

Philanthropy and the changing topology of global education: The economization of the moral

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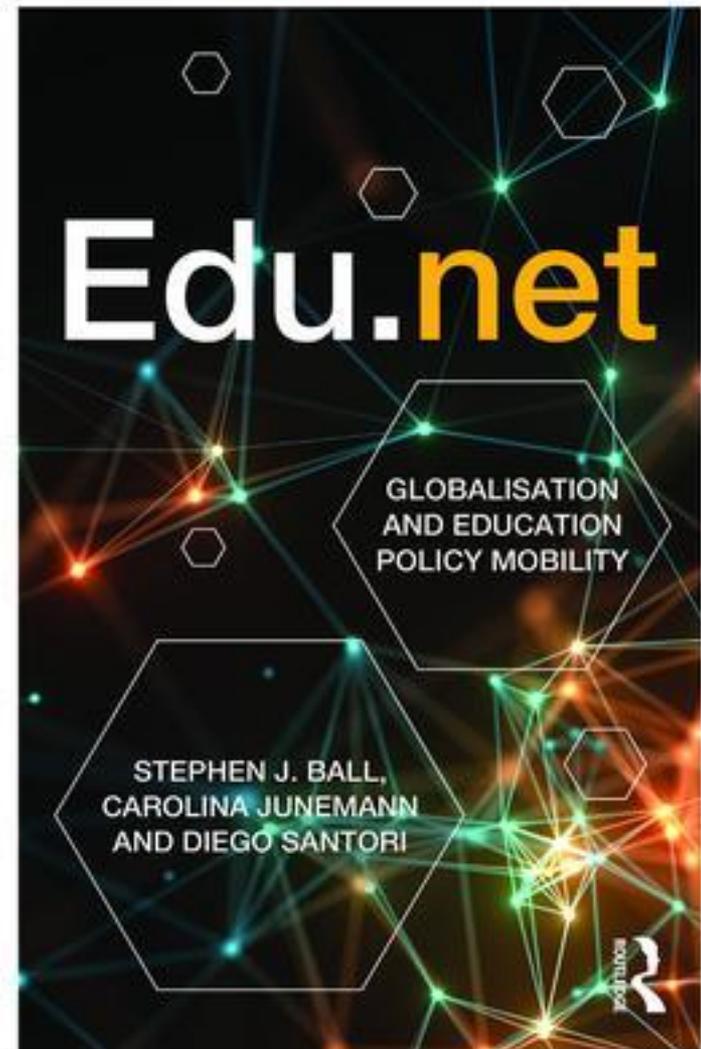
I come to research educational philanthropy with a set of both specific and broad questions:

- About educational governance and democracy in relation to the changing forms and modalities of the state.
- About the policy process and the participation of new voices in policy work – the whos, wheres and hows of policy
- About the relationship of philanthropy to broader, global process of education reform and a global agenda of reform

A political economy of philanthropy

- Those concerns frame my analysis and discussion and an interest in what might be called the ‘political economy’ of philanthropy.
- I am interested in ‘big’ philanthropy, and the ‘entanglements’ (and constitution) of philanthropy and business, of reform and profit, of personal visions and education policy.
- Illustrate these issues and concerns via work on MSDF and ‘impact investing’ (Philanthropy 3.0) with a focus on India.
- I worry about neatness and typologies (doubles)

- Ball, S. J. (2007) *Education Plc: Private Sector participation in Public Sector Education*. London, Routledge.
- Ball, S. J. and C. Junemann (2012) *Networks, New governance and Education*. Bristol, Policy Press.
- Ball, S. J. (2012) *Global Education Inc.: new policy networks and the neoliberal imaginary*. London, Routledge.
- Ball, S. J., Junemann, C. and Santori, D. (2017) *Edu.NET: globalisation, education and policy mobility*. London, Routledge.



- Network ethnography
- Not
- Social network analysis

Why is philanthropy important to education?

- New voices and visions
- New places
- New methods and languages, sensibilities and values
- A new kind of state and form of governance (heterarchy)

Philanthropy moves

- US
- England
- India

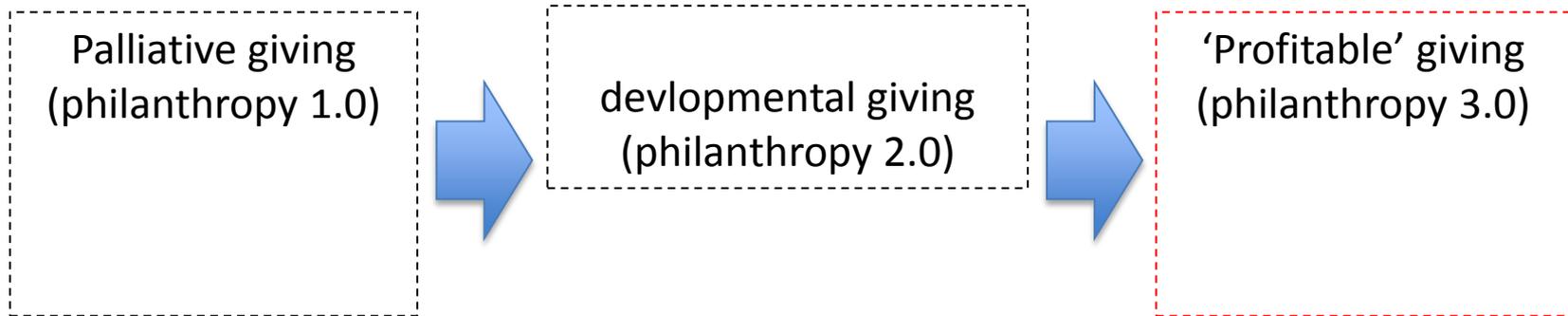
- Draw on ongoing
- research on MSDF



Philanthropy has changed

'Philanthrocapitalism' (Edwards, 2008): merging of venture philanthropy with social enterprise:

- new 'economic rationalization of giving' (Saltman, 2010)
- 'do more with less' / 'do good and have their profit, too'
- '*correcting for*' to '*connecting to the market*' (Brooks et al., 2009)



Ted Turner, founder of CNN, claims 'certain areas of making the world better do lend themselves very comfortably to for-profit operations.'

Bill Gates

- Capitalism encourages self-interest ... **creative capitalism** adds interest in caring for others ... especially the poorest others
- His proposal is that companies who engage in serving the poor should be given public recognition as their reward for these investments
- He encourages companies to compete with each other to do the most good (in addition to making profits) and governments should create market incentives for this behavior

(philanthropy 3.0).

- New philanthropy is bringing new players directly into the field of social and education policy, repopulating and reworking existing policy networks (and excluding ‘others’).
- On the one hand, corporate and family foundations and philanthropic individuals are beginning to ‘assume socio-moral duties that were heretofore assigned to civil society organizations, governmental entities and state agencies’ (Shamir 2008).
- On the other, these new philanthropists see the possibility of a relationship between profit and the solution of entrenched social problems. That is, it is possible to ‘do good and have their profit, too’.
- “Investors, entrepreneurs and businesses can create wealth for themselves by providing value to the masses” (Vinod Khosla)

Ambitious philanthropy/“world making”

- business values and method worked for them, they should work for the public sector and for philanthropy itself (Ken Saltman)
- Reckhow (2013) “bigger, bolder philanthropy”
- “Newly wealthy individuals have taken charge of giving away their own money, and they are actively seeking to change public policy” (Reckhow p. 29).

Strategic (political) philanthropy

MSDF - 'systematically seeks to transform the education system in the cities and countries of operation' (website).

"Philanthropists Eli and Edythe Broad started the Eli and Edythe Broad Foundation to advance **entrepreneurship for the public good** in education, science and the arts. The Broad Foundation invests in the people, programs and institutions that are improving the human mind, body and spirit".

'antagonistic philanthropy'

Lego transforms

- The LEGO Foundation seeks to **transform** attitudes and behaviours about learning and play across society. The Foundation works with parents, carers, schools systems, institutions and governments, with a focus on children aged 0-12, and a special emphasis on early childhood where children develop most rapidly, both physically and mentally.
- The LEGO Foundation's model leverages three approaches
 - - Identify and support programmes as examples of play that works
 - - Build and share evidence to explain the value of play
 - - Communicate to gain buy-in about how children best learn for life

Making change happen

- “The Boardroom progressives have achieved significant educational policy change in New York City and Los Angeles. Major policy change has also occurred in several other districts, such as Chicago, New Orleans, Oakland and Washington DC. These districts house 100s of new schools – often operated by private organisations – and a range of market-based and accountability reform efforts, such as public school choice, charter schools and teacher merit pay” (Follow the Money (2013) Sarah Reckhow (p. 140))

Whose agenda?

- Michael Petrelli, from the Thomas B. Fordham Institute, 'it is not unfair to say that the Gates Foundation's agenda has become the country's agenda in education'.
- What is happening here is not just that givers 'vote with their dollars' (Saltman), but the direct, and Saltman argues 'disproportionate' (p. 1), intervention of philanthropic action into field of education policy.

Michael and Susan make an impact

We are committed to improving student performance and increasing access to quality education so that children and adolescents around the globe have improved opportunities for success.





Michael & Susan Dell FOUNDATION

- The Michael & Susan Dell Foundation refers to itself as a **catalytic funder**, and provides early stage funding to pioneer new ideas and approaches that are scalable.
- MSDF's work gradually expanded both nationally and globally. Headquartered in Texas (USA), and with offices in New Delhi (India) and Cape Town (South Africa), MSDF partners with governments, established and connected I/NGOs, entrepreneurs, UN bodies, global management consultancy firms, among others, and, in doing so, in its own words, it **'systematically seeks to transform the education system in the cities and countries of operation'** (website).
- MSDF is an active player in a global education policy network involving multiple and multi-faceted relationships with other policy actors, like ARK, BMGF, Omidyar Network, Central Square Foundation, McKinsey, Pearson, Centre for Public Impact (Boston Consulting Group) etc.

- MSDF is committed to ‘*a hands-on approach, close relationships with partner organizations, and data-driven mindset*’ and the foundation is ‘*driven by pragmatism, which means that every investment decision is based on sound, business-minded factors, hard data and realities on the ground*’.
- <https://www.msdf.org/about/foundation-team/>, accessed 13/05/16
- MSDF operate both to ‘fill in’ the space created by educational reform arrangements with pedagogical/technological innovations like *blended learning* – and at the same time it produces new opportunities, in terms of demand, for business.

Haryana state (LEP)

- **Mrs. Surina Rajan, Principal Secretary, Department of School Education, Government of Haryana, and Mr. Debasish Mitter, Country Director, India of the Michael & Susan Dell Foundation**, today announced a partnership to support Haryana's landmark state-wide school Quality Improvement Programme (QIP). By signing a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU), both parties affirmed their commitment to make Haryana a leading State in quality education for its students. The QIP will impact 1.6 million children in grades 1 to 8 of approximately 12,000 government primary and middle schools across Haryana.
- The QIP was announced earlier this year by the Hon'ble Chief Minister of Haryana, as part of the Mukhya Mantri Siksha Diksha Yojna (MMSDY). **The programme is being closely monitored by Smt. Surina Rajan, Principal Secretary, Department of School Education, Government of Haryana and the district officials responsible for providing education services for over 15,000 schools and 80,000 teachers serving 2.7 million children in the state of Haryana.**
- **Haryana Department of School Education** has launched a massive Learning Enhancement Programme (LEP) in about 3,200 primary schools under its statewide Quality Improvement Program (QIP) part funded by Michael & Susan Dell Foundation (MSDF). MSDF has committed US\$ 2.7 million over three years to **Boston Consulting Group (BCG)** to provide QIP management support to Haryana. In June 2014, the state signed an MoU with MSDF, with both parties committing to make Haryana a leading state in quality education. QIP's goals are to bring 80 percent Grade I-V and V-VIII students to respective grade-level competencies in five-seven years, and put Haryana among the top five in ASER, NAS and relevant third-party learning outcome surveys.

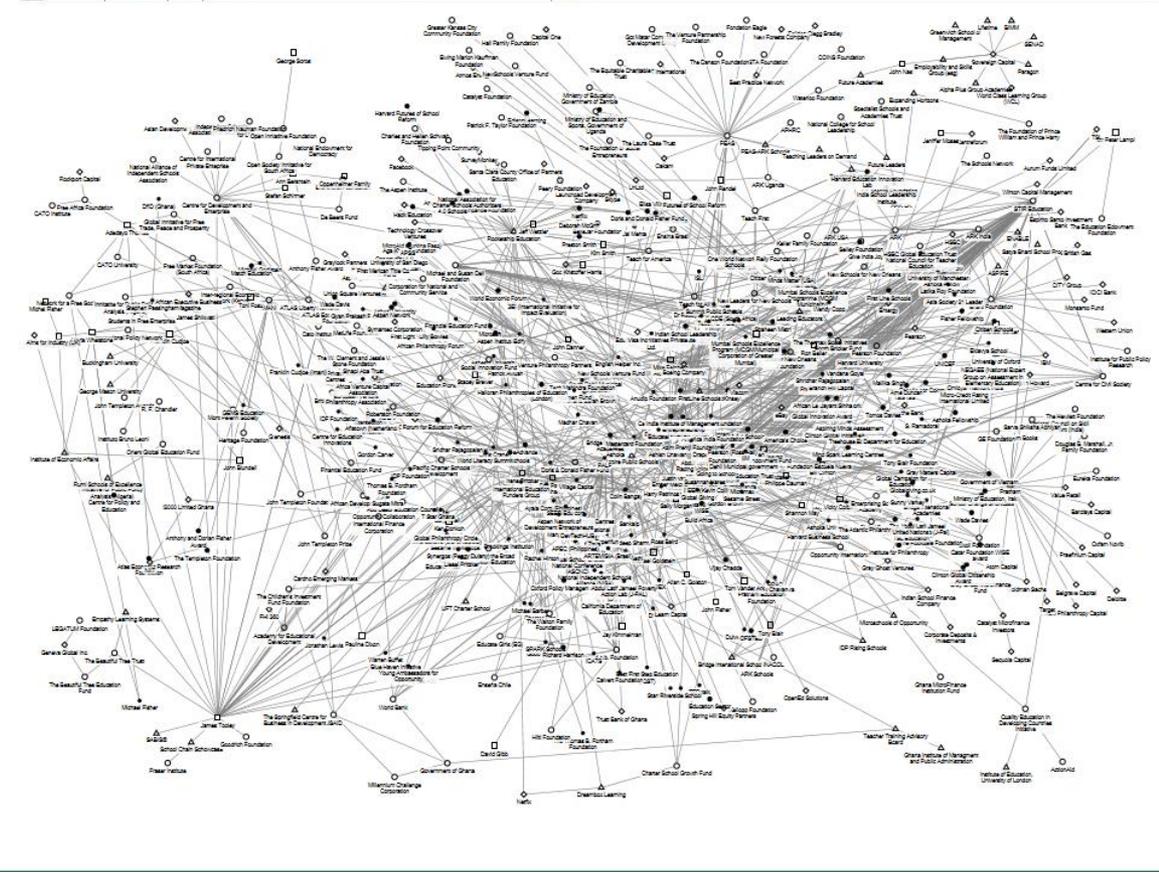
Database and network diagrams

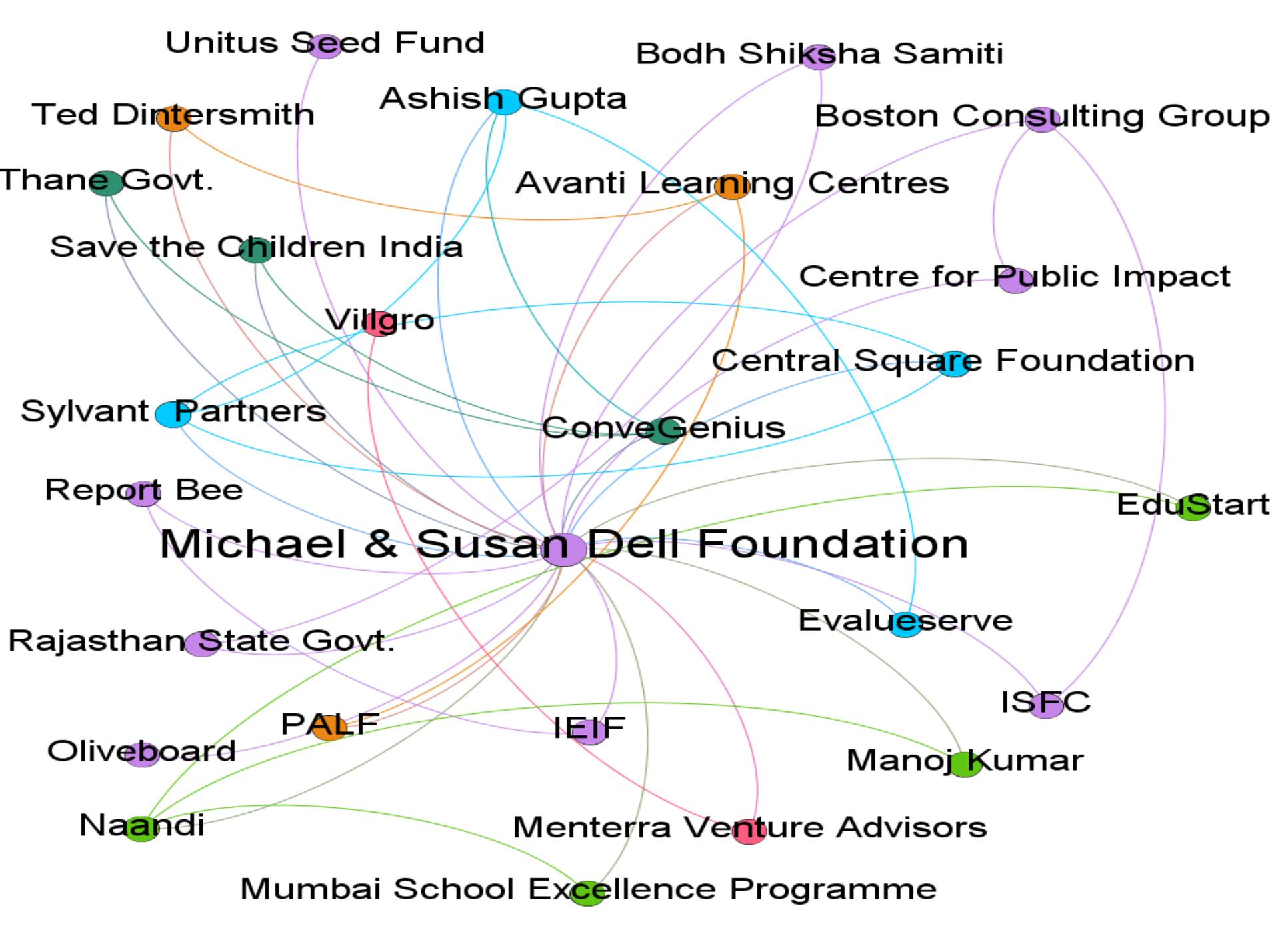
Vertex 1	Vertex 2	
979	Vicky Colbert	Qatar Foundation WISE award
980	Vicky Colbert	Ashoka Fellowship
981	Vijay Chadda	WISE
982	Village Capital	Sankalp
983	Village Capital	Calvert Foundation
984	Village Capital	Lilly Bowles
985	Village Capital	Halloran Philanthropies
986	Village Capital	Centre for Innovation and Entrepreneurship
987	Visa Inc	Teach for All
988	Wade Davis	Learn Capital
989	Waterloo Foundation	PEAS
990	Wendy Copp	Teach for India
991	Wendy Copp	Teach for America
992	Western Union	Bharti Foundation
993	Winton Capital Management	ARK
994	WISE	STIR Education
995	WISE	John Rendel
996	WISE	PEAS
997	WISE	Escuela Nueva
998	WISE	Vicky Colbert
999	WISE	PALF
1000	WISE	Omidyar Network
1001	WISE	Shannon May
1002	WISE	Abdul Latif Jameel Poverty Action Lab (J-PAL)
1003	WISE	Pratham Education Foundation
1004	WISE	BRAC
1005	WISE	Madhav Chavan
1006	WISE	ARK
1007	WISE	Sharath Jeevan
1008	World Bank	Harry Patrinos
1009	World Bank	International Finance Corporation
1010	World Bank	Government of Ghana
1011	World Bank	Bharti Foundation
1012	World Literacy Summit	Pearson
1013	World Literacy Summit	Sir Michael Barber
1014	Prachi Windlass	Michael and Susan Dell Foundation
1015	Michael and Susan Dell Foundation	Naandi Foundation
1016	Michael and Susan Dell Foundation	Gayana Shala
1017	Michael and Susan Dell Foundation	PALF
1018	Michael and Susan Dell Foundation	Boston Consulting
1019	Michael and Susan Dell Foundation	Akanksha Foundation
1020	Michael and Susan Dell Foundation	Central Square Foundation
1021	Michael and Susan Dell Foundation	McKinsey
1022	Michael and Susan Dell Foundation	ARK India

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Impact investing

- Social impact investments in India attracted \$500 million in 2015 and are expected to increase to \$1 billion (about Rs 6,700 crore) by 2020, according to the Impact Investors Council (IIC). The term refers to investing with the implicit intention of generating positive social impact, along with a return on capital.
- Impact Investors invest in businesses and social enterprises, which work to create social and environmental change. Such investment has been growing at a compounded annual rate of of 24 per cent since 2007.
- A little over 50 impact investment funds have put in a cumulative \$2.5 billion in 350-plus social enterprises, across a range of sectors, (IIC chief executive officer Amit Bhatia).
- Excluding infrastructure, the \$2.5 billion cumulative core investments are expected to grow to \$6.5 billion by 2020.

Global and Local actors/social problem and investment opportunity

- “India is at a unique point in human history with an extraordinary size & proportion of youth,”
- “We are seeking the best of entrepreneurial energy & commitment to participate in this opportunity.
- (Anand Sudarshan, Founder & Director at Sylvant Advisors).

UNITUS SEED FUND

- UNITUS (managed from Seattle and Bangalore) is funded by a group of partners, mainly “technology veterans”, including institutional investors like ***Michael & Susan Dell Foundation, Deshpande Foundation, Wadhvani Foundation, Sorenson Impact Foundation and individual investors, including Microsoft founder Bill Gates, Silicon Valley investor Vinod Khosla (Sun Systems) and Amazon's senior executive Diego Piacentini.***
- These are, ‘high net worth individuals’ (part of what Diane Ravitch calls *The Billionaires Boys Club*).
- UNITUS funds “early stage start ups focused on low-income customers” in areas of activity that do not attract “grand slam investments”, with risk capital, growth funds, bootstrapping and mezzanine financing.



Unitus seed Fund



- “We’re incredibly excited about the growth and profitability we’re seeing in for-profit education startups that are serving the masses in India today,” said Will Poole, managing partner at Unitus Seed Fund. “However, despite the phenomenal consumer demand, not enough new entrepreneurs are capitalizing on this Rs. 6 lakh crore (USD \$100 billion) market opportunity. To trigger momentum, we are partnering with some of India’s best incubators to identify, support and develop new companies in this rapidly growing market.”





- Currently, India's K-12 education system has over 253 million students enrolled in it. Traditionally, this market is largely served by the Government Public Schools. However, **dismal learning outcomes over a continued period of time in these schools has led to a massive shift towards Affordable Private Schools**; 300,000 APS' across India account for 40 per cent of the total enrolment figures.
- If the private education sector grows as per the predicted forecast of 4 percent, India will witness an additional 130,000 private schools by 2022, increasing the total enrolment to 55-60 percent. Despite the surge in numbers, private schools are equally struggling to improve their learning outcomes. The reasons for this are many – poorly trained teachers, ineffective curriculum delivery, rote learning and weak infrastructure among others. A large opportunity for differentiated classroom and home learning experiences exists that can offer well-executed, scalable and impactful solutions which can effectively overcome the aforementioned barriers.

StartEdu

- Among many local partnerships UNITUS collaborates with an Indian management consultancy **Sylvant Advisors** to run StartEdu - StartEdu is a nationwide programme to identify, incubate and invest in early-stage education and edtech startups. Launched in December 2014, the initiative has had three editions with participation from over 250 Indian companies.
- Sylvant “works with entrepreneurs and early stage companies to accelerate their growth. Beginning with critical investment or fund raising effort, drafting business strategies, providing operational support and being a part of an entire growth lifecycle are the key levers to accelerate the growth of these entrepreneurial ventures” (website).
- Sylvant is based in Bangalore and was co-founded by Anand Sudarshan (former CEO of **Manipal Global Education**), Madan Padaki (former CEO **MeritTrac**, co-founder **Head Held High Services**) and PV Boccasam (serial entrepreneur, General Partner at **Novak Biddle Venture Partners**, US).
- Sylvant works with education entrepreneurs “providing operational support and being a part of an entire growth journey”. Sylvant currently has a portfolio of 14 education startups including GuruG, Lodestar, [LabInApp](#), Entlogics

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Sylvant

SYLVA (GROWTH) + SAVANT (EXPERT)



EDUCATION

Sylvant Advisors provides robust scaffolding for the future of education to be crafted globally, by leveraging the power of experts, depth of insights and network of entrepreneurs.

We will achieve our goals through a team of dedicated professionals with ecumenical experience & expertise across geographies, academia, industries and investment worlds.

ANTICIPATE, ADVICE, ACCELERATE!

[Sylvant Advisors in collaboration with LetsVenture launches The Edcubator](#) [readmore »»](#)

STARTEDU

competition

To find innovative and scalable EdTech startups in India

LEARN MORE

APPLY NOW



Philanthropy is a sliding signifier.

- New markets and opportunities for profit are being sought everywhere in the network There are complex, awkward exogenous and endogenous relations between these 'angel investors' and the state, the former at some points 'partners' and contractees of the state, and at the same time they go about the creation of 'institutional alternatives' (Lubienski and Lubienski 2014).
- This is a **marketplace of solutions**. Solutions are proffered and sold and both profit and social returns are being sought (Eggers & Macmillan, 2013).
- This new environment creates a role for new knowledges and those with expertise in that knowledge to become significant in the development and enactment of neoliberal governmentality.
- The state is not 'of a piece' in all of this.

Reform doubles

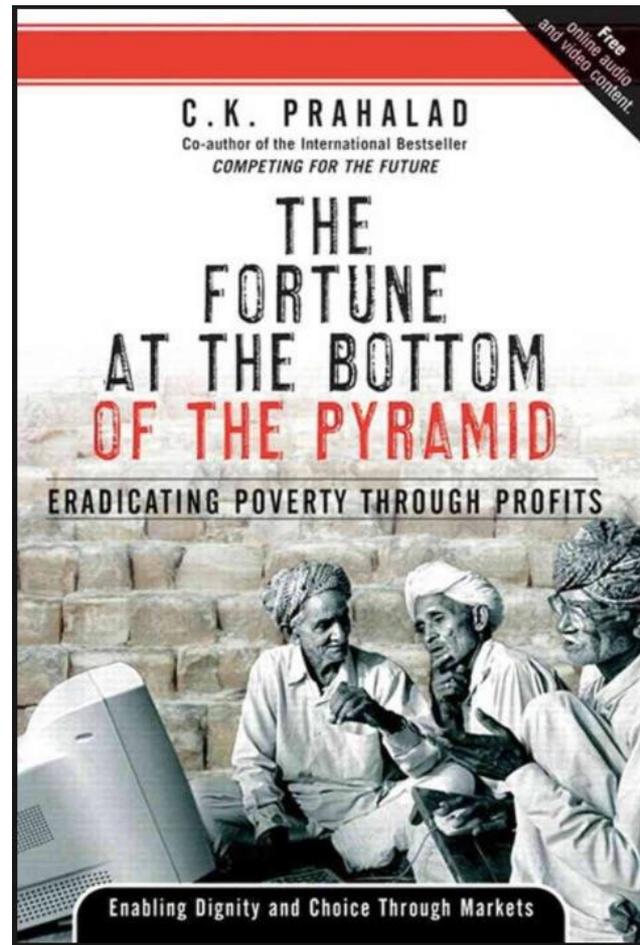
- Reform creates a future of profit opportunities, both at the general level in a shift from state to private provision and the concomitant commodification of education, and at the substantive level, the reform process and reform initiatives create a raft of profit opportunities (particularly in relation to digitalisation – pedagogy, teacher education, assessment, data analytics and big data etc.).
- There is also another general process here that creates new markets and new consumers especially via digitalisation.
- There is a second double embedded here, which involves working with (endogenously) and (exogenously) against the state. Partnerships and contracts with the state are part of the process of re-working education as a commodity market, at the same time as a set of alternative forms of private provision (and a ‘shadow state’) are created to supplement and/or displace state provision.

Other doubles are the rhetorical assertion of moral and financial complementarity – ‘doing well by doing good’ (these are ‘angel investors’!!!) and alongside this ‘worldmaking’ (the enactment of personal beliefs) through investment, whereby the personal becomes political but in the form of technical solutions.

Digital opportunities

- There is also a relation between small profits (start ups), big profits (investors) and even bigger profits (large hardware and software providers working toward “a technology enabled future”).

In search of new profits



Commercial/commodified

- The effect is an on-going commercialisation and commodification of education, they provide the means *'to sustain a transformative direction in reform'* efforts (Peck, 2013:145, emphasis in original); responding to aspiration and advantage seeking; stimulating demand, forming consumers; soaking up surplus demand.
- Arguably, as MSDF is aspiring to achieve, the education system is being 'transformed' within the myriad of initiatives, programmes, products, services, partnerships and interventions that are awash with debt and equity.
- This transformation is multi-faceted – it acts upon the meaning and 'value' of education, upon the practice of philanthropy and the practices of the state, and establishes an infrastructure of business practices and commercial services within education, all of which contribute to changing 'how education is represented and understood' (Edu.Net: 143).
- Impact investing, does not simply impact on issues of access, participation and performance of low income communities – if indeed it does do that –it has impact on the form of educational provision, the educational space, governance and the form of modalities of the state.

- Contemporary philanthropy in the form of impact investing is a space of mediation between the state, economy and ethics, as a heterogeneous space of government is produces ‘blurred’ subjects (investors, entrepreneurs, aid workers) coalescing the subject of right with the economic subject.
- “Through the market and society the art of government is deployed with an increasing capacity of intervention, intelligibility and organisation of the whole of juridical, economic and social relations from the standpoint of entrepreneurial logic’ [Lazzarato, 2006 #2759]
- ‘the very notions of the poor, poverty, beneficiary and development worthiness are being constructed around what is material, instrumental and comprehensible to business’ (Blowfield and Dolan p. 35).

Re-territorialisation of the state
New spaces of governing.
Globalising microspaces
(off-shoring – J Urry)

1. Private spaces (new policy landscape); new governance: flows of influence and discourse.
2. Profitable spaces (new business opportunities); flows of opportunities and exchanges.
3. Personal spaces (redistribution of moral authority); flows of beliefs, values and prejudices.

The changing state

- From delivery to commissioning and monitoring
- From bureaucracy to heterarchy
- Devolution of moral responsibilities
- The work of teachers/who teaches/who decides?
(break up of national agreements)
- Autonomy, flexibility, diversity
- Unequal access
- Residualises democracy

Arthur B Schultz (Foundation)

- Perhaps one of the most interesting giving evolutions at the foundation is based on its entrepreneurial grantmaking and stems from Schultz's belief in "compassionate capitalism."
- Regardless of the seemingly oil/water mix behind these two ideologies, compassionate capitalism does exist and a few of the world's one-percenters, like Marc Benioff, are on board.

Doing good and doing well

- Through *impact investing* processes of education reform are articulated as **both a moral imperative and an opportunity for profit** – ‘commercial enterprises increasingly perform tasks that were once considered to reside within the civic domain of moral entrepreneurship and the political domain of the caring welfare state..’ (Shamir, 2008 p. 2).

A shadow state?

- Part of the argument here is that ‘development agents’ like MSDF are contributing to both the **re-imagination of the ‘educational space’** as a market and the **production of an infrastructure** of organisation, processes and subjects in whose relations market exchanges become a sensible and necessary form for the production and consumption of education.
- These are not just abstract imperatives but the establishing of economic relations and forms of governmentality that work through **the practical ordering of fields of strategic and communicative action**.

“disruption”

- “Meet the **Conscious Disruptors**: three social impact leaders who are changing the world of philanthropy for the better by digging deep to the root cause of the greatest challenges in youth education. Erin Mote (Co-Founder, Brooklyn LAB & Executive Director, InnovateEDU), Akshay Saxena (Co-founder and President, Avanti), and Dr. Thashlin Govender (Program Director, Dell Young Leaders) share advice and first-hand knowledge for those looking to get involved in social impact work”.
- "Education is one of the core focus area for Unitus and a \$100-billion market in India **requiring a lot of disruption**," said Srikanth Iyer, venture partner, Unitus Seed Fund. "Lots of private schools have adopted technology and the government is also ready to spend on technology. So we believe the time is right for disruption to happen and we want to help start-ups do that."

Charter schools and academies

- In 2016-17, there are more than 6,900 charter schools, enrolling an estimated 3.1 million students. Over the past 10 years, enrollment in charter schools has nearly tripled—from 1.2 million students in 2006-07 to an estimated 3.1 million in 2016-17. Between 2015-16 and 2016-17, estimated charter school enrollment increased by over 200,000 students. 13 percent are run by for-profit companies.
- In England in 2017 **Total of 6,704 Academies**



Bolingbroke
Academy

OPEN DAYS

Thursday 12th October 5.15pm - 7.15pm (Evening)

Principal's talks - 5.15pm, 5.45pm & 6.30pm

Saturday 14th October 9.30am - 12.30pm (Morning)

Principal's talks - 9.30am & 10.45am





- Ark is an international charity, transforming lives through education. We exist to give every young person, regardless of their background, a great education and real choices in life.
- In the UK, we are a network of 35 schools, educating more than 23,000 pupils. These schools are all non-selective and in areas where they can make the biggest difference.
- Ark has supported the launch of two new schools in Delhi, India. The schools follow the same template as the flagship school, Lajpat Nagar III, which opened in July 2015 and has seen great success in its results and attendance figures.
- The two new schools represent the second wave of Ark-supported schools to launch in the South Delhi area. The aim is to open one or two schools a year for the next ten years, creating a network of non-selective, fee-free schools. Ark is working in partnership with the South Delhi Municipal Corporation (SDMC), which is keen to improve the performance of failing public schools, and re-engage parents and the community with the education system.

Toymaker's International School of Billund includes 'innovation studio' for kindergarten kids

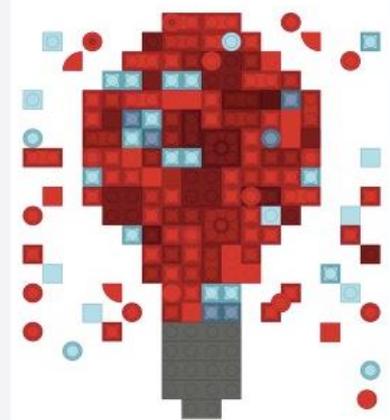
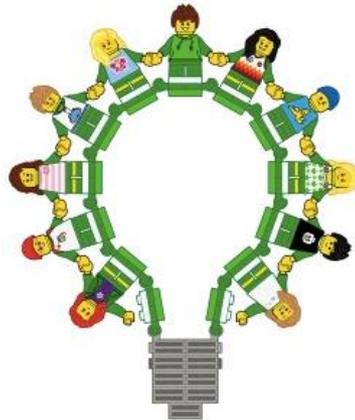


 Pupil activities includes drawing, Danish lessons and 'unit of inquiry' periods to stimulate creative thinking.
Photograph: DasBüro

A two-storey yellow slide dominates one room, another resembles the set of Teletubbies, with man-made hills of green felt and Perspex rabbit holes. Lego-branded fancy dress adorns the walls of a third, with an array of princess dresses, pirate hats, knights' tabards and fake ermine royal robes.

This is the grand opening of the first ever Lego-funded school, in Billund, [Denmark](#). The toy manufacturer's billionaire owner, Kjeld Kirk Kristiansen, greeted parents with a Willy Wonka-style spread of cakes, open sandwiches, tarts, crisps and hotdogs as he unveiled the dream school he's been working for years to make a reality.

'Giving' as commerial interest



The genuine playful learning experience

Common for all LEGO House school programmes is that children will get a playful learning experience based on the following:

- **Joy.** When children enjoy what they do and are internally motivated, they naturally seek information, take pride in challenges and remember things for longer. All our programmes are built upon learning being playful.
- **Meaningfulness.** Children learn through experiences that are relevant and meaningful, by exploring things in the environment that are familiar to them. Our school programme relates the context to what the children already know and are interested in.
- **Active engagement.** When children are active, they are not only sitting, watching and listening, but combining their body and mind to remember things better and more deeply. Naturally, LEGO bricks are used in all our programmes to ensure all children are actively engaged.

Exporting policy ideas

The LEGO Foundation's first large-scale project was initiated in South Africa in 2006 in the Atteridgeville township near Johannesburg. Today, we are building on the experience from this project and have made South Africa one of our geographic priorities in the Play-based Learning programme.



The LEGO Foundation has partnered with a number of organisations in order to achieve sustainable, systemic impact in South Africa. Together we work to reach and influence stakeholders that include governments, school systems, teachers and parents to embrace and use learning through play.

Through our projects and partnerships, the Foundation primarily reaches children aged 3–9+ in the provinces of Gauteng, Eastern Cape and KwaZulu Natal.

ANNOUNCEMENT



Partnering with UNICEF

In early 2015, the LEGO Foundation entered into a 3.5 year partnership with UNICEF to promote quality early learning through play for children around the world.

Building that “stairway to heaven”.

Reflections on the 2016 LEGO® Idea Conference

- On 11–13 April, the LEGO Foundation hosted academics, practitioners, innovators, representatives from international education organisations, government officials and social entrepreneurs to address questions. The best part of the conference is knowing that what we accomplished together will have an impact on children all over the world in the long term. What has been shared amongst the participants, the real-life examples from six different countries, the four lenses, the inspiring talks and panel discussions are an ignition switch for ideas to improve learning and put quality into action.
- This year, Pasi Sahlberg turned on his favourite tune and gave us a lecture on both the Lemming Effect and “The facts and the myths about the quality of education”. We might ask ourselves whether we managed to build additional steps on the stairway to heaven of education? What did we learn about quality learning?
- Pasi Sahlberg received the LEGO Prize 2016 in recognition of his outstanding efforts to improve the quality of children’s learning worldwide.

Realising a personal political vision

- The Broad Foundation seeks to deregulate teacher and administrator preparation programs that will take these programs away from the purview of universities and allow for their privatisation.
- 1. The problems of schools are administrative.
- 2. improvement requires top-down reform
- 3. Quality relates to test score achievement.
(Ken Saltman (2010) The Gift of Education)

Vision and profit

In a very simple and direct sense money can be used to realise private visions and commitments like these within the practice of public education – change can be bought.

The transformations being brought about by philanthropic ‘investment’ in educational

innovations and reforms is also creating new opportunities for profit – new spaces in which edu-businesses can operate supplanting or competing with public-sector providers.

Embedded in these educational visions is a neo-liberal political philosophy which is committed to the virtues of the market and a ‘limited’ state,

These programmes and initiatives involve the development of alternative infrastructures for public service provision or what Wolch (1990) calls ‘the shadow state’.