In sheep's clothing: Philanthropy and the privatisation of the 'democratic' state

Carolina Junemann
and Antonio Olmedo
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About the authors:

Dr. Carolina Junemann

is currently an Honorary Senior Research Associate at the UCL Institute of Education. Her research interests are in education policy analysis, particularly in new forms and methods of global education policy and governance and education policy mobilities. She has published on these themes in academic journals and has contributed to major international collections. She is co-author with Stephen Ball of Networks, *New Governance and Education* (Policy Press, 2012) and with Stephen Ball and Diego Santori of Edu.Net: *Globalisation and Education Policy Mobilities* (Routledge, 2017).

Dr. Antonio Olmedo

is Reader in Education at the University of Bristol and Honorary Reader at UCL Institute of Education. His research rests within the fields of education policy analysis and sociology of education, with a specific focus on the role of the private sector in education; neoliberal policies and the creation of quasi-markets; and global networks, international organisations, policy advocacy, philanthropy and edu-businesses. He is currently working on a new research project based on new landscapes of competition: academies and local education markets in England. His latest book, together with Dr. Andrew Wilkins, is entitled: *Education Governance and Social Theory.*

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Cover picture: drawing by Fredk (EI, 2019) based on a Milo Winter illustration (in *The AESOP for Children*, published in 1919)

Table of Contents

List of Acronyms

Ark   *Absolute Return for Kids*
AVPN   *Asian Venture Philanthropy Network*
CfBT   *Centre for British Teachers (now Education Development Trust)*
CGI   *Clinton Global Initiative*
DFE   *Department for Education (UK)*
DFI   *Development Finance Institution*
DFID   *Department for International Development (UK)*
DVET   *Dhanpatmal Virmani Education Trust*
EPG   *Education Partnerships Group*
EPRC   *Economic Policy Research Council*
EVPA   *European Venture Philanthropy Association*
GERM   *Global Education Reform Movement*
GSF   *Global Schools Forum*
IERM   *Indian Education Reform Movement*
IfT   *Institute for Teaching (England)*
ILI   *Instructional Leadership Institute (South Africa)*
ISER   *Initiative for Social and Economic Rights*
IV   *Impact Venture*
J-PAL   *Abdul Latif Jameel Poverty Action Lab*
MPSQAP   *Madhya Pradesh School Quality Assurance Programme (India)*
MSDF   *Michael and Susan Dell Foundation*
NAPE   *National Assessment of Progress in Education (Uganda)*
Ofsted   *Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills (UK)*
OPIC   *Overseas Private Investment Corporation (US)*
OSF   *Open Society Foundations*
PALF   *Pearson Affordable Learning Fund*
PEAS   *Promoting Equality in African Schools (Uganda)*
PPP   *Public-private partnership*
PSL   *Partnerships Schools for Liberia (Liberia)*
RCT   *Randomised Control Trial*
RISE   *Research on Improving Systems of Education*
RTE   *Right to Education*
SDG   *Sustainable Development Goal*
SDMC   *South Delhi Municipal Corporation (India)*
SQA   *School Quality Assurance*
TSA   *Transforming School Accountability*
UN   *United Nations*
UNICEF   *United Nations Children's Fund*
USAID   *United States Agency for International Development*
VP   *Venture Philanthropy*
WCED   *Western Cape Education Department (South Africa)*

1. Introduction

The genius of capitalism lies in its ability to make self-interest serve the wider interest[1]. (...) But to harness this power so it benefits everyone, we need to refine the system. (...) Such system would have a twin mission: making profits and also improving lives for those who don't fully benefit from market forces. To make the system sustainable, we need to use profit incentives whenever you can. (...) The challenge is to design a system where market incentives, including profits and recognition, drive the change.

Extract from Bill Gates' speech at the 2008 World Economic Forum.

Since its foundation in 1971, the World Economic Forum, a not-for-profit foundation based in Geneva, has yearly gathered together a number of business, government and civil society leaders across different fields, with one forthright aim: "to shape global, regional and industry agendas"[2]. In 2008, Bill Gates, then richest man and co-founder of the wealthiest philanthropic organisation on Earth, was invited to speak at the Forum. His speech was entitled "A New Approach to Capitalism in the 21st Century"[3] and unveiled his thoughts on the new directions of contemporary capitalist societies. Gates baptised his new vision as "Creative capitalism", a new model of economic and political governance where market incentives and motivations (and, subsequently, penalties and deterrents) become the new *balm of life*, that should fuel the exchanges, decision making processes and approaches to solving the world's problems. To do so, there is a need for a new system of relationships and institutional configurations "where governments, businesses, and non-profits work together to stretch the reach of market forces so that more people can make a profit, or gain recognition, doing work that eases the world's inequities" [4]. Far from yet another oratorial capitalist blurb, Gates' ideas have had a straightforward impact and governments around the world are embracing the underlying logics of *creative capitalism* and beginning to develop new policy solutions accordingly. Back in 2010, David Cameron, the former UK conservative prime minister, baptised his new vision for public services management as the 'Big Society'[5]. Based on a rhetorical empowerment of local communities, businesses and individuals, the Big Society implies a devolution of power from central government to local associations, charities, non-profit and for-profit social enterprises, which will

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1   This reminisces about Adam Smith's well-known postulate, who back in 1776 stated: 'It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker, that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest' (Smith, 1970, p. 119).
2   World Economic Forum (n.a.) About us: https://www.weforum.org/about/world-economic-forum
3   Gates (2008). Speech at World Economic Forum. Retrieved from: http://www.gatesfoundation.org/media-center/speeches/2008/01/bill-gates-2008-world-economic-forum
4   We have developed these ideas further elsewhere (Ball & Olmedo, 2012; Olmedo, 2013, 2017).
5   Cabinet Office (2010) Prime Minister David Cameron delivered a speech on Big Society on Monday 19th July 2010. Retrieved from: https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/big-society-speech

be from now on the main actors of local and national policymaking and policy accountability. In a second speech in the House of Commons a year later, David Cameron openly defended this new 'duty' of the government within an increasingly plural 'networked-state':

(...) what we are talking about here is a whole stream of things that need to be done. First of all, we have got to devolve more power to local government, and beyond local government, so people can actually do more and take more power. Secondly, we have got to open up public services, make them less monolithic, say to people: if you want to start up new schools, you can; if you want to set up a co-op or a mutual within the health service, if you're part of the health service, you can (...) I don't believe that you just sort of roll back the state and the Big Society springs up miraculously. There are amazing people in our country, who are establishing great community organisations and social enterprises, but we, the government, should also be catalysing and agitating and trying to help build the Big Society.[6]

Following Gates' mantra, the UK government launched the Big Society Network[7], which, as stated on their website:

(...) exists to support and develop talent, innovation and enterprise to deliver social impact. By working with business, philanthropists, charities and social ventures we believe we can unleash the social energy that exists in the UK to help build a better, healthier society.[8]

In a similar fashion but in the southern hemisphere, the Ugandan government announced in 2010 a new strategic framework, the National Development Plan (NDP), with a clear vision: 'a transformed Ugandan society from a peasant to a modern and prosperous country within 30 years'[9]. To do so, the government is openly committed to allowing private investment and participation to play a more significant role in the modernisation of the country. On the Foreword of the NDP document, President Museveni stated: 'I urge the private sector, civil society and academia to work together with Government and to align their development efforts towards achieving the NDP objectives and the country's Vision'[10]. In the same line, a review of the Ugandan NDP prepared by the International Development Association (IDA) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) highlights:

The NDP broadens the strategic focus of the authorities from `poverty reduction' to `structural transformation' in order to raise growth and living standards. In recent years, the authorities' policies have

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6   Cabinet Office (2011) Prime Minister David Cameron delivered a speech on Big Society on Monday 14th February 2011. Retrieved from: https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pms-speech-on-big-society
7   The Big Society (n.d.) http://www.thebigsociety.co.uk/
8   The Big Society (n.d.) About us: http://www.thebigsociety.co.uk/about/
9   Ugandan National Planning Authority (2010) Uganda National Development Plan. Retrieved from: http://npa.ug/development-plans/ndp-201011-201415/
10   Idem.

increasingly targeted a rise in potential growth and reduction in income poverty. Building on the achievements under the PEAP, the NDP aims at fostering skilled employment growth and a sectoral shift to higher value-added activities. It gives the government a strategic role in this process by eliminating remaining, persistent barriers to growth and promoting private sector involvement in selected priority areas. The NDP identifies four priority targets: human resources development through health, education and skills building; boosting up physical infrastructure, particularly in the energy and transportation areas; supporting science, technology and innovation; and facilitating private access to critical production inputs, particularly in agriculture.[11]

Embracing the logic of creative capitalism, both examples show the willingness of governments to open up new spaces within the public policy arena to the participation of new private actors (mostly from the corporate sector as shown throughout this report), which would bring with them new ways of understanding the world. Creative capitalism also implies new relationships (away from what it portrays as the top-bottom operations of centralised politics) and the need for new policy techniques (where conciliation, redistribution and welfare, give way to bargaining, rationing and 'economicism' at the core of the new form of governmentality). Such changes expected on the part of the State are also required for the new players that aim to enter or remain in the game. At least discursively, businesses are asked to balance their insatiable thirst for economic profit and introduce social change and social equality in their diets. Reciprocally, under the logic of creative capitalism, it is assumed that philanthropic organisations must modify their modus operandi and move away from traditional distant, donation-based, hands-off and altruist ways of promoting welfare, turning themselves into catalysers of (individual) economic profit (both for themselves and their partners) and (communal) social development.

Charity and philanthropy are certainly **not new** (see Reich et al., 2016). It is not the aim of this report to reflect back on the history of philanthropic action. Suffice it to say that, since its origins in ancient Greece and Rome, passing through the Christian reconceptualisation of giving into the divinely recognised *caritas*, and its later institutionalisation (through the control of the Church and also the rise of a number of non-religious foundations) from the Middle Ages onwards, such chronicle is a history of legal disputes over economic and political control (Sievers, 2010). It is also important to point out that charity and philanthropy are **not synonyms**. As Beer synthesises, "the most important difference between philanthropy and charity—the truly revolutionary difference—is that the logic of philanthropy invites us to see voluntary giving within a primarily technological and global rather than theological and local framework" (2015, p. 15). In fact, according to Sievers (2010), philanthropy can be considered one of the seven pillars that constitute contemporary civil society. Together with *the common good, the rule of law, non-profit and voluntary organisations, individual rights,*

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free expression, and tolerance, philanthropy is a key element in the configuration of civil society as an "enabling framework for democracy" while encompassing "an intrinsic tension, a fragile balance between private and public interests" (2010, p. 2).

> **Pause for thought...**
>
> So, if philanthropy is not 'new', then why should we pay special interest to it? Is there anything different in the way in which such "intrinsic tension" operates in the present day? Will we experience any changes in our everyday lives? And, more importantly, will society's long standing, even inherent, social and economic problems be solved by the rise of this new group of so-called philanthrocapitalists?

According to its advocates, 'new' philanthropy (see below), understood as 'effective altruism', surpasses the basic assumptions of traditional strategic giving by assigning a double moral obligation to donors. On the one hand, it should be *performative*; that is, able to identify the areas where their operations will do the most good. On the other hand, it should be *effective* or, in other words, be able to 'do more with less'. One of the reasons that justifies the need to pay attention to philanthropy in the beginning of the 21st century is the exponential growth and volume that charitable activity has experienced in recent decades. Just as an example, "American voluntary giving is approximately equal to the entire gross domestic product (GDP) of Denmark. The $715 billion in assets controlled by US foundations—money that is of course invested in the US economy in various ways—is larger than the Swiss economy, which is the twentieth largest in the world" (Beer, 2015, p. 13).

Unequivocally, the most important question amongst those above is the latter one.

Back to the numbers game. Coinciding with last year's 2018 World Social Forum in Davos, Oxfam released a report based on Credit Suisse's 'Global Wealth Databook'[12], denouncing that the top 1% richest people have gained more income than the poorest 50% altogether[13]. The tendency seems to be worsening. In 2010, the combined assets of the 388 multibillionaires were required in order to equal the wealth of the 50% at the bottom, however, in 2016 only 62 of them would be needed to reach the same situation[14], and in 2017 such figures shrink even further to just simply 8. The counter narrative claims that, while the richest become richer, the average wellbeing of the population increases

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12   Credit Suise (2018) Global Wealth Report 2018. Retrieved from: https://www.credit-suisse.com/uk/en/about-us/research/research-institute/global-wealth-report.html

13   Oxfam (2017) Policy and practice. An Economy for the 99%: It's time to build a human economy that benefits everyone, not just the privileged few. Retrieved from: http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/an-economy-for-the-99-its-time-to-build-a-human-economy-that-benefits-everyone-620170

14   Oxfam (2016) Media Centre. 62 people own same as half world. Retrieved from: https://www.oxfam.org.uk/media-centre/press-releases/2016/01/62-people-own-same-as-half-world-says-oxfam-inequality-report-davos-world-economic-forum

correspondingly. However, even the friendliest statistics (ie. the Brookings Institution has recalibrated poverty indicators according to new data available on prices for goods and services [Purchasing Power Parities] in every country in the world) show that while in some regions the new calculations seem to suggest an improvement in the percentage of people living in extreme poverty, that is not the case in other areas, where such proportions seem to aggravate[15]. Moreover, the Brookings Institution signals that there is a large concentration of people whose living standards are virtually similar to the global poverty line, which epitomises the fragility of such estimates.

All in all, the situation seems far from resolved and the number of deadlines missed by international declarations, multilateral agreements, development goals, etc. continues to amass. Nevertheless, far from engulfing policy makers in a deep and self-reflexive critical exercise, within mainstream politics capitalism remains as the solution to such stagnant social and economic crisis rather than its central cause. The fact that the richest are even richer seems to be "good news" rather than "cause for concern". As Bill Clinton (2010) acknowledges, "the 21st century has given people with wealth unprecedented opportunities, and commensurate responsibilities, to advance the public good". Back in 2008, right after the 'latest' global collapse of the capitalist system, Bishop and Green published their *Ode to* (what they baptised as) *the philanthrocapitalist*. In the preface of the 2nd edition of the volume, the authors celebrate the fact that the global economic crisis does not seem to have endangered, but rather fortified, the wealth of the wealthiest on Earth:

> *The world has changed since the financial meltdown of September 2009, but in ways that make the ideas in* **Philanthrocapitalism** *more relevant than ever. According to the annual rich list compiled by Forbes magazine, the collapse of the stock and other asset prices reduced the global number of billionaires by over 300, nearly one-third, from 2008 to 2009. The average charitable foundation saw its assets shrink by at least one-quarter.* **Yet the world still has plenty of super-rich people. Indeed, overall, the super rich are likely to emerge from the crisis in better financial shape than anyone else. The reservoir of wealth to fund Philanthrocapitalism is still there.** *[emphasis added]*

> *(Bishop & Green, 2010, p. xii)*

The book preaches the "renaissance of giving and philanthropy". It portrays how a group of new philanthropists "give, by applying business techniques and ways of thinking to their philanthropy" and also "describes the growing recognition by the leaders of capitalism that giving back much of their fortune to improve society is as much a part of the system as making the money in the first place" (2010, p. xii).

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15   Brookings Institute (2014) What Do New Price Data Mean for the Goal of Ending Extreme Poverty? Retrieved from: https://www.brookings.edu/blog/up-front/2014/05/05/what-do-new-price-data-mean-for-the-goal-of-ending-extreme-poverty/

The ultimate aim of this report is to challenge such assumption. The following chapters offer a counternarrative and problematise the belief that philanthropy is inherently and unconditionally a 'good thing'. This is divided in two parts. Following the introduction of the research rationale in Chapter 2, Chapter 3 presents the results of the first part of the research and focusses on the new rationale and *modus operandi* of the so-called *new-philanthropic* organisations. More specifically, it concentrates on a group of ventures which represent the *avant-garde* of philanthropic action. Here, we identify multiple spheres and political spaces that such organisations are colonising and how they are instilling within them the principles of neoliberal thinking and policy-making. Chapter 4 dwells upon the interim conclusions reached during the first phase and centres its scope on one particular philanthropic organisation: Ark (Absolute Return for Kids). In this second part, following the compilation and analysis of material available online of the activities and engagements of Ark, we draw the matrix of multifaceted roles played by the organisation in the field of the global education policy arena. Four main roles have been identified (DIY [do-it-yourself] philanthropy; ecosystem building; philanthro-policy making; philanthro-evidence making) within a broad range of activities or areas of operation (from educational provision and curriculum development, to research commissioning and network-making). Finally, Chapter 5 synthesises the main findings and lines of enquiry that would require further attention and future research efforts.

2. Research rationale

2.1. Aims and research design

The project is part of a long-term research agenda that is based on two research questions:

1. **What** are the new ways of 'doing policy', with an emphasis on the creation of new policy technologies in the field of education?

2. **Who** are the new policy actors that are involved in processes of repopulation of the state and public services?

More concretely, in this report we are interested in advancing our existing knowledge on the shape and new roles of philanthropic actors at different levels of the policy-making cycle in the field of education policy. First, it seeks to identify, map and examine a number of key philanthropic organisations that are now active in the field of education across the globe. Second, it aims to develop a typology of philanthropic involvement and participation, particularly focusing on the way in which they interact with and modify the roles of other traditional actors in the field of education policy (i.e. governments, unions, professional organisations, training institutions, etc.). Both aims entail exploring the movement of actors, ideas and policies (Dicken, et al, 2001: 93); the role they play in governance, "in steering, setting directions and influencing behaviour" (Parker, 2007: 114); and the application of new methods of policy (social enterprise, venture philanthropy, microfinance, and PPPs). To do so, the research activities will involve looking at the organisational model and activities of key organisations, mapping their global reach, as well as examining their motives and goals, perspectives and methods and crucially their relationships with 'the state' and state actors. These cases will be taken as entry points to facilitate further analytical development. As a starting point, but not exclusively, the policy areas in which the project will focus are: design and organisation of curriculum and materials; delivery (academies/charter schools; low-fee private schools; other PPPs configurations, etc.); policy advocacy; inspection and evaluation; initial and continuing teacher training.

Following that logic, the research design has been divided into two interrelated phases. The **first phase** focusses on the profiles, agendas, and investment portfolios of a new form of philanthropic organisations that have received less attention in the field of education policy research, the so-called venture philanthropy (see Chapter 3). Given the size of their investment and the international character of their portfolio in the area of education, the following three organisations were chosen as a starting point:

1. The Omidyar Network was co-founded by Pierre (founder of eBay) and Pam Omidyar. The fund has offices in the Silicon Valley and Washington DC (US), Johannesburg (South Africa), London (UK), and Mumbai (India). Since its inception, they have invested over a $1bn, $515m in for-profit ventures and $568m in not-for-profit ones. Their investment portfolio is divided in seven different areas: digital identity; education; emerging tech; financial inclusion; governance and citizen engagement; impact investing; and property rights.

2. *Reach Capital* spun off from *NewSchools Venture Fund* in 2015. The latter is a non-profit organisation that invests on edupreneurs across the US. Their portfolio includes more than 150 ventures in three areas: innovative schools; diverse leaders; and tools and services. Reach Capital was set up as a for-profit social impact fund focussed on education technology. The team is based in Palo Alto, California, and is formed by a group of former teachers, entrepreneurs and product managers. With over $53m raised, to date, they have supported over 50 early-stage companies.

3. *LGT Venture Philanthropy* represent the philanthropic arm of the Princely Family of Liechtenstein and LGT (the world's largest privately owned Private Banking and Asset Management group). Founded by H.S.H. Prince Max von und zu Liechtenstein in 2007, they have invested over $15m and their portfolio currently covers four regions (Africa, Asia, India, Latin America). Their activities are divided into seven sectors: agriculture; education; employment and skills; energy; health; housing and shelter; and Information and Communication Technologies (ICT). The investments target both social organisations and for-profit companies that fulfil a number of strict criteria[16]:

    •   Alignment with LGT Venture Philanthropy's mission and values, regional and focus sectors

    •   An effective, scalable solution to a social and/or environmental problem with demonstrable social impact

    •   A proven (business) model that can be scaled or replicated

    •   A dedicated and professional management team with an excellent track record

    •   Effective methods to evaluate both financial and social performance

    •   Willingness to undergo detailed due diligence and to report on the progress of their activities on a regular basis

The interim analysis of the first phase (see Chapter 3) allowed us to identify, amongst other things, a number of different roles played by such venture philanthropic organisations in the area of education policy.

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16   LGT Venture Philanthropy (n.d.) Who we support:. https://www.lgtvp.com/en/portfolio/who-we-support/

Phase two was designed to develop this nascent categorisation of the roles of philanthropy in policy-making (see Chapter 4). Here, a more ethnographic, case approach, was chosen in order to disentangle the common thread that holds philanthropy and public policy making together and is reshaping the field of education policy. As part of the empirical work carried out during the first phase of the research, one specific philanthropic organisation was identified as playing number of inter-related roles and being involved in multifaceted activities and areas of policy engagement. Ark (Absolute Return for Kids) is a hybrid organisation, registered in England both as a company limited by guarantee and a charity. It's growing involvement in education has been analysed as part of the emergence and consolidation of new modes of governance in education and the inter-relation of philanthropy and business as alternatives to the traditional forms of public sector organisation and practice (see Olmedo, 2013; Junemann and Ball, 2013). In this case, we are interested in how through a multifaceted and complex set of programmes (Ark Ventures), Ark is partnering with and advising governments across several nations across the globe. In this way, through mapping Ark's global expansion and its growing engagements, we consider the ways in which philanthropy contributes to processes of policy transfer and convergence, through funding and by bringing privatising and market-based ideas to bear.

2.2. Research methods

Methodologically, the research project is innovative and experimental. It is based on the principles of 'network ethnography', a combination of social network analysis and ethnographic methods (see Junemann, Ball and Santori, 2018; Hogan, 2015; Olmedo, 2013). The former will enable us to identify and map the emergence and operation of a number of case study organisations and the networks in which they operate. The latter will enable us to analyse in more depth the nature of the connections that constitute them and the motives and perspectives of the organisations involved. In a sense, following Roy (2012, p.35), we hope to elaborate a set of 'ethnographic circulations' which draw attention to "how socio spatial scales, from the global to the local, are actively produced". Such methodological approach involves the following activities:

1. Extensive Internet searches around the network cases: websites, videos, social networks and personal blogs.

2. 'Ethnographic accountancy': financial data on network actors and policy transactions.

3. Interviews with relevant philanthropic actors.

4. Visits to philanthropic events and programmes: observations, collection of materials and tracing of initiatives.[17]

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17   In this case, after a number of unsuccessful attempts, the lack of engagement from the philanthropic organisations involved did not allow us to carry out the last two sets of tasks (interviews and visits to events).

The analysis and findings presented in this report are limited to information, data available online and documents facilitated by other actors operating in the field. They are the result of meticulous reading and painstaking searches through multiple channels (organisations' websites, promotional pamphlets, newspaper articles, etc.). More concretely the materials gathered as part of the laborious fieldwork activity could be catalogued as follows:

- *Official websites*: which conform the formal structure and public position of organisations; the current portfolio of programmes and activities that they are involved in; their partners and funders; etc.

- *Blogs*: these help to interpret the ongoing thinking and the official position and future directions. They also help to identify references to each other's work and the kinds of perspectives, value positions and literatures that are in use.

- *Twitter/Facebook*: through these it is possible to identify further connections and collaborations with other organisations; offers insights into the diary of contacts and meetings; in the case of personal accounts, it is possible to gaze the positions and thinking of individuals that may not align with the official stance of the organisations that they work for; etc.

- *Annual reports*: within them, amongst other issues, it is possible to find the financial structure and investment accounts of organisations.

- *Research reports and documents*: often commissioned by the organisations analysed, and which provide an entry point into the issues, frameworks and findings the organisations work with.

PART 1

3. Philanthropy in the 21st Century: New-Effective-Impact-Strategic-Engaged-Venture Philanthropy

The new conception of public policy and international aid blended in creative capitalism and its multiple national sequels, intentionally blurs the line between business, enterprise, development, and the public good, and poses fundamental questions about the methods and future role of traditional development agencies and the role of the state. Echoing the new political fashion, the Clinton Global Initiative (CGI) maintains:

> *Traditional approaches to aid are not enough to address the great global challenges of our time. Market-based solutions show incredible promise to solve these daunting problems on a systemic and widespread level. These approaches, however, are still in a nascent stage. Corporations are researching and developing better business practices that meet social and environmental bottom lines while producing profits. Non-profits are pioneering enterprise-based models that offer potential for long-term sustainability. Governments are contributing their resources to encourage and support market-based approaches.[18]*

Amongst the new-borns, a novel approach to philanthropy emerged as a result at the end of the 20th century. The new *sensitivity* of philanthropic action has been rebranded with different labels highlighting its multiple attributes: impact, strategic, engaged, venture. However, all share a common denominator: profit. Such *new* philanthropy is therefore different in shape and essence from traditional approaches to charitable activity. Just after Melinda and Bill Gates and Warren Buffett initiated the Giving Pledge in June 2010[19], a call to the world's wealthiest individuals and families to dedicate the majority of their wealth to philanthropy, Charles Bronfman (Seagram liquor empire) and Jeffrey Solomon (president of the Andrea and Charles Bronfman Philanthropies) convened a roundtable with eight likeminded philanthropists with the aim to discuss the future of their foundations. At the event, Bronfman quoted the term *philanthropy 3.0*, stressing the new character and idiosyncrasy of their philanthropic activities. As suggested elsewhere (see Ball & Olmedo, 2012), this is the next stage of an already in motion move from palliative (*philanthropy 1.0*) to developmental (*philanthropy 2.0*), and, finally, to 'profitable' giving (*philanthropy 3.0*). Taking Bronfman's ideas further, in a recent presentation at the 2015 Grantmakers in

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18   Clinton Global Initiative. 2010 Annual Meeting. https://www.clintonfoundation.org/clinton-global-initiative/meetings/annual-meetings/2010
19   The Giving Pledge (n.d.) https://givingpledge.org

Health (GIH) conference, Antony Chiang, president of Empire Health Foundation, summarised the main differences as follows:

Table 1. Evolution of approaches to philanthropy

PHILANTHROPY 1.0 PATH	" FEEL GOOD GIVING"
• Just writing a check • Reactive giving • Shotgun approach—spread the wealth • Staff qualifications: um …	Annual report tell-tale signs: • dollars granted • number served • list of grantees
PHILANTHROPY 2.0 PATH	**"WHITE TOWER GIVING"**
• Academic theory of change • Write the check, and hope that the grantees will move the needle • Staff qualifications: alphabet soup after their names (who else will spend the time to learn the diagrams?)	Annual report tell-tale signs: • 2005 = diagrams of 10-year strategy • 2010 = proxy process measures • 2015 = oh well, exciting new 10-year plan to take us to 2025!
PHILANTHROPY 3.0 PATH	**"DO WHATEVER IT TAKES"**
• It is our job to move the needle, not just the grantee's • Adaptive and entrepreneurial • Qualifications: founder of successful start-up organization or social enterprise • Will be obsolete next year when v4.0 comes out	Annual report tell-tale signs: • Key metrics moved • Bright spot strategies copied or mashed up • Key metrics not yet moved, and what we are learning to move them

Source: Chiang (2015)

In essence, there are three main areas (funding models; levels of involvements; rationale) in which venture philanthropy (3.0 PATH) differs from more traditional approaches. In this section we look at how those three are typified by the three venture philanthropy organisations that we focussed on as part of the first part of the research.

1. Funding: More than "just grant-making"

Venture philanthropy is a *'hybrid' charitable venture* that breathes in two worlds. In short, venture philanthropy (VP) applies the principles and methods of venture and investment capital to philanthropic decision-making and activities:

OMIDYAR NETWORK
We also believe that businesses can be a powerful force for good. Pierre Omidyar experienced this first-hand as the founder of eBay. Just as eBay created the opportunity for millions of people to start their own businesses, we believe market forces can be a potent driver for positive social change. That's why we invest in both for-profit businesses and non-profit organizations, whose complementary roles can advance entire sectors.
Omidyar Network invests in entrepreneurs who share our commitment to advancing social good at the pace and scale the world needs today. We are focused on five key areas we believe are building blocks for prosperous, stable, and open societies: Consumer Internet and Mobile, Education, Financial Inclusion, Governance & Citizen Engagement, and Property Rights.[20]

It could be argued that VP has brought a new ontology to traditional philanthropy. VP implies a new way of understanding the world and the public sphere, of solving problems and "improving lives". There is a move from "*correcting for*", which was the traditional role adopted by public policy and alongside it philanthropic action, to "*connecting to* the market" (Brooks et al., 2009, p. 10). Their ethos and methods are attuned to the corporate roots and organigrams of their founders' original corporate organisations. At least discursively (see below), the dichotomy between ends and means, the eternal philosophical question, is easily dealt with: it's six of one, half a dozen of the other. As Ted Turner, founder of CNN, put it: "Certain areas of making the world better do lend themselves very comfortably to for-profit operations. Why should we be afraid of that?"[21]. The visionary mantra '*doing good, while doing well*' has rapidly spread and a myriad of new social and education entrepreneurs, business incubators and education startups, has proliferated in every possible field of the educational spectrum (from administration and management, to curriculum development, edu-technology, to teacher training and continuing professional development (CPD), see below).

OMIDYAR NETWORK
We are structured to support the notion that philanthropy is more than a type of funding. In its truest sense, philanthropy is about improving the lives of others, independent of the mechanism. Consequently, we work across the social and business sectors, operating both a Limited Liability Company (LLC) and a 501(c)(3) foundation.[22]

NEWSCHOOLS VENTURE FUND
As a nonprofit venture philanthropy firm, we use the charitable donations we receive to support education entrepreneurs who are transforming public education to create great results for all students.[23]

20   Omidyar Network (n.d.) Who we are. https://www.omidyar.com/who-we-are
21   NYT (2006). What's Wrong With Profit? http://www.nytimes.com/2006/11/13/us/13strom.html?pagewanted=print
22   Omidyar Network (n.d.) https://www.omidyar.com
23   New Schools Network (n.d.). Our model https://www.newschools.org/about-us/our-model/

Within this new configuration, the boundaries between charity and business are hazed to the extent that in order to fulfil its new roles, the new philanthropic ventures are set-up as cross-bred organisations where the already thin line between profit and social altruism becomes even more diffused. Such hybrids are known as 'charitable companies'. As such, they are entitled to own property and generate profit. However, the economic surplus generated from the provision of the services that they provide should be 'reinvested' within the organisation. That does not exclude the alternative possibility of using their economic assets to trade and purchase services and goods with other public and private providers. They operate by using their own capital as well as funnelling the additional charitable donations that they receive. They work as 'charity brokers', gathering sums of capital and scouting for the best edu-businesses, social entrepreneurs and products in the edu-market to invest in.

2. Involvement: "Hands-on" philanthropy

A second characteristic that differentiates new philanthropy from more traditional approaches is the *high level of involvement* that the investor plays in the organisation and activities of the investee.

NEWSCHOOLS VENTURE FUND
We expect our entrepreneurs to build high-functioning teams at all levels, particularly at the board and senior leadership levels, to ensure they are surrounded by individuals with the range of skills and backgrounds necessary to deliver on their venture's vision. Ventures should be open to working closely with us and being an active member of learning networks with fellow portfolio members.[24]

As Davis et al. (2005, p. 4) put it, "engaged philanthropists get involved as volunteers, providing their intellectual capital, coaching, mentoring, introductions to personal and professional contacts, or sometimes by serving as a board trustee to assist with overall organizational development". By creating a tighter relationship, the founder does not only provide financial support but assists their investees with further sources of capital (see Diagram 1). Alongside the economic investments, that usually take the shape of smaller portfolios of bigger grants and over a longer period of time than traditional philanthropic organisations, venture philanthropists bring with them an array of other resources, such us mentoring, consulting and assistance for management, planning, strategy and institutional growth, and also the possibility of entering broad networks and new connections that could provide further assistance to their investees in multiple ways.

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24   New Schools Network (n.d.) Investment Criteria. http://www.newschools.org/about-us/our-model/core-investment-criteria/

> ### REACH CAPITAL
>
> Reach supports the most promising entrepreneurs developing technology solutions for challenges in K-12 education. We invest in early stage tech tools, applications, content, and services to improve education opportunities for all children. The Fund also acts as a catalyst, inspiring and enabling traditional and non-traditional investors to provide capital to the fast-growing ed tech market.
>
> (…)
>
> Our job is to support education entrepreneurs and we want them to be in the spotlight. We have built a community of hardy, mission-driven edtech entrepreneurs who we support with our collective network, experiences and market knowledge. We value community and support our founders' efforts to convene and connect. Most importantly we seek to learn from them.[25]

This is the way in which the neoliberal subjectivity is spread and instilled into the operations of the new investees, though such a process is not always as swift and straightforward as the philanthropic funds had wished for. As Pieter Oostlander and Kurt Peleman from the European Venture Philanthropy Association (EVPA) recognise:

> *What we have learned over the years is that bringing these into the collaboration with SPOs [Social Purpose Organisations] demands both a change in mindset and a change in skills: one needs to be patient and empathetic, and to recognize that it is a learning process for all involved. The latest EVPA survey confirms that it takes time before you can offer the full package – but as the sector is maturing every year, these best practices are put into effect in more and more sophisticated ways.[26]*

Diagram 1. Sources of capital in philanthropic investment
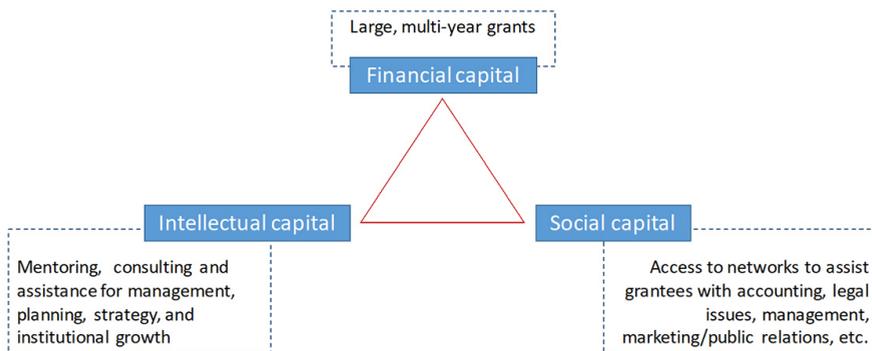
Source: adapted from Davis et al. (2005)

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25   Reach Capital (n.d.) Our mission. http://reachcap.com/mission [Link no longer active, last accessed 30/06/2018]
26   Alliance. For Philanthropy and Social Investment Worldwide (2013). Analysis. Retrieved from: http://www.alliancemagazine.org/analysis/building-a-catalytic-network/

3.   Rationale: "Performance-based" philanthropy

Finally, this new *high-engagement* and more *hands-on* role of venture philanthropy is developed through three core practices: tailored financing, organisational support, and impact measurement and management (see EVPN, 2016). The first one involves determining on a case by case basis the most appropriate financing mechanisms. According to a number of variables (geographic location, market niche, size and scope, etc.), each potential investee is evaluated and a bespoke business plan is developed. As a result, the financial investment could vary from non-returnable grants to loans or equity hybrid financing (see below).

LGT Venture Philanthropy
At LGT Venture Philanthropy we support the growth of innovative social organizations by providing a tailored combination of philanthropic capital, access to business skills, management know-how and strategic advice.[27]

Second, venture philanthropists concentrate on developing the operational capacity and long-term viability of the projects that they engage with. In this sense, they offer alternative services in order to develop and maximize the activities of their investees. Such value-added services range from strategic planning, marketing and communications, executive coaching, human resource advice and access to other networks and potential funders.

OMIDYAR NETWORK
We take calculated risks in the earliest stages of innovation, helping to transform promising ideas into successful ventures. As an active impact investor, we offer more than just financial support. We provide vital human capital capabilities, from serving on boards to consulting on strategy, coaching executives to recruiting new talent. We connect promising investees to entrepreneurial visionaries with business know-how. We also leverage the tremendous capacity of Web and mobile technologies to go beyond incremental improvement and make a significant, widespread impact.
Understanding the scale and importance of this work, we don't undertake the challenge alone. The most powerful force for change lies in our connection with others: business, government, nonprofits, and individual partners. Together, we can use our resources to transform scarcity into abundance and put enduring opportunity within reach of more people worldwide.[28]

Given the performance-based character of VP, there is a stress on developing processes and tools to measure and manage the levels of social impact generated by their investees (see below). New projects from the moment of negotiation and inception to their final stages and completion are designed in a way that allows the investor to constantly monitor and evaluate the programmes

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27   New Schools Network (n.d.) Investment Criteria. http://www.newschools.org/about-us/our-model/core-investment-criteria/
28   Omidyar Network (n.d.) Who we are. https://www.omidyar.com/who-we-are

in which they are involved. In a sense, venture philanthropists are determined to disprove researcher Peter Frumkin when he claimed that:

(…) while it never has existed in practice, imagine what a fully functional performance measurement system in philanthropy might look like. A donor could look up any nonprofit organization and find a detailed report on the programs carried out by the group, with their impact on the community measured with sensible indicators, and a series of scores that would allow the donor to assess the quality of one group's work compared to that of other organizations working in the same field. Such a system has never existed and likely will never be seen by donors. It is a fiction because so many of the dimensions of charitable activity cannot be clearly measured, because results are almost always incommensurable across organizations and across fields, and because the cost of developing and maintaining such a system would be too high. (Frumkin, 2006, p. 332)

Indeed, there is a strong emphasis on the need to develop such a system of performance indicators that accounts both for the current activities of potential investees and also the stretch, in terms of replicability and efficiency, of their solutions. VP funds are on the quest to find the holy grail, a silver-bullet solution that would remediate the problems of the most disadvantaged in record time, across different geographies while, and foremost, not renouncing to generate profit at the end of the journey. All that has a direct effect on the profile of potential investees. For them to be rendered as *worth the risk*, new ventures need to be fully open to permanent and detailed scrutiny from the founder:

LGT Venture Philanthropy

Organizations admitted to the LGT Venture Philanthropy portfolio must undergo a detailed audit process and achieve jointly defined objectives. They need to have developed innovative and replicable models designed to make sustainable improvements to the quality of life of disadvantaged people. The use of proven investment, management and controlling processes is intended to ensure that the funds entrusted to the parties concerned are deployed in an objective-driven, efficient and transparent manner. This is the only way of achieving a sustainable positive impact for disadvantaged people.[29]

General selection criteria:
(...)
We and our clients only support organizations that have:
• A service or product that serves less advantaged people
• The willingness to undergo detailed due diligence
• The willingness to report on the progress of their activities on a regular basis
• A strong management and financial discipline
• Effective methods to evaluate results[30]

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29   LGT (n.d.) Improving quality of life, opening up future prospects. https://www.lgt.com/en/commitment/venture-philanthropy/
30   Omidyar Network (n.d.) http://www.lgtvp.com/Uber-uns/Wen-wir-unterstutzen.aspx [Link no longer active, last accessed 30/06/2018]

They also need to align their objectives and modus operandi with those of their investors, participating in their general vision and participating in their grand challenges (see Ball & Olmedo, 2012). The focus of assessment is not only guiding the decision-making process around which programme to fund but also transpires into the nature of the programmes themselves. Data and evaluation are part of the *neo-philanthropic habitus*, their way of looking at the educational system. Consequently, they favour enterprises that would enable politicians, managers, inspectors, head teachers, teachers, parents and students to measure their progress in every instance:

REACH CAPITAL
Making informed decisions
A key focus of Reach is data. We seek companies bringing data to bear at all levels of educational decision-making, from the classroom to district operations. Examples of data companies include Schoolzilla, Brightbytes and Decison Science.[31]

3.1. Change in the nature of investments: both for-profit & not-for-profit

Within this new approach to philanthropy the ends have won the battle over the means. Here, in another melee of adjectives, the ends are defined as sustainable, large-scale, long-lasting, fast-paced, catalytic, innovative, scalable, replicable social impact; and, as the Omidyar Network clearly puts it, "the impact investing industry has long debated whether there is a necessary trade-off between financial returns and social impact. While many impact investors are eager to answer definitively one way or the other, Omidyar Network's 12 years of experience and $1BN in investments have led us to a different answer: It depends"[32].

OMIDYAR NETWORK
As a philanthropic investment firm, we support market-based approaches with the potential for large-scale, catalytic impact. Toward that end, our investing style transcends typical boundaries that separate for-profit investing and traditional philanthropy. Because we believe that each sector has a role, we make investments in for-profit companies as well as grants to nonprofit organizations. Regardless of the sector, we invest in organizations that have the potential to embody innovation, scale, and sustainability or help bring them about within their industry.

31   Reach Capital (n.d.) http://reachcap.com
32   Omidyar Network (n.d.) How do we invest across the returns continuum? https://www.omidyar.com/spotlight/how-do-we-invest-across-returns-continuum#content

OMIDYAR NETWORK
We focus our investments where we have direct experience and can have the greatest impact. In emerging markets, we create economic opportunity for the base of the pyramid through access to capital. In the developed world, we encourage individual participation in media, markets, and government. In either case, we focus on what we believe are the most significant drivers of overall well-being and quality of life.[33]

Moreover, the Omidyar Network has recently published a report on the Stanford Social Innovation Review outlining their new framework, what they call the "returns continuum". The approach remains the same: creating a complementary grant and commercial venture capital portfolio that delivers a high level of social impact:

> *We argue that investors should consider accepting below-market returns only in certain limited circumstances. At Omidyar Network, we accept such returns only— with very rare exceptions—when we are intentionally pursuing market-level impact. And we have developed a clear framework for assessing that kind of impact.[34]*

The novelty resides in the need to acknowledge that the return expectations of both commercial and non-commercial investments should be adjusted, especially from those ventures that target less advantaged populations in emerging markets. In fact, potential "market-level impact" is a new measure created to complement the traditional "expected financial-return". The former is a key variable that allows them to evaluate their "subcommercial" investments.

Diagram 2. **Omidyar Network's The Returns Continuum Framework**
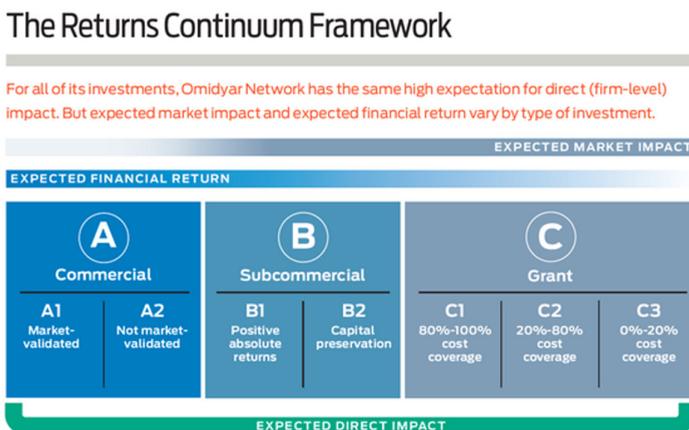
Source: Banninck et al. (2017)

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33   Omidyar Network (n.d.) Our investment approach. https://www.omidyar.com/investment-approach
34   Omidyar Network (n.d.) Across the returns continuum. Retrieved from: https://www.omidyar.com/sites/default/files/file_archive/Across%20the%20Returns%20Continuum.pdf

There are three different areas in which any venture can create "market-level impact": (1) *new models for new markets*, (2) *creating industry infrastructure*, and (3) *policy impact* (Banninck et al., 2017).

The first one implies the recognition that when developing businesses strategies that target low-income consumers there is a need to develop alternative models that might require either more time or a different approach. If successful, the expectation is that the new model will inspire others, generating competition, which according to capitalist economic theory will in turn drive down prices, increase quality, and spark innovation. Microfinance is a good example of this first new form of market-level impact. In this case, Omidyar invests in microfinance institutions like Elevar Equity (which has a strong portfolio of investees in different fields, including education) or Varthana (a microloan company that specialises on the creation of private schools in India).

The second one, refers to the required infrastructure to enable market creation. Higher costs, prior to the generation of economic return, and the risk of paving the road for potential competitors that may arise in the future are the main deterrents that prevent individual companies from investing on such ventures. An example of these forms of market-level impact is the creation of accessible and affordable currency-hedge funds that facilitate the need for microfinance institutions to exchange the currency received from their investors (usually in dollars, euros and pounds) into local currencies that usually have a very low liquidity and, therefore, represent a higher risk. Through their investment in subcompanies, such as MFX Solutions (whose main focus is to help microfinance institutions analyze, manage, and mitigate currency risks in emerging markets), Omidyar is facilitating the creation of an environment where new business opportunities (eg. microfinance) may flourish.

Finally, policy impact also entails the activities of companies in lobbying and engaging governments towards introducing changes on the policy framework that affects one specific area, facilitating the conditions for the creation of new markets. In the field of education, Omidyar Network's investees such as Bridge International Academies (the fastest-growing for-profit chain of 'low-fee' schools in the world), the Education Alliance (a nonprofit organization working toward facilitating Public Private Partnerships (PPPs) in education in India, see below), Teach for All (a network of national organisations that operate in the field of teachers/leaders training across the world), or IMCO (the Mexican Institute for Competitiveness, which produces research and public policy analysis to improve Mexico's standing in the global economy), amongst many others, are good examples of such type of market-level impact, where the activities of these participants are not only directed at delivering services but also engage with policy makers in the design of new policy initiatives.

3.2. The construction of a 'neoliberal ecosystem'

In this section we look in more detail into the overall reach and range of the investments of the venture philanthropic organisations. Omidyar's portfolio (see Annex – Table 1) in education spreads across the world. They fund 33 ventures covering a broad set of areas, from school delivery to curriculum development, teacher training, online pedagogical resources, etc. One of their latest investments is **Reach (Newschools) Capital**. Reach is a spin-off of New Schools Venture Fund's "Seed Fund". Created in 2015, they operate within the field of ed-tech market, investing themselves in early-stage companies that offer "solutions that are scalable, sustainable and effective"[35]. Reach Capital's portfolio comprises 23 for-profit enterprises (see Annex – Table 2a and 2b). They also range across different areas, sharing their focus on the application of technology to educational problems. An analysis of their portfolio shows an emphasis on those solutions designed to gather data and perform evaluation at different levels. Abl, for example, is a piece of software that "helps educators use data to understand how they spend their time and resources"[36]. The company offers "a new kind of software for school leaders. We meet schools where they are to visualize the impact of their administrative decisions, implement changes to the master schedule, and rapidly try new models that reflect their priorities"[37]. Similarly, **Schoolzilla** is another edu-company that offers a platform to gather, organise and present data to facilitate decision-making processes:

Schoolzilla
We believe that data done right is a game changer for district and school leaders, teachers, parents, and students.
With accurate, timely, visual data, you can better understand your students' needs, see if your strategies are working, have constructive conversations, save time, and get laser-focused on growth.[38]

Also within Omidyar's portfolio is **Bridge International Academies (BIA)**. BIA, a for-profit chain of low-fee private schools that currently operates in India, Kenya, Nigeria and Uganda, has already been analysed substantially in recent years (see, for instance, Ball et al., 2017; Junemann et al., 2015; Riep & Machacek, 2016). What is of interest here is that they account amongst their most substantial investors private investment companies (like Novastar, Koshla Ventures, PanAfrican Investment Co.), foundations (like the Zuckerberg Education Ventures and the Pershing Square Foundation) and national (like DFID, the UK government's Department for International Development; CDC, the UK's Development Finance Institution and wholly owned by the UK Government; and OPIC, the U.S. Government's development finance institution) and international public organisations (like the International Finance Corporation, part of the World Bank Group).

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35   Reach Capital (n.d.) About us. http://reachcap.com/about/
36   Reach Capital (n.d.) Portfolio. https://reachcapital.com/companies/
37   Abl Schools (n.d.) http://www.ablschools.com
38   Schoolzilla (n.d.) Schoolzilla is data done right. https://schoolzilla.com/why-schoolzilla/

One of Bridge's current investors is LGT Impact Ventures. As mentioned earlier, they are a part of the LGT Group Foundation, the largest private banking and asset management group in the world that is wholly owned by the Royal Family of Liechtenstein. Within their asset management division, LGT has created two venture funds: LGT Venture Philanthropy and LGT Impact Ventures. Both funds operate at different ends of Omidyar's Return Continuum. The former, LGT VP, concentrates on market-impact, or, as they call it, "value creation" and "positive societal return"[39]; while the focus of the latter, LGT IV, is to "generate attractive financial returns for investors and at the same time positively impact upon the lives of millions of underserved people"[40]. The education portfolio of LGT is not as extensive as the previous cases but it follows a similar way of managing operations. If we take Bridge International Academies as an example, it was the first equity venture of LGT Venture Philanthropy in Africa made back in 2009. However, with the launch of LGT Impact Ventures in 2016, the investment on the chain of low-fee private schools was moved from the portfolio of the former into that of the latter (see Figure 1).

The first fund would work mainly through the offering of grants and smaller equity ventures mainly with non-profit organisations and subcommercial firms; while the impact fund would take on those ventures that have matured throughout the first phase and are able to generate financial returns in a more sustainable basis, generating profits that would revert back onto their investing organisations. There is a thin line between philanthropic and commercial activity here. Such boundary is purposefully blurred and presented as part of a new paradigm, what Shamir calls "the moralisation of the economic action", which facilitates the creation of a hypothetic "corporate conscience" (Shamir, 2008, p. 9). The processes involved here go beyond what is understood as 'social-corporate responsibility', as it implies the need to allow corporations to have a central role in the provision of public services. That is what Shamir identifies as "governance-through-responsibilization" where "the restructuring of authority as a market of authorities also facilitates the responsibilization of market entities to assume the caring and welfare moral duties that were once assigned to civil society and governmental entities" (Shamir, 2008, p. 10).

However, more than merely opening the door for for-profit firms to operate within the public sphere, governments are already adopting such logic themselves, both at home and abroad. As already mentioned above, the CDC group plc is the UK Government's development finance institution (DFI). As stated on their website, their "job is to provide scarce and patient capital to businesses and entrepreneurs in Africa and South Asia, where more than 70 per cent of the world's poorest people live"[41]. The public-company's investment portfolio includes almost 1300 companies and is valued in over £3bn[42]. In 2016 they invested £712.9m and during the last five years they have made an annual return on their assets of 7.8%. In education, the CDC group funds a number of companies, from multinational schools chains (both in the low-fee sector, like Bridge International

39   LGT Venture Philanthropy (n.d.) What we do. https://www.lgtvp.com/en/what-we-do/
40   LGT Impact Ventures (n.d.) https://www.lgtiv.com/en/
41   CDC Group (n.d.) Who we are. http://cdcgroup.com/Who-we-are/Key-Facts/#sthash.kxgkvtIw.dpuf
42   Year end 2015.

Figure 1. BIA in LGT Venture Philanthropy (2009) and Impact Ventures (2016).
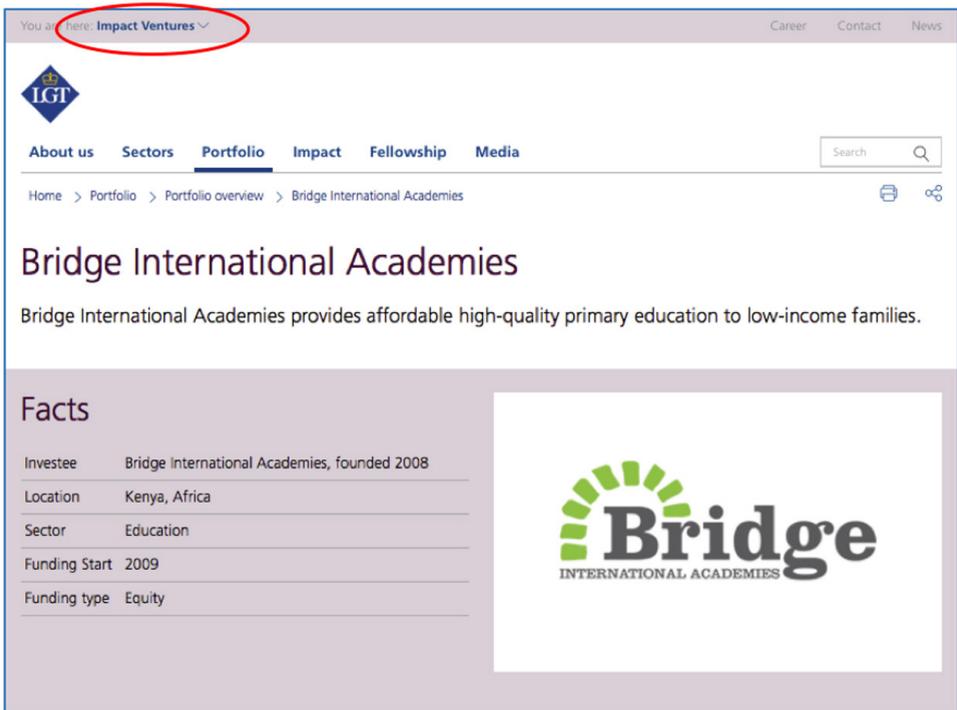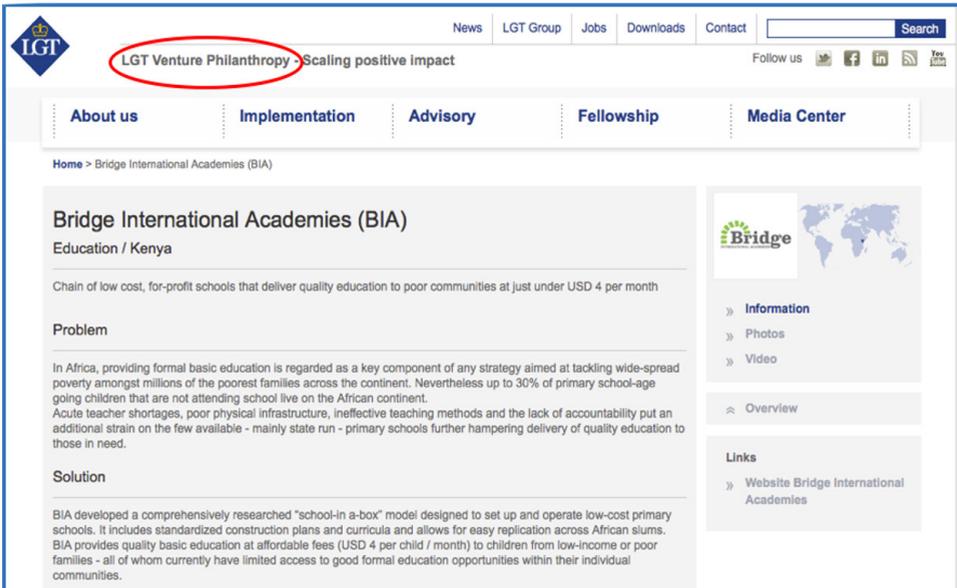
Academies, or highly selective like GEMS Education), to single private and academically selective boarding schools (like Brookhouse International School, one of Kenya's most expensive private schools, or Flipper International School in Ethiopia, part of Flipper Kindergarten Plc) and higher education providers (like

i-Nurture). They also fund 89 microfinance ventures across Africa and South Asia, a number of which operate in the education sector (like Varthana, see above). Similarly, its American counterpart, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation OPIC, the US Government's DFI, works both within the US and abroad with US companies to facilitate access for them into emerging markets by "providing investors with financing, political risk insurance, and support for private equity funds"[43]. The OPIC also invests in multiple ventures in education across six regions: Asia and the Pacific, Eastern Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean, Middle East and North Africa, South Asia, and Sub-saharan Africa. The operations of both CDC and OPIC are not the central concern of the present report and will be developed in further publications, however, it is worthwhile signalling here how public and private actors sing not only the same tune, but at the same tempo and in the same key.

Diagram 3. The VP 'neoliberal ecosystem'.
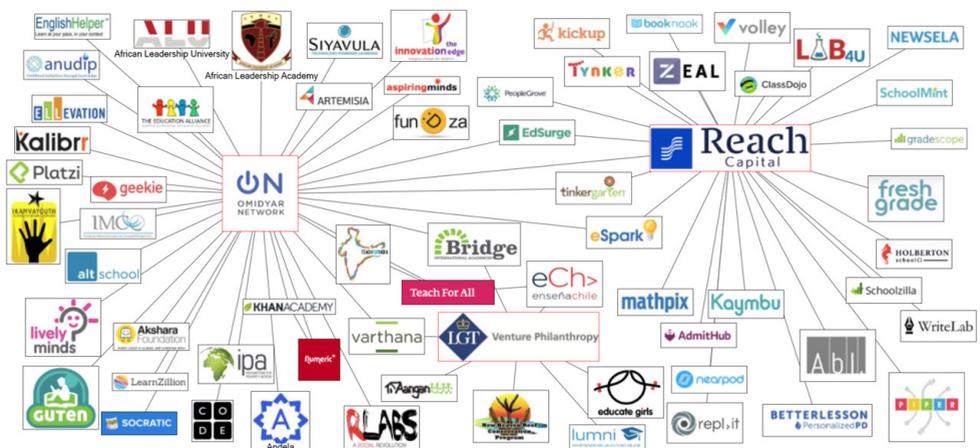
Source: Diagram elaborated by the authors

Private colonisation of the public sphere

When brought together, the investment portfolios of the three venture philanthropic organisations (*LGT Venture Philanthropy*, Omidyar Network and *Reach Capital*) analysed here configure a full 'neoliberal ecosystem' (see Diagram 3). From chains of private schools (operating within public-private partnerships or fully independent), teacher training programmes and countless tools for evaluation and school management, to curriculum development, electronic materials, new funding channels for both school providers and students and families, the options are all-encompassing. It would not be an overstatement to say that the sum of investments of the philanthropic ventures analysed above offers the possibility of running a complete educational system through the services that their investees offer.

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43   OPIC (n.d.) https://www.opic.gov

What is more, though most of those tools and models and programmes have been designed for specific countries or continental regions, it is also clear that they are ready to be scalable. As the case of Bridge International Academies shows:

> *The first Bridge International Academy opened in the Mukuru slum in Nairobi, Kenya in 2009. Today there are hundreds and Bridge continues to expand across Africa and Asia. With a mission of Knowledge for all, Bridge plans to educate 10,000,000 children across a dozen countries by 2025.[44]*

As a result of the detailed selection processes of their scrupulous funders, the majority of the companies in their portfolios are prepared to follow similar pathways. Varthana, for instance, started as a microcredit venture operating in India, but they are already examining the possibilities to go beyond their current field of operations reaching new markets:

> *We see the loan as the starting point of a long association and believe in working with those school owners who are committed to quality. In the future, we plan to hold seminars and workshops for the school owners; get people in the field of teacher training to engage with the schools and connect them with vendors and solution providers who have innovative, state of the art solutions for schools. By nurturing a long-term relationship with our clients and working with the school entrepreneurs and teachers as a team, Varthana believes we can create value and make a difference.[45]*

There are multiple examples of companies that are looking into expanding their operations, either by moving into new geographies, adventuring into new markets, or targeting new populations. They are the icebreakers at the forefront of privatisation dynamics, paving the way for deeper and more significant changes. In a clinical exploratory way, they are testing the temperature of national and local governments, of politicians and civil society groups, of individual citizens and consumers (see, for instance, Kamat et al., 2016). They bring new ways of doing things into the public policy arena, new solutions and techniques, but more importantly a new vocabulary based on new forms of knowledge. And such new vocabulary is not just simply technical or aseptic change. We are assisting to a moralisation of markets and businesses initiatives (Shamir, 2008). In fact, the new vocabulary fuels the spread of neoliberal ideology and, under the banner of entrepreneurship and freedom, it opens or depicts new spaces were inequalities and injustice are somehow blurred or ignored (poverty, development, achievement, etc. become technical issues not ethical ones), which contributes to the depolitisation of the public sphere.

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44   Bridge International Academies (n.d.) About. http://www.bridgeinternationalacademies.com/company/about/
      [Link no longer active, last accessed 30/06/2018]
45   Varthana (n.d.) Beyond loans. http://varthana.com/beyond-loans/

3.3. Bringing venture philanthropists together and educating the next generation of givers

The above-mentioned alignment of agendas and methods, the orchestrated rise of new philanthropic actors alongside new policy and social entrepreneurs, and the creation of new political frameworks that cosily accommodates them, does not happen by divine providence. They are the result of the ceaseless work of what we have defined elsewhere as 'generative nodes' (see Ball & Olmedo, 2012). These are key spaces in the fields of social and education policy, 'new sites of policy mobilisation' aimed at facilitating new connections and linking opportunities. They create 'networks within networks' based on the symbolic and economic capitals of the participants that they are able to mobilise, and operate between and beyond traditionally defined areas of policy formulation, such as localities, regions and nations.

There is a growing number of such generative nodes within the field of venture philanthropy covering the entire world. They vary in size, membership requirements, focus and geographical reach. However, they are similar in the sense that all promote VP as the most effective and engaging way of conducting philanthropic activity, organise seminars, events, annual meetings, etc.; conduct research and produce their own reports and analyses; and perform policy advocacy and lobbying tasks.

European Venture Philanthropy Association

The European Venture Philanthropy Association (EVPA)[46] is a membership association of organizations interested in or practicing venture philanthropy and social investment across Europe. Their membership is diverse, including organizations such as grant-making foundations, private equity firms, banks, and business schools. Established in 2004, the EVPA is made up of over 210 members from 29 countries, mainly in Europe but also in Asia, the Middle East and the US. The network has three objectives: 1. Increase funding and expertise coming into the Venture Philanthropy and Social Investment space; 2. Increase the effectiveness of Venture Philanthropists and Social Investors; 3. Co-create a well-functioning ecosystem for societal impact.

The EVPA is an extremely prolific network. Apart from organising an Annual Conference, the association conducts its own research and organises a myriad of meetings, forums, roundtables, webinars, etc. Such events are a key feature of the association. It is through them that the network is sutured, connecting new players, facilitating the extension of the social capital and the exchange and promotion of new ideas and agendas. They are the capillary vessels that transmit the new philanthropic culture and language, where new funding opportunities and opportunistic funders are brought together.

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46   European Venture Philanthropy Association (n.p.) https://evpa.eu.com

Asian Venture Philanthropy Network

Similar to the EVPA, the Asian Venture Philanthropy Network (AVPN) is a community of venture philanthropists and defines itself as an "an advocate, capacity builder, and platform that cuts across private, public and social sectors embracing all types of engagement to improve the effectiveness of members across the Asia Pacific region"[47]. The network is based in Singapore and formed by 349 members (including private banks, foundations, wealth managers, and corporations' CSR divisions) across 28 countries. As well as multiple events, the AVPN has created a "Deal Share Platform", designed to help AVPN members connect with social purpose organisations, and a Knowledge Centre, which offers curated content (cases, publications, webinars, articles, news, etc.) aimed at helping "new entrants and seasoned practitioners make sense of available best practices and frameworks"[48].

Silicon Valley Social Venture Fund

The Silicon Valley Social Venture Fund (SV2) was founded by Laura Arrillaga-Andreessen, in 1998. The network is formed by over 200 Silicon Valley-based social entrepreneurs, philanthropists and philanthropic organisations. Apart from panels, seminars, meetings, etc., SV2 has its own grant and impact investment programme. Each partner contributes a minimum of $6,000 per year and, so far, the fund has invested over $5m in more than 80 social ventures.

The network also runs the so-called "SV2 Teen Philanthropy Program", which offers a "comprehensive philanthropy and community service experience for SV2 Partners' children who are in 7th-12th grade"[49]. The aim of the programme is "develop the next generation of givers" by exposing the network members' teenage sons and daughters to social problems and guiding them through the process of effective grant making. SV2 Teens make its own investment programme on different areas. In 2017 the focus was on education for low-income youth.

As a result, these three networks and the philanthropic players that conform them are central to not only the spread of new philanthropic sensitivities but, more broadly, they engage with contemporary attempts to economise public domains and methods of government. In short, and going back to the beginning of the chapter, such attempts imply, first, a repopulation of the state, which is now increasingly composed of networks of local, regional, national and supra-national organisations from the economic, social and political fields. Such

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47   Asian Venture Philanthropy Network (n.p.) About us. https://avpn.asia/about-us/
48   Asian Venture Philanthropy Network (n.p.) Our capability development model. https://avpn.asia/knowledge-centre/
49   Silicon Valley Social Venture Fund (n.d.) Family philanthropy. https://www.sv2.org/what-we-do/family-philanthropy/

networks are expected to assemble the efforts of capitalist and non-capitalist organisations in the consecution of a supposedly 'socio/neoliberal' project (see Jessop, 1998; Mayntz, 1993; Rhodes, 1994; Rhodes & Marsh, 1992). Second, the resulting landscape is a new amalgamate of actors and relations that entails a change and redefinition of the relationship between the domains of the economy and the social, and obfuscates the tensions between public and private interests, the social and economic spheres, the state/government and the marketplace, collective welfare and individual wealth. Third, it assigns new roles to the state and, within it, to government, whose organisation moves towards less hierarchical and less centralized forms. Amongst the new roles two are particularly relevant. On the one hand, given the need to re-inscribe every logic and mechanism of governance in terms of competition, profit and recognition, governments are expected to reconfigure their political institutions, methods, and political rationales, and develop what Ball (2007) identifies as processes of 'market-making'. On the other hand, given the new 'polycentric' shape of the state (Jessop, 1998), governments are expected to encourage and steer the necessary connections and transactions that guarantee the correct functioning and reproduction of policy networks, what Jessop (2002) calls processes of metagovernance. In fact, such processes of metagovernance identified in the first part of the report set the framework for the second one and redirects the scope of our research. As suggested so far, 'new' philanthropy plays a central role in the redefinition of subjectivities, in creating and cementing new 'common senses' and logics of action, and in steering the direction of '"advanced' liberal democracies" (Rose, 1996). But, while Rose seemed to question the adjective ("advanced" appears between quotation marks in the original), we would do so with the noun. Therefore, from now onwards, the aim of our work should be understood as an attempt to critically tackle the future of "advanced liberal philantocracies" (see Olmedo, 2016).

In this chapter we have focussed on the profiles, agendas, and investment portfolios of a number of venture philanthropic organisations with a special emphasis on their construction of a discursive space that advocates for new ways of doing policy. The following chapter concentrates in one specific organisation, Ark, and offers a detailed and in-depth analysis of the new spaces that philanthropic organisations are inhabiting, their new and multiple roles and the nature of the ideas and solutions that they bring to the education policy landscape.

PART 2

4. Beyond traditional philanthropic boundaries: a case study of Ark's roles in the global education policy arena

In this second part, we aim to develop a typology of philanthropic involvement and participation in the sphere of public education policy. Such categorisation is based on the spaces that such philanthropic organisations have created and/or populated, the new language and knowledge that they have developed in order to justify their presence in those spaces, and the ways in which they interact with and modify the roles of other traditional actors in the field of education policy (i.e. governments, unions, professional organisations, training institutions, etc.). Here, as explained above (see Chapter 2), we use the case of Ark (Absolute Return for Kids) and, more concretely, the so-called *Ark Ventures*, a set of partnerships created, supported and fully or partly funded by this English philanthropic organisation across the globe. Our interest when looking at these partnerships focuses on how through a multifaceted and complex set of roles, such ventures are partnering with and advising governments across several nations , and therefore having particular effects in terms of education policy and practice in diverse locations. In other words, through mapping Ark's global expansion and its growing engagements, we consider the ways in which philanthropy contributes to processes of policy transfer and convergence, through funding and by bringing privatising and market-based ideas to bear. As Susannah Hares (former head of Ark's Education Partnerships Group for 7 years until July 2018) reflecting on her insider experience recently wrote on a 'note' for the Center for Global Development (which she joined as a senior policy fellow in August 2018):

> *I've often been struck by the amount of influence donors and advisers— usually outsiders—can wield over education policymaking in developing countries (Hares, 2018).*

In this part of the report, we map Ark's range of inter-connected and inter-dependent activities and initiatives according to a typology of philanthropic roles that we argue they illustrate. As we will see, these include a set of mutually reinforcing initiatives, programmes and ventures that involve Ark acting as funder, incubator, provider, technical supporter and advisor as well as curriculum developer, teacher trainer, leadership developer, ecosystem builder, evidence producer and network builder. As noted, in this mapping exercise, we concentrate on Ark's lesser investigated international engagements in the construction of the typology of philanthropic roles because our emphasis is on

understanding their influence on the movement and convergence of policy and discourse around the world. The main roles and activities identified are shown in Diagram 4.

Diagram 4. Ark's roles and activities
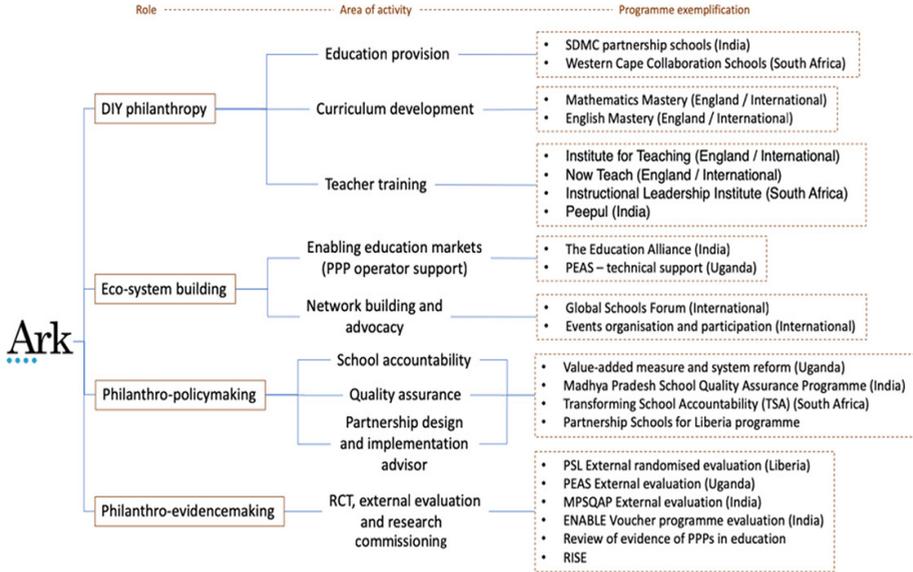
Source: Diagram elaborated by the authors

4.1. Ark's philanthropic philosophy in context: a story of policy mobilities

As discussed in Part 1 of the report, and as we have explored in previous research (Ball and Junemann, 2012; Olmedo, 2016; 2017), philanthropists have made their vast fortunes thanks to 'hand's off' government intervention approaches in advanced capitalist markets. When investing business-amassed money into the realm of education, it is unsurprising that these 'new' philanthropists have been guided by the principles of the market. As Scott (2009, p. 107) explains, these actors "tend to favor market-based hallmarks such as competition, standardization, and high-stakes accountability." Put very simply, this involves the value of competition in driving up standards and promoting efficiency; the idea that those who provide services are subject to the demands of the consumer; and that for this to happen, the consumer must be able to choose. Such 'discursive ensemble' (see Apple, 2001) around markets and their accompanying policy technologies of new managerialism and performativity (Ball, 2003), are evident in Ark's narratives and policy stories and advocated policy

solutions. They represent "a set of tightly inter-related and inter-dependent concepts, and ideas and arguments addressed to educational reform" (Ball, Junemann and Santori, 2017, p 65).

Such a discursive ensemble increasingly links together governments, international organizations, donors and philanthropies coalescing around the idea of an almost inevitability to the processes of private sector involvement in public services. Alongside the premise of failing state bureaucracies, some key assumptions about private school superiority underpin this attributed key role. As Verger, Fontdevila and Zancajo (2016, p. 177) put it:

> *efficiency (privatization as a cost-effective way to expand education), effectiveness (the private sector as a source of competition and improvement in school performance), diversification (the private sector as a promoter of pluralism in educational systems), and innovation (the private sector as a transmitter of new educational ideas and know-how in the public sector).*

The constitution of such discursive ensemble follows the pattern of what Stone (1989, p. 282) identified as 'causal stories', that is "narrative story lines and symbolic devices to manipulate so-called characteristics, all the while making it seem as though they are simply describing facts". In the case of Ark, and we will develop this further through this chapter, the construction of the body of causal stories that conforms their discursive ensemble shares a common skeleton (see Table 2).

Table 2. **The Ark's causal story skeleton**

The identification/creation of a problem…
When it comes to translating the discussed assumptions into education for developing nations, the departing premise is a state of crisis in education related to the certainty of a failing state:
The magnitude of the learning crisis in developing countries is increasingly acute and increasingly visible.[50]
The [3 spoons-full-of-sugar] cure…
(1) Innovation and assessment/accountability
This premise enables some related arguments about replacing hierarchy and bureaucracy by inventiveness and enterprise (particularly through public private partnerships [PPPs] as we will see below) and the need for assessment as a way of measuring and managing the system:
We provide services and support to governments in developing countries to help strengthen education systems through smarter accountability and effective partnerships with the non-state schooling sector.[51]

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50   Ark EPG (2017, May). Associate Director, Research and Evaluation [Job Specification], p. 2.
51   Ibid.

(2) Leadership
This is usually related to the strategic role of managerial skills and sensibilities in driving change and raising quality:
Evidence indicates that strong school leadership can turn this [learning crisis] around, with some studies suggesting that an effective school principal can influence the learning outcomes of students by up to 25%.[52]
(3) Partnership
And of course, leverage for change from strategic philanthropy is a key element here:
We can have a bigger impact when we work with others, such as governments and education organisations, as well as people at a local level too. (...) Working in partnership has also allowed us to extend our impact to other countries – spreading our expertise through initiatives designed to improve entire education systems. (...) Working together is key to everything we do: whether that's teachers sharing resources across countries, or children from different schools helping each other to perform a song on stage. Our work has greater impact when we share knowledge and expertise.[53]

Source: Table elaborated by the authors

Precisely these are the sets of assumptions about the functioning of education markets and the participation of the non-state sector in partnership arrangements, that lie at the basis of Ark's international work on education reform (see Figure 2). These, again, clearly relate school choice and competition to school and system-wide improvement, through diversification of provision paired with autonomy and accountability, which derive in management innovation and in turn contribute to driving up quality across the whole system.

In fact, as we will see throughout the chapter, these kinds of partnerships, together with leadership and assessment, are offered as favoured solutions and as practices that 'work', for which there is selected evidence or a collection of hand-picked stories of success in other places (for instance, Charter schools, Academies or Concession schools, as we will see below). We do not take these assertions at face value, rather we problematize the issue of 'evidence', the construction of 'what works', and the portrayal of a 'consensus' around non-state sector superiority in more detail below, when we discuss Ark's evidence-making role and in the final discussion. As several researchers have argued, despite the disputed evidence-base, public-private collaborations and partnership and associated new public management reforms, which are dominant political rationalities in advanced liberal democracies (Olmedo and Wilkins, 2017), are now increasingly promoted as 'hot' policy solutions as well as key instruments in the 'modernisation' of public policy (Klijn et al, 2007). What we are interested in is not showing the limits to the evidence basis for these policy circulations, but in the ways in which policy narratives, actual policies and associated practices (such as PPPs and those advocated by Ark), are taken as working and become mobile.

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52 Ark (n.d.). South Africa Instructional Leadership Institute http://arkonline.org/south-africa-instructional-leadership-institute
53 Ark (n.d.). About us. http://arkonline.org/about-us/what-we-do

Figure 2. Ark's PPP reform framework

Impact of PPP reform on the *education system*	**Stronger education for all children in all schools**		
Increased school choice and diversity of provision leads to: • *Increased competition* between all schools (public and private) • *Increased public demand for school improvement* across sectors	Increased accountability for PPP schools leads to: • *Stronger accountability system for all schools* as the government has a clear framework and greater capability to hold all schools to account	Increased autonomy for school operators leads to *efficiencies in the labour market for school teachers and leaders*, driving up quality of education delivery for all schools	Diversity of provision and greater autonomy leads to an *improved ecosystem of school providers all innovating around school management*, learning from each other and creating local solutions to improve education quality

A stronger education system for all schools will continue to improve performance in PPP schools

Impact of PPP reform learning outcomes in *PPP schools*	**Improved learning outcomes for children in PPP schools**	
Increased school choice and diversity of schooling provision within the public sector	*Increased accountability* (from the government and parents) for schools (leaders and teachers) for professional activities and student learning outcomes	*Increased autonomy* for schools (leaders and teachers), allowing innovation and management flexibility (including hiring practices)

PPP reform introduced in an education system
Policy design increases diversity of schooling provision, with strong accountability from the government alongside greater autonomy for schools

Enabling Factors
- PPP arrangements are well designed and the government has the capacity to ensure they are effectively implemented, overseen and enforced
- Conducive regulatory environment
- Buoyant private sector in education
- Equality considerations at the forefront in the design, implementation and enforcement stages to ensure that these arrangements reduce (not exacerbate) inequalities in the provision of educational services

Source: Aslam et al., 2017, p. 11.

Social geographers have been particularly interested in these policy circulations or 'mobilities' (Baker and Temenos, 2015), and consider the significance of the actors involved in this dissemination and the sites of knowledge production, dissemination and legitimation (McCann, 2013). In this context and within these discourses, public-private partnership arrangements such as the Academies

school programme in England and charter schools in the USA in particular, can be seen as a particular kind of "traveling policy model" (Temenos and McCann, 2013), which as such, condense the current main priorities of politicians and businesses and "of the institutional and ideological context of global neoliberalism" (p. 13).

Despite of the lack of robust evidence available to prove it (as we discuss below), PPPs advocates argue that they "bring the best of both worlds. The state's orientation towards equity and social cohesion together with the alleged creativity, dynamism and efficiency of the private sector" (Verger and Moschetti, 2016, p. 6). PPPs are now disseminated not only by a large number of philanthropic organisations like Ark but also by donors and multilaterals, to developing country governments who need to be perceived as doing something to address the so-identified access and learning crises, in the context of tight budgets and state capacity. They are now also presented as a key development financing mechanism in support of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)[54](Gideon and Unterhalter, 2017).

So there is not only a matter of geographical breadth involved here but also a new 'political sensitivity', what Peck and Theodore (2015) call "fast policy", which, far from a simple measure in terms of speed, refers to "a policymaking condition characterized by the intensified and instantaneous connectivity of sites, channels, arenas, and nodes of policy development, evolution and reproduction" (p. 223). Ark represents a clear example of the operation of such new policymaking condition. It is an active agent in interconnecting and mobilising knowledge and advice on education globally. The charity activates the reputational capital (McCann and Ward, 2012) accrued from its experience of running an Academy chain in England in partnership with the government, to promote the model and advise on implementation:

> *Drawing on our experience navigating a PPP with the UK government and our role as a successful education service provider, Ark has established our Public Private Partnerships Practice. We work with government and non-state partners to help ensure that children across the world have access to high quality, inspirational education.[55]*

As we discuss below, the PPPs on which Ark is involved abroad (particularly in India and South Africa), are modelled on and directly informed by the English Academies and the US charter school programmes, involving non-state actors that take over state schools. As Amitav Virmani, former Head of Ark India, mentioned in an interview at the early stages of Ark's work in India in 2013,

> *The work that Ark is doing in the UK is very similar to what we want to do down the road ... . We now have 18 academies [in England], with 24 en-route; it'll be 50 by 2015. And the concept of privately running—*

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54   To be precise, the encouragement and promotion of effective public-private partnerships is included as a specific target under Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 17, which runs across different policy sectors including education (UN, 2015).

55   Ark (n.d.). Education Partnerships Group http://arkonline.org/programmes/education-partnerships-group

education that is publicly funded is something that Ark believes it can deliver [inaudible] it's looking to India, we're also seeking a similar model in South Africa and Uganda (Amitav Virmani, [former] Head of Ark [India], CEO, The Education Alliance) (cited in Ball 2017, p. 38).

Through its role in making the English Academy partnership model 'mobile', Ark gains renewed recognition and authority. This is certainly a self-fulfilling, retro feeding process. As McCann and Temenos (2013) claim,

we might ask if, when a locally-developed policy becomes a global 'model' by receiving accolades and being copied by others, this positive attention is likely to confer weight and legitimacy on its advocates and thus increase their influence in the local politics of policy- making? (p. 350).

The recent written submission from Ark EPG to a Parliamentary Enquiry on DFID's work on education (Ark, 2017) shows Ark speaking with the authority conferred by experience, presenting a number of case studies of international PPP initiatives they have been involved with, and providing recommendations to DFID's international work around the main lines of system reform: system diversification, autonomy and accountability systems. For example, the document suggests that:

DFID should support governments to strengthen the enabling environments around non-state operators, including: developing innovative approaches to increasing school autonomies; improving government's commissioning processes for non-state schools; strengthening government accountability systems, including value-added data and school inspection/quality assurance. DFID is well-positioned to access the best of the English education sector to help on these issues:

- *DFID could leverage the capacity of Ofsted for school accountability and school inspections system strengthening, for example the partnership between DFID, Ark EPG and Ofsted in Madhya Pradesh, India.*

- *DFID could leverage the capacity of the Department for Education to strengthen PPPs and accountability systems, for example the DFE's support to Ark EPG's value added data project in Uganda, or expertise from the UK Academy Programme in PPP school commissioning and financing.*

(Ark, 2017)

Yet, the same document makes it clear that: "Overall, there are an insufficient number of rigorous studies to show the impact of public-private partnerships for education." (Ark, 2017, p. 4). We develop this further below.

Ark's international technical advisory role has certainly contributed to its growing recognition as a policy 'guru' by governments and in international fora and events where they are increasingly invited to speak as experts, about what they do and how they do it and to give feedback to others. This strand of Ark's current activities in the UK, and internationally, certainly have a strong emphasis on the different aspects of what Fontdevila and Verger (2017) identify as the varying modalities and strategies of 'policy influence'. However, Ark's multifaceted engagements and activities enable us to identify a broader set of philanthropic roles beyond what can be strictly conceived as policy influence and which at the same time, reinforce policy influence, authority and capacity.

4.2. Ark's multifaceted and expanding roles

DIY (*do it yourself*) philanthropy: delivering reform through funding, provision and training

One of the central activities carried out by philanthropic organisations, and possibly the one that they have been doing since their very first stages (see Arnove, 1980), is the direct provision of services or *do it yourself* character of philanthropic activity. Looking back in history, the first "modern" philanthropists (like, for instance, John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie, Joseph Rowntree and Henry Welcome) were successful business people and entrepreneurs that devoted large sums of money to the development of social programmes and to support existing public schemes (Magat, 1989). This first wave of philanthropy attempted to exert influence over the public sphere acting as '"cooling-out" agencies' (Arnove, 1980, p. 1) and 'though beholden to the logic of cultural imperialism, was marked by a spirit of public obligation and deeply embedded in a liberal democratic ethos' (Saltman, 2010, p. 64). But, as explained in the previous chapter, what started by relatively discreet, small-scale, localised and community-bounded projects has evolved into all-encompassing and global programmes.

Since its creation in 2002, Ark has also rapidly expanded an ever-growing network of programmes and joint ventures in the field of education. What started as a small, one-school experiment in London, has become one of the leading education-focused foundations in England and also internationally. The Education Partnerships Group (EPG) is one of the main channels through which Ark performs its philanthropic activity outside the UK. Interestingly, Susannah Hares, who led Ark's EPG for 7 years, has recently left the organisation to join the Center for Global Development, a research organisation with which Ark has collaborated on a number of research projects. Ark EPG's newly appointed CEO (from June 2018) is Sam Freedman, previously Executive Director at Teach First and former Senior Policy Adviser to Michael Gove as UK's Secretary of State for

Education. We will return to this issue later in the conclusions, but for now, it is worth noting that these movements of people across sectors and between organisations, far from anecdotal, are key in order to understand the direction of the discursive agendas, the nature of the solutions promoted and advocated for, and the connections and partnerships developed by the organisations that such individuals work/ed for. In our case:

> *The EPG team supports education policy reform and execution to enable governments to better leverage the efficiency and entrepreneurial energy of the non-state sector, while holding it accountable for quality and equitable learning outcomes.*
>
> *Our objective is to advise and support government agendas so that they can address some of the systemic challenges that hinder the delivery of better education. Ark is well respected for our rational, outcomes-based approach to the non-state sector – an important asset in a highly polarized education sector. We draw on this experience and international best practice to support governments interested in PPP for education.*
>
> *We know that the right accountability mechanisms are essential for a PPP to function effectively. Therefore, alongside PPPs, we will support governments' reform efforts in the accountability triangle: education data, standardised assessments and school quality assurance.[56]*

There are multiple aspects of the previous quote that will be discussed throughout the chapter. At this stage we are particularly interested on the political model, in terms of public governance, over which the whole of Ark's rationale and programmatic approach is built. According to Ark, the new shape of the state is conformed through a framework where multiple players from different backgrounds and motivations (public/private/third sector/religious/non-religious/for profit/not-for-profit) operate, assigning governments the role of both encouraging and harnessing such participation and, at the same time, assessing the performance and holding such participants to account. Ark's approach is coherent with dominant voices within the political and philanthropic worlds, and, more concretely, follows the logic of what Bill Gates defined as 'creative capitalism' (see Ball and Olmedo, 2012; Olmedo 2013) a framework where government intervention is limited to the funding, coordination and evaluation of public policy (through systems of school inspection, performance management and accountability), while playing a much lesser role in the design and delivery of services and programmes on the ground. PPPs are an impeccable example and the most straight-forward policy technology derived from such approach (see Verger, 2012).

A brief note on the kinds of PPPs Ark is referring to here, and the ones we address and discuss in this report, is appropriate at this point as the term public-private partnership can and has been used to refer to a wide range

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56   Ark (n.d.). Education Partnerships Group http://arkonline.org/programmes/education-partnerships-group

of collaborations between both sectors (see Verger and Moschetti, 2016 for a comprehensive discussion of different models of PPPs). In education, these may include "the use of private providers to design, build, operate and manage state education facilities" (Ball and Youdell, 2007, p. 28) and to deliver schooling services. The categorisation in the report 'The Role and Impact of PPPs in Education' (Patrinos et al., 2009), which could be considered as the most influential of a series of publications on the issue by World Bank economists circulated and disseminated widely since, underpins Ark's PPP conceptualisation. Patrinos and colleagues (2009) have distinguished between different types of public-private partnerships according to the types of mixes of financing and provision of education (see Table 3). Ark interests and work, and our focus in this report, are around PPPs for service delivery, and within these, Ark "focuses specifically on programmes where public finance is combined with private provision through vouchers, subsidies and/or contract/charter schools" (Ark, 2017). These different modalities appear in red in Table 3.

Table 3. **Public-private partnerships according to financing and provision**

Provision

		Private	Public
Finance	**Private**	• Private universities • Home schooling • Tutoring	• User fees • Student loans
	Public	• Vouchers • Contract schools • Charter schools • Contracting out	• Public schools • Public universities

Source: Patrinos et al., 2009, Figure 1, p. 3

These types of publicly funded, privately delivered modalities are what Ark calls contract management PPP programmes, which include vouchers (funded by the state directly to families for private school attendance) and contract management arrangements where "non-state organisations run and are held accountable for the performance of government schools" (Ark, 2015). Ark maintains that these modalities:

are often expressly implemented with desire to target low performance and have shown ability to raise outcomes: Charter schools (US), Academies (UK), Concession schools (Colombia). Charter-style systems are often posited as 'innovation labs' and are seen as a means to test

interventions which can then be fed into the wider system. Estimates from the UK and US suggest when charter-style PPPs reach 5% of total schools, spill-over effects to the wider system are experienced (Ark, 2015).

Therefore, as noted already, PPPs do not happen in a vacuum but as part of a bundle of policies, policy technologies and political rationalities aimed at reforming the state and introducing market forces via both supply side policies of system diversification (e.g. a variety of different sorts of schools) and demand side policies (e.g. school evaluations, parental choice). The rationale behind this remains within the premises of classic liberalism: schools must compete for pupils and parents who, as consumers, have the responsibility of choosing an appropriate provider for their children, from a variety of options that must equally compete between each other.

In the next section, we focus on one key aspect of the PPP conundrum: the need for a set of diverse, competitive and accountable schools, and the package of 'solutions' that can make this possible and effective. More concretely, we cover the development of Ark as an education provider. In the following two sections, we discuss its role as a curriculum developer and teacher trainer.

School provision and the creation of edu-markets: PPP arrangements in India and South Africa

The first case of what we call the DIY role of philanthropic action encompasses a range of programmes and activities related with the provision of education, through its participation in the negotiation and implementation of PPP schools. Enacting the neoliberal philosophy and political rationality[57], in the last few years, Ark has become a key player within PPP arrangements at sub-national levels of government in India and South Africa.

In India, this is the product of an evolving network of relationships that Ark has developed, for a number of years, with government officials and with a group of foundations and private sector actors which are part of what Ball (2017), quoting former Ark-India country director Amitav Virmani, referred to as the Indian Education Reform Movement (IERM). The IERM can be described as a group of ideologically aligned, inter-connected and often grant-converging (Rekhow and Snyder, 2014) organisations and individuals, mostly educated and trained in the global North, drawing from global education market reforms and advocating reform initiatives in the country. This includes Ark working with the Corporation of Greater Mumbai and a number of third sector and private organisations in the Mumbai School Excellence Programme[58], in partnership

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57   We do not hide behind the possibly overused and timeworn adjective/noun neoliberalism but use it consciously in the way in which we have done so consistently in previous work (see Ball and Junemann, 2012; Ball, Junemann and Santori, 2017; Olmedo, 2013, 2017).
58   These include the Naandi Foundation, Save the Children, Kaivalya Education Foundation and Educational Initiatives.

with the Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai (MCGM)[59] and with external funding from the Michael & Susan Dell Foundation and UNICEF. Therefore, Ark's subsequent work with the South Delhi Municipal Corporation and the setting up of the first Ark school outside England, marks then a second and more consolidated foray into local policy with Ark acting as a school provider in partnership with a local government in India.

Through this partnership with the South Delhi Municipal Corporation (SDMC), Ark opened the Lajpat-Nagar III Primary School in South Delhi in July 2015. This was the first SDMC partnership school, which is run by Ark in partnership with Dhanpatmal Virmani Education Trust (DVET). DVET receives grants from Ark UK to support their partnership schools and as part of its activities, it has developed a school quality assurance programme (see below). Ark has since opened two more schools in Amar Colony and Jeevan Nagar in 2017, and the initiative has consolidated as a separate 'Ark Venture' called Peepul (formerly known as Ark India[60]). Alongside the schools, Peepul launched in 2017 its own Teacher Training Centre (see below) and there are plans to expand the school network in India steadily:

> *We are on a growth path to continue to build scalable and replicable models of high-quality education in India and plan to open a total of 10 schools, teaching 3,000 pupils by 2022. We will stagger the opening of the remaining seven schools, with two opening in 2018, three in 2019 and the final two in 2020.[61]*

Despite these moderately ambitious plans, the most significant aspect of this collaboration is Ark's unambiguous aspiration to use this experience as evidence or 'demonstration work' to effect larger change across the system:

> *We hope to open a network of primary schools in South Delhi, which could in turn provide a model for education reform across India.[62]*

Or in the words of one of its partners:

> *The aim is to create a network of high performing, fee-free schools, and work with the Delhi municipal government on issues of broader education reform.[63]*

59   Mumbai School Excellence Programme (SEP) has been described as "a unique partnership between the government bodies (Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai, Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan, Maharashtra SCERT, and Text Book Bureau), partnering with private and nongovernment education players (Naandi Foundation, Save the Children, Kaivalya Education Foundation, and Educational Initiatives) with external funding and governance (from UNICEF and Michael and Susan Dell Foundation) and programme design and management (McKinsey and Company) support" (see http://schoolchoice.in/scnc2013/event-report.pdf, cited in Ball 2017, p. 36).

60   Peepul (n.d.). Our story http://peepulindia.org/about-us/

61   Ark (n.d.). Ark supports two more pioneering new schools to open in India http://arkonline.org/news/ark-supports-two-more-pioneering-new-schools-open-india

62   Ark (n.d.) New school model in South Delhi could transform education http://arkonline.org/news/new-school-model-south-delhi-could-transform-education

63   Virmani Education Trust (n.d.). Ark http://virmanitrust.com/ark-supported-programs/

School provision then, has an immediate influence power or impact on the students, families and communities which they serve, but probably as importantly, is intended to act as a precedent and serve as a success story that can then be rolled out and replicated at larger scale, and used to justify further reform (see below).

A further foray into the setting up of publicly funded, independent schools outside Britain has taken shape in the Western Cape Collaboration Schools partnership that involves Ark working with the Western Cape government in South Africa. This work started in 2015 when Ark partnered with the Western Cape government and a group of funders to implement so-called Collaboration Schools.

We are supporting the Western Cape Education Department (WCED) in South Africa in piloting a new model of public school based on the academies in the UK. The goal of the "Collaboration Schools" pilot programme is to address the challenge of ensuring lower income communities have access to the same quality of teaching and learning as those from more affluent backgrounds.[64]

Again, the model here draws on the experience of the academies programme in England. In addition, the rationale for the development of the pilot scheme is, once again, around the need to improve quality, "testing a model of schooling that will strengthen the quality of teaching and learning in public schools, which will remain no-fee and non-selective"[65] and to leverage non-state financial resources. As the Western Cape Provincial Minister for Education, Debbie Schäfer, stated back in 2017, "We do not believe that we have the monopoly on running good schools, and are thus committed to partnerships with relevant stakeholders to maximise resources and expertise"[66]. Accordingly, in September 2015, a Memorandum of Agreement was signed between the Western Cape Education Department (WCED) and a funder group to launch the collaboration schools pilot project from January 2016. The group of funders included Ark, Omidyar Network, Michael & Susan Dell Foundation, Millenium Trust, Zenex Foundation, FirstRand Foundation and DG Murray Trust. These partners, the organisations claim, ensure:

intensive school-level support to teachers and principals through training, additional resources, monitoring and regular feedback. The WCED will continue to hold the schools and operating partners to account as part of the public education system, and existing teachers at Collaboration Schools will remain WCED employees.[67]

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64   Ark (n.d.). Education Partnerships Group. http://arkonline.org/epg
65   Ark (n.d.). Western Cape Collaboration Schools. http://arkonline.org/south-africa-collaboration-schools
66   Western Cape Government (2017, 15 Nov). Collaboration Schools reflect commitment to building partnerships. https://www.westerncape.gov.za/news/collaboration-schools-reflect-commitment-building-partnerships
67   Ark (n.d.). Supporting a new collaborative school model in South Africa. http://arkonline.org/news/supporting-new-collaborative-school-model-south-africa

The DG Murray Trust has provided USD 282,888 in funding for the pilot phase that is intended to serve to prove the model in the local context. Ark set up and managed a pilot support office during the first year, although starting from 2017 Ark has remained a strategic advisor and member of the fund group but has given up the pilot support office role, concentrating on supporting school operating partners.[68] This work is done through a new programme called Western Cape Operator Development. The partnership currently includes seven schools working with five operating partners (Acorn Foundation, Mellon Educate, 2 Oceans Education Foundation, Common Good Foundation and School Turnaround Foundation).

An issue worth noting in this partnership is the multi-faceted role of Ark, including partnership advocate and policy negotiator (with the Western Cape provincial government) and what we call an *ecosystem builder* (see below). In other words, the initial phase of partnership negotiation and set up gave rise to the need to guarantee an enabling environment and a pool of suitable operating partners who could deliver it, an issue that has proved problematic across several contexts where education markets have been promoted. Ark's transition to a technical support function for operating partners suggests Ark's readiness to intervene in building and strengthening a market-oriented ecosystem (a role that we discuss fully in Section 4.2.2).

Curriculum development: knowledge control

A second role within the *DIY* character of philanthropic action refers to the development of new pedagogical models and curricular materials. This is intimately related to the previous cases, as it is only logical that once a chain of schools is created, contents and materials should follow. In the case of Ark, this logic has been taken further and instead of designing materials simply for its own schools, a new set of projects has been created in order to market and sell them more widely. There are two relatively new Ark ventures in operation that focus on this area of curriculum development: Mathematics Mastery and English Mastery.

The former is a non-profit organisation launched in 2012 as part of the Ark ventures scheme. It is allegedly inspired by the Shanghai and Singaporean approaches to teaching mathematics and offers two programmes, one for primary and one for secondary schools. This illustrates what Sellar and Lingard (2013) call the "reconstitution of reference societies" (p. 464) following the increasing interest of Western countries such as the US, UK and Australia in 'looking East' for education policy ideas, as a result of the strong performance of East Asian nations such as Singapore, Hong Kong, South Korea and Japan and sub-national places such as Shanghai (China) in PISA performance league tables.

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68   Ark (n.d.). Western Cape Collaboration Schools. http://arkonline.org/western-cape-collaboration-schools

Currently, Mathematics Mastery is used in 475 schools across England and Northern Ireland. The programme raises funds through the direct charge of fees to the schools but also from other sources in the form of economic contributions and charitable donations from public and private players like: Bank of America Merrill Lynch, Education Endowment Foundation, Garfield Weston Foundation, Department for Education (UK), and the Mayor of London. The cost to schools is GBP 6,776 in the first year (which is reduced on subsequent years) and the organisation claims that 90% of those continue with the programme into the following year (though there is no further verification and anecdotal evidence[69] suggest that they are considering to stop using the package as it is too prescriptive and perceived as de-professionalising and deskilling teachers). It is important to highlight here that the programme is not directly and openly for sale to every school. In fact, schools need to submit an application form which is studied and accepted or rejected by the Mathematics Mastery team correspondingly. There are no indicators publicly available as to how such final decision is made, apart from a very general list of criteria which identifies the following schools as unsuitable for the programme:

- Mixed age classes
- Middle schools
- Upper schools
- Schools with extremely small intakes
- Schools with high intake of special educational needs[70]

Once a school's application is successful, the programme offers inductions and training for teachers, as well as adaptable materials and a wide range of classroom resources.

Mathematics Mastery exemplifies a crucial aspect of Ark's significance as a growing global policy actor, through the overlaps and synergies it develops between its initiatives, ventures, network of relationships and partner organisations. In this sense, this programme also illustrates a more nuanced and complex flow of policy, or at least of pedagogical approaches, around the world than a simplistic North/South policy transfer model may imply by the PPP programmers. In fact, drawing from Singaporean and Shanghainese approaches to Maths teaching, and developed in England, the programme has now been introduced in the Lajpat Nagar III school in India[71]. This illustrates yet another instance of the way in which Ark, through school provision (see

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69 Personal correspondence with individual schools in England as part of an ongoing research project exploring the processes of Academisation.
70 Mathematics Mastery (n.d.). Applications to join the 2019-20 programme are open. https://www.mathematicsmastery.org/how-to-join-our-national-maths-programme
71 Mathematics Mastery (2016, 22 Jan). A global look at Mathematics Mastery: Triumphs and challenges at Ark Lajpat Nagar III, India. https://www.mathematicsmastery.org/a-global-look-at-mathematics-mastery-triumphs-and-challenges-at-ark-lajpat-nagar-iii-india/

above), is also involved in the export of curriculum, pedagogy and teaching methods, which raises questions in terms of new forms of cultural imperialism (see Tickly, 2004) or conveying Western assumptions about knowledge and pedagogy, from England to the periphery. In fact, Lajpat Nagar III has also leveraged and taken advantage of its position within the broader, and now international, Ark schools network:

> *Ark Fellows, seasoned teachers from three different Ark schools in the UK, came here during their summer vacation to lend a helping hand. My teachers have been enriched by this interaction. The school has been formally linked with Ark Atwood Primary Academy in London.[72]*

Alongside Mathematics Mastery, Ark has very recently rolled out a second curriculum programme: English Mastery. Like its maths counterpart, English Mastery offers books, lesson by lesson units and resources, an assessment toolkit and professional development for teachers. Initially, this is a secondary school programme that has been tested in 14 of Ark's own schools in England since 2014. In 2017, two other academy chains in England (Inspiration Trust and Oasis Community Learning) joined the final testing phase. The programme was due to officially launch in September 2018.

Teacher training: between instruction and indoctrination

Across the world, the answer to the apparently endemic crisis of national educational results seems to have a constant denominator. There are multiple factors identified that vary in terms of organisational, geographic, economic and social configurations, but, overall and almost without exception, there is an accusatory finger pointing at the teaching professional. Teachers and headteachers are at the centre of the storm but, even then, the explanations are manifold. In some cases, countries suffer from problems with teacher recruitment and retention, while others seem to struggle with "quality" and training issues. Here we focus on the role of Ark, and philanthropic actors more generally, in the promotion of new conceptions of educational delivery and, more specifically, teacher subjectivities. In accordance with contemporary neoliberal educational philosophy based on, as we have seen, competition together with strong accountability and value-added evaluations (with a focus on core subjects: Science, Maths and English, or other official languages), a new understanding of what a good teacher and school manager should be is required.

In England, Ark participates in two new initiatives: Now Teach (and its sister programme in the field of social work: Frontline) and the Institute for Teaching. The former was created in 2016 with the following aim:

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72   Ark (2016, 25 April). Ark Lajpat Nagar III: The Year in Review. http://arkonline.org/blog/ark-lajpat-nagar-iii-year-review

to encourage high-flyers to retrain as teachers. These people will start a movement of senior professionals redeploying their skills in the classroom and teaching the children who need it most. Now Teach exists to find them and help them become formidable teachers.[73]

The programme is designed only for people who are currently working in any other areas and are looking to change their career paths. It is a school-based course which offers a paid contract from the very beginning in a four day a week format, out of which three and a half are spent at school and the remaining half is purely for training.

Alongside this, the Institute for Teaching (IfT) is a "specialist graduate school for teachers" that claims to be "Re-thinking teacher education and providing a progression pathway to expertise that is taught by a faculty of expert teacher educators"[74]. Ark is one of the main partners of IfT alongside Clifford Chance (a law firm) and Ambition School Leadership (an extensive network of school leaders at multiple levels, from single schools to multi-school-trusts). They also receive both financial and in-kind support from: the UK Government's Department for Education (which already funds some of their training courses directly); Zing (a charity incubator focused on young people, and which supports other Ark projects); Big Change (a charity incubator that defines itself as a 'social impact accelerator'); Credit Suisse Foundation; and Teach First's Innovation Unit (which has historically partnered with Ark in multiple initiatives).

Both programmes, Now Teach and the Institute for Teaching, share the same stately cardinal philosophy: high leverage, efficiency and decision-making based on data and evidence. These pillars, which represent the essence of the neoliberal philosophy and have been recognised in other professional fields, should be also used to reshape the area of education policy, as, in the view of Ark, "teaching is no different":

We are fascinated by expertise and how professionals can keep getting better. As part of our work, we have studied how pilots, elite athletes and surgeons hone and master their craft. Expertise in these disciplines demands both rigour and fluency. Teaching is no different.[75]

Similarly, and in line with the centrality that education reform thinking and rationales attribute to leadership and school leaders, as part of its activities in South Africa, Ark has developed a school leadership development programme. The South Africa Instructional Leadership Institute (ILI) was launched in 2017. It is largely funded by the Michael and Susan Dell Foundation and the Millennium Trust, and run by Ark in partnership with Relay, another American

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73   Ark (n.d.). Now Teach. http://arkonline.org/programmes/now-teach
74   Institute for Teaching (n.d.) https://ift.education
75   Institute for Teaching (n.d.). Masters in Expert Teaching https://ift.education/courses/masters/

non-profit higher education institution training teachers and school leaders across the USA. More specifically, the Relay Graduate School of Education is a shared initiative of three of the largest (and most admired among education reformers - see, for instance, Petrilli, 2017 and Goldstein, 2014) charter school networks in the USA: Uncommon Schools, KIPP, and Achievement First. Both Ark and Relay contribute instructors from their own organisations to deliver the leadership training in SA, drawing from their experiences in the UK and in the USA respectively.

The programme targets "passionate, reflective and committed school leaders"[76] from all types of schools from public and public-private partnership, to also low-fee private schools. It has been designed:

> *to train a cohort of effective school principals who can create meaningful change in the country's most disadvantaged schools. The programme is centred around 'instructional leadership' which focuses leadership attention on facilitating quality teaching and learning.*[77]

Participants are required to deepen their "understanding and mastery of highest leverage instructional techniques and strategic planning"[78], and, to do so, the ILI curriculum is underpinned by three key pillars:

- **Data Driven Instruction:** implementing school-wide systems for collecting and analysing learner work to ensure that all learners meet rigorous learning expectations.
- **School Culture:** turning participants' beliefs and core values into daily practices that support an engaging learning environment in their school.
- **Observation and Feedback:** helping teachers grow to their full potential by building a schedule that supports frequent classroom observations and focused feedback meetings.[79]

Once again, the influence of the Ark's model can be clearly identified. Rigorous learning expectations that need to be defined in measurable terms and easily evaluable are the gist but there is a clear need to change the existing culture into a new model that values this particular educational conception. Continual observations, relentless evaluation and constant feedback are the biopolitical DNA of neoliberal education policy. These are the key ingredients to foster a climate of comparison and competition.

Finally, and moving back to the global setting, Peepul (Ark's venture in India, see above) it developed a further partnership with South Delhi Municipal Corporation to create a teacher training programme aimed at developing

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76   Instructional Leadership Institute (n.d.). Who can apply. https://www.ili.education/who-can-apply/
77   Ark (n.d.). South Africa Instructional Leadership Institute. http://arkonline.org/south-africa-instructional-leadership-institute
78   Instructional Leadership Institute (n.d.). About the programme. https://www.ili.education/about-the-programme
79   Instructional Leadership Institute (n.d.). About the programme. https://www.ili.education/about-the-programme

foundational knowledge, skills and mindsets of teachers through hands-on coaching and classroom observation. During its first year, the programme will be working with 400 government teachers, across 150 schools, impacting close to 18,000 students[80]. It is important to highlight here the fact that Teach For India is one of Peepul's main programme partners, and that Teach For India is part of the Teach for All network that adapts and promotes the Teach for America and Teach First (England) models of teacher training to other countries worldwide (see Olmedo et al, 2013).

Taken together, these teacher and leadership training initiatives illustrate at least two issues. One is the steady expansion of conceptions of school improvement based on technocratic and managerial models of teacher and leadership training (White, 2016). These models have been criticised for promoting narrow approaches to schools' improvement that underplay the broader social dimensions of education and ignore the significance of the embeddedness of schools within politics and society (Scott, 2011). This raises important questions when considering the mobility and transfer of these sorts of teacher and leaders training models within specific contexts in India and South Africa.

Secondly, these alternative models of teacher and leadership training as a whole, work to deregulate and destabilise traditional, state-administered forms of training and certification. Therefore, as Scott (2011) argues in the USA, they also "neglect the expertise of seasoned teachers, grassroots community organizations, and many parent advocacy groups" (p 588). The support and incubation of these kinds of alternative, fast-tracked teacher training initiatives by Ark can be seen as part of what Reckhow and Snyder (2014) see as the overwhelming preference of the biggest and most powerful venture philanthropy and philanthropic organisations to grant and support what they call *jurisdictional challengers*. Jurisdictional challengers are all those organisations that offer alternative educational services (e.g., teacher training, credentialing, school management) long controlled by traditional institutions such as colleges of education and public schools districts /local authorities (see Ferrare and Reynolds, 2016). Incubating and supporting these kinds of initiatives and organisations is a central mechanism in the realisation of a market-oriented agenda within which the deregulation of teaching is an important element in providing the work-force for PPP models of schools..

Before we conclude this section, it is important to reiterate the multifaceted character of the philanthropic roles that we are discussing which is also related to the imbrication between and inter-dependence and complementarity of a set of organisations, practices, reform ideas and methods. For example, for 2018-19, Peepul is looking to widen the impact of their work as well as creating a new training programme for school leaders. They will start working on codifying their teaching programme in order to develop modules that could be directly integrated in the government's teacher training programme. This is

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80   Peepul (n.d.). Teacher Training. http://peepulindia.org/teacher-training/

a second, related way of engaging in teacher training, not just by providing and encouraging alternative forms of provision and therefore the deregulation of teacher training, but also by influencing pedagogical approaches and priorities at the centre of state provision. Similarly, based on the experience of the Lajpat Nagar III pilot, the South Delhi Municipal Corporation launched the School Quality Enhancement Program in 2016, extending the Partnership school model. This can be categorised as a form of *philanthro-policymaking*, a role that we address below. Let us remind the reader once again that, while in this chapter we do a heuristic exercise to try to outline a typology of philanthropic roles as separate categories, there is a necessary and underlying inter-connection and inter-dependence between such different roles that needs to be taken into account in understanding the workings and effectiveness of philanthropic activity and policy influence.

Ecosystem building

Enabling education markets

What we call DIY philanthropy certainly involves a concerted effort to build and/or strengthen the various elements that conform a market-oriented education system, from funding, partnering with and advising governments on partnership arrangements (see philanthro-policymaking below), to running partnerships as school operators in association with other 'local' organisations, to supporting non-state actors and enabling the conditions for their operation. The role of facilitating such a market-oriented education system is what we call 'ecosystem building', deliberately taking up one of the terms derived from business that have permeated contemporary philanthropic parlance (Saltman, 2009). As Ark explains, building such an ecosystem requires a number of "enabling factors": a "conducive regulatory environment" and a "buoyant private sector in education" (Aslam et al., 2017, p. 11).

Ark's work within The Education Alliance is a good example of its work as a policy enabler and facilitator of a market-oriented education policy framework in India. The Education Alliance was set up in 2014 with the stated aim to enable PPPs in education, or "to help build an ecosystem for the operation of public private partnerships in government schools."[81] Among other initiatives, the three India schools run by Ark are in turn part of this larger group of organisations of which Ark is the founding member. The PPP model that TEA advocates draws closely from the Academies programme in England in terms of school autonomy and state financing and control:

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81   Central Square Foundation (n.d.). The Education Alliance.
      http://centralsquarefoundation.org/grant/investment-the-education-alliance/

> *The Education Alliance encourages a whole school management model of PPP, wherein a private operator adopts an underutilised government school building and has considerable operational autonomy allowing for innovation.*[82]

The model also has a discursive emphasis on education disadvantage replicating Ark's UK focus on disadvantage and underperformance, and consequently the Education Alliance also claims to aim to raise quality and extend choice to the disadvantaged.

The account of the emergence and rationale for TEA on Amitav Virmani's (TEA chief executive) Ashoka fellowship profile (see Box 1) provides a telling account of the organisation's multiple and related sets of aims and strategies, among which is the strengthening of the so-called 'eco-system'. Here, the creation of policy environments conducive to the operation of non-state school providers is evident, as well as preparing the terrain, both in terms of legal frameworks and capacity building, for international operators to enter India. As part of this work, TEA has also helped to set up a fund called Rise, managed by Villgro, an Indian social enterprise, to channel philanthropic funding to strengthen operators' financial capacity, or in their own words, to "address the gap in operating costs that operators face"[83].

The rather long account of the emergence of TEA is also included here because it nicely illustrates the advocacy work of philanthropies like Ark operating through a complex set of roles, and therefore in complex relationships as providers, lobbyists, advisers and evidence producers, at times partnering with and at times supplementing the state. It also clearly reflects the mechanisms (e.g. drafting policy frameworks and policy documents, using strategic entry points and tactics to gain buy-in from relevant authorities) used to influence policy and create the conditions under which they and the non-state sector more generally can strengthen their own roles.

Significantly, The Education Alliance (TEA) is a partnership initiative between Ark (as founding member), the Central Square Foundation, Michael & Susan Dell Foundation and Omidyar Network. As noted, Amitav Virmani, former-Ark India country Director, is The Education Alliance's Chief Executive. The organisation includes Ashish Dhawan, Founder and CEO of the Central Square Foundation, as a board director.

Box 1. A brief account of The Education Alliance

> He [Amitav Virmani] conducted a landscape study to understand the global experiences in public school management, including charter schools in the USA and Academies in the UK. This gave him deep

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82   Central Square Foundation (n.d.). The Education Alliance. http://centralsquarefoundation.org/grant/investment-the-education-alliance/

83   See Villgro (n.d.). Rise http://villgro.org/rise/

insights into the elements and principles that contributed to their successes and failures. Alongside studying global experiences, Amitav also launched a study in India to look at the learning outcomes, social and emotional well-being of children from public schools that are currently run by citizen sector organizations. He intends to compare this data to that from Government operated schools to have credible footing to make informed policy recommendations to governments.

Amitav also held multiple discussions with operators, funders and experts in India and outside. From these dialogues, Amitav drafted the policy that enables municipalities to invite non-profit operators (CSOs) to run and transform public schools.

… rather than pushing for a national policy, Amitav believes buy-in from the state level will increase effectiveness of implementation. He has identified key states to influence and is moving from state to state to introduce this policy. In each state, he is using different strategic entry points and tactics to gain buy in from the relevant authorities. Over the last year, the Education Alliance has been advocating and lobbying with different levels of the Government in the states of Madhya Pradesh and cities of Chennai, Delhi and Pune. The policy advocacy is now at advanced stages in the state of Madhya Pradesh. His efforts with the Delhi Municipality has led them to invite an expression of interest from operators to take on two to ten schools. Based on its success and outcomes, the government will consider effectuating a policy. Next he plans to initiate dialogues with the states of Rajasthan, Gujarat and Andhra Pradesh. Amitav seeks to evidence impact in at least 1000 schools across India that can serve as models for more states to adopt.

… he is working to build the pipeline of operators in India who can operate more schools. Having deeply studied the methods and impact of different operators, he believes that only few operators in India are designed to scale across different cultural and social contexts and limitations. To bridge this gap, he is engaging with some operators in USA and UK to build their capacities to enter India. Having raised sufficient funding for his organization, he is now building a pipeline of funding for operators to scale their capacities to take on more schools. As governments adopt this policy, he also intended to support the salary of an executive in the initial years to champion the idea and execute the model internally.

Source: Amitav Virmani's Ashoka Fellowship profile (extract). Retrieved from http://india.ashoka.org/fellow/amitav-virmani

Registered as Network for Quality Education Foundation, TEA receives funding from the Michael and Susan Dell Foundation (MSDF)[84] and the Central Square Foundation. In addition to running SDMC partnership schools, TEA claims to have worked with policymakers within the Corporation of Chennai and the Government of Madhya Pradesh who, according to the Central Square Foundation's website, are among the regional governments currently exploring the development of education PPP frameworks[85]. Certainly, PPPs are significant examples of policy networks "because they are a kind of assemblage of actors, organizations, and techniques that create and activate relationships" (Ball, 2017, p. 38). As explained elsewhere (see Ball, Junemann and Santori, 2017), the organisations that conform TEA have participated in both the Mumbai School Excellence Programme (with the Akanksha Foundation, UNICEF, and the Corporation of Greater Mumbai) and in the South Delhi School Partnership Programme (with Bharti, Centre for Civil Society, The Tech Mahindra Foundation and the South Delhi Municipal Corporation) within which Ark is running the three schools discussed above.

A further example of Ark's ecosystem-building is its involvement in the provision of technical support to PPP operators. As part of this work, Ark supports the UK-headquartered charity Promoting Equality in African Schools (PEAS) in Uganda, a relationship that dates back to 2011. Initially, the partnership with PEAS involved Ark working with the charity to develop a network of secondary schools in Uganda. These target disadvantaged, rural communities who are considered as most in need. This initiative has grown to a network of over 25 schools in the country (there are now also some PEAS schools in Zambia totaling 31 PEAS schools) that operate in partnership with the Uganda Ministry of Education and Sports under the Universal Secondary Education (USE) programme. As part of the partnership with the government (formalized in a memorandum of understanding signed between the parties in 2011), PEAS schools receive a capitation grant (or per-student subsidy from the government) that enables the organisation to keep tuition fees relatively low. According to a report by ISER (2016), PEAS is the only not-for-profit provider in this PPPs scheme, a probable indication of an Ark's preference for not-for-profit operators in PPP schemes.

Generative nodes: the art of network building

Partnerships and networks are two of the most repeated words in contemporary political and business jargon. And the same applies in the world of philanthropy. Nowadays, it is practically impossible to find a philanthropic

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84   The Education Alliance (n.d.). Details of foreign contributions received during quarter – IV (January to March 2017) of the financial year 2016-17. http://www.theeducationalliance.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/FCRA_Q4-1.pdf

85   Dhawan, A. (2014, 16 Dec) Central Square Foundation 2014: A Year of Collaboration and Learning. Retrieved from http://centralsquarefoundation.org/letter/2014-a-year-of-collaboration-and-learning/

programme at whichever level that does not operate in partnership or collaborating with a range of other organisations. Throughout the text, we have already looked at a number of examples of the networked character of philanthropic operations (e.g. The Education Alliance). It is not our intention here to continue adding to the already overwhelming and endless list of names of companies, foundations, public bodies, individuals, etc., that conform what could be understood as the "Ark network". In this section, we focus on a slightly different role of Ark, not simply as a network participant but as a network maker. In this sense, the philanthropic organisation operates as what we have elsewhere called a 'generative node' (see Ball and Olmedo, 2011). Such nodes are aimed at facilitating connections, partnerships and investment agendas, linking opportunities, in short, creating networks within networks.

Ark's generative node role is carried out mainly through the Global Schools Forum (GSF). As noted briefly already, the GFS is a school operators networking initiative to support and represent the non-state schools sector. Through the GSF, Ark reinforces its policy advocacy arsenal and adds yet one more voice to the PPP advocacy alliance:

We believe that government should be the guarantor, and not necessarily the sole provider of education. Cooperation and partnership between the non-state sector and governments can help deliver high quality education for all students.

Across the world, countries have made incredible progress in getting children into school. In low and middle income countries, 80 and 92 percent of children respectively are now enrolled in primary school1. The corresponding figures for lower secondary are 65 and 85 percent. However, much remains to be done: 61 million primary school aged children, 10 percent of all children in low and lower middle income countries, are still out of school.

Furthermore, this expansion in access has not been accompanied by similar improvements in learning. Millions of children who complete several years of schooling still lack basic literacy and numeracy skills. Poor and vulnerable children, particularly girls, learn the least of all.

These are crippling findings that not only limit the life chances of those children and the prosperity of their families, but of their wider communities and nations. It shouldn't be like this.

A thriving non-state sector can play an important role in stemming and indeed reversing the learning crisis.

In this context, the non-state sector has grown and evolved rapidly, as parents have looked for alternative schooling options for their children - in many developing countries, close to one third of all children are enrolled in schools managed by non-state actors.[86]

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86   Global Schools Forum (n.d.). About us http://www.globalschoolsforum.org/about-us/

The GSF is part of Ark Ventures and was founded by Ark together with IDP Foundation Inc, Omidyar Network, Pearson Affordable Learning Fund (PALF) and UBS Optimus Foundation, all of which sit on the Steering Committee of the organisation. Its mission is clear:

> Our **mission** is to support and represent non-state schools and school networks operating in low- and middle-income countries, so they are better able to deliver quality education to children from low income families.
>
> We **aim** to do this by building and strengthening the non-state sector through increased collaboration, targeted expertise, influencing policy narrative, and building greater transparency.[87]

Being part of the network implies more than just economic capital. In addition to funding it, Ark has a prominent role in incubating the initiative and providing back office (the GSF is officially registered at Ark's headquarters in London), legal, and administrative support. More specifically, the GSF offers its members opportunities to collaborate and network with potential investors and funders through annual meetings and an online platform; provides expertise and resources (webinars and toolkits, meetings, a fellowship scheme, and a shared jobs board); represents and disseminates communications within the network and across the wider global education community; and promotes common metrics through the collation of longitudinal datasets of 'global evidence'[88] in order to strengthen its mission and advocacy activities.

GSF is itself funded by Ark alongside Omidyar Network, Pearson Affordable Learning Fund and UBS Optimus Foundation.[89] As part of its work, GSF is also in the business of evidence-making or disseminating. As it claims on its website, one of the aims is to "develop and disseminate communication materials and share a repository of rigorous research"[90]. GSF has convened four annual meetings so far. For example, the 2017 Annual Meeting, hosted by the UBS Optimus Foundation in Switzerland, had as central themes: creating and strengthening schools and school networks; building a stronger and more cohesive non-state sector; and how the non-state sector can contribute to larger education systems. Interestingly, panellists included representatives and members from Ark as well as Relay Graduate School of Education, Pearson, World Bank, Omidyar Network, BRAC, APEC, Bridge International Academies, PEAS, DG Murray Trust, The Education Alliance, UBS Optimus Foundation, many of whom have, as noted, partnered with Ark on a variety of initiatives. GSF annual meetings, as well as many other events (see for example the Wilton Park event below), illustrate an ideological and discursive coherence and convergence or 'homophily' (Ball, 2017), that is, the existence and

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87   Global Schools Forum (n.d.). About us http://www.globalschoolsforum.org/about-us/
88   Global Schools Forum (n.d.). About us http://www.globalschoolsforum.org/about-us/
89   Global Schools Forum (n.d.). About us http://www.globalschoolsforum.org/about-us/
90   Global Schools Forum (n.d.). About us http://www.globalschoolsforum.org/about-us/

permanent reinforcement of a policy network mobilised around critiques and concerns about the efficacy of the state that gets strengthened by reiteration at these sorts of events (Junemann, Ball and Santori, 2018).

One key aspect of the GSF is, in its own words, its 'agnostic' character in terms of the financial model of its members.[91] The network represents schools with different business models and structures, from pure for-profit to free-of-cost (for families) private schools. At present, the network is formed of 27 school chains that operate in 22 countries (see Table 1). The membership is currently free, but as the network develops its products and services, it is expected that an undisclosed fee will be introduced in September 2019.[92]

Table 1. Global School Forum members[93]

APEC Schools Philippines	BRAC Education Programme Bangladesh	Building Tomorrow Uganda	Collaborative Schools Nepal
EducAid Sierra Leone	Educore Services: Frontier Schools Zambia	Futura Schools Peru	Future Nation Schools South Africa
Hippocampus Learning Centres India	Impact Network Zambia	Kidogo Kenya	More Than Me Liberia
Nova Pioneer Kenya, South Africa	Omega Schools Ghana, Liberia	PEAS Uganda, Zambia	Peepul India
Rising Academy Network Liberia, Sierra Leone	Schole Schools Zambia, Uganda, Tanzania, Kenya	SEED Schools India	Simple Education Foundation India
Silverleaf Academies Tanzania	SOMOS Educação Brazil	SPARK Schools South Africa	Streetlight Schools South Africa
Street Child Academies Liberia, Nepal, Nigeria, Sierra Leone	The Akanksha Foundation India, US	United World Schools Cambodia, Myanmar, Nepal	

91   Global Schools Forum (n.d.). About us http://www.globalschoolsforum.org/about-us/
92   Global Schools Forum (n.d.). FAQ http://www.globalschoolsforum.org/faq/
93   Global Schools Forum (n.d.). Our members http://www.globalschoolsforum.org/our-members/

As mentioned briefly, Ark's network building work includes the organisation and participation in a variety of research and debate forums and events around the world. For example, the event "No Child Left Behind: what is the complementary role of non-state actors in the delivery of quality basic education in low resource environments?' was co-organised with DFID and funded by DFID and the UBS Optimus Foundation, and held in England at Wilton Park in September 2017[94]. Here, the title suggests that the event's topic and guiding question was not whether there should be a role attributed to non-state actors in public education delivery, but what that role should be, with the underlying assumption that there should be one. Coincidently, the event shared the central idea on its title, 'No Child Left Behind', with the Parliamentary IDC inquiry on 'DFID's work on education: Leaving no one Behind' (International Development Committee, 2017), to which Ark had contributed written evidence and recommendations. One of the latter has precisely been the need for more rigorous research and a related focus for DFID on funding PPPs impact research which the Wilton Park event seems to have begun to address.

Interestingly, presenters and chairs at this event included several organisations that form an ideologically homogeneous group that gets together over and over again at events and meetings and collaborate with each other in projects as funders and partners. These include non-state school operators such as IDP Foundation, PEAS and the Global Schools Forum (see above); venture philanthropies such as Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, Omidyar Network, UBS Optimus Foundation, Akanksha Foundation; donors and multilaterals already funding the private sector in development education such as DFID, USAID and the World Bank and NGOs such as Save the Children. The Wilton Park event included participation from a handful of less supportive voices such as Global Initiative for Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and Open Society Foundations (OSF). However, this probably demonstrates a multi-sectoral convergence around the belief in the non-state sector as a positive force in the improvement of education systems, a belief that has now become a sort of "global norm" (Verger et al., 2016, p. 177). As Verger and colleagues (2017) argue:

Even nonstate actors, such as several nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and trade unions that previously opposed the role of the private sector in education, now consider that the privatization trend is irreversible and the focus should be on how to regulate and make the private sector more accountable (p. 177).

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94   See Wilton Park (2017, 13-15 September). Event: No child left behind: what is the complementary role of non-state actors in the delivery of quality basic education in low resource environments? (WP1577) Retrieved from: https://www.wiltonpark.org.uk/event/wp1577/

Philanthro-policy making: mobilising policy

As noted, Ark's EPG presents itself as a PPP Practice that draws on its experience of running state schools in England and lately, working internationally, to advise governments and implement PPP reform, in a variety of countries:

That's why we set up our PPP team- a resource to help policymakers explore what public-private partnerships could do for them. We will design, develop and - in time - even help execute PPPs where appropriate, using our experience of delivering quality education around the world. As an organisation with a successful track record in improving outcomes for disadvantaged pupils, we can act as an honest broker between those public and private organisations who may be able to work together. We can use what we've learned, and tailor it to suit the specific challenges each country is facing.[95]

Ark claims to have worked or to plan to work with governments spanning Latin-America, Africa and Asia including Uganda, South Africa, Liberia, India and Kenya. We focus on the developments in most of these countries in some detail in what follows, although we do not address Kenya to the same extent as there is no formal development that is as yet in the public domain. In relation to Kenya, Ark, rather vaguely, claims to be "developing low-cost school information systems to drive student progress through better use of data"[96]. Elks (2016) notes that the school inspection framework developed in the country, which is closely aligned to Ofsted's model in the UK, could benefit from using value-added measures similar to the one Ark has developed for Uganda (see below) "to enhance the existing framework" (Elks, 2016, p. 22) and indicates ongoing contacts: "Kenyan officials have requested that the project is presented to the senior management team at the Ministry, after hearing about the project in December 2015." (Elks, 2016, p. 22).

Therefore, Ark is evidently building contacts within the Kenyan Ministry of Education and although we are not able to identify further details, this illustrates some of the ways in which Ark works up the ranks of national education officials to advocate reform, in this case the use of data in system management and reform, drawing from the UK's system, abroad. As a second example of the vagueness and the difficulties presented in trying to follow some of the interactions at these initial stages, the recent conference "Voices of the Next Generation: Challenges, Tensions and Pitfalls of Education International Development"[97], included a presentation by Signe Sorensen and Ahmad Jawad Ashgar (Mangers at Ark EPG and Ark Education respectively), on "How to move from entry points in governments to educational systems reform? Experiences from Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire" (Cambridge Education, 2018). This suggests that Ark is also active in Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire, and is also indicative of Ark's tactics and ambition, starting small through networking with government officials, but

95   Ark (n.d.). Education Partnerships Group. http://arkonline.org/programmes/education-partnerships-group
96   Ark (n.d.). About us. http://arkonline.org/about-us/what-we-do
97   This conference was organised by Cambridge Education/Mott MacDonald and took place in June 2018 in London.

aiming big at system level change. These kinds of links and tactics are most evident in Ark's work with the Ugandan Ministry of Education, which Ark has been advising on as part of the System Reform programme in Uganda, a partnership with DFID, which we address in the next section.

Ark is partnering with DFID and the Ugandan Ministry of Education on system reform programmes that have benefited substantially from the sharing of education policy and implementation experience in the UK (Hares and Crawfurd, 2018)

Ark's PPP advisory work for system reform involves a broad, complete package for school and performance improvement, which ultimately revolves around incorporating the co-existence of autonomy and control. This includes an ensemble of policy 'solutions' oriented to increasing school/provider autonomy alongside the creation of accountability systems and regimes, supported by strong data, assessment and performance measurement and management. Some of this work around the use of data and creation of stronger accountability regimes is evident in Uganda, as we describe in the next section, and in India and South Africa, as we outline in the following ones.

Uganda value-added measure and system reform

As noted, a key component in a market-oriented education system is the creation of a measurement and accountability regime that enables the functioning of a system of choice, competition and comparison. School inspection and accountability measures, as noted, are among those elements directly linked to improvement in the market-reform framework.

School inspection systems are too often focused on the wrong things - easily measurable infrastructure rather than hard to measure teaching quality. We're helping strengthen the secondary school inspection system in order to increase accountability and drive school improvement. It won't look exactly like Ofsted, but we've brought tools, principles and best practice from the UK's experience (Hares and Crawfurd, 2018).

Towards this aim, Ark has collaborated with the Uganda Ministry of Education in an attempt to develop and strengthen a school accountability system in the country, through the development of value-added performance measures for the Uganda government. Ark argues that,

by integrating a fair and accurate measure of Ugandan school performance into the heart of an accountability framework, the country can drive improvements across the whole system through better information and more effective and efficient use of resources.[98]

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98   Ark (n.d.). Uganda value add http://arkonline.org/uganda-value-add

Value-added measures are school performance metrics of educational progress designed to estimate the value or contribution that schools or teachers add to their pupils' schooling. Here, these are presented as a fairer indicator of school education quality than raw student exam results because they take into account the prior attainment of students.[99]

School quality is hard to observe from test scores without adjusting for student intake. We've helped the Government introduce a value –added measure of school performance, similar to "Progress 8"[100], which ranks secondary schools according to how they have helped all students in a school to progress between the end of primary and end of secondary school, rather than on the number top performing students at each school, as had been done previously. (Hares and Crawfurd, 2018)

To this end, since 2015 Ark has supported the Ugandan National Examinations Board (UNEB) to create and implement a value-added performance measure for Ugandan schools. Ark commissioned a research study to develop such measure in a way which could use data currently available or potentially obtainable within the system (Elks, 2016a). The results of the study were published as Crawfurd and Elks (2016). Using the same rationale as that of the English system, Elks (2016b) argued that:

Schools get credit when a student performs better than expected, given their prior attainment. This helps control the ability of a school's intake, and to gauge, more accurately, the quality of the education offered by each school. That's why from this year schools in England will primarily be judged according to their value added score (Elks, 2016-b).

Drawing directly from the value-added measure used in England, the research team introduced the idea of estimating school added-value for secondary schools by taking into account students prior attainment at the end of primary school, therefore replacing the system of league table position by exam result at the end of secondary school previously in use in Uganda. The study was undertaken by Phil Elks, hired by Ark to conduct the research, and Lee Crawfurd, who was a research associate with RISE (see below) based at the Center for Global Development but later joined Ark to head the Ark EPG research and evaluation work (between January 2017 and May 2018). Significantly, Elks previously worked on issues surrounding assessment and school accountability in the UK's Department for Education. He later

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99   In England, value-added measures are used to determine the schools' positions in national school league tables (see Perry, 2016).

100   Progress 8 is the latest value-added measure introduced by the UK government in 2016. As with the measure it replaced, it is used to estimate the average academic value each school adds to their students' learning although in a new way. It compares pupils scores in their General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) exams at age 16 in relation to their expected results estimated by their scores at age 11 in Key Stage 2 (KS2) assessments at the beginning of secondary school (which work as baseline) (See https://www.bristol.ac.uk/cmm/research/school-performance/ for a current research programme on the use and evolution of Progress 8 in the UK system).

wrote a so-called 'think piece' for the UK DFID, drawing lessons from the development of value-added performance measures in Uganda (Elks, 2016a) and reflecting on the potential for extending this work internationally. In turn, James O'Donoghue, who since 2017 works for DFID as an education adviser, also worked for Ark EPG on PPP and school accountability policy with the government of Uganda. He had previously worked with PEAS in Uganda, and was trained through Teach First leadership development programme. Once again, we urge the reader to look beyond the anecdotal and rather labyrinthic professional profiles and trajectories of the individuals involved in these programmes and evaluations. The fact that all of them share similar backgrounds and move backwards and forwards across sectors and throughout such complex networks is, once again, key to understanding the flow of ideas and policies. They represent the material embodiment of market discourses that run through the capillary structures of organisations that conform contemporary neoliberal education policy.

The proposed value-added measure for Uganda does not control for the schools' socio-economic status of their students. Elks (2016b) argues that:

Importantly, the value added model works when it takes into account prior attainment, but not other factors. Adding a variable for socio-economic status only increased the predictive power of the model marginally.

As noted, this draws directly from the arguments and system introduced in the current value-added measure used in England (Progress 8). However, despite the enthusiasm that Progress 8 raised when initially launched (see Burgess and Allen, 2010), the metrics is now generating controversy regarding whether, through the omission of contextual variables, it can provide an accurate, unbiased and fair measure of school performance (see Perry, 2016) and whether the measurement disadvantages schools with more underprivileged intakes (see for example Allen, 2015). The value-added measure in Uganda was first piloted with a group of schools, whose results for the top schools nationally were published in 2016. Ark claims to be working "with UNEB [Uganda National Examinations Board] to build their capacity to calculate the measure themselves and integrate it into the wider Ugandan secondary school accountability framework."[101]

Uganda's added-value proposed measure and the system reform work with Uganda officials illustrate Ark's intention to influence the direction of policy by working on facilitating the key elements of a system of choice and competition similar to that operating in the UK. In the process, Ark is bringing policy priorities, values and methods to bear on education reform in Uganda.

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101   Ark (n.d.). Uganda value add. http://arkonline.org/uganda-value-add

Madhya Pradesh School Quality Assurance Programme in India

As mentioned, creating an inspection framework is a key component of a quality improvement and assurance regime as imagined by Ark. This rationale has been evident in Ark's work with the Government of Madhya Pradesh in India, where since 2013, it has worked in the development, and supported the design and implementation of a School Quality Assurance Programme for schools (SQA) "to put in place a system of school-level assessment along the lines of the UK's school inspector Ofsted"[102]. The development of the Madhya Pradesh School Quality Assurance Framework (MPSQAF) (managed by Ark) has been funded by DFID which provided the seed money for the pilot phase in 100 schools between 2013-2014. This pilot phase was a collaboration between Ark, DFID as funder, CfBT (formerly Centre for British Teachers, re-named as Education Development Trust) and M-CRIL, "and includes tools to automate the inspection process and make it easier for stakeholders to analyse school data" (Ark, 2014). The Government of Madhya Pradesh has committed to funding the roll out of the framework across the state[103], and in 2017, Ark has acted as advisor to the government as they implemented the programme across 25,000 schools with the plan to extend it across the total +120,000 by 2019. Ark is also attempting to take accountability one step further within the state, advising the government on ways of tying education budget decisions to performance, as well as introducing incentives and value-added measures within the system.[104]

An external evaluation of this programme has been conducted. Its results, which have been recently presented in two conferences[105] but not yet published, reveal that the initiative has been ineffective, with the programme having "no effect on learning, as measured by how well children perform in tests after 18 months, nor on teacher absence"[106]. We reflect on these evaluation results and their possible implications in the discussion. Meanwhile, a similar quality assurance and accountability reform is currently being promoted in South Africa (Transforming School Accountability).

Transforming School Accountability (TSA) in South Africa

Another school accountability initiative is being implemented in South Africa, where Ark is working with the Western Cape Education Department (WCED)

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102   Ark (n.d.). Madhya Pradesh School Quality Assurance. http://arkonline.org/madhya-pradesh-school-quality-assurance

103   ICF (2016). Evaluation of the Technical Assistance Component of DFID India's Education Portfolio Final Report, (p. 34) http://iati.dfid.gov.uk/iati_documents/5741745.pdf

104   Ark (n.d.). Madhya Pradesh School Quality Assurance programme http://arkonline.org/madhya-pradesh-school-quality-assurance

105   RISE (2018, 21-22 June). Annual conference, Blavatnik School of Government, Oxford (see https://www.riseprogramme.org/blog/annualconference2018reflection) and RESEP (2018, 6 September) Conference, Stellenbosch University, Stellenbosch, South Africa (see Singh, A. (2018, 6 September). Education reforms for system-level change: Evidence from multiple Indian states [conference paper], retrieved from http://resep.sun.ac.za/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/6.-Evaluating-reforms-for-system-level-change-in-education.pdf)

106   Fiennes, C. (2018, 13 July). Charity begins with admitting we got it wrong. Financial Times. Retrieved from: https://www.ft.com/content/49e715b6-8458-11e8-9199-c2a4754b5a0e

to develop a school accountability system in the Western Cape, through a project called Transforming School Accountability (TSA). Ark's view and advice is that there should be support but also "consequences" for school underperformance, "which will ultimately drive an improvement of quality in education"[107]. This goes very much in the direction of performativity regimes as "a mode of regulation that employs judgements, comparisons and displays as means of incentive, control, attrition and change based on rewards and sanctions" (Ball 2013, p. 216) characteristic of neoliberal reform. This is also what Pasi Sahlberg (2011) identified as one of the features of the Global Education Reform Movement (GERM), the neoliberal inter-related set of ideas that are becoming globally hegemonic. Among these ideas are the development of test-based accountability policies for schools, tying school performance to processes of accreditation, promotion, inspection, and ultimately rewarding or disciplining schools and teachers. Ark does not shy away from its association with GERM, and while recognising some of the criticisms and controversies involved (see for example Hares, 2018), it shares an approach to education policy that is market-oriented, results-oriented and metric-based (Srivastava and Baur, 2016) and is therefore a proud member of a global policy network (Ball et al. 2017) advocating global education market reform initiatives. As Lee Crawfurd (2017), writing a blog post as the then Ark EPG's head of research and evaluation, put it:

> *… maybe we should be reclaiming the pejorative 'global education reform movement (GERM)'? Aside from the unfortunate acronym, it's actually a pretty good description of the cluster of people and organisations trying to shake things up a bit and do things differently in global education policy.*

The Partnership Schools for Liberia programme

Finally, the most notable political development in which Ark has been involved, both in terms of the scale of the initiative as well as the central role that the organisation has played as a key policy adviser and "funding broker", is in Liberia. According to Ark, the charity was approached by the Liberia Minister of Education's team in April 2015 for initial ideas and strategies for the setting up of an education PPP, and later engaged in an advisory capacity from December 2015 for the design of the Partnership Schools for Liberia (PSL) Programme through which, starting in 2016, 93 public primary schools were contracted out to eight private providers (see Romero et al., 2017).

Ark's involvement in Liberia has been wide-ranging. Official PSL documents indicate that Ark's participation has included "policy advice, project management, operator and evaluator commissioning, capacity building of

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107   Ark (n.d.). Transforming school accountability. http://arkonline.org/transforming-school-accountability

Ministry team, data analysis, fundraising, and communication" (MoE, Feb. 2017, p.14). According to Ark's webpage, this has encompassed the provision of "policy and technical advice on all aspects of the project- from overall program design and contract structure to school quality assurance and financing" (Ark, 2017), addressing the policy ensemble that shapes up 'neoliberal' education reform.

The influence of Ark in PSL planning and implementation is evident when considering the resemblance between the Ark's deck 'Public-private Partnerships in Education: A viable model for Liberia', and Ark's proposal of how PPP could work in the Liberia context, presented to the (former) Minister of Education George Werner in May 2015 (Ark, 2015) and the PSL official documents released a couple of years later[108]. This resemblance has also been pointed out by Hook, who notes the existence of "identical rationales (raising school quality, stronger accountability, attracting philanthropic funding) and examples (success of US charters and UK Academies, etc.)" (Hook, 2017, p. 17).

The key role that Ark has played in the delivery of the PSL programme includes helping evaluate PSL due to "limited government capacity"[109]. Significantly, as suggested above, the idea of a PPP has been portrayed by Ark as the most viable solution in the context of a debilitated state, an argument rehearsed over and over by former Minister of Education Werner and his circle of advisers, following the civil war and the Ebola crises that have whipped the country in the last few decades. However, as Verger and Moschetti (2016, p. 19) suggest, PPPs require strong state management capabilities, and regulation and monitoring is time and resource intensive. As Languille's (2017) recent literature review on PPPs in education and health also concluded, "the design and management of practical PPPs are source of high transaction costs and require important contractual and administrative capacities in sector ministries" (p. 156). This is a consistently highlighted issue in the PPP debate. Even from the point of view of World Bank economists, it is recognised that "if poorly handled, contracting can even reduce already low levels of government accountability and control" (Patrinos et al., 2009, p. 5). Furthermore, on the recently released World Development Report focused on education, it is acknowledged that "overseeing private schools may be no easier than providing quality schooling" (World Bank, 2018, p. 177) and that "managing a regulatory framework to achieve this is difficult: the same technical and political barriers that education systems face more generally come into play" (World Bank, 2018, p. 177). Ark has also recognised some of this complexity recently, pointing out that "the government needs to have the capacity to ensure they [PPPs] can be implemented and enforced so they remain true to

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108   See: Ministry of Education Liberia, Partnership Schools for Liberia. http://moe.gov.lr/partnership-schools-for-liberia/

109   Ark (n.d.). Partnership Schools for Liberia. http://arkonline.org/Partnership_Schools_For_Liberia

form" (Aslam et al, 2017, p. 10)[110]. Moreover, according to Ark, "the capacity to ensure they are effectively implemented, overseen and enforced" (p. 11) is a key enabling factor for the viability and success of PPP schemes.

Therefore, advising PPPs in such a fragile, post-conflict, resource-deprived state as Liberia, raises important questions about the sustainability of the advised reform. Furthermore, it raises ethical questions about Ark's involvement in perpetuating the need for an external advisor (and funders) such as themselves.

However, and in line with its activities in other countries, it should be noted that, when advising on PPP reform, Ark points out that it also focuses on "Effective data systems and Appropriate assessments" (Ark, 2015). Ark claims to recommend that "every PPP pilot is underpinned by core principles including: multi- not single-operator commissioning, focus on equity and quality, a rigorous impact evaluation, affordability and sustainability." (Ark, 2017). As part of this approach, in Liberia, Ark has collaborated in the commissioning of a randomised evaluation of the PSL programme, conducted by Innovations for Policy Action (IPA) (see Romero et al., 2017). This might seem to signal an interest in using evaluation results as a learning resource for future iterations and before programme scaling. In fact, Ark[111], together with the members of the PSL evaluation team, have published an Open Letter to the Minister of Education asking him to wait for evidence before scaling the programme in Year two, although the government expanded the programme from the original 93 in Year one to 202 schools. This is illustrative of the government's resort to an aspect of what Peck and Theodore (2015) call 'fast policy', an urgency in the adoption of 'solutions' by policymakers and resulting compression of decision-making cycles which can hinder the determent of solutions until better evidence is available, in this case, with an approaching national election in Liberia. However, the fact that Ark has shown reticence to incorporate broader, qualitative sources of data to complement the randomised control trial (see Hares, 2018), seems to indicate both an exclusive reliance on the data produced by experimental methods of evaluation as well as an accompanying limited willingness to fully consider the complexity of the intended and unintended consequences and act accordingly. As Verger and Zancajo (2015, p. 4) point out, "econometric models tend to exclude variables (usually, related to individual, institutional, and/or contextual characteristics) that are not easily measurable or that have no data available, which is something with serious ontological implications in the sense that what cannot be measured ends up not existing in analytical terms".

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110   This assertion is included as part of the framework used for the review of evidence on education PPPs which the authors developed under the guidance of Ark (Aslam et al., 2017).

111   The Open Letter was signed by David Laws, Susannah Hares, Robin Horn and Joe Collins in their capacity as technical advisors to PSL.

Philanthro-evidence making

At the same time as Ark is strongly advocating PPPs around the world, somewhat paradoxically it is keen on building an evidence base for supporting the expansion of PPPs in developing countries. Such post facto evidence-making is part of a broader trend in neoliberal school reform whereby the introduction of market ideas in countries like England, the USA and Australia has been based on ideology rather than on evidence – that is, not based on an attempt to imitate other successful education systems (Adnett and Davies, 2002).

Ark made it clear when advertising to recruit an EPG's Associate Director for Research and Evaluation in March 2017 its intention to position itself as a key interlocutor in the global policy conversation. This required to "ensure that EPG is seen as an authority when contributing to these debates".[112] For an organization that claims to promote data driven education decisions, data and evidence are an obvious tool in the search for market reform legitimation. Ark's collaboration with the Center for Global Development and Research on Improving Systems of Education (RISE) might be seen as a step in this direction. The RISE initiative is a GBP 27.6 million, multi-country research programme led by Professor Lant Pritchett at the Center for Global Development, in partnership with Oxford Policy Management and the Blavatnik School of Government at Oxford University. The research programme seeks to respond to the question: "What works to improve education systems to deliver better learning for all at scale in developing countries?" Again, Ark's participation in the initiative responds to its stated aspiration "to fill gaps in the PPP and accountability evidence base and test the hypotheses underpinning our work"[113].

Furthermore, market reform legitimation for Ark's work would involve looking for, producing, commissioning and disseminating evidence on the impact of Ark's own programmes and more generally, of 'what works' in PPPs for the developing world. Testing the so-called effectiveness of the Partnerships in which Ark is involved through external evaluations is one privileged way of doing this, and, as noted, Ark has been consistent in commissioning randomised control trials as part of the programmes it collaborated with (e.g. PSL, MPSQAP, ENABLE, and PEAS evaluation – see below) as its preferred evaluation research methodology. Positioning itself as advising and helping governments to measure and test these sorts of experiments more generally is another one.

Ark's work in Uganda is a good example of both of these mechanisms. Here, Ark is working with the Ugandan government to review the ongoing national PPP for secondary schools launched in 2007 as well as commissioning an external evaluation of the PEAS PPP which Ark supports. The whole PPP for secondary schools programme in Uganda currently includes around 850 partnership

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112   Ark EPG (2017, May). Associate Director, Research and Evaluation [Job Specification]. Retrieved from: https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ve d=2ahUKEwi4z62Z55fgAhX2_QxUIHamUCrYQFjAAegQIBRAC&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.prospect-us. co.uk%2Fjobs%2Fdetails%2F20248%2Fassociate%2520director%2C%2520research%2520and%2520evaluation. pdf&usg=AOvVaw0C44VXw6LgBHEm_6F_gl4K

113   Ark EPG (2017, May). Associate Director, Research and Evaluation [Job Specification].

schools, and the national review is both looking at the policy framework and conducting "primary research into the scope, quality, and cost of non-state schools operating under this PPP".

> *The objective of this work is to help the government develop a strengthened policy framework through which effective non-state schools can be harnessed to the objective of improving public secondary education[114].*

This work is funded by DFID in Uganda, as part of a bilateral education programme called 'Strengthening Education Systems for Improved Learning'. DFID has commissioned Ark to conduct the review and expects Ark to report the research results to the government of Uganda[115], again showing one of the several areas of collaboration between Ark and DFID.

As regards the evaluation of PEAS schools, Ark funded a three-year external evaluation that aimed to assess the access, quality and sustainability of the education delivered in PEAS schools in comparison with government and private schools (see EPRC, 2018 for the Endline evaluation report). The evaluation compared 11 PEAS schools to 17 randomly selected control schools (non-PEAS government schools and other private schools). The study was conducted over a 3-year period from 2015-17, and was led by the Economic Policy Research Council (EPRC), an Ugandan think-tank. The National Assessment of Progress in Education (NAPE) section of the Uganda National Examinations Board were in charge of delivering standardised tests in English and Mathematics to a sample of randomly selected students across the schools. The study also collected survey data from students, teachers and headteachers and included some observations.

The evaluation's results were complimentary of PEAS schools, concluding that these schools were more equitable in terms of the poorest children accessing them in higher proportion and of the schools improving the learning of poorer students the most; of higher quality in general, although girls achieved lower tests scores on the administered assessments; and more cost effective than other school types in Uganda (see EPRC, 2018 for details of the findings). The research team concluded by indicating that the study "suggests that public-private partnerships (PPPs), such as the USE [Universal Secondary Education] programme, can work", but added that "for PPPs to work, the selection of the non-government partner is crucial" (EPRC, 2018). This is in line with Ark's focus on the 'right operators', or on identifying successes or failings in the implementation of PPP programmes, rather than questioning the very rationales and designs of PPP themselves, when problem arrise, including the assumptions that underpin them. Ark considers a "buoyant private sector in education" (Aslam et al., 2017, p. 11) as a pre-requisite for PPP effectiveness, and as a result, attempts to strengthen 'ecosystems' conducive to the development of strong private operators as discussed above.

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114   Ark (n.d.). System strengthening in Uganda. http://arkonline.org/System-strengthening-in-Uganda
115   Ark (n.d.). System strengthening in Uganda. http://arkonline.org/System-strengthening-in-Uganda

More generally, and beyond Uganda, Ark's interest in strengthening the evidence base for its advocacy and advisory roles included the commissioning, in 2017, of the already mentioned Rigorous Review of the Evidence on PPPs in Education with a focus on developing countries (Aslam et al., 2017). Given the econometric methodological techniques used for the PEAS external evaluation, this was one of the studies included for review. Aslam and colleagues concluded that:

> *It is worth noting this study provides a comparison of PEAS schools to other schooling types and, while it concludes that these schools perform better in terms of student outcomes, this is not necessarily evidence that PPPs in general perform better, but rather the PEAS model itself may be more effective. This may be due to the fact that their internal accountability systems are focused on high performance, whereas Ugandan policy doesn't have any in-built accountability mechanisms to incentivise strong performance (Aslam et al. 2017, pp. 28-30).*

This conclusion illustrates the assumption underpinning Ark's theoretical framework of a direct and causal relationship between accountability systems and school improvement.

In addition to all this, and as part of the evidence-making activities, Ark research team[116] claims to have:

1. Commissioned J-PAL (Abdul Latif Jameel Poverty Action Lab) to conduct the external evaluation of the Madhya Pradesh School Quality Assurance programme (described above).
2. Commissioned the randomised evaluation by Innovations for Policy Action (IPA) of Liberia's Partnership Schools for Liberia programme (also described above).
3. Led a five-year randomised trial of a school voucher programme in Delhi.

The ENABLE programme in India was a private school voucher lottery programme in north-eastern Delhi that involved 800 underprivileged primary students being given vouchers to attend private schools covering the 5 years of private primary school tuition fees. This, according to Ark, was meant to serve as a means to assess the quality of provision at private schools compared to public schools. Ark's ENABLE voucher programme illustrates Ark's attempt to contribute to the realization of Clause 12 of India's Right to Education (RTE) Act 2009. This clause has made it compulsory for private schools to set aside 25% of its school places to low-income families, for which the government reimburses them. Yet in the practical implementation of this section of the Act, many of these places, it is claimed, currently remain unfilled. The programme, piloted in some of the poorest areas of Delhi, attempted to encourage poor families to claim this entitlement. As Susannah Hares, Ark International Director at the time, indicated:

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116   Source: Ark EPG (2017, May). Associate Director, Research and Evaluation [Job Specification]

Clause 12 could also signal a first step towards a bold new experiment: a middle ground that merges the best of public and private education. Elsewhere in the world, schools that are privately managed, but state-financed and quality-assured, have shown promise. [_] The greater autonomy and improved efficiencies arising from privately delivered models, when paired with rigorous quality assurance and accountability measures, can deliver better learning outcomes more cost-effectively than the top-down state system. Such an arrangement in India, offered to exceptional operators, could be a powerful vehicle for change.[117]

According to Ark, in addition to the local government of Delhi where the vouchers programme was tested, two Indian state governments have also shown interest in such kinds of initiatives.[118, 119]

It is not coincidental that Ark has chosen to support the PPP element of the RTE Act 2009. The use of vouchers is a privileged mechanism to encourage parental choice, as mentioned, a key policy technology in the establishment of education markets. Evidence is contested, but research in Chile (see Treviño et all, 2018), Sweden (see Sørensen, 2017) and Milwaukee (USA) (see Ford and Andersson, 2016), the classic examples of the use of school vouchers, generally shows that standards (as measured by test scores) have not risen markedly. The Ark-commissioned *Rigorous Review of the Evidence on Public-Private Partnerships in Education in Developing Countries* recently concluded that, on the issue of vouchers, "the *body of evidence* for the relationship between voucher provision and learning outcomes is mixed and inconclusive, and therefore *insufficient*" (emphasis in original) (Aslam et al., 2017, p. 33). Justin Sandefur, Senior Fellow at the Centre for Global Development acknowledged in the foreword to the review that "There is a growing consensus in the US literature that private school voucher programs have often failed to raise learning levels (Leonhardt, 2016)" (Aslam et al, 2017, p. iii). Despite this lack of convincing evidence on private school improvement, Ark has been plainly invested in supporting both a market diversification of provision as well as the expansion of parental choice in India through the support for both supply and demand side initiatives (such as the SDMC Partnership schools and the strengthening of the voucher programme legislated in the RTE Act 2009, through the ENABLE lottery).

The findings from the ENABLE study have not been published but a recent 'note' by Susannah Hares (Hares, 2018), former head of Ark EPG, writing as Senior Policy Fellow at the Center for Global Development, revealed that the ENABLE voucher lottery has had no effect on the winners:

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117 Hares, S. (2013, 13 March). Education in India: Time for a Bold New Experiment, Stanford Social Innovation Review. https://ssir.org/articles/entry/education_in_india_time_for_a_bold_new_experiment

118 Center for Education Innovations (n.d.). Ark Education voucher program. http://www.educationinnovations.org/program/ark-education-voucher-program

119 Dixon, P., Humble, S. and Counihan, C. (Eds.) (2015). Handbook of International Development and Education, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, p. 382.

After six years, the research team tracked the voucher winners and losers, collecting information about their academic abilities, their schools, and their aspirations. They found that winning the voucher had no impact on maths or English, and actually lowered Hindi scores. No effect was found on noncognitive skills, parent aspirations, or social networks.

The negative results of the evaluations of some of the main initiatives Ark EPG has been involved with could be interpreted as directly questioning some of the basic assumptions that support Ark's international work. There must be considerable reflection work going on within the ARK EPG team as we write this report, and the approach to be followed remains to be seen. An Ark EPG's twit (posted by Senior Programme Manager Hannah-May Wilson), indicates that learning from Ark's failures will be part of the EPG strategy 2018-2021 currently being devised.[120]

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120   Wilson, H-M. [hmaywilson]. (2018, 27 Nov). Starting as we mean to go on with the @EPG_Edu strategy 2018-2021: learning from our successes as well as our failures ... excited to kick off Day 2 of our training week with @jbelanger_edu introducing M&E #SDG4 [Tweet]. Retrieved from: https://twitter.com/hmaywilson/media

5. Overall discussion: Philanthropy, markets and the construction of a 'post-ideological' ecosystem

This report has laid the foundations for further and more empirical efforts to grasp the political roles and economic and social relationships facilitated and legitimised by a new group of policy actors, the self-denominated 'new' philanthropists, in the field of education policy. This is part of a broader research agenda that aims to understand changes on current forms of governance by focusing on developments on the ground (regardless of how material and tangible such 'ground' might be). It is an inductive approach to researching education policy making, which pursues an understanding of what we have called before as new ways of 'doing neoliberalism' (Ball & Olmedo, 2012).

Throughout this report we have discussed the general approach adopted by a number of philanthropic organisations in using business methods and sensibilities to bring about educational innovation and change. Nonetheless, a common thread is the fact that they present themselves as post-ideological actors, rehearsing the argument about the need to overcome the ideological debate over and over again, and claiming to be interested in moving beyond ideology by collating existing and collecting new evidence to inform the policy dialogue. The following excerpts from two different recent publications exemplify this point:

> *Too often, the debate around the role of non-state provision in basic education has been driven by ideology rather than robust evidence. This Wilton Park event, in partnership with the UK Department for International Development and Ark Education Partnerships Group (Ark EPG), aimed to move beyond ideology. The event convened diverse and global expertise for a dynamic, policy focused and evidence-based discussion on the role that non-state education can play in delivering quality education and expanding access in developing countries, including the role of non-state actors in helping to achieve Goal 4 of the Sustainable Development Goals.[121]*

> *DFID should help to shift the global conversation away from the ideological dichotomy of the public versus the private sectors. Instead, DFID should foster a more conducive debate around how the public sector can work more effectively with the private sector, and vice-versa (Ark, 2017)*

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121   Wilton Park (2017, 13-15 September). No Child Left Behind: What is the complementary role of non-state actors in the delivery of quality basic education in low-income countries, WP1577 [Report]. Retrieved from: https://www.wiltonpark.org.uk/event/wp1577/

In this drive, Ark presents its policy recommendations as technical issues free from the biases of ideology, drawing from a selected number of 'stories of success' (as mentioned, mainly British Academies and other PPP-run schools such as in the USA (charter schools), in Colombia, Venezuela and Pakistan). PPPs advocates in general claim their a-political, post-ideological character. As the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights noted:

> *"The human rights community often seems to assume that privatization involves little more than a change in personnel and uniforms and that public-sector-like obligations and comparable levels of accountability could be maintained, if only the conditions attached were sufficiently detailed and demanding. But this assumption is deeply mistaken. It ignores the motivations driving the process as well as the essential unwillingness of the private sector to take on rights-related obligations, the inability of pared-down Governments to exercise meaningful supervision, the difficulty of monitoring disparate private providers, the removal of much economic decision-making from the purview of democratic contestation, and the wide-ranging consequences of empowering profit-seeking corporate actors in what used to be the public sphere."[122] (pp. 24-25)*

These assumptions of neutrality are even more apparent, as Srivastava and Oh (2010, p. 460) note, with the case of philanthropic organisations operating within partnership arrangements. These organisations find themselves in a privileged position to advance a post-ideological case for the participation of the private sector and the effectiveness of PPPs partly because of the aura of goodness or benevolence that surrounds the philanthropic sector (Robertson and Verger, 2012). This neutrality, Srivastava (2016) argues, stems from the conflation of the private and non-state sectors, including for-profit and not-for-profit actors within them, and therefore making PPPs more acceptable to critics of education markets[123].

Yet presenting PPPs simply as a technical issue intentionally overlooks the extent to which PPPs as policy recommendations are not neutral. As discussed above, the very World Bank conceptualisation of PPPs, highly influential in the education for development field and underpinning Ark's PPP framework, "classifies PPPs in a way that supports the preference of this organization for market-based solutions in education (and other types of services)" (Verger and Moschetti, 2016, p. 10). It is important to emphasise here that PPPs are a key component of neoliberal state reform and new governance modalities (Ball and Junemann, 2012) as well as part of the political imaginaries underpinning the development agenda for education focused as it is on competitiveness and access (Robertson and Verger, 2011). In this context, PPPs as policy recommendations for countries

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122 UN Human Rights Council (2017, 22 March), Report of the Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights, A/HRC/35/26. Retrieved from: https://www.refworld.org/docid/593a8e784.html

123 Ark are agnostic as to the character in terms of the financial model of what they see as adequate operators in PPP partnerships. They themselves partner and advise not-for-profit providers exclusively in their ventures abroad, although clearly the PSL programme which they have advised on includes both not-for-profit and for-profit partners within it.

in both hemispheres assume the neoliberal narrative of greater efficiency and effectiveness of the non-state sector as well as containing the extra persuasion argument related to social impact (its relation to national educational goals such as their contribution to expanding access or improving learning outcomes).

However, we argue that this consensus prevails despite every commissioned-literature-and-evidence review identifying a contradictory and un-substantial body of evidence on the effectiveness of PPPs. Furthermore, existing PPP research does note the particularly problematic nature of PPPs in terms of education inequalities, inclusion and segregation (Verger and Moschetti 2016, p. 14). Even in the UK, a paradigmatic case of market-based education reform, the Academy model of PPP schools are not the panacea supporters portray them to be. For example, the 2015 Free Schools and Academies Report by the House of Commons Education committee recommended that the UK government should "stop exaggerating the success of academies and be cautious about firm conclusions except where the evidence merits it. Academisation is not always successful nor is it the only proven alternative for a struggling school" (para. 209). And, in a more recent publication, Allen and Higham (2018) show how the expansion of Academies and Free Schools in England has contributed to and strengthened existing dynamics of reproduction of socio-economic inequalities through social selection. Meanwhile, some selected 'stories of success' are exalted and used as evidence for the continuous expansion of education PPPs across the world, and new evidence is permanently 'sought'.

Several authors have discussed the issue of the selective use of evidence as key to the construction of an inherent superiority of the private sector over public education (see for example Lubienski et al., 2009, Srivastava 2016, Verger, Fondevila and Zancajo, 2016) that underpins PPP effectiveness theory. The downplaying of counter-evidence is not novel nor exclusive to Ark as an organization:

> *Despite full awareness of the evidence (or of its absence), influential international organizations and transnational consultancy firms are actively disseminating PPP solutions across a broad range of practice communities (Verger, Bonal and Zancajo, 2016, p. 224).*

The philanthropic enterprises analysed in this report are not unique but clearly a part of a global network of actors promoting educational liberalization and market-oriented reforms in education that collaborate with each other in programmes and initiatives, meet each other at conferences and events, refer to and quote each other's research in publications, social media, websites and promotional materials, and reinforce each other's points by continuous repetition (Ball, 2012; Ball, Junemann and Santori, 2017). This is a network of practice as well as one of discourse – legitimating, disseminating, persuading and recruiting. It is bringing school accountability, management and leadership, pedagogy and curriculum and teacher training within a single discursive logic of practice.

Finally, given the failure of the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation's programme to improve teaching effectiveness in the US (see Stecher et al., 2018) and the recent blow to Ark's quintessential policy recommendations with the negative results of the evaluations of some of their flagship global education policy programmes[124], there are at least two questions that could be raised. One relates to what is or might be done when the evidence is disappointing? The second is about the kinds of evidence that are collected in the first place (e.g. Ark's significant preference for econometric research methods and randomised control trials), and what does this evidence reveal as well as what it obscures?

On the one hand, as we finish writing this report, we still do not know the approach these organisations will take to the unflattering results of the programmes' evaluations and whether and how these results will inform a future strategy. A first issue to point out given some of Ark's public statements and long-standing perspectives, might be a deliberate attempt to separate design from implementation, and blame implementation for the problems. This is in line with Ark's focus, discussed throughout the report, on the 'right operators' and government oversight, and the stated argument that two reasons might lead partnerships to fail to deliver the desired outcomes: 1. Implementation; 2. The right type of providers. The idea that PPPs are promoted in contexts of a non-existent 'buoyant' private sector or with strong state oversight capacity, illustrates the strength of the theoretical foundations of PPP education reform, over and above the empirical results of concrete reform programmes. In the last instance, the conception of the state's incapacity to provide an adequate service is highly likely to remain unchallenged.

On the other hand, in relation to the kinds of evidence sought and considered valid, Lee Crawfurd (as Head of Ark's research and evaluation work) sarcastically indicated on an Ark blog post that the launch of Hook's (2017) critical report on the Liberia PSL programme shortly before the launch of the official RCT results was a 'really helpful' contribution to the 'dialogue':

> *Education International and ActionAid publishes a critical research report on Partnership Schools for Liberia based on qualitative research in 'up to' 20 schools (how many was it?), just 2 months before the actual results would be published from the large-scale RCT which assessed the actual learning of thousands of children in 185 schools, which everyone agreed was a "really helpful" contribution to the dialogue (Crawfurd, 2017).*

Here, the (only) evidence that seems to count is 'actual learning', controversial as that might be to evaluate exclusively through test scores, and the only research method that counts is randomised design, without any demonstrated interest

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124   For example, the MPSQAP and ENABLE as described above, and the mixed results of the evaluation of the first year of the Liberia PSL. Despite the increased tests scores of students in PSL schools, as well as identified gains in terms of teachers' attendance and parent and pupil satisfaction, the evaluation raised questions about the cost-effectiveness and sustainability of the programme and potential negative side-effects on other schools (see Romero et al., 2017). Furthermore, a recent critical analysis of the RCT study itself contested the degree of increase in test scores in PSL schools and argued that the gains could have had to do with policy changes that could be implemented in regular public schools (Klees, 2018).

in the broader, complex and sometimes unobservable dimensions that affect learning. Qualitative data from inside the classroom that can help to identify what it is that makes a difference to children's learning, let alone a broader understanding of the embeddedness of schools and learning within society, are not considered. As Deaton and Cartwright (2018) indicate, "RCTs can play a role in building scientific knowledge and useful predictions but they can only do so as part of a cumulative program, combining with other methods, including conceptual and theoretical development, to discover not 'what works', but 'why things work'" (Deaton and Cartwright, 2018), and we would add, why they don't work. Despite the rhetoric of a battle against ideologically-based assertions and decision-making, this demonstrates an unwillingness on the part of organisations like Ark to separate the education discussion from the ideological role that they play in promoting market-oriented education systems.

6. Concluding thoughts...

Finally, we would like to highlight six points to reflect on and that represent new potential directions to move the research agenda forward:

Everywhere at once... the creation of the private educational eco-system.

One of the most striking realisations of this piece of work is the spread and depth of reach of the philanthropic organisations analysed. As suggested in the first part of the report and clearly reinforced throughout the second, the conglomerate of processes, programmes, enterprises, edu-businesses, etc., that configure the dense network of activities offers all the services needed to run a whole educational system privately. The long list of investments that conforms the portfolios of the philanthropic organisations analysed here (see Appendix) cover every aspect from direct school provision (at both compulsory and non-compulsory levels) and funding (mainly through micro-credits and PPPs), to teacher training, curriculum development, administrative services, IT solutions, etc. Alongside the provision of services and new materials, a new cosmovision and common-sense is instilled into the systems that they begin to populate. As Kozol (1992, p. 277) puts it, "when business enters education (...) it sells something more than the brand names of its products". That is what we referred to as an ontological shift, based on a move from "*correcting for*" to "*connecting to* the market", in the way in which new philanthropic enterprises conceive and instrumentalise their activities. Here the frontier between business and charity is blurred and it is already difficult to situate the profile of such organisations. In fact, a new category has been created, the *charitable company*, but even in this case the legal boundaries for the use of surplus and profit generated from the services offered is difficult to trace. Furthermore, as they get more and more involved in political frameworks (Olmedo, 2017), we are witnessing a reorganisation of power that implies a new social and political contract away from existing structures of democratic consultation and accountability.

Benefactor/beneficiaries and the game of multiple hats.

It is important to note the double position of these new philanthropic organisations within the education markets they operate in and promote. They are, without a doubt, agents of reform: they deliver education services and at the same time disseminate, legitimate and persuade others on market-oriented education reform. Yet they are also in different ways beneficiaries of

such reforms (Junemann and Ball, 2013): they gain an increasing portion in the markets of provision they help to create and an amplified voice in the policy conversation. An issue evident here is the operation of new kinds of links and relationships between government and philanthropy. Representatives from philanthropic organisations are taking up key positions within the infrastructure of policy, that is to say, policy is being re-peopled. There are new kinds of connections across different institutions and sectors, public, private and voluntary, that are being established through the movement of people between and across sectors. One of the most common strategies that private interests and actors use to promote privatization in education is networking and the 'revolving door' mechanism, "probably the most obvious illustration of the permeability between the public and the private sectors in the education policy field" (Verger, Fontdevila and Zancajo, 2016, p. 155). The flow of pro-market advocates between public, research organisations, philanthropies and the private sector contributes to the movement of methods and ideas between them, bringing new partnerships to fruition, and contributing to the blurring of values and perspectives between sectors.

Exporting policy: new bedfellows and new mobilities.

Throughout the report we have identified multiple instances of the combined work of philanthropy and governments to make policy mobile and 'export' policy. Such instances can be thought about in terms of what Tikly (2004) understands as forms of new imperialism. The following words from DFID illustrate this point: "DFID's new education policy aims to get children learning in the developing world's failing schools by improving teaching, reforming systems, supporting the most marginalised, and exporting the 'best of British'"[125]. As shown, there is, for instance, a close and explicit collaboration between DFID and Ark on a number of initiatives, with Ark being consulted upon and partnered with as an authoritative and legitimate voice and as an experienced and valuable policy partner. This facilitates, among other reforms, the roll-out of an accountability and performance regime, with Ofsted-style evaluations and performance metrics, abroad. However, this comes at a time when, in England, "The inspectorate wants to move away from an over-reliance on results and to focus on how these have been achieved"[126].

As noted, the latest system reform in England has been based on an emphasis on increasing school autonomy and resource management to schools together with a more rigorous inspection regime based on the assumption that these changes would improve results across the system.

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125 Hares, S. and Crawfurd, L. (2018, 7 February). The British government's new plan to get children learning [Blog post]. Retrieved from: http://arkonline.org/blog/british-government's-new-plan-get-children-learning
126 White, J. (2019, 23 January). Ofsted has turned our attention back to what makes a good curriculum. We now need better answers [Blog post]. Retrieved from: https://ioelondonblog.wordpress.com/2019/01/23/ofsted-has-turned-our-attention-back-to-what-makes-a-good-curriculum-we-now-need-better-answers/

But a consultation for a proposed new inspection framework has just been launched by Ofsted[127] in its very own recognition, following years of academic and stakeholder criticism, that such an inspection regime has had important negative consequences. It is now widely recognized that accountability measures focused on exam results are leading to unethical and unfair practices of system gaming such as teaching to the test and the off-rolling of lower ability pupils. Furthermore, new research is showing that the system of competition and the pressures to perform to achieve high Ofsted grades have created a more socially stratified system since 2010, with higher achieving schools accepting fewer students from disadvantaged backgrounds than before (Greany and Higham, 2018). Furthermore, evidence from the first five years of operation of Free Schools, the flagship government policy of academy type partnership schools, has revealed that these schools are "socially selective and reproduce socio-economic inequalities" (Allen and Higham, 2018). This is part of a broader re-ignition of debates about social selection and inequality in quasi-markets following government reforms since 2010 in England. Yet these controversies are not currently reflected in the "sharing of education policy and implementation experience in the UK"[128] abroad.

Policy tourism.

Policies do not simply 'move' across territories but involve, as we have discussed, the active 'labour' (Ball, 2017) of particular actors in disseminating, translating, persuading and advocating policy models and ideas globally. Fact-finding visits and policy tourism (McCann, 2011) play an important role in the 'relational construction and mobilization of policy models' (McCann, 2013, p. 10). They capture the attention over specific issues; facilitate the circulation of certain forms of knowledge; and create a market for policy solutions by promoting and celebrating the virtues of specific policy ideas in cherry-picked contexts. Ark's activities as an organizer of 'study tours' can be seen as another form of network building, taking government officials to see in action PPPs on which they are participants and to visit their schools and a selection of relevant agencies in England. They do so, as McCann puts it, by 'creating an uneven landscape of "teacher" and "learner" (2013). For example, Ark and PEAS co-hosted a delegation of senior Ministry of Education officials from Uganda and Zambia. The group came together for an Ark-led workshop on PPPs for education. Experts from Ark Schools ran specialist sessions on legal, financial, human resources and infrastructure issues to answer the group's technical questions. The delegation visited Ark Globe Academy and Ofsted, Ofqual and

127 Ofsted (2019, 16 January). Open consultation: Education inspection framework 2019: inspecting the substance of education. https://www.gov.uk/government/consultations/education-inspection-framework-2019-inspecting-the-substance-of-education/education-inspection-framework-2019-inspecting-the-substance-of-education

128 Hares, S. and Crawfurd, L. (2018, 7 February). The British government's new plan to get children learning [Blog post]. Retrieved from: http://arkonline.org/blog/british-government's-new-plan-get-children-learning

the Department for Education to understand the government's perspective on the academies programme. The visit was described as a success that 'inspired' and 'empowered' the Ugandan representatives to replicate the model in their own country:

The group was particularly inspired by how strong leadership and ARK's high expectations of students can be leveraged to turn around a school's performance. (…) Inspired by impact in the UK to deliver changes, one delegate said they now feel 'empowered to make positive changes in Uganda', and that they want to 'put the best practices from the UK's experience of the academies policy to good use.[129]

In a similar fashion, in 2017, DFID and Ark sponsored a visit to the UK by a group of Ghanaian Ministry of Education officials to study how PPPs are being implemented.

Beyond democratic control.

Philanthropy has been a contradictory actor since its genesis back in Ancient Greek societies. More recently, it has been criticised for self-assuming the role and acting as "miniature, undemocratic, and personal governments" (Frumkin, 2006, p. 2). As suggested above, both through their own initiative and/or urged by governments, philanthropists have taken a more relevant role in the public realm. Either by promoting their own ideas on how to achieve social and political change or by supporting existing initiatives, a growing number of businessmen and women are self-assuming responsibilities and duties while bypassing the need to design political campaigns and manifestos, globetrotting national geographies in order to gain votes and elections, facing treacherous parliaments, and making sure that after a specific term they will need to start the same process all over again. As Frumkin suggests, "philanthropy has some of the features of government but it lacks anything closely resembling democratic controls. All of which creates challenges for donors while also opening up some unique opportunities" (Frumkin, 2006, p. 1). On the one hand, it is claimed that the lack of restrictions and labyrinthic institutional structures, confer them a sense of freedom. 'New' philanthropy has become a key player in processes of what Peck and Theodore (2015) call "fast policy". They are able to take risks and act at speeds that would be unimaginable for those operating in traditional public institutions. On the other hand, as well as new institutional infrastructures, the new political landscape requires new forms of subjectivities, that is, new individuals with new ways of understanding the world, new beliefs, perspectives, desires, etc. The new subjects and spaces (that is, new teachers, students, school-family relations, new arenas

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129   Ark (n.d.). Ark hosts delegation of Ministry of Education officials from Uganda and Zambia. http://arkonline.org/news/ark-hosts-delegation-ministry-education-officials-uganda-and-zambia

where schools can compete and be scrutinised and ranked, inspectors and evaluators, etc., and, also, a new civil society composed, amongst others, by new philanthropists), will be the result of combinations of a new socio-genetic material, with a common chromosome: competition (and its multiple minions: choice, profit, recognition). Given the apparently righteous and magnanimous character of philanthropic ventures, there is a risk to misjudge and underestimate the effects of the activities and programmes in which these charitable actors are involved (Zeichner, 2013). In short, as Horne (2002) argues, new philanthropists operate in a *parapolitical sphere* within which they can develop their own policy agendas. As we have seen, these philanthropic organisations operate and interact in spaces across and within nations and through multi-faceted, broad and complex roles and relationships, can bring considerable financial and 'political' influence to bear on global, national and local education policy.

Faster than fast policy.

Finally, if there is one thing that we have learned throughout this and previous research efforts in this field is that everything could change almost instantly. Decisions are made on the spot, partnerships are created, and broken, expeditiously, money moves hands and crosses borders at the speed of light (or at least as fast as the Internet connections at both ends allow), people change their minds and their professional positions constantly, etc.

All this that could be seen as positive features, represents a real challenge not only for the policy researcher (it is not unusual to wake up in the morning to simply realise that the website that one is analysing has drastically changed or has been suddenly taken down, for instance), but, most importantly, this could be a real problem for the democratic citizen, the teacher and the parent, who, unable to follow events at the current blistering rhythm, could subsequently develop a sense of detachment and dispassion. It is our personal commitment to this 'public', our fellow citizens, colleagues, neighbours and friends, that justifies the headaches caused by the search for the endless sets of labyrinthic connections, the lengthy lists of names of individuals and organisations, the ever-expanding catalogues of programmes and activities, etc. This report cannot aim to be more than a snapshot of what things look like at present and we are well aware that by the time the reader has finished reading this last paragraph things might have changed considerably, which does not but vindicate the need to carry on thinking and researching…

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8. Annex

Table 1. Omidyar Network's investment portfolio in education

Investees	Area	Financial Model	Region
African Leadership Academy	Academy - Young Adults	Non-Profit	Africa
Akshara Foundation	Curriculum	Non-Profit	Asia
AltSchool	School Provider	For-Profit	United States
Andela	Edu Software	Not stated	Africa
Anudip Foundation	Training	Non-Profit	Asia
Artemisia	Training	Non-Profit	Latin America
Aspiring Minds	Recruitment	For-Profit	Asia
Bridge International Academies	School Provider	For-Profit	Africa
EdSurge	Educational Tech	For-Profit	Global
Ellevation	Edu Software - Teaching English	For-Profit	Global
English Helper	Edu Software - Teaching English	For-Profit	Asia
FunDza	Book Distribution	Non-Profit	Africa
Geekie	Edu Software	For-Profit	Latin America
Guten News	Edu Software	For-Profit	Latin America
Ikamva Youth	Extra-School Education	Non-Profit	Africa
Ilifa Labantwana	Early Years Education	Not Stated	Africa
IMCO	School Assessment	Non-Profit	Latin America
Innovations for Poverty Action	Research	Non-Profit	Africa, Asia, Latin America
Kalibrr	Recruitment	For-Profit	Asia
LearnZillion	Curriculum	For-Profit	United States
Lively Minds	Teacher Training	Non-Profit	Africa
Numeric	Teacher Training and Ex-tra-School Education	Non-Profit	Africa
Platzi	Extra-School Education	For-Profit	Global
Reach Capital	Edu Software	For-Profit	United States
RLabs	Edu Software	Non-Profit	Global
Siyavula Education	Curriculum	For-Profit	Africa
Socratic	Online Eduational Resource	Not Stated	Global
Teach for All	Teacher Training	Non-Profit	Global
Teach for India	Teacher Training	Non-Profit	Asia

Investees	Area	Financial Model	Region
The Education Alliance	PPPs	Non-Profit	Asia
Tinkergarten	Early Years School Provider	For-Profit	United States
Tree House	School Provider	For-Profit	Asia
Varthana	Funding	For-Profit	Asia

Table 2a. Reach Newschools Capital's investment portfolio in education

Investees	Area	Financial Model	Region
Abl.	Edu Software	For Profit	United States
AdmitHub	Edu Software	For Profit	United States
BetterLesson	Teacher Training	For Profit	United States
Booknook	Edu Software	For Profit	United States
ClassDojo	Edu Software	For Profit	United States
EdSurge	Edu Tech	For Profit	United States
eSpark	Edu Software/Curriculum	For Profit	United States
FreshGrade	Edu Software	For Profit	United States
Gradescope	Edu Software - Marking	For Profit	United States
Holberton School	Edu Software	For Profit	United States
Kaymbu	Edu Software	For Profit	United States
KickUp	Edu Software	For Profit	United States
Lab4U	Edu Software	For Profit	United States
mathpix	Edu Software	For Profit	United States
Nearpod	Edu Software	For Profit	United States
Newsela	Edu Software	For Profit	United States
People Grove	Edu Software	For Profit	United States
Piper	Edu Tech	For Profit	United States
Repl.it	Edu Software	For Profit	United States
SchoolMint	Admin Software	For Profit	United States
Schoolzilla	Admin Software	For Profit	United States
Tinkergarten	Admin Software		
Tynker	Edu Software	For Profit	United States
Volley	Edu Software	For Profit	United States
WriteLab	Edu Software	For Profit	United States
Zeal	Edu Software	For Profit	United States

Table 2b. Newschools Venture Fund's investment portfolio in education

Investees	Area	Financial Model	Region
100Kin10	Teacher Training	Non-Profit	United States
Acelero Learning	Schools - Early Years	For Profit	United States
Achievement Network	Curriculum / Learning Assessment	Non-Profit	United States
Achievement Preparatory Academy	School - Grades 4-8	Non-Profit	Washington DC.
Alliance for College-Ready Public Schools	Charter Schools	Non-Profit	California
Alma Fuerte Public School	Charter School - K-8	Non-Profit	California
Appletree Institute for Education Innovation	Schools - Early Years / Research	Non-Profit	Washington DC.
Ardusat	Edu Software and Devices	For Profit	United States
AspireU	Teacher Training* - University	Non-Profit	United States
Beyond 12	Learning Assessment / Tutoring	Non-Profit	United States
Bird Brain Education	Edu Software	For Profit	United States
Brooklyn Laboratory Charter Schools	Charter School - Grades 6-12	Non-Profit	New York
Building 21 Allentown	Schools - Grades 9-12	Non-Profit	Pennsylvania
Camelback Ventures Fellowship Program	Funding - Entrepreneurs	Non-Profit	United States
Capital Teaching Residency	Teacher Training	Non-Profit	Washington DC.
Carnegie Learning	Curriculum	For Profit	United States
Center to Support Excellence in Teaching (CSET)	Teacher Training	Non-Profit	United States
Character Lab	Edu Software - Extracurricular	Non-Profit	United States
Charlotte Lab School	Charter School	Non-Profit	North Carolina

Investees	Area	Financial Model	Region
Charter Board Partners	Recruitment - Charter School Boards	Non-Profit	United States
City on a Hill	Charter School - Grades 9-12	Non-Profit	Massachusetts
Concentric Educational Solutions	Teacher Training	Non-Profit	Washington DC.
CoreSpring	Edu Software	Non-Profit	United States
Crescent City Schools	Charter Schools	Non-Profit	Louisiana
CueThink	Edu Software	For Profit	United States
DC Preparatory Academy	Charter School	Non-Profit	Washington DC.
DC Public Charter School Board	Charter School Board	Non-Profit	Washington DC.
DC School Reform Now	Public School Advocacy	Non-Profit	Washington DC.
Democracy Prep Public School	Charter Schools	Non-Profit	Washington DC.; New York; New Jersey
Detroit Prep	Charter School K - 8	Non-Profit	Detroit
District of Columbia International School	Charter School Grades 6-12	Non-Profit	Washington DC.
DSST Public Schools	Charter Schools	Non-Profit	Denver
E.L. Haynes Public Charter School	Charter School pk-12	Non-Profit	Washington DC.
EdFuel	Teacher and 'Leader' Training	Non-Profit	Washington DC.
EdLoc	Advocacy	Non-Profit	United States
Education Pioneers	Edu 'Leader' Training	Non-Profit	United States
Education Reform Now	Think Tank	Non-Profit	United States
Edward W. Brooke Charter School	Charter School K-8	Non-Profit	Massachusetts
EnCorps	Teacher Training	Non-Profit	California
Equal Opportunities Schools	Education Access	Non-Profit	United States
eSpark Learning	Edu Software/Curriculum	For Profit	United States
Excel Academy Charter Schools	Charter Schools	Non-Profit	Massachusetts
Explore Schools, Inc.	Charter School Funding/Development	Non-Profit	New York

Investees	Area	Financial Model	Region
Families for Excellent Schools	Education Policy	Non-Profit	New York, Massachusets, Connecticut
Fellowship for Race and Equity in Education	Education Equity	Non-Profit	United States
Flocabulary	Edu Software	For Profit	United States
Friends of Choice in Urban Schools	Charter School Funding/Development	Non-Profit	Washington DC.
Friendship Public Charter Schools	Charter Management	Non-Profit	Washington DC.
Future Is Now Schools	Teacher-led Reform Network	Non-Profit	United States
Gem Prep: Nampa	Charter Management and School	Non-Profit	Idaho
Great Oakland Public Schools Leadership Center	Funding and Advocacy	Non-Profit	California
GreatSchools	School Info Website	Non-Profit	United States
Grockit	Test Prep Website	For Profit	United States
Growth Public Schools	Charter School (Prospective)	Non-Profit	California
Ingenuity Prep	Charter School	Non-Profit	Washington DC.
Inspired Teaching Demonstration School	Charter School	Non-Profit	Washington DC.
Junyo	Edu Software	For Profit	United States
Khan Academy	Edu Software	Non-Profit	Global
KIPP DC	Charter Management	Non-Profit	Washington DC.
KIPP MA	Charter Schools	Non-Profit	Massachusetts
Lab4U	Edu Software	For Profit	United States
Latinos for Education	Edu 'Leader' Training	Non-Profit	United States
Leadership Public Schools	Charter Schools	Non-Profit	California
Leading Educators	Teacher and 'Leader' Training	Non-Profit	United States
Learn Fresh	Edu Software	Non-Profit	United States
Learning Games Network	Edu Software	Non-Profit	United States
LearnZillion	Curriculum	For Profit	United States
Lighthouse Community Charter School	Charter School	Non-Profit	California
LocoRobo	Edu Software	For Profit	United States

Investees	Area	Financial Model	Region
Make Music Count	Curriculum	For Profit	United States
Makers Empire	Edu Software/Curriculum	For Profit	United States
Mastery Connect	Edu Software - Assessment	For Profit	United States
Match Education	Charter Schools, Teacher Training	Non-Profit	Massachusetts
Match Teacher Residency	Teacher Training	Non-Profit	Massachusetts
Matchbook Learning	School 'turnaround' and Charter Management	Non-Profit	United States
Mathalicious	Edu Software/Curriculum	For Profit	United States
Mosa Mack	Edu Software/Curriculum	For Profit	United States
Motion Math	Edu Software/Curriculum	For Profit	United States
MudWatt	Edu Software and Devices	For Profit	United States
Mundo Verde PCS	Charter School ('Green')	Non-Profit	Washington DC.
National Charter Collabortative	"Leader" Training	Non-Profit	United States
Nepris	Industry -School Involvement	For Profit	Texas/United States ?
New Classrooms	Curriculum	Non-Profit	United States
New Leaders	School Principal Training	Non-Profit	United States
New Paradign for Education	School 'turnaround' and Charter Management	Non-Profit	Detroit
New Schools for New Orleans	School Investment	Non-Profit	Louisania
New Teacher Centre	Teacher Training	Non-Profit	United States
New York Hall of Science	Edu Software	Non-Profit	United States
North Star Academy Charter School of Newark	Charter School	Non-Profit	New Jersey
Ops360	School Investment and Financial Training*	Non-Profit	Tennesee and Louisiana
Our Neighbourhood School	Charter School	Non-Profit	Colorado
Oxford Day Academy	Charter School	Non-Profit	California
Paul Public Charter School	Charter School	Non-Profit	Washington DC.
Phalen Leadership Academy	Charter School Network	Non-Profit	Indianapolis

Investees	Area	Financial Model	Region
PhET	Edu Software/Curriculum	Non-Profit	United States
pilotED Schools	Charter School Grades 5-8	Non-Profit	Illinois
PowerMyLearning	Edu Software/Curriculum	Non-Profit	United States
Presence Learning	Online Speech/Language Therapy	For Profit	United States
Reading Partners	Voluntary Learning Assistance	Non-Profit	United States
Redbud Montessori for All	Charter School (Prospective)	Non-Profit	Texas
ReNew Charter Management Organisation	Charter Management	Non-Profit	Louisiania
Rocketship Eduation	Charter School Network	Non-Profit	California
Rooted School	Charter School 9-12 (Prospective)	Non-Profit	Louisiania
Roots Elementary School	Charter School K-5	Non-Profit	Colorado
Roxbury Preparatory Charter School	Charter School 6-8	Non-Profit	Massachusetts
Scholar Academies	School 'turnaround' and Charter Management	Non-Profit	Pennsylvania, Washington DC., New Jersey, Tennessee
Science Bits	Curriculum	For Profit	United States
Science with Tom	Curriculum	For Profit	United States
Seneca Family of Agencies' All-In Partnership	Student Intervention Service Organisers	Non-Profit	California
Shining Stars Montesori Academy	Charter School	Non-Profit	Washington DC.
Solar Preparatory School for Girls	Charter School K-8 (Prospective)	Non-Profit	Texas
Sposato Graduate School of Education	Teacher Training	Non-Profit	Massachusetts
Students for Education Reform	College (Uni) Student Education Campaigners	Non-Profit	New Jersey
Surge Institute	"Leader" Training	Non-Profit	United States
Teach for America - Oakland	Teacher Training	Non-Profit	United States
Teaching Channel	Teacher Development Resource	Non-Profit	United States
TeachingWorks	Teacher Training	Non-Profit	United States
TeachLive	Teacher Training	For Profit	United States

Investees	Area	Financial Model	Region
Teachscape	Teacher Training	For Profit	United States
TEAM Charter Schools*	Charter Management	Non-Profit	New Jersey
The Expectations Project	Education Equity Advocacy	Non-Profit	United States
The Ipso School	Charter School	Non-Profit	California
The Learning Sciences Group	Ed Software/Curriculum	For Profit	United States
The Noble Minds Institute for Whole Child Learning	Charter School	Non-Profit	Louisania
The YES Prep Teaching Excellence Program	Teacher Training	Non-Profit	Texas
ThinkCERCA	Curriculum	For Profit	United States
TNTP	Teacher Training	Non-Profit	United States
Transcend	School Reform	Non-Profit	United States
Tuva	Edu Software/Curriculum	For Profit	United States
TuvaLabs	Edu Software/Curriculum	For Profit	United States
Two Rivers Public Charter School	Charter School	Non-Profit	Washinton DC.
Uncommon Schools	Charter Management	Non-Profit	New York, New Jersey
United Collegiate Academy	Charter School	Non-Profit	Rhode Island
UP Education Network	School 'turnaround' and Charter Management	Non-Profit	Massachusetts
Urban Strategies Council	Education Reform	Non-Profit	California
Urban Teachers	Teacher Training	Non-Profit	Maryland, Washington DC
USC East College Prep	Charter Management Organisation	Non-Profit	California
Valor Voyager Academy	Charter School Network	Non-Profit	Tennessee
Washington Leadership Academy Public Charter School	Charter School	Non-Profit	Washington DC.
Wireless Generation	Edu Software	For Profit	United States
Woot Math	Edu Software/Curriculum	For Profit	United States

Investees	Area	Financial Model	Region
Youcubed	Edu Software/Curriculum	Non-Profit	United States
Youth UpRising	Educational/Social Support	Non-Profit	California
Zaption	Edu Software	For Profit	United States
Zeal	Edu Software - In Class Video Tutoring	For Profit	United States
Zearn	Edu Software/Curriculum	Non-Profit	United States

Table 3. LGT Impact and Venture Fund's investment portfolio in education

Investees	Area	Financial Model	Region
Aangan Trust	Child Protection Services	Non-Profit	India
Bridge International Academies (BIA)	School Provider	For-Profit	Kenya, Uganda, Nigeria
Educate Girls	Education Advocacy, Curriculum, Teacher Training	Non-Profit	India
Enseña Chile	Teacher Placement, Education Reform	Non-Profit	Chile
Lumni	Student Funding	For-Profit	Chile, Columbia, Mexico, Peru, USA
New Heaven Partnership (NHP)	Nature Conservation and Education	For-Profit	Thailand
Tòhe	Art Classes	For-Profit	Vietnam
Vathana	School Development Loans	For-Profit	India

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Education International represents organisations of teachers and other education employees across the globe. It is the world's largest federation of unions and associations, representing thirty million education employees in about four hundred organisations in one hundred and seventy countries and territories, across the globe. Education International unites teachers and education employees.

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