how language work within power relations (Taylor 2004b, 436). My take on a Foucauldian approach to critical discourse analysis has a specific stand towards those dominant discourses as a way of undermining what I see as oppressive practices within the modern/colonial world system. I will therefore have to use my own cultural knowledge. I live to some extent within the same world system as these policy documents are produced within. I partake in it by being educated at Western institutions. I share it by writing educational literature such as this thesis. It will therefore be important and well needed for me to use my own understanding of what is going on within education development in order to identify the dominant discourses (cf. Parker 1992).

In order to outline the different dominant discourses seen within the education policy documents, I first read all of them in detail, linking different recurrences in terms of focus, argumentation, articulations and references. Afterwards, I combined the different recurrences in order to see how many there were as well as how dominant they were.

It would be reasonable to argue that statements within the education policy discourse that speak to poor regulation, urgency or lack of control are the means by which discursive objects, such as the developing countries, become articulated in a form that is recognisable (see Butler 1997). In this way, use of education policies synonymous with the modern/colonial world system, such as the discussion on moral obligations and proper educational development, become dominant discourses.

Four different discourses stood out as combining different articulations and means drawing on the same common sense. They are; (1) *a discourse of moral obligations*, (2) *a discourse of one global economy*, (3) *a discourse of urgent education development* and (4) *a discourse of empowerment*. These outlined discourses will present total understanding of the many articulations that have created coherence for me. This makes language and the power of the articulatory practice of great importance. This analytical strategy has allowed me to see to what extent the modern/colonial world system is embedded within the articulations seen in the official documents and how it has shaped the discursive object, the developing countries, within the overall prevailing hegemonic culture.

4. Analysis

I will now outline the different dominant discourses in the official documents from the World Bank based on a document analysis and Foucauldian discursive concepts. I know the delimitations, that this process creates, as a discourse is not something fixed and will therefore merge with other discourses because of its floating character. My used concepts of discourses have therefore been limited to my perception of a common understanding of different

articulatory practices. Here the four discourses become a framework for my analysis, where the underlying discursive power and hegemonic culture will be at the centre of attention. As an example, I have created a discourse of moral obligations, which is constructed based on how the World Bank articulates the necessity of a moral duty to help developing countries with the establishment of a well-functioning education system.

4.1. A discourse of moral obligations

Learning conditions are almost always much worse for the disadvantaged, and so are learning outcomes. Moreover, far too many children still aren't even attending school. *This is a moral and economic crisis* that must be addressed immediately (WDR 2018, xi, my emphasis).

The urgency of a World Development Report (WDR 2018) solely focusing on learning is quickly established within the report as founded in the moral obligations of an organisation such as the World Bank to improve the quality of learning within schools as well as establish schooling for every child in the world in line with the UNESCO 2030. It has a moral duty to change the lives of millions of children. "Education and learning raise aspirations, set values, and ultimately enrich lives" (WDR 2018, xi) as stated in the foreword by Jim Yong Kim, President of The World Bank Group. Developing countries are "stuck in low-learning traps" and in desperate need of help from organisations such as the World Bank in order to increase their "human capital" through proper education (Ibid.).

In relation to the modern/colonial world system, this outlook on developing countries is reproducing the subordinate perspective of knowledge production in the developing countries linked to the ongoing dynamic historical system (Dussel 1998, Baker 2012, 14). They are not able to live up to the developed countries¹⁸ standard of proper learning and therefore need help from Occidental organisations and companies in order to "enrich" their citizens lives. It highlights the importance of educating children from the developing countries out of a "low-learning trap" in the same way as the children in the developed countries have been.

First, assess learning to make it a serious goal. Information itself creates incentives for reform, but many countries lack the right metrics to measure learning (...) This is the case in many countries stuck in low-learning traps; extricating them requires focused attention on the deeper causes (WDR 2018, xii).

"Proper" education is here built on the perspective of developed countries, or as Baker (2012, 12) fraise it, established from the perspective of "the universalised cultural model of European civilisation".

Assumptions of the Occidental knowledge being at the highest almost unachievable level and what the developing countries should thrive for, but will be unable to reach on their own, is seen in quotes such as:

Although the skills of Brazilian 15-year-olds have improved, at their current rate of improvement they won't reach the rich-country average score in math for 75 years. In reading, it will take more than 260 years" (WDR 2018, 3)

¹⁸ Developed countries are referred to in the report as the OECD countries.

“By 2008 the average low-income country was enrolling students in primary school at nearly the same rate as the average high-income country. But schooling is not the same as learning. Children learn very little in many education systems around the world: even after several years in school, millions of students lack basic literacy and numeracy skills (WDR 2018, 5)

“Based on its rate of progress in average PISA scores from 2003 to 2015, it would take Tunisia over 180 years to reach the OECD average in math. This slow rate of improvement is especially problematic for middle-income countries trying to position themselves as important players in the global economic landscape (WDR 2018, 74).

There is a constant comparison of the developing countries to the rich developed countries and articulations of the developing countries as unable to reach these desirable levels on their own. They are seen as in desperate need of help from the developed countries. Here the Coloniality of reason comes into play (Burman 2012, 105), where the knowledge produced in a certain place within the modern/colonial world system especially by Occidental organisations such as the World Bank is seen as more important than the local and traditional knowledge, which often is not seen as knowledge at all. This constant comparison between countries categorised as poor or rich makes proper education equal to making you rich. One of the main focuses behind helping the developing countries is therefore to establish education systems in accordance with the global economy that will enrich the economic foundation in the countries.

To intervene as a global organisation is therefore seen as a morally right thing to do. “This learning crisis is a moral crisis. When delivered well, education cures a host of societal ills” (WDR 2018, 3). Furthermore, this is also established throughout the report through a repeated articulation of so called “poor” countries (the word poor/poorest is used 229 times within the 216 pages long report). The notion of the “poor” is a categorisation subjected to many variations. The World Bank classifies countries as “rich” or “poor” itself. This categorisation of developing countries being portrayed as poor becomes important when it affects the World Bank’s assumption of the developing countries and emphasises a vulnerability of the “victims”. Here the notion of “the White Man’s Burden” comes into play, where it becomes the responsibility of the modern/colonial world system to “save” the “developing countries” from the devastating state they are in. The very notion of development and assistance is here grounded in the idea of “us” and “them”, i.e., the developed wanting to help the underdeveloped. “The White Man’s Burden” is reasoned through a need to elevate the populations in developing countries and this assistance could be depriving local communities of their resources and influence (Banerjee 2003, 143).

This perspective of a moral duty to elevate the developing countries into being “well educated” has been seen throughout history within the modern/colonial world system drawing on a history of patriarchal and colonial subordination, where eurocentrism as the knowledge form of modernity/coloniality claims universality for itself (Escobar 2004, 217).

Children in the developing countries are the “wildness” seen within nature needing to be tamed in order to fit into the modern world order. Here, Occidental knowledge production is seen as superior and what the developing countries need to thrive for. It is the true knowledge of the world.

Evidence on how people learn has exploded in recent decades, along with an increase in educational innovation (...) change is possible if systems commit to “all for learning” drawing on examples of families, educators, communities, and systems that have made real progress (WDR 2018, 4).

The historical perspective of the “savages” and “civilized” is here reproduced as real progress by educating the children in developing countries through the evidently based Occidental education. A dichotomy between the “educated” and “uneducated” and the “developed” and the “developing” is created, as well as the helpless and the helpers.

4.2. A discourse of one global economy

As explained by the World Bank in the WDR 2018, lack of proper education in alignment with the education policy “is especially problematic for middle-income countries trying to position themselves as important players in the global economic landscape” (WDR 2018, 74). The same line of thought is seen within the WBES 2020, where the references to skills are pointing to the need for better “linkages between education systems and labour markets” (WBES 2020, 44). Or said in another way, one of the main focuses for the World Bank going behind the agenda of educating the young populations in developing countries is for these countries to enter the global economy through an increase in human capital and global capitalist growth. The main focus of development through an improved education system in developing countries then becomes an economic focus. Even the reference to human rights in WBES 2020 is seen as an investment;

Access to education, which is a basic human right enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child is also a strategic development investment (WBES 2020, 1).

Education is a business investment. The main focus of the World Bank moves from education as a human right into education as a strategic development investment (Nordtveit 2009, 26-27). In fact, the UNESCO 2030, which the World Bank policy is based on, is by several scholars, seen as a “neoliberal policy agenda focusing on the growth of human capital through better child development, early education, and primary education throughout the world” (Bloch & Swadener 2009, 1). This agenda is structurally reliant on endless economic growth and with the dissemination of a consumer society, growth has in subtle ways through institutions such as schools based on Occidental knowledge production, been inscribed in people's' identities and behavioural patterns. Here, a common social-moral language is being spoken, where a certain perception of reality is dominating and influence the thoughts and articulations seen in the documents, a hegemonic culture (Gramsci 1971). It is obtained by consent from the lending countries within negotiations with the World Bank and practiced as a form of social control. Furthermore, it is being objectified through institutions such as schools in the developing countries as well as developed countries. Which in turn makes the World Bank extremely powerful when it comes to global educational development.

The focus is put on an increased national and international competitiveness in relation to building “human capital” through an “education for all”. This focus on competitiveness through investment and skills needed in a global capitalist economy is seen within the documents in subtle ways through wordings and examples such as:

Worldwide, hundreds of millions of children reach young adulthood without even the most basic life skills. Even if they attend school, many leave without the skills for calculating the correct change from a transaction, reading a doctor's instructions, or interpreting a campaign promise—let alone building a fulfilling career or educating their children (WDR 2018, 3).

What is interesting here is the emphasis on qualities seen as essential within a capitalist world system. Needing to calculate the correct change from a transaction, interpret campaign promises, building a career (within the capitalist system) etc. The World Bank develops its agenda and policies from a neoliberal doctrine. These documents can therefore be seen as responses to the neoliberal global education policy recommendations that have dominated for several decades.

The aim from the World Bank going behind these documents is to persuade readers to accept the World Bank's worldview of education and development, build on a neoliberal and capitalistic viewpoint with a market-driven approach to education policy. All documents seen from the World Bank are developed in an intend to shape education policy and practice in countries where the World Bank is active, in order for the World Bank to maintain the social consent needed for hegemony. Furthermore, these education sector policies are used as a key referent in negotiations and decisions by lending countries.

In the very first section of the UNESCO 2030 the importance of the Sustainable Development Goal 4 becomes clear as they start out by claiming:

Our vision is to transform lives through education, recognizing the important role of education as a *main driver of development* and in achieving the other proposed SDGs (...) This new vision is fully captured by the proposed SDG 4 'Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all' and its corresponding targets (WDR 2018, 7, my emphasis).

Education is hereby seen as the main driver of development in the countries of concern. Combining this with the articulations further down on the same page: "We recognise education as key to achieving full employment and poverty eradication" (WDR 2018, 7), it becomes clear that a main focus in order to see development is to strengthen the workforce in the countries by educating citizens in order for them to have employment and lead "healthy and fulfilled lives" (Ibid., 8). The organisations coming together in the UNESCO 2030 also see education being able to "respond to local and global challenges through education for sustainable development (ESD) and global citizenship education (GCED)" (Ibid.). This shows how the UNESCO 2030 and the SDG4 is seen as important in order to educate citizens for these organisations to see proper development.

This goes in line with the neoliberal approach to education being shown in the WDR 2018:

The Education Commission estimates that low- and middle-income countries will have to increase spending by 117 percent between 2015 and 2030 to enable most children to complete primary and secondary education with minimum levels of learning, as the Sustainable Development Goals call for (WDR 2018, 87).

Now the focus is put on "low- and middle-income countries", which the World Bank previously established to be primarily developing countries, having to increase spending on education. The main driver behind sustainable development within these documents is the "proper" education policies reflected in the WDR 2018, for citizens in developing countries to enter the

global workforce. This confirms the idea of having sustainable development being an attempt to reconcile economic growth with environmental protection, while including social justice and human development (cf. Banerjee 2003, 152). The environmental concerns in the contradiction around growth is not addressed and increasing levels of extraction, production and consumption could become a part of the solution, when education is seen as a tool to expand the global workforce and economy.

The idea of endless industrial growth could through these documents be seen as dominant within the discourses dominating these education policy documents, which aligns with the capitalist modern/colonial world system. This market-oriented approach shifts the focus from empowering the students to follow their individual passions and talents and working with their local environment into moulding them into proper global citizens. There is seen an attempt to make development efficient through education without questioning the whole idea of sustainable development or the ever-growing consumer society embedded within the capitalist modern/colonial world system. This also reaffirms the anthropocentric approach to nature and natural resources as seen in my theoretical framework as well as aligns with the Occidental “burden” to elevate the students out of their “natural” state and into “civility” in order to have sustainable development in alignment with an ever-expanding economic growth.

4.3. A discourse of urgent education development

There is a dominating discourse of urgency throughout the documents of trying to help the youth through proper education. “The learning crisis amplifies inequality: it severely hobbles the disadvantaged youth who most need the boost that a good education can offer” (WDR 2018, 6). It has a tactical use of framing children in developing countries as in desperate need of help from the international society, describing them as helpless victims of a bad education system or no education system at all. This also highlights the solution to the problem to be a well-established education system in line with the World Bank’s educational program and documents. When using so dramatic articulations about a group, the articulations of them become powerful tools with the ability to overrule the developing countries within negotiations. This is done by creating images of them and shaping their identity in a way that they did not necessarily agree to, for the World Bank to maintain hegemony and push actions taken on an over-governmental level.

There is a dominating idea of proper education and learning only being able to happen within a specific school system and the main goal of the documents then becomes to enable every government in the world to create such a school system for their population with their main focus on literacy and numeracy. As stated by Jim Yong Kim, President of the World Bank Group, in the forward to WDR 2018:

But providing education is not enough. What is important, and what generates a real return on investment, is learning and acquiring skills. This is what truly builds human capital. As this year’s World Development Report documents, in many countries and communities learning isn’t happening. Schooling without learning is a terrible waste of precious resources and of human potential (World Bank 2018, xi).

The focus of the WDR 2018 is therefore to create proper learning within schools where the correct educational framework and approach to acquire skills in order to build human capital is seen.

Education should equip students with the skills they need to lead healthy, productive, meaningful lives. Different countries define skills differently, but all share some core aspirations, embodied in their curriculums. Students everywhere must learn how to interpret many types of written passages—from medication labels to job offers, from bank statements to great literature. They have to understand how numbers work so that they can buy and sell in markets, set family budgets, interpret loan agreements, or write engineering software. They require the higher-order reasoning and creativity that builds on these foundational skills (WDR 2018, 4).

The main goal behind these documents becomes to send every child in the world through compulsory schooling build on the learning policies of the World Bank in order for children to create a future for themselves within the global economy. There is no mentioning of enabling them to work with and within their local environments.

The main focus is put on literacy and numeracy in relation to leading assessments produced in Occidental institutions:

According to leading international assessments of literacy and numeracy—Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS) and Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS)—the average student in low-income countries performs worse than 95 percent of the students in high-income countries, meaning that student would be singled out for remedial attention in a class in high-income countries (WDR 2018, 5).

The empirical evidence used for rightful education is grounded in Occidental institutions. This also goes in line with the WBES 2020, where the World Bank indicates that it “has published more journal articles than 14 top universities - only Harvard University comes close” (WBES 2020, 53). Here the World Bank presents itself as a direct competitor to some of the best universities in the world, framing itself as a “knowledge bank” (cf Nordtveit 2009). In this way the World Bank implies that its publishing record is guaranteeing the soundness of its policies as well as pointing to its own research to justify its authority.

A position in favour of standardised testing and private schooling is both seen within WBES 2020 and WDR 2018 to ensure learning and efficiency in schooling, irrespective of varying cultural and social contexts. The World Bank is highlighting the importance of measurable learning above all other learning.

The first step to improving systemwide learning is to put in place good metrics for monitoring whether programs and policies are delivering learning (...) Measuring learning can improve equity by revealing hidden exclusions (WDR 2018, 16). These are widely shared goals of education, and it is understandable that people will ask whether, especially in education systems that are already overburdened, increasing the emphasis on measurable learning will crowd out these other goals. In fact, a focus on learning—and on the educational quality that drives it—is more likely to “crowd in” these other desirable outcomes (WDR 2018, 19).

And again as a heading for a whole section in the report: “There is too little measurement of learning, not too much” (WDR 2018, 17). Repeating the importance of measurements and dedicating whole sections in the report to the argumentation hereof is framing a very specific

view on education. They even suggest a “global learning metric” highlighting the advantages of being able to measure every child in school all over the world with each other.

A global learning metric could help bring learning center stage, making it more salient. Such a metric would use an internationally comparable scale to consistently track progress and identify gaps across contexts. It would enable comparisons across children, households, schools, and locations (WDR 2018, 97).

This very calculated and preselected knowledge needed to be taught within schools goes in line with Paulo Freire’s *banking concept of education* and will give the children a very specific, identical and narrow understanding of the world (Freire 1970, 73). Also, as mentioned in my theoretical framework, Robinson (2016) refers to this view on education as a very narrow view of “real intelligence” resonating in a deductive reasoning and the Enlightenment of intelligence. It is founded in a historical context of the emergence of the Occidental horizon of thought that became known as modern civilisation in the eighteenth century, where civility came to be associate with the general theory of a historical evolution of going from nature to civilised (Huppert 1971, Baker 2012).

The World Bank often mention engagement with the local populations and how locals can contribute to an improvement of literacy and numeracy.

Building strong partnerships between schools and their communities is also important for sustaining reforms. Where political and bureaucratic incentives for reform are weak, action at the local level can act as a substitute. In South Africa, the political and economic context constraints efforts to improve education performance. Yet progress was made in improving outcomes at the local level through strong partnerships between parents and schools. Even where broader incentives exist to improve learning, community engagement at the local level is important and can complement national or subnational change efforts (WDR 2018, 25; see also p. 202, for more examples).

In this way the World Bank argues that it is taking local perspectives into consideration. However, the local environmental situations, as well as the local culture and knowledge production build from generation to generation, are not taken into consideration in the report. Through this, local knowledge production and culture is not seen as essential for education of children in developing countries. The local engagement and variables are only observed in relation to the measurable literacy and numeracy, which is the prime interest of the World Bank’s education policy, carried out in schools designed based on the Occidental education system developed over the last 200 years.

Getting every child into an Occidental knowledge based school will through the narrative of modernity be good to everyone, but in reality be a product of a long history of coloniality and founded in the capitalist civilisational complex known as modernity. The World Bank is presenting itself as a “knowledge bank” and its education strategy seeks to convince the reader about its validity and policies, framing it as “good for everyone”.

Through this, the World Bank seems to be more interested in using a generalised version of the developing countries within these official documents for actions to be taken on an over-governmental level with themselves in front, than empower the developing countries. The knowledge about what a proper education system should be and look like is through this not objective, but knowledge produced within the given discourse according to the given power relations seen within the hegemonic culture founded in the modern/colonial world system.

In a Foucauldian sense, a central part of the discourses is how they are tied up with power and authority in society. The knowledge provided within these discourses is put to work via discursive practices to regulate people's conduct (Foucault 1977, 27). This knowledge is here founded in a measurable intelligence described in the WDR 2018 as the "most promising, evidence-based approaches" (WDR 2018, xi). This also means that the adaptation of these dominating discourses by the developing countries is a way for Occidental organisations such as the World Bank to control and regulate their behaviour. The approach seen within the dominating discourse on education in the World Bank's policy comes of through my analysis as Occidentally produced intelligence measured by Occidental organisation. This Occidental knowledge production central for the modern/colonial world system has been spread out in developing countries throughout history all the way back from the beginning of the colonial period up until today.

4.4. A discourse of empowerment

There is a discourse throughout the documents of a need to empower the children in developing countries through proper schooling, which will benefit them on an individual level as well as national and international.

For individuals, education promotes employment, earnings, and health. It raises pride and opens new horizons. For societies, it drives long-term economic growth, reduces poverty, spurs innovation, strengthens institutions, and fosters social cohesion. In short, education powerfully advances the World Bank Group's twin strategic goals: ending extreme poverty and boosting shared prosperity. Given that today's students will be tomorrow's citizens, leaders, workers, and parents, a good education is an investment with enduring benefits (WDR 2018, xi).

This goes in line with Paulo Freire's notion of conscientizagdo. Here you gain the capacity to analyse your position and the society critically in order to be able to transform existing socio-economic conditions (Freire 1970, 35-36). The ability to read, write and do math could transfer you into a new awareness of selfhood that enables you to look critically at the social situation you are in and even become aware of oppression. By gaining this ability you will be able to act in terms of transforming the society that has denied you this opportunity of participation (Ibid., 9).

By educating these children, the World Bank sees itself as empowering them in terms of giving them the possibility for participation within the global economy and workforce and transferring them out of their culture of silence (cf. Freire 1970), where students rather than being encouraged and equipped to know and respond to the concrete realities of their world, are kept submerged in a situation in which such critical awareness and response were practically impossible.

This culture of silence has many references back to the colonial period as seen in my introduction. Colonised children were only allowed to be educated through a very specific idea of knowledge and civility, given to them through authoritarian teachers to elevate them out of their "natural" state.

Freire's (1970, 73) banking concept of education comes into play, where the knowledge gained within this education system is a transmission of preselected knowledge. The very calculated and measurable approach to education seen within the policies can therefore also be seen as

reflecting the banking concept of education, which goes against the idea of liberating these children. This also fits with Carol Black's (2016) interpretation of going from "uneducated" to "educated", which is a modern term for the same structures of the past, building on a paternalistic attitude towards children upheld by force.

We will continue to seek new ways to scale up our commitment to education and apply our knowledge to serve those children whose untapped potential is wasted. For example, we are developing more useful measures of learning and its determinants. We are ensuring that evidence guides operational practice to improve learning in areas such as early-years interventions, teacher training, and educational technology (WDR 2018, xii).

The main focus of the production of knowledge within the education system is founded in the knowledge production generated by the World Bank itself, measured in detail, so the children get the "right" kind of knowledge through "evidence guides", which leads the mind back to the banking concept of education. Gaining knowledge can, according to Freire, liberate the oppressed. I agree with him. However, this knowledge should be obtained by breaking with the old teacher-student relationship, where the teacher is the all-knowing holder of knowledge, and into gaining knowledge through mutual dialog (Freire 1970, 13).

According to Freire, you cannot gain freedom without becoming aware of your oppression. This also means breaking with the hegemonic culture. This awareness will not happen through a very strict education, where only certain aspects of proper education is taught in order to shape students into a specific idea of a desired worker within the global economy. Through a strict education system, the students will become reproductions of status quo preserving a specific culture and knowledge (Ibid., 80), learning to assimilate the teachings of the teacher. They will be submerged into the hegemonic culture.

Based on Freire's theory on liberation, the developing countries will never be truly liberated if their education systems relies solely on the knowledge production from the Occidental modern/colonial world system. By gaining the "gift" of a "proper" education system from the World Bank, the developing countries are at the same time partaking in the reproduction of their continued oppression from the oppressing group. This is maintaining the hegemonic culture. This implementation of education policies framed as "education for all" is exactly what the World Bank is demanding from the developing countries.

The rest of the overview shows how change is possible if systems commit to "all for learning," drawing on examples of families, educators, communities, and systems that have made real progress (WDR 2018, 4)

The charity of the World Bank is framed as being able to help the developing countries with the implementation of the education policies produced by the World Bank itself. Which is, through my analysis, reproducing the colonial and capitalist order embedded in the modern/colonial world system throughout history.

4.5. Sub Conclusion

Observed is a hegemonic culture, founded in the modern/colonial world system going behind the agenda of the education policy documents from the World Bank. This hegemonic culture is being upheld through dominant discourses in order to maintain consent from civil society. The

dominant discourses are influencing the discursive object, the developing countries, in different ways, all of them constructed from the perspective of a capitalist modern/colonial world system. The colonial “burden” of having to elevate the colonies into civility is reproduced in a new way within the dominant discourse of moral obligations as well as the discourse of urgent education development, where it becomes the World Bank’s responsibility to elevate the developing countries out of a “low-learning trap” and into the education standard of developed countries. This is framed as impossible for the developing countries to do on their own. They are helpless, which in turn takes away their agency within negotiations with the World Bank.

Education is shown as the main driver for sustainable development, based on a neoliberal capitalistic approach to educating the youth. Within the dominant discourse of global economy, the main force behind the need for education is to enable youth to enter the workforce and enhance the global economy. This shifts the focus from giving the youth tools to follow their passions and live in alignment with their environment and over to an overall agenda of empowering the global economy. Even though a discourse of empowerment is observed, where the World Bank attempt to empower the youth through a Western knowledge based education system, it portray a banking concept of education, where the knowledge gained within this education system is a transmission of preselected knowledge reproducing the hegemonic culture by maintaining consent from the masses.

The focus is put on measurable literacy and numeracy in order to have consistency in terms of having the exact same education for every child in the world, which is portrayed through the dominant discourse of urgent education development. In this way the World Bank implies that its publishing record as a “knowledge bank” is guaranteeing the soundness of its policies as well as pointing to its own research to justify its authority. Education is seen within the documents as a business investment, build on a neoliberal and capitalistic approach to development, within the modern/colonial world system.

5. Discussion

I will now go into a discussion on how the modern/colonial world system, seen as a hegemonic culture, going behind these education documents influence cultural diversity, mass education and sustainable development in order to answer my second research question on what way such an expansion of the education system affecting developing countries in relation to sustainable development. Education policies are utilised by the World Bank in its pursuit towards sustainable development in developing countries in alignment with its neoliberal approach to development. This will be discussed in relation to indigenous and rural populations, environmental load displacement and foreign investment development.

5.1. Occidental knowledge production within the hegemonic culture

When looking at it from the perspective of the World Bank as a neoliberal organisation within a modern/colonial world system, the idea of economic liberalisation is seen through a well-functioning education system, deregulation and privatisation of nationalised institutions. The result could be that traditional indigenous lifestyles get swallowed by the economic realities

of rapid resource exploitation. This means that the local knowledge produced in the areas receiving schooling in alignment with the World Bank's policy could get lost or lesser known by the pupils, because of the domination of Occidental knowledge within the education system.

The conceptual idea seen within these documents of universal laws and rights and a construction of a universality about childhood leads the reader towards a globalised, modern child with the same rights, protections and responsibilities (such as to get educated). However, these notions also embody a history of exclusion of many cultural ways of reasoning, misunderstanding the importance of cultural and economic practices in the act of education, where children are placed in different times, places and cultural spaces (Bloch & Swadener 2009, 6).

In relation to this critique of the policy documents, I want to make clear that I do see benefits in children learning how to read, write and do math. These can all be tools enabling you to have critical interaction with your local as well as global environment in alignment with Freire (1970). What I do find critical is when these qualifications are seen as only being able to be achieved within a very specifically designed Occidental education system focusing on measurable intelligence in alignment with the Enlightenment of intelligence, where Occidental knowledge is seen as true intelligence, disclaiming the knowledge produced outside the Occidental. The hierarchical idea of the Occidental knowledge construction as the inferior and rightful knowledge then becomes a hegemonic culture going behind these documents, reproducing coloniality.

I also agree with scholars such as Jansen¹⁹ (1999) and Ndimande²⁰ (2009) that the implementation of "outcome" based curriculum rather than a critically engaged curriculum is too technical and lack the critical bite to quality learning. It is therefore the frame in which these qualifications of literacy and numeracy is supposed to be achieved within the World Bank's education policy I am critiquing as well as the hegemonic culture and neoliberal ideology seen going behind these initiatives.

A very inward view of education is observed giving much weight to economic and technical factors, while ignoring contextual issues that greatly affect education. The World Bank has a position in favour of standardised testing and encouragement of private schooling, which are held to be key mechanisms when ensuring learning in schools, without much attention being taken to varying cultural and social contexts (Klees et al, 2009, xix-xx). The disempowered developing countries and their marginalised traditional knowledge seen within the communities, depending on the land for survival, becomes less important or maybe even a hindrance to the World Bank's own economic potential within the global economy. The implications for indigenous communities can therefore be particularly severe through a colonial image of the "unspoiled wilderness" as described by Banerjee (2013, 148) or the "uneducated" as explained by Black (2016).

This agenda of getting every child educated by sending them to Occidental knowledge based schools in order to prepare them for the global society and economy has affected communities all over the world throughout history in a way for them to develop and be a part of the global economy (Black 2016). The idea of universal theories of rights and education for all require a

¹⁹ Jonathan Janson is rector and Vice-Cancellor of the University of the Free State in Bloemfontein in South America

²⁰ Dr. Bekisizwe S. Ndimande is an Assistant Professor of Curriculum and Instruction in the Department of Interdisciplinary Learning and Teaching at the University of Texas at San Antonio.

greater understanding of the historical assumption of civility and progress, as well as the understanding of “others” and nature, where a colonial reasoning and construction of difference in order to reconfirm a need for an “Education for All” is seen. The agenda of the “Education for All” then becomes to assimilate the different cultural and environmental differences into the modern/colonial world system, enabling every child to follow his/her assumed right to work within a global economy. Through this, as highlighted by Baker (2012, 6), when looking critically at the emergence of modernity, you will be able to see it as an Occidental narrative that distorts and conceals its own cultural-historical origins as a new civilisational complex.

5.2. Neoliberalism’s influence on mass education

The World Bank presents itself as an unquestionable authority on education. It is able to bring the public and private sectors into harmony through a neoliberal approach in order to provide proper education for the world's children (Nordtveit 2009, 30). Thus, we should not assume that the World Bank policies are free from racism, coloniality or class. As highlighted by feminist scholars (such as Moraga & Anzaldúa 1993; Collins 1990) and subaltern scholars (such as Dussel 1977; Mignolo 2000, Grosfoguel 2009) we are always speaking from a particular location in the power structures. We cannot escape the class, sexual, gender, spiritual, linguistic, geographical and racial hierarchies of the modern/colonial world system (Grosfoguel 2009, 13). Freedom and democracy within the neoliberal doctrine are framed on individual’s success in the free market without much consideration of the racialised field of the modern/colonial world system in which the market competition takes place. Furthermore, these market-driven policies do not happen in a neutral field of power. It therefore becomes of interest to look at why universal schooling largely draws from neoliberal and Occidental models of development.

The struggles such as race and class seen within the societies are mediated within these policies. When favouring private schooling and having narrow generalised education for every child in the world as the primary focus, the difficulties encountered for the children in developing countries when attending school with “proper” education increase in relation to racial, social, physical and cultural structures. This gives evidence to how neoliberalism can be implicated in racism and coloniality (Ndimande 2009), which subsequently denies the goal of “Education for All”. The market-driven approach seen from the World Bank is therefore in itself contradicting the stated mission of “Learning for All”.

However, it makes good sense within the logic of neoliberalism. Here free markets, privatisation and deregulation are the drivers of economic growth, where progress and prosperity naturally follow. Neoliberalism supports markets within sectors where they do not exist, such as education, and limits the state to security and monitoring functions in order to create the ideal environment for markets (Kamat 2009, 40-41). Here neoliberalism is a part of the hegemonic culture seen within the World Bank’s policies shown as a de-facto ideology rather than an economic approach to development, and the World Bank continues to ignore other productive approaches to education and development outside the hegemonic culture seen within these documents.

A great variety of studies²¹ have shown that these market-oriented social policies benefit the corporate interests and neglect the poor people, and the World Bank do not have a pleasing record in its involvement with developing countries either (See Broch-Utne 2000; Bond 2000, 2003, Ndimande 2009). Through the neoliberal approach the World Bank's policies have repeatedly forced poor countries to introduce structural adjustment programs, which cuts on social funding and welfare, enhancing social inequality. This in turn means that the policies enforced on developing countries through loan negotiations with the World Bank are framed as enhancing participatory democracy and empowering basic human rights for children (Ndimande 2009, 132). Thus, they are also seen within my analyses as framing people as socially powerless.

Many countries of Sub-Saharan Africa, which have claimed independence from colonial settlements, are seeking independent development within areas such as education, which through initiatives such as “Education for All” have made them increasingly dependent on the Occidental and Western organisations such as the World Bank giving aid to their education sector for schooling materials such as textbooks and even recurrent expenditures (Bloch and Swadener 2009, 10). Within this aid follows the Western culture, curricula and language and the idea of education as primarily being schooling based on Occidental knowledge. This creates a recolonisation channelled through Western donors to the benefit of the global market (see Brock-Utne 2000, Ndimande 2009). Even though a huge variety and acknowledgement of hybrid cultures, global notions of schooling, local contingent practices and even resistance of African scholars and communities is observed (see Ndimande 2009), there is still some truth to the notion of Western culture and recolonisation happening within the education system, which also are presented in my analyses of the World Bank’s policy documents.

Here it becomes important to distinguish between the epistemic location and the social location. Being socially located on the oppressed side of power relations does not mean automatically that the person is epistemically thinking from a subaltern epistemic location. The success of the modern/colonial world system consists in making subjects, socially located on the oppressed side of the colonial difference, think epistemically like the ones in the dominant positions (Grosfoguel 2009, 14). This in turn makes the expansion of Occidental education policies founded within the modern/colonial world system to developing countries very powerful.

When the World Bank has the most powerful position within loan negotiations with developing countries, the hegemonic culture going behind its policies becomes of great interest and will affect the developing countries to a large extent whether it being appreciated by the children, families and developing country in question or not. Accepting the discourses by implementing the education policies from the World Bank positions the developing countries within the discourses, where they come to understand themselves through that conceptual map. As explained by Grosfoguel (2009) even though the colonial administrations have been (almost) eradicated from the developing countries and the majority of the periphery is politically organised into independent states:

²¹ Examples include Ball, Bowe & Gewirtz 1994; McChesney 1999; Chomsky 1999; Apple 2001; Monbiot 2004

(N)on-European people are still living under crude European/Euro-American exploitation and domination. The old colonial stratifications of European versus non-Europeans remain in place and are entangled with 'the international division of labor' and accumulation of capital on a world-scale (Grosfoguel 2009, 22).

This global coloniality is imposed through organisations such as the World Bank. Because of this, when following the World Bank position, the constructed ideologies of national identity, national development and national sovereignty is merely an illusion of independence, development and progress (Grosfoguel 2009, 22-23).

The generalising models of education, seen within the World Bank's policy, assume the developing countries could follow a linear progression with the correct mix of technical fixes working for all countries and transfer them into the global market and virtue of liberal capitalism, good governance and civic democracy (Kamat 2009, 41). However, a historical analysis of global capitalism shows that each country has its own trajectory of development and therefore the same reforms and inputs will produce differential and uneven outcomes in each context (Ibid.) There is no such thing as a one size fits all, and no two children are in need of the exact same knowledge to create a prosperous future for themselves founded in their individual talents and interests. The idea of having every child coming out of an education system with the exact same indoctrinated and measurable knowledge is therefore not for the benefit of the individual child, but primarily for the benefit of a global capitalist economy.

5.3. Sustainable development for developing countries

The consequences of the Occidental perspective on sustainable development have been particularly severer for rural populations²² (Banerjee 2003). These areas as well as the farmers and indigenous people living there, were classified as in need to develop because of a "subsistence" economy for them to reach "acceptable" standards for living (Ibid., 149). This transformed the idea of natural resources into production for profitable cash crops, rather than the traditional crops people used to grow, as well as influences the sociocultural development for the indigenous peoples and farmers in different parts of the world.

As an example, it can be mentioned that Bhutan had different ethnic groups living (more or less) peaceful together for hundreds of years. However, over the last few decades pressures of modernisation have resulted in the widespread destruction of decentralised livelihoods and communities. Development here led to unemployment, once unknown, and an increasing competition between individuals and groups for jobs as well as a competition for the best places in schools for children (Norberg-Hodge 1999, 8). This led to tensions between Buddhists and Bhutanese Hindus of Nepalese origin with an eruption of violence and even a type of "ethnic cleansing" seen in the present-day Bhutan (Ibid.).

Another contemporary example of this kind of development is seen among the people of Ladakh in the trans-Himalayan region of Kashmir. Back in the 1970ies Ladakhis were self-supporting farmers living in small, scattered settlements in the high desert (Ibid., 5). Most Ladakhis only

²² e.g. see Adam 1990, Escobar 1995, Esteva 1992; Mies & Shiva 1993

worked for four months a year and had a high standard of living with art, architecture and jewellery. When asked by anthropologists going to the area about the poor, the locals explained how they did not have any poor people in their area. Money was not a part of their society as seen in the West. Labour was needed and given as part of an intricate and long-established web of human relationships (Ibid.). Today, Ladakh is being integrated into the Indian and global economy. A vast number of tourists and visitors as well as the establishment of a school system has now influenced the local cultures in such a way that the Ladakhis no longer are able to support themselves. The farmers have started to grow cash crops, and food is now being imported from the Indian plains (Ibid., 6). The traditional methods of self-reliance have been replaced with “modern” methods, local materials are left unused, while the request for modern materials such as concrete, steel and plastic has skyrocketed (Ibid.).

The idea that proper education will eradicate poverty where people previously would have been considered poor, is therefore not the sole truth to this matter. Especially after seeing the development in areas such as Ladakh, where the gap between rich and poor has increased, as well as the inhabitants going from a feeling of not having any poor people in their area into now, when asked by anthropologist, feeling poor even though their financial standard of living is increasing (Ibid.). So, in the same time as the World Bank is having the overarching goal of eradicating poverty, the development seen in these areas has been introducing poverty into these societies through Western culture and ideas of proper sustainable development.

By having everyone rely on the same resources within a global economy, it also makes everyone depended on the same resources created efficiently for global corporations as well as creating an artificial scarcity for consumers, which heightens competitive pressures (Norberg-Hodge 1999, 6-7). As phrased by Helena Norberg-Hodge:

The world, we are told, is being brought together by virtue of the fact that everyone will soon be able to indulge their innate human desire for a Westernised, urbanised, consumer lifestyle. West is best, and joining the bandwagon brings closer a harmonious union of peaceable, rational, democratic consumers “like us” (Ibid., 1).

Within the pursuit for sustainable development there is little recognition seen concerning development programs risking poverty and social problems as a result. What has been observed in places like Ladakh²³ is a separation of the world into people who participate in the global economy and others whose basic conditions of life have been destroyed (Beck 2000, Shiva 1993, Banerjee 2003).

It has not solely been the establishment of schools in alignment with the World Bank’s policies, which has created this development. The establishment of Western knowledge based school systems in these areas is only a part of the ‘development’ together with other initiatives such as modern media, economic investments and tourism among others.

The political tool, that sustainable development has been turned into, is being used in various ways against particularly indigenous communities in the world. There are resistance movements,

²³ See Eyong 2007 for similar examples in Central Africa, Weerasekara et. al. 2018 for examples in Sri Lanka and Bussman 2013 for examples in Peru among many other articles

which are happening in order to protect people's land and rights²⁴. Thus, the trojan horse into breaking these communities, social movements and resilience has throughout colonial history been Occidental education. Within these communities a huge number of young people are being educated resulting in them being disconnected to the land, their culture and often becoming unemployed (Black 2010). So instead of seeing modern education founded within the modern/colonial world system as a solution, I see it as a real problem today in relation to environmental protection and the prospects for the youth in developing countries.

Through this development and expansion, the modern/colonial world system's economic realm has begun to define social and cultural aspects for the populations of developing countries. The idea of proper sustainable development depends on Occidental knowledge systems, while neglecting and marginalising non-Western forms of knowledge. Coloniality is still being reproduced and preserve the idea of a global hegemony through Occidental genealogy of history.

5.4. The effect of Occidental education on the environment

When having a market-oriented approach to education development, one of the main focuses becomes foreign investment and profitable environment for transnational corporations in order to stimulate economic development, thus assisting in debt repayment and increasing the overall well-being for domestic populations. The original goal, going behind education systems such as the Prussian, was to create a controllable and manageable workforce (Ghatto 2003, 127-128). So, when spreading the same educational structure to developing countries through education policies with the agenda of enabling the youth to enter the global workforce, the same agenda repeats itself, just in a modern context. As explained by Chatterjee²⁵ (2013, 74) one can see a disappearance of a peasantry in capitalist Western countries and a continued reproduction of a peasantry under the rule of capital in the developing countries. This in turn also highlights, as stated by Chibber (2013, 112), that the same management of the peasantry in the studies of capitalist labour processes developed in the West shows that this domination has long persisted even in the 'advanced' capitalist economies. This in turn makes critical Western based theories (such as Marxist theories) towards the establishment of a capitalist economy through the Industrial revolution and Enlightenment of Intelligence very important too together with subaltern theories and increases the importance of border thinking within my theoretical framework.

The utilisation of nature (Escobar 2007) gets established through a normalisation of an anthropocentric worldview and a global capitalist society. What is being taught within the capitalist modern/colonial perspective of nature, labour and natural resources are an anthropocentric worldview; "to study the world was to learn to dominate" (Orange 2017). Here the combination of the power coming with the dominating discourses as well as the knowledge

²⁴ such as the Zapatista movement in Mexico, Waorani in Ecuador, Defenders of the Land in Canada as well as other local movements for life, land and sovereignty in countries such as Hawaii, French Polynesia, the Pacific Islands among others

²⁵ Partha Chatterjee is an Indian political scientist and anthropologist. He is an honorary professor at the center for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta.

that is bound up with it merge together in order to control and regulate peoples' and countries' behaviour.

Through the concept of foreign investment dependence and environmental load displacement, an increased level of foreign investment within developing countries is often linked to environmental harms and subsequent cost to human well-being (Jorgenson 2016). When having an anthropocentric perspective on nature, the importance of nature can get undermined (Escobar 2007, 197). In order to attract foreign investment and transnational enterprises, several developing countries have implemented relaxed labour laws, education policies in line with the World Bank and tax reductions as well as exceptions to environmental regulations originally design to protect the natural environment from activities in different sectors of the economy²⁶ (Jorgenson 2016, 341). Nature then appears to be something to be elevated out of and used in order to enter the global economy. This dominating discourse is bound up with institutional practices, ways of organising, regulating and administering social life that come with for example the political education areas of institutions.

The education of a massive workforce within the capitalist modern/colonial world system is spreading from the developed countries to the developing countries, making it necessary with a uniform education system to educate the masses. The masses in the developing countries need to be educated in a very particular way in line with the education seen developed over the last 200 years in the developed countries in order to maintain the hierarchical order seen behind the environmental load displacement. Occidental development must be upheld and followed by the developing countries unilaterally. Here modernity intertwines with coloniality by subalternization of other local histories and environment in order to maintain the lifestyle and knowledge production seen within the modern/colonial world system. This also draws on a coloniality of power (Escobar 2004) as a global hegemonic model of power moving in alignment with the needs of capital and to the benefit of the Occidental. It is used as a strategic tool for control and domination constituting the modern/colonial world system. This makes the expansion of the World Bank's education policy on a global scale an important factor when looking at environmental protection and climate change.

A large proportion of the manufacturing sector's foreign direct investment in developing countries finance highly polluting and environmentally unfriendly manufacturing processes and facilities, much of which has been outsourced from developed countries²⁷. This issue is in many ways the core of the problems seen within the modern/colonial world system. Through the power of coloniality, foreign investment is spreading to developing countries within environmentally disruptive sectors in order to uphold the hierarchical order needed to maintain the modern lifestyle seen in developed countries.

This also goes in line with the concept of 'ecologically unequal exchange' (Hornborg 2012, 2014, Jorgenson 2006) referring to the environmentally damaging withdrawal of energy and other natural resource assets and the externalisation of environmentally damaging production and disposal activities within developing countries (Jorgenson 2016, 335). There is an unequal material exchange and consequent ecological interdependence within the world economy tied to disparities in socio-economic development and power relations. Comparative international

²⁶ For example of this see McMichael 2008

²⁷ For examples of this see Grimes & Kentor 2003, Jorgenson 2009, 2016a; Jorgenson, Dick and Mahutga 2007

research also indicates that within developing countries, manufacturing sector Foreign Direct Investment positively affects growth in carbon dioxide emissions and other greenhouse gasses as well as organic water pollution²⁸ (Ibid.). The developing countries are through this seen as destroying or exporting their natural resources in order to meet the needs of the developed countries or to meet debt-servicing needs arising from the measures dictated by the World Bank (Banerjee 2003, 157).

We need to look at organisations such as the World Bank's influence on the global education system, because of how consumer habits, environmental exploitation and capitalist consumption is founded within the neoliberal policies developed within a modern/colonial world system. By implementing Occidental schooling in developing countries founded in the same modern/colonial world system, the same anthropocentric idea of natural resources and capitalist consumption is founded within these education systems, which could affect the children's relationship with their local environment and nurture nature-destructive habits. This in turn means the same neoliberal market-based approach to consumption and lifestyle, as seen in the developed countries today, could through the discussed education policies be spreading to developing countries. This is also what has been seen over the last decades in places such as Ladakh. It shifts people from being self-reliant in local communities in developing countries into "global citizens" reliant on the money system and modern global economy. It keeps the children away from their local environment and inside schools. The increased lack of contact and everyday closeness with natural surroundings separates people, not only physically but also mentally, from nature and the feeling of connectedness with nature (Schroeder 2002). The same has happened in Western countries as highlighted in studies such as Vining et al. (2008). The time spend inside the classrooms, instead of in natural environments, therefore contributes to the alienation of nature.

Going to a Occidental knowledge based school could reduce the pupils connectedness to nature, as well as expose them to capitalist consumption and anthropocentrism through the teachings in line with the World Bank's policies. When having an agenda of educating every single child in the world in alignment with the modern/colonial world system, which in turn propagate an anthropocentric approach to nature, as seen within the historical development of the Western education system, the pupils perception of their environment and nature-destructive habits get influenced too.

6. Conclusion

My aim is to clarify how the colonial past is being reproduced within the Western knowledge based education system and how this system is used within the agenda of sustainable development in developing countries. This has been done by analysing education policy documents from the World Bank, the biggest investor within education development. My first research question is:

1. How are the official documents from the World Bank on global education development expanding a modern/colonial world system?

²⁸ For examples of this see e.g. Grimes and Kentor 2003; Jorgenson 2007, 2009, 2016a; Dick and Jorgenson 2010

Throughout the official education policy documents from the World Bank, the moral obligation of having to help the developing countries into the establishment of a proper education systems is highlighted in order to help them enter the global economy. It is the “burden” of the World Bank to elevate the developing countries out of their “low-learning trap” and into proper education, which is founded in a colonial hierarchical perspective within the modern/colonial world system of the knowledge production seen between the developed and developing countries,. The World Bank is here perceiving itself as a “knowledge bank” founding its own legitimacy in its own knowledge production, which is the one true knowledge of the world. Through this, the modern/colonial world system is being portrayed within the documents as a hegemonic culture, where dominant discourses are used in order to uphold consent from the developing countries. The main problem with such an education system is its ability to hold the developing countries in the hierarchical order of coloniality. The developing countries will never truly be liberated from the power structure seen within the modern/colonial world system if their education systems rely solely on the knowledge produced by the Occidental. By incorporating the education policies from the World Bank into local policies, the developing countries are giving their consent to their own subalternation in the modern/colonial world system. This is done through pressure within loan negotiations with the World Bank, reflecting the power relations between them.

The notion that calculated and preselected knowledge need to be taught within school according to these education policy documents has its main focus on measurable literacy and numeracy, which in turn is portraying the banking concept of education, where a specific, identical and limited understanding of the world is given to the pupils. This attempt to control a very narrow understanding of knowledge has been seen through colonial history and is therefore reproducing the modern/colonial world system. In today's society, you do not necessarily see children being portrayed as “savage” in need of some cultivation, however, the education policies from the World Bank, build on the Western education system developed over the last 200 years, still embody the notion that without control, standardisation, and enforcement within the environment of a school, children will not receive the proper education to create a life for themselves within the capitalist society of today. In relation to this critique, the modern/colonial world system can be perceived as a hegemonic culture, which controls the production of knowledge and education, as well as the “truth” about sustainable development and environmental engagement.

The education policies seen in the documents are influenced by a coloniality of reason, where the knowledge production in the modern/colonial world system is seen as more important than local knowledge in the developing countries, which is often not seen as knowledge at all. The developing countries are lacking behind without the proper knowledge to move forward. They are framed as in desperate need of help from the Occidental. However, this assistance is depriving local communities and countries of their resources and rights and can be associated with the colonial history seen within the modern/colonial world system. The framing of the so-called developing countries as “helpless”, especially within international negotiations and policy documents, are used in order to pacify them as agents in such a way that international actions need to be taken.

Furthermore, a lack of attention and recognition of local and traditional/indigenous knowledge production as educational is observed. When you do not engage with such knowledge and environmental variables, but solely focus on literacy and numeracy originated from Occidental institutions, the population, and especially the children, seen in the developing countries become passive players in the management of a “correct” education system, where the current and ongoing coloniality of reason takes over. This understanding is built on the Enlightenment of Intelligence founded in a historical context of the emergence of the Occidental horizon of thought now known as modern civilisation. Within this historical context, a general theory of evolution, going from nature to civilised is seen, thus it has changed in order to have children go from “uneducated” to “educated”, where every child is seen to come out of the education system with the exact same indoctrinated intellect and skills needed to adapt children to the industrial capitalist order.

I will now move on to my second research question:

1. In what ways are such an expansion of the system affecting developing countries in relation to sustainable development?

An attempt to make sustainable development efficient through education policies within loan negotiations with developing countries, without questioning the whole idea of sustainable development or the ever-growing consumer society embedded within the industrial capitalist system, is observed. Natural resources and human capital are seen as resources for the global neoliberal capitalist economy, which is the main driver behind the need for a universal education of the youth in developing countries. The goal is to make profitable workers for the global economy.

The education system is not the sole tool used within sustainable development. Thus, it is the most effective in order to change the epistemic perspectives of the youth in the developing countries for proper development in alignment with the neoliberal capitalist modern/colonial world system to occur.

Having the agenda of universal policies on how every child on earth should spend its childhood is in itself embedded in a history of exclusion of alternative cultural perspectives and reasonings. Local knowledge gets lesser known by the youth, which also means that subaltern ontologies and epistemologies as well as knowledge on how to live sustainably within the local environmental is compromised for children to have a measurable and universal education. The idea of a universal “Learning for All” approach could even increase the difficulties encountered by children in relation to racial, social, physical and cultural structures. The specifically designed Occidental education system, focusing on outcomes and measurements, have pupils think epistemically like the dominating positions seen within the modern/colonial world system. Furthermore, the policies seen from the World Bank surrounding sustainable development have also repeatedly forced developing countries to cut in social funding and welfare, enhancing social inequality.

Being rural populations categorised as subsistence economies by the World Bank has in several places resulted in a widened gap between rich and poor and unemployment. The same request for specific resources has also increased, making these populations depended on the global economy instead of being self-sufficient. This in turn means that proper sustainable development for the World Bank means a move towards dependency on Occidental knowledge and investments.

Through this, modernity becomes intertwined with coloniality by subalternization of the local histories and environment in order to maintain and reproduce the knowledge construction seen within the modern/colonial world system.

The foreign investment dependencies are often linked to environmental harms, where the importance of nature get undermined and the focus through a neoliberal approach results in the best possible conditions for Occidental investors. The focus has shifted from having an education system to the benefit of the youth and into having the education system being used as a tool in order to meet the needs of giant global corporations.

Besides implementing education policies in line with the World Bank, several developing countries have implemented relaxed labour laws and tax reductions as well as exceptions to environmental regulations in order to attract foreign investment and transnational enterprises. Here, an ecologically unequal exchange is seen within the agenda of sustainable development, which in turn drains developing countries of energy and natural resources in order to meet the needs of the Occidental. Through the agenda of sustainable development, the establishment of a massive workforce in the developing countries is needed in order to sustain the current living standard in the Western countries. Having this drain of resources, at the same time as seeing an epistemic shift in knowledge production over to the Occidental through education policies, can have big consequences for the developing countries, such as destruction and exploitation of natural resources in order to meet debt-servicing needs dictated by the World Bank.

The World Bank's position within its policy documents appear inclusive, valuing education for itself and in the interest of developing countries at first glances. Thus, as demonstrated in this thesis, the articulations portray the true implications of the World Bank's strategy oriented towards maintaining the present-day unequal and exploitative world economy.

Today the Western education system reflected in these documents is responsible for creating one hegemonic culture across the world founded in the modern/colonial world system. It is essentially the same curriculums being thought and it is training people for jobs in an urban consumer culture. The diversity of cultures as well as the diversity of unique individuals is being undermined. In a modern capitalist economy, where market is hegemonic, education becomes an extension of the market economy and acquire value only as a marketable commodity, which in turn neglects rural and indigenous knowledge and exploits local environments.

For future work, it would be interesting to analyse alternative approaches to education in order to break with the modern/colonial world system. Things haven't always been dominated by the Occidental. Alternatives are possible, even though at any particular period dominant discourses tend to create a hegemonic picture and dictate the kind of way we think and behave. The idea here is to decolonise the political-economy paradigms within the dominant discourses on education development to propose an alternative decolonial conceptualisation of knowledge production. Here, the intercultural learning and pursuit for knowledge is used in order to contribute to the construction of a world in which many realities can fit into. Furthermore, when having a neoliberal market driven approach as hegemonic within the education system, what we need to be looking at is rethinking schooling and education within the context of rethinking the economy and preserving environmental diversity.

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